

The Historiographical Development of the
Concept “mfecane” and the Writing of Early
Southern African History, from the 1820s to
1920s

Thesis Submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

of

Rhodes University

by

Jürg Emil Richner

March 2005

Table of Contents

Abstract		iv
Dedications and Acknowledgements		vi
Abbreviations		x
List of Maps		xi
Chapter 1: Introduction		1
Methodology	5	
The European “Image of Africa”	7	
The Problem of Periodization	10	
Terminology and Spelling	11	
Inclusions and Exclusions	12	
Difaqane and Mfecane	13	
The Treatment of Oral Traditions	15	
Mfecane Historiography after 1928	19	
Chapter 2: The Foundation Period: 1820s to 1838		30
The Primary Publications, 1823 to 1828	35	
Books and their Authors, 1827 – 1838	42	
Chapter 3: The Colonising Period: 1839 to 1876		70
The 1840s – The Later Eyewitness Accounts	75	
1850s and 1860s - The Missionary Years	84	
1870 to 1876 – The Shepstone Factor	95	
Chapter 4: The Imperial Period: 1877 to 1904		106
Late Victorian Authors	114	
Theal – ‘Historiographer of South Africa’	126	
Chapter 5: The South African Period: 1905 to 1920’s		143
Natal and Zululand	150	
The greater Caledon Valley area	153	
The Fingo from Natal to the Transkei	164	
The Ndebele and the chiefdoms of the Transvaal	166	

General Histories	172	
Chapter 6: Conclusion		180
The Unfolding of the mfecane Narrative	181	
More Detailed Issues	183	
Results	195	
Bibliography		201

Abstract

The mfecane was for most of the twentieth century regarded as a historical certainty for the South African public and the Apartheid government, as well as for historians here and world-wide. The mfecane had achieved the permanence of a paradigm and a dominant discourse, as it was accepted equally by settler, liberal, Afrikaner, Africanist and Neo-Marxist historians. This certainty was shaken when Cobbing's mfecane critique appeared in 1988, with which I concur.

This study examines how mfecane history was written from the first published articles in mid-1823 until Walker coined the concept mfecane in 1928. This thesis undertakes a journey through a host of published works, books, pamphlets and articles in journals, magazines and newspapers, from which a number of conclusions emerge.

The mfecane narrative was developed over a period of a hundred years in the English language by almost exclusively white, English-speaking male amateur historians and ethnographers. Their occupations, age, ideology and level of education differed markedly, but they shared one European ideological value, the discourse of the European "Image of Africa", which regarded Africans as the negative Other of their own positively perceived society. This was a culturally-shared view of Africans, which formed the baggage in the mind of all writers examined, and accounts for the mfecane narrative's negative attitude towards Africans. Furthermore, mfecane history was influenced by racism and the use of literary devices such as the gothic novel and the romance.

Authors writing in the 1823 to 1846 period on events which had taken place in the "blank space" beyond the Cape Colony, which most of them had never visited, laid the basis for the mfecane narrative. It constituted a set of geographical or ethnically focused, separate accounts. These separate accounts focused on the themes of Shaka's creation of the Zulu state, including

his expulsion of several chiefdoms; his depopulation of Natal and the flight of the Fingo to the Transkei; the path of destruction of the Hlubi and Ngwane during their flight from Natal via the greater Caledon Valley area to the Transkei; the incorporation of the Kololo and other Sotho chiefdoms into the Mantatees - due to pressure from the invaders from Natal - who subsequently laid waste the Free State and Transvaal as far as Dithakong, where they were defeated; the further depopulation of the Transvaal by the Ndebele during their escape from Shaka; the flight of Moshoeshe and his people to Thaba Bosiu where he built up the Sotho state, with Moshoeshe being the only positive figure in this history.

This multi-narrative was thereafter repeated without any critical thought by all authors examined until in 1885 Theal created a Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative whereby he integrated the previously separate accounts into one coherent whole - a whole which was so much more than the sum of its parts, but so far without a defining name. That was provided by Walker in 1928 when he coined the Xhosa neologism, mfecane. The Theal, Cory and Walker racist mfecane was thus bequeathed as the mfecane to the rest of the twentieth century.

Dedications and Acknowledgements

I want to dedicate this thesis to my Lord Jesus, the Christ, who has kept and sustained me through my life and the production of this thesis.

Furthermore I dedicate this thesis to Sharon, my love, best friend and wife. In her unwavering love, support, in her belief in my abilities to write and complete this thesis, she has been my inspiration throughout. Her input into this text with regards to English grammar and style has become an important part of the project.

My thanks to Professor Julian Cobbing of the Rhodes University History Department, whose work inspired me to do research in the context of the anti-fecane approach to early nineteenth century history. His support was vital during the research phase of this thesis. I extend my gratitude to Prof. Paul Maylam, head of the History Department, for his competent handling and compassionate guidance of the writing process of this thesis.

The financial assistance from the HSRC Scholarship towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily be attributed to the HSRC.

I gladly acknowledge and say thank you to the following people and institutions whose help, patience and professional approach to history have been absolutely indispensable to the research and completion of this thesis:

Rhodes University

Prof. Julian Cobbing, History Department.

Prof. Paul Maylam, head of History Department.

Library Staff, especially S. van der Riet and E. Shepherd.

Cory Library Staff, especially S. Rowoldt, Z. Vena and M. Berning.

The staff of the Education Department library.

The Graphics Services Unit, S. Abraham and D. Brody, for the excellent historical maps.

G. McGregor, for the GIS map underlying the historical maps.

Dr. Dan Wylie, English Department.

Prof. M. Van Wyk Smith, English Department.

Grahamstown

The late Mrs. Jacot-Guillarmod, who made her ex-husband's library available.

The Makana Municipal Library.

F. Way-Jones of the Albany Museum, for making the Bowker Collection available.

C. Gorham, fellow historian.

J. Bradfield, for typing.

Eastern Cape

A. Webster, East London.

M. Karp, Port Elizabeth.

J. Melville, Port Elizabeth.

Western Cape

Dr. K. Schoeman of the South African Library.

Drs. N. Worden, P. Harries, and M. Jury, at UCT.

E. Maloka, at UCT in the late 1980's.

A. Linder, expert on the Swiss in southern Africa.

Natal

Prof. J Wright, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Prof. A.E. Voss, formerly of the University of Natal, Durban.

Gauteng

Dr. O. Norwich, Map Collector.

Sotheby's of South Africa.

Dr. R. Cope & Prof. P. Delius, Wits.

Prof. C. Hamilton, Wits.

Dr. Gebhard, Vista, Mamelodi.

B. Lambourne, fellow historian.

SADC Region

Rev. A. Brütsch, ex-Archivist, Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho.

Dr. S.J. Gill, Archivist, Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho.

Dr. D.P. Ambrose, National University of Lesotho, Lesotho.

Rest of the World

Dr. C. Marx, Freiburg i.B., Germany.

Lloyd's Register, London, UK.

B. Salmon, New Zealand.

C.C. Crais, Kenyon College, Ohio, USA.

The staff at the following Libraries

The Makana Municipal Library, Grahamstown

The Port Elizabeth Public Library, Port Elizabeth

The UCT Library, Cape Town

The African Studies Library, UCT, Cape Town

The Law Library at UCT, Cape Town

The Library of Parliament, Cape Town

The South African Library, Cape Town

The Library of the University of Stellenbosch

The Africana Library, Wits, Johannesburg

The Africana Museum, Public Library, Johannesburg

The Library of the Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg
The Archives and Special Collections Section, UNISA, Pretoria
The State-Library, Pretoria
The Don Africana Library, Durban
The Killie Campbell Library, Durban
The Library of the Local History Museum, Durban
The Library of University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg,
The Library of the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein

The staff at the following Archives

The Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg
The Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town
Rare Books & Special Collections, UCT University Library, Cape Town
Die Transvaalse Argiefbewaarplek, Pretoria

As the research of this thesis spanned many years, the names and spelling of institutions as well as places of employment of the people mentioned may have changed.

List of Abbreviations

Capt.	Captain, military rank
Col.	Colonel, military rank
Dr.	Doctor
J.M.E.	<i>Journal des Missions Évangéliques</i> , Journal of the S.M.E.
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society, active in South Africa since 1799.
Lt.	Lieutenant
Rev.	Reverend
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
S.M.E.	Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris. French protestant missionary society. In South Africa active in the Western Transvaal and Lesotho. Its missionary magazine was the J.M.E.
UCT	University of Cape Town, formerly the University College of the Cape of Good Hope.
VOC	Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, the Dutch East India Company which owned the Cape Colony from 1652 to 1795.
Z.A.R.	Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek. The Transvaal boer republic.
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

List of Maps

Map 1 - Geographical Regions	1
Map 2 – mfecane in the 1823 to 1838 Period – Chapter 2	30
Map 3 – Thompson’s Map, 1827	44
Map 4 - mfecane in the 1839 to 1876 Period – Chapter 3	70
Map 5 – Harris’s Map, 1839	76
Map 6 - mfecane in the 1877 to 1904 Period – Chapter 4	106
Map 7 – Theal’s Map, 1891	127
Map 8 - mfecane in the 1905 to 1928 Period – Chapter 5	143

Maps 1, 2, 4, 6, 8 have been created by: The Graphics Services Unit of Rhodes University.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Then you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free. Jesus, John 8:32, Bible.¹

Scholarship needs to pass from the making of myths to the study of myths and, even to the study of the people who make the myths. Pocock, in Harris, 1988.²

The historian is never a specialist of past events. He [or she] is ... a specialist of past signs. More accurately, he is a specialist of those past signs which have survived into the present. Clarence-Smith, in Isichei.³

In 1928 Walker published the first university textbook on South African history, A History of South Africa.⁴ With regards to African history he was largely influenced by the amateur historian, Theal, who, though dealing mostly with colonial history, had created the racist, Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated version of what was to become known as the mfecane. Walker's one-page account would be of no consequence had he not invented the Xhosa neologism, "*Mfecane*", to describe the African wars of the 1820's and 1830's.⁵ The term is larger than the sum total of the events it describes, transforming them into an all-embracing concept. The term soon became common currency,

¹ 'John 8:32', K. Barker (ed), The NIV Study Bible (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1985), 1613.

² J. Pocock, 'British History: a Plea for a New Subject', Journal of Modern History, 47 (1975), 614, quoted in P. Harries, 'The Roots of Ethnicity', African Affairs, 87 (June 1988), 25. See also D. Golan, Inventing Shaka (London, 1994), 9, 137.

³ W.G. Clarence-Smith, 'For Braudel: a Note on the Ecole des Annales and the Historiography of Africa', History of Africa (1977), 277, quoted in E. Isichei, A History of African Societies to 1870 (Cambridge, 1997), 24.

⁴ E.A. Walker, A History of South Africa (London, 1928).

⁵ *Ibid.*, x, 210, 226. G.M. Theal, History of the Boers in South Africa (London, 1887).

particularly after Omer-Cooper published The Zulu Aftermath in 1966⁶. It described a nineteenth-century racist myth which Omer-Cooper de-racialised and recast as creative African energy channelled into African nation building. Until the 1980's authors just repeated Omer-Cooper and there was little challenge to the validity of the mfecane.⁷ This because mfecane history has over the century of its development, 1823 to 1928, assumed the permanency of a paradigm, which itself was based on the European "Image of Africa", both as regards the term mfecane and the way this history was constructed. A paradigm which made sense to the authors and their readers, and enabled the former to base their work on it in spite of their ideological commitments.⁸ Or as Wright puts it, 'liberals, radicals, African nationalists, and Afrikaner nationalists remain in an unlikely, if unwitting, alliance, some propounding, some accepting, some bypassing, but virtually none challenging the validity of the notion of the mfecane'.⁹

Cobbing was the first historian to completely reject both the term and the narrative which defined the mfecane in a prominent academic journal in the late 1980's.¹⁰ 'He challenged the long-standing orthodoxy that the destabilisation in the "Natal" and interior regions in the first four decades of the nineteenth

⁶ J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa (London, 1966).

⁷ J. Cobbing, 'Zulu Amabutho and Production: Some Preliminary Questions', Paper - Rhodes University, 1977. W. Wörger, 'Clothing Dry Bones: the Myth of Shaka', Journal of African Studies, 4 (1979), 144-58. M. Cornevin, Apartheid: Power and Historical Falsification (Paris, 1980). V.E. Satir [H. Jaffe], 'The Difaqane: Fact vs. Fiction: Colonial Dispossession', The Educational Journal (September 1983).

⁸ T.S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolution (2nd. edition, Chicago, 1970). A. Forster-Carter, 'From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment', World Development, 4 (March 1976), 167-171. M. Van Wyk Smith, 'The Emplotment of Ethnicity: The Narrative Politics of Othering', Paper - Rhodes University, April 1993, 8. For Richner see Footnote no. 14.

⁹ J. Wright, 'Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 23 (1989), 285.

¹⁰ J. Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History, 29 (1988).

century was caused by the “mfecane”, resulting from the rise of Shaka and the Zulu state’, as Webster put it.¹¹ He exposed as a myth the idea that Shaka’s Zulu state was responsible for sub-continent-wide wars, dislocation resulting in the extermination of whole chiefdoms and the appearance of cannibals. Cobbing replaced the traditional understanding of the mfecane with the idea that ‘African societies did not generate the regional violence on their own. Rather, caught within the European net, they were transformed over a lengthy period in reaction to the attentions of external plunderers’,¹² such as the Portuguese slave exporters from Delagoa Bay; the Eastern Cape colonists’ responsible for enslaving Xhosa-speaking people, and armed and mounted Griqua and Kora raiders, based in the southern-eastern Transgariep region, who also traded Sotho-Tswana speaking slaves with the Cape Colony.¹³ These two radical departures from the mfecane paradigm - the rejection of the mfecane and the proposal of alternative explanations - led to a debate among historians both in and outside of South Africa. Cobbing’s mfecane course in the history department at Rhodes University introduced me to the mfecane debate in my last undergraduate year in 1987. There followed a fruitful period of association with Dr. Cobbing, which influenced me to continue research on

¹¹ A.C. Webster, 'Land Expropriation and Labour Extraction under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the Emancipation of the Fingo', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1991,1.

¹² Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi', 1.

¹³ N. Etherington, The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815-1854 (Harlow, 2001), xx, 141. See Footnote no. 7. J. Cobbing, 'The Case Against the Mfecane', Paper - Rhodes University, 1982. J. Cobbing, 'The Myth of the Mfecane', Paper - Rhodes University, 1987. Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi'. J. Cobbing, 'A Tainted Well: The Objectives, Historical Fantasies, and Working Methods of James Stuart, with Counter-Argument', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 11 (1988). J. Cobbing, 'Jettisoning the Mfecane (with Perestroika)', Paper - Rhodes University, 1988. J. Cobbing, 'Rethinking the Roots of Violence in Southern Africa, ca. 1790-1840', Paper - University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991. J. Cobbing, 'Ousting "The Mfecane": A Reply to Elizabeth Eldredge', Paper - University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991. J. Cobbing, 'Grasping the "Nettle": The Slave Trade and the Early Zulu' in D.R. Edgecombe, J.P.C.Laband, and P.S. Thompson (eds), The Debate on Zulu Origins (Pietermaritzburg, 1992).

mfecane themes in my B.A. Honours year and in this Masters thesis.¹⁴ While I agree with Cobbing's view that the mfecane is not tenable as a historical explanation, I regard his alternative explanations more as a vitalising research agenda for studies into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rather than as a fully-fledged, all-encompassing new orthodoxy. This thesis is thus firmly positioned in the anti-mfecane camp, with the term being used with a small "m" in order to demonstrate the view that it should be regarded as a myth and not accorded legitimacy as a historical concept. The question that is posed in this thesis is, what was the process which created the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative which Walker was able to name "*Mfecane*" in 1928?

Methodology

The methodology employed is best described as eclectic, pragmatic, non-ideological and similar to that taken by Tisani in her Ph.D. thesis, where she writes, 'this work is open to influences from a number of paradigms. The analysis of texts in this study has been influenced by postmodernist thinking which has raised questions about discourses and how they exist within power relations'.¹⁵ A number of ideas and approaches have been borrowed from post-modernism. First, there is the concept of the dominant discourse, which is a useful device to describe how mfecane orthodoxy developed. The contradictory sub-discourse likewise is useful in describing the published ideas which contradicted the dominant discourse, but were never able to threaten it. The reason for the latter is that 'such texts can *create* not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality

¹⁴ J.E. Richner, 'The Withering Away of the *Lifaqane*: Or a Change of Paradigm', B.A. Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1988. J.E. Richner, 'Eastern Frontier Slaving and its Extension Into the Transorangia and Natal, 1770-1843', Paper - University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991. J.E. Richner, 'The Sub-Continent Wide Expansion of Cape Frontier Slavery: The Enslaving of Indigenous People from the Eastern Cape to the Transorangia and Natal, 1770-1843', Paper – Rhodes University, 1992. J. Richner, 'Looking Through a Dark Glass - The European "Image of Africa"', Paper - Rhodes University, 1992.

¹⁵ N. C. Tisani, 'Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography in the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis', Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 2000, vi.

produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight ... is really responsible for the texts produced out of it', as Said put it.¹⁶ Secondly, there is the idea that all written pieces are primarily texts. Examination not only of the content, but also the author in his societal and intellectual situation is important for a full understanding of the text, or as Said maintained, '...it is true that no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author's involvement as a human subject in his own circumstances'.¹⁷ Thirdly, the idea of "Othering", whereby Europeans regarded their own society or a specific segment of it - such as the English Gentleman - as the absolute standard for values, attitude and behaviour, and thus conversely regarded African society as the negative opposite, has some value as long as it is not dogmatically applied to the texts.¹⁸ Lastly, while the issues of language and the literary context of the works are of importance, only the most relevant linguistic and literary approaches to texts are used in this thesis. However, mfecane historiography could benefit from a thorough literary analysis as has already been done by Wylie on Shaka.¹⁹ The above post-modernist tools are used without full acceptance of this somewhat flawed philosophy. This historiographical study aims in the first place to extract

¹⁶ E.W. Said, Orientalism (London, 1978), 94.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹⁸ V.Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge (London, 1988). V.Y. Mudimbe, The Idea of Africa (London, 1994), I am thankful to Tisani's Ph.D. for these two references. Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', vi-vii. Said, Orientalism. M. Van Wyk Smith, 'The Metadiscourses of Post-Colonialism', in History and Anthropology, 9 (1996), 267-91.

¹⁹ D. Wylie, Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka (Pietermaritzburg, 2000). D. Wylie, 'A.T. Bryant's "Inexplicable Swarms": Style in the Portrayal of Shaka', Paper – Rhodes University, July 1995, 1-23. D. Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi: History and Projection in Nathaniel Isaacs', Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 1836, Current Writing, 3 (October 1991), 71-90. D. Wylie, 'Language and Assassination: Cultural Negations in White Writers' Portrayal of Shaka and the Zulu', in C. Hamilton (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995). D. Wylie, 'Proprietor of Natal: Henry Francis Fynn and the Mythology of Shaka', History in Africa, 22 (1995), 409-37. D. Wylie, 'Textual Incest: Nathaniel Isaacs and the Development of the Shaka Myth', History in Africa, 19 (1992), 411-33. D. Wylie, 'Utilizing Isaacs: One Thread in the Development of the Shaka Myth', Paper - University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1989. D. Wylie, 'Who's Afraid of Shaka Zulu?', Southern African Review of Books (May/June 1991), 8-9.

information on the mfecane from the relevant texts, but to embed it critically within the context of published works and their authors. An extensive survey has been undertaken of books, pamphlets, articles in newspapers, magazines and journals, and other publications, and only a very few primary sources are used. As is apparent in every chapter of this thesis, mfecane history - until 1928 - was constructed and developed in the English language, the 'master code' as Tisani defined it.²⁰ Works in other European and in African languages had a negligible impact on the developing narrative. It is for this reason, and not due to an inherent interest in white writers, that this thesis focuses mostly on the published works of white, male, English-speaking authors.

The European "Image of Africa".

The answer to the question of how mfecane history was able to become such an orthodox discourse by 1928 has several facets. As indicated above its nature as a paradigm on the one hand and as a discourse on the other are part of the answer. A third and most important aspect is that mfecane history was written against the background of what Curtin called the European "Image of Africa", itself a long-established discourse.²¹ This "Image" originated from European interaction with West Africans in the process of the Atlantic slave trade. According to Curtin, the European "Image of Africa" was essentially a 'combination of attitudes, values and theory about the world',²² whereby Europeans applied the concept of "Othering", regarding themselves in a positive light and Africans negatively. By the early nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century idea of the "noble savage", who was said to have lived innocently in peace, had changed into that of the "ignoble savage" characterised by barbarism. As Hammond and Jablow put it, 'the noble savage epitomised the ideal of British Character, the beastly savage was its anti-thesis'.²³ According to Curtin, the above ideas formed 'the ground work ... for the racial doctrines

²⁰ Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', v.

²¹ P.D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas in Action, 1780-1850 (Madison, 1964). The European "Image of Africa" is analogous to Orientalism. See Said, Orientalism.

²² Curtin, Image of Africa, viii.

²³ D. Hammond and A. Jablow, The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing About Africa (New York, 1970), 26.

which were to dominate Western thought'.²⁴ Race was regarded as the master key to history, or, as Knox put it, 'race is everything: literature, science, art – in a word, civilization depends on it'.²⁵ Darwin published his thesis on evolution in 1859 within this intellectual atmosphere, and within a decade Social Darwinism, which regarded Africans as inferior due to natural selection, came to influence also the writing of the mfecane narrative.²⁶ After the British assumed control over South Africa in 1806, Englishmen coming to these shores already had a picture of what they would find before they ever made contact with Africans, or, as Curtin put it, 'when new generations of explorers or administrators [or missionaries] went to Africa, they went with a prior impression of what they would find. Most often, they found it, and their writings in turn continued the older image – as at most altered if only slightly.'²⁷

The content of the "Image of Africa" was often contradictory and always negative. Africa was regarded as a continent without progress, where ignorance, poverty, slavery, spiritual darkness and polygamy existed. As Curtin put it, the African was regarded as 'suspicious, fickle, fierce, libidinous, cruel,

²⁴ Curtin, Image of Africa, 363-64.

²⁵ R. Knox, quoted in Curtin, Image of Africa, 378. See also S. Cornell and D. Hartman (eds), Ethnicity and Race (Thousand Oaks, 1998), 22. G.L. Mosse, Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism (London, 1978), 77, 94. J.N. Pieterse, White on Black (New Haven and London, 1992), 49.

²⁶ P. Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914 (Ithaca, 1988), 176. Hammond et al., Africa That Never Was, 25, 111. Van Wyk Smith, 'Emplotment of Ethnicity', 15. M. Van Wyk Smith, 'Origins of Some Victorian Images of Africa', English in Africa, 6 (March, 1979), 14. V.G. Kiernan, European Empires From Conquest to Collapse, 1815-1960 (London, 1982), 16. Curtin, Image of Africa, 51, 256. Cornell, Ethnicity and Race, 26. Pieterse, White on Black, 10. A.J. Barker, The African Link: British Attitudes to the Negro in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1550-1807 (London, 1978), 16.

²⁷ Curtin, Image of Africa, vi. See also, 23, 51, 256, 479. Richner, 'Looking through a Dark Glass'. Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness, 176. Hammond et al., Africa That Never Was, 25, 111. Van Wyk Smith, 'Emplotment of Ethnicity', 15. Van Wyk Smith, 'Victorian Images of Africa', 14. Kiernan, European Empires, 16. Cornell, Ethnicity and Race, 42. Harries, 'Roots of Ethnicity', 26. Pieterse, White on Black, 10. Barker, African Link, 16.

cunning, treacherous, blood-thirsty in his uncivilized state' and also lazy.²⁸ There were a number of specific ideas on Africa which resonated specifically with writers constructing the mfecane discourse. African politics were seen as characterised by personal, absolute despotisms with total power, especially over life and death, and 'most African rulers were stigmatised as "blood-thirsty tyrants"', as Curtin indicated.²⁹ Coastal chiefdoms were thought to be ferocious and warlike, while chiefdoms in the interior were regarded as peaceable and partially civilised. Generally, Africans were thought to have lived in a timeless, peaceful "merry Africa" before the arrival of Europeans. In southern Africa, however, this was changed by the rise of Shaka. Curtin described a contradictory 'double image, relatively friendly to individual Africans, but unfriendly to the collective African'.³⁰ There was a blurring of the distinction between fact and fiction amongst Europeans to whom cannibals were 'an integral part of fairy tales and nursery rhymes',³¹ and from the mid-nineteenth century, 'writers were more addicted to tales of cannibalism than ... Africans ever were to cannibalism',³² according to Hammond. The fictionalising was not restricted to the idea of cannibals but was central to the "Image of Africa", which by the nineteenth century was far distant from African reality, having become a-historical and static. Also, as Curtin commented, 'data that did not fit the existing image were most often simply ignored [and] British thought about Africa responded very weakly to new data'.³³ This European "Image of Africa" then

²⁸ Curtin, Image of Africa, 386. See also C.C. Crais, 'The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa', Journal of Social History, 25 (Winter, 1991), 13.

²⁹ Curtin, Image of Africa, 407. See also Barker, African Link, 152-54.

³⁰ Curtin, Image of Africa, 36, 53-54, 229, 235. For example, extract of Park, M. 'To the Niger', in B. Davidson (ed), The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times (Harmondsworth, 1966), 316.

³¹ Hammond et al., Africa That Never Was, 95.

³² *Ibid.* quoted in Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness, 185.

³³ Curtin, Image of Africa, 241, 252, 386, 407, 479. Van Wyk Smith, 'Victorian Images of Africa', 12, 26. V.G. Kiernan, The Lords of Human Kind (London, 1969), 23, 194-243. Hammond et al., Africa That Never Was, 9, 32-34, 95, 102-16. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race (London and Toronto, 1971), 25-26. Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness, 188-89. Van Wyk Smith, 'Metadiscourses of Post-colonialism', 267-91.

was the "baggage" in the European writers' minds when they wrote about Africans and specifically about mfecane history.

A number of choices were made in the writing of this thesis. The first one pertained to the organisation of the chapters. These were ordered chronologically, with Chapters 1, 2, 3 also being chronologically subdivided. Theal, the only author whose *oeuvre* straddled the boundary between two chapters, was analysed entirely in Chapter 4. The challenge in Chapter 5 was that most of the works examined were regionally focused and nearly half of them appeared before 1910. Chronological structuring was thus not possible and a geographical subdivision was used, resulting in sections on works dealing with mfecane history in Natal and Zululand, in the greater Caledon Valley area, the Transkei and the Transvaal, culminating in a few general, southern Africa-wide histories.

The Problem of Periodization

Second was the problem of periodization, both as regards the overall period covered in the thesis and as far as the cut-off dates for each chapter are concerned. It is evident that the choice of any cut-off date would blur the continuities of history across these boundaries.³⁴ The thesis commenced with the first newspaper articles that reported the first mfecane-related activity in mid-1823 and concluded with the first use of the term "*Mfecane*" by Walker in 1928. This terminal point was chosen, as Walker's introduction of the concept "*Mfecane*" was the zenith of the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative that had been carried forward by previous academic historians. The historiography of the mfecane after 1928 is best left to a separate study. The periodization of individual chapters is based on the overall historiographical development of mfecane history. Chapter 2 ends in 1838, a time when European authors still wrote accounts of mfecane events taking place in the "blank space" of the unknown interior. Chapter 3 starts in 1839 with Harris, whose map belied many previous authors as it shows a great many chiefdoms

³⁴ P. Maylam, History of the African People of South Africa: From the Early Iron Age to the 1970's (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1986), 136.

in an interior that was no longer “*terra incognita*”. The chapter also surveys many missionary publications that appeared in the 1850’s and 1860’s. The chapter ends in 1876 with Shepstone’s works on the Natal mfecane, which turn out to be mutually contradictory. Chapter 4, from 1877 to 1904, investigates a variety of works, most of which support the dominant discourse. Its main focus is Theal’s crucial contribution to mfecane historiography. Chapter 5 opens in 1905 with six important publications, all in the pre-Theal mode, published in 1905, and with half of the works in this chapter being published by or before 1910. The chapter ends with a discussion of the Cory and Walker contributions. Clearly the continuities of the mfecane narrative are as important as the changes, with most authors of this period of more than one hundred years repeating the narrative and ideas of the previous generation with only minor adaptations.

Terminology and Spelling

Issues of terminology and spelling are always ‘vexatious questions’ which are connected to ‘present day inter-group politics’ and, as Etherington realised, whichever choices one makes, one is ‘bound to offend someone’.³⁵ The choice was made to follow two recent publications where prefixes were not used when spelling the names of African chiefdoms. The same applies to African geographical names, except where colonial terms such as Basuto and Basutoland are used when referring to Moshoeshoe’s people and state. Prefixes have been used for other African terms. The spelling of Zulu terms follows the James Stuart Archive.³⁶ While agreeing with Etherington that using “tribal” or ethnic terms for people appearing in the mfecane account leaves a dangerous impression of ethnic homogeneity, his solution of referring to them as the people of the chief in charge, i.e. Mzilikazi and his people, instead of the Ndebele³⁷ is equally problematic. On the one hand, emphasis on the great

³⁵ Etherington, Great Treks, xvii.

³⁶ Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath, xiii. Etherington, Great Treks, xiv-xvii. C. de B Webb and J.B. Wright (eds), The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, 5 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976-2001).

³⁷ Etherington, Great Treks, xxiv.

leader runs the risk of writing within the “great man” approach to history. On the other hand, as oral traditions everywhere tend to centre their narratives on outstanding figures, in the process obscuring other coterminous historical processes, Etherington’s approach is in danger of doing the same. In this thesis, I chose to focus on the African state as the main actor, giving due credit to outstanding chiefs, while being fully aware of the ethnic heterogeneity of such states. Furthermore, a rather eclectic approach to geographical names is used in this study, with southern Africa being divided up into coastal areas, containing most of the current Eastern Cape and Natal provinces, and the interior, reaching from the watershed in the inland of these provinces as far the Limpopo and western Botswana, occasionally beyond. In addition terms which define the interior in more detail are used, such as Transgariep, by authors focussing on the Cape Colony, or highveld, if the focus was on Natal. For the sake of convenience, Orange Free State or Free State, and Transvaal are used as these names were familiar to the authors, at least those writing from the late 1840s onwards. Even though the Khoi spelling for the Orange River is !Garib, in this thesis the post-1994 spelling of Gariiep is used, which was also one of the variants used by Nineteenth and early twentieth century authors.

Inclusions and Exclusions

As regards the mfecane narrative, the choice of narrative material to include followed from the texts examined. The central focus of the thesis is an historiographical analysis of published works describing the main events and migrations in and between the following geographical areas: In Zululand, where the focus is on Shaka and the growth of the Zulu state, as well as the expulsion of other chiefdoms. In Natal, where the spotlight is on the depopulation of the area, with survivors supposedly turning into cannibals; also in Natal there is an investigation of the Fingo/Mbo treks to the Transkei, where they were said to have been enslaved by the Gcaleka state before being “rescued” by Governor D’Urban in 1835 and taken to the Cape Colony. In the greater Caledon Valley area and the Free State there were three interwoven issues. The wars between the Ngwane and Hlubi states after both were expelled from Natal by Shaka, and between them and the Sotho-speaking chiefdoms; the wars of the Tlokwa against the two aggressor states from Natal and local chiefdoms, above all

Moshoeshoe's people; and how Moshoeshoe's leadership abilities enabled him to create a stable state that offered security to affected chiefdoms despite the terrible environment. In the Transvaal, the focus is on the incorporation of the Kololo by the Tlokwa with the latter subsequently becoming known as the Mantatees. Their destructive progress across the interior took them to the Dithakong area, where they were defeated by a missionary-led Griqua and Tlhaping army in mid-1823. The Kololo thereafter broke away from the Tlokwa, leaving ruin in their wake as they migrated from Dithakong to today's south-western Zambia. The Mantatees, after further causing destruction in the Transvaal then returned to the same part of the greater Caledon Valley area from which they had started. Another state expelled from Zululand, the Ndebele, also carried death and destruction into the interior until the survivors there were saved by boers of the Great Trek, with the Ndebele being expelled in 1837 to today's Zimbabwe. As a result of the focus on these main geographical areas and actors, others had to be relegated to the background, such as the Swazi, Pedi, Gaza, Ngoni, Rolong, Tlhaping and Qwabe. The flight of Mantatee survivors to the Cape Colony, where they were apprenticed to farmers, and their subsequent return after D'Urban declared their apprenticeships legally over in 1835, was left out of this thesis, as the authors examined had very little to say about this issue.

Difaqane and Mfecane

The origin of the term "*Mfecane*", used by Walker for the first time in 1928, is unclear. Tracing its antecedents starts with Arbousset's term, *Lifakani*, which he used in 1846, meaning 'those who hew down',³⁸ the Sotho-speaker's nickname for the *amaZaze*, or lowlanders from Natal. This seems to be the root word from which all further terms stem. Christol in 1897 used '*Difaqane di hlaho*', which he translated as 'ancienne guerres' - wars of long ago.³⁹ He made the transition of meaning from people from a specific geographic area, as in Arbousset, to an association with war. Macgregor in 1905 redefined *Difaqane* to mean 'a war

³⁸ T. Arbousset and F. Dumas, Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1846), 134.

³⁹ Personal translation from the French. F. Christol, Au Sud de l'Afrique (Paris, 1897), 48.

waged by nomadic tribes accompanied on the warpath by their women and children and property [above all livestock], as distinct from ordinary kind of warfare'.⁴⁰ In Ellenberger's book of 1912, *Lifaqane* was defined not very differently as a forced state of migratory existence. Ellenberger's *Lifaqane* is Macgregor's *Difaqane* in linguistic disguise in that the sound "D" is, to this day, represented with an "L" in the Sotho orthography of Basutoland/Lesotho, while in South Africa with a "D".⁴¹ All these definitions lack references to extermination, depopulation or cannibalism. Orpen at the time thought that *Difaqane/Lifaqane* was possibly influenced by the Xhosa word for 'the scatterer or scattered from the word Faca or Faga to scatter'.⁴² This seems to be a mere clutching at straws as in the literature there was negligible contact between the people of the greater Caledon Valley area and the Transkei. *Difaqane/Lifaqane* may have influenced Walker in his invention of the term "*Mfecane*" in 1928 and so might also the Xhosa verb 'nKu-faca' (Orpen's underlining), which meant 'to kill or to stab with a short assegai'.⁴³ Orpen thought this word was at the root of the concept Fetcani, which referred to invaders who migrated from the Transgariiep to the Transkei and were directly associated with wars in the Transgariiep in the 1820's. There is no certainty in any of this, other than that "*Mfecane*" does not appear in any Xhosa dictionaries, including Kropf's, before 1928. Modern views on the origin of the terms *Difaqane* and *Mfecane* are equally confused and have never clearly defined them, as Keen noted.⁴⁴ Marks

⁴⁰ J.C. MacGregor, Basuto Traditions (Cape Town, 1905), 8.

⁴¹ D.F. Ellenberger, History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern (London, 1912), 117. Personal communication from A. Brütsch, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, 1989 and correspondence with S. Gill, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, May 2004.

⁴² (CA) A302, J.M. Orpen, Memorandum: Remarks Which Occur to me While Reading Mr. Macgregor's Book, Basuto Traditions, 1905, 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁴ A. Kropf, A Kaffir-English Dictionary, ([originally Lovedale, 1899], 2nd. edition, Lovedale, 1915). K. Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book, History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern', in K. Keen, Two Decades of Basotho Development, 1830-50 (Gothenburg, Sweden, 1975), p. 306-07 n.12. W.F. Lye, 'The Difaqane: The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area, 1822-1824', Journal of African History, 8 (1967), 111. M. Legassick, 'The Sotho-Tswana People before 1800', in Thompson, L.M. (ed), African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies

and Atmore speculated that the name of a Sotho chief, *Faqane*, was linguistically transferred by speakers of Nguni languages in order for them to arrive at the word “*Mfecane*”.⁴⁵ Etherington thinks that the term *Lifaqane* ‘was gradually assimilated to the word Fetcani’⁴⁶ to become “*Mfecane*” amongst Nguni-speaking people. However, these efforts, from Orpen to Etherington, to create a connection between *Difaqane/Lifaqane* and “*Mfecane*” are entirely speculative. Walker’s construction of his Xhosa neologism, “*Mfecane*”, will remain a mystery until linguisto-historical research into these terms has been undertaken.

The Treatment of Oral Traditions

The collection and reproduction of oral traditions in a historiographical study of this nature would have been inappropriate. Many authors examined in this thesis claimed to have used African oral traditions and in many works this can be demonstrated, while in others it was no more than an attempt to present the book as an authoritative work. The most glaring example of the latter are the works of Shepstone, discussed in Chapter 3, and Ellenberger, in Chapter 5, both of whom, it will be shown, relied heavily on previously written accounts, contrary to their claims. Generally, oral traditions were subjected to European editing and interpretation, especially by those writers who took them seriously. A major problem is also the authors’ methodology in that none of them published interviews in the original language along with the English translations. The interview notes of a some writers are housed in archives.⁴⁷ The contradictory approach to oral material can be seen from the following examples. Bryant wrote, ‘the natives have a strong innate disposition to

(London, 1969), 88. L.M. Thompson, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The High Veld', in M. Wilson and L.M. Thompson (eds), A History of South Africa to 1870 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1982), 391.

⁴⁵ S. Marks and A. Atmore, 'The Problem of the Nguni: An Examination of the Ethnic and Linguistic Situation in South Africa Before the Mfecane', in D. Dalby (ed), Language and History in Africa (London, 1970), 132. (CA) A302, 1, N. Moshoeshoe, letter to J.M. Orpen, April 1905.

⁴⁶ Etherington, Great Treks, 335.

⁴⁷ Above all those of Stuart, which were published posthumously in Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive.

exaggerate in their talk, and we feel that the reputation of Shaka, ..., has been at times made worse by this weakness'.⁴⁸ Stuart thought that much of Zulu law and custom 'that properly belongs to anterior days is after attributed to a later sovereign, especially if remarkable and successful'.⁴⁹ From the late 1870's conscious efforts were made to collect oral materials, before the African and boer old men took their stories to the grave (see Chapter 4). The traditions used were most often those of the royal clans of the larger African states, such as the Zulu, Gcaleka, Ngqika, Ndebele and Basotho. In 1905 several series of micro-histories appeared, also edited by Europeans, but based on oral history other than that of the above royal memories. They yielded a different view of the mfecane years on the highveld than is to be found in preceding published works (see Chapter 5).⁵⁰

No present day discussion of oral tradition can afford to ignore Hamilton's ideas on the subject. She maintains that 'the notion of the West's construction of the Other loses sight of the historiographies of the people labelled "Other", and the ways in which they have shaped the "West's" knowledge of these communities'.⁵¹ She claims, above all with reference to mfecane history, that European authors did not entirely invent African history, but made use of narratives they received from Africans. She further states that the works by nineteenth century amateur historians and ethnographers are by definition a mixture of different African oral traditions and European ideas.⁵² My research

⁴⁸ A.T. Bryant, 'A Sketch of the Origin and Early History of the Zulu People', preface to A.T. Bryant, A Zulu-English Dictionary (Pietermaritzburg, 1905).

⁴⁹ J. Stuart, Studies in Zulu Law and Custom (Durban, 1903), 5.

⁵⁰ See Footnote no. 100. Molema, due to wartime shortage of paper, was forced to publish only in 1920.

⁵¹ C. Hamilton, Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1998), 27.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 27. J. Wright, 'Imaging Shaka: A Postcolonial Analysis', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 206-08. Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', vii. See also C. Kros, 'Interview with Carolyn Hamilton', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 199-205. J. Guy, 'Shaka's Shadow', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 211-27. N. Etherington, 'Zulu Kings', Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 228-35.

has also shown that European works were based on information received from their African environment and informants, resulting in a mixture of African and European information. However, what has become equally evident is that European authors, editors and publishers exercised significant power over the printed version of African information, and thus over the image, shape, direction and content of mfecane history constructed in the English language. What Said wrote of Orientalism equally pertains to the mfecane: 'so authoritative a position did ... [the mfecane] have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the ... [mfecane] could do so without taking account of the limitation on thought and action imposed by ... [the mfecane]. In brief, because ... [the mfecane] was not a free subject of thought or action'.⁵³

It is clear then that the texts based on African oral traditions which are examined in this thesis, have never contained the unvarnished African contribution, but were always a European-edited version. To unscramble the African and European components is often very difficult, even impossible. This is due to the existence on the one hand of different oral narrations of the same event, and on the other of manipulation by authors of information received from Africans. Regarding the first, there were different versions of Shaka's impact on defeated chiefdoms while engaged in building his state in Zululand and Natal. Most nineteenth century writers followed the first newspaper reports and the first books, above all Isaacs, Godlonton, Harris⁵⁴ and others, in describing how Shaka exterminated these chiefdoms to the last baby and old person. However, there were alternative descriptions of the state-building process based on oral traditions. Fynney and Shepstone, for example, stated that Shaka had, after conquering a chiefdom, put members of the ruling house to death and

⁵³ Said, Orientalism, 3.

⁵⁴ N. Isaacs, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1836). R. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks to the Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Part 1 (Graham's Town, 1835), Part 2 and 3 (Graham's Town, 1836). W.C. Harris, Wild Sports in Southern Africa (3rd. edition, London, 1852).

incorporated the remaining people into his state.⁵⁵ Mann and others wrote that Shaka killed all members of a defeated chiefdom, except young men and women whom he incorporated into his *amaButho* and *iziGodlo*.⁵⁶ The dominant discourse discounted these latter versions and transmitted the idea of Shaka's extermination of all the chiefdoms to Theal and from him to Walker and the twentieth century. Examples of manipulations are the contributions by Isaacs and Stuart which are extensively discussed in Wylie's Savage Delight⁵⁷ (see Chapters 2 and 5). Peires' mistaken claim that four specific texts represent the authentic African voice in print in English in the nineteenth century is fully discussed in Chapter 4.⁵⁸ By the twentieth century, collecting oral information on mfecane history had become exceedingly difficult, due to the very dynamic nature of oral tradition, with written accounts being absorbed even by illiterate African people. As Thompson indicated, 'even an illiterate African is liable to cite as tradition a story he knows from Ellenberger'.⁵⁹ Likewise Peires recognised stories from Theal's school books in the traditions of old men.⁶⁰ As a result one is led to concur with Golan who wrote, 'also needed are studies that concentrate on the symbolic messages of oral literature and treat them not as authentic,

⁵⁵ F.B. Fynney, 'The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation' in B. Fynney, Zululand and the Zulu ([originally Pietermaritzburg, 1880), State Library Reprint Series 18, Pretoria, 1967). Hamilton, Terrific Majesty, 90-92.

⁵⁶ R.J. Mann, The Zulu and the Boers of South Africa (London, 1879). Hole also applied this same idea to the Ndebele. H.M. Hole, 'The Rise of the Matebele', Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, 12 (December, 1913), 135-37.

⁵⁷ Wylie, Savage Delight, 83-104, 120-128.

⁵⁸ P. Mhlanga, 'A Story of Native Wars by "An Aged Fingo"', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 15 (April 1877), 248-52. N. Moshoeshoe, 'A Little Light from Basutoland', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 2 (April and May 1880), 221-33 and 286-90. Moloja, 'The Story of the Fetcani Horde, by One of Themselves', Cape Quarterly Review, 1 (1882), 267-75. W.C. Scully, 'Fragments of Native History', The State, 1-2 (September to November 1909), 284-92, 435-41, 595-603. J.B. Peires, 'Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane', in Hamilton (ed), Mfecane Aftermath, 213-40.

⁵⁹ L.M. Thompson, 'The Forgotten Factor', in Thompson, African Societies, 5, as quoted in Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 323.

⁶⁰ 'Appendix 1A' in J.B. Peires, The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg, 1981), 170-5.

reliable sources of information but as sources of information about the past that demonstrate the norms and values and peoples' perceptions of their own past'.⁶¹

Mfecane Historiography after 1928

In 1928 Walker, when taking Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative and giving it a Xhosa neologistic name, *Mfecane*, transformed this history into something which was larger than the sum of its parts. This was the version of the mfecane narrative which had been repeated virtually unchanged by most historians up to the 1960's. The following short précis on the historiography of the mfecane narrative after 1928 is based mainly on two short historiographical pieces by Wright and Saunders.⁶²

From the 1920s professional liberal historians came to dominate southern African history writing in the English language. While rejecting Theal's racist approach to African history, their own attitude towards Africans was ambiguous. On the one hand they rejected African culture as inferior and barbarous, but believed that Africans could reach "civilization" with the help of Europeans. On the other they regarded African history as an integral part of the southern African past and not just an adjunct to colonial history. Few concentrated on mfecane history, because of an overwhelming concern for the contemporary political, economic and social issues, race relations and a focus on the progression of events whereby Africans and colonists were drawn into a common society. Wright concurs that 'African history was largely discounted by liberal intellectuals, and the study of African societies was increasingly seen as belonging to the emerging discipline of anthropology rather than history'. He maintained that 'anthropologists were by and large much more concerned with the nature and operation of African "social systems" than they were with

⁶¹ Golan, *Inventing Shaka*, 143.

⁶² Wright, 'Political Mythology', 272-91. and C.C. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane Historiography', in Hamilton (ed), *Mfecane Aftermath*, 21-34. But, also based on J. Cobbing, 'So Dreadful a Storm: The Textual Evolution of the Mfecane', Paper - 1st Draft, Rhodes University, 29 March 1996, 1-41. and Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography'.

history'.⁶³ Consequently, liberals expended virtually no energy on critically researching the mfecane period, but accepted the mfecane narrative of Theal, Cory and Walker, Bryant and Stuart, Ellenberger, Whiteside and others, and presented it in a compressed and deracialized form.⁶⁴ The notable exception was Macmillan,⁶⁵ who was the first historian, and for a long time also the only one, to suspect that the mfecane wars were linked with European colonial expansion. In particular he 'strongly suspected that the slave trade to Mozambique had much to do with disruptions in what became the Zululand region, the highveld and even the eastern Cape frontier', according to Etherington.⁶⁶

A self-conscious Afrikaner historiography was developed first by amateurs at the beginning of the century and then by professional historians at Afrikaans Universities. According to Wright, their writings until the 1970's focused 'overwhelmingly on the history of Dutch-Afrikaner societies from the Great Trek to the South African war of 1899-1902'.⁶⁷ Following the settler approach to African history, they only dealt with the African past when it impinged on Cape Dutch or Voortrekker history, and when dealing with mfecane history followed

⁶³ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 282. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 26-27. K. Smith, The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (Cape Town, 1988), 103.

⁶⁴ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 103-04. See for example E. Walker, A Modern History for South Africans (London, 1926). J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers (Cape Town, 1928). A.F. Hattersley, More Annals of Natal (London, 1936). M.H. De Kock, The Economic Development of South Africa (London, 1936). C.W. De Kiewiet, A History of South Africa: Social and Economic (London, 1941).

⁶⁵ W.M. Macmillan, The South African Agrarian Problem and Its Historical Development (Johannesburg, 1919). W.M. Macmillan, Land, the Native and Unemployment (Johannesburg, 1924). W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question (London, 1927), W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem (London, 1929). W.M. Macmillan, Complex South Africa (London, 1930). W.M. Macmillan, Warning from the West Indies (Harmondsworth, 1938).

⁶⁶ N. Etherington, 'Putting the Mfecane Controversy into Historiographical Context', in Hamilton (ed), Mfecane Aftermath, 14. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 280-83. J. Wright, 'Beyond the Concept of the "Zulu Explosion"', in Hamilton (ed), Mfecane Aftermath, 120-21. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 26.

⁶⁷ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 280-83.

Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative.⁶⁸ By 1948 the mfecane was accepted as fact not only by historians of all persuasions, but by the public at large, due to the existence of time-honoured school texts, many from the previous century or the early part of the twentieth century. The myth was also perpetuated by members of the newly incumbent Nationalist government, which turned the mfecane into one of the pillars of Apartheid philosophy.⁶⁹ Mfecane history became the justification for the Bantustan policy through the Tomlinson Report. This Commission was tasked 'to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based on effective socio-economic planning',⁷⁰ according to Davenport. The report's chief recommendation read:

As the Great Trek took place in a period of wild unrest among the Bantu, the Europeans found little difficulty in establishing themselves on the grassy plains of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, which had been almost completely depopulated. The

⁶⁸ I. Hofmeyer, 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in S. Marks and S. Trapido (ed), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism (London, 1987), 95-123. L.M. Thompson, The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven and London, 1985). L.M. Thompson, 'Afrikaner Nationalist Historiography and the Policy of Apartheid', Journal of African History, 3 (1962). P.S. Van Heerden, Herinneringen Uit den Tijd der Vrijstaatsche Voortrekkers (Stellenbosch, 1908). G.S. Preller, Piet Retief, 3rd. ed. (Pretoria, 1908). L. Fouche, Evolutie van die Trek Boer (Pretoria, 1909). G.S. Preller, Voortrekkermense, 6 Vols. (Cape Town, 1920-1938). S. Gie, Geskiedenis vir Suid-Afrika, 2 Vols. (Stellenbosch, 1928). J.H. Malan, Die Opkomst van 'n Republiek (Bloemfontein, 1919). P.J. Van der Merwe, Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek (1770 - 1842) (Den Haag, 1937). E. Jansen, Die Voortrekker in Natal: Opstelle (Cape Town, 1938). A.J. Du Plessis, Die Republiek Natalia, in Archives Year Book for South African History Series, 1 (1942). C.F.J. Muller, Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek (Kaapstad, 1948). A.J.H. Van der Walt, A.L. Geyer, and J.A. Wijd, Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika (Bloemfontein, 1951). F.A. Van Jaarsveld, Die Afrikaner en Sy Geskiedenis (Kaapstad, 1959).

⁶⁹ For school texts see Theal in chapter 4 as well as Whiteside and Godee-Molsbergen in chapter 5. Thompson, Political Mythology of Apartheid. Thompson, 'Afrikaner Nationalist Historiography'.

⁷⁰ T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: a Modern History (3rd. edition, Johannesburg, 1987), 375.

Bantu settled in various blocks in the warmer bushveld areas, which in many respects suited their way of life better than the plains ... [This] horseshoe pattern of the Reserves thus crystallised out during an epoch of development: when both Europeans and Bantu were in a state of upheaval, and the shape was in fact decided long before it received legal sanction.⁷¹

The report's map shows the "horseshoe pattern" clearly and equally clear is that this map was inspired by Theal's depopulation map of 1891 (see Chapter 4).⁷² Colonial encroachment and white settlement as the cause for the location of these reserves on the more mountainous, poorer or more arid land, was thus blamed on the perceived historical actions of the Africans themselves. The Apartheid government was thus able to use mfecane history to justify or defend its "homelands" policy, without any serious challenges by historians. New school textbooks continued to present Theal's Zulu-centric geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, but with the added emphasis on the mfecane as the creator of the horseshoe of ethnically exclusive African homelands.⁷³

In the wake of the de-colonization of African territories in the 1960s, a new crop of liberal historians in the West and also in South Africa showed interest in the past of African societies. They wanted to 'rescue Africans from the virtual oblivion to which they had been consigned by colonial historiography'. They also sought to 'emphasize African "achievements"', wrote Wright, who also stated that one of the liberals' main focal points was 'the emergence of great

⁷¹ Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa (Pretoria, 1955), 47, quoted in Cobbing, 'Dreadful Storm', 18. See also 18-20.

⁷² 'The Origin of the Horseshoe Form, 'Map 7' of Summary, Commission for Socio-Development, in Cobbing, 'Dreadful Storm', p. 38, n.118. 'Map 1: Tomlinson Commission Consolidation Proposals, 1955', in L. Platzky and C. Walker (eds), The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1985), 37. For Theal's map see, G.M. Theal, History of South Africa, First Series, 5 Vols. (London, 1888 - 1893), III, 328.

⁷³ Cobbing, 'Dreadful Storm', 20-21, 38-39. M.C.E. Van Schoor et al., Senior History for South African Schools, Standard 8 (Cape Town, no date). A.N. Boyce, Europe and South Africa: A History for South African Schools (Cape Town, 1974). G. Smith, F. Kreuser and A. Vlok, History for Standard 8 (Cape Town, 1980). K. Carlean, 'Myths of the Mfecane and South African Educational Texts: A Critique', Paper - University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

states in pre-colonial African'.⁷⁴ Omer-Cooper's Zulu Aftermath, published in 1966, was the first reworked mfecane history since Theal and was clearly influenced by the above developments, even though he retained Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, which, like Theal and Walker, he regarded as a single, interconnected, historical phenomenon. However, as Wright commented,

in sharp contrast to Theal who had emphasized the violence and bloodshed that had accompanied the upheavals in order to portray them as an indication of African barbarism and savagery, Omer-Cooper depicted them in positive terms as marking "one of the great formative events of African history" and an episode of "nation-building" on the part of "a galaxy of great leaders."⁷⁵

In this way Omer-Cooper presented the mfecane as a creative and constructive process, with both the destructive aspects as well as European influences being either downplayed or ignored. Since Walker, the term "*Mfecane*" had been given various meanings by different authors. Omer-Cooper standardised its meaning as 'the wars and disturbances which accompanied the rise of the Zulu'⁷⁶ and more than anyone else promoted mfecane as a clearly defined historical label. He projected his single set of events leading to African nation-building in southern Africa firmly into common usage in both academic and popular works in the English-speaking world. Omer-Cooper influenced Thompson at UCLA to include this new version of the mfecane into his very influential Oxford History of South Africa, the first general text to integrate colonial and African history as equals.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 283.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 284. Omer-Cooper, Zulu Aftermath, 4-7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5, n.1.

⁷⁷ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 284-86. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 28-29. C.C. Saunders, The Making of the South African Past: Major Historian on Race and Class (Cape Town, 1988), 154. L.M. Thompson and Wilson, M. (eds), The Oxford History of South Africa (London, 1969). Its 2nd. edition is Wilson et al., South Africa to 1870. Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', ii. See also F.A. Van Jaarsveld, Van Van Riebeeck tot Verwoerd, 1652-1966 (Johannesburg, 1971). C.C. Saunders, and R. Derricourt (eds), Beyond the Cape Frontier (London, 1974). C. de B. Webb, The Mfecane (1979), Centre for African Studies (University of

'From the 1970s it was the radical historians who breathed fresh air into South African historiography. [They] questioned a history that celebrated a white, and mainly male story in South Africa. Through a class analysis the radicals focused on the past of the working class and produced a new history', claimed Tisani.⁷⁸ Even though these historians⁷⁹ reacted, according to Wright, 'against the more uncritical assumptions and assertions of Africanist history [which] was manifesting itself among liberal and radical-revisionist historians alike, the mfecane lived on in South Africa and abroad virtually unchallenged'.⁸⁰ By the early 1980's Omer-Cooper's mfecane was a firmly established discourse, and the interest of both liberals and Marxist historians turned instead to 'capitalist penetration in southern Africa from the late nineteenth century onwards'.⁸¹

Cape Town, 1979). Davenport, South Africa. R. Edgecombe, 'The Mfecane or Difaqane', in T. Cameron and S.B. Spies (eds), An Illustrated History of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1986). M. Legassick, 'The Northern Frontier in c.1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People', in R. Elphick, and H. Giliomee (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989). J.B. Peires, 'The British and the Cape, 1814-1834', in Elphick et al. (eds), Shaping of South African Society.

⁷⁸ Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography' ii.

⁷⁹ Ibid., ii-iii. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 285-6. For publications see Peires, House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence. P. Bonner, Kings, Commoners and Concessionaries: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth Century Swazi State (Johannesburg, 1983). P. Delius, The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century (Johannesburg, 1983). K. Shillington, The Colonialization of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900 (Johannesburg, 1985). Maylam, African People. For theses see, M. Legassick, 'The Missionaries, the Griqua and the Sotho-Tswana: The Politics of a Frontier Zone', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1969. Lye, W.F. 'The Difaqane: The Sotho Wars in the Interior of South Africa, 1822-1837', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970. J. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896', Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster 1976. D.W. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics and Zululand in Southern Mozambique in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.' Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978.

⁸⁰ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 285. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 31.

⁸¹ Wright, 'Political Mythology'.

Though some articles had already appeared during the 1979 to 1983 period,⁸² Cobbing's Journal of African History article, 'The Mfecane as Alibi' in 1988, was 'the most original, most hard-hitting, most controversial, most revisionist, and most challenging work of southern African history', according to Morton.⁸³ Cobbing questioned the validity of the term mfecane itself, as well as the whole integrated, Zulu-centric narrative. 'What he [Cobbing] said was that the whole "Mfecane" story was a sham which had been used to cover up slave raiding and white aggression in the 1820's – the actual cause behind the violence of the time'.⁸⁴ This contention shattered the hitherto paradigmatic certainty of the mfecane. Very soon a fierce debate raged, with historians aligning themselves in anti- and pro- mfecane "camps", while others sat on the proverbial fence.⁸⁵

⁸² See Footnote no. 7. Saunders thought that Jaffe first introduced the alternative idea that the mfecane was a legend and that it served as a cover-up of the colonial encroachment of African land by the Portuguese from the north and by the British from the south. Mnguni (Jaffe, H.) Three Hundred Years: A History of South Africa, 3 Vols. (Cape Town, 1952), II, 90-91. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 32.

⁸³ B. Morton, 'Agonising Over the Mfecane', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 17 (1997), 99. Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi'.

⁸⁴ Morton, 'Agonising', 104.

⁸⁵ Wright, 'Political Mythology'. J. Wright and C. Hamilton, 'Traditions and Transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in A.H. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989). J. Wright, 'A.T. Bryant and the Wars of Shaka', Paper - University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990, 1-17. Carlean, 'Myths of the Mfecane'. A.C. Webster, 'An Examination of the Fingo Emancipation of 1835', Seminar Paper - University of Cape Town, April 1990. C. Hamilton, 'An Appetite for the Past: The Re-Creation of Shaka and the Crisis of Popular Consciousness', South African Historical Journal, 22 (November 1990). D. Van Heerden, 'First There is History - Then Came the Facts', The Sunday Times, 8 July 1990. N. Etherington, 'The Great Trek in Relation to the Mfecane: A Re-Assessment', South African Historical Journal, 25 (1991). 'Mfecane Never Existed?', Weekend Gazette, Harare, 1991. Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi'. Wylie, 'Who's Afraid of Shaka'. Webster, 'Land Expropriation'. N. Etherington, 'The Aftermath of the Aftermath', South African Historical Journal, 25 (1991), 154-176. Kros, C. 'Slaying the Zulu-Centric Difeqane Monster', Matlahasedi, 2 (July 1992). W.R.L. Gebhard, 'The Mfecane and the Great Trek: Conflicting Interpretations and Their Ideological Significance', in E. Lehmann and E. Reckwitz (eds), Mfecane to Boer War: Versions of South African History (Essen, 1992). E.A. Eldredge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, ca 1800-30, the Mfecane Reconsidered', Journal of African History, 33 (1992). C. Hamilton, 'The

While Cobbing and the historians in the anti-mfecane camp, such as Wright, Webster and Etherington, did not agree on all issues, they did agree on two fundamental changes from the previous orthodoxy.⁸⁶ Firstly, Etherington wrote, 'Cobbing's critique made it impossible to sustain the idea of the *mfecane* as a "Zulu aftermath"' as he 'mercilessly exposed the flaws in logic and evidence used by historians to blame (or credit) the rise of the Zulu kingdom for setting off a "chain reaction" of violence'.⁸⁷ Secondly, they rejected the existing mfecane narrative, which encapsulated the idea that the Zulu were at the centre of a sub-continent wide chain of violent wars, dislocations, migrations, depopulation and cannibalism which lasted for about thirteen years. In its place they posited a history which integrated the actions of African and colonial peoples in the sub-continent during the period from the 1770's to the 1850's.⁸⁸ While Cobbing and most of his students maintained that the slave trade, centred on Delagoa Bay, was the major cause for the wars, migrations and formation of larger, defensive states in Natal and Zululand and also the cause for chiefdoms leaving Zululand and Natal for the highveld, most others were rather wary of this conclusion, citing lack of evidence for the exporting of large numbers of slaves before about 1825. Those of the pro-mfecane camp likewise used this same argument to reject not only one aspect of his alternative explanations, but Cobbing's critique as a whole. The pro-mfecane camp too contains different opinions. For example, Morton noted that Omer-Cooper 'is willing to accept Wright and Cobbing's point that the Zulu were less involved in the creation of the Mfecane'

Character and Objects of Chaka: A Reconstruction of the Making of Shaka as a Mfecane Motor', Journal of African History, 33 (1992). Wylie, 'Textual Incest'. A.C. Webster, 'Demystifying Shaka: Making a Man of the Monster', Daily Dispatch, 1993. The contributions to Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath. Wylie, 'Proprietor of Natal'. Hamilton, Terrific Majesty. N. Etherington, 'Zulu Kings', 228-235. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1999). Wylie, Savage Delight. Etherington, Great Treks.

⁸⁶ Wright, 'Zulu Explosion'. A.C. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited', in Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath. N. Etherington, 'Putting the Mfecane Controversy into Historiographical Context', in Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath. N. Etherington, 'Old Wine in New Bottles: The Persistence of Narrative Structures in the Historiography of the Mfecane and the Great Trek', in Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath.

⁸⁷ Etherington, Great Treks, 338.

⁸⁸ Kros, 'Zulu-Centric Difeqane'.

than he hitherto believed',⁸⁹ and to make other modifications in the light of new research, but he and many others maintain that there was nonetheless an mfecane and that it was essentially about positive, African-initiated, state-building based on African institutions.⁹⁰ The debate led to an increased interest by scholars of, and research in, early nineteenth century history, with its zenith being the "Mfecane' Aftermath" conference at Wits in 1991. Although the conference adopted a motion that the mfecane was dead and should be buried, the selection of conference papers, eventually published by Hamilton, contained many pro- and only a few anti-mfecane papers.⁹¹ Missing in particular was Cobbing's contribution, which he withdrew as he felt the changes demanded by the editor would have distorted his arguments.⁹² Morton described it as a 'rather jumbled volume, reflecting an array of outlooks and methodologies'.⁹³ He then concluded that 'various contributors in this volume examine aspects of Cobbing's arguments in great detail. Generally, they refute his positions, but at the end of it all a lot of what he has to say stands up'.⁹⁴ It is Wylie's opinion that 'the prickly defensiveness with which Cobbing's thesis has been greeted

⁸⁹ Morton, 'Agonising', 111.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁹¹ Hamilton, Mfecane Aftermath.

⁹² For the strong pro-mfecane contributions see: Hamilton, Saunders, Eldredge, Peires, Omer-Cooper, Hartley, Kinsman. For the strong anti-mfecane contributions see: Wright, Wylie, Webster, Gewald. Regarding Cobbing's non-contribution, personal communication from Cobbing, 1992.

⁹³ Morton, 'Agonising', 100.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 105. See also D. Van Heerden, 'First There is History'. C.C. Saunders, 'Conference Report: Mfecane Afterthoughts', Social Dynamics, 17 (1991), 171-177. Etherington, 'Aftermath of Aftermath'. 'Mfecane Never Existed?'. G. Dominy, 'Myths, Manipulation and Nettles: Historians and the Shaping of the Mfecane Controversy: A Critical Introduction', in Edgecombe et al., Debate on Zulu Origins. 'Too Black and White for Fiction', The Guardian Weekly, 19 - 25 June, 1992, 24. Kros, 'Zulu-Centric Difeqane', 56-58. J.D. Omer-Cooper, 'Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique', Journal of Southern African Studies, 19 (June 1993), 273-94. J.B. Peires, 'Paradigm Deleted: The Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane', Journal of Southern African Studies, 19 (June 1993), 295-313. H.J. Van Aswegen, 'Die Mfecane: Werklikheid of Mite?', Historia, 39 (Mei 1994), 19-32. K. Breckenridge, 'On the Mfecane Aftermath', Alternation, 4 (1997), 247-49.

illustrates, in part, the weddedness of historians to certain narrative modes and methodological dispositions, that is to their literary antecedents'.⁹⁵

Subsequent to that conference, four significant publications appeared. Eldredge and Morton's edited volume, based on Cobbing's 1988 article, dealt with the enslavement of indigenous peoples in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century South African history. In a chapter on the Transgariep Eldredge reversed her earlier stance, based on evidence presented by Cobbing and above all myself, and accepts now that slave raiding by mounted and armed Griqua, Bastaard and Kora raiders was sufficiently formidable and extensive to have been the cause of much of the dislocation reported in the greater Caledon Valley area, the Free State and the Transvaal.⁹⁶ Hamilton's Terrific Majesty, published in 1998, was a 'historical-political'⁹⁷ work, which explores Zulu identity through her study of the construction over time of the image of Shaka. Her main innovation is her view of oral traditions. Wylie, who published his Ph.D. thesis as Savage Delight in 2000, presented a post-modern, literary analysis of the treatment of Shaka at the hands of white writers of the nineteenth and twentieth century.⁹⁸ He brings out clearly that the production of the modern image of Shaka is tied to both the literary devices employed in the texts, and also how inconsistent and problematic these texts are. Wylie made it clear that, in order to research mfecane history, texts have to be subjected to methodical examinations just as oral history is. Etherington's The Great Treks of 2001⁹⁹ takes a fresh look at both the mfecane and the Great Trek. He considers what has hitherto been regarded as separate historical "events" as one southern African history. He incorporates many aspects of the anti-mfecane critique but his innovations are connected with a longer chronology which extends from 1815 to 1854. He postulates that large states existed in southern Africa at various times before the early nineteenth century, that their structures were

⁹⁵ Wylie, Savage Delight, 214.

⁹⁶ F. Morton, 'Slavery and South African Historiography', in Eldredge et al., Slavery in South Africa, 4-5. Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi'. For Richner see Footnote no. 14.

⁹⁷ Wylie, Savage Delight, 8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Etherington, Great Treks.

retained in the peoples' memory and were then revitalized in the 1815-30 period. His conclusion is that the literature exaggerated both the scale of the wars and migrations that occurred during the mfecane period as well as the peacefulness of the previous period. The investigation in this thesis of the five series of micro-histories (Chapter 5) led independently to the same conclusion.¹⁰⁰ The debate arising from Cobbing's article was intense, but only lasted a little over a decade. The Mfecane Aftermath 'appeared to suppress rather than re-energise the debate',¹⁰¹ and in the meantime the fronts have hardened. Nonetheless, the debate has resulted for all practical purposes in the death of the definite, paradigmatic, Zulu-centric mfecane idea and has caused historians to engage in sustained research on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century southern African history.

Even by 2004 there are not many historiographical works on the writing of mfecane history and those in existence either focus on one specific geographical area, such as Wright on Zululand and Natal, and Maloka on the greater Caledon Valley area, or they concentrate on the twentieth century, such as Saunders.¹⁰² The chapters which follow will attempt to remedy this situation by tracing the historiography of the mfecane narrative from 1823 to 1928 in detail.

Understanding the motives, interest, ideologies and fantasies of those who write history is no less important than understanding what really happened. Golan, 1994.¹⁰³

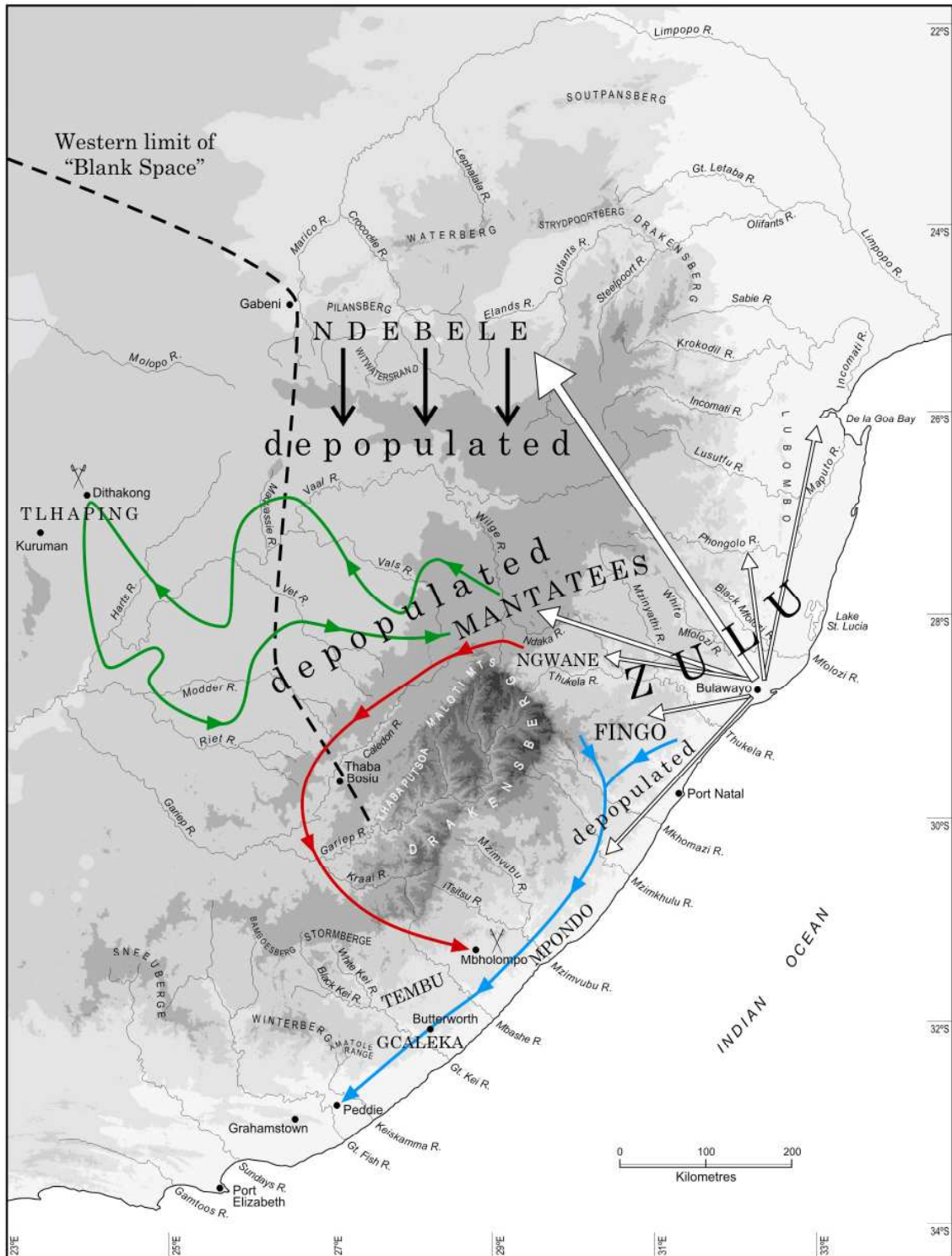
¹⁰⁰ G.W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa (London, 1905). MacGregor, Basuto Traditions. Great Britain War Office: General Staff, The Native Tribes of the Transvaal ([originally London, 1905], reprinted, Pretoria, 1962). Transvaal (Colony), Native Affairs Department, Short History of the Tribes of the Transvaal ([originally Pretoria, 1905], State Library Reprint 24 (Pretoria, 1968). S.M. Molema, Bantu Past and Present ([originally Edinburgh, 1920], reprinted, Cape Town, 1963).

¹⁰¹ Wylie, Savage Delight, 8.


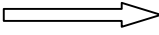


¹⁰² Wright, 'Political Mythology'. Maloka, E.T. 'Missionary Historiography and Ethnography: Casalis, Arbousset and Ellenberger and the History of 19th-Century Lesotho', B.A. Hons essay, University of Cape Town, 1988. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 21 – 34.

¹⁰³ Golan, Inventing Shaka, 137.

Map 2 – mfecane in the 1823 to 1838 Period – Chapter 2



The mfecane narrative as it had developed by 1838, at end of chapter 2.

-  = Ndebele depopulations
-  = Zulu attacks
-  = Ngwane movements
-  = Mantatee movements

Chapter 2

The Foundation Period: 1820's to 1838

Every one who visits a barbarous people without some previous knowledge of their character and language, is liable to be continually led astray, both by his own misapprehension of what he witnesses, and still more, by the imperfection of the channels through which he must necessarily receive information at second hand. G. Thompson, 1827.¹

Understanding the motives, interest, ideologies or fantasies of those who write history is no less important than understanding what really happened. D. Golan, 1994.²

The objective of this chapter is to show how, between the 1820s and 1838, authors created the skeletal structure of what later became known as the mfecane. The subject matter of the texts evaluated in the chapter pertains to events that took place among the African inhabitants of southern Africa, but the authors were all Europeans and thus outsiders to the societies under review. Although these writers were all male, to some degree educated and middle-class, their social backgrounds were, for the purpose of this thesis, of marginal importance compared to the fact that nearly all of these texts were written in English by native speakers. This means that mfecane historiography in this first period and beyond was a product of British culture expressed through the medium of the English language, the “master code” of nineteenth and early twentieth century African, and thus also mfecane, historiography in southern Africa.³ This African history from outside was only accessible to literate people

¹ Quote attributed to S. Bannister, Humane Policy: Or Justice to the Aborigines of the New Settlements (London, 1830), quoted in Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 58.

² Golan, Inventing Shaka, 137.

³ L. de Kock, Civilizing Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa (Johannesburg, 1996), 3. Quoted in Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', v.

during this period, as it took the form of texts that were disseminated in print. The first textual capture of an idea represented one specific version of events, which was then disseminated not only in the Cape Colony, but throughout the English-speaking world. It is evident that most elements of the published version of the mfecane narrative were transmitted orally from African informants to European writers. However, the conversion of this oral history into written texts placed power into the hands of both the first author and those who later used the texts as sources. As a consequence the original African voice was largely obscured or even lost. A more detailed discussion of these issues may be found in the Introduction.

These texts communicate not only the narrative of events that took place, but also the authors' world-view. The European "Image of Africa" in the early nineteenth century is of prime importance in the development of mfecane historiography. This image was shaped by the individual author's philosophical background, whether it be "liberal", missionary or pro-settler. However, religious, economic, humanitarian and other motives for publishing existed, which differed from author to author. Colonists in the wider Port Natal area lobbied in support of the British annexation of Natal and the recognition of their land rights in that area. Commercial or missionary travellers to the interior often reported on what they saw and heard, and interpreted this in the light of their own pre-existing understanding of Africa (as can be seen from the quote at the beginning of the chapter). Missionaries, obliged to report on their work to the metropolitan societies, tended to emphasise what they considered to be the worst aspects of African society, portraying these as signs of the spiritual darkness and cultural barbarism from which they sought to save the people.⁴ These motives and the intended purpose of the published texts often helped to determine the size of the text, the intended audience, the medium of publication and the place of publication (South Africa or Britain). It is clear that mfecane

⁴ U. Von der Heyden, 'Das Schrifttum der Deutschen Missionsgesellschaften als Quelle für die Geschichtsschreibung Südafrikas', in U. Von der Heyden and H. Liebau (eds), Missionsgeschichte - Kirchengeschichte – Weltgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1996), 127-28.

historiography in this period was constructed almost exclusively by British writers in South Africa and Britain, in the English language.

An analysis of the development of mfecane historiography needs to be undertaken against this background. A dominant discourse runs through the texts of the period dealt with in this chapter. This was thereafter developed up until Walker published the first South African university history text book in 1928 and even further on into the 1990's. This dominant discourse had a precursor in the early European writing on the history the Xhosa-speaking peoples. The narratives of eighteenth and early nineteenth century travellers included political histories based on oral traditions in which the *AmaKhosi* were regarded as the main actors. These *AmaKhosi*-centred narratives genealogies were fused with the prevalent European "great man" approach to history. It is thus not surprising that the dominant discourse of mfecane historiography adopted this form of history writing from the beginning in 1823.⁵ At the same time a contrary sub-discourse can also be detected, consisting of information and views that went against the dominant discourse. Depending on the actual aspect of mfecane historiography, the contradictory sub-discourse was either in terms of the whole approach of an author or work, or in terms of very specific minimal pieces of information or interpretation. Neither type of contradiction was strong enough to threaten the dominant discourse, but the latter in turn was unable to eradicate the contradictions in the story during this period. However, the works published from 1835 onwards foreshadowed developments in the next period, where the contradictory sub-discourse was eliminated.

Authors, particularly those who wrote books on this period, can be put into two broad categories with respect to southern Africa - the "liberals" and the European supremacist writers. In this context the term "liberals" does not refer to British party affiliation, but rather to the author's world-view regarding the African inhabitants of southern Africa. The opposite view has been called the settler propagandist view. While both terms tend to cover a multitude of ideas, they can nonetheless be defined briefly as follows: "liberals" worked with the

⁵ Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', 288-89. Golan, *Inventing Shaka*, 43.

concepts of a theoretical equality of all people and an equality before the law. Thus, they were opposed to all forms of slavery and bondage of one set of people by another. Of course, “liberals” were not untainted by ideas of race and the European “Image of Africa”, and viewed Africans as being on a lower level of existence than Europeans and thus needing instruction in Christianity and civilisation. ‘In South Africa the term [liberalism] has acquired an additional meaning, namely to foster the interests of the Africans’, as Brits put it.⁶ “Liberals” thus looked to the imperial British government for the protection of African people against official discrimination and exploitation by colonists. European supremacist writers, on the other hand, unquestioningly accepted the European “Image of Africa”, and worked with a concept of race that was more immutable than that of the “liberals”. They regarded Europeans as superior in terms of race, character, civilization and religion. This type of writer included the settler propagandists in the eastern Cape who believed that this supremacy gave them the right to make use of African land, cattle and labour as they saw fit, and with the use of force whenever necessary. This was partly due to a world-view rooted in a pre-modern patriarchal social system, wherein the patriarch had full power over all members of a household, including bonded African labour. Interference from the metropolitan government and its local representative, the Governor, was regarded as meddling with their patriarchal rights. They believed that these perceived rights should be strengthened and so constantly petitioned the Governor not to relax, but rather to increase, the severity of labour laws in place since the time of the VOC. The thinking of many missionaries writing in this period, especially those based in the eastern Cape, was close to that of the settler propagandists.

An analysis of the texts of this period, and their authors, is undertaken in two sections. The first section concentrates on the primary material, being the Cape newspapers and literary magazines, as well as on British missionary magazines published from mid-1823 to 1828. The second section focuses on books and their authors, taking into consideration that articles about the further reaches of

⁶ J.P Brits, The Penguin Concise Dictionary of Historical and Political Terms (Harmondsworth, 1995), 141.

the Transgariep were only published in the above-mentioned publications between 1833 and 1838. Both the dominant and the contradictory discourses in these texts will be highlighted.

The primary publications, 1823 to 1828

Geographical and ethnological knowledge of southern Africa outside the borders of the Cape Colony was very meagre until the early 1840's. The area beyond the Kei and the Gariiep was a "blank space"⁷ in the minds of the reading public in the Colony and Europe. Contemporary writers, cartographers and traders thought of the far interior in terms of the 'extensive blank',⁸ a 'blank map',⁹ or as a 'terra incognita', which in 1834 Chase estimated would cover an area of 50 000 square miles in extent,¹⁰ an area which he drew graphically on one of his maps.¹¹ This "blank space", however, was not static, but constantly contracting as Europeans visited, and/or settled, parts of it. This empty area, on colonial maps and in the minds of Europeans, comprised African-occupied land in which the events described in the mfecane narrative were deemed to have taken place.

Information on contemporary events in the blank space was transmitted by authors who reported on an alien land and culture, the local language of which most of them could not speak. Most authors, as well as their African informants, were situated only at the edge of the "blank space" and were far removed from actual events. Some, however, were either eyewitnesses to events or reported from within the "blank space", being travellers or traders in Port Natal. The translation of such information directly into English, or via Dutch, was often

⁷ For the origin of the term, see Richner, 'Withering Away', 2-3. For a visual illustration see O.I. Norwich, *Maps of Africa* (Johannesburg, 1983), 246 – 249, 252, 256-260.

⁸ A.G. Bain, 'Recent Travels Beyond the Colony, North East of Graaff-Reinet', The South African Commercial Advertiser, 26 September 1829.

⁹ W. Shaw, The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa (London, 1860), 558-9.

¹⁰ J.C. Chase, 'Progress and Present State of Geographical Discovery in the African Continent', The South African Quarterly Journal, 3 (1834), 226.

¹¹ P.R. Kirby, 'John Centlivres Chase, Geographer and Cartographer', Africana Notes and News, 18 (1968), 135-60.

tortuous, but information regarding the translation process was usually omitted in the published accounts. It is thus not surprising that the quality of that primary information was often questionable and also impossible for other authors to crosscheck.

It is vital to keep these issues in mind when analysing articles pertaining to mfecane historiography in the Cape newspapers and literary magazines, as well as in British missionary magazines from mid-1823 to 1828. The Government Gazette appeared under two names during this period.¹² The South African Commercial Advertiser was replaced by two short-lived publications¹³ during the time it was banned in 1824/5 and 1827/8, one of which also operated for some months in 1826 in parallel with the Advertiser.¹⁴ The various articles which appeared in the Cape press until 1828, and indeed beyond, contained the first information on the mfecane narrative available to colonists and to authors of subsequent publications. Likewise, metropolitan newspapers and missionary magazines¹⁵ were the first vehicles of news on the mfecane for Europe, albeit with a time-lag of up to a year. They were also available to readers in the Cape Colony, with a further time lag.

Before mid-1823, there was little interest among colonists regarding events taking place within African societies, other than those which affected the colony's relationship with the chiefdoms bordering on its eastern magisterial districts. This all changed when two articles by Thompson appeared in the Government Gazette about an African "horde" called the Mantatees, which it was reported had wiped out twenty-eight chiefdoms in the highveld, before being fortuitously defeated by a Griqua/Thaping army at Dithakong before they

¹² The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 16 August 1800 – June 1826. From 1826 it became the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, June 1826 - 1910.

¹³ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, August 1824 – 26 December 1826 and The Colonist, 22 November 1827 - 30 September 1828.

¹⁴ H. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press (Cape Town, 1979), 9-11.

¹⁵ Missionary Notices (Wesleyan Missionary Society). Journal des Missions Évangélique (Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris).

could invade the colony.¹⁶ These articles stimulated interest in African societies in the “blank space”. However, the readers had to wait for half a year until several more articles appeared - January to April 1824 - providing more information on these “mysterious” occurrences in the interior,¹⁷ including one by Moffat in the Methodist Missionary Notices, who was at the centre of the events of mid-1823. The Mantatees were reported as having been between 30 000 and 100 000 strong.¹⁸ They were said to have been ousted from the Delagoa Bay hinterland by the combined armies of 100 000 warriors under two chiefs, one of whom was, according to Thompson, called “Checka”.¹⁹ This eviction was deemed to have led to large-scale destruction among the chiefdoms of the highveld by the Mantatees. Without any shred of evidence, Shaka was in early 1824, before any direct contact between the colony and his Zulu state had been established, already cast as the cause of the reported devastation on the highveld. There was one counter to this image of the widespread destruction of African states in the interior when, in the post-Mantatee period, missionary Broadbent indicated the presence of thirty highveld chiefdoms in the area where, according to the other articles, none should have existed any longer.²⁰

¹⁶ G. Thompson, The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 19 and 26 July 1823.

¹⁷ G. Thompson, 'The Mantatees', The South African Commercial Advertiser, 7 January 1824, in South African Library, The South African Commercial Advertiser, No. 1, January 1824 to No. 18, May 1824: Together With the Facts Connected with the Stopping of the South African Commercial Advertiser, South African Library Reprint Series 6 (Cape Town, 1978), 5. G. Thompson, 'Pietshow', in S.A. Library, Commercial Advertiser, 9-11. More information appeared in 'Further Account of the Mantatees', S.A. Library, Commercial Advertiser, 11-12. Missionary Notices, 4 (January 1824), 199. 'Extract of the Journal of R. Moffat, Previously Published in The Missionary Chronicle of the London Missionary Society', Missionary Notices, 4 (February 1824), 220-1. 'Extracts from Hodgson's Journal, 9 August 1823', Missionary Notices (5 March 1824), 227. 'Bechuana Mission – Mantatees Invaders', The Cape Chronicle, 1824 Series, in The South African Journal, 2 (March - April 1824), 173-175.

¹⁸ 'Extract of the Journal of R. Moffat, February 1824', 220-1. 'Extracts from Hodgson's Journal, 9 August 1823', 227. 'Further Account of the Mantatees', 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12. 'The Cape Chronicle', The South African Journal, 1 (January - February 1824), 77.

²⁰ S. Broadbent, 'Extracts of Letters, Maquasse 31 March 1824', Missionary Notices, 4 (November 1824), 355.

However, this contradiction was not noted by other writers, neither then nor later.

In articles from June 1825 to July 1826, mainly by traders who settled at Port Natal, the picture of Shaka (variously spelled) was fleshed out into a horrendous image.²¹ These authors overemphasised *inKosi* Shaka's role as the driving force behind all aspects of his state and its actions. King's infamous diatribe - 'History perhaps does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster such as Chaka'²² - was the summary judgement on Shaka's bloody conquest of the chiefdoms to the north of the Thukela River, the extermination of all the chiefdoms to the south of that river, with only a few survivors finding protection among the Port Natal traders, and the expulsion of strong chiefdoms to the highveld. Thus was the Zulu state placed at the epicentre from which waves of violence radiated outward.

However, being traders in Natal, the authors of these articles published not for scientific or literary reasons, but in the belief that to present information in a specific way would bring about a certain reaction by the powers that be. They claimed that Shaka was strongly supportive of the Port Natal colonists, who controlled the local African labour force, an image intended to induce the Cape Colony's elite to invest in the Natal venture and to pressure London for its annexation to Britain. The very specific details described in these articles could only have been provided by African informants. However, this oral African material was then shaped, interpreted, exaggerated, edited and censored in such a way that it would have the desired result, namely to induce the Governor to intervene in Natal on their behalf. Shaka was portrayed in very contradictory fashion. On the one hand he was described as being friendly towards the traders at Port Natal and supporting further immigration from the Cape Colony,

²¹ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 4 June 1825, 6 January 1826, 28 April 1826. The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 8 and 29 November, 13 December 1825, 2 May 1826. The South African Commercial Advertiser, 11 and 18 July 1826.

²² [J.S. King], 'Lieut Farewell's Settlement at Port Natal', The South African Commercial Advertiser, 11 July 1826. See also South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 2 May 1826.

as well as desiring good relations with Britain. On the other, the traders depicted Shaka as the bloody monster in charge of a large centralised African state, portraying him also as a potential threat to the settlement at Port Natal, which could only be removed by the annexation of Natal by the British and their provision of protection for the colonial civilians. Other contradictions were also to be found within these texts. This can be demonstrated by an examination of the account of Fynn's arrival at Port Natal in May 1824. He is said to have immediately departed to explore the interior, where he encountered many chiefdoms. During his long stay he succeeded in securing the loyalty of one of these states.²³ The South African Commercial Advertiser of November 1828 also published a contradictory editorial comment in the aftermath of the Ngwane debacle: 'The frightful stories told of King Chaka, and which have for several years appeared in the newspapers uncontradicted, are, we have reason to believe, mere fabrications. His enormous armies, his shocking barbarities, and his projected conquests contain enough sensationalism and predictably were believed by the easily deceived!'.²⁴ However, these segments are contrary to the general tenor of articles of that period, in which the portrayal of the monstrous nature of Shaka and his depopulation of Natal were never regarded as problematic.

Another series of articles²⁵ was sparked by the report from the Port Natal trader, King,²⁶ of a supposed invasion of the Transkei by a 20 000-strong Zulu army in mid-1828. He had warned of such an invasion in newspaper articles on four occasions since November 1825.²⁷ His latest article was published shortly after he arrived in Port Elizabeth with several Zulu *izinduna* on an official visit to the Governor of the Cape Colony. His motives for this visit to the eastern Cape

²³ [King], 'Lieut Farewell's Settlement'.

²⁴ The South African Commercial Advertiser, 15 November 1828.

²⁵ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, 15 August 1828. The Colonist, 5, 12, 19, 26 August, 2, 9, 16, 23 September 1828. Missionary Notices, 6 (February 1829), 6 (March 1829), 6 (April, 1829), 6 (August 1829).

²⁶ J.S. King, 'Letter to T., 2 May 1827, King Shaka's Kraal', The Colonist, 3 January 1828.

²⁷ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 8 November 1825, 2 May 1826. [King], 'Lieut Farewell's Settlement'. King, 'Letter to T.'.

were murky and secretive, but were all subservient to his main interest of furthering his prospects at Port Natal.²⁸ In June and July 1828, the Thembu and Gcaleka states appealed to the colony for help against this very same Zulu army. Following reconnaissance, Colonel Somerset, based in Grahamstown, ordered a colonial army consisting of more than 800 British troops with twenty-five pieces of artillery, 900 colonial militia - mounted and armed with firearms - and approximately 40000 African auxiliaries to the Transkei in August in order to repeat what the Griqua/Tlhaping army had done at Dithakong, to turn back the overwhelming foe who threatened the colony and its African allies. This was, until 1828, the largest force the British had ever assembled to invade African territory. They found the enemy at the town of Mbholompo and at dawn launched an artillery-supported surprise attack on it, defeated the enemy and found that they were not the dreaded Zulu army, but the Ngwane chiefdom under *inKosi* Matiwane. The articles, however, reveal an attitude of indifference to the blunder.

Questioning of the numerous women and children who were taken back to the colony as prisoners to labour on farms revealed that this state was originally situated on the upper Thukela River in Natal, and Shaka had driven them out onto the highveld where they were involved in widespread raiding.²⁹ However, they were expelled from there by raiders of European/Khoi descent³⁰ and thus moved south into the Transkei, where they raided cattle from the local chiefdoms until their demise.

In published accounts on the build-up to the battle of Mbholompo it is clear that, by mid-1828, the Zulu state was again regarded as the causal agent in the expulsion of an African chiefdom from Zululand, with subsequent devastation on the highveld and in the Transkei. Thus, reports by the Gcaleka and Thembu

²⁸ B.J.T. Leverton (ed), Records of Natal, Volume One, 1823 - August 1828, South African Archival Records: Important Cape Documents, 4 Vols. (Pretoria, 1984), IV, 154 onwards.

²⁹ 'Extracts from the Journal of W. Shaw – 30 September 1828', Missionary Notices, 6 (April 1829), 56.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 56. Communication from Pringle to Thompson in 1825. G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1827), I, 381-2.

states of imminent Zulu attack led to decisive action by an otherwise very sluggish colonial administration, due to the host of negative ideas associated with the term Zulu.³¹

The published articles also contained notions that contradicted the dominant discourse of the developing mfecane narrative. The Rev. Brownlee of Buffalo River Mission Station in King William's Town reported that he interviewed women prisoners, thought to have been part of the Zulu army, brought back from the Transkei by Dundas' reconnaissance team. They told Brownlee that they called themselves Madikana's people (Matiwane) and not Zulu.³² This was before Colonel Somerset's full-scale invasion of the Transkei, which means that both military leaders knew that they would be attacking the Ngwane and not the Zulu. In his official report, Col. Somerset stated that he took 50 women and 50 children to the colony out of humanitarian considerations, as they had been abandoned on the battle field.³³ However, French shipwreck survivors saw almost 100 Ngwane women and children in April 1829 locked up in an enclosure at Fort Willshire (at the edge of the colony, on the Keiskamma River), the home of the 55th Regiment,³⁴ in what amounted to South Africa's first concentration camp.³⁵ However this contradictory subtext failed to impact on the dominant discourse.

These articles contained the first information available on events inside the "blank space". The dominant, though not only discourse, that established itself in these articles was that a new *inKosi* had come to power in the Zulu state some years back, a man who soon obtained the reputation of being a blood-thirsty monster. He attacked the chiefdoms to the north of the Thukela River, pushed those, like the Mantatees and Ngwane, who failed to succumb to the

³¹ The Colonist, 23 September 1828.

³² 'Letter, Rev. Brownlee, Buffalo River to Rev. Miles, 3 August 1828', The Colonist, 12 August 1828.

³³ 'Extract of a Letter, Grahamstown 4 September 1828', The Colonist, 16 September 1828.

³⁴ Bannister, Humane Policy, 157-8.

³⁵ C.B. Boniface, Relation du Naufrage du Navire Fraincais L'Eole. sur la Côte de la Caffrerie en Avril 1829 (Cape Town, 1829), 87.

first assault out onto the highveld, conquered the rest and welded them into a strong militaristic state. His army then proceeded to exterminate the chiefdoms to the south of the Thukela in order to depopulate the land. Those who escaped flocked to Port Natal to place themselves under the protection of the traders. The states expelled by Shaka onto the highveld proceeded to raid the chiefdoms there incessantly. The Mantatees even wiped out twenty-eight of them until their own demise at the hands of the missionary-led Griqua/Thaping army. The Ngwane were forced by armed and mounted raiders to move to the Transkei interior where they were destroyed by the British army and its allies. Thus, it was possible to draw three conclusions from the literature which had appeared until the end of 1828. Firstly, the Zulu internal military revolution was the cause of the violence taking place among various African societies. Secondly, most events were not directly observed by those who wrote the articles, because they had taken place either some time previously or inside the “blank space”. Lastly, Europeans were mostly either helpless onlookers from the edge of the “blank space” or were portrayed as coming to the assistance of the Transkeian chiefdoms in their time of need. Otherwise all events were portrayed as having been internal to the African societies. The various fragments of text which were in contradiction to the fast-developing dominant discourse were hardly noticed.

Books and their authors, 1827 – 1838

Articles in the local newspapers and magazines analysed above made a large impact on readers in the Cape Colony. However, articles in British missionary magazines had a limited impact on readers in Britain. This changed in 1827 when Thompson published in London the first book detailing aspects of mfecane historiography. This resulted in much of the information discussed above becoming available to a wider audience in the English-speaking world. From 1828 a steady flow of books on southern Africa appeared.

Of importance were Philip, Bannister, Owen, Kay, Pringle, Ayliff, Ritchie, Boyce.³⁶ Of prime importance were the works of Cape Town “liberal” merchant turned traveller and adventurer, Thompson, the Grahamstown settler propagandist, Godlonton, the ex-Port Natal trader, Isaacs, and the leader of a scientific expedition into the Transgariep, Smith. Each of these authors further developed the mfecane ideas found in these newspapers, with reference to one main geographical/ethnographical area and helped to establish a basic skeletal outline of mfecane historiography, which was fleshed out in later periods. As with the articles, these books also contained much information which ran counter to the dominant discourse. George Thompson’s contribution is vital to the development of mfecane historiography, not only because his book was the first to contain reports regarding an mfecane narrative. He was a partner in the firm “Cook & Thompson” and as a prominent Cape Town businessman was part of the “liberal” business elite, who could call Thomas Pringle his personal friend.³⁷

³⁶ Thompson, Travels and Adventures, 2 Vols. J. Philip, Researches in South Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1828). C. Rose, Four Years in Southern Africa (London, 1829). Bannister, Humane Policy. [F.G. Farewell], ‘Mr. Farewell’s Account of Chaka, the King of Natal and the Hollentontes’, Appendix 1 to W.F. Owen, Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, 2 Vols. (London, 1833). S. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria (London, 1833). T. Pringle, African Sketches (London, 1834). T. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (London, 1835). J. Ayliff, ‘The Fingoes’, The Graham’s Town Journal, 20 August, 3 and 17 September 1835. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, II and III. R. Godlonton, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-5 (Graham’s Town, 1836). Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, 2 Vols. A. Smith, Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa (Cape Town, 1836). L. Ritchie, The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle: With a Sketch of his Life (London, 1837). W.B. Boyce, Notes on South African Affairs (Grahamstown, 1838).

³⁷ V.S. Forbes, ‘Biographical Sketch of George Thompson’ in G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa ([originally London, 1827], reprinted, Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 48, Cape Town, 1967), I, viii, x, xiii. S.A. Library, Commercial Advertiser, 5.

Map 3 – Thompson’s Map, 1827



G. Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa* (London, 1827), 190.

This map illustrates the “blank space” in the late 1820’s, demonstrating the lack of European knowledge of southern Africa, east of a line stretching from the Kei River in the south to the Harts River in the north.

Thompson placed the “Zoola or Fatwah Nation” somewhere north-east of Port Natal and the “Mantatees” at an undefined location further inland.

Thompson left the area from today’s Free State to Port Natal empty, except for low hills and the mythical “Mambookie Tribes”.

He travelled by ox-wagon to the Transgariep in mid-1823 where he was caught up in the events around the defeat of the Mantatees at the battle of Dithakong. After a hasty journey back to Cape Town, he published two articles on the battle and the events preceding it in July 1823 and January 1824 , as can be seen in the previous section.³⁸ His book, which appeared three years later, was ghost-written (a widespread and accepted practice at the time) by Thomas Pringle, using Thompson's notes, journals and published articles. Pringle did not only narrate Thompson's personal experiences, but also attempted to summarise all accessible information on the history of Africans in southern Africa in what became the first book in the English language on the subject.

The book is constructed as a travelogue, a popular genre of writing in the early nineteenth century,³⁹ taking the reader on a journey from enlightened Cape Town to the land of the savage Mantatees, with an account of his personal involvement in the battle in which they were defeated. In his articles three to four years earlier, Thompson had tentatively identified Shaka's Zulu state as the cause of the Mantatees' expulsion from the Delagoa Bay hinterland. However, in the book, following the creation of the myth of Shaka the monster in the Cape and missionary press, Thompson stated this as a definite fact. He reprinted in the book King's article, 'Lt. Farewell's settlement at Port Natal', of mid-1826, thereby popularising King's infamous diatribe on Shaka.⁴⁰ For Thompson, Shaka was the cruel monster who conquered the chiefdoms in Zululand and deliberately depopulated Natal. While he was friendly towards British traders, he remained a constant potential menace for them. His bloodthirsty army had expelled the Mantatees to the highveld, introducing warfare in excess of the normal and causing major devastation, 100 000 deaths and depopulation. Thompson also made the bizarre claim that the Mantatees were led by a giantess who had one eye in the middle of her forehead, which was to have

³⁸ See notes 16 and 17.

³⁹ For the importance of literary aspects on 19th Century writing, see Wylie, 'Who's Afraid of Shaka'. Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi'. Wylie, 'Textual Incest'. Wylie, 'Language and Assassination'. Wylie, Savage Delight.

⁴⁰ [King], 'Lieut Farewell's Settlement'. Thompson, Travels and Adventures, II, 405-418.

major implications for the later development of the Mantatee story.⁴¹ Had it not been for the missionary-led Griqua/Tlhaping army, he believed that the Mantatees might even have invaded the Cape Colony. Thompson was regarded as an important source for other nineteenth century authors, albeit more often than not unacknowledged. Thompson and Pringle were writing from a “liberal” point of view and they regarded Africans as people in need of improvement with the help of missionaries. In editing the articles of earlier authors, in addition to describing those events which Thompson himself witnessed, Pringle had no compunction in repeating all the negative aspects of the Mantatees, the Tlhaping, Shaka and the Zulu state, because of a shared “Image of Africa”.

Philip’s Researches in South Africa,⁴² critical of the colonial abuse of the rights of the indigenous population, especially the Khoi, sparked the first historical debate in southern African historiography. Due to the unrealistic expectations that he and other “liberal” writers originally had of the Dutch and English colonists as civilising and christianising agents of the Khoi and African peoples, when these colonists subsequently failed to live up to these projected standards, they were portrayed very negatively, even ‘as monstrous tyrants’,⁴³ as Keegan put it. Pro-settler articles, pamphlets and books by both Dutch and English colonists were published to defend their honourable conduct against attacks by Philip and other “liberals”.⁴⁴ For the next few years a debate ensued between “liberal” and settler apologists in newspapers, magazines and books. This debate set the stage for the period after 1830, when authors took sides in their publications. During the first six years most published books were written by “liberal” authors. However, in the period from 1836 to 1838, the tide turned

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 157, 201-2.

⁴² Philip, Researches, 2 Vols.

⁴³ T. Keegan, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order (Cape Town, 1996), 94. R. Ross, Beyond the Pale (Johannesburg, 1994), 192-211. Smith, The Changing Past, 14.

⁴⁴ J.C. Chase, Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of the South African Researches, the Rev. John Philip, by the British Immigrants of 1820 (Cape Town and Grahamstown, 1836). A. Bank, 'The Great Debate and the Origin of South African Historiography', Journal of African History, 38 (1997), 261-81.

towards the pro-settler writers, who transformed the ideas of these “liberal” authors on African history into a vicious anti-African myth.

Of the publications which appeared in the 1830 to 1835 period only one was an anti-African text in the form of an anonymous appendix to Owen’s book,⁴⁵ which was a maritime survey of Africa, Madagascar and Arabia undertaken on behalf of the British Navy. Farewell’s alleged authorship of this Appendix cannot be confirmed, but the text can most likely be attributed to a Port Natal trader who wrote the text before September 1828, as the author fails to report on Shaka’s death in that month. The appendix’s first sentence - ‘Chaka is one of the most monstrous characters that ever existed; Attila himself was hardly his fellow’⁴⁶ was, after the one in King’s mid-June 1826 article, the second published character assassination of Shaka. The remainder of the text portrays Shaka, and Africans in general, in negative terms and repeats the mfecane narrative pertaining to Zululand and Natal. This contributed towards reinforcing the negative European image of the Zulu state. The text contained the now already standardised elements of mfecane historiography - the bloody Zulu conquest of the north, the depopulation of Natal and the expulsion of the surviving people. The author’s motive for the article was to lobby for the British annexation of Natal.

The other books that appeared in this same period focused on the eastern Cape and the Transgariep, and were written by “liberal” authors who otherwise had little in common. Bannister⁴⁷ was a lawyer who was in favour of the active involvement of Britain in southern Africa in order to guarantee the protection of the African population from unscrupulous colonists. In order to achieve this he lobbied the British government,⁴⁸ first in his private capacity, and then as the first Secretary of the London-based “South African Land and Emigration

⁴⁵ Farewell, ‘Mr. Farewell’s Account of Chaka’, II, 389-400.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 389.

⁴⁷ Bannister, Humane Policy.

⁴⁸ S. Bannister, Memoir Respecting the Colonialization of Natal (London, 1839). Bannister, Humane Policy, LV, 151.

Association”, for the British annexation of, and further settlements in, Natal.⁴⁹ His method was to reprint extracts from various publications, with his comments. Kay⁵⁰ was an 1820 settler who first became a minister and then a missionary. While based in Butterworth, from 1829 to 1831, he travelled in the Transkei before writing his missionary autobiography on his return to England.⁵¹ Pringle was a Scottish, pro-African, “liberal” 1820 settler. In mid-1822 he settled in Cape Town where he worked as a librarian, opened a private academy, was the founder member of the “Literary and Scientific Society” and became co-editor of newspapers until January 1825, when the ongoing battle for the free press against Governor Somerset became futile. He published his criticism of the race relations and labour systems of the Cape Colony in his two books.⁵²

These “liberal” authors treated most mfecane themes in a similar vein and can thus be analysed together. They repeated all information on the Zulu and the Mantatees which was already common currency. Bannister published an important contradictory element when he quoted the Methodist missionary, Threllfall, who wrote, ‘... the population is great indeed, in every quarter ...’ in the Port Natal area in 1823. That is one year before the arrival of the first Port Natal traders and at a time that area was supposed to have been depopulated.⁵³ The “liberals” treatment of the Ngwane chiefdom did differ from that of the settler apologists in that the “liberals” saw them as tragic victims rather than monstrous marauders. The Ngwane chiefdom was thus seen as having been expelled from Natal to the highveld by the Zulu state where it became a raiding chiefdom, was then pushed south into the Transkei by armed and mounted raiders before settling at Mbholompo. There they were mistaken

⁴⁹ De Kock, W.J., Krüger, D.W. and Beyers, C.J. (eds), Dictionary of South African Biography, 5 Vols. (Cape Town, 1968), I, 50-51. P.R. Kirby (ed), Andrew Smith and Natal (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 36, Cape Town, 1955), 181.

⁵⁰ Kay, Travels and Researches.

⁵¹ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1981), IV, 270-1.

⁵² Pringle, African Sketches. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence. Ritchie, Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle, XXXIII, XL, LXVI, LXXIII, LXXIX – LXXX, CXXVII, CXXI – CXXVII. ‘Thomas Pringle’, Cape Quarterly Review, 1 (October 1881), 110-17.

⁵³ Bannister, Humane Policy, L, LXVI.

for a Zulu army and wiped out by an unannounced artillery bombardment by a British-led force at dawn on 27 August 1828.⁵⁴ These “liberal” authors, particularly Bannister, related numerous private accounts from men who were at Mbholompo, which were at variance with the official version of Colonel Somerset, the commanding British officer. For example, Somerset reported that Captain Atchison was attacked when he attempted to negotiate with the “Zulu”, causing Somerset to respond by ordering the 2 000-strong colonial army to attack.⁵⁵ However, the private accounts made no mention of any attempt to negotiate, but reported a surprise artillery barrage at dawn on sleeping men, women and children.⁵⁶ The “liberals” also noted the contradiction between Somerset’s claim that 50 women and 50 children had been taken to the colony out of humanitarian concern, and the newspaper articles and private accounts which maintained that many more were abducted to work on farms. Somerset’s army returned to the colony with large numbers of looted livestock.⁵⁷ Unlike the war of 1834/5, which led to a parliamentary commission of inquiry,⁵⁸ the “battle of Mbholompo” failed to raise any serious concern in governing circles in both Cape Town and London, and only resulted in ineffective protests by missionaries and philanthropists.⁵⁹ The differing “liberal” sub-discourse made no impact on the dominant line on the destruction of the Ngwane state.

In writings on the Transkei, a double shift took place in the years 1829 to 1835 as regards the idea of the Fetcani as well as the term itself. Fetcani was the term the Transkeians applied to raiders from the Transgariep.⁶⁰ The name was

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, LXXIII – LXXIV, 151-57. Kay, Travels and Researches, 299-300, 329-32. Pringle, African Sketches, 361-62. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence, 200.

⁵⁵ ‘Extract of a Letter, 4 September 1828’.

⁵⁶ Kay, Travels and Researches, 331. Bannister, Humane Policy, 156.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 156-8. Boniface, Relation du Naufrage, 87. Kay, Travels and Researches, 300, 333.

⁵⁸ See Note 67.

⁵⁹ ‘Letter, Rev. Brownlee 3 August 1828’. Ritchie, Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle, XLVI. Bannister, Humane Policy, LXXI – LXXVI, 151-158 and Kay, Travels and Researches, 299-304, 328-332.

⁶⁰ ‘Presbyterian Mission of Chumie, 3 July 1824’, The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 22 September 1824. See also [T. Philipps], Scenes and Occurrences in Albany and Caffer Land, South Africa (London, 1827), 208. The South African Chronicle and Mercantile

also applied to refugees from north of the Gariep, some of whose own ethnic background, such as Zizi, Sotho, Hlubi, Mbo and Fingo,⁶¹ were reported in the metropolitan missionary and Cape Press from the mid-1820's.⁶² However, the people identified previously as Fetcani changed in the aftermath of the Ngwane debacle. All foreigners in the Transkei came to be called Fingo instead of Fetcani, and their origin, which before was understood to have been the Transgariep, shifted to Natal. Fingos came to be seen as survivors of Shaka's genocide there, who fled south-east into Transkei.⁶³ Kay, writing of two Fingo 'formerly belonging to the Fetcani host',⁶⁴ demonstrated how Fetcani became Fingo in the literature. This dramatic shift both in terms of content and name change took place in a very short time and without any apparent reason, except possibly as a response to the appearance of the Qwabe state, also named Fingo, on the Mzimkhulu River in 1829, after their trek through Natal following their escape from Dingane's Zulu state.⁶⁵

It is thus apparent that the "liberal" authors of the 1830 to 1835 period had a patronising concern for the well-being of the African people of southern Africa for their various reasons. However, their treatment of the Zulu state and the Mantatee story hardly differed from that of the earlier works and that of Owen. But their treatment of recent history in the Transkei differed from the official version, as they considered the Ngwane state to be a victim of the Cape colonists and their local, Grahamstown-based military supporters. They were

Advertiser, 6 September 1825. Kropf, Kaffir-English Dictionary. Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi', 500.

⁶¹ 'Presbyterian Mission of Chumie, 3 July 1824'. 'Extract from a Letter, Hadley – Thembuland, 2 January 1833', Missionary Notices, 7 (July 1833), 305-308. [Philippis], Scenes and Occurrences, 36, 208. The Colonist, 29 July 1828. 'Letter to The Colonist, Grahamstown 7 August 1828' The Colonist, 19 August 1828.

⁶² Thompson, Travels and Adventures, I, 371-2, 379-80, 382. The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 29 September 1824, 13 April 1825. J. Thackwray, 'Letter, Grahamstown 11 October 1827, The Colonist, 29 April 1828.

⁶³ 'Letter to The Colonist, 7 August 1828'. See also Webster, 'Unmasking Fingo', 256-9.

⁶⁴ Kay, Travels and Researches, 299, 333.

⁶⁵ Bain, 'Recent Travels'. T. Shepstone, 'Extract from a Letter, Morley', Missionary Notices, 6 (April 1830), 244.

instrumental in bringing about the shift of the concept of Fetcani from refugees and raiders from the north, to Fingo who moved south-east from Natal in order to escape Shaka's depopulation drive.

Most books published before the war of 1834/5 were by "liberal" authors, while afterwards only pro-settler books appeared. After the war, authors like Ayliff, Godlonton, Isaacs and Boyce brought their anti-African, white-supremacist, settler propaganda to bear on their writing on mfecane history, their reaction to the war revealing their ideas and perceptions of African people.

Godlonton published a three-volume book on the 1834/5 war⁶⁶ a year or two after the end of the hostilities, which according to him and the settler elite constituted a reasonable defence by the heroic settlers, under the brilliant leadership of D'Urban, against the savage Ngqika and Gcaleka chiefdoms who had perpetrated a treacherous attack on the colony. He took the opportunity to rail against the cowardice and weakness of the government in London which, after a lengthy parliamentary commission of inquiry,⁶⁷ had not only deprived the settlers of their beloved Governor D'Urban, but had reversed the annexation of all land between the Kei and the Keiskamma rivers. Godlonton failed to mention that the looted livestock and the bonded Fingo labourers who were taken to the colony remained the property of the colonists. In subsequent literature, the Fingo were regarded as victims of slavery, while the Xhosa were viewed as uncivilised and a threat to the Cape Colony.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks*, I, as well as II and III. Godlonton, *Narrative of the Irruption*.

⁶⁷ British Parliamentary Papers: 1836, VII (538). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines, Aug. 1836. [Minutes, Appendix and Indexes only]; see also 1837, VII (238), (425), and 1836, LI (330). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines (British Settlements), August 1836, and 1837, XLIII (503). Papers re Kaffir War 1835-7. Ross, *Beyond the Pale*, 201-4.

⁶⁸ For full treatment of the wars, see R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1815-65', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976. B.E. Seton, 'Wesleyan Missions and the Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1962. Webster, 'Land Expropriation'. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo'. Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', 294.

Godlonton had come to the eastern Cape with the 1820 settlers in order to start a newspaper, but nothing had come of it due to the official prohibition on private newspapers.⁶⁹ From 1823 to 1834 he was a clerk in Major Dundas' office in Grahamstown, bringing him into close contact with the Grahamstown settler elite whose mentality, ideology and interests he soaked up.⁷⁰ This elite became increasingly disillusioned by what they considered to be the "liberal" and pro-African tone of the South African Commercial Advertiser, the colony's main independent newspaper, of which Pringle was co-editor at one time. They were thus instrumental in setting up The Graham's Town Journal as the settler voice, the first edition of which appeared on 30 December 1831. Shortly thereafter Godlonton became a contributor, before becoming its editor in January 1834. He was a partner in the enterprise until Meurant retired in July 1839 and sold his share to Godlonton, who then remained sole owner and editor for much of the rest of his life.⁷¹ Godlonton came to shape settler opinion in a remarkable way with his negative, racist view of Africans. He would have agreed wholeheartedly with the idea that Africans were by nature 'suspicious, fickle, fierce, libidinous, cruel, cunning, treacherous, blood-thirsty in [their] uncivilized state',⁷² as Curtin put it. As a Methodist, he was a good friend of Shaw, Ayliff, Dugmore, Calderwood, Meurant, Retief and Chase, all men who were opposed to the "liberal" newspapers and the pro-Khoi and pro-African stance of missionaries such as Philip.⁷³ Chase was a publicist who shared Godlonton's anti-"liberal", pro-settler stance, both men agreeing with McGinn that Africans were '... dishonest, unscrupulous, uncivilised and wily' barbarians, as compared

⁶⁹ Ritchie, Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle, 9-11. L.H. Meurant, Sixty Years Ago ([originally Cape Town, 1885], reprinted, Cape Town, 1963), 73-5.

⁷⁰ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 263-6. D.J. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, 12 Vols. (Cape Town, 1972), V, 217. A.L. Harington, 'The Graham's Town Journal - its Founding, Early History and Influence', South African Historical Journal, 1 (November 1969), 20-1.

⁷¹ Meurant, Sixty Years Ago, 87. Harington, 'The Graham's Town Journal', 15-6. A. Linder, The Swiss at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1971 (Basel, 1997), 208.

⁷² Curtin, Image of Africa, 386.

⁷³ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 263-6, 1, 165-7. A. Wilmot, 'The Honourable Robert Godlonton', South African Men of Mark Series, in South Africa Handbook, 76 (no date), 12-15. Harington, 'The Graham's Town Journal', 15-17, 23.

to the civilized, Christian settler heroes.⁷⁴ While working with Dundas, Godlonton was directly involved in the Ngwane debacle and also fought actively during the 1834/5 war as a captain in the Grahamstown burger force.⁷⁵

D.C.F. Moodie felt that, 'Mr. Godlonton, [was] an universally acknowledged colossal authority and veritable Herodotus of the eastern Province history',⁷⁶ due to Godlonton's history of the 1834-35 colonial war against the Ngqika and Gcaleka chiefdoms. The author prefaced his volume on the war with three introductory sections, wherein he described the build-up to the war. He also attempted to sum up all knowledge acquired by Europeans on African societies inside the "blank space", as far as they were of any importance to the colony. It was in this context that he developed his mfecane narrative, which he regarded as being connected with three monsters - Shaka, the *inKosi* of the Zulu state, Matiwane, *inKosi* of the Ngwane state, and Mzilikazi, *inKosi* of the Ndebele chiefdom - and with the Mantatees. He regarded them as monsters of equal stature, even though he blamed Shaka for the expulsion of the other two to the highveld where they carried out their devastations. His vicious anti-African stance led him to select only the most negative facts and descriptions of these *amaKhosi* and their states, confirming his particular version of the European "Image of Africa".

His treatment of Shaka, the Zulu state and Natal, as well as the Mantatees at Dithakong, was a repetition of already accepted standard ideas. He was sympathetic to the Natal traders and their lobbying for British annexation.⁷⁷ He devoted a significant amount of space to the history and destruction of the Ngwane state, because of its importance to the eastern Cape and his perceived need to defend the conduct of Grahamstown officialdom (of which he was part)

⁷⁴ M.J. McGinn, 'J.C. Chase - 1820 Settler and Servant of the Colony', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1975, 61. Wilmot, 'Robert Godlonton', 14

⁷⁵ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 263-6. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1972), V, 217.

⁷⁶ D.C.F. Moodie, The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulu, 2 Vols. (Cape Town, 1888), I, 241.

⁷⁷ Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 53; II and III, 158-166.

and the gallant settlers from their “liberal” detractors. The more he showed Matiwane to be a monster, the more honourable was the behaviour of the settler “heroes”. Godlonton introduced new information on early Ngwane history. He invented the mfecane “railway shunting sequence” of various chiefdoms in motion and in conflict: Shaka defeated Zwide, *inKosi* of the Ndwandwe state, who in turn fell on the Ngwane state, which in turn attacked the Zizi and Hlubi chiefdoms, destroying them and moving on to assault the Highveld chiefdoms. The implication was that, in order to recover from their shock defeat by Zwide, the Ngwane immediately had to adopt the elements of the Zulu military revolution. ‘It is impossible to paint in colours sufficiently dark the atrocities committed by these cruel and blood-thirsty miscreants’,⁷⁸ wrote Godlonton. He also credited the Ngwane state with the execution of thirty chiefs in the area from Natal to the Gariiep and a total body toll of 100 000. This in effect meant that the depopulation of Natal was carried out not only by the Zulu state, an idea he took much further in his discussion of the origin of the Fingo.⁷⁹ Godlonton’s writing was less self-contradictory than other publications examined in this chapter, but he manipulated texts in order to make them fit into his anti-African scheme. He used information he found in articles by travellers to the Caledon Valley area in the 1830’s, who referred to bones and skulls littering the shores of the river, without identifying the culprits. Godlonton turned this into proof of Ngwane responsibility for murder, mayhem and depopulation in that area.⁸⁰ However, he disregarded these same authors’ reports that all the chiefdoms in the area complained about the constant raiding by armed and mounted raiders, such as Griqua and Kora, who kept the livestock and sold the women and children to the colony as slaves.⁸¹ He also disregarded information in these articles that the Ngwane were pushed south by the very same raiders,

⁷⁸ Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 52.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-3.

⁸⁰ ‘Investigatus’, Graham’s Town Journal, 6 February 1834. J. Edwards, ‘Extract from a Letter, with the Mantatees, 17 March 1836’, Missionary Notices, 8 (October 1836), 350. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 51.

⁸¹ [Wesleyan Minister], ‘Letter of 10 December 1833’, Graham’s Town Journal, 30 January 1834. ‘Investigatus’, 30 January and 6 February 1834.

making the unsubstantiated claim that the Ngwane moved to the Transkei in order to be closer to the Thembu cattle herds they liked to raid.⁸²

In his understanding of the Ndebele chiefdom, again based on articles by travellers who penetrated the far interior in the 1830's, Godlonton followed the French missionaries and regarded Mzilikazi's state as one that seceded from the Zulu from whom they inherited all their bloodthirstiness. He regarded the *inKosi* as a monster, a veritable 'Tamberlane of South Africa'⁸³ (Timur Lenk). In adopting this interpretation he disregarded Archbell's letter which evaluated the Ndebele very positively.⁸⁴ Godlonton then followed Whittle's article, wherein the latter reported on abandoned towns thickly scattered with the bones of those that he claimed had been slaughtered by the Ndebele. Although Godlonton mentioned that Mzilikazi feared attack by the armed and mounted raiders, he never did consider them as an alternative cause for the bleached bones.⁸⁵ It is important to understand that Godlonton believed that the three worst monsters originated in Zululand, but that it was Shaka's ferociousness which had expelled the other two. The causal link between destruction in southern Africa and the Zulu, tentative in various articles and books, is cemented in these volumes. However, mfecane historiography was not yet portrayed as a Zulu-centric system, but rather Godlonton traced the origin of the Mantatee, Ngwane and Ndebele states' "irruption onto the highveld" separately back to Zululand.

Lastly, Godlonton deliberately turned the process by which the Fetcani had become Fingo into a fully fledged myth. In mid-1835 D'Urban, Godlonton and the unstable missionary Ayliff, who had marched with the Fingo from his

⁸² 'Extracts from the Journal of W. Shaw – 30 September 1828', 56. Communication from Pringle to Thompson in 1825, in Thompson, Travels and Adventures, I, 381-2. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 50-1.

⁸³ Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, II and III, 183.

⁸⁴ J-P. Pellisier, 'Lettre, Mosega, 12 May 1832', Journal des Missions Evangelique, 8 (January 1833), 9, 18. J. Archbell, 'Extract from a Letter, Platberg, 31 December 1829', Missionary Notices, 6 (November 1830), 355-6. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, II and III, 183.

⁸⁵ Whittle, The Graham's Town Journal, 28 March 1833. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, II and III, 183-84.

recently abandoned mission station at Butterworth in the Gcaleka state to Peddie, worked on a series of articles which were to appear under the signature of Ayliff.⁸⁶ The articles contained the justification, which all three of these men needed to keep the Fingo in the colony. D'Urban's motive was to convince London that the whole military adventure had a humanitarian outcome that should outweigh the other aspects of the war. Godlonton, on the other hand, was interested in anything which would enhance the interests of the eastern Cape, as defined by the settler elite. Ayliff wanted to consolidate his position as the father of the Fingo, at least those on mission stations, in order for them to serve as a buffer between the colony and the independent Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms. It is thus not surprising that Godlonton would paraphrase Ayliff's articles in his own volumes.

Ayliff and Godlonton claimed that the Fingo were refugees from only eight Natal African chiefdoms rather than from the majority of the Natal chiefdoms. Furthermore, they maintained that five of the eight had been destroyed by the Ngwane state⁸⁷ and only one by the Zulu, whereas before it was thought that all Natal chiefdoms were destroyed by Shaka. According to Godlonton, this made the Ngwane responsible for the creation of the Fingo. In the literature up to 1835 the Fetcani-turned-Fingo were to be found in all Transkeian chiefdoms, but in Godlonton they fled exclusively to the area occupied by the Gcaleka chiefdom where they were enslaved. When D'Urban arrived in Butterworth in 1835, the Fingo appealed to him for liberation from their enslavement and for land in exchange for work in the colony. He sent 16 800 of them under armed guard to settle on the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers, centred on Peddie, which the Governor had recently annexed from the Ngqika chiefdoms. It was intended that the Fingo should farm on mission stations or live in reserves from where men became migrant workers on farms in the colony.⁸⁸ The Fingo story created by Ayliff and Godlonton was from 1836

⁸⁶ Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo', 275. [R. Godlonton], A Brief Memoir of the Rev. John Ayliff (Grahamstown, 1862), 6-15. Ayliff, 'The Fingoes'.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Godlonton, Narrative of the Irruption, 141-2, 158-159, 176-7, 187.

accepted by later authors as part of the dominant discourse on the Fingo and remains so to this day.

The main thrust of Godlonton's work was that Africans were savage and warlike people, making it imperative for the governments of the Cape and of England to protect the whole eastern part of the colony. Had it not been for the brave defence by the hardy settlers of the eastern Cape, their land, cattle and possessions would have been in jeopardy. Thus all African actors and actions had to be portrayed in as vicious a light as possible, and settlers, as well as their actions, as heroic. Godlonton's contribution to mfecane historiography was the portrayal of the three African monsters destroying other chiefdoms inside the "blank space", leaving the Europeans at its edge to collect the refugees. Though published in Grahamstown, these volumes were widely read in the colony and in Europe, and for the rest of the nineteenth century were considered the standard work on the war of 1834/5 and on the Fingo, and Theal thought them 'thoroughly reliable history'.⁸⁹

In 1836, the same year in which two of Godlonton's volumes appeared, another book, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, crucial to the development of mfecane historiography, was published by Isaacs.⁹⁰ Of all the authors who published books, Wylie regards Isaacs as the only Port Natal trader who was '... enveloped in a violently alien culture ...' from 1825-1831.⁹¹ Isaacs was a 17-year-old, under-educated youth with ties to the Solomon family, who were merchants in St. Helena, Cape Town and London. In 1825 J.S. King, captaining the *Mary* from London to Port Natal via Cape Town, stopped at St. Helena. Isaacs, having worked there for three years for his uncle, travelled with King to Port Natal where he became his junior partner and then inherited all his Port Natal assets after King's death in September 1828. In June 1830 he became Fynn's partner and finally left Natal in late January 1831. That same year he

⁸⁹ G.M. Theal, Compendium of South African History and Geography (3rd. edition, Lovedale, 1877), iv, quoted in Peires, House of Phalo, 179.

⁹⁰ Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, 2 Vols.

⁹¹ Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi', 79.

travelled to Britain where he became a partner in the shipping company G.C. Redman & Co. which had interests in Sierra Leone. After several failed schemes for the settlement of Natal, he continued to lobby the British government for the annexation of Natal. From 1834 onwards he settled in Sierra Leone, where he would remain for approximately 40 years.⁹² It can be seen from this short biographical sketch that Isaacs was involved in business all his life, but the book portrays him as a young, naive man who found himself stranded in Natal and who truthfully described his travels and adventures in Natal and Zululand. This deliberate misrepresentation, omitting many unsavoury aspects of his life in Natal, was motivated by the desire to show himself and Fynn as worthy of a Natal land grant in the event of British annexation.⁹³

Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa has been examined recently from various perspectives, particularly by Wylie,⁹⁴ who understands the book 'rather as a travelogue, autobiographical to the extent that the writer is narrating a segment of his own involvement in past events, so having a considerable stake in presenting himself in a (to him) satisfactory, therefore constructed, perspective'.⁹⁵ Wylie's conclusion that the work was written by a ghost-writer, who was a Londoner connected to colonial annexationists,⁹⁶ confirms the sense the reader of this book gets that this is not the work of a naïve young Englishman but a text that has been carefully constructed. One of the reasons for this was that Isaacs was practically illiterate and thus unable to produce a text steeped in the contemporary literary conventions of the travelogue and gothic literary genres. While it is clear from the text that Isaacs relayed massive amounts of information received from Shaka and the Zulu people in their

⁹² *Ibid.*, 79. L. Herrman, 'Nathaniel Isaacs: A Biographical Sketch', in L. Herrman and P.R. Kirby (eds), Travels and Adventurers in Eastern Africa, 2 Vols. (3rd. edition, Cape Town, 1970), I, viii, x-xi, xiii. E.C. Tabler, Pioneers of Natal and South Eastern Africa, 1557-1878 (Cape Town, 1977), 61. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 275.

⁹³ Chapter XVIII in Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, II, 271-8.

⁹⁴ Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi', 503-507. Wylie, 'Textual Incest'. Wylie, Savage Delight, Ch 4, 83-104. Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi'.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86 n1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74-6, 81, 83.

language, which by 1825 he understood, the genuine African voice never came through. The reason for this is that information was filtered through Isaacs' memory of what he thought he heard at the time, which in turn was constructed into a narrative by the ghost-writer. However, contemporary and modern readers saw it as the first, long, eyewitness narrative by a colonist who lived in Natal and knew Shaka, the Zulu elite and state.

Although two modes of writing occur in the book, most of it is written as a chronological narrative of events from 1825 to 1831. However, it is interspersed with topical chapters on early Zulu history and Shaka the monster, on the ethnographic description of the northern Nguni-speaking peoples and on the advantages of British settlement in Natal.⁹⁷ This structure ensured that the end product is complicated, internally incoherent and full of contradictions. An example of this can be seen on page 103 of Volume 1, where Isaacs stated that Shaka had 'strong filial affection towards his parents', whereas a hundred pages later one reads, 'he displayed no filial affection' for his mother.⁹⁸

The best known part of Isaacs' book is Chapter XVIII in the first volume, which deals ostensibly with Zulu history, but in such a way that it is essentially an extended "character assassination" of Shaka and his people.⁹⁹ Choice phrases condemning Shaka, such as 'I am not aware that history, either ancient or modern, can produce so horrible and detestable a savage',¹⁰⁰ are liberally scattered throughout the chapter. It was this chapter which was replicated in works throughout the rest of the century and beyond. Du Buisson thought that, 'between them, Fynn and Isaacs did such a thorough job of character assassination of the Zulu king that it has dominated the world's perception of the Zulu people every since'.¹⁰¹ The collusion between the two is best demonstrated by a quote by Isaacs in a letter to Fynn,

⁹⁷ Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, I, Ch. XVIII, 262-286. II, Chs. XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, 225-278.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 103, 203. Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi', 77. ^{Wylie}, Savage Delight, Ch 4, 83-104.

⁹⁹ Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, I, Ch. XVIII, 262-286.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 271.

¹⁰¹ L. du Buisson, The White Man Cometh (Johannesburg, 1987), 6.

Make them [Zulu] out as blood thirsty as you can and endeavour to give an estimation of the number of people that they have murdered during their reign, and the frivolous crimes people loose [sic] their lives for. Introduce as many anecdotes relative to Chaka as you can, it all tends to swell up the work and make it interesting.¹⁰²

Isaacs' book contributed no new elements to the unfolding mfecane historiography, but it solidified the pre-existing ideas - the conquest and incorporation of the chiefdoms north of the Thukela River and the deliberate genocidal depopulation of the area to the south - with the use of a myriad of minute details by an alleged eyewitness. There were no references to any chiefdoms being expelled to the highveld by Shaka's Zulu, such as the Mantatees, Ngwane or the Ndebele. Nor, and this is crucial, is there any reference to the Fingo at all. Instead, he portrayed the survivors of Natal's genocide as stragglers who made contact with the Port Natal traders after their arrival in 1824 and begged them for protection from Shaka. To thank the traders for this, they worked the fields for them and were taught to be industrious.¹⁰³ Though Isaacs gave no indication of the number of Africans living under the control of the traders, it is clear that the message embedded in the text was that sufficient docile labour was available for future settlers after British annexation, the promotion of which was the purpose of this book. As a result, the final product is a carefully edited book with specific messages: firstly, that Britain and British subjects were engaged in good deeds towards the African population; secondly, that British subjects owned land legally in Natal. Thirdly, Wright maintains that,

By depicting the Zulu and their King as a potential threat to the security of the Cape's eastern frontier region, or alternatively as the potential allies of rival [World] powers, they hoped to influence the British authorities into annexing Natal and thereby

¹⁰² P.R. Kirby, 'Unpublished Documents Relating to the Career of Nathaniel Isaacs, the Natal Pioneer', *Africana Notes and News*, 18 (June 1968), 67.

¹⁰³ Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, II, 65, 178.

paving the way for the extension of British trade and settlement.¹⁰⁴

Wylie believes that the book has had a 'disproportionate impact on the subsequent historiography' of Shaka and the Zulu right up until the present,¹⁰⁵ primarily because it was advertised as, and believed to be, a first-hand account. The many details in the text also gave the impression that it was a comprehensive and thus true rendition of African history. The fact that its contents were presented within the pre-existing "Image of Africa" served to reinforce it considerably. The book was for a century and a half copied, quarried, quoted and sometimes also misquoted, often without acknowledgment, because this text fitted, according to Wylie, so perfectly into the 'personal or ideological motives'¹⁰⁶ of writers on Shaka, the Zulu and mfecane historiography.

Dr. Andrew Smith was the third major author to publish in 1836.¹⁰⁷ A perusal of various reports on the travels in the Transgariep had convinced the South African Literary and Scientific Institution of Cape Town, whose membership consisted of both "liberals" and the merchant elite of Cape Town, that its members lacked any systematic knowledge of the interior. In June 1833 the Institution decided to send a scientific expedition into the Transgariep under Smith. To facilitate this, the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa was created with the pro-settler writer Chase as its secretary. Chase was chosen to oversee the project because of his interest in the exploration of the "blank space".¹⁰⁸ Smith's mandate was twofold. On the one

¹⁰⁴ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 275. See also, Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, I, 188.

¹⁰⁵ Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi', 71.

¹⁰⁶ Wylie, 'Utilizing Isaacs', 13.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, Report of the Expedition.

¹⁰⁸ 'Papers in Reference to a Plan for an Expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope', Advertising Sheet in The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (December 1833), folio 1. 'Association for Exploring Central Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (February 1834), 31. J.C. Chase, 'Notice on the Nature, Extent and Promise of the Trading Intercourse with the Transgariepine Nations', The South African Commercial Advertiser, 12 October 1825 - 28 November 1826. Chase, 'State of Geographical Discovery'.

hand, to gather geographical, biological, botanical and geological information in the “blank space”, with particular attention to ascertaining the flow of the major rivers (Gariep, Vaal, Marico, Maputo, Caledon). On the other hand, to report on the African population in the “blank space”, by describing ‘an exact portrait of their life as respects their condition, arts and policy, their language, their external appearance, population, origin, and relation to other tribes ... resources or stores or agents of commerce or their preparation to receive Christianity’, which reflected the interest of a large part of the Institution’s membership.¹⁰⁹ The scientific motive was thus entwined with the commercial from the beginning. It is interesting that this same Cape Town merchant elite had sent a “Memorial” to the British government in January 1834, urging it to annex Natal, based on information obtained during Smith’s journey to Natal in 1832.¹¹⁰ Even though this was an unofficial expedition, Governor D’Urban ordered Lt. Eddie of the 98th Regiment and seven soldiers to accompany it.¹¹¹ D’Urban’s predecessor had given Smith secret political instructions on the eve of his scientific expedition to Natal in 1832, which raises the question as to whether such instructions were also given to Smith in 1834.¹¹²

By the time Smith’s expedition left the colony in the middle of 1834, he had been made aware through the press that missionaries lived amongst certain chiefdoms in the Caledon Valley, of whom very little was otherwise known.¹¹³ In October 1834 the French missionaries introduced him to Moshoeshoe, as the *Morena* of the “Bashootoo”, at his capital Thaba Bosiu. Smith followed the French missionaries in his very positive assessment of the *Morena* and his state. Moshoeshoe informed Smith of the invasions of the Ngwane and Hlubi

¹⁰⁹ 'Instructions Addressed to the Director of the Expedition into Central Africa', The South African Quarterly Journal, 2 (April-June 1834), 9.

¹¹⁰ A. Smith, 'Historical Précis of Natal, May 1834', in Kirby, Andrew Smith and Natal, 145-76.

¹¹¹ 'Association for Exploring Central Africa', 31.

¹¹² Kirby, Andrew Smith and Natal, 1.

¹¹³ [Wesleyan Minister], 'Letter of 10 December 1833'. 'Investigatus', 6 February 1834. Edwards, 'Extract from a Letter, 17 March 1836', 349-50. See also J. Edwards, 'Extract from a Letter from the Rev. J. Edwards, dated Mantatees, March 17th 1836', Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, 15 (October 1836), 789-790.

states from Zululand and of the Tlokwa chiefdom from further north-east. He learnt of the great devastation that these chiefdoms had brought to the Caledon Valley and how Moshoeshoe had fled south-west to a fortified position on and around Thaba Bosiu, where he had built up a large state by incorporating refugees. Conflicts with Dingane and Mzilikazi had also taken place.¹¹⁴ No "Bashootoo" guide could be found to take Smith's expedition to the Tlokwa state, which demonstrated the enmity existing between them and Moshoeshoe's people, and the Methodist missionaries Allison and Archbell had to guide Smith's expedition to Marabeng, the mountain fortress of Sekonyela, the Tlokwa *Morena*. Smith followed again the views of the local missionaries, firstly in viewing the Tlokwa state as identical to the Mantatees which had been defeated at the battle of Dithakong in mid-June 1823. This misidentification was due to the similar sounding names of Mantatees and "Ma-antatees", the mother of the Tlokwa *Morena*. This misidentification would also have been influenced by Thompson's description of a warrior queen having led the Mantatees at Dithakong.¹¹⁵ He also adopted the missionaries' ideas when he noted that Sekonyela made an unfavourable impression¹¹⁶ on Smith, which was, rightly or wrongly, repeated by all later authors. Smith recorded that the Tlokwa had been forced by invaders to flee from their original site in the north-east. At their mountain fortress of Marabeng, they had built up a large state by incorporating refugees from the wars. Finally, Smith's informants blamed other African invaders for the general state of war and for their having had to move towards the south-west. However, they blamed their contemporary problems on the mounted and armed raiders, which Casalis confirmed when he wrote 'we found them [Sotho speaking people in the Greater Caledon Valley area] in a state of

¹¹⁴ Smith, Report of the Expedition, 8-9, 13. See also Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 265-76.

¹¹⁵ [Wesleyan Minister], 'Letter of 10 December 1833'. 'Investigatus', 6 February 1834. Edwards, 'Extract from a Letter, 17 March 1836', 349-50. See also 'Extract from a Letter from the Rev. J. Edwards', 789-90. G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures, 2 Vols. See Footnote no. 41. Smith, Report of the Expedition, 6, 12.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

despondency bordering on despair, on account of the long struggle which they had sustained against their most desperate enemies the Koranas'.¹¹⁷

Smith's journey took him from Marabeng back to Philippolis, on to Kuruman, then on to the Mosega valley to visit Mzilikazi and then even further north. Smith's portrayal of the Ndebele state was very positive, as was Archbell's. Furthermore, his book was based on information gained from direct observation of the *inKosi* and his people, unlike Godlonton's.¹¹⁸ The fact that Smith ascertained that the Ndebele state extended from the Molopo River in the south to 24°30' (Tropic of Capricorn) in the north made it a clearly defined state instead of a nebulous tyranny headed by a monster.¹¹⁹ The fact that this state contained many tribute-paying dependencies and that there were 43 different chiefdoms and states in the area north of Kuruman, indicated that the claims of depopulation in the interior were widely exaggerated. As many authors had done previously, Smith also identified Bastard and Kora raiders, whom Mzilikazi feared, as the main culprits for the suffering of the chiefdoms in the far interior.¹²⁰

After the return of the expedition to Cape Town in early 1836, it was judged to have been a success, with one very important exception, that the Africans in the Transgariiep did not possess items of significant importance for a massive expansion of trade by the colony. The importance of Smith's report is that it provided the reader with a long text of first-hand information about the interior. Smith's is the first book in which there is a description of the most important states in the Caledon Valley - all chiefdoms which had experienced turmoil due to invasions allegedly precipitated by Shaka's attacks. Moshoeshoe's state and the Tlokwa chiefdom dispersed people and became local powers. The latter were identified as the Mantatees who had been in conflict with a

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9, 15. Casalis, 'The Northern Tribes'.

¹¹⁸ Archbell Letter, Platberg, 31 December 1829', 355-56. Smith, Report of the Expedition, 19, 21-2, 29-30, 34-5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22, 29-30.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15, 26-7.

Griqua/Thaping army at Dithakong in mid-1823 and settled centrally in the Caledon Valley on and around Marabeng some time later. Smith portrayed the Caledon Valley as being well populated, thereby differing with Godlonton. Smith's depiction of the Ndebele state was positive, in spite of their raiding certain chiefdoms and displacing others. His report that there was no major depopulation around the Ndebele state puts him at odds with Godlonton again. Smith's texts also contradicted reports of conflict between African chiefdoms as being the main cause of war and dislocation in the 1820's and 30's, when he gave credence to reports of the great suffering inflicted by armed and mounted raiders on chiefdoms in the Caledon Valley and on the Ndebele state. Finally, the report about the paucity of trade goods predictably resulted in a lack of interest on the part of Cape merchants in the Transgariep,¹²¹ but individual traders – many from Grahamstown - continued to ply their trade and to report back on knowledge gained from their excursions into the “blank space”.¹²² Conditions in the Transgariep were to change radically later that same year, when there was an exodus of colonists from the Cape, later called the Great Trek. At the end of the following year, the balance of power in the interior was permanently changed when the Ndebele state could no longer withstand boer power and withdrew across the Limpopo River. Smith's entire book ran counter to the emerging dominant discourse of mfecane historiography presented by Godlonton and appearing in Isaacs' vicious anti-African texts.

Smith, with his “liberal” views, did not, however, have the last word. In 1838 Boyce, a Methodist missionary based in the Transkei, and a friend of Fynn with pro-colonist, anti-African and pro-boer emigration sentiments, published a book in Grahamstown.¹²³ Boyce followed the tradition of various articles published in the early 1830's¹²⁴ which had reported on Zulu attacks against the Ndebele

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 60-2. A. Smith, 'The Expedition into Central Africa, Latest Accounts of the Expedition', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (January 1835), 1.

¹²² P.R. Kirby, 'The Aftermath of the Andrew Smith Expedition of 1834-36', Africana Notes and News, 5 (December 1947), 3-19.

¹²³ Boyce, Notes on South African Affairs.

¹²⁴ 'Letter, Pickshaw to B. Norden, 19 September 1832', Graham's Town Journal, 12 October 1832. 'Letter, J. Caywood to B. Norden, Port Natal, 10 September 1832', Graham's Town

state at their various locations on the highveld. He claimed that it was two boer commandos and one final Zulu attack in 1837 which pushed Mzilikazi across the Limpopo River. Boyce also introduced two new ideas when he claimed that the Ngwane in 1822-25 and the Ndebele in 1830-34 had exterminated 60 chiefdoms in the interior, leaving 87 000 square miles of depopulated land which could be profitably settled by 10 000 boer families.¹²⁵ He stated that the intra-African wars of the 1820's and 30's had depopulated the Transgariep just as much as the Zulu wars had done in Natal in the 1820's, and that the emigrating boers would thus not deprive Africans of their land but would be occupying empty land. This is the first time that African wars of the early nineteenth century were causally linked to the Great Trek. Boyce's second idea was that the boers' expulsion of the Ndebele state to the north was justified by the latter's threat to the surviving chiefdoms or their remnants. According to Boyce, the boers saw it as their duty to protect these latter communities from African predators like the Ndebele. Boyce thus invented the "white man's burden" idea long before its time, and purely for propagandist purposes.¹²⁶ Boyce not only had the interests of the settlers, Dutch or British, at heart, but also portrayed the same vicious anti-African sentiments as Godlonton and Isaacs.

The period 1823 to 1838 saw the emergence of the published history in the English language of many southern African peoples, in particular with regards to mfecane historiography. Written African history was, from the very beginning, formulated in European minds through a process in which authors had the power to integrate their pre-existing European "Image of Africa" with information

Journal, 22 November 1832. 'Letter, W.B. Boyce, 8 November 1832', Graham's Town Journal, 22 November 1832. A.F. Gardiner, Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa Undertaken in 1835 (London, 1836), 48-51. 'Extait d'un Lettre', Journal des Missions Evangelique, 8 (April 1833), 99-103. J-P. Pellisier, 'Lettre, Old Dithakong, 5 November 1832', Journal des Missions Evangelique, 8 (April 1833), 106-10 - translated from the French by the author. Whittle, '28 March 1833'.

¹²⁵ Which Boyce calculated would amount to 100 000 settlers. Boyce, Notes on South African Affairs, 145-7, 169-71, 174.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

obtained from previously published works and sometimes from their own observations, as well as with information obtained from African sources, resulting in the production of a dominant discourse on the mfecane. Mfecane historiography maintained that African chiefdoms in the “blank space” were engaged in internecine warfare which was viewed as a consequence of the emergence of the Zulu state under its monster *inKosi*, Shaka. Europeans were seen as having no causal input at all, but as being mere spectators either in Natal or at the edge of the “blank space”, from where they were able to help individual refugees or come to the aid of favoured African states in stemming the tide when the intra-African violence threatened to encroach on the Cape Colony or on aligned chiefdoms such as at Dithakong and Mbholompo.

It is, however, important to note that the texts analysed in this period also contained a weaker, contradictory sub-discourse that went largely unnoticed due to the strength of the prevailing European “Image of Africa”. This sub-discourse consisted of information and views which were contrary to the dominant discourse - for instance, the “liberal” authors’ view that the Ngwane state was a victim of the aggressive action of the Zulu chiefdom, the mounted and armed raiders in the Transgariep area, and the British army at Mbholompo.

The various authors’ backgrounds, occupations, world-views and interests conditioned them disparately, causing them to write mfecane history from either a “liberal” or a pro-settler viewpoint. The authors of the articles published from 1823 to 1828 came from the ranks of missionaries, traders, farmers and government officials. They created a mutually reinforcing web of ideas on events inside the “blank space”, with the European “Image of Africa” as common denominator. These ideas could be used by other writers as the starting point for their publications. At this early stage in the development of mfecane historiography, there was constant repetition and recycling of material from one work to another. Ideas, phrases, narratives, indeed whole portions of text, were taken over or copied - sometimes acknowledged, but more often not. Thompson disseminated King’s view of Shaka as being the most ‘despotic and

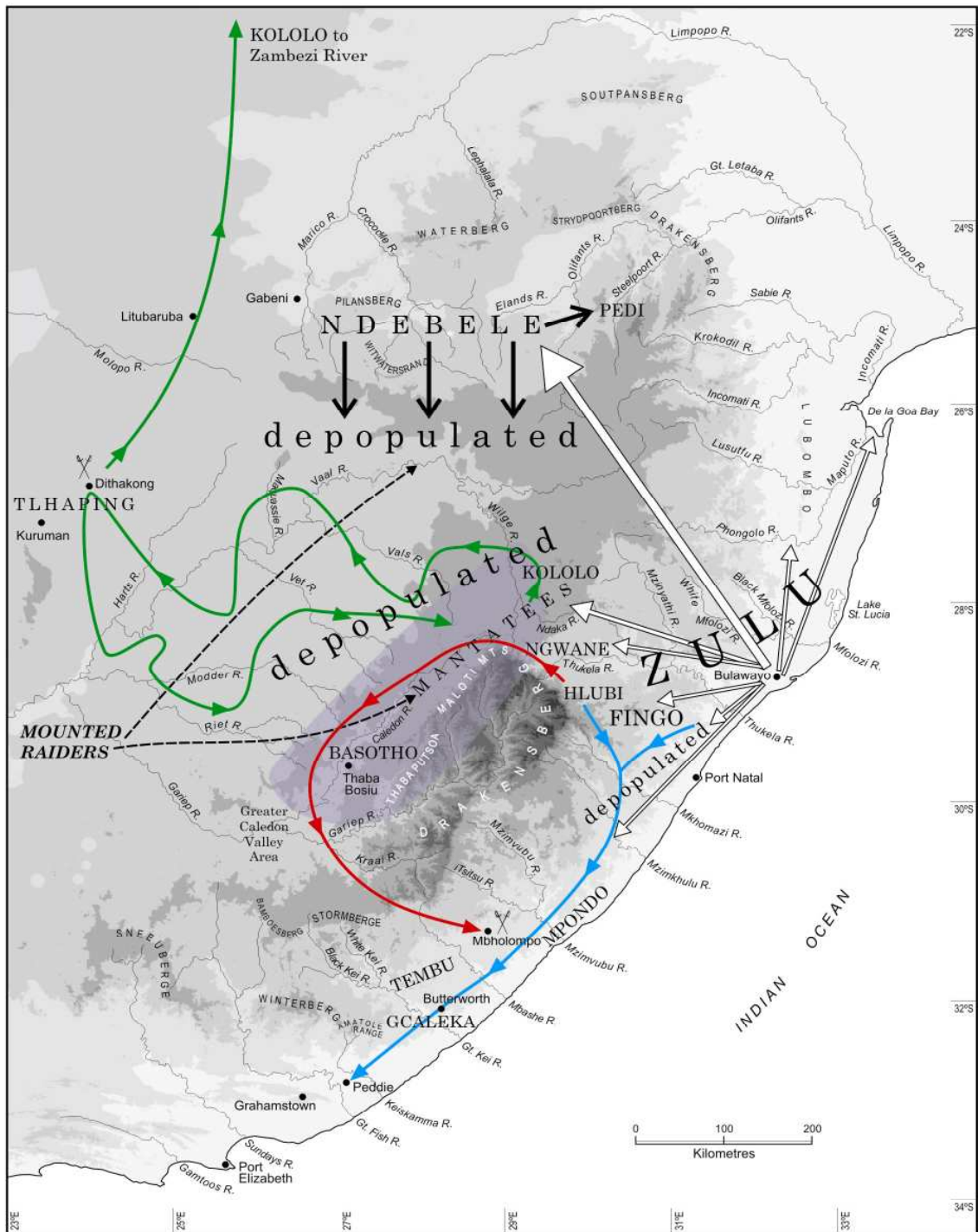
cruel monster'¹²⁷ along with other negative views on the Zulu. It was also King's idea that the Mantatees were expelled from the east by the Zulu. The "liberal" authors of the 1830-1835 period interpreted the Ngwane chiefdom as a victim tragically destroyed by the British army due to a misunderstanding. At the same time, the transformation of Fetcani (raiders and refugees from the north of the Gariep) into Fingo (survivors of Shaka's depopulation of Natal who fled to the Transkeian chiefdoms) took place. Godlonton emphasised the war of 1834/5 and its aftermath, but also introduced new elements into the mfecane narrative. He brought an unprecedented, virulent, anti-African mind-set into mfecane historiography. For Godlonton, the Ngwane were no longer victims, but murderous aggressors who had deserved to be dealt with accordingly. The Ndebele state was seen in the same light, with the depopulation of large areas in the far interior of the "blank space" being attributed to them. Godlonton, together with Ayliff, transformed the meaning of the term Fingo from ex-Natal refugees who lived among most Transkeian chiefdoms to refugees who had settled in the Gcaleka state only. The latter allegedly enslaved the Fingo, who exploited the presence of the British army by petitioning D'Urban to liberate them from Gcaleka oppression by taking them to the colony, which request the governor granted. Isaacs shared Godlonton's virulent anti-African mind-set, though for other reasons. The purpose of his book was to lobby for the British annexation of Natal, where he had business interests. He wrote exclusively on the Zulu, amongst whom he had lived, and described them as a bloodthirsty people. The tenor of his writing was in line with previously published texts, but he provided many confusing, even contradictory, details. While he added no significant elements to mfecane historiography, he also failed to include information on either the expulsion of chiefdoms to the highveld or on the Natal origins of the Fingo. Smith, in contrast, was a scientific observer and a "liberal". His whole book went against what was then the dominant discourse of mfecane historiography. He reported on the two large African chiefdoms situated in the Caledon Valley area, in so doing countering Godlonton's assertion that the area was depopulated. The same applied to his finding that the area around the Ndebele state was not depopulated, with the inference that Matiwane and

¹²⁷ See Footnote no. 22.



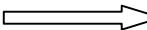




Mzilikazi were not monsters. Smith, however, followed the Methodist missionaries, not only in accepting that the Tlokwa were the Mantatees of a decade earlier, but also in negatively assessing *Morena* Sekonyela and his state. Likewise, he followed the French missionaries in his positive attitude towards *Morena* Moshoeshe. However, Smith's "liberal", pro-African views already in 1836 constituted a sub-discourse to the dominant anti-African, settler/trader historiography. Boyce's support for the expansion of European settlers reflected the dominant discourse. His statement on the extent of the depopulation had only propagandist value but was in line with Godlonton and Isaacs.

The period 1823 to 1838 thus saw a massive increase of information on African people in the colonial and missionary press, as well as in books that were disseminated throughout the English-speaking world and later in Europe. By 1838, these texts had created a skeletal outline of mfecane historiography, which, although it had developed unevenly over the years, presented, despite contradictions within and between texts, a clear image of internecine violence without any European involvement. Each work concentrated on a specific geographical/ethnographical area. This skeletal outline of mfecane historiography was clothed in the 90 years that followed, but the fundamentals established during the foundation period were never challenged until the 1980's.

Map 4 - mfecane in the 1839 to 1876 period – Chapter 3



The mfecane narrative as it had developed by 1876, at end of chapter 3.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
|  | = Greater Caledon Valley Area |  | = Ndebele depopulations |
|  | = Zulu attacks |  | = Ngwane movements |
|  | = Fingo movements |  | = Mantatee movements |
|  | = Attacks by mounted raiders | | |

Chapter 3

The Colonising Period: 1839 to 1876

The Methodist missionary Shaw's views of Africans are representative of missionary views in this period: 'They [Africans] were living in the lowest state of mental, moral and social degradation'. However, after they became Christians, when they were washed, decently clothed, abandoned polygamy, ceased to be robbers, became employed in industrial pursuits and bought British manufactured goods, then they were considered to have been 'elevated in the social scale'. W. Shaw, 1860.¹

Neighbouring states view of the Zulu was that, 'they are not men, but eaters of men'. A Basotho guide informed Arbousset that 'the Bamokakones [are] a cannibal nation [and that they] eat the travellers they find straying in the fields.' 'These details, which are unhappily, but too true, - and yet, can we believe them?' Arbousset, 1842.²

The object of this chapter is to show how the authors of the 1839 to 1876 period further developed the skeletal outline of mfecane historiography in existence by 1838. All authors, whether they were missionaries, civil servants, travellers, "liberals" or colonial propagandists, unquestioningly accepted and perpetuated this outline, and failed to subject it to critical examination. They did, however, considerably flesh out the bones with a myriad of sometimes conflicting details. In the previous chapter, the emerging dominant discourse was accompanied by a contradictory sub-discourse, whereby authors reported elements of mfecane historiography which were contrary to those in the dominant discourse. For example, the "liberal" writers' view that the Ngwane state was a victim of violence perpetrated against them by the Zulu chiefdom, the raiders in the Free State and then the British in the Transkei, was the contradictory sub-discourse, while the dominant view, propagated by the pro-settler writers, was that the Ngwane chiefdom was one of the bloodthirsty chiefdoms responsible for

¹ Shaw, *Story of My Mission*, 574-75.

² Arbousset et al., *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour*, 147, 64, 154.

depopulating all areas within their reach. In this period, however, the contradictions disappeared almost completely. This must be understood against the background of colonial control being established over Africans in a large part of southern Africa, and in the context of Europeans exercising full control over the publishing of African history. In this period, a new geographic region was integrated into mfecane historiography - the greater Caledon Valley area. It became an important, and to some degree self-contained, theatre of mfecane wars. The expansion of colonial settlement through the Great Trek into the areas north of the Gariep, and the settling of colonists in areas alienated from Africans in the eastern Cape and Natal, led among other things, to the knowledge of hitherto unknown African peoples and thus the evaporation of the "blank space". Numerous smaller elements were also added to mfecane historiography, which were not yet of great significance, but would become so in the years after 1877. In all cases, mfecane writing dealt with intra-African wars in which Europeans were the onlookers, with the exception of the battles against the Mantatees in mid-1823 and the supposed Zulu at Mbholompo in mid-1828, both of which were viewed as justifiable by authors of this period. Authors were also starting to think beyond the geographic and ethnographic area about which they were writing, by groping towards the idea of seeing the history of those years as a connected, Zulu-centric whole.

The European intellectual climate of the middle years of the nineteenth century became increasingly oriented towards science, which was intrinsically linked with European industrialisation and economic expansion. Confidence in science and economics reinforced the belief in human progress on the one hand, but on the other led Europeans to develop a stronger sense of cultural superiority over peoples in other continents. This attitude, coupled with the pre-existing, negative "Image of Africa", is apparent in most European works on Africa, as well as in writings on mfecane historiography. The intellectual debate in the Cape Colony regarding the nature of Africans and how Europeans viewed them changed over time. Until the early 1840's, it was a contest between the "liberals" and the pro-settler apologists, epitomised in D. Moodie's collection and translation of official documents and in the many pamphlets relating to this publication. This text was the pro-settler apologists' belated answer to Philip,

whose work they regarded as an attack on themselves.³ However, in the mid-nineteenth century the “liberal” position weakened in southern Africa and Britain, and the debate came to be between the imperial and the colonial positions (previously known as the pro-settler apologist standpoint). The colonists wanted the Cape Colony to re-establish D’Urban’s “native” policy of direct rule, and thus confirm their control over African land, livestock and labour. The imperial view, however, was that Africans were to be treated as foreigners living beyond an agreed and defined border. According to this view, missionaries were to be the only direct contact that Africans beyond the colonial border should have with Europeans. From the late 1830’s missionaries too began to change their approach towards Africans. According to their Christian ideals they expected Africans to enthusiastically adopt the ‘missionaries’ brand of civilisation’, as Keegan put it.⁴ However, as missionaries became disappointed by Africans’ negative reaction to these ideals, they shifted to a paternalistic, authoritarian approach similar to the British evangelicals’ view of the poorer classes in the United Kingdom.⁵ In their search for a way to convert and civilize Africans, the missionaries’ studies of the mind of the “savages” led them to adopt an increasingly negative and condemnatory image of Africans and their history, as can be seen from Shaw’s words at the beginning of this chapter.⁶

³ D. Moodie, The Record, or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, 5 Vols. ([originally Cape Town, 1838-1841], reprinted, Amsterdam and Cape Town, 1960). D. Moodie, Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes (Cape Town, 1841). Chase, Some Reasons for our Opposing John Philip. Bank, 'Great Debate', 261-81. Ross, Beyond the Pale, 192-211. Smith, Changing Past, 14.

⁴ Keegan, Colonial South Africa, 88-89.

⁵ A. Atmore and S. Marks, 'The Imperial Factor in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Reassessment', The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 3 (October 1974), 117-18. Golan, Inventing Shaka, 46.

⁶ Keegan, Colonial South Africa, 88-89, 283. E. Elbourne, 'Whose Gospel? Conflict in the LMS in the Early 1840's', in J. de Gruchy (ed), The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1999), 133-35.

The writing of African history in this period must be analysed against the backdrop of the rapid settlement by colonists of many new areas of Natal and the Transgariep.⁷ The area under direct or indirect rule by Europeans, including most African chiefdoms, had roughly tripled in the years from the Great Trek to the 1870's, decades before the same fate befell the remaining African societies in southern Africa and to the north of the Limpopo. This outward movement of colonists from the Cape Colony originated in the actions of both the Dutch and English colonists of the eastern Cape. Through their participation in commandos and wars against neighbouring African states, they became aware that they were able to defeat Africans with the use of firearms and their horse-back mobility, knowledge which made them extremely confident. The Great Trek,⁸ which took place over wide areas of Natal and Transgariep, can thus be seen as a movement of conquest and settlement by a new ruling elite, out of which grew the several Boer republics. Schreuder conceptualised this process as follows, 'the white advances into the interior of Southern Africa thus moved forward in a highly complex manner: subjecting the weaker African groups, co-existing with the stronger chiefdoms, or depending on the character of African politics to provide the suitable preconditions for frontier expansion through collaborative mechanisms and divided counsels'.⁹ In these Boer republics the commandos ensured the serfdom of the local African population and a steady flow of African slaves and livestock from chiefdoms further away. Natal was annexed to Britain in 1843 and settled by colonists from both the Cape and Britain, with most Boers leaving for the highveld in protest. Only the strongest African states, such as the Zulu, Sotho, Swazi, Pedi and the Transkeian states, were able to offer resistance to the encroachment from the Cape and Natal colonies, as well as from the Boer republics. All this took place despite "reluctant imperialism", a policy of successive British governments through which they sought to limit colonial territorial expansion. Colonies had to be

⁷ In general: Wilson et al. (eds), South Africa to 1870. Davenport, South Africa. Peires, House of Phalo. Keegan, Colonial South Africa. Etherington, Great Treks.

⁸ Named the Great Trek only in the 1870's. P. Silva (ed), Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1996), 265.

⁹ D.M. Schreuder, The Scramble for South Africa, 1877-95: The Politics of Partition Reappraised (Cambridge, 1980), 53.

financially self-supporting and the annexation of new territories was only allowed for strategic reasons or if it brought economic returns in a short time.¹⁰ While Natal's annexation was upheld for strategic reasons, that of the Free State, annexed in 1848 by Governor Harry Smith, was renounced again in the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854, which stated that Britain had no interests north of the Gariep. Before the end of this period, however, wars between the Free State and Basutoland, and ceaseless lobbying by both missionaries as well as Governor Woodhouse, persuaded London, albeit reluctantly, to agree to the establishment of a British protectorate over Moshoeshoe's state and thus prevent its incorporation into the Free State.¹¹

A large number of works covering aspects of southern African history were published in these years, with only the most important twenty-one being considered here. The largest group of authors were missionaries from a variety of European societies. Most of their accounts were published during the 1850's and 60's. While some books were by writers who worked in southern Africa during the time of events described, most were by authors who arrived later. The history of African people continued to be constructed by European authors mostly in the English language. These works informed writers in other European languages, notably German and French. Conversely, works published in those languages had no impact on the dominant discourse in English, unless they were translated into that language. While there were no published African authors in this period, it became fashionable for European authors to state that they received their information from either named African informants or, more often, from unspecified wise, or trusted, older men.

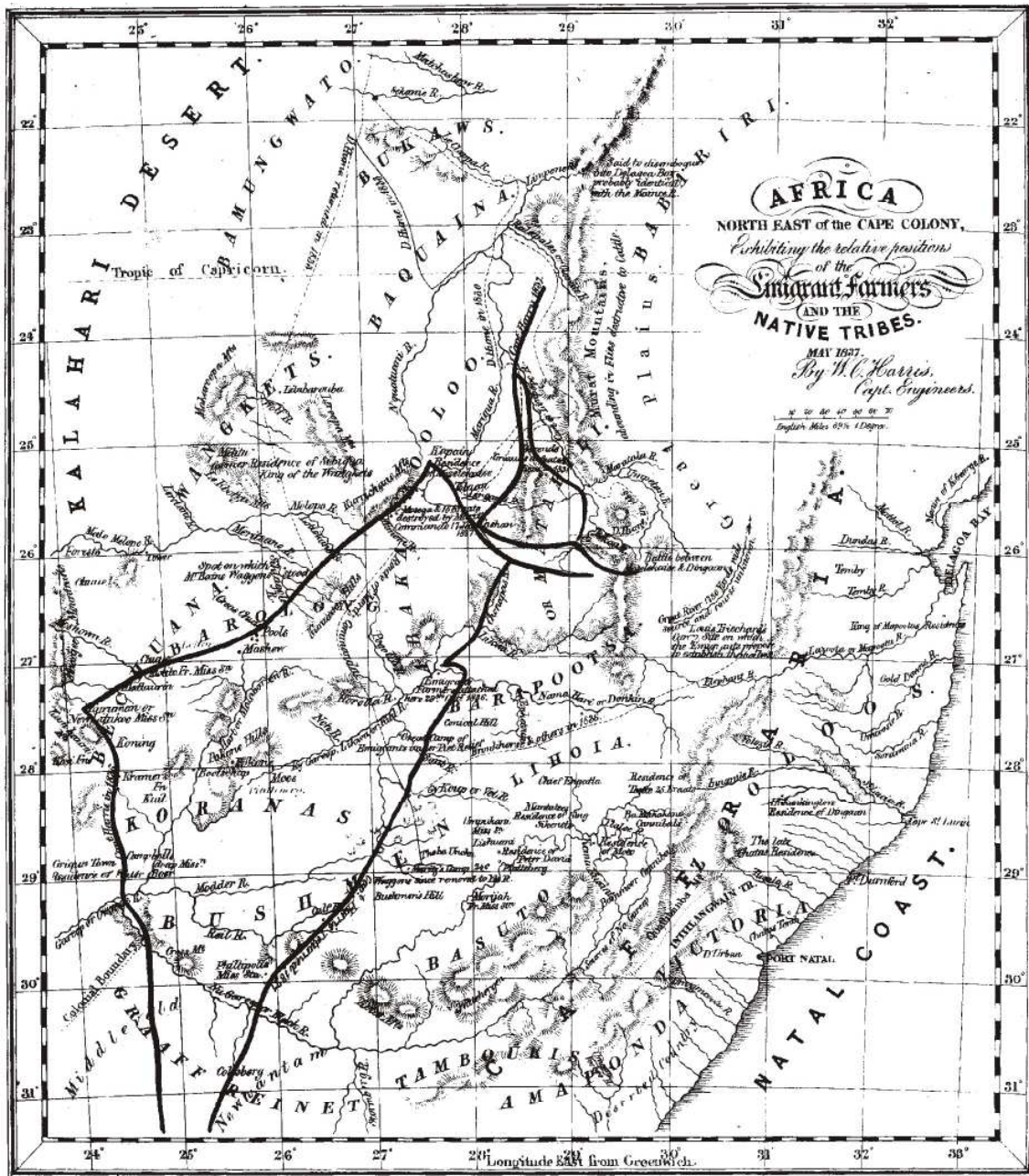
The 1840's – The Later Eyewitness Accounts

During the late 1830's and 1840's, a number of reminiscences appeared by authors who had been eyewitnesses to certain mfecane episodes in the

¹⁰ R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians* (London, 1961), 5, 8-9, 15-16.

¹¹ Schreuder, *Scramble for South Africa*, 45-6.

Map 5 – Harris’s Map, 1839



London. Published by Henry G. Bohu.

W.C. Harris, *Wild Sports in Southern Africa* (London, 1852), 356.

Harris' route is clearly indicated on the map - taken from the third edition of his 1839 book - which took him considerably further north and east than Thompson. However, Harris incorporated the geographical information available from missionaries, travellers and trekkers, which led him to construct a map populated with a large number of chiefdoms and thus he contradicted the depopulation myths.

Harris still depicted a “blank space” north of the Zulu and east of the Ndebele. His east-west extension of South Africa is several hundred kilometres too narrow.

Transgariiep, men such as Arbousset, Harris and Moffat.¹² In 1836, Arbousset, together with his colleague Dumas, pioneer missionaries of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris (S.M.E.), undertook an exploratory ox-wagon journey through the greater Caledon Valley area. Part of the report they wrote in 1839 was intended for the Société de Géographie de Paris which, like its counterparts in other European countries, regarded its national missionaries as sources of geographic and ethnographic information for various academic disciplines developing in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³ Co-operation and cross-fertilisation between the missionary writers Arbousset and Casalis, whose own book appeared in Paris in 1841,¹⁴ took place before the report of Arbousset and Dumas to the mission headquarters was published in Paris in 1842. Both works were widely read in France. Arbousset’s book was then translated into English by Brown, a Congregational minister who visited Cape Town, and published in 1846.¹⁵ Another book in French on the same area, and with similar content, was published by Delegorgue in 1847,¹⁶ but was not translated into English during the nineteenth century. Arbousset made the only structural addition to mfecane history when he introduced the greater Caledon Valley area as a major, separate theatre of alleged mfecane wars. Before this work, that area was only cursorily treated as a vaguely defined region from which the Mantatees started out on their “long march” of destruction to Dithakong and to which they returned thereafter, and where the Ngwane were reported to have caused havoc after their expulsion from Natal.

¹² Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour. Harris, Wild Sports. R. Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa (London, 1842).

¹³ G. Gallienne, Thomas Arbousset: Missionnaire (originally Paris, 1904), reprinted, Paris, 1933), 52.

¹⁴ E. Casalis, Les Bassoutos; ou Vingt-Trois Années de Sejour et D'Observations au Sud de l'Afrique (Paris, 1841). See also Footnote no. 64.

¹⁵ Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 20-21, 4, 60-61. Gallienne, Thomas Arbousset, 7-43, 68-69, 78-123. A. Brütsch, 'Arbousset and the Discovery of Mont-aux-Sources', Basutoland Notes and Records, 1 (1968), 55-56.

¹⁶ L.A.J. Delegorgue, Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe 1838-1844, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1847).

Arbousset began the convention of giving deference to African informants, both named individuals and those referred to as the “wise old men”. This became a feature of European writing on African history for the rest of the century, with authors underpinning the veracity of their work by referring to an often unnamed African oral authority. Their attitude to their oral material, however, was ambivalent, though they showed respect for the African informants by taking care to reproduce their narratives without much interpretation. However, they failed to take the same care when they constructed an image of Moshoeshoe. Maybe more fair in their description of African chiefs in general, these French missionaries nonetheless remained within the framework of the European “Image of Africa“ by regarding them generally as barbarous, cruel, lazy and treacherous. However, for Moshoeshoe they only used terms like wise, brave and good, the saviour of his people, and through their narratives constructed a hagiography of the chief of the Sotho state. Moshoeshoe informed the missionaries that his *de jure* right to rule a large part of the greater Caledon Valley area and beyond arose from Mohlomi, who was described as the supreme *Morena* of all Sotho-speaking peoples, and who had died when Moshoeshoe was still a youth. Before his death, Mohlomi had prophetically endorsed Moshoeshoe’s right to rule over all Sotho-speaking peoples. The missionaries’ acceptance of this traditional form of legitimising a chief’s rule in time also convinced the Cape government of his legitimacy. This image of the good African king thus spread through the French- and English-speaking worlds. It was one of the elements which made London willing to save Basutoland from the Orange Free State in 1868. Linked to this was the equally one-sided, persistently negative interpretation of *Morena* Sekonyela and the Tlokwa state, remembered by Europeans as the Mantatees. This interpretation can be traced back to Moshoeshoe who placed the Tlokwa chiefdom, with whom he was in constant conflict, in as bad a light as possible when relating historical narratives to European writers.¹⁷

¹⁷ Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 264-85.

Arbousset introduced a three-period hypothesis for the greater Caledon Valley area. Firstly, there was the time of peace, before the mid-1810's, in which Mhloni ruled over all the Sotho-speaking people of the area. Secondly, there was a period of unprecedented destruction which began in 1821/2 when the Ndwandwe and the Zulu, under the "monster" Shaka, pushed the Ngwane and Hlubi states into that area. Among the local terms for these invaders from the lowlands, according to Arbousset, was the word Lifakani, meaning 'those who hew down'¹⁸ with their battle axe. The two intruder states from Natal dislodged the Mantatees (Tlokwa) from their homeland. Each of these three states then marauded through the whole area, causing devastation and depopulation, and driving some communities to cannibalism. Moshoeshoe's fledgling chiefdom was attacked at Butha-Buthe by the Tlokwa state in early 1824, with the *Morena* being forced to move further south-west to the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu. Defending it against the Ngwane, Zulu and Ndebele states, as well as against groups of local chiefdoms and cannibals, he was able to offer security to many traumatised chiefdoms who flocked to join his growing state for protection. Once the worst was over, so the story continues, Griqua and Kora raiders, armed and on horseback, pounced on the severely weakened chiefdoms and caused further destruction. The third period began with the arrival of the French missionaries in mid-1833, amidst the suffering inflicted by these raids. They were seen as having brought succour to the people and as having restored peace to the land.¹⁹

With this first mention of cannibalism, which is seen as a direct result of the destruction wrought by the Natal invaders, a new element is introduced into mfecane history. Stories of cannibals were accepted as credible by Europeans, including missionaries, as cannibalistic practices were congruent with the European "Image of Africa". While Europeans in general felt that cannibals represented the lowest degradation of the human condition, missionaries in particular regarded it as evidence of the spiritual corruption of Africans which they believed they had witnessed in Africa. This literary device was thus used to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 286-305.

prove to their pro-mission readers, and the world in general, the need for their labours for Christ in Africa.²⁰ The reports by Arbousset on cannibals were, as with all other such reports by nineteenth century travel writers in Africa, based on hearsay. The map in their book shows areas consisting of deserted villages and villages in which cannibalism was supposedly practised. However, the path indicated on the map as being taken by the two missionaries does not go through any of these villages. The implication is that they entered this information onto the map from hearsay, as they were never actually in that area. It is thus not surprising that the only “cannibals” these two authors actually met had supposedly been reformed by the “saintly” Moshoeshoe. From both the text and the map it is clear that the two writers only assumed from information supplied to them by Africans that there were cannibals in the greater Caledon Valley area, without actually checking the facts. Delegorgue, a French traveller who published one year after Arbousset, was dismissive, concluding that ‘Cannibals in this part of Africa are therefore nothing more than terrifying phantoms produced by the fevered imagination of the good missionaries, who are either too gullible themselves or believe that they are dealing with men of inexhaustible credulity’.²¹

These authors were the first to present information on the Pedi chiefdom, which was a vassal of the Ndebele state situated in the Ermelo area. This not only added one more element to the mfecane drama, but further served to build up an image of the Ndebele state as a massive, invincible and menacing power north of the Vaal River.²²

²⁰ P.R. Sanday, Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System (Cambridge, 1986). M. Van Wyk Smith, ‘Prester John and the Anthropophagi: The Africa of Expectation’, in R. Breitenbach (ed), Journeys of Discovery (Grahamstown, 1988), 70-82. M. Van Wyk Smith, ‘The Ethiopia Metaphor: A Dialectic Myth of Africa’, Alternation, 4 (1997), 5-18. Curtin, Image of Africa. L. Janz and N. Poost, ‘Report to the Here XVII on the Building of a Refreshment Station at the Cape of Good Hope, July 1649’, in Moodie, Record, I, 3-4.

²¹ F. Webb, S.J. Alexander and C. de B. Webb (eds), Adolphe Delegorgue's Travels in Southern Africa, 2 Vols. (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1990, 1997), II, 274.

²² Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 164-189.

Two further eyewitness accounts, by Harris and Moffat,²³ while based on the existing mfecane narrative, also added new information. Harris was a big game hunter on leave from the East India Company's corps of engineers. He was thus an early tourist in southern Africa, travelling for two years through the interior and subsequently producing a beautifully illustrated narrative.²⁴ Moffat was recognised as the most successful LMS missionary in southern Africa. During his furlough to Britain in 1839-43, he wrote and published his first book on the early years of his mission activities.²⁵ The important contributions of both to mfecane historiography were in the same two areas. Firstly, both authors display an internal contradiction in their portrayal of Mzilikazi. On the one hand, as Harris wrote, they regarded 'Moselekatse, with his interminable catalogue of crimes, [as] no more than a humble follower in the reeking footsteps of Chaka'.²⁶ In this they shared the rabid anti-African point of view of Godlonton and others. Harris's chapter on the Zulu, for example, was entirely plagiarised from Isaacs' book.²⁷ On the other hand, their reports of face to face meetings with the chief showed him to be reasonable and likable. This direct contact with Mzilikazi led both writers to include crucial information on the Ndebele state which differed from existing ideas. They wrote that Mzilikazi was not a brother of Shaka, as was previously believed, but rather the son of *inKosi* Mashobane, who had joined his north-east Zululand chiefdom to Shaka's Zulu state in a subordinate position after having been defeated by a neighbouring chiefdom. Mzilikazi rose to become a general in Shaka's army, but had to flee to the highveld when the latter sent a punitive expedition against him. While there was still a Zulu connection in this new narrative, it no longer consisted of blood ties. Harris regarded Mzilikazi as a Moses-like figure bringing the Ndebele salvation from threat of extermination by the Zulu. Moffat's assertion that the Ndebele

²³ Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes. Harris, Wild Sports.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1981), IV, 211-12

²⁵ Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes, 340. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 546-550.

²⁶ Harris, Wild Sports, Quote, 77, see also Ch. XII, 77-91.

²⁷ Wylie, 'Autobiography as Alibi', 71.

were the depopulators of the highveld was contradicted by Harris's map, which depicts a large number of chiefdoms occupying the Transgariep in the 1830's.²⁸

Secondly, Moffat's was the second book, after Thompson's, that presented an eyewitness account of the battle of Dithakong. However, Moffat did not only confirm Thompson's narrative but provided many more details. Moffat wrote that, from the first half of 1822, he was informed by people among the Tlhaping and surrounding states that 'a mighty woman of the name Mantatee, was at the head of an invincible army, carrying devastation and ruin wherever she went; that she nourished the army with her own milk, sent out hornets before it, and in one word, was laying the world desolate'.²⁹ Thus, the Mantatees were being mentioned a year before their defeat at Dithakong. It is not surprising that, as a result of this information, Moffat, as also Arbousset, accepted and reinforced the misidentification of the Tlokwa chief's mother, "Ma-antatees", as this woman, a misconception first propagated by the Methodist missionary Edwards.³⁰ Harris's book, which ran into several editions,³¹ and Moffat's, were popular in England, though in different circles. Both authors were regarded as vital sources and had the same standing as the published European accounts on mfecane history of the preceding period, and were treated as authoritative sources well into the twentieth century.

The early 1840's also saw the first publication of collections of government documents on southern African history, decades before Theal's collation of documents on Basutoland in 1883.³² The authors, Chase and D. Moodie, were pro-settler, anti-imperialist propagandists and personal friends of Godlonton.

²⁸ Harris, Wild Sports, 39-40. Map, 356. Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes, 544-45, 517-530, 583.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 340.

³⁰ Edwards, 'Extract from a Letter, 17 March 1836', 349-50. See also 'Extract from a Letter from the Rev. J. Edwards', 789-90.

³¹ Harris, Wild Sports. Especially his 5th edition, 1852, which also contained the history of the Great Trek in chapters XXXIX to XLIII, 286-330.

³² G.M. Theal, Basutoland Records: Copies of Official Documents of Various Kinds, Accounts of Travellers, etc., 5 Vols. (Cape Town, 1883).

They arrived in the eastern Cape in 1820, farmed for some years, became civil servants, were later in business and then became members of parliament, one in the Cape and the other in Natal. Moodie was employed by D'Urban to collate and then publish all official documents on the colony's relationship with African and Khoi peoples - in order to prepare D'Urban's defence against the accusation levelled at himself and the colonists by Philip and the Commissioners of Inquiry, that they abused the rights of the indigenous population (see chapter 2).³³ Moodie was, however, unable to go beyond 1809 and thus did not contribute to mfecane historiography other than by inspiring Chase³⁴ to reprint official and other documents, linked together by his own narrative, in a book in which he lobbied for the British annexation of Natal. The reprinting of historical documents which confirmed the published events of the mfecane narrative of the time, made this work a primary source of Natal and Zulu history for writers from the 1840's and well into the twentieth century.³⁵ The inclusion of writings by Fynn, which Chase specially commissioned,³⁶ prepared the way for the acceptance of Fynn by readers in southern African as an expert on the Zulu and Natal, when he published articles in the 1850's.

In summary, the contribution of writers in the 1840s to the development of mfecane history was vital in five areas. The most important was the addition to the mfecane "skeleton" of one further limb - the greater Caledon Valley area - along with an accompanying narrative of horrific devastation caused by the successive invasions of war-like chiefdoms from Natal and Zululand. Another new element was the notion that these wars were so shattering that some

³³ Moodie, Record. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 165-67. Philip, Researches, 2 Vols. British Parliamentary Papers: 1836, VII (538). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines, Aug. 1836. [Minutes, Appendix and Indexes only]; see 1837, VII (238), (425), and 1836, LI (330). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines (British Settlements), August 1836, and 1837, XLIII (503). Papers *re Kaffir War 1835-7*.

³⁴ J.C. Chase (ed), Natal: A Reprint of all Authentic Notices (Grahamstown, 1843). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 488-91. M.J. McGinn, 'J.C. Chase - 1820 Settler and Servant of the Colony', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1975, 52-88.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 160.

³⁶ Wylie, Savage Delight, 120.

people became cannibals, first by necessity and later, having developed a taste for human meat, by choice. Then, Harris and Moffat established that Mzilikazi was not related to Shaka, but merely chief of an ex-Zulu vassal chiefdom, fleeing from the bloodthirsty “monster” and taking Shaka’s barbarous methods with him to the highveld. The “blank space” further shrunk when news became available of the existence of the Pedi chiefdom in the eastern Transvaal, which, like so many others in that area up to that point, had been vassals of the Ndebele state. Lastly, Moffat reported on fantastic rumours on Mantatee devastation in the “blank space”, which predated the battle of Dithakong by a year. Works published during the 1840’s reflected the expansion of geographic and ethnographic ideas, however flawed, of southern Africa’s interior, which took place during the intervening decade as a result of travellers, missionaries and Dutch colonists trekking far beyond the Gariep River. Information from Africans on events in the early years of the nineteenth century was so compelling that additional geographic areas and chiefdoms, as well as alternative explanations of events, were incorporated into the developing mfecane narrative.

1850’s and 1860’s - The Missionary Years

The number of missionaries in southern Africa increased dramatically from the mid-1830’s, with many publishing their experiences in the 1850’s and 60’s. These two decades saw so many missionary publications on southern Africa that Wylie aptly named them “The Missionary Years”.³⁷ Some had operated in southern Africa during the mfecane years, but most arrived afterwards. Missionary writers were regarded by historians as reliable authors until well into the second half of the twentieth century due to the insights they obtained from their close association with African society. In addition to theological, medical, linguistic and practical training, missionaries were provided with geographic and historical information on the people they were assigned to serve.³⁸ Missionaries thus never arrived with a clean slate regarding their mission field and always interpreted any information they received from “their” people in terms of this

³⁷ *Ibid*, 137.

³⁸ Von der Heyden, ‘Schrifttum’, 128. Gallienne, Thomas Arbousset, 34.

pre-existing information. It is not surprising that the missionary literature of this and later periods reflected the already pre-existing mfecane narrative. In this next section seventeen works relevant to the development of mfecane historiography will be considered, the majority of which were written by missionaries. Half of these accounts dealt with Natal and Zululand, and they will be analysed first, while those which covered the Transgariep and the eastern Cape will be considered thereafter.

The paramount question for mid-nineteenth century authors writing on Natal, was the origin of the Natal African population. To answer it, recourse had to be taken to the history of Natal, in particular the narrative of the invasion by successive waves of Zulu armies under Shaka, which left Natal depopulated. The Natal Native Affairs Commission of 1852 – containing a strong colonist presence - was, among other things, required to deal with this question. After interviewing a large number of witnesses - Africans, colonists, missionaries and officials - the commission's conclusion reflected the ideas of the pre-existing literature. Most Natal Africans were regarded as immigrants who had settled in Natal after it was depopulated by Shaka. However, twenty-one chiefdoms were declared as having originally lived there, having returned after fleeing from Zulu attacks.³⁹ Fynn's submission to the commission was published in newspaper articles, indicating his general agreement with its findings. However, he added a third category of Africans who had never moved away, such as the stragglers met by him and the other Port Natal traders in 1824/5. These three categories later became common currency in the literature.⁴⁰ These articles were the first of Fynn's writings to be published and made him famous in Natal, where he came to be regarded in settler circles as an authority on Natal and Zulu history.⁴¹ History in Natal was at that time not in the first place an academic

³⁹ 1852. Rept. Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1852-1853, 5-10, 32, 35-36. 1853. Proceedings, Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1853, 3, 60-61, 71.

⁴⁰ [H.F. Fynn], 'Ethnology of Natal', The Natal Witness, 14 April 1853, 4.

⁴¹ Fynn's only other article was on the relationship between the Port Natal traders and Dingane, in The South African Commercial Advertiser, 20 August and 9 September 1831. S.O'B. Spencer, British Settlers in Natal, 1824-1857: A Biographical Register, 6 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg, 1981-1992), VI, 226-36. [Fynn,] 'Ethnology of Natal', 2,4. J. Pridmore,

exercise, and the commission's report became the basis for colonists' land claims. Any chieftom that could be shown to have originated from outside of Natal thus had no rights to the land it occupied in Natal and could be ordered to surrender it to colonists and the people to move elsewhere. The idea of the depopulation of Natal, which was already strongly embedded in the narrative, now became entrenched as a vital element of the mfecane narrative.⁴²

The works of Holden, Shooter and Grout, all missionaries, and Maclean⁴³ can be analysed together, as their mfecane narratives are remarkably similar. The text by Maclean, who lived with Shaka for three years during his teenage years, has been hailed by Gray as a pro-African alternative to the anti-Shakan works of the Port Natal traders. However, Maclean's treatment of the mfecane narrative and Shaka, whom he dubbed the 'Napoleon of East Africa',⁴⁴ is no different from that of the above missionaries, Fynn or the Commission.⁴⁵ The approach of these writers to the subject has been aptly summarised by Wylie:

Holden's text [and that of the others above] epitomises the ambiguities and dichotomies that characterise, more or less obviously, the entire corpus of white writing on Shaka [and also mfecane historiography]. Deeply western prejudices are

'Hunter, Trader and Explorer? The Unvarnished Reminiscences of H. F. Fynn', Alternation, 5 (1997), 46-56.

⁴² 1853. Proceedings, Natal Native Affairs Commission, 71-85. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 276-77.

⁴³ W.C. Holden, History of the Colony of Natal (London, 1855). W.C. Holden, The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (London, 1866). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1977), III, 408-9. J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country (London, 1857), v-vi. L. Grout, The Isizulu. A Grammar of the Zulu Language (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1859). L. Grout, Zulu-land; Or Life Among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-land, South Africa (London, 1862). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 335-36. S. Gray, John Ross: The True Story (Harmondsworth, 1987), 185-88. C.R. Maclean, 'Loss of the Brig Mary at Natal: With Early Recollections of that Settlement', Nautical Magazine, 22-24 (1853-1855).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 (June 1835), 298-89.

⁴⁵ S. Gray, 'John Ross and Slavery', English in Africa, 17 (1990), 1-15. S. Gray, 'South African Fiction and a Case History Revised: An Account of Research into Retellings of the John Ross Story of Early Natal', Researches in African Literature, 19 (1988), 473-74. Gray, John Ross: the True Story, 185-88.

concealed behind appeals to oral tradition; paternalism is uneasily shackled with the claim to be representing the Zulu view point. ... the alien is commandeered to familiar cosmologies and comparisons, but is mystified by a nostalgic fictionalising; an epic style wars with the claim to be revealing truth.⁴⁶

They all worked with published sources which they acknowledged to some degree. However, Holden found he could not rely on Isaacs' Travels and Adventures.⁴⁷ Shooter confessed to having been influenced by both Isaacs and Fynn,⁴⁸ as would the other authors have been, albeit unacknowledged. However, they all claimed to have received most of their information orally from African and settler informants. As most of these informants were members of the Zulu royal house, the information would have had a specific bias.⁴⁹ Holden's special informant, Abantwana of the Langeni chiefdom, was a maternal "uncle" of Shaka.⁵⁰ Grout and Holden also gave evidence before the commission. These authors' ideas on mfecane history have been aptly summarised by Wright, who holds that all these texts followed a schematised

sequence of themes - [comprising of] the rise and fall of Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa, the rise of Shaka, his military and social "innovations", his campaigns and conquests, his dealings with Europeans, his assassination and succession by Dingane, the latter's dealing with the Europeans, the advent of the Boers and the defeat of the Zulu - [that] became fixed into a formula for the writing of early "Zulu" history, which in its essentials is still being used by some authors in the present day.⁵¹

In these texts, the authors introduced several new elements into the mfecane story, which will become important in later periods. Shooter is the first author to claim that Dingiswayo, *inKosi* of the Mthethwa, was accompanied by a European gunman on a horse when he returned from exile, a man who inspired

⁴⁶ Wylie, Savage Delight, 142.

⁴⁷ Holden, History of the Colony of Natal, 42-44.

⁴⁸ Shooter, Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, v-vi, 291.

⁴⁹ Golan, Inventing Shaka, 50.

⁵⁰ Holden, History of the Colony of Natal, 56-58.

⁵¹ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 278.

him to reorganise the Mthethwa military system.⁵² As a result Dingiswayo and his achievements were considered in a positive light from the 1850's onwards, because European authors credited him with having followed European ideas. He was thus not regarded as an innovator, but as having copied and adapted European ideas. This was in contrast to the treatment of Shaka, who succeeded him. He was regarded as an innovator, inspired by his African roots and not following European ideas. Shaka's actions were perceived as being rooted in barbarous African culture, full of cruelty, blood-thirstiness, despotism, superstition, ambition and duplicity. Shaka's rule consequently was regarded by the writers as being disastrous for his own people, and leading to the extermination of many other chiefdoms and the emigration of others beyond the borders of KwaZulu and Natal. Holden, in The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, thought that Natal was 'the Garden of Eden'⁵³ until 1816, when Zulu hordes fell on it and depopulated it. In this he followed Arbousset, who described a peaceful period preceding the outbreak of unprecedented carnage in the greater Caledon Valley area. Holden, in History of the Colony of Natal, and Shooter also followed Arbousset, when both stated that some survivors of the Natal genocide became cannibals.⁵⁴ Grout added to the revised view of Ndebele history, accepted since Harris's and Moffat's publications three decades before, the fact that Mashobane, Mzilikazi's father, was the chief of the Khumalo and lived on the Black Mfolozi River before the Ndebele left for the highveld.⁵⁵ Lastly, the systematic overstated reporting - in statements like 'cruel and bloody as this mighty African conqueror is reputed to have been' by Grout - led to exaggerated ideas about the ability of Zulu armies to sow destruction in a wide raiding belt ranging from Inhambane to the Mzimvubu River and across half the subcontinent.⁵⁶ One Dutch text by Ente⁵⁷ contained the same

⁵² Shooter, Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, 250-51.

⁵³ Holden, Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, 133.

⁵⁴ Holden, History of the Colony of Natal, 49-50. Shooter, Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, 267.

⁵⁵ Harris, Wild Sports, 39-40, map, 356. Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scene, 544-45, 517-30, 583. Grout, Zulu-Land, 229.

⁵⁶ Grout, The Isizulu, xviii-xix

⁵⁷ W.K. Ente, Natal en Nieuwe Gelderland (Arnhem, 1861).

information on the mfecane history as English texts dealt with above, except that it contained a strong pro-boer bias.

With some modifications, these works repeated ideas put forward in the previous period, and would become important in the next phase. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, these texts were highly regarded as original narratives on African history. These authors turned the mfecane narrative, especially on the depopulation of Natal, into a fixed sequence of themes, as Wright called it, which became universally accepted.⁵⁸

There were eleven writers on the mfecane in the Transgariep region and eastern Cape. The focus in the former was mainly on the greater Caledon Valley area. Contemporary politics and the wars between the Free State and the Basotho state influenced some to write in support of Moshoeshoe. Most claimed that their information came mainly from oral sources, but the literary antecedents are clearly evident in these texts. Their contribution to writing on the mfecane was based on their repetition of the dominant mfecane discourse with minor changes, some of which were to become important in later periods.

Writers describing events in the Transgariep introduced two new actors, who emerged from the mists of the “blank space”. One of these authors was Livingstone, an LMS missionary who, when his book appeared in 1857,⁵⁹ was already famous in Britain due to the publication of extracts of his reports to the LMS head office in the popular press as well as in scientific and Christian publications. His unique contribution to mfecane historiography was the first account of Kololo history. Their *Morena* Sebetwane told Livingstone that the Kololo lived in the area of the sources of the Wilge River, in today’s north-

⁵⁸ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 278.

⁵⁹ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 404-9. T. Holmes, David Livingstone: Letters and Documents, 1841-1872 (Lusaka, 1990), 344. J.D. Clark and G. Clay, 'David Livingstone: Chronology', in B.W. Lloyd (ed), Livingstone, 1873-1973 (Cape Town, 1973), 90-91. I. Schapera (ed), Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856 (Berkeley, 1961), 180. D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (London, 1857), vii, 25-27, 34, 93.

eastern Free State. There they were conquered by and incorporated into the Tlokwa chiefdom which became known as the Mantatees. Livingstone then included the conventional story of the Mantatees' tour of devastation through the highveld, destroying numerous chiefdoms until they reached Dithakong, where they were defeated in mid-1823 by a missionary-led Griqua/Thaping army. According to Livingstone, Sebetwane recounted how the defeated Kololo then separated from the Tlokwa, headed north and routed the combined army of the Ngwaketse, Hurutshe, Kgatla and a Kwena state. They settled in Litubaruba, the capital of the Kwena chiefdom for a time, until they were evicted by the Kwena owners, supported by gunmen. Cape newspapers identified these as members of the party of a Grahamstown trader, Bain. Sebetwane described how his people were thus forced to migrate again until they settled in today's south-western Zambia, where they created the Lozi state and where Livingstone encountered them.⁶⁰

Broadbent, also a missionary, wrote in his autobiography about the short-lived Wesleyan mission he had established with his partner Hodgson amongst the Rolong chiefdom of *Morena* Sefunela in 1823/4. Describing mfecane events from what he perceived to have been a Rolong point of view, he reported on Mantatee depredations in the Free State and Transvaal, which also affected the Rolong people amongst whom he lived. While his report was based on information provided by Africans he met, other conclusions were based on his own experience. He described a sighting by himself and Hodgson in January 1823, when they were still south of the Vaal River, of large numbers of Mantatee warriors with large oval shields. Broadbent's text thus lent authority to already existing intelligence on the widespread destruction caused by the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 13, 71-75. [A.G. Bain] 'Extracts from the Journal of Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain Kept During a Visit to Some of the Interior Tribes of Southern Africa in the Year 1826', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (July-September 1830), 415-28. A.G. Bain, 'Journey to the North, 1826', in M.H. Lister (ed), The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain: Trader, Explorer, Soldier, Road Engineer and Geologist (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 30, Cape Town, 1949), 2-74.

Mantatees in a vaguely defined part of the southern African interior.⁶¹ Prior to these two authors, mfecane narratives on the Transgariep region had concentrated on events pertaining to the Ngwane, Hlubi, Tlokwa and Sotho states in the greater Caledon Valley area, on the Ndebele chiefdom in various locations and on the Tlhaping state in the Kuruman area where Moffat had established his mission station. While some authors had indicated the existence of many African chiefdoms in the interior,⁶² no details of their experiences during the mfecane years had previously existed. These narratives confirmed, and also started to fill in, the skeletal structure of mfecane history in this area.

In the late 1850's and early 1860's two books appeared which brought nothing new to the mfecane narrative, but repeated the established account. However, they are important because of the timing of their publication and the reputation of the authors. The context was the ongoing conflict between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. The first work was by Orpen, an Irish-born magistrate from the Free State, who was married to the daughter of a French missionary and had had extensive official contact with Moshoeshoe. His book was partly a lobbying for British support for Moshoeshoe's state, and resulted in his dismissal for anti-Free State sentiments.⁶³ The other work, by Casalis, was the English translation of the second edition of his 1841 French book and was published at this time for the same purpose. He had been with the S.M.E. in Basutoland from the late 1830's to the late 1850's, and was Moshoeshoe's unofficial foreign minister for most of this time until Free State pressure forced his removal.⁶⁴ Such works in defence of African leaders were rare. However,

⁶¹ S. Broadbent, A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity Amongst the Barolong Tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa (London, 1865), 34-35. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 122-23.

⁶² Broadbent, 'Letters, Maquasse, March 31st 1824', 355. Harris, Wild Sports, Map, 356.

⁶³ J.M. Orpen, History of the Basutos of South Africa (Cape Town, 1857). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 602-3.

⁶⁴ E. Casalis, Les Bassoutos, Ou Vingt-Trois Années de Séjour et d'Observations au Sud de l'Afrique (2nd edition, Paris, 1859), translated as E. Casalis, The Basutos, or, Twenty-three Years in South Africa (London, 1861), 16-19. V. Nüesch, Die Geschichte der Schweizer Mission

these authors followed their conscience as well as the well-established mfecane narrative, with Moshoeshoe being held up as a hero. Both authors claimed that their writings were based on African oral sources, with Moshoeshoe being the most important. These publications were received as important historical works by authors with long-standing contact with Moshoeshoe and the Basotho ruling elite; and through their endorsement of it further strengthened the pre-existing mfecane narrative in the greater Caledon Valley area. Orpen was the first to mention that the ethnic name of Moshoeshoe's people was the Mokoteli.⁶⁵ Casalis emphasised the devastating impact cannibalism had on the people of the area after the invasions of the Natal chiefdoms.⁶⁶ Orpen and Casalis both published at a specific time with a view to raising support for Moshoeshoe's state, using the pre-existing mfecane narrative to legitimise his rule in European literature. While Casalis was not heard from thereafter, Orpen remained in contact with a great many important people, among them Ellenberger and Cory, who were to write influential histories further developing the mfecane story, and with whom he extensively shared information and views.⁶⁷

The only work on the eastern Cape during these decades was by the Cape civil servants, Wilmot and Chase. They claimed that theirs was the first ever history of the Cape Colony. It was inspired by D. Moodie's collection and translation of official documents. Their focus was on the history of the colonists - Africans only featured as a threat to the Cape Colony and had to be kept at bay by the brave settlers.⁶⁸ In this they foreshadowed most of the histories of the settler colonies

in Süd-Afrika (no place, 1933), 25. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 156-57.

⁶⁵ Orpen, History of the Basutos, 5-8.

⁶⁶ Casalis, The Basutos, 16-19. Nüesch, Schweizer Mission, 25. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 156-57.

⁶⁷ (CA) A302, Vol. 1 – J. M. Orpen Papers, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1874-1934, J.M. Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger correspondence, March 1905 to September 1906. My thanks to E. Maloka for directing me to this correspondence. (CL) Orpen Papers, MS 1029, MS 1205–1208, MS 1211-1212, J.M. Orpen and C.E. Cory, correspondence, October 1920 - May 1921.

⁶⁸ H. Wilmot and J. C. Chase, A History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1869), folio 1. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 849-50. Bank, 'Great Debate', 37-38.

and republics for the next half century. It is thus not surprising that, while this text treated Africans in the same hostile vein of Godlonton, it went one step further when it stated, without offering any new evidence, that the Ngwane were 'a large horde of cannibals'.⁶⁹ Although the idea of cannibalism in the greater Caledon Valley area had been in the literature since the 1840's, the 1860's saw a new fascination with the subject, with all reports on cannibalistic activities in the past being accepted as fact.⁷⁰ In this first general history of the Cape Colony, the authors summarised the hitherto separately narrated mfecane accounts pertaining to the Cape Colony and the Transkei, such as the story of the Ngwane or the Fingo. Their lucid account reflected the colonists' view of mfecane history, solidifying and popularising the pre-existing mfecane narrative.

Two authors attempted to construct a coherent picture from the increasing body of information on chiefdoms, their wars and their movements in this geographic region. The first was Holden, who wrote a condensed overview of mfecane historiography in the Transgariep region. He described a sequence of collisions of chiefdoms, starting with the Zulu state under Shaka as the first, and culminating in the expulsion from the area of certain chiefdoms, which then clashed with peoples further away, resulting in the migration of yet other states. This process occurred repeatedly across the highveld. According to Holden, the Zulu attacked the Mantatees in 1825, who in turn struck at the Sotho, who then attacked the Tswana, who finally attacked the San. It was a mechanistic model, describing a multitude of wars, violence and bloodshed that led to many chiefdoms fragmenting and migrating to avoid extermination. At the end of this series of events, fragments of chiefdoms were to be found in new geographic areas, often with no clear indication as to how they came to be there.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Wilmot et al., History of the Cape Colony, 295. 'Cannibalism in South Africa', The South African Magazine 3 (1869), 195-96. 'The Cave Cannibals of South Africa', The South African Magazine, 2 (November 1868), 641-45.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 641-45. 'Cannibalism in South Africa', 195-6.

⁷¹ W.C. Holden, 'Brief History of the Orange-River Sovereignty, South Africa', Appendix to Holden, History of Colony of Natal, 342.

The second author, Shaw, had introduced Methodism into the eastern Cape and become the first superintendent of the southern African Methodist church.⁷² He produced the first two-page overview of mfecane history. According to Shaw, before 1820 there were wars to the west of Delagoa Bay out of which the Zulu state emerged as the most powerful polity, because Shaka's internal military revolution had resulted in the surrounding chiefdoms being conquered or forced to migrate. The stronger of these invaded their neighbours, with this pattern being repeated further afield until half of southern Africa from Delagoa Bay to the Griqua, and from the Hurutshe to the Mpondo, became in Shaw's view one large battlefield. No agriculture was possible under these conditions and half the population in these areas 'was destroyed by these terrible native wars'. He described small chiefdoms becoming cannibalistic due to hunger, with others drifting for years, part aggressor and part victim.⁷³ The accounts of these two authors had two elements in common. They believed that the violence was due to one chiefdom attacking another, with the carnage spreading further and further afield. And they both placed the blame for this on the Zulu state as revolutionised by Shaka. The other chiefdoms were seen to be merely reacting in an attempt at self-preservation. Both these elements would be crucial to the production of a coherent, Zulu-centric mfecane historiography in the next period.

It is clear that the considerable number of texts published during the 1850's and 60's had begun to flesh out the skeletal structure of mfecane history with many, sometimes conflicting, details. Authors claimed that they based their narratives on African oral information. In Natal, the many publications dealing with the issue of the origin of the Natal chiefdoms, unquestioningly blamed Shaka's Zulu state for the depopulation of this region. This was reflected in the discussed works on mfecane history in Natal and Zululand, which in their repetition of the mfecane story reinforced it as the generally accepted version. An interesting nuance was the first introduction of a distinction between Shaka and his predecessor, Dingiswayo, with the latter being described as having introduced

⁷² De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 711-14. Shaw, Story of My Mission.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 520-21.

positive changes into Zululand as a result of European influences. The mfecane narrative was also augmented with the history of the Kololo and the Rolong states. These decades also saw a fascination with cannibalism which was alleged to have occurred in Transgariep in general and the greater Caledon Valley area in particular, as well as in the otherwise depopulated Natal. Lastly, the synthesising of the various regional and ethnic histories into a Zulu-centric whole was a first effort to come to grips with the wider geographic picture of the mfecane narrative. These attempts were taken up in the next period and cast into a very definitive, Zulu-centric shape.

1870 to 1876 – The Shepstone Factor

While no actual wars between colonial and African states took place in southern Africa from 1870 to 1876, tensions between indigenous and European polities were growing considerably, culminating in a series of wars from 1877 to 1881. During the early 1870's only two works of significance are found, both of which focused exclusively on Natal and the Zulu state. One was by Shepstone, the controversial Secretary of Native Affairs for Natal and the other by Brooks, whose book promoted the colony of Natal to prospective British settlers and investors. He included a popularised history of Natal and Zululand before British annexation, largely following Shepstone's article, 'The Zulus'.⁷⁴

Although Shepstone was instrumental in shaping and implementing Natal's "native policy" for a generation, he only published for the first time in 1875.⁷⁵ He was not merely a chronicler, but a participant in mfecane-related historical events. The son of a Methodist missionary in the eastern Cape and Transkei, he learnt to speak Xhosa fluently. At the age of seventeen, he was directly involved in the 1834/35 war as an interpreter at D'Urban's headquarters. His involvement with the Fingo was even closer, as he was the officer-in-charge of Ayliff's Fingo trek to the Cape Colony in 1835. He never disagreed with

⁷⁴ H. Brooks and R.J. Mann, Natal: A History and Description of the Colony (London, 1876). T. Shepstone, 'The Zulus', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 9 (1875), 95-104.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-104. Also published in Britain as T. Shepstone, 'The Early History of the Zulu-Kafir Race of South-Eastern Africa', Journal of the Society of Arts, 23 (January 1875).

D'Urban's, Godlonton's and Ayliff's published version of the origin of the Fingo and their "rescue" from the Gcaleka.⁷⁶ As resident agent for the Fingo at Peddie from 1839 to 1845, he gained experience of being in charge of Africans and learnt lessons he was later to apply in Natal. The 1834/35 war also brought him into contact with Fynn, who significantly influenced him regarding the early history of Zululand and Natal. This eastern Cape experience did much to shape Shepstone's views on mfecane historiography.⁷⁷ In 1845, he became the Diplomatic Agent for all Africans in Natal. He made this post, variously named, his own by working out the "Shepstone System" of African administration, which consisted of three facets. Firstly, African communities were to be administered separately from the colony of Natal. Secondly, the African hut-tax would finance this administration. And lastly, Natal Africans were accepted as the original inhabitants of Natal. The latter was one of several points of contention between himself and the colonists.

Shepstone wrote three short accounts on Natal history, which were both connected and in contradiction with each other. As head of the colony's Department of Native Affairs, he wrote a report for the Lt. Governor of Natal in 1864 in order to prove the historical basis of African claims to land in Natal.⁷⁸ This report consisted of two distinct accounts, entitled 'Inhabitants' and 'Historic Sketch', which were to be published two decades later.⁷⁹ Shepstone's claim that

⁷⁶ Ayliff, 'The Fingoes'. [Godlonton], Rev. John Ayliff, 6-15. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo', 275.

⁷⁷ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 715-21. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1974), IX, 610-11. R.E. Gordon, Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa - 1820-1900 (Cape Town, 1968), 40-42, 86-88, 101, 117.

⁷⁸ Hamilton, Terrific Majesty, 90.

⁷⁹ Their initial publication in 1865 was in such a very limited edition that for all practical purposes they were not accessible to the public. Only one became available to the wider reading public in the 1880's: [T. Shepstone], 'Inhabitants of the Territory (Now the Colony of Natal) During the Time of Jobe, Father of Dingiswayo, Before the Extermination of Native Tribes by Chaka', "Enclosure No. 1 of Lieutenant Governor Scott's Dispatch No. 12, February 26th 1864", in J. Bird, The Annals of Natal, 1495-1845, 2 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg, 1888), I, 124-53. The second one appeared only in an obscure Report in 1883: T. Shepstone, 'Historic Sketch of the Tribes Anciently Inhabiting the Colony of Natal - as of Present Bounded - and Zululand, 1864', in Cape

the information came from oral African sources only has been brought into question by Wright, who shows that the Shepstone papers in the Natal Archives contain evidence of only fourteen informants being interviewed.⁸⁰ As it is unlikely that accurate information could be obtained on ninety-three chiefdoms from so few informants, it has to be concluded that the author also drew on European sources. Fynn's influence in particular is easily detectable.

'Inhabitants', which was eventually published in Bird's The Annals of Natal in 1888,⁸¹ contained ninety-three short historical sketches of the Natal chiefdoms. It detailed the areas they occupied in Natal before 1812, followed by a short summary of their experiences during the years 1812 to 1824 and where they subsequently settled. Shepstone's innovation was that he attributed the destruction of only fifty-four of these chiefdoms to the Zulu state, making little or no reference to Zulu atrocities and exterminations. The annihilation of the remaining thirty-nine chiefdoms were attributed to the Ngwane, Thembu, Chunu and Bhaca. It was never an influential work due to its format, a long list of very short historical sketches. In a sense, 'Inhabitants' was the raw material for the other section of the 1864 government report entitled 'Historic Sketch'. In this history of Zulu state-building, Shepstone introduced two new ideas contradictory to the dominant discourse at the time. He asserted that only the ruling elite of those chiefdoms defeated by Shaka were killed, whereafter the people submitted to incorporation into the Zulu state.⁸² And he developed a four-wave theory of the destruction of Natal, maintaining that each of the four chiefdoms referred to in "Inhabitants" attacked the Natal chiefdoms that were fleeing south-east through Natal ahead of the Zulu *amaButho*.⁸³ A possible inspiration for this theory might have been Ayliff, whom he knew personally during the 1834-35 war, and his 1835 articles in which he claimed that the Fingo were the remnants

Colony Parliamentary Papers: 1883, (G.4.-'83). Rept. of Government Com. on Native Laws and Customs, 1883. in Brownlee, F. The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records ([originally Lovedale, 1923], reprinted, Westport, 1970).

⁸⁰ Wright, 'Bryant and "The Wars of Shaka"', 6-7. Shepstone, 'The Zulus', 95.

⁸¹ [Shepstone], 'Inhabitants', 1, 124-53.

⁸² Hamilton, Terrific Majesty, 90-92.

⁸³ Shepstone, 'Historic Sketch', reprinted, 1923, 85.

of eight chiefdoms which, fleeing from the Zulu, escaped through Natal to the Transkei.⁸⁴ The implication was that, while the Zulu state was responsible for forcing these four chiefdoms to flee from south-east Zululand, they should no longer be regarded as the sole perpetrators of the carnage.⁸⁵ This was used by Theal in an early book, but not in his main work, History of South Africa. However, it was subsequently picked up by authors, such as Bryant, from 1905 onwards.⁸⁶ Surprisingly, this substantial sub-discourse could not be found in Shepstone's influential 1875 article, in which he chose to portray the Zulu as solely responsible for depopulating Natal.

The 1875 article, entitled 'The Early History of the Zulu-Kafir Race of South-Eastern Africa', was published in a British journal shortly before his retirement. It also appeared the same year under the title 'The Zulus' in a Cape Town magazine. Shepstone's friend, John Bird, included 'The Zulus' in his collection of documents on Natal history in 1888.⁸⁷ In it Shepstone introduced his three-period hypothesis of the history of Natal and Zululand arising from his preoccupation with the question of the origin of the Natal Africans. The first period was called 'primitive barbarism', where he followed Holden in describing Natal before 1812 as being populated by one million inhabitants. The few wars that occurred were governed by ancient rules, resulting in little loss of life. This "merry Africa" ended in 1812 with the genocidal Zulu invasion. The second period was defined as 'barbarism [with] a dash of civilization'. This was due to the knowledge that Dingiswayo was said to have gleaned from his stay in the Cape Colony prior to 1792, which had enabled him to reorganise the Mthethwa state's military system. A system which Shaka would later transform into a ruthless army and through which he would turn the age of peace in Natal into an age of genocide. The idea that a limited exposure to European civilization was

⁸⁴ Ayliff, 'The Fingoes'.

⁸⁵ Shepstone, 'Historic Sketch', 81-91.

⁸⁶ Only in G.M. Theal, Compendium of South African History and Geography (3rd. edition, Lovedale, 1877) and not in G.M. Theal, History of South Africa, 5 Vols. First Series (London, 1888 - 1893). A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (London, 1929). Wright, 'Bryant and The Wars of Shaka', 1-17.

⁸⁷ Shepstone, 'Early History', I, 155-166. Shepstone, 'The Zulus'.

worse for Africans than no civilization at all, became topical in European writings in the first third of the twentieth century. The third period saw the introduction of British rule and Christianity as the means to counter barbarism, with Africans being taught the full meaning of civilization. Shepstone used this view of the African past as a means of legitimising the colonisation of Natal in general, and the paternalistic Shepstone system of administering Natal Africans in particular. He preferred the 'simple, primitive, unalloyed barbarism' of the Natal Africans to the 'barbarism [with] a dash of civilization' of those Africans that had been instructed by missionaries or who had received a school education.⁸⁸ This tripartite structure of the history of Natal and Zululand was widely espoused in later historical literature, and was applied to the mfecane narrative not only of the eastern seaboard area but in the whole of southern Africa.⁸⁹

Also in this article was Shepstone's version of Dingiswayo's return to the Mthethwa state after his exile. Shooter had him arriving with a mounted European, but Shepstone had him returning by himself on a horse in 1792. It seems that Shepstone was also not able to conceive of an African chief introducing military innovations without European influence.⁹⁰ Both versions have been repeated in subsequent writings. As already mentioned, the 1875 article stands in contradiction to 'Inhabitants' and 'Historic Sketch' by laying the blame for the depopulation of Natal at the doors of the Zulu state alone. Shepstone's description of Shaka's state-building also failed to include the information that only the ruling elite of the defeated chiefdoms were exterminated. It is clear that Shepstone chose to discard this sub-discourse and emphasise only the dominant discourse in this prominently published article. As it was generally accepted in Natal that Shepstone had a great knowledge of "the

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 97-99, 102-4. Hamilton, Terrific Majesty, 88-89.

⁸⁹ W.T. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History and Other Papers of the Late Hon. Charles Brownlee, Gaika Commissioner (Lovedale, 1896), 81-83. J. A. Farrer, Zululand and the Zulus (London, 1879), 14-15. J. Bird, 'Introductory Remarks on the Compilation of the Annals of Natal', in Bird, Annals of Natal, 1, 5-7.

⁹⁰ Shepstone, 'The Zulus', 95-96, 99-102, 104. See also A. Koopman, 'Dingiswayo Rides Again', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 2 (1979), 1-12.

Zulu” and the Natal African chiefdoms, this article became very influential in cementing mfecane historiography. It was read widely in both Britain and southern Africa, and made a strong impression on its readers.

Whereas Shepstone had adopted a paternalistic approach, Brooks, as a settler, perpetuated the anti-Zulu, anti-Shaka rhetoric reminiscent of the anti-African attitude of Godlonton and Isaacs. Brooks attributed only positive attributes to his heroes, the Natal settlers, and only negative ones to his villains, the Africans. According to Brooks, Shaka felt that Dingiswayo had been too lenient with defeated chiefdoms. Thus, after becoming chief of the enlarged Zulu state, Shaka invented the stabbing spear and reorganised the *amaButho* into efficient killing machines in order to deal more effectively with any opposition. Brooks, contrary to previous authors, claimed that Shaka assimilated only the young men of defeated states into his *amaButho*, and killed the older men, women and children. This much more bloodthirsty image served to depict Shaka’s Zulu state as far more evil than previously suggested. In the late 1870’s this image had propaganda value in colonial Natal, which perceived the Zulu state under Cetshwayo as a serious threat to its security.⁹¹

Shepstone and Brooks differed in their approach to the aftermath of the alleged Zulu invasion. Shepstone presented cannibalism as one of the consequences of the depopulation of Natal. This was seen to illustrate the depravity that resulted from Shaka’s limited exposure to civilization. Brooks, on the other hand, followed established convention by stating that, though there were some cannibals, there were thousands of survivors of the genocide who placed themselves under the protection of the Port Natal traders. He emphasised this in order to illustrate the readily available source of labour for the potential settlers that he hoped to lure to Natal.⁹²

The significance of these two authors’ works for the development of mfecane historiography was threefold. Firstly, Shepstone’s three-period hypothesis of the

⁹¹ Brooks et al., Natal, 197-201.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 204-5.

mfecane narrative in Natal became standard in mfecane historiography. Secondly, Shepstone's decision not to publish the contrary evidence of his 1864 research in his article of 1875, resulted in the strengthening of the established version of Natal's mfecane narrative, as did Brooks' book. This decision robbed the two accounts of their potential impact when they were ultimately published in the 1880's. Thirdly, the two authors' emphasis on the purported activities of cannibals in Natal reinforced this myth in mfecane historiography.

During the 1870's, two important books in languages other than English were published. Fritsch⁹³ lived in southern Africa for three years, and Wangemann, of the Berliner Missions Gesellschaft,⁹⁴ travelled through southern Africa and edited missionaries' field reports for publication. Both repeated the existing versions of the mfecane narrative, except for Wangemann who introduced detailed historical accounts of the Pedi state and other chiefdoms in the eastern Transvaal. This information only filtered through into English language texts in the twentieth century.

This chapter has tried to show that the development of an mfecane narrative in the 1839-1876 period took place against the background of colonial expansion across most of the subcontinent, with the colonists progressively acquiring more African land, livestock and labour. It is clear that Europeans exercised control over the construction of all African history written in the English language through a monopoly of the publishing process. In this chapter, unlike in the previous one, no one text stands out above all others in importance for mfecane historiography. Rather, a large number of books and articles were published, most of which simply copied information from previous authors. The works selected for discussion in this chapter made significant contributions to the development of the mfecane narrative. The 1850s and 1860s were decades in

⁹³ G. Fritsch, Drei Jahre in Süd-Afrika (Breslau, 1868). G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas (Breslau, 1872).

⁹⁴ H.T. Wangemann, Die Berliner Mission im Koranalande (Berlin, 1873). H.T. Wangemann, Lebensbilder aus Südafrika (3rd. edition [originally Berlin, 1876], State Library Reprint Series 44, Pretoria, 1969).

which there was a preponderance of missionary authors, who shaped the mfecane narrative for later authors to copy. Most writers followed the methodology of Arbousset, who claimed that their accounts were based on interviews with “wise old men”. In spite of this, blind repetition of ideas dominates the writings on mfecane history, with no critical examination of sources being undertaken. Nonetheless, there were a number of authors who during this period introduced ideas contrary to the accepted mfecane narrative. These ideas were either ignored or in time incorporated into the dominant discourse, because they remained within the scope of the European “Image of Africa”.

The authors in this period all accepted the skeletal outline of mfecane historiography that was in existence in 1838, fleshing it out with their many, sometimes conflicting, details. Authors travelled much further during this period and thus lifted the veil that had hitherto lain over many areas of the “blank space”. This resulted in new information being introduced into the mfecane narrative. The most significant new element was the emergence of the greater Caledon Valley area as a major theatre of mfecane wars. Arbousset and Casalis were responsible for adding this additional limb to the skeleton of mfecane historiography. As a result it became possible to record and publish for the first time the history of hitherto unknown chiefdoms, such as the Kololo, the Rolong of Sefunela and the Pedi. Thus, the structure, as regards major geographic areas and mfecane actors, was more or less complete by 1846.

The first introduction of a number of less significant elements, which were to become important in periods covered in subsequent chapters, can be found in the texts of this period. Two research methods were used for the first time in mfecane historiography. Both the collection of African oral testimonies, first undertaken by Arbousset, and the edited printing of official and private documents, as done by Chase, were to become important aspects of the construction of texts in the ensuing periods. The first history of the Cape Colony focused on the actions of colonists, with Africans being regarded only as obstacles to be overcome by the settler heroes, an approach that would be popular with later writers. Brooks was the first author to use a simplistic, popular

style of writing, which emphasised the barbarous, bloodthirsty aspects of this period of history. Many accounts were to follow this approach in the following hundred years.

The authors examined in this chapter linked the Zulu state's antecedents to the implementation of what they thought were European military ideas, which Dingiswayo was said to have acquired either through a visit to the Cape Colony or from contact with a European outside Zululand. Dingiswayo was thus denied original thought and credited only with the ability to copy European inventions. This denial of African agency in the literature on the Zulu state increased as the nineteenth century progressed. The only African agency which these writers were prepared to accept was that which originated in what they regarded as the basest instinct of barbarism, with Shaka being held up as a prime example. Several ideas put forward by Shepstone initially contradicted the dominant discourse, but were incorporated in later decades. Shepstone also introduced the idea that the history of Natal can be divided into three distinct periods, which was very similar to the three part periodization introduced by Arbousset for the greater Caledon Valley area. This idea of three distinct periods of mfecane history soon became generally accepted.

The situation in the greater Caledon Valley area during those years was described in graphic terms, with aggressor states from Natal involved in the extensive destruction of local chiefdoms, who in turn contributed to the depredations. The only ray of light was seen to be the wise Moshoeshoe who provided safety for his own people, as well as the members of incorporated chiefdoms, at his mountain fortress. The hagiography created by Arbousset and Casalis around the person of Moshoeshoe resulted in him being the only African ruler in mfecane historiography to be portrayed in a positive light, a litany that was faithfully repeated by all writers of "liberal", colonial or imperial outlook. Important information on the Tlokwa state came to light in this period. The misidentification of the mythical warrior queen with the queen mother of the Tlokwa chief became entrenched in the literature in this period, as did the conclusion that the Tlokwa state was to be equated with the Mantatees. One author went so far as to suggest that the Mantatees incorporated the Kololo

state. Authors who focused only on the greater Caledon Valley area described the Tlokwa as a local predator. However, authors dealing with the area further north and west focused on the Mantatees and their alleged tour of devastation through the deep interior which ended with their defeat at Dithakong. There was not yet an integration of the history of the Tlokwa state in both areas.

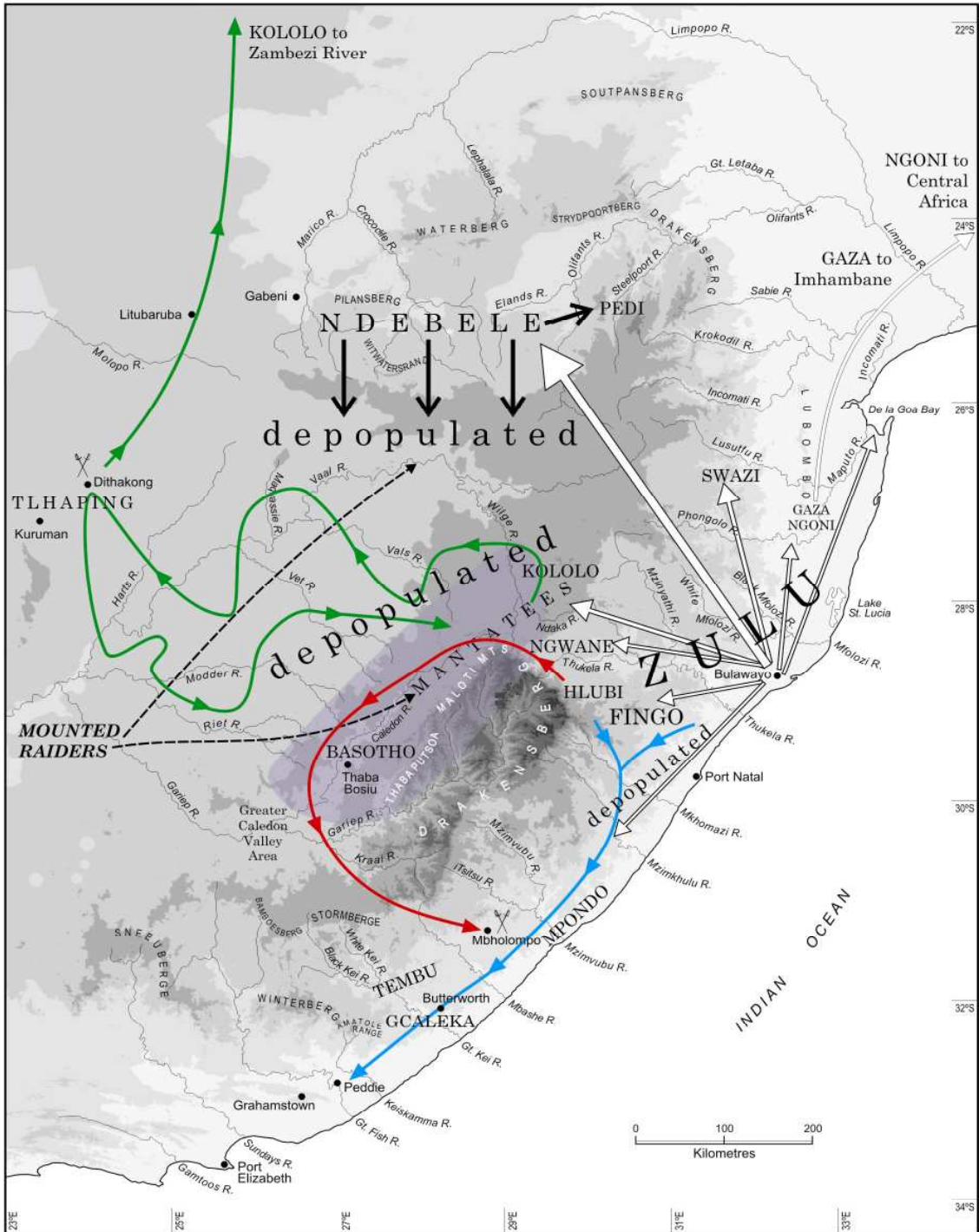
Previously, most writing on the Ndebele state had focused on their defeat by the trekkers in 1837. In this period, however, additional information on them was introduced into the mfecane narrative, in the form of clarification regarding Mzilikazi's relationship to Shaka, the reasons for his flight with his people to the highveld and the subsequent superiority of the Ndebele over other chiefdoms in that area

Cannibals were reported as existing during the mfecane years in the greater Caledon Valley area and in Natal, due to famine following invasions and alleged depopulation. Even the Ngwane were described as cannibals by the first historians of the Cape Colony. While support for the existence of cannibals is very tenuous, this concept was used to prove that Africans were basically a barbarous and uncivilized people, and probably also unredeemable.

Each author focused on a specific geographic area of South Africa or on one specific African state, and traced the causes of war, depopulation and cannibalism back to the Zulu state and Shaka. However, three missionaries went further in their interpretation of the various regional histories. Grout blamed the Zulu state for the destruction experienced across the whole eastern half of the subcontinent. However, Holden and Shaw began to conceive of a connection between the various regional narratives. They still only thought in terms of forced migrations of various chiefdoms in southern Africa, with the Zulu state being blamed in each case. While this was not yet a fully fledged Zulu-centric model, it was the first stage in this process, which not too long thereafter was taken up by Theal and others. No texts by Africans existed during this period; and texts in other European languages had no influence on the development of mfecane historiography in English.

Mfecane historiography was by 1876 a collection of articles and books which focused on a wide variety of geographic areas and African states, written by authors with varied backgrounds and interests. Some of them began to perceive of the wars of the 1820's and early 1830's as being interrelated, without yet being able to define this fully. This aspect comes into focus more clearly in chapter 4, where we see how Theal in particular welds all the previously dissonant accounts into an integrated narrative, with blame for the wars being placed solely on Shaka.

Map 6 - mfecane in the 1877 to 1904 Period – Chapter 4



The mfecane narrative as it had developed by 1904, at end of chapter 4.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
|  | = Greater Caledon Valley Area |  | = Ndebele depopulations |
|  | = Zulu attacks |  | = Ngwane movements |
|  | = Hlubi and Fingo movements |  | = Mantatee movements |
|  | = Attacks by mounted raiders |  | = GAZA and Ngoni migrations |

Chapter 4

The Imperial Period: 1877 to 1904

History, cheese-like, must be old and the racier the better, D.C.F. Moodie, 1888.¹

The alleged misery and cruelties inflicted on the aboriginal tribes by civilised men are light in comparison of the injuries they suffer from perpetual tyranny and despotism among themselves, A. Pretorius in G.M. Theal, *The Republic of Natal*, 1886.²

The object of this chapter is to show how the authors of the 1877 to 1904 period further developed an outline of mfecane history. In the main, authors writing during these years reiterated existing information in their rendition of the mfecane narrative, incorporating minor additions to it. Due to the unprecedented interest in the English-speaking world in anything to do with the Zulu after the Battle of Isandlwana, most works focused on them and on Natal, but without contributing new information. There were some contradictory contributions which failed to make any impact on the dominant discourse. This was also the case with the writings in African or other European languages. The most important contribution to mfecane historiography was provided by Theal. He permanently changed the direction of the mfecane narrative by integrating previous authors' focus on one geographical area and ethnic group into one coherent narrative spanning the whole sub-continent and the history of many African peoples. This integrated model placed Shaka and the Zulu state at the centre of the narrative. Following pro-settler authors of the 1823 - 1839 period, he used racist language in the description of African history, which he portrayed in an overly bloodthirsty light in order to demonstrate what awaited southern Africa if Africans were not governed strictly by Europeans.

¹ Moodie, *History of Battles*, II, viii.

² 'Pretorius to Russell (Secretary of Colonies), 22 June 1840', in G.M. Theal, *The Republic of Natal* (Cape Town, 1886), 7.

The concept "imperial", as in the title of this chapter, pertains to British expansion into land hitherto under African or boer sovereignty in the eastern Cape, Natal and the Transgariep. Britain's policy of "reluctant Empire", a term which pertained to London's unwillingness to pay for the annexation and administration of new colonies, was set aside in the late 1870's for several reasons, one of which was that 'the Victorians were [by the 1870's] less sure of their panacea [liberal principles] for the East and Africa', that is to say the use of 'political influence [...] to extend and secure free exchange; commerce and anglicisation',³ as Robinson and Gallagher indicated. They became willing to use troops to pacify and extend their colonies. More specifically, the growth of diamond mining in Kimberley from 1870 also led London to re-evaluate the strategic importance of southern Africa, a hitherto economically backward region. The ownership of the diamond fields was disputed. The Griqua, under the leadership of chief Waterboer, the Orange Free State, the Z.A.R. and the Tlhaping chiefdom all laid claim to this area. The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Keate, eventually awarded it to Waterboer in 1871. The chief then offered his territory to Britain for protection, a gift that Governor Barkly accepted and which resulted in an assured flow of diamonds to Britain.

At this time, southern Africa was becoming increasingly unstable, with British colonies and boer republics constituting a patchwork of territories intertwined with a variety of African chiefdoms. Schreuder maintained that this led to 'contact, interaction and friction generated by the local societies [and] tended to keep up a chain sequence of political change and instability, resulting in a continuous process of frontier advance',⁴ by colonists who were constantly encroaching on African lands. At the same time, African chiefs offered more effective resistance as they were able to obtain guns from migrant workers returning from the diamond mines. Britain feared that this unstable situation would lead to an escalation in armed conflict, with the military being drawn into battles not of their own making, resulting in the unacceptable commitment of troops and expenditure. Britain's answer to this situation was to propose a

³ Robinson et al., Africa and Victorians, 5. Smith, Changing Past, 25.

⁴ Schreuder, Scramble for Southern Africa, 56-57.

federation of South Africa with a common policy towards Africans. However, the boer republics refused to join, spelling the end of this policy. Parallel to the attempt to federate southern Africa was the introduction of responsible government for the Cape in 1872. This meant that the territory became internally self-governing and, most important from Britain's point of view, self-financing, made possible by the proceeds from diamond mining and the attendant economic upswing. Thus Britain was able to assign the control of newly incorporated African territories to the Cape – Basutoland in 1871, with Griqualand West following in 1880.⁵

The failure to negotiate a federation with the boer republics led precisely to the kind of situation Britain had wished to avoid, that of being drawn into conflicts emanating from its colonies and the boer republics. As a result the scramble for southern Africa took place from 1877 to 1884, which was a prelude to the much larger general "European" scramble for Africa of the years 1884 to 1895, leading ultimately to the loss of political sovereignty for most African peoples on the continent.⁶ Most of these southern African conflicts and annexations took place between 1877 and 1881. In 1877 the Transvaal Republic was annexed; between 1877 and 1878 war was waged against the Ngqika and Gcaleka in the eastern Cape; in 1878 there was rebellion in Griqualand East, Mpondoland and Griqualand West, and a war against the Tlhaping; the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 ended in the subjugation of the Zulu despite the British defeat at Isandlwana; 1879 also saw the last war against the Pedi in which British troops ended Pedi independence; the Transkeian Rebellion occurred in 1880-81 and led to its annexation to the Cape Colony. Only two wars led to concessions - the Anglo-Transvaal war of 1880-81 ended in Britain recognising the independence of the Transvaal Republic (Z.A.R.), and the Basutoland Gun War of 1880-81 resulted in the Basotho keeping their guns and their state being transferred from the

⁵ In general: Davenport, South Africa, 101-103, 142-52. W.H. Wörger, South Africa's City of Diamonds (Craighall, 1987). Atmore et al., 'Imperial Factor in South Africa', 105-139. Schreuder, Scramble for Southern Africa, 14-15, 20, 21-22, 24, 26-30, 61.

⁶ A. A. Boahen (ed), Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935, UNESCO General History of Africa Series, 8 Vols. (abridged edition, Paris and London, 1990, 1992, 1997, 1998, 1999), VII, 5-7.

Cape Colony back to Britain in 1884. By 1894 the Mpondo chiefdom, and by 1895 British Bechuanaland, were annexed to the Cape Colony and in the same year Swaziland became a *de facto* dependency of the Z.A.R. Thus the last independent African states were incorporated into the various colonies and lost their sovereignty.⁷

In the aftermath of the gold rush of 1884 to 1886, which took place in the area soon to become known as Johannesburg, Britain's interest in southern Africa as a whole was stimulated. This was opposed by the Kruger government in the Z.A.R. During the 1890's a set of complex interactions, based on increasingly irreconcilable differences between Britain and the Cape and Natal colonies on the one hand and the Z.A.R. and the Orange Free State on the other, led to the outbreak of the South African War of 1899 to 1902. The boer republics were subsequently defeated after a prolonged guerrilla war and became British colonies. From 1903, officials from Britain, as well as from the four colonies - Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State - shifted their attention from the conquest of African territories towards a uniform administration of all Africans in the new Union of South Africa of 1910.⁸

This period (1877-1904) saw an acceleration in the development of a "scientific" world-view in Europe, which Stepan has summarised as follows,

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a complex edifice of thought about human races had been developed in science that was sometimes explicitly, but more often implicitly, racist. That is

⁷ Davenport, South Africa, 137-61, 192-198. Schreuder, Scramble for Southern Africa, 61-63, 68, 75-87, 91-9, 103-06, 107-08. Also C.C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, 1992). N. Mostert, Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People (London, 1992). C.C. Saunders, 'The Annexation of the Transkei', in Saunders et al.(ed), Beyond the Cape Frontier, 185-98. Delius, Land Belongs to Us. A. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds), The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives (Pietermaritzburg, 1981). S.J. Gill, A Short History of Lesotho (Morija, 1993). Shillington, Colonization of Southern Tswana. Bonner, Kings.

⁸ Cobbing, 'Ndebele under Khumalos'. Davenport, South Africa, 202-31. J. Stuart, The History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906, 2 Vols. (London, 1913).

to say, the language, concepts, methods and authority of science were used to support the belief that certain human groups were intrinsically inferior to others, as measured by some socially defined criterion, such as intelligence or civilised behaviour. A “scientific racism” had come into existence.⁹

A number of European intellectual developments occurring in the latter part of the nineteenth century also influenced the authors of mfecane history. The most important was the biological concept of race. The biological sciences, revolutionised by the general acceptance of Darwin’s theory of evolution, increasingly influenced the European intellectual climate. A ‘convergence of scientific racism and evolutionist thought [occurred] in the 1880’s’, according to Dubow.¹⁰ He maintained that “scientific racism” viewed race as a fixed biological entity, which shaped an individual unalterably, and put forward an ‘explanation of human difference grounded in theories of biological determinism’.¹¹ Ideas of race and evolution did not remain the domain of the natural scientists, but began to spread into many other spheres of human endeavour. As Mosse has stated, ‘The mainstream of racism [was] the fusion of anthropology, eugenics and social thought. These traditional concepts were now linked to Darwinism, and so led to a racist preoccupation with heredity and eugenics as vital for the survival of the fittest’.¹² From the mid-nineteenth century, according to Pieterse, race became the ‘master key to history’,¹³ particularly so with regards to the development of mfecane historiography.

Thinking in terms of racial categories was not limited to natural and social scientists in the second half of the nineteenth century, but increasingly extended to all segments of the European population. However, for the majority, the attraction was not an academic discourse, but rather, so Mosse believed, ‘the “mystery of race” [which] emphasised the irrational nature of racism, the

⁹ N. Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960 (London, 1982), ix. Pieterse, White on Black, 10.

¹⁰ S. Dubow, Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa (Cambridge, 1995), 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹² Mosse, Towards Final Solution, 77.

¹³ Pieterse, White on Black, 49.

supposed mythological roots of race, and the so-called spiritual substance which was said to create and inspire it'.¹⁴ By the 1870's and 80's European superiority was no longer based on the supremacy of Christianity and of their "civilization", but on biological differences between races. This was expressed either in terms of the contemporary scientific understanding of race or in terms of concepts which were part of the "mystery of race". Ideas emanating from the latter influenced writers of both fictional and non-fictional works. With the resurgence of the gothic novel which had prevailed in the first part of the nineteenth century, mfecane authors found themselves influenced by the concept of "imperial gothic". Wylie states that the "imperial gothic" concept reflected the African world 'of unresolved chaos, of continuous transformation, of cruelty and fear, of the monstrous that is the shadow and mockery of the human'.¹⁵ At the same time a blurring of fact and fiction was observed in both fictional as well as historical works. 'The British reading public [regarded Africa as] a suitable field for adventure stories, and an imaginary area on which fantasies of violence, sexuality and the occult could be played out', as Wylie states.¹⁶ As a result, works on mfecane history abound with gothic, bloodthirsty stories.

This expression of ideas in terms of biology mostly did not have any scientific basis – such as the idea that Africans were dirty and that mixing with them sexually or socially would lead to the degeneration of the superior white race. By the 1880's, according to Pieterse, 'the rationalization of old prejudices' into new terminologies had occurred.¹⁷ It is thus not surprising that the African continued to be regarded as suspicious, fickle, fierce, libidinous, cruel, cunning, treacherous, blood-thirsty in his uncivilized state',¹⁸ now not because of their lack of Christianity or "civilization" but because of their race. Africans, in the scheme of European thinking, were at best regarded as the white man's

¹⁴ Mosse, Towards Final Solution, 94.

¹⁵ Wylie, Savage Delight, 150.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 146, 49, also 146-50. Wylie, 'Bryant's Inexplicable Swarms', 1-23.

¹⁷ Pieterse, White on Black, 45. Dubow, Scientific Racism, 286.

¹⁸ Curtin, Image of Africa, 386.

burden, with Europeans assuming responsibility for them until that day very far in the future when they should become civilised. At worst, they were regarded as a race condemned by nature to become extinct. Although biologically-based race ideas permeated mfecane historiography from this time onwards, they did not alter the structure of the mfecane narrative, which was constructed under the influence of the old-style racism. The source of intra-African warfare was increasingly attributed not only to the evil genius of Shaka, but also to the barbarism of a biologically inferior race.

This period saw mfecane authors making use of various devices common to academic texts. Foot- or endnotes and relatively extensive bibliographies came to be used. Also, references to books, newspaper and magazine articles, as well as to government publications, appeared increasingly at the end of texts. More important, however, was the development of archival research as the basis of historical writing. This was particularly apparent in the compilations of official and private documents. Theal published Basutoland Records in 1883, as well as two sets of official documents in the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century. In 1888, D.C.F. Moodie and Bird also compiled official and private documents, with all three authors following the example of D. Moodie and Chase who, in the 1840's, had been South Africa's pioneers in this field.¹⁹ Authors of this period, in particular Theal, quoted extracts from documents, or even entire documents, and made reference to them in their historical narratives. References to African oral sources became very commonplace in works on the African past. As Theal stands out above the other authors, both in terms of output as well as in the breadth of his writings, he will be considered in some depth in this chapter. His historical works dominated this period and influenced history writing until the middle of the twentieth century.

¹⁹ Theal, Basutoland Records. G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, 37 Vols. (Cape Town, 1895 - 1905). G.M. Theal, Records of South Eastern Africa, 9 Vols. (Cape Town, 1898 - 1902). Moodie, Record. Chase, Natal. Moodie, History of Battles, 2 Vols. Bird, Annals of Natal, 2 Vols. Ross, Beyond Pale, 211.

Late Victorian Authors

Numerous books containing aspects of the mfecane narrative were published in the 1877 to 1904 period. As most works repeated the pre-existing version, only a small selection of books important to the development of mfecane historiography are considered in this chapter. The majority of the works analysed in this section were published between 1877 and 1896. From the late 1890's to 1904 there was a dearth of publications on the mfecane. Whereas missionaries dominated the previous period, they make up a much smaller segment among the writers of this period, with settler propagandists and civil servants featuring more prominently. In 1879, given the tensions between Natal and the Zulu chiefdom, the Intelligence Branch of the British War Office brought out a conventional summary of the history of Natal - based on twenty-four published books - in preparation for military intervention.²⁰ Most late Victorian texts considered here concentrated on events in Zululand and Natal, owing to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1878/79. The Zulu victory over regular British and Natal forces at Isandlwana was judged to have been extraordinary. The many deaths on the colonial side, as well as the mutilation of corpses, confirmed the image of the Zulu as blood-thirsty barbarians. This war stimulated much interest in "the Zulu" and it is not surprising that most of the works published on mfecane history in the period covered in this chapter concentrated on Zululand and Natal.²¹ The texts examined in this section are divided into three different types: English-language works, four articles in English purportedly by Africans, and books in other European languages.

First, the English-language publications²² considered here nearly all focused on Natal and Zululand. Most authors repeated already-existing elements of the

²⁰ Great Britain War Office, Intelligence Division of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, Précis of Information Centring on the Colony of Natal (London, 1879).

²¹ Wright, 'Political Mythology', 278. F. Emery, Marching Over Africa: Letters from Victorian Soldiers (London, 1986), 70, 74, 76.

²² See also works which are not considered in this chapter. Great Britain War Office, Intelligence Division of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, Précis of Information Concerning South Africa: The Eastern Frontier of the Cape

mfecane narrative and thus supported the dominant discourse. There were, however, two works that contained aspects of a contradictory sub-discourse. The question of the origin of the African population in Natal lay at the centre of Bird's publications. A Cape civil servant seconded to the Natal Civil Service in 1845, he worked as a surveyor, magistrate and judge, and used his talents as a writer to promote the interests of the Natal settlers. During the agitation for responsible government in Natal, the colonial elite, as Pridmore noted, were concerned to portray 'their own colonial history, and the need for a "collective historical pedigree"'.²³ The Natal government thus sponsored Bird, in his retirement, to write The Annals of Natal. So he compiled official documents from archives, but also included items from newspapers, missionary publications and correspondence, as well as documents from Port Natal traders and related commercial sources, such as Smith's 'Précis' of 1834.²⁴ Bird received permission from H.F Fynn's son to publish some of his father's papers for the first time. H.F Fynn, after his cameo role during the Natal Native Affairs Commission in 1853 (see chapter three), had decided to write the memoirs of his early years in Natal. Unable to proceed on his own, he obtained the help of four or five others, in particular his new secretary who wrote most of the material in 1858/9.²⁵ However, as Wylie has noted 'with reference to Bird's

Colony, Kafraria and Basutoland with Special Reference to Native Tribes (London, 1877). A. Trollop, South Africa ([originally London, 1878], reprinted, Cape Town, 1973). C.W. Hutton, The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstrom 2 Vols. (Cape Town, 1887). B.E. Frere, 'Historical Sketch of South Africa', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4 (1889), 237-59. G. Lacy, 'Southern African Exploration: Pioneer Hunters, Traders and Explorers of Southern Africa', South Africa, 25-27 (1895). A. MacKenzie and A. Stead, South Africa: Its History, Heroes and Wars (London and Chicago, 1900).

²³ J. Pridmore, 'The Production of H.F. Fynn c. 1830-1930', Paper - University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990, 16.

²⁴ Bird, Annals of Natal, I, 252-269. See also Smith, 'Historical Précis of Natal', 157-72. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 63. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1970), II, 336.

²⁵ Bird, Annals of Natal, I, 395-429. Chase, Natal. Pridmore, 'Production of Fynn', 16-7. Pridmore, 'Hunter, Trader and Explorer?', 50, 53. B.J.T. Leverton, 'The Story of the Fynn

treatment of the Fynn papers, a selectiveness was practised to protect Fynn's legendary reputation, and to preserve Shaka's malign one'.²⁶ Through the inclusion of selectively edited papers, H.F Fynn's posthumous legitimacy as having been the expert on the history of Natal and the Zulu people was strengthened. The fact that Bird included many documents from or pertaining to the 1820's and 30's, confirmed the orthodoxy of the mfecane narrative on Natal, thus serving to cement it even further. The same effect came from another pro-colonist author, D.C.F. Moodie, who published in the same year a popular adventure history suitable for schoolchildren. This was a narrative interspersed with quotes from documents or extensive extracts from out-of-print books. He, too, incorporated Fynn's texts, which he copied from Bird's.²⁷ The impact of these two works, appearing shortly after each other, was to strengthen the dominant version of the mfecane history of Natal and Zululand in the minds of readers. This was achieved by presenting a considerable range of documents, above all those by H.F Fynn, none of which were in contradiction to the dominant version of the mfecane narrative.

Farrer and Mann²⁸ were in many respects typical of the authors²⁹ of this period in their depiction of the mfecane narrative of Natal and Zululand. They accepted

Papers', The Lantern, 9, December 1961, 82-3. The documents printed in Bird and other papers attributed to Fynn have been published in Stuart, J. and Malcolm D. (eds) The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, (Pietermaritzburg, 1950).). The paper of one of those documents (NAD-P) File 19, No. 81, H.F. Fynn, Boer migration from Cape Colony to Natal: Cane's fight with Dingaan's Regiments (c. 1861), contains a watermark which clearly shows the year 1860.

²⁶ Wylie, Savage Delight, 153.

²⁷ Moodie, History of Battles, I, 378-92.

²⁸ J.A. Farrer, Zululand and the Zulus (London, 1879). Mann, Zulu and Boers. R.J. Mann, The Colony of Natal (London, 1859). R.J. Mann, 'The Black Population of the British Colony of Natal, South Africa', Intelligent Observer (October 1866), 184-193. R.J. Mann, 'Wild Kaffir Life and Wild Kaffir Intelligence', Intelligent Observer (November 1866), 289-97. R.J. Mann, 'Recent Passages of Zulu-Kafir History', Journal of the Society of Arts, 30 (June 1882), 809-10.

²⁹ See also works such as these which are not considered in this chapter. G.W. Stow, 'The Days of Tshaka', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (August, 1879), 897-904. T.J. Lucas, The Zulus and the British Frontiers (London, 1879). J. Tyler, Forty Years Among the Zulu (Boston, 1891). S.E. Champion, (ed), Rev. George Champion: Pioneer Missionary to the Zulus (New

the dominant discourse, with Farrer capturing the typical attitude towards Shaka and the Zulu when he described them as savage 'eaters of the earth' or 'eaters of men'.³⁰ He was though at pains to point out that the Zulu were no cannibals, which in his opinion was the worst human condition (see chapter three for a discussion on cannibals). Farrer and Mann followed Shepstone's 1875 article in their respective 1879 publications, including his three-period hypothesis of Natal history: the "merry Africa" era, the time of depopulation by the Zulu, and the peaceful colonial period. They believed that *inKosi* Cetshwayo's Zulu military system was precisely the same as that invented by Shaka. Thus the 'spirit of wolfish cruelty', as Mann put it,³¹ which was observed at the battle of Isandlwana in 1879, was seen by these authors and their readers teleologically as having been present in Shaka's day. This teleology also applied to the so called "horn formation" battle tactics of the Zulu used at Isandlwana. Its invention had been attributed in the literature to Shaka since the 1830's. After Isandlwana, it came to occupy a prominent position in all future accounts of the Shakan military system. Projections on the size of the Zulu state and its military strength and tactics were made from the experiences of the Anglo-Zulu War, reinforcing the pre-existing image of the bloodthirsty, cruel and invincible Zulu military machine. Thus, for writers of the immediate post-1879 period that image became solidified into fact, as a result of what took place at Isandlwana. Farrer's attitude to oral African sources was contradictory. He was suspicious of what he considered to be an uncritical adoption of oral history. While this may well have been based on the European "Image of Africa", which saw Africans as notorious liars, he was also concerned with finding a reliable methodology for the analysis of African oral information in history writing.³²

Fynney and Bird presented ideas and information at odds with the established version of the mfecane narrative. Bird, in Is the Kafir Population in Natal Alien or

Haven, 1896). H.R. Haggard, Cetshwayo and His White Neighbours (London, 1882). 'First Colonialization of Natal', *Annals of South Africa Series*, South Africa Handbook, 7 (1901). 'Tchaka the Terrible', *Annals of South Africa Series*, South Africa Handbook, 10 (1901).

³⁰ Farrer, Zululand and Zulus, 108, 114.

³¹ Mann, Zulu and Boers, 19.

³² *Ibid.*, 19. Farrer, Zululand and Zulus, 14-5, 108-9, 114-4.

Aboriginal?,³³ had already betrayed his preoccupation with this theme in his Annals of Natal. He examined the various estimates in the literature for the number of Africans living in Natal in the mid-1820's who were believed to have survived the depopulation by the Zulu *amaButho*. While many authors postulated a figure of around 3 000,³⁴ he agreed with Fynn and Grout, who informed the Natal Native Affairs Commission that there were between 75 000 and 83 000 Africans in Natal at that time.³⁵ While holding on to the ideas that Natal had been depopulated and that the majority of Natal's African population were immigrants, he was forced by the evidence to admit that there were considerably more people left in Natal by the mid-1820's than believed by most authors. In spite of this, Bird was still unable to draw the obvious conclusions and abandon his belief in the depopulation of Natal.

Fynney was a settler who became immersed in Zulu culture, language and history during his teenage years while farming, hunting and undertaking trading journeys into Zululand. He epitomised the racist and anti-Zulu attitudes of the Natal colonists. As a junior civil servant between 1876 and 1881 he was involved in Shepstone's occupation of the Z.A.R., as well as in the build-up to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and subsequently the war itself. His book³⁶ was written in the context of his involvement on the British side in that war. He, too, was obsessed with the origin of the Natal African population. However, some of his information was at odds with that found in earlier publications, and thus must have come from different oral sources encountered during his travels. He wrote that Dingiswayo, not Shaka, had invented the *amaButho* and the stabbing spear. Furthermore, he stated that Shaka, whom Fynney viewed as a bloodthirsty slaughterer, had put members of the ruling house to death when conquering a particular chieftom and had then incorporated the remainder of

³³ J. Bird, Is the Kafir Population in Natal Alien or Aboriginal? (Pietermaritzburg, 1890).

³⁴ Smith, 'Historical Précis of Natal', 170-1. Bird, Population in Natal, 10-12.

³⁵ Natal Colony, 1852. Rept. Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1852-1853, 5-10, 32, 35-36. 1853. Proceedings, Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1853, 10-20, 23-4. as referred to in Bird, Population in Natal.

³⁶ Fynney, 'Rise and Fall of Zulu Nation'. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1981), IV, 170-71.

the people as vassals in his state. He borrowed from Shepstone's 'Historical Sketch' and expanded on it when he claimed that the Ndwandwe under *inKosi* Zwibe were responsible for containing Shaka's expansion. Both authors indicated that it took years for the Zulu army to inflict a decisive defeat on the Ndwandwe confederacy, with its many subsidiary groups finally dispersing out of Zululand. Amongst these were the Ndebele under Mzilikazi, which hitherto were regarded as having broken away from the Zulu state.³⁷ It was only decades later that the information on the origins of the Ndebele was regarded as being historically correct. These four points were part of the contradictory sub-discourse, but were not viewed seriously by other authors and thus made no impact on the development of mfecane historiography.

The contribution to the history of the mfecane in the Transgariiep by authors writing in this period was negligible.³⁸ The usual themes recurred - the purported depopulations by the Ndebele and Mantatees, the Mantatees' defeat at Dithakong, the devastating wars in the greater Caledon Valley area, as well as the rise of Moshoeshoe. Most authors recycled the established version created by the French missionaries and Orpen. Only Carnegie, L.M.S. missionary to *inKosi* Lobengula at Bulawayo, presented new information when he wrote that the Swazi paid tribute to the Ndebele state while the latter was still situated in the Ermelo area.³⁹

³⁷ Fynney, 'Rise and Fall of Zulu Nation', 1-7. Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch', 83-5. See also Hamilton, Terrific Majesty, 122.

³⁸ See also other works which are not considered in this chapter. Great Britain War Office, Intelligence Division of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, Précis of Information Concerning Basutoland (London, 1880). M.J. Boon, The History of the Orange Freestate (London, 1885). F. Mandy, Matabeleland: The Future Gold Fields of the World (Cape Town, 1889). E. Casalis, My Life in Basutoland ([originally London, 1889], reprinted, Cape Town, 1971). J. Widdicombe, Fourteen Years in Basotho-Land: A Sketch of African Mission Life (London, 1891). Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kafir Life. G. Lagden, 'Basutoland and the Basuto', Scottish Geographical Magazine, 17 (July 1901), 347-62. 'Moshesh of the Mountains, the Warrior-Diplomatist', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 12 (1902). 'Umziligazi, the Lion of the North', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 12 (1902).

³⁹ D. Carnegie, Among the Matabele (London, 1894), 15.

Articles on African history published by Africans in the vernacular during this period appeared mainly in African-language newspapers, as well as missionary, church and teachers' periodicals.⁴⁰ These articles had no impact on the development of mfecane historiography, as none of the English-speaking writers read them. Historical texts published by Africans in English were rare in this period. Two appeared in the 1890's. One was by a Ghanaian who lived in Cape Town and whose text was heavily indebted to Theal, but more balanced. The other was a history of Ntsikana by Bokwe, which read like a novel.⁴¹ There were, however, four articles published in English, which were attributed to African authors. Three were published in the late nineteenth century. One was published in 1909, but clearly belongs to the same genre and thus needs to be considered at this point. On closer inspection, it becomes clear that these four texts were constructed and published by Europeans. The background to the writing of these articles can be found in the late 1870's, when authors realised that the older generation that had witnessed historical events were in danger of taking their memories to the graves and that 'collecting the stories of the old people yet remaining, and who are so rapidly passing away',⁴² as Mabile declared, was vital. Thus began a process of collecting and publishing oral testimonies from elderly Africans, as well as from boers who had been part of the Great Trek, in a more deliberate and systematic way than before.⁴³

⁴⁰ Schreuder, Scramble for Southern Africa, 53. Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', v.

⁴¹ F. Peregrino, A Short History of the Native Tribes of South Africa (London, 1899). J.K. Bokwe, Ntsikana: The Story of an African Convert (Lovedale, 1896). Saunders, South African Past, 106.

⁴² Moshoeshoe, 'Little Light', 221. Moloja, 'Story of Fetcani Horde', 267.

⁴³ See Stow, Native Races of South Africa, J.M. Orpen, Reminiscences of Life in South Africa: From 1846 to the Present Day, with Historical Researches (Durban, 1908). Bryant, Olden Times. Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive, 5 Vols. D.P. Bezuidenhout, 'Voortrekkers Verhaal', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 3 (December 1879), 84-92. J. Brill, 'Een Gedenkskrift over den Trek', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (July 1879), 881-3. W.G. Nel, Een Bladzijde uit de Geschiedenis der Voortrekkers (Pieternaritzburg, c.1897). D. Postma, Eenige Schetsen voor eene Geschiedenis van de Trekboeren (Amsterdam and Pretoria, 1897). A.E. Steenkamp, 'Een Gedenkskrift of Journaal van onze Uittogt uijt onze Moeders Lant tot hier aan Port Natal', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (July, 1879), 883-90. [A. Steenkamp], 'Journal of a Voor-Trekker', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 13 (September 1876), 180-7. D.C.

A comparison of the sources and authors of these four articles is necessary. Mhlanga, a Fingo of Hlubi origin, was the source, and T (possibly Theal) the author of an article published in 1877. Nehemiah Moshoeshoe, a Basotho, was the source of an article published in 1880, with the French missionary Mabile⁴⁴ being the author. Moloja, a Ngwane, was the source, and Orpen the author, of an 1882 article. Simanga, a Ngwane, was the source, and Scully the author, of an article published in 1909.⁴⁵ No detailed description of the process of recording, translating and editing of the oral testimony was included in the preface to these articles. The attitude of the European editors of these texts was ambivalent towards the value of African oral testimony. On the one hand, as Orpen maintained, there were 'no grounds to doubt the entire truthfulness of the facts narrated', while on the other African thought processes were regarded as fundamentally different to those of Europeans.⁴⁶ Consequently they felt that 'there is very great difficulty in fixing the true course of events from the conflicting accounts given of the terrible tragedy',⁴⁷ as Scully wrote. The editors thus constructed texts that made the most sense to them in the light of the historical literature with which they were familiar. Furthermore, oral history is also oral literature and the mixing of the two is inevitable, as is well documented by authors in the field of oral tradition. This resulted in narratives with a coherent and linear progression of events typical of those constructed by

Uys, De Trek van 1835 uit de Kaap-Kolonie naar Natal; hoe en door Wien de Trek Begonnen is (Pretoria, 1899).

⁴⁴ Also known by his pen name, Herodotus Australis. H. Dieterlen, Adolphe Mabile [1836-1894] ([originally Paris, 1898], reprinted, Paris, 1930). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 483-4. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1972), VII, 85.

⁴⁵ Mhlanga, 'Story of Native Wars', 248-52. Moshoeshoe, 'Little Light', 221-33 and 286-90. Moloja, 'Story of Fetcani Horde', 267-275. Scully, 'Fragments of Native History', 284-92, 435-41, 595-603. See also J. Marquard, 'A Neglected Pioneer in South African Literature: W.C. Scully', Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984. Compare these articles with P.M. Hook, 'The Natal Tribes', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 8 (September 1880), 160-64. This was an edited oral tradition on Natal and the Hlubi by the magistrate of Herschel, who, unlike the four articles under discussion, presented them as edited by him.

⁴⁶ Quote, Moloja, 'Story of Fetcani Horde', 267. See Mhlanga, 'Story of Native Wars', 248.

⁴⁷ Scully, 'The amaHlubi and the amaNgwane', in Fragments of Native History Series, 284.

European editors. Thus, these texts did not represent authentic African voices - a point made by Peires.⁴⁸

Although each interviewee's account is an individual story, the accounts emanating from the one Hlubi and two Ngwane sources share many similar elements of the mfecane narrative in Natal and Zululand, on the highveld and in the greater Caledon Valley area. These texts did not run counter to the accepted contemporary versions of the mfecane narrative and were thus no different from the texts of the French missionaries,⁴⁹ but added many more specific details. They depicted political and military turmoil in Zululand, with most sources blaming the Ndwandwe state for expelling the Ngwane northward into the territory of the Hlubi, who were in turn forced to migrate to the highveld. After a period of time, which varies in length with each account, Zulu *amaButho* then also pushed the Ngwane into the greater Caledon Valley area. There the Ngwane, the Hlubi and the local Tlokwa state battled each other for supremacy, with the Hlubi finally being defeated and incorporated into the Ngwane state. During these wars all three states continually attacked the local Sotho-speaking chiefdoms, causing death, destruction, disruption and cannibalism, according to the four sources of these articles. They also held a Zulu army responsible for expelling the Ngwane state into the Transkei years later, where they were wiped out by the British-led colonial army. The four African elders portrayed an ambiguous image of the Ngwane, seeing them as victims of attacks emanating from the Ndwandwe, Zulu and the Cape Colony. Conversely, they were seen as aggressors against the Hlubi, the chiefdoms of

⁴⁸ J. Vansina, Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Methodology (London, 1965). J. Vansina, Kingdom of the Savannah (Madison, 1966). D.P. Henige, Oral Historiography (London, 1982). D.P. Henige, 'Oral Tradition and Chronology', Journal of African History, 12 (1971). P. La Hausse, 'Oral History and South African Historians', Radical History Review, 46-47 (1990), 346-56. Peires, 'Matiwane's Road', 213-240. Hamilton, Terrific Majesty. As a contrast see also 'Appendix 1A', in Peires, House of Phalo, 170-5. T.J. Stapleton, 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-Ethnicity: The Fingo Debate', Paper – Rhodes University, July 1995. See also Golan, Inventing Shaka.

⁴⁹ Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour. Casalis, Basutos.

the greater Caledon Valley area and the Thembu in the Transkei.⁵⁰ This was an ambiguity reflected in those books and articles on the mfecane that were available to the European authors of these articles.

The article based on the testimony of Nehemiah Moshoeshoe was remarkably similar to those discussed above, even though its focus was different. He was the second in line to the Basotho throne and claimed that his knowledge of his people's history had been passed down to him by his father, *Morena* Moshoeshoe I. The text is divided into two sections. The first detailed the vagaries of Moshoeshoe's Mokoteli chiefdom during the wars against the invaders from Natal, in which the Tlokwa featured prominently as the most destructive force and main opponent of the Mokoteli. In the article, Moshoeshoe's wisdom and humanity are depicted as triumphing over these adverse circumstances, so much so that he was able to expand his state through the voluntary submission of many small Sotho-speaking chiefdoms.⁵¹ Stow, after comparing it with other texts, concluded that N. Moshoeshoe 'gave the tribal traditions after they had been trimmed up and modified so as to support the more ambitious schemes and ideas of the dynasty of Moshesh'.⁵² Nehemiah, like his father before him, used references to history to advance the contemporary political and economic cause of the Sotho elite. Thus, in the second section of this article, Nehemiah laid claim to a strip of land thirty-five kilometres wide in the Orange Free State, immediately to the west of Basutoland's eastern border (which was in the same position then as today). The claim was based on the assertion, constantly made by the royal house in all oral information given to Europeans, that Basutoland had a right to all the lands belonging to those chiefdoms that had been incorporated, especially those who had voluntarily transferred their allegiance to Moshoeshoe before 1833. Thus, in this case the chiefdoms originally living in that area were included into Basutoland and this land was later lost in the wars with the Orange Free

⁵⁰ Mhlanga, 'Story of Native Wars', 248-52. Moloja, 'Story of Fetcani Horde', 267-275. Scully, 'Fragments of Native History'.

⁵¹ Moshoeshoe, 'Little Light', 2 (April 1880), 221-32.

⁵² Stow, Native Races of South Africa, xii.

State.⁵³ The aim of this article was the glorification of the Sotho royal house, at the cost of the Tlokwa who were conquered and incorporated into the Sotho state. The use of history by the narrators, particularly those of the royal household, as a means of staking their claims, was widely practiced by preliterate people.⁵⁴

These articles reveal a detailed focus on the mfecane in Natal and the greater Caledon Valley area. They present various narratives, containing certain contradictory elements, but on the whole they remained in agreement with the mfecane narrative produced by European authors. This is to be expected because these texts were edited and published by fellow Europeans. While their impact on the development of mfecane historiography was marginal, they were important in that at that time and long thereafter they were seen to be the “African” voice legitimising the standard mfecane narrative.

Europeans writing in other European languages had an equally minimal impact on the development of mfecane historiography. An examination of a cross-section of Dutch, German and French authors published in this period reveals that they followed the mfecane narrative found in English-language works,⁵⁵ regardless of their confessional (half of the them were missionaries), ideological or political (three were pro-boer) standpoints. One of these non-English texts contained the first use of the word, *Difaqane*. Christol in 1897 introduced it in the phrase ‘*Difaqane di hlaho*’, which he translated as ‘*ancienne guerres*’ - wars

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 282-92. See ‘Letter of Moshoeshe to the Secretary of Government, 25 April 1845’ in Theal, Basutoland Records, I, 82-87. ‘Extracts from ‘A Sketch of the Principle Events to the Government of the Basuthos since 1833’, in Theal, Basutoland Records, I, 516-23.

⁵⁴ Tisani, ‘Xhosa Historiography’, 291-92.

⁵⁵ H.J. Hofstede, Geschiedenis van den Oranje-Vrystaat (s’Gravenhage, 1879). T.M. Tromp, De Stam der AmaZoeloe (Leiden, 1879). A. Merensky, Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben im Transvaal, 1859-1882 (2nd. edition, Berlin, 1899). T. Jousse, La Mission Francaise Évangélique au Sud de l’Afrique, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1899). E. Holub, ‘Die Ma-Tebele’, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 25 (1893), 177-180. H.P. Retief, Datums van Gebeurtenissen uit de Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van 1486 tot 1895 (Paarl, 1897). Gallienne, Thomas Arbousset.

of long ago.⁵⁶ It had a more general meaning then from what it was to assume only a few years later.

Another of these non-English publications was a historical timeline in Dutch and was aimed at Dutch-speaking schoolchildren. Although this was not the first school text on history in the Dutch language, it represented a growing concern for the production of school histories in the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ Books appearing in Dutch served to disseminate the mfecane narrative among Dutch-speakers in the two British colonies and the boer republics. The result was that the mfecane narrative, which had coalesced in the previous period and was uncritically repeated in English-language works of this period, was also disseminated among Dutch-speaking colonists in South Africa, giving both English and Dutch colonists a common historical consciousness, with regard to mfecane history.

The version of the mfecane narrative established by the end of the previous period was taken up largely uncritically and recycled with no structural changes by the authors examined so far in this period. They rather strengthened the established version by including material from the previous phase, as seen in Bird's The Annals of Natal, and D.C.F. Moodie's book, which included papers by H.F. Fynn. It was also strengthened by European projections of their experience of Cetshwayo's armies at war, especially at the battle of Isandlwana, onto the structure of Shaka's overbearing Zulu "military machine". The perceived African voice of the four articles based on African oral narratives also confirmed the version of the mfecane narrative encountered in written sources. So strong was this established discourse that contradictory sub-discourses, such as Bird's Is the Kafir Population in Natal Alien or Aboriginal? and Fynney's book, could not undermine it. Having made no major impact on the developing mfecane historiography in English, these texts were nonetheless very important in strengthening and disseminating the established mfecane narrative among

⁵⁶ Christol, Au Sud de l'Afrique, 48. Translation by the author of the thesis.

⁵⁷ Retief, Datums van Gebeurtenissen. The oldest was J. Soussa de Lima, Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop (Cape Town, 1825). See also Theal's school texts in Footnote 103.

Europeans as well as Dutch and English colonists in the Cape Colony and the boer republics.

After analysing all those authors of the 1877 - 1904 period who wrote on the mfecane, it is clear that one author stood out above all the others. Theal, as has been noted by most twentieth century historians, has a pivotal place in the development of historical writing on South Africa. This pertains, however, not only to colonial history, which was his particular interest, but also to African history in general and the mfecane narrative in particular. Thus, a whole section of this chapter is devoted to Theal and his oeuvre. The transformation of the mfecane narrative by Theal can be regarded as a watershed in the development of mfecane historiography.

Theal – ‘Historiographer of South Africa’⁵⁸

Theal has written from the dry bones of documents and despatches and appears to have in all his later works tried to make it more and more to suit the prejudices of his readers in South Africa, J.M. Orpen, 1905.⁵⁹

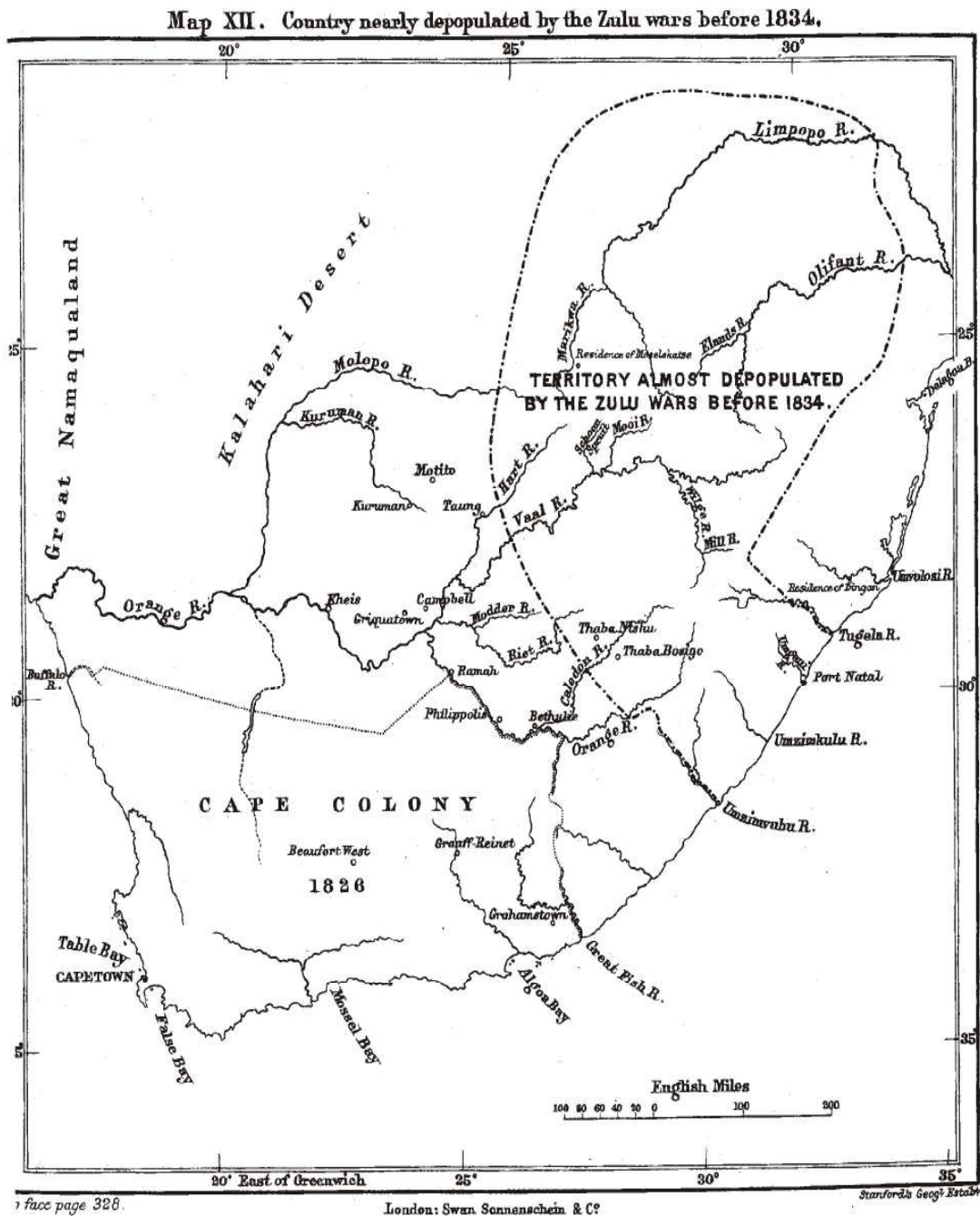
Without positively asserting more than he can prove, he gives prominence to all the circumstances which support his case: he glides lightly over those which are unfavourable to it; his own witnesses are applauded and encouraged; the statements which seem to throw discredit on them are controverted; the contradictions into which they fall are explained away; ... what cannot be denied is extenuated, or passed by without notice; concessions are even sometimes made: but this insidious candour only increases the effect of the vast mass of sophistry, J.P. Kenyon, 1983.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ M. Babrow, 'Theal: Conflicting Opinions of Him', in B.J. Liebenberg (ed), Opstelle oor die Suid-Afrikaanse Historiografie (Pretoria, 1975), 7.

⁵⁹ (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 16 March 1905, 1.

⁶⁰ Originally written by Macaulay on Hume, in J.P. Kenyon, The History Men: The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance (London, 1983), 56 - quoted in Wylie, Savage Delight, 190.

Map 7 – Theal's Map, 1891



G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa* (1st Series) (London, 1891) 3, 328.

Theal's minimalist map, compared to his maps depicting the expansion of the Cape Colony in the same work, no longer shows the "blank space". Its main feature is the delineation of a hypothetical 'territory almost depopulated by the Zulu wars before 1834'. In the depopulated area Theal placed only two mission stations and the capital of the Ndebele state. The only reference to African habitation outside of this area was to be found at the 'Residence of Dingane' in Zululand and at mission stations in present-day western Free State and Northern Cape Provinces.

Babrow's acknowledgment of Theal as 'Historiographer of South Africa' was true with regards to his impact on history writing for most of the twentieth century, however much one may disagree with his ideologies, philosophies or methodologies. This was not just because of his use of archival research, or the broad sweep - both chronological and geographical - of his massive output of works on the southern African past, but also to a large degree because his books reflected the prejudices and values of South African colonial society. During his career he witnessed the political development of colonial society from a state of antagonism between English and Dutch to one of unity with the declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910. It is conventional to regard Theal as the founder of the "Settler School" of twentieth century historiography.⁶¹ However, from the material presented in this thesis it is clear that the pro-settler approach to history goes back to Godlonton in the 1830's. Theal represented only its latest version, modified by both scientific racism and social Darwinism.

Theal was born and raised in Canada by British loyalists. His family had lived in Maine and then had moved to the Atlantic seaboard of Canada. Having received a British-style "public school" education in Canada, which enabled him to learn six languages, and, after travelling in the USA and to Sierra Leone, he had planned to go to Australia in 1861. During a stopover in Cape Town he decided to stay and thereafter spent seventeen years in the eastern Cape as a journalist, teacher and proprietor/editor of two newspapers, one of them Dutch. After an unsuccessful stint at the diamond fields in 1871, he commenced teaching at the Lovedale mission - 'a critical centre of evangelical humanism' according to Schreuder - until the outbreak of the Ngqika war of 1877-78.⁶²

⁶¹ Smith, Changing Past, 31. Saunders, South African Past, 9.

⁶² D.M. Schreuder, 'The Imperial Historian as Colonial Nationalist: George McCall Theal and the Making of South African History', in G. Martel (ed), Studies in British Imperial History: Essays in Honour of A.P. Thornton (London, 1986), 108 and 104-8. B.J. Liebenberg, 'George McCall Theal as Geskiedskrywer', in Liebenberg, Opstelle, 3.

Soon after his arrival at Lovedale he published his first book - South Africa As It Is – which was written with the aim of attracting British immigrants to the Cape Colony. It included a short historical account of South Africa, which was entirely conventional. The history of Africans was treated separately from the story of the colony, a pattern Theal took from Wilmot's book.⁶³ Separating the histories of Africans and Europeans in South Africa would be typical of all Theal's subsequent publications. He also closely followed Holden and Shaw's tentative Zulu-centric ideas,⁶⁴ though without acknowledging them - for instance, when he attributed the devastations in the highveld to waves of violence and indiscriminate bloodshed radiating ever further out from the Zulu centre to the Mantatees, Sotho-speakers, Tswana-speakers and then as far west as the San in the Kalahari.⁶⁵ These were key features of Theal's treatment of the mfecane narrative in this and all of his future books.

Three years later, the Compendium of South African History and Geography, a more extensive and exclusively historical work, appeared. It was born out of the need to provide a textbook for teaching history and was used extensively in schools, above all for African learners. Theal, who claimed to have collected African oral testimonies, subsequently received much feedback from literate Africans, which was incorporated into the widely circulated third edition in 1877.⁶⁶ In his account of the mfecane, he concentrated on the coastal regions of the eastern Cape, Natal and Zululand, with developments in the Transgariep receiving only scant attention. He further explored the Zulu-centric idea as is evident in his narrative of the history of the Ngwane. Theal's treatment of the Ngwane chiefdom exposes his underlying ideas about African history. Unlike the missionary tradition prevalent at Lovedale and Shepstone's view in his 1875 article, where the Ngwane were regarded as victims, Theal in this and all following books followed the pro-settler view that the Ngwane were a deadly menace to Africans as well as to the Cape Colony. For him, the Ngwane's

⁶³ Wilmot et al., History of Cape Colony.

⁶⁴ Holden, 'Brief History of O.F.S.', 342. Shaw, Story of my Mission, 520-21.

⁶⁵ G.M. Theal, South Africa As It Is (King William's Town, 1871).

⁶⁶ Theal, Compendium.

defeat and desperate escape from Zulu *amaButho* to the greater Caledon Valley area was a great shock to their *inKosi* Matiwane. In order to prevent any future threat to their state and their very existence, Theal surmised, they decided to immediately adopt the military system, equipment and strategies of the Zulu army. In order to survive they strove to dominate all other chiefdoms in the area and thus became Zulu-like exterminators in the greater Caledon Valley area. Theal's conclusion was that the colonial authorities were fully justified in annihilating them to prevent the Transkeian chiefdoms from fleeing into the colony.⁶⁷ This view of the Ngwane had become fixed in Theal's works by the mid-1870's and was later never revised. He accepted Shepstone's three-period hypothesis for Natal, agreeing with Shepstone that Natal must be regarded as a "merry Africa" of one million people, which, during the years 1812 to 1820, became 'one wild whirl of confusion, war and massacre'⁶⁸ as a result of chiefdoms fleeing south through Natal after having been expelled from Zululand by Shaka. The Zulu invasion of 1820 was purported to have been ordered by Shaka in order to exterminate survivors of the initial assaults launched by the exiles from the north, because according to Theal the Zulu had 'a lust for human blood and a resolution to live and reign alone'.⁶⁹ This was the only work in which Theal chose to use Shepstone's four-wave theory as the explanation for the devastation of Natal. In his main work, History of South Africa, Theal chose to use the older version, which blamed the Zulu state for this event.

During the upheavals of the 1877-78 war between the Cape Colony, and the Ngqika and Gcaleka chiefdoms, Theal became a civil servant and, among other posts, served as a labour agent who was responsible for assigning work to Ngqika prisoners of war. After discharging his duties satisfactorily he was appointed to the Department of Finance (1878 - 82), after which he was transferred to the Department of Native Affairs. He was based mostly in Cape Town, where he became part of the Cape ruling elite. Theal immersed himself in the Dutch records at the Cape Archives, as well as in archives in Britain and

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Part 1, 210.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Part 2, 82-3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Part 2, 82-3.

the Netherlands. He experienced a personal disappointment when in 1881 Sprigg's government refused to appoint him as full-time archivist, a post to which he attached great value and which he had hitherto filled in an unofficial capacity. The people who stood by him in the aftermath of this setback were his new friends in the Afrikaner Bond, who developed an ever greater enmity towards Britain due to its colonial expansion in the post-1877 period, especially after the annexation of the Z.A.R. Consequently Theal reversed his hitherto pro-African and anti-colonist stance and came to champion the colonists' cause in South African history.⁷⁰ This position was accompanied by antipathy towards imperial Britain, which was similar to that expressed by the eastern Cape pro-settler propagandists of the 1830s. Both viewed Britain as championing African rights and being opposed to the settlers' progress in Africa. However, no such *volte face* can be detected in his mfecane narrative. His sentiments may have changed, but according to Schreuder his preconceived ideas on 'race, culture and ethnicity as historical determinants'⁷¹ of African history, had not.

Each of Theal's books is prefaced by his stated 'determination to be strictly impartial',⁷² claiming that as a Canadian he had no preconceived ideas regarding south African history. However, even a casual examination of his works reveals statements that contradict this claim – for example, 'with the Bantu everywhere might was right', or 'there were no more tyrannous slaveholders in the world than the Betshuana (sic), their bondsmen being people of their own race'.⁷³ In order to account for the apparent dichotomy between Theal's professed aloofness and his obvious partiality, Schreuder indicates that an analysis of Theal's works on south African history reveals four interrelated, hidden assumptions, which are essential to understanding his

⁷⁰ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 111-5. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1981), IV, 645-8. M. Babrow, 'A Critical Assessment of Dr. George McCall Theal', M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1962, 163-6. C.C. Saunders, 'The Missing Link in Theal's Career: The Historian as Labour Agent in the Western Cape', History in Africa, 7 (1980), 273-80. C.C. Saunders, 'George McCall Theal and Lovedale', History in Africa, 8 (1981), 160-2.

⁷¹ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 123.

⁷² Theal, History of Boers, viii.

⁷³ G.M. Theal, Progress of South Africa in the Century (London, 1900), 29.

approach to history in general and the mfecane narrative in particular. However, only three of these are relevant in analysing his approach to the mfecane narrative. First, he was an empiricist who regarded history as a science and saw, according to Schreuder, the 'historian as an impartial observer'⁷⁴ who based his work on evidence contained in written documents. Theal claimed in the preface to his Progress of South Africa in the Century that the work contained 'the indisputable truths of South African history'.⁷⁵ Second, a mixture of social Darwinism and racism pervaded his works, as he held that Europeans were the superior race with all others destined to become 'crushed bones' or ruled by colonial Europeans, as Schreuder stated.⁷⁶ Theal had a 'partially articulated yet fundamental set of beliefs, in a variety of racial theoretics. His whole mentalité was so veined by a concern for "race", "colour" and "ethnicity" that it is almost impossible to isolate for analysis' according to Schreuder.⁷⁷ Orpen felt that the longer Theal published the more he pandered to south African racial prejudices in his works.⁷⁸ Third, he believed, as indeed did many other authors on mfecane history, that the only chance that Africans had of becoming civilised was through contact with Europeans over a long period. He saw the administration of Africans as the "white man's burden", the price that had to be paid to create a prosperous and peaceful south Africa. He contrasted the perceived "peaceful" existence enjoyed by Africans under colonial rule with the 'image of black barbarism' that had existed during 'the wars of Tshaka', as Saunders put it.⁷⁹ He believed that the loss of life occasioned by the wars between Europeans and Africans in the nineteenth century paled into insignificance against the horrors of inter-African wars of earlier periods.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 117.

⁷⁵ Theal, Progress of South Africa, VI.

⁷⁶ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 122.

⁷⁷ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 123.

⁷⁸ (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 16 March 1905, 1.

⁷⁹ Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 22-3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 22-3, 33.41. Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 134-5, 138-40. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 279. Schreuder, Scramble for Southern Africa, 61.

Following a suggestion by Orpen - at that time the Cape Governor's Agent in Basutoland - Theal was commissioned in 1882 by the Minister of Native Affairs to publish a multi-volume collection of documents on Basutoland.⁸¹ The purpose was to prepare the colony's case for the return of this dependency to imperial control, which indeed came to pass in 1884. While engaged in collecting the documents for the Basutoland Records, Theal came across material pertaining to the history of the boers. Subsequently he wrote The Republic of Natal, the purpose of which was to justify the legality of the boer Republic of Natalia from 1838 to 1843 - based on what he thought was the boers' right of conquest of the territory.⁸² From this time onwards, Theal's history writing was based on documents, the method employed by the academic historians of his day all over the world. However, though he appended bibliographies to most of his books, he rarely gave references.⁸³ In the years that followed, he produced a large number of history books dealing with a variety of subjects, including two further collections of documents. However, his main work was the multi-volumed History of South Africa, edited during his lifetime into at least three series.⁸⁴

In his History of South Africa, African history was dealt with separately from that of the European colony. The chapters on the mfecane, however, were written well before the early 1890s when volumes three and four of the History of South Africa first appeared. He wrote them first, as part of his Boers and Bantu, which in 1885 was published as a series of articles. It, too, was based on documents found during his research for the Basutoland Records. Due to the popular success of the articles, Theal published the text as a book, History of the Boers in South Africa, with two initial editions appearing in 1886 and 1887.⁸⁵ Despite

⁸¹ Theal, Basutoland Records. Orpen, Reminiscences of Life, 91-92.

⁸² Theal, Republic of Natal.

⁸³ Liebenberg, 'Theal as Geskiedskrywer', 4.

⁸⁴ Theal, Records of Cape Colony, 37 Vols. Theal, Records of South-Eastern Africa, 9 Vols. Theal, History of South Africa First Series, 5 Vols. Second Series, 5 Vols. (London, 1897 - 1908) and Third Series, 11 Vols. (London, 1907 - 1922).

⁸⁵ G.M. Theal, 'Boers and Bantu: A History of the Wanderings and Wars of the Emigrant Farmers', South African Illustrated News, 2 (14 November - 26 December 1885). Theal, History of Boers. Babrow, 'Critical Assessment', 124. Saunders, South African Past, 14.

his use of some archival documents, Theal's main sources of information were the more than fifty published books, articles and parliamentary bluebooks listed in the bibliography. According to Schreuder, Theal also used 'African oral evidence, usually unobtrusively deployed without a precise source indicated', though in some footnotes reference to individual Africans occurred.⁸⁶ An exhaustive analysis shows that these chapters, which appeared in Boers and Bantu in 1885, were reprinted in entirety in History of the Boers in South Africa, in the first, second and third series of his History of South Africa. There were, however, some minor changes and additions in each of the History of South Africa series, due to Theal's subsequent discovery of documents relevant to the mfecane and the Great Trek. Even though Theal continued to conduct extensive research for more than three decades after the mid-1880's, he never changed his fundamental approach to the mfecane after 1885.

An analysis of Theal's impact on the development of mfecane historiography must thus be based on the study of the above-mentioned chapters in History of the Boers in South Africa and in the three series of History of South Africa. In many ways, his mfecane narrative was a 'transformation of anecdote into grand historical narrative, without ever apparently querying [his] sources', thus creating a work in which the distinction between fact and fiction was blurred.⁸⁷ Theal's broad geographical focus - writing a south Africa-wide history, instead of focusing on only one geographical area - was also evident in his chapters on African history. His lasting contribution to mfecane historiography was that he regarded the events of the 1810's to the mid 1830's as a connected whole. The tentative ideas whereby he had regarded the Zulu state as being at the centre of waves of violence radiating further and further outwards, as in his Compendium of South African History and Geography, matured into the conviction that the Zulu chiefdom was the root cause for the subcontinent-wide, intra-African violence of the mfecane period.

⁸⁶ Schreuder, 'Imperial Historian', 111.

⁸⁷ Wylie, Savage Delight, 138.

Theal's work emphasised three new aspects. First, as Worger pointed out, Theal's 'concentration on Shaka's character reflected the nineteenth-century view that the dynamics of Zulu society could be studied, and explained, only through study of its most prominent member'.⁸⁸ Thus Theal regarded Shaka as the cause of the Zulu state's development and as being responsible for what Theal called 'the wars of Tshaka'.⁸⁹ While Theal generally did not believe that Africans' intellectual development progressed beyond that of the European adolescent, he did allow that there were some exceptions. One of these was Shaka, whom he saw as a cruel despot. He believed that the chain of events in the mfecane narrative could always be traced back to Shaka himself, with the whole period being understood in terms of Shaka's personality. This Theal scrutinised and found wanting against the strict standards of Victorian morality and civilisation. Shaka's memory was vilified when writers, including Theal, referred to him, for example, as the black Napoleon, a name that still struck fear into every English heart at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰

Secondly, Theal described how Shaka - a military genius gone mad - created the perfect "military machine" by inventing a great many military improvements. These were the *amaButho*, the large shield and stabbing spear, the horn strategy on the battle field, and the abolition of circumcision and marriage before a certain age. Shaka's Zulu warriors were welded together by a ferocious discipline until they became what Theal regarded as an extension of Shaka's primitive, blood-thirsty personality. Theal was further convinced that Shaka's evil genius was the root cause of these 'waves of war',⁹¹ when he described how this army was put to use in the creation of the Zulu state; how all members of defeated chiefdoms were executed, except for young men and women who were incorporated into the Zulu *amaButho* and *iziGodlo*; how this army was then deliberately sent into Natal to depopulate it; how those who survived the

⁸⁸ Wörger, 'Clothing Dry Bones', 155, quoted in Wylie, Savage Delight, 212, see also 191.

⁸⁹ Theal, Republic of Natal, 1.

⁹⁰ Theal, History of Boers, 21-22, 25-30. Wylie, Savage Delight, 191-2. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 22.

⁹¹ Theal, History of Boers, 48.

initial shock of this assault fled into the Transkei where they became the Fingo slaves of the Gcaleka state, and from where they were rescued by Governor D'Urban.⁹²

Thirdly, integral to Theal's mfecane narrative was the idea of Shaka as the ultimate cause of the devastation wrought throughout the sub-continent by chiefdoms fleeing from his armies. Driven from their homes, they themselves became predators who attacked the mainly unwarlike peoples of the highveld.⁹³ He then proceeded to describe the history of several such states. The Ngwane and Hlubi chiefdoms were the first to attack the chiefdoms in the greater Caledon Valley area. The Ngwane chiefdom then moved into the Transkei after partially incorporating the Hlubi whom they had defeated in battle, only to be dismembered by an eastern Cape colonial army. Other polities dealt with by Theal were the Ndebele, Gaza and Ngoni, which carved a path of destruction through settled communities on their way to the eastern Transvaal, southern Mozambique and East Africa, respectively. In the process, these states drove local chiefdoms from their territories, forcing them to become marauders. One of these, the Kololo, caused major wars along the path to present-day south-eastern Zambia where they eventually settled and built the Lozi state. Theal wrote of others such as the Taung, under *Morena* Moletsane, who reacted to attacks by chiefdoms dislodged from Natal by raiding in a more limited area, contributing to the overall devastation. Lastly, the Mantatees' migration was central to Theal's account of the mfecane on the highveld. Their trek to the Transvaal, caused by a Zulu army, led to the destruction of twenty-eight chiefdoms, a number which Theal took from Thompson's first newspaper articles of 1823.⁹⁴ Their impetus for marauding was checked by their defeat at Dithakong. Theal depicted them as returning meekly to the same area in the greater Caledon Valley area from where they originally came. This was the only raiding state that returned to its place of origin in Theal's narrative. This shows the general acceptance of the misconstrued idea that the Tlokwa chiefdom was

⁹² *Ibid.*, 27-30.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁴ Thompson, The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 19 and 26 July 1823.

identical with the Mantatees. Theal even depicted Zulu *amaButho* joining in the destruction of the Transgariep. He maintained that the carnage wrought by these Zulu-like states on their expulsion from Zululand resulted in up to two million deaths, leaving the land 'covered with skeletons'.⁹⁵

In order to demonstrate the above visually, Theal published a map of south Africa in the first series of his History of South Africa, which he entitled the 'Territory almost Depopulated by the Zulu Wars before 1834'.⁹⁶ The boundary of the "almost depopulated area" included most land occupied by Africans in south Africa at that time, with the exception of the Transkei, those lands occupied by the Zulu, Gaza and Swazi states, and the western Free State, as well as the extreme western Transvaal. The depopulated area contained the land taken by the trekkers during the Great Trek period. The implication was that the intra-African violence had opened the land up for European settlement, with colonists being able to occupy it unopposed. By the time the second series of History of South Africa was published, Theal had read a great many publications and documents, and introduced several more minor structural elements to the mfecane skeleton. In particular he inserted into the history of northern Natal the chiefdoms of the Gaza and Ngoni, and he described how they fled to the north of Delagoa Bay to escape Shaka. There they came into competition with each other until the Gaza state expelled the Ngoni, who in turn carved a path of destruction as far as Lake Malawi and the southern end of Lake Victoria. Furthermore, he also included the history of the Swazi chiefdom under *inKosi* Sobhuza I, which successfully resisted the Zulu and remained *in situ*, consolidating its position.⁹⁷

Theal's description of the destruction in the greater Caledon Valley area owed much to the oral accounts of the four previously mentioned African sources published by European authors. Thus, despite his claims to have used a detached scientific methodology, Theal was also guilty of blurring the distinction

⁹⁵ Theal, History of Boers, 31-59. Theal, History of South Africa, Second Series, III, 389.

⁹⁶ Theal, History of South Africa, First Series, III, 328.

⁹⁷ Theal, History of South Africa, Second Series, III, 379, 424-6.

between fiction and fact.⁹⁸ An example of this was his fascination with cannibals, who were said to have been the sole survivors in Natal's depopulation. He also had cannibals roaming the mountains, kloofs and fields of the greater Caledon Valley area. The only African Theal had rising above the perceived barbarity of the "African race" during those years was Moshoeshoe - the standard view held since Arbousset in the 1840's.⁹⁹ He also accepted the French author's three-period hypothesis for the greater Caledon Valley area: the period of peace, the period of wars during the invasions from Natal, and the new period of peace brought by the missionaries. Theal's approach to contradictory evidence was either to ignore it, or to explain it in such a way as to give it a different meaning. For example, he played down evidence in documents and books for devastating attacks by groups of mounted Griqua, Bastaard or Kora raiders in which Sotho-Tswana women and children were captured and sold as slaves to the large slave markets in the Cape Colony. His interpretation of this evidence was that the blood-thirsty African invaders from Zululand had caused the major devastations in the Transgariep, thus making it possible for the partially-civilised armed raiders to wreak their lesser destruction on an already devastated local population. Theal used missionaries' accounts of the 1830's as corroborative evidence.¹⁰⁰

Theal's shorter, single-volume works were summaries of his History of South Africa and were intended for the popular market. He drew the lines of his arguments more sharply in these shorter texts, above all with regards to the mfecane. Theal centred the latter on the idea that 'in all history ancient or modern, there is no name with which more ruthless bloodshed is associated than with that of Tshaka chief of the Zulus'.¹⁰¹ In these shorter texts, Wylie pointed out that 'Theal establishes the trend in which the history of the early Zulu is effectively the biography of Shaka – the trend continues' to the

⁹⁸ Wylie, Savage Delight, 189.

⁹⁹ Theal, History of Boers, 29-30, 35-9, 42, 44. Theal, History of South Africa, Third Series, VI, 345-6. Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour.

¹⁰⁰ Theal, History of Boers, 42, 50. See Richner, 'Eastern Frontier Slaving'. E.A. Eldredge, 'Slaving Across the Cape Frontier', in Eldredge et al., Slavery in South Africa, 93-126.

¹⁰¹ Theal, Progress of South Africa, 169.

1990's.¹⁰² Six of these works were used as school textbooks in both English and Dutch, in addition to his Compendium of South African History and Geography of 1874, which was written for use in schools. Agar-Hamilton thought that Theal school books were 'the only history that most South Africans ever read [and] were used every year by thousands of school children [English, Dutch and African] throughout South Africa',¹⁰³ informing the ideas that generations of colonists held on African history and the mfecane narrative. The chapters on the mfecane narrative in one of these - Short History of South Africa - were re-printed four years later as South Africa, a single-volume history for the popular British market, on whose readers it had a long-lasting impact.¹⁰⁴

Theal's impact on mfecane historiography was significant. Despite his extensive archival research, he remained a conservative settler apologist who consolidated all the previously published accounts of the mfecane narrative into a coherent master narrative, which was then disseminated into histories for academics, the general reader, and Dutch and English and African schoolchildren in south Africa. He was the first historian to integrate the African history of the mfecane period, hitherto written with a specific geographical or ethnic bias, into a coherent narrative. But he did cover African history in racially separated chapters. This resulted in a failure to integrate the colonial and African histories into one story. By placing Shaka and the Zulu state at the centre of the mfecane narrative, Theal followed the tentative ideas of preceding authors. He however went a step further, creating a Zulu-centric, integrated

¹⁰² Wylie, Savage Delight, 191.

¹⁰³ Quote from J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, The Road to the North (London, 1937), quoted in Babrow, 'Theal: Conflicting Opinions of Him', 10-11. G.M. Theal, Short History of South Africa, 1486-1826 (Cape Town, 1890). G.M. Theal, Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van (1486-1814) (Cape Town, 1990) - there were three further editions up to 1897. G.M. Theal, Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika voor Kinderen (s'Gravenhage, 1892). G.M. Theal, Geschiedenis van Zuid Afrika (Den Haag, 1897). G.M. Theal, Maskew Miller's Short History of South Africa and its People (Cape Town, 1909). G.M. Theal, Maskew Miller se Kort Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika (Cape Town, 1922).

¹⁰⁴ Theal, Short History of South Africa. G.M. Theal, South Africa, Stories of Nations Series (London, 1894). There were eight editions until 1925. One of those was Theal, Progress of South Africa.

mfecane narrative. He regarded Shaka and his Zulu state as the ultimate cause of all the human suffering of that era.

These changes of emphasis influenced most historians writing in the twentieth century. As Saunders has observed, 'no writer before Theal had presented a picture of quite such destruction and devastation flowing from Shaka's conquests; his narrative, which was dull and lifeless on most topics, came alive at this point. Clearly he wished to leave his readers with an image of black barbarism at its most extreme' and thus wrote of 'a torrent of invasion' and a land 'covered with skeletons'.¹⁰⁵ The above-mentioned three innovations were already fully developed by 1885 and were then incorporated entirely into his flagship publication, the multi-volume History of South Africa, with only minor adjustments over the next thirty years. Theal chose, despite the fact that he spent these years on documentary research, to adhere to his ideas on the mfecane which he formed in the mid-1880's, ideas based in the main on previous secondary sources. Some findings from his work on documents were incorporated in his mfecane history chapters, above all in the second and third series of his History, such as the stories of the Gaza, Ngoni and Swazi chiefdoms. His legacy then was a southern Africa-wide, mfecane narrative, which was already larger than the sum of its parts and merely needed to be given a name. The term mfecane was, however, coined only in 1928, in the first ever South African university history textbook written by Walker.¹⁰⁶

Against the background of rapid British imperial conquest and control over African societies in southern Africa in the period covered in this chapter, an ever-increasing number of publications were dedicated to at least some aspects of the African past, in particular to the mfecane. More research was done by authors in libraries and archives, and more oral information was collected than was the case in earlier periods. Nonetheless, very little original thought can be found in works on the mfecane. Rather, it is evident that the dominant discourse

¹⁰⁵ Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ Walker, History of South Africa, 164, 210, 226. Babrow, 'Theal: Conflicting Opinions of Him', 10.

developed by earlier authors was accepted and repeated with little change. Documents and collected African oral testimonies were used in such a way as to bolster these time-honoured ideas. English remained the dominant language in which the mfecane narrative continued to develop. Deference to African oral sources by writers was commonplace in the works of this period. However, even where oral accounts of some length were ostensibly written by Africans, the above detailed analysis has shown that these texts were edited to a large degree by European authors. Those articles that appeared in African language magazines made no impact on the development of the mfecane narrative. There were many other authors who published texts on mfecane history in Dutch, German and French in this period. However, they merely followed the lead of the English publications without exerting any influence on them.

There were a few ideas, such as those expressed by Bird and Fynney, which ran counter to the dominant discourse and these were just ignored by other authors. During this period the minor additions noted at the end of chapter three were included in the dominant discourse. Of significance was the division of the African past into three periods, in both Natal and the greater Caledon Valley area - the ancient peaceful period, the devastation caused by Shaka or chiefdoms expelled by him, and the new era of peace heralded by colonists and missionaries. The hagiography of Moshoeshoe was also a significant new addition, with his universal acceptance as the only African ruler who was a positive, almost saintly figure. The converse happened with the demonising of chief Sekonyela and his Tlokwa chiefdom as the Mantatees, who destroyed much of the Transgariep. These and other minor additions became an integral part of the mfecane narrative during the period considered in this chapter. A number of general histories of south Africa were published after 1885, but these were just simply overshadowed by Theal's main work.¹⁰⁷

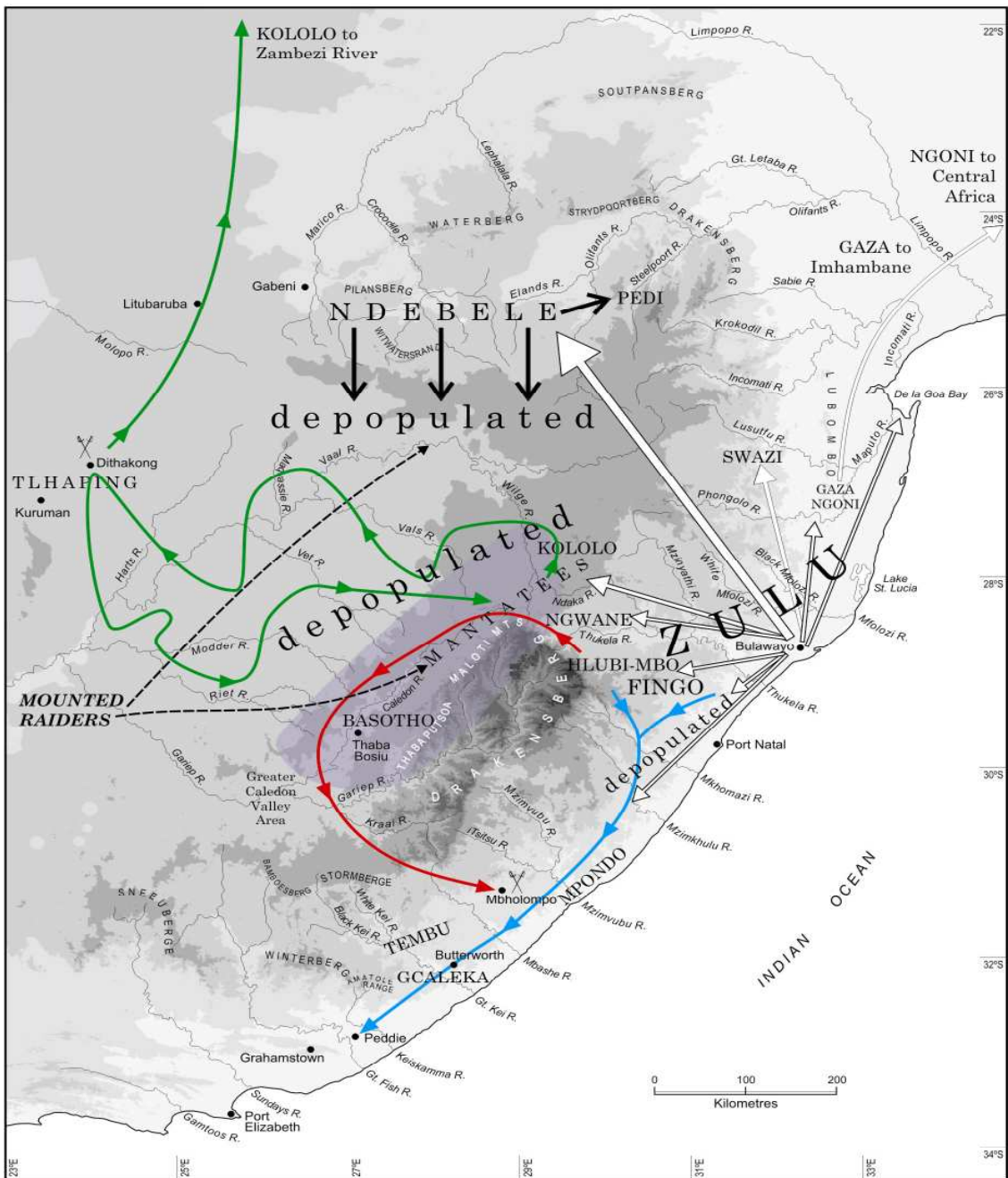
¹⁰⁷ For Example: W.A. Greswell, Our South African Empire, 2 Vols. (London, 1885). A. Wilmot, The Story of the Expansion of Southern Africa (Durban, 1895). Mackenzie et al., South Africa. H.R.F. Bourne, Blacks and Whites in South Africa (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1900). H.A. Bryden, A History of South Africa (London, 1904).

The most important changes in the historiography of the mfecane in this chapter are no doubt the innovations by Theal. He separated African and colonial history by placing them into separate chapters. He followed Holden and Shaw's still tentative Zulu-centric ideas and welded together the hitherto geographically or ethnically separate mfecane accounts and integrated them into a Zulu-centric mfecane narrative. He created a narrative that placed Shaka and his draconian leadership at the centre of mfecane history. He conceptualised this history in the following terms: Shaka created a merciless army that carved out an empire in Zululand, exterminated the inhabitants of Natal, and caused many chiefdoms to flee from that area. As a result of this disruption, the expelled states instantaneously transformed themselves into Zulu-like military clones and engaged in depopulating wars and depredations, which spread over most of the sub-continent, leaving behind almost two million dead. As a result of this intra-African warfare, the land was almost totally depopulated. As smallpox had opened America up for European settlers, so the wars of Shaka, in Theal's mind, left behind an empty land and thus unlocked south Africa for progress, which he defined as the settlement of the land by European colonists.¹⁰⁸ Thus, boer emigrants from the Cape were seen as bringing peace, Christianity and civilization to the survivors of the exterminated chiefdoms. Theal presented the outcome of the wars of devastation as the ultimate justification for colonial expansion in southern Africa. The consequence was that the victims of this expansion were thus seen as having caused their own subjugation. Theal died in 1919, leaving a weighty legacy to South African historians that continued to assert strong influence on authors for a further half century - and continues to do so with regard to the mfecane.¹⁰⁹



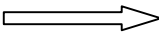




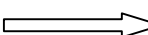
¹⁰⁸ Saunders, South African Past, 40-41.

¹⁰⁹ Theal, Progress of South Africa, 169-70. Theal, Short History, 330. Liebenberg, 'G M Theal as Geskiedskrywer', 6. Babrow, 'Theal: Conflicting Opinions of Him', 10.

Map 8 - mfecane in the 1905 to 1928 Period – Chapter 5



The mfecane narrative as it had developed by 1928, at end of chapter 5.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
|  | = Greater Caledon Valley Area |  | = Ndebele depopulations |
|  | = Zulu attacks |  | = Ngwane movements |
|  | = Hlubi and Fingo movements |  | = Mantatee movements |
|  | = Attacks by mounted raiders |  | = Gasa and Ngoni migrations |

Chapter 5

The South African Period: 1905 to 1920's

The wars of extermination which had been carried out by Chaka, Dingaan and Mzilikazi had resulted in the displacement and in many cases the complete destruction of the native tribes in South-East and Central Africa. Du Plessis, 1911.¹

A wave of blood-shed and destruction, which beginning in far-away Zululand, spread in all directions until it reached Pondoland in the south, Lake Nyassa in the north and the Bechuanas in the west. Cory, 1913.²

The object of this chapter is to show how the authors of the 1905 to 1928 period further developed mfecane historiography. The above quotes give the impression that the writers in this period had absorbed Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative. However, this pertained only to a minority of authors, in particular those whose focus was on South Africa as a whole. It was Walker, the only academic historian examined, who added the last remaining aspect of mfecane history when he invented the Xhosa neologism, "Mfecane". Thus it was these few authors who bequeathed the racist, Zulu-centric "Mfecane", suitably compressed, to future historians. The majority of authors examined, with one exception being amateur historians of European extraction, focused on only one specific ethnic or geographic area, and most of their texts reflected the pre-Theal mfecane narrative. While these authors were very influential and came to be regarded as specialists in their fields by later writers, their approach to mfecane history did not survive beyond the 1920's. They dealt with the mfecane devastations in a restricted area only and blamed the wars in those areas on events in Zululand and very often on Shaka. Six works, three very influential ones, were published in 1905, determining the

¹ J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Mission in South Africa (London, 1911), 195.

² G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, 5 Vols. (London, 1910 -1940), II, 230.

starting date of this period. The antiquated geographical terminology in this chapter reflects that of the writers examined.

The Treaty of Vereeniging of 1902 not only ended the South African War, but also ushered in a new era. What followed in the next three decades was not a reformed *status ante-bellum*, but rather a quantum leap from an agrarian, patriarchal colonialism to the rapid establishment of a modern industrial state, characterised by policies which the white elite used to dominate and suppress racial majorities. In 1903 Milner created the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), with a majority of English-speaking members, all supposed experts in African affairs. Its brief was to create a "native policy" for the four colonies. The resulting SANAC report of 1905 recommended territorial, urban and political segregation. All three were thereafter implemented by Union governments.³ As Davenport maintains, Milner and SANAC 'introduced new rigidities into South African thinking about race relations which had an immense influence on later political debate. It formalised the idea of segregation in a new way'.⁴

The creation of the modern industrial state proceeded very unevenly in these decades and inevitably led to antagonism amongst many different societal constituencies, not only along racial lines but also in terms of language and social status. Consequently, the period 1910 to 1924 was marked by many crises, such as the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906 in Zululand; African opposition to the Union Bill of 1909, the Union constitution of 1909-10 and the 1913 Land Act; the 1913 white miners strike; the Afrikaner Rebellion of 1914; the Bulhoek massacre and the suppression of the Bondelswarts Uprising of 1921; and the Rand Revolt of 1922. Those which the state regarded as most threatening were dealt with severely. In contrast, the years from 1924 to 1929 were politically and

³ Davenport, South Africa, 225-30, 242-43, 581. D.R. Burton, 'The South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05', M.A. thesis, UNISA, 1985, 2, 12, 24-8, 168, 185-86, 194, 198. British Parliamentary Paper: 1905, LV (Cd. 2399). Rept. of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, 1-6, 71. Dubow, Scientific Racism, 12, 33.

⁴ Davenport, South Africa, 229.

economically stable until the onset of the great depression. By 1927, South Africa, together with other white colonies, had achieved dominion status, resulting in greater autonomy from Britain and the right to use its own flag and other symbols of statehood.⁵

'The growing intellectual interest in South Africa's [African] people was considerably stimulated by political developments in the early years of the twentieth century',⁶ observed Dubow. This had its most marked effect in the process of institutionalising of intellectual pursuits. The first three decades of the twentieth century saw the creation or expansion of existing university departments, such as anthropology, psychology, criminology, medicine, biology and history, on the one hand. And on the other the establishment of new institutes of higher learning took place, such as Rhodes University College in 1904. Concurrent with this was an increase in the number of scientific journals.⁷ There were not many advocates of scientific racism, defined by Dubow as the 'explanation of human difference grounded in scientific theories of biological determinism',⁸ but they influenced the racism that permeated every form of intellectual pursuit. However, 'the persistence of the idea of biologically distinct human races owes more to popular culture and pseudoscience than science, and the ideas of pedigree are not scientific but historical', wrote Cornell and Hartman.⁹ Parallel to and interconnected with the process of the expansion of

⁵ *Ibid.*, 224, 230-33, 242-3, 249-52, 259-264, 268-71, 273-83, 287-97, 586. P. Maylam, South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid (Aldershot, 2001), 219-21. Stuart, Zulu Rebellion. R. Hyam, 'African Interests and the South Africa Act, 1908-1910', The Historical Journal, 8 (1970). R. Hyam, The Failure of South African Expansion, 1908-1948 (London, 1972). G. Lagden, The Basutos 2 Vols. (London, 1909), II, 640-647.

⁶ Dubow, Scientific Racism, 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-12, 30-33. Saunders, South African Past, 105. The very early academic journals were the South African Journal of Science, Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa and Bantu Studies. See also the counterpart from north of the Limpopo, Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association.

⁸ Dubow, Scientific Racism, 288.

⁹ Cornell et al., Ethnicity and Race, 22.

tertiary education was the government's requirement for increased numbers of officials trained by these institutions. This, in order to implement the policy of segregation in the belief, according to Said, that 'knowledge of subject races ... is what makes their management easy and practicable'.¹⁰ The segregationist agenda, particularly of the "know the past of the African peoples you govern" variety, had a direct impact on roughly half of the works examined in this chapter. An indirect influence, as segregation was the dominant political idea, can be detected in most works. It is thus not surprising that a racially-conscious social anthropology became the dominant social science within a decade of the first departments being established at UCT and Wits in the early 1920's. Hammond-Tooke wrote that 'the discovery of the Other'¹¹ was always the purpose of social anthropology. In Britain the discipline was pursued by academics in universities from the 1860s, while in southern Africa it was the preserve of amateurs, as in the case of mfecane history, until the 1920's. The underlying principles of the discipline in this pre-institutional phase were evolutionism and diffusionism, with anthropologists generally focussing on small "tribes". This early approach to social anthropology influenced a number of authors who wrote on mfecane history,¹² and who published histories of small to medium size chiefdoms in 1905. This at a time when social anthropologists were very active, as seen in the establishment of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in 1903. The Association's journal contained ethnographical material as well as calls to government to create ethnographical institutions. The institutional anthropologist of the 1920's however adopted the

¹⁰ Said, Orientalism, 27. See also W. Eiselen, 'Nuwe Sesoeto Tekste van Volkekundige Belang', Annale van die Universiteit Stellenbosch, 6 (1928). From the 1930's government anthropologists published in the South Africa Department of Native Affairs', Ethnological Publications Series, 41 Vols. (Pretoria, 1930-1958). For example, N.J. Van Warmelo, Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa, Ethnological Publications Series 5 (Pretoria, 1935). N.J. Van Warmelo (ed), History of Matiwane and the Amangwane Tribe, Ethnological Publications Series 7 (Pretoria, 1938). Dubow, Scientific Racism, 80-81, 217, 277-78. Harries, 'Roots of Ethnicity', 25-52.

¹¹ W.D. Hammond-Tooke, Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists, 1920-1990 (Johannesburg, 1997), 5.

¹² Stow, Native Races of South Africa. MacGregor, Basuto Traditions. Great Britain, War Office, Native Tribes. Transvaal (Colony), Short History, 24. Molema, Bantu Past and Present.

latest British methodology of a-historical structural-functionalism, which was ‘an approach to the study of culture and society that seeks to uncover underlying patterns and structures’.¹³ However, this approach had no impact on the developing mfecane narrative.¹⁴

While the racialised “Image of Africa” dominated European writing about Africans, literary devices from the gothic novel and the romance were employed to further enhance the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative. A century after the narrated events were reported to have taken place, the mfecane had taken on the quality of a romantic myth with gothic overtones. It is not surprising that Wylie considers ‘the Shakan [and by extension also the mfecane] literature [to be] replete with examples of provable fictions being read as “fact”, and of historical “evidence” being refurbished to support an imaginative recasting of the story’.¹⁵ Most of the authors, engaged in blurring the line between fact and fiction, felt that they could not trust the veracity of African oral traditions and thus their texts were repetitions of previously published information. Furthermore, as Wright points out, after 1900 ‘African societies had been thoroughly subjugated, [so that] their versions of history no longer had to be contested and could largely be disregarded’.¹⁶

One work that influenced many of the authors examined in this chapter is that by Stow. Like many British immigrants, he had a chequered employment history, but his abiding interests were geology and African history. He wrote

¹³ ‘Functionalism’ and ‘Structuralism’, in The Macmillan Encyclopedia (London, 1986), 1166. See also 479. Davidson, African Past, 49-50. Maylam, Racial Past, 218.

¹⁴ Hammond-Tooke, Imperfect Interpreters, 9,10, 16-20. A. Kuper, Anthropology and Anthropologists: The British School, 1922-1972 (London, 1972), x-xi. South African Journal of Science. H.L. Jameson, ‘An Ethnographic Bureau for South Africa’, Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 5 (1907), 160-167. H.A. Junod, ‘The Best Means of Preserving the Traditions and Customs of the Various South African Native Races’, Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 5 (1907), 141-159. Dubow, Scientific Racism, 53-55, 66, 78-79, 104-107. Saunders, South African Past, 105. H.W. Tooke, ‘Uncivilized Man South of the Zambezi’, Science in South Africa (August, 1905), 1-23.

¹⁵ Quote, Wylie, Savage Delight, 184, See also 149, 185.

¹⁶ Quote, Wright, ‘Political Mythology’, 282. See also 281-82. Smith, Changing Past, 103-4.

what he claimed was ‘an impartial ethnological inquiry’¹⁷ into the history of the African peoples of South Africa. He died in 1882 before the manuscript was published. The first volume, containing the history of the Khoi-San and the chiefdoms of the Transvaal, found its way to Theal, who published it under Stow’s name. Theal not only reduced the voluminous text considerably by eliminating most of Stow’s lengthy quotes and their references, but also made relatively minor textual interventions, including additional chapter headings, turning Stow’s pro-San work into racist history.¹⁸ While the linguistic concept of Bantu had been known in the literature for half a century, it only found entry into many historical texts after 1905 through Stow’s work. Theal used Bantu as a racial term copiously in his later works, but his first use, in a section entitled the “Bantu race”, was only in 1908, which demonstrated his indebtedness to Stow’s book. Writing before Theal published his Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative for the first time in 1885, and referring to the impact of the Mantatees and the Ndebele on the Transvaal chiefdoms, Stow felt, that ‘the infection of war and plunder was such that scarcely a tribe or town in the whole country was exempt’.¹⁹ More details of his micro-histories are considered in the section below on the Ndebele and the chiefdoms of the Transvaal. His bold and detailed portrayal of mfecane history led to his work being immediately accepted by many authors as an authoritative source.²⁰ Since the majority of the works considered in this chapter focused on events taking place in specific regions, this chapter will be subdivided geographically.

¹⁷ Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, viii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xi. De Kock et al. (eds), *Dictionary S. A. Biography* (1972), II, 711-12. Potgieter (ed), *Standard Encyclopaedia* (1974) X, 315-16. Dubow, *Scientific Racism*, 69-71, 74. The manuscript’s second volume was missing until Professor Young of Johannesburg found it in Smithfield in boxes belonging to Stow in 1905-06, shortly before they were destined to be burnt. (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 6 March 1906, 1-2. (CA) MSB 472, G.W. Stow, *The Intrusion of the Stronger [Bantu] Races* (1882). Volume two consists of parts 3, 5 and 6. Still missing are Part 4 as well as section 2 and 3 of Part 6.

¹⁹ Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, 483-84.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 421-452, 460-485. W.H.I. Bleek, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, 4 Vols. (London, 1862 - 1869). Theal, *History of South Africa*, Second Series, III, 399-400. G. M. Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of African South of the Zambezi* (London, 1910). Dubow, *Scientific Racism*, 69-71, 74.

Natal and Zululand

During this period, two of the three authors of the “antiquarian tradition” of writing on the Zulu influenced the understanding of mfecane history in Natal. Bryant, an English monk, had arrived at Mariannahill Trappist monastery in 1883 and in 1920 became a lecturer in anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand. Stuart, growing up in Pietermaritzburg, was a civil servant who worked as a magistrate in Zululand and then in two different Native Affairs Departments. Both became exceptional Zulu linguists.²¹ Though as men they were very different, their historical writing is similar enough for them to be analysed together. Both claimed to have based their texts on oral sources. Bryant’s belief that African oral traditions were exaggerated, especially the negative image of Shaka and his state, has led Wright to conclude that he used mainly published sources.²² Wylie believes the same to be true of Stuart, who ‘when pandering to European audiences, avoided making recourse to his own massively rich collection of Zulu oral accounts’.²³ Referring to Bryant’s 1887 history of the Marianhill monastery and mission, Wylie finds his perception of Zulu history to be ‘scanty, colourful, and “coarse”, in his wrenching of that history into the frame of romance, and his awareness of the potential for titillating a targeted audience’.²⁴ With his basic ideas on the mfecane narrative in place by 1887, Wylie’s finding that ‘Bryant would merely flesh this out in later

²¹ Saunders, South African Past, 105-06. However, Gibson is not relevant to this discussion. J.Y. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus (London, 1908). For Bryant see De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1977), III, 115. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1970), II, 544. Bryant, Zulu-English Dictionary. For Stuart see De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1977), III, 775. ‘Introduction’, Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive, I, xiii-xv. J. Stuart, The Conjunctive and Subjunctive Methods of Writing Zulu (Durban, 1906). J. Stuart (ed), Zulu Orthography (Durban, 1907). Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, I, viii.

²² The most important influences were: Shooter, Kafirs of Natal and Zulu Country; Holden, Past and Future of Kaffir Races; Mhlanga, ‘Story of Native Wars’, 248-52; Moshoeshoe, ‘Little Light’; Moloja, ‘Story of “Fetcani Horde”’; Scully, ‘Fragments of Native History’; Ayliff, J. and Whiteside, J. History of the Abambo: Generally Known as Fingo (Butterworth, 1912); Ellenberger, History of Basuto, also Stuart’s Zulu Readers, see Footnote no. 33.

²³ Wylie, Savage Delight, 127.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

works, largely with fictionalised speculations',²⁵ is not surprising. Equally, Stuart's very similar mfecane ideas were also already present in his early work on Zulu customs, published in 1903. Neither had written their main texts by 1928, with Bryant's Olden Times appearing only a year later. Stuart delayed the publication of the Fynn papers in order to concentrate on his collection of oral traditions and published neither during his lifetime. The purpose of this oral archive was to provide government with a better understanding of how to govern Africans. He bequeathed this archive to later historians as a valuable source which needs to be understood as a political document requiring careful unpacking.²⁶ Stuart's collaboration in the production of three novels by his friend Haggard demonstrates that he was not averse to mixing fact with fiction. This collaboration suggests that Stuart was also not loathe to include fictional materials.²⁷

²⁵ Quote, Wylie, 'Bryant's Inexplicable Swarms', 8. See also A.T. Bryant, ['Sihlobosami'] 'A Parting Word About the Zulu', Roman Legions on Libyan Fields: Or the Story of the Trappist Missionaries Among the Zulus in Natal (Mariannhill, 1887). Bryant, Zulu-English Dictionary. A.T. Bryant, 'The Origin of the Zulu', Native Teachers' Journal, 1 (1919), 9-16. A.T. Bryant, 'The Man-Eaters of Bantuland and Elsewhere', The South African Quarterly, 5 (March to May 1923), 12-17. A.T. Bryant, 'Some South-Bantu Nation-Builders', The South African Quarterly, 7 (July 1925 to February 1926), 18-22. Articles which appeared in Izindaba Zabantu, 1911-13, were published in English translation in A.T. Bryant, A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes (Cape Town, 1964). A.T. Bryant, The Zulu People: As they Were Before the White Man Came (Pietermaritzburg, 1949). Bryant, Olden Times. Wright, 'Bryant and The Wars of Shaka', 12-14.

²⁶ Kros, 'Interview with Carolyn Hamilton', 201-02.

²⁷ 'Introduction', Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive, I, xiii – xix. Leverton, 'Story of Fynn Papers', 83. Stuart, Zulu Law and Custom. [J. Stuart], 'Henry Francis Fynn, the First Natalian', The Men Who Made the Colony Series 11, The Natalian, 26 June 1908. J. Stuart, 'The Zulus', part of Ch. XIX, Natives and Indians, in A. Tatlow, Natal Province: Descriptive Guide and Official Hand-Book (Durban, 1911). Stuart, Zulu Rebellion, I, vii. J. Stuart, 'Tshaka, the Great Zulu Despot', United Empire, 15 (1924), 98-107. For Stuart's Zulu Historical Readers see Footnote no. 33. Stuart et al. (eds), Diary of H. F. Fynn. Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive. Cobbing, 'Tainted Well', 115-154. F.R. Gemme, 'Introduction', in H.R. Haggard, King Solomon's Mines (originally London, 1885), reprinted, New York, 1967), 7. The three novels were H.R. Haggard, Marie (London, 1912), H.R. Haggard, Child of Storm (London, 1913) and H.R. Haggard, Finished (London, 1917). Haggard's only Zulu histories were, Haggard, Cetshwayo and H.R. Haggard, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal and the Transvaal (London, 1900). With regards to Stuart assisting Haggard, Golan stated that 'this kind of manipulation is

Both were imbued with Theal's racism and also adopted his Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated view of mfecane history. This is demonstrated by Bryant's belief that Shaka 'set the ball a-rolling; with it began that awful wave of bloodshed and devastation which cast the whole South African savagedom into a universal turmoil of mutual conflict and extermination'.²⁸ Stuart wrote that Zululand was the 'storm-centre of appalling exoduses by which the country was transformed into a howling wilderness, overrun with lion, hyaenas and wolves, its inhabitants converted into expert and voracious cannibals'.²⁹ The mfecane narratives of both were conventional and contained much detail. While they did briefly consider other geographical areas, they concentrated mostly on Zululand and Natal, which they regarded as a "merry Africa" of peace before the depopulation of Natal.

The two authors made four main contributions, in addition to strengthening the dominant discourse of mfecane history. Influenced by the "great man" approach to history, they expressed differing ideas about Shaka. Although both engaged in the usual stereotypes of Shaka as an irredeemable bloodthirsty savage, Stuart wrote that it was due to 'the surprising genius of an illegitimate son of Senzangakona ... that the many tribes scattered about the country, were by degrees welded into one Nation'.³⁰ He introduced the new idea that African chiefs, including Shaka, could be engaged in nation-building, an idea which was reiterated by some of the writers examined in this chapter. Stuart consequently attributed the motive of those chiefdoms which left Zululand and Natal to their unwillingness to reconcile themselves to becoming part of the emerging Zulu state. Both Bryant and Stuart took up Theal's idea that the Ndebele state in the Transvaal created a depopulated *cordon sanitaire* in the south against Zulu

perhaps the crudest expression of the notion that the history of a colonized people can be distorted to serve the pleasure and interests of the colonisers', Golan, *Inventing Shaka*, 53.

²⁸ Bryant, 'Sketch of Origin', 39.

²⁹ Extracts from Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, I, 8 n.2, as quoted in Wylie, *Savage Delight*, 128.

³⁰ Stuart, *Studies in Zulu Law*, 2-3. See also [Stuart], 'Henry Francis Fynn', 7.

attacks.³¹ Bryant's main contribution was his resurrection of Shepstone's four-wave theory of the destruction of Natal, which was also taken up by Stuart. Bryant agreed with Shepstone's identification of the four chiefdoms responsible for the depopulation of Natal, but in each publication he listed them in a different order. While in some texts Bryant described Zulu involvement in the depopulation of Natal, in others he did not. He identified the survivors of the four waves as the Fingo of the Transkei, maintaining that only stragglers and cannibals remained in Natal.³² Both also published texts which imparted the mfecane narrative to Zulu-speaking children and teachers.³³

The greater Caledon Valley area

As in previous periods, the mfecane narrative in the greater Caledon Valley area remains heavily dominated by the ideas of Arbousset and Casalis. This may be the reason that no authors other than Lagden had adopted Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, but had rather perpetuated the older version of the narrative. Furthermore, Arbousset's three-period hypothesis of "merry Africa", "mfecane wars" and missionary-induced peace was not followed by the authors, other than Ellenberger. While no substantial changes were made to the mfecane narrative in this area, more details were added, which were interpreted in different ways. The works by Macgregor and Ellenberger stand out and are analysed in detail, while the remaining texts are examined together. All the works are political hagiographies

³¹ Stuart, Studies in Zulu Law, 3. Bryant, 'Early History of the Zulu People', 39, 41-54, 61-2. Stuart, 'Tshaka, the Great'. Wylie, Savage Delight, 127-28. Theal, History of South Africa, Second Series, III, 425-26.

³² Wright, 'Bryant and The Wars of Shaka', 9-14. Wright, 'Political Mythology', 280. Bryant, 'Early History of Zulu People', 48-49. Articles which appeared in Izindaba Zabantu, 1911-13, were published in English translation in Bryant, History of the Zulu. [Shepstone], 'Inhabitants', I, 124-53. Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch'. [Stuart], 'Henry Francis Fynn', 7. Stuart, Studies in Zulu Law, in 8 n.2.

³³ Bryant, 'Sketch of Origin', 9-16. Stuart's Zulu Historical Readers, J. Stuart, uTulasizwe (London, 1923). J. Stuart, uHlangakula (London, 1924). J. Stuart, uBaxoxele (London, 1924). J. Stuart, uKlumetule (London, 1925). J. Stuart, uVusezakiti (London, 1926).

of Moshoeshoe and served to uphold the legitimacy of the Sotho royal elite.³⁴ Only Ellenberger linked the identity of the Tlokwa with that of the Mantatees, while the others identified the Mantatees with the Kololo chiefdom. While all the writers blamed the devastations in the area on the invading states from Natal in their general accounts, in their more detailed descriptions they ascribed the lion's share of the destruction to the Tlokwa state, in particular as regards the suffering experienced by the Mokoteli, Moshoeshoe's people.

Nothing can be learnt about Macgregor other than that he was Assistant Commissioner for Leribe in Basutoland and Ellenberger's son-in-law. The first version of his book appeared in serial form in the S.M.E. periodical, Leselinyana la Lesotho, which allowed authors to serialise their works in order to receive critical input from the Sotho-reading public. Keen believes that the anonymous series entitled 'History ea Le-Sotho' of 1896-1901 can be attributed to Macgregor. In 1905 Sloley, the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland and a member of the SANAC, urged Macgregor to immediately 'publish his book as a sort of complement to'³⁵ the SANAC report. This was accomplished by translating the Sotho version of his book, which had already appeared in 1904. It is a book full of contradictions, with Macgregor claiming that he used only oral sources, except for one article by Ellenberger. However, the influence of Arbousset and other authors is clearly discernible; and Eldredge notes that 'some of the material in Macgregor's book was taken from articles of questionable value in Leselinyana'.³⁶

³⁴ MacGregor, Basuto Traditions, 10-19, 24-25, 27-37, 49-54. Ellenberger, History of Basuto, 229. For previous hagiographies see Arbousset et al., Casalis, Delegorgue and articles in the J.M.E. in Chapter 3 and Casalis (1889), Jousse, Widdicombe, Moshoeshoe's article, Theal, History of South Africa, First Series, in Chapter 4.

³⁵ Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 303. H.C. Sloley, 'Prefatory Note'. MacGregor, Basuto Traditions, 5.

³⁶ E.A. Eldredge, 'Land, Politics and Censorship: The Historiography of Nineteenth Century Lesotho', History in Africa, 15, (1988), 203. See also D.P. Kunene, Leselinyana la Lesotho and Sotho Historiography', History in Africa, 4 (1977), 159, 161 n.25. [J.C. MacGregor] 'History ea Le-Sotho', Leselinyana la Lesotho (1896-1901). Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 303. J. C. MacGregor, 'Introductory Note', Basuto Traditions, 5-8. MacGregor included a reprint of D.F. Ellenberger, 'History of the Bataung' (original title in Sotho), Leselinyana la Lesotho

Macgregor made two major contributions to the mfecane narrative of the greater Caledon Valley area through the introduction of Difakane as a generic term and his series of micro-histories. He wrote that Difakane 'is used to describe a war waged by nomadic tribes accompanied on the warpath by their women and children and property [above all livestock], as distinct from ordinary kind of warfare'.³⁷ This was a more precise definition than Christol's 'Difaqane di hlaho', which he translated as 'ancienne guerres' - wars of long ago³⁸ (see Chapter 4). Orpen suggested that this word was possibly influenced by the Xhosa word for 'the scatterer or scattered from the word Faca or Faga to scatter.'³⁹ Difakane was also the inspiration for Walker's generic term "Mfecane", twenty-three years later.

The text is divided into two parts, with the first one being a conventional recounting of mfecane history, which Macgregor claimed started in 1822 - his only date - in the greater Caledon Valley area, not unlike other contemporary texts.⁴⁰ The larger, second part was a series of micro-histories of the chiefdoms that became a part of Moshoeshoe's Sotho state, influenced by the anthropological methodology of the intensive study of small chiefdoms. This innovative trait was shared with four texts, to be examined in a later section, on the history of the Transvaal chiefdoms.⁴¹ Macgregor revisited events from different angles, creating confusion for the reader. However, Moshoeshoe as nation-builder is the consistent theme which unites this text, with emphasis on his mildness, justice, wisdom and ability to provide security at his mountain

(October 1903). Correspondence with S. Gill, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, May 2004.

³⁷ MacGregor, Basuto Traditions, 8.

³⁸ Translation from the French by the author. Christol, Au Sud de l'Afrique, 48.

³⁹ (CA) A302, J.M. Orpen, Memorandum: Remarks Which Occur to Me While Reading Mr. MacGregor's Book, Basuto Traditions, 1905, 1.

⁴⁰ Such as 'Moshesh of the Mountains', 20-26. Gallienne, Thomas Arbousset. E. Jacottet, The Treasure of Ba-Sotho Lore (Morija, 1908) and its Sotho version, E. Jacottet, Ditsomo tsa Basotho (Morija, 1909). Lagden, 'Basutoland', 347-62.

⁴¹ See Footnote no. 78.

fortress attracting many chiefdoms. The oral traditions 'collected by Macgregor ... came from only the Leribe district. These traditions certainly reflected regional politics within Lesotho',⁴² comments Eldredge. This means that these traditions only partially overlapped with those of the Sotho royal elite, the source of all previous works. An analysis of his micro-histories reveals that Macgregor presented a different kind of mfecane narrative, with neither a "merry Africa" before, nor wholesale massacre of chiefdoms during, the Difakane. Instead he described a multitude of wars, cattle raids and migrations both before and during the Difakane, which increased in intensity during the decade after 1822. The text ends with various chiefdoms having joined Moshoeshoe, who was portrayed as the hero and provider of peace, with no mention of the missionaries. Even though this text is clearly in contradiction to the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative, it was never perceived as such due to Macgregor's close association with his superior and thus with the SANAC. This text is a case of history being used as a tool to provide those in government with a better understanding of the Africans to be governed. This book can be seen as a precursor to many future anthropological works written with the same motivation.⁴³

In the years 1906 to 1909 four works appeared on Sotho and mfecane history. These were by Mabile, a French-speaking Swiss missionary of the S.M.E., mainly involved in printing and publishing;⁴⁴ by Orpen, a pro-African Irish colonist who served as the Cape Governor's Agent in Basutoland from 1881 to 1883 and whose interest in Sotho history led him to correspond with both

⁴² Eldredge, 'Land, Politics and Censorship', 203.

⁴³ MacGregor, Basuto Traditions, 10-19, 24-25, 27-37, 49-54. Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 48. See also Said, Orientalism, 36.

⁴⁴ A. Mabile, 'The Basuto of Basutoland', Journal of the African Society, 19-20 (April 1906), 233-238. Dieterlen, Adolphe Mabile. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 483-84. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1972), VII, 85. Nüesch, Schweizer Mission, 17. Moshoeshoe, 'Little Light'. A. Mabile, The Little Light of Basutoland, (Roma, Lesotho, 2001). The Sotho missionary magazines, Leselinayana la Lesotho, 1863 to the 1930's and The Little Light of Basutoland, 1872-77.

Ellenberger and Cory;⁴⁵ by Dornan, of whom nothing could be learned, except that his article was published in a Rhodesian 1908 scientific journal:⁴⁶ and by Lagden, a retired senior British civil servant who spent sixteen years in Basutoland, headed up the SANAC, and wrote a book in 1909 to lobby for the exclusion of Basutoland from the Union on the grounds that the Basotho were ready for independence.⁴⁷ Of these four paternalists, only Lagden had absorbed the Zulu-centric version of the mfecane narrative and none of them adopted Macgregor's generic term Difakane. Their reliance on secondary sources is evident from the repetitions in their narratives. This can be seen in Lagden, who blamed the Ngwane for the destruction of 30 chiefdoms and the killing of at least 100 000 people, and Dornan's claim that the Ndebele 'devastated the greater part of the countries now known as the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony'.⁴⁸ Rawson, Lagden's reviewer, wrote that 'the reforms begun by him

⁴⁵ Orpen, Reminiscences of Life, vi-vii. It was first serialised in The Natal Advertiser, no dates given in the book. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 602-3. (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 11 December 1905, 1-2. (CA) A302, Vol. 1 – J.M. Orpen Papers, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1874-1934, J.M. Orpen and D.F. Ellenberger correspondence, March 1905 - September 1906. My thanks to E. Maloka for directing me to this correspondence. (CL) J.M. Orpen Papers, MS 1029, MS 1205–1208, MS 1211-1212, J.M. Orpen and C.E. Cory correspondence, October 1920 - May 1921. He also published copiously - see Orpen, History of Basutos. J.M. Orpen, A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen (no place, no date). J.M. Orpen, Our Relations with the Imperial Government (Cape Town, 1879). J.M. Orpen, Some Principles of Native Government Illustrated: And the Petitions of the Basuto Tribe Regarding Land, Law, Representation and Disarmament to the Cape Parliament (Cape Town, 1880). Moloja, 'Story of the Fetcani Horde'. J.M. Orpen, Bechuanaland (London, 1885). The Diet of Native Labourers (Salisbury, 1902). J.M. Orpen, The Native Question in Connection with the South Africa Bill or Union Constitution Act (Cape Town, 1909). J.M. Orpen, Natives, Drink, Labour: Our Duty (London, 1913).

⁴⁶ S.S. Dornan, 'The Basuto - Their Traditional History and Folklore', Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association, 8 (1908), 65-67. Compare with Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (Cape Town) 1903 onwards, and South African Journal of Science, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society from 1877-78. Dubow, Scientific Racism, 12-13.

⁴⁷ Lagden, Basutos, I, viii, II, 640-47. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 457-58. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1972), VI, 520-21. See also Lagden, 'Basutoland', 347-62.

⁴⁸ Dornan, 'Basuto', 73.

[Moshoeshoe] consisted of the introduction of humanity, justice, and, when possible, mildness, into a form of government which had of necessity to be autocratic and firm⁴⁹ and thus summed up the sentiments of all four writers. Only Orpen presented information contradictory to the dominant discourse. He concurred with Macgregor that, while there was a time of heightened violence, it did not amount to depopulation and cannibalistic activity. He spent twenty out of the thirty pages he devoted to the mfecane history on the impact of armed and mounted Griqua, Bastard and Kora raiding groups 'robbing and massacring the Basutos and Bechuanas and selling their children to whites which led to hundreds being killed and thousands being thrown into poverty'.⁵⁰ His disagreement with the dominant mfecane discourse became apparent in this work when he concluded that these raiders caused more damage to the peoples of the greater Caledon Valley area than the invading states from Natal and the Tlokwa chiefdom together.⁵¹ Three of the above writers merely repeated the mfecane narrative of previous authors and Orpen's contradictory sub-discourse was overlooked.

The book most influential for the projection of the mfecane narrative in the greater Caledon Valley area into the rest of the twentieth century is the text by Ellenberger. He was a qualified printer when he joined a theological seminary in Switzerland and after completion was made available to the S.M.E., which sent him to Basutoland in 1862. Until his retirement in 1905, he and his colleague, Mabile, were mainly involved in publishing and printing in Sotho.⁵² Ellenberger's work was closely connected with both his son-in-law, Macgregor, and the Basutoland government. In his 'Foreword', Sloley stated that he had urged Ellenberger since 1905 to write a history of Basutoland and that the final

⁴⁹ H.E. Rawson, 'The Basuto', Journal of the African Society, 9 (January 1910), 160.

⁵⁰ Orpen, Reminiscences of Life, 113. See also 110-130.

⁵¹ Lagden, Basutos, I, ix, 1, 9-10, 15-17, 19-21, 28-29, 40-42, 46-48, 65. Mabile, 'Basuto of Basutoland', 267. Dornan, 'Basuto', 69-71, 90. Orpen, Reminiscences of Life, 101-02, 110-30. Orpen, Our Relations, 14. Lagden, Basutos, I, viii.

⁵² De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1977), III, 267-68. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1971), IV, 292-92. Nüesch, Schweizer Mission, 17, 25. Ellenberger, History of the Basuto.

product, especially the genealogies, would be valuable to colonial administrators. In the governing of Basutoland after 1912 the British, predictably, used Ellenberger's genealogies as an absolute standard for their successful implementation of the policy of "indirect rule". However, many members of the ruling elite of other chieftainships in Basutoland regarded these genealogies as incorrect and reflecting only the oral tradition of the royal clan.⁵³ Sloley used Orpen to convey his offer of payment to Ellenberger for his labours on the book. Although Ellenberger's answer has never been found, the words 'under the auspices of the Basutoland Government'⁵⁴ on the front page are very suggestive. Equally suggestive is his complaint to Orpen in which he expressed regret at having accepted the task of writing a history of Basutoland, describing it as a veritable labyrinth. From 1901 an early Sotho version of his book appeared in serialised form in Leselinyana la Lesotho. By 1905 Ellenberger stated that he had completed parts four and five of the book. It took a further seven years before it appeared in English, translated by Macgregor from the French.⁵⁵

An investigation of the production of this book reveals that serious differences exist between the author's original work and the translation, and between the work and reality. Macgregor claimed that his French was limited and that he only gave a general sense of the contents of the French manuscript. However, this is belied by the very definitive nature of the English text, filled with precisely defined places and dates. From several clues in the text it is clear that

⁵³ Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 63-64.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, front page.

⁵⁵ H.C. Sloley, 'Foreword', Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, v-vi. D.F. Ellenberger, 'Preface', History of the Basuto, viii, xi. Sloley, 'Prefatory Note', 5. D.F. Ellenberger, 'History ea Ba-Sotho', Leselinyana la Lesotho (1901) and later reprinted as D.F. Ellenberger, Histori ea Basotho - Karolo ea Pele (Moriya, 1917). D.F. Ellenberger, Almanaka ea Basotho (Moriya, 1904), also fed into the text of History of the Basuto, which after his death was translated into Sotho as D.F. Ellenberger, Histori ea Basotho (Moriya, 1928). Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 56, 68. (CA) A302, 1, D.F. Ellenberger, letter in French to J.M. Orpen, 10 October 1905, 1. (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 25 October 1905, 2. (CA) A302, 1, D.F. Ellenberger, letter in French to J.M. Orpen, 18 September 1906, 1.

Macgregor was more the editor than just the translator, but Ellenberger continues to be regarded as the author. Only a study comparing Ellenberger's French manuscript with the English publication will answer the question of the authorship in full.⁵⁶ Macgregor, endorsed by Sloley, claimed that not only was the work based exclusively on oral traditions, but that it was an incontestable text, because the informants, very old men, were no longer alive. In reality the text reveals the use of at least thirty published French and English works, with limited or no references and many lengthy, unacknowledged quotes. While obviously inspired by Theal's works, it is evident Ellenberger was also strongly influenced by Macgregor's book, from which he quoted thirty-four unacknowledged text-sequences. Ellenberger, who distrusted African oral sources, also admitted that he compared oral information with published sources and made use of Sotho publications.⁵⁷ An analysis of Ellenberger's oral information by Keen showed that he named only nine oral informants in the text, but referred to many others cryptically. Keen further revealed that, while Ellenberger used different types of oral sources, he only referred to them in 44 out of 393 pages. Oral and written materials were given to him by both colonists and Africans, the most important of these contributors being Orpen, with whom Ellenberger shared a lengthy correspondence.⁵⁸ The above analysis reveals this text's lack of trustworthiness.

⁵⁶ Sloley, 'Foreword', v. Ellenberger, 'Preface', viii, xi. Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, 48, 125, 159, 175. MacGregor, 'Note to Preface', xii. Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 322.

⁵⁷ Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 57-58. Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 320-22. (CA) A302, 1, D.F. Ellenberger, letter in French to J.M. Orpen, 15 December 1905, 2.

⁵⁸ Ellenberger, 'Preface' and MacGregor, 'Note to Preface', vii-xii. Sloley, 'Foreword', v-vi. Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, 48, 125, 159, 175, 200, 338. Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book', 310-15, 310 n.15, 317-20. Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 57-58, 80. Regarding Orpen supplying Ellenberger with materials, see (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 2 January 1906, 1-5. (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 3 February 1906. Mziki [A.A. Campbell], Mlimo: The Rise and Fall of the Matebele (Pietermaritzburg, 1926). R.K. Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa (Cape Town, 1978), 242. See also Wright, 'Bryant and The Wars of Shaka', 12. Lye, 'Difaqane', 111. Legassick, 'Sotho-Tswana People', 88. For the Orpen correspondence see Footnote no. 45.

Keen noted that ‘the five parts [of Ellenberger’s book] are rather different, have different compositions, different contents, different sources and different values as source materials’.⁵⁹ These parts are chronologically aligned with Arbousset’s three-period hypothesis. Part one and three describe Khoi-San history and an ancient “merry Africa” among Sotho-speaking chiefdoms. Part two and four depict mfecane history and will be further considered in this chapter. Part five contains thirty-nine genealogies, for which Ellenberger acknowledged several publications.⁶⁰ Ellenberger never included his envisaged part six, the post -1833 history, and thus ended the book with the arrival of the S.M.E. missionaries as harbingers of peace. It is not surprising that Ellenberger’s Lifaqane is Macgregor’s Difakane in linguistic disguise.⁶¹ Macgregor, in a footnote in Ellenberger’s work, similarly defined Difakane as a forced state of migratory existence, even though the text was more concerned with extermination rather than migration. Ellenberger would have been aware of Arbousset’s concept of Lifikani, which the latter defined as a Sotho-speaker’s nickname for Nguni-speaking peoples from Natal, meaning those who kill with battle axes (see Chapter 3).⁶² Further linguisto-historical research on the development of these concepts from Lifikani of 1846 to Difakane in 1905 and Lifaqane in 1912 as well as “Mfecane” in 1928 is needed.

Ellenberger, who had accepted Theal’s Zulu-centric model of the mfecane, devoted considerable space to events in Zululand and then stated that ‘it is

⁵⁹ Keen, ‘Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger’s Book’, 308.

⁶⁰ Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, 332-33. Theal, Basutoland Records. MacGregor, Basuto Traditions. Transvaal (Colony), Short History. Two of these genealogies were partly based on genealogies by two brothers of J.M. Orpen. (SAL-CT) G.44.a.e, C.S. Orpen, ‘Genealogy of the Banonaheng Clan’ and (SAL-CT) G.44.a.e, A.R. Orpen, ‘Genealogy of the Bamoketeri Clan’.

⁶¹ The sound “D” is, to this day, represented with an “L” in the Sotho orthography of Basutoland/Lesotho, while in South Africa with a “D”, Personal communication from A. Brüttsch, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, 1989 and correspondence with S. Gill, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, May 2004.

⁶² Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, 117, 234-6. Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 134. Keen, ‘Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger’s Book’, 305-07. Maloka, ‘Missionary Historiography’, 63-64. (CA) A302, 1, J.M. Orpen, letter to D.F. Ellenberger, 6 March 1906.

doubtful whether at any time in the history of the world such wholesale destruction as was wrought by Chaka and his armies has ever taken place'.⁶³ Following Stuart, Ellenberger also described Shaka as a nation-builder through the incorporation of other chiefdoms. Ellenberger claimed that states which resisted were either exterminated, forced to flee to the Transkei where they became Fingo, or fled to the 'Basuto clans of the central plateau of the sub-continent [which] were alternatively invaded and ruined by successive invasions'.⁶⁴ He made blatant use of literary devices from the gothic novel genre and the romance. The gothic elements are found in certain aspects of Ellenberger's orthodox mfecane story, leaving the reader with the impression of constantly moving between fact and fiction. This is evident in the descriptions of the unleashing of large-scale bloodshed by African chiefs, above all Shaka, but also by the chiefs of the invading Natal states and by "Ma-antatees", the Tlokwa queen regent. These were portrayed as engaged in a larger than life clash of titans. Thus they led their gyrating hordes across the greater Caledon Valley area, trampling on the hapless local Sotho-speaking population, leaving behind a waste littered with bleached human skulls and bones, sparsely populated by cannibals. Ellenberger concurred with Macgregor's depiction of the Tlokwa state as one of the major destructive forces in the greater Caledon Valley area, but disagreed with him and most authors writing on the area in this period, when he identified the Mantatees with the Tlokwa state. There then followed the gothic tale of the epic struggle in which a small band of Christian Griqua prevailed at Dithakong against a massive swirling horde of 40 000 to 50 000 heathen, cannibalistic Mantatees. The pinnacle of gothic horror was the assertion that 'cannibalism as practised by the Basuto was indeed a madness ... [and] they practised cruelty for its own sake',⁶⁵ with Ellenberger maintaining that the ubiquitous cannibals had devoured 300 000 people during the Lifaqane years.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, 119.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 225. Ellenberger reached the figure of 300 000 people eaten in eight years by calculating that 4000 cannibals could eat an average of one person per month. This resulted in 48 000 per year being eaten and 288 000 being eaten over the six worst years, plus 12 000 for the last two years.

Like every romance, Ellenberger's Lifaqane was a struggle between good and evil. The latter was represented by both the invaders from Natal and the Tlokwa state and by cannibalism, while the former was represented by the lone hero Moshoeshoe, 'one of the most astute men of his race and time, [who] was quick to realise the practical advantages of a policy of benevolence and mercy, quite a new thing in those wild days, when people were ruled by force and fear'.⁶⁷ In Ellenberger's hagiography, Moshoeshoe functioned as the romantic hero who had to overcome much in his struggle to rescue the bride. The bride here is symbolic of either peace, the chiefdoms he incorporated, the cannibals he converted back into farmers or all of these together. The hero had to have allies, and Moshoeshoe could count on the support of *Morena* Moorosi of the Phuti chiefdom and on the French missionaries. The last invaders to appear were the armed and mounted Griqua and Kora raiders, and Ellenberger, following Arbousset, described their ravages as minor and only possible because the surviving African chiefdoms were already seriously weakened by the Lifaqane wars.⁶⁸

The mfecane narrative in the greater Caledon Valley area was considerably strengthened by the above works. Though mostly repetition of older versions of the mfecane story, only two accepted Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated account. Macgregor's and Ellenberger's influence on later authors was enormous, above all by coining the term Difakane/Lifaqane. These two authors were quoted as specialists for much of the twentieth century. However, Macgregor and Orpen's contrary sub-discourse was not strong enough to threaten the dominant discourse.

The Fingo from Natal to the Transkei

Most works examined so far devoted little space to Fingo history, but Whiteside made up for this neglect in 1912 with a work that established him instantly as a Fingo expert. Ayliff, regarded as the father of the Fingo, appeared as the co-author out of respect even though he had died in 1862. Whiteside was an

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 92-96, 117-236, 306. Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography', 61, 80.

English Methodist minister who, while teaching in the greater Port Elizabeth area, published several well-received history and geography school texts. After his retirement he accepted a commission to write a history of the Methodist Church in South Africa.⁶⁹ In his Fingo history he claimed that his main source was a history of the Fingo, which Ayliff had dictated to his daughter shortly before his death. In an analysis of Whiteside's book, Webster shows that the author used other writings by Ayliff in addition to those by Casalis and Scully, which Whiteside had cited.⁷⁰ Webster concluded that this was, 'a book full of contradictions, exaggeration and myth, based marginally upon some of the writings of Rev. John Ayliff (claimed posthumously as co-author), with an infusion of Victorian convictions and imaginations'.⁷¹

Whiteside's narrative was not linear, with the same events being recounted at different places in the text. It was also shot through with elements of the gothic novel and the romance. He did not adopt Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, but focused narrowly on the history of the antecedents of the Fingo, such as the trek by the Mbo people from Natal to the Transkei, their enslavement there, and then their rescue by D'Urban and subsequent trek to the Cape Colony. He also followed the Ngwane's movements, via the greater Caledon Valley area, to their destruction at Mbholompo in the Transkei, where the survivors merged into the Fingo population. Whiteside claimed that the Mbo confederacy, consisting of the Hlubi and seven smaller chiefdoms, inhabited the Mzinyathi River area and had a

⁶⁹ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1977), III, 840-41. J. Whiteside, A New Geography of South Africa (Cape Town, 1891) - it had many editions in English and Dutch until 1915. J. Whiteside, A New School History of South Africa (Cape Town, 1894), which ran into 23 editions until 1923. J. Whiteside, The South African Union Reader (Cape Town, 1912). J. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Church of South Africa (London, 1906). Ayliff et al., History of Abambo. Godlonton, Rev. John Ayliff.

⁷⁰ Webster, 'Land Expropriation', 16. See also Ayliff, 'Fingoes'. (CL) MS 15 543 Sketch of Fingo History for Cathcart by John Ayliff, c.1853. (CL) MS 15 386 J. Ayliff, A Record of Dealings of God to my Soul, Diary November 1834 - December 1847. Casalis, Basutos. Scully, 'Fragments of Native History'.

⁷¹ Webster, 'Land Expropriation', 15-16.

population of about two hundred and fifty thousand. While the Hlubi are a long-established element of mfecane narrative, the author's use of the name Mbo is puzzling, as it appeared only once in the literature and there it referred to Fetcani in the Transkei who had arrived via the Transgariiep (see Chapter 2). Curiously, of the list of eight chiefdoms found in Ayliff's 1835 articles, only the Hlubi and four other chiefdoms are to be found in Whiteside, who added another four of his own. He depicted the Mbo as living in a "merry Africa" before Shaka, the 'all devouring Zulu',⁷² attacked them. Whiteside also used gothic descriptions of bloodshed, as is evident from his attributing the extermination of forty chiefdoms, the killing of more than a million people and the depopulation of large tracts of land to Shaka's desire to create a *cordon sanitaire* for the protection of his state. Likewise, Matiwane, 'second only to Tshaka as a destroyer of human life',⁷³ was held responsible for the killing of eighty thousand Mbo and thirty of their *inKosi*. The four-wave theory of Shepstone and Bryant depicted the depopulation of Natal and the transformation of the survivors of the Natal tribes into Fingo slaves to the Gcaleka. In contrast, Whiteside described a single Mbo "wave" crossing an already depopulated Natal that was unable to provide the necessary food. Whiteside transforms this crossing into a gothic tale of a trek marked by deprivation, where most of the Mbo died of starvation, with only thirty-five thousand reaching the Transkei. Subsequent authors now had three irreconcilable accounts to choose from, taking into account the older idea of Zulu agency in the depopulation of Natal. This text also contained elements of romance, with the suffering refugee survivors becoming enslaved by the evil Gcaleka, only later to be rescued by their heroes Ayliff and D'Urban, who led them, like brides, to a better future in the Cape Colony. The boundary between fact and fiction in this book is fluid.⁷⁴ Despite this, many twentieth century historians regarded Whiteside as the only specialist on Fingo history and thus accepted his myth uncritically. As Moyer put it, 'although some have interpreted

⁷² Ayliff et al., *History of the Abambo*, 5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-9, 14-15. Ayliff, 'Fingoes'. Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch'. [T. Shepstone], 'Inhabitants' 1, 124-53. Bryant, 'Sketch of Origin'.

the material differently or have embellished upon it, few have added more to our knowledge of the Mfengu'.⁷⁵

The Ndebele and the chiefdoms of the Transvaal

None of the accounts considered in this section adopted the term Difakane/Lifaqane; and, with the exception of Molema, none had absorbed the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative. They worked with the older version and centred on past events in the Transvaal. Several authors concentrated on the Sotho-Tswana speaking chiefdoms, with Winter writing on the Pedi state and three other authors exploring the history of the Ndebele. None of the works adhered to Arbousset's three-period hypothesis. All the accounts concentrated on the impact of the Ndebele on the Transvaal chiefdoms, which they reported, surprisingly, was much less catastrophic than was previously thought.

The four texts examined here constitute collections of micro-histories of the Transvaal chiefdoms. While they are similar to those of Macgregor, three of the texts could not have been influenced by him as they were also published in 1905. However, they all had the anthropological methodology of intensive examination of small chiefdoms in common. The texts referred to are that of Stow, two government publications referred to as Native Affairs and War Office, as well as the work by Molema, a Tswana-speaking medical student in Scotland who published in 1920. While it is to be expected that the two official publications aimed to assist Native Affairs officials in administering Africans, it is surprising that Molema had the same motive when he dedicated his book 'to members of the governing race, [for whom] some knowledge of the governed race, their mind and manners seems necessary'.⁷⁶ The book published by the Transvaal Department of Native Affairs was the only one of these texts which included detailed genealogies, which were an important source for Ellenberger's work. The mass of details in the micro-histories may be confusing, as in Macgregor and Whiteside. The information presented in the micro-histories was

⁷⁵ Moyer, 'History of Mfengu', 15.

⁷⁶ Molema, Bantu Past and Present (reprinted, Cape Town, 1963), vii.

obtained from many different oral traditions. Molema and Stow were equally sceptical of the value of the elders' stories, which 'are but pitiful repositories of historical facts, both as to time and truth'.⁷⁷ All four works replicated Theal's racial myths, with Africans being portrayed as barbarous, and European tutelage, as reflected in the contemporary ideology of segregation, being their only hope of aspiring to civilization.⁷⁸

The mfecane narrative in these texts was presented on two levels. On the level of generalised description, these texts differed little from previous ones. As Molema put it, 'the Zulus and their Matabele kinsmen made South Africa a perfect Babel of confusion and a blood-soaked area, [and] threw the country into convulsions of horror and writhings of agony'.⁷⁹ The ultimate cause was Shaka's creation of a *cordon sanitaire* to protect his state, which led to the expulsion of the Mantatees and Ndebele, who in turn attacked the chiefdoms of the Transvaal. Molema, of Rolong background, felt particularly bitter about 'the generally disturbing factor of the time – Matabele of Moselekatse'.⁸⁰ However, an examination of their detailed micro-histories reveals a very different image. There was no "merry Africa" in their narratives, but a seamless history of wars, raids, peace, migrations, dispersals, nation-building of dispersed people and also peaceful settling down. The micro-histories show an intensification of these activities as a result of the invasion by the Mantatees and above all the Ndebele. However, the micro-histories make it clear that these invasions were not catastrophic, nor were any exterminations reported. The relocation of the Ndebele in 1837 did not lead to a period of peace because of 'a general dislocation of the Bantu population between the Orange and the Limpopo',⁸¹ as

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vii-xi, 6, 22, 35-36. Stow, Native Races of South Africa, viii-xii. Great Britain, Native Tribes, 5-8, 149. Transvaal (Colony), Short History, 7, 18, 22-24, 34-36.

Smith, Changing Past, 133. Saunders, South African Past, 41.

⁷⁹ Molema, Bantu Past and Present, 77.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 41, 58-59, 66, 77, 80-85, 90, 94. His anti-Ndebele stance is reminiscent of S.T. Plaatje, Mhudi (Lovedale, 1930). See also Stow, Native Races of South Africa, 483-84. Transvaal (Colony), Short History, 18, 32, 39, 59. Great Britain, Native Tribes, 8-11, 100-01.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 421-55, 549-51.

the War Office put it, by the boers of the Great Trek. In these works, three exceptional leaders were noted: Moshoeshe, 'a diplomat of the first order', and 'Khama the Good'⁸² as well as Sekwati of the Pedi state, who through nation-building united broken chiefdoms into new and strong states. Only Stow added that from 1823 to 1828 the Kora, 'these ruthless desperados ... [were] scattering throughout the Bachuana tribes devastation, famine and death',⁸³ but he also regarded them as a late, additional factor. Without contradicting the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative in their general sections, a close reading of the micro-histories reveals a contradictory sub-discourse that was neither noted at the time nor for decades thereafter, indicating that, though there was an intensification of conflict, this did not amount to massive depopulation.⁸⁴

Winter was a very unusual, pro-African, second-generation, German missionary at a time when most German missionaries' children had turned conservative, anti-African and pro-boer. Not only was he the only missionary invited to join the newly-formed independent Bapedi Lutheran Church in 1890, but he accepted without hesitating.⁸⁵ He wrote several ethnographical articles and would have produced an anthropological work on the Pedi of the same quality as Junod had for the Tsonga-speaking people.⁸⁶ The history of the Pedi state in the Eastern

⁸² Molema, Bantu Past and Present, 66.

⁸³ Stow, Native Races of South Africa, 485.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 513-14, 528. Great Britain, Native Tribes, 8-9, 20-22, 74-80, 91-92. Transvaal (Colony), Short History, 31-32, 39. Molema, Bantu Past and Present, 41, 50-51, 59, 66, 85.

⁸⁵ L. Zöllner and J.A. Heese, The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa and their Descendants (Pretoria, 1984), 466-67. K. Poewe, 'From Volk to Apartheid: The Dialectic Between German and Afrikaner Nationalism', in U. von der Heyden, and H. Liebau, (eds), Missionsgeschichte - Kirchengeschichte - Weltgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1996), 191-213. U. von der Heyden, 'Das Schrifttum der Deutschen Missionsgesellschaften als Quelle für die Geschichtsschreibung Südafrikas', in von der Heyden et al. (eds), Missionsgeschichte, 127-28.

⁸⁶ J.A. Winter, 'Hymns in Praise of Famous Chiefs', South African Journal of Science, 9 (1912). J.A. Winter, 'The Phallus Cult amongst the Bantu: Particularly the Bapedi of Eastern Transvaal', South African Journal of Science, 9 (1913). J.A. Winter, 'Native Medicines', South African Journal of Science, 11 (1914). J.A. Winter, 'The Mental and Moral Capabilities of the Natives, Especially of Sekukuniland, Eastern Transvaal', South African Journal of Science, 11 (1914).

Transvaal, though alluded to in the above four publications, only entered the mfecane narrative in English through Winter's two articles based on Ra'lolo's royal Pedi oral traditions, though some of this information had been available in German for three decades.⁸⁷ Several crucial aspects of Pedi history during the mfecane were revealed in Winter's two articles. Pedi nation-building had preceded the Ndebele invasion, after which the Pedi state collapsed and its constituent chiefdoms became vassals of the Ndebele. The power vacuum created by the Ndebele's departure was filled initially by cannibals, who subsequently were forced to become farmers by the Koni chiefdom. In Ra'lolo's opinion, stories of cannibals were purely fictional. During the Ndebele interlude, *Morena Sekwati* regrouped the Pedi remnants in exile in the Zoutpansberg, eventually leading them back to the Steelpoort River area to rebuild his ancestral state. He too used mountain fortresses, which enabled him later to withstand the attacks by the Swazi and the Zulu *AmaButho* of *inKosi Mpande*.⁸⁸ This text is also clearly part of a contradictory sub-discourse in which the Ndebele invasion is seen as leading to disruption and the extortion of tribute, but not to depopulation.

Three Rhodesian authors published works on Ndebele history. Hole, born in England, held several senior positions in the British South Africa Company - both in Rhodesia and in London - from 1890 until his retirement in 1928. He put his writing ability to good use and soon was recognised as the 'public defender of the Company'.⁸⁹ Thus his interest was essentially in the colonial period and it was only by the end of the 1920's that he published an article with mfecane-related content. Posselt, like Winter, was a son of German missionaries. Unlike

H.A. Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, 2 Vols. ([originally Neuchâtel, Switzerland, 1912-1913], reprinted, London, 1927). Harries, 'Roots of Ethnicity', 25-52.

⁸⁷ J.A. Winter, 'The Tradition of Ra'lolo', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 9 (1912), 87-100. J.A. Winter, 'The History of Sekwati', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 9 (1912), 329-332. Wangemann, Berliner Mission im Koranalande. Wangemann, Lebensbilder aus Südafrika.

⁸⁸ Winter, 'Tradition of Ra'lolo', 87-100. Winter, 'History of Sekwati', 329-332.

⁸⁹ 'Foreword to the reprinted edition', in H.M. Hole, The Passing of the Black Kings ([originally London, 1932], reprinted, Bulawayo, 1978), folio 3.

Winter, he joined the Pioneer Column in 1890, thereby obtaining a farm and cattle in Rhodesia. He developed an interest in African history, which he demonstrated in his devotion, with local Africans, to the preservation of the Great Zimbabwe ruins. Mziki was the pseudonym for Campbell, a Natal farmer's son who drifted into Rhodesia where he became the Native Commissioner of the Insize District. In 1897 Campbell collected oral traditions of Mlimo, a Venda storyteller, which appeared in serialised form in the Bulawayo Chronicle in ca.1905. It took him until 1926 to publish the reworked account in book form. Campbell, in creating a fictional setting in which Mlimo told the history of the Ndebele to English-speaking hunters in the Matopos, had no qualms about mixing fact with fiction. A comparison of the 1905 and 1926 accounts would possibly throw some light on the gestation of this text. These three authors will be analysed together as their information on the mfecane narrative is very similar.⁹⁰

These works focused on the history of the Ndebele state in Natal and on the highveld. A contemporary definition of Matabele, the Sotho version of Ndebele, was that it was a Sotho word for Nguni speakers from Natal. It derived from the Sotho ho tebela, which Ellenberger translated either as 'to divine a way' or 'the destroyers',⁹¹ depending on the immigrants' behaviour. Posselt regarded Shaka as the 'most remarkable character of South African history'⁹² because he believed Shaka to be a nation-building genius who was unjustly regarded as a bloody tyrant. He and Hole nonetheless held Shaka responsible for 'the great tribal convulsions of that time, the massacre of innumerable persons and the annihilation of whole tribes',⁹³ which included the expulsion of several

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, folio 1-5. Hole, 'Rise of Matebele', 135-137. De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1987), V, 603-04. F.W.T. Posselt, 'The Rise of the AmaNdebele', Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, 18 (1919-1920), 3-21. Mziki, Mlimo, folio 2 and pages 2, 6, 32. Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, 242. Mziki [A.A. Campbell], 'Mlimo: The Rise and Fall of the Matebele', Bulawayo Chronicle, c.1905. (LEC-A) II, 3, J.M. Orpen, Notes on: Mziki [A.A. Campbell], 'Mlimo: the Rise and Fall of the Matebele', Bulawayo Chronicle, c.1905.

⁹¹ Ellenberger, History of Basuto, 120.

⁹² Posselt, 'Rise of AmaNdebele', 3.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3. See also Hole, 'Rise of Matebele', 135-137.

chiefdoms to the highveld. All three texts presented two contradictory images of the Ndebele. The dominant image was the well-known one of the Ndebele as bloodthirsty aggressors, with Mzilikazi as an absolute tyrant, responsible for the extermination of the chiefdoms of the Transvaal. The other image was of the Ndebele state as vulnerable to attack. Thus all the authors, except Posselt, stated that the Ndebele protected themselves against Zulu attacks from the south-east with a depopulated *cordon sanitaire*. The Ndebele state also feared attacks by mounted and armed Griqua and Kora raiders from the south-west, whom Mziki called boers, as for the Ndebele there was no difference between them. When the raiders attacked the Ndebele twice in 1837, Mzilikazi left for Matabeleland which, according to Mziki, had been pointed out to the *inKosi* by Moffat.⁹⁴

With the exception of Winter, authors who focused on the Transvaal made the well-established Tlokwa-Mantatees connection. The four micro-history collections and Winter's publication, all based on local oral testimonies, demonstrated that though there was an increase in war and migration due to the Mantatee and Ndebele invasions, it did not result in extermination, nor in the creation of a depopulated *cordon sanitaire*. In contrast the Rhodesians took the conventional view of the Ndebele impact on the Transvaal chiefdoms, including a depopulated *cordon sanitaire*, but they also regarded Mzilikazi's state as vulnerable to attacks by the Zulu and "boer" raiders, which forced them to migrate repeatedly. Though these features were part of the contrary sub-discourse they made no impact on the dominant discourse.

General Histories

In this section a smaller group of texts with a South African-wide focus, which are in contrast to the works so far explored in this chapter, will be examined. The authors of these general texts were nearly all influenced by Theal's racist view and all worked with his Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative. The books analysed in this section were based on secondary sources only and were colonial histories with African history only being included where it

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-137. Posselt, 'Rise of AmaNdebele', 4-8. Mziki, *Mlimo* - 1926, 54-78.

impinged on the history of the Cape Colony. Most of these general works will be considered together, with two being scrutinized in more detail. The seven-page historical summary of the SANAC report of 1905 placed African history in the hands of the segregationists by implying that Africans, left to themselves, tended towards uncontrolled bloodshed as seen in mfecane history. A racist mfecane narrative infiltrated the minds of both black and white young people through Godee-Molsbergen's school texts. A more specialised publication was by Du Plessis, the NG Kerk's first general mission secretary, who wrote a history of missions in South Africa, which was a compilation of missionary texts based on the pre-Theal model of the mfecane narrative.⁹⁵

In 1904 George Cory became one of the first four professors of the newly-created Rhodes University College. He was passionate about South African history and 'very consciously saw himself as following in Theal's foot steps',⁹⁶ writes Saunders. The racist and anti-African stance in his multi-volume main work can be attributed to Theal's influence. Not surprisingly, Cory worked with Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative and repeated the ideas from secondary literature without adding any of his own. His treatment of the mfecane narrative was contradictory. Wylie maintains that while 'Shaka's "irresistible onslaughts" are credited with massive historical significance by Cory, textually they are merely an appendage, given very little focussed, critical or detailed treatment'.⁹⁷ Cory also believed that,

⁹⁵ 1905, LV (Cd. 2399). Rept. of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905. A. Boeseken, 'Lewe en Werk van E.C. Godee-Molsbergen', South African Historical Journal, 8 (November, 1976), 119-131. E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, A History of South Africa: For Use in Schools (London, 1910) is also E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, Geskiedenis van Zuid-Afrika voor School Gebruik (Amsterdam, 1910). E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, South African History Told in Pictures (Amsterdam, 1913). He also published non-school histories such as E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, Geskiedenis van die Minahassa (Weltevreden, 1928). E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, Reizen in de Hollandse Tijd, 4 Vols. (s'Gravenhage, 1916-1932). De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1968), I, 262-63. Du Plessis, History of Christian Mission, 159-162, 178-79, 189-196. See also, F.R. Cana, South Africa: From the Great Trek to the Union (London, 1909). For Cana see Smith, Changing Past, 48-49.

⁹⁶ Saunders, South African Past, 41.

⁹⁷ Wylie, Savage Delight, 192. Cory, Rise of South Africa.

Probably never in the history of the world has there been such an upheaval and such carnage caused by one man as took place during these enormous disturbances. Twenty-eight tribes are said to have been completely wiped out and the loss of human life, either by murder or by starvation, has been roughly estimated at 2 million.⁹⁸

Due to the scholarly format and the author's academic credentials, this work strengthened the dominant discourse and thus, with Theal and Walker, ensured that this version of the mfecane narrative would endure for a long time.⁹⁹

An Oxford graduate, Walker was one of the first academic historians in South Africa. He was a liberal, who had personal contact with Macmillan, but also absorbed Theal's anti-African myths and racism with regards to African history. His historical interest lay, as did Theal's and Cory's, in the progress of the Dutch and English colonists, with African history only being considered when it acted as an impediment to settler progress. Though Walker published prolifically, his A History of South Africa, the first University textbook on South African history, appeared only in 1928. It became compulsory reading for generations of history undergraduates. Its sources were exclusively published works, above all Theal's histories and published documents.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 231. This quote contained two unacknowledged ideas: for the twenty-eight chiefdoms see Thompson, Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 19 and 26 July 1823 - see Chapter 2; for the estimate of two million dead see Theal, History of Boers, 31-59 and repeated in Theal, History of South Africa, Second Series, III, 389 – see Chapter 4.

⁹⁹ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1972), II, 142-45. Potgieter (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia (1971), III, 445-46. Saunders, South African Past, 17, 41, 108. See also G.E. Cory, The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 7, Cape Town, 1926). Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 230-31, 352-363, 344, 358-59, 359 n, 439, and III, 160-65.

¹⁰⁰ De Kock et al. (eds), Dictionary S. A. Biography (1987), V, 859-61. Smith, Changing Past, 124. E.A. Walker, The Teaching of History (Cape Town, 1912). E.A. Walker, The Place of History in University Education (Cape Town, 1919). E.A. Walker, Historical Atlas of South Africa (Cape Town and Oxford, 1922). E. Walker, A Modern History for South Africans (London, 1926). E.A. Walker, The Frontier Tradition in South Africa (Oxford, 1930). E.A. Walker, The Great Trek (London, 1934). A. Grundlingh and H. Sapire, 'From Feverish Festival to Repetitive Ritual? The Changing Fortunes of Great Trek Mythology in an Industrializing South Africa,

Walker's contribution to the mfecane narrative could easily be dismissed, as he only devoted one page to it, had he not coined the most important Xhosa neologism, Mfecane, which he defined as "the crushing" and which had not been recorded elsewhere prior to this.¹⁰¹ The development of mfecane history made a quantum leap with Walker, when he turned the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, which was already larger than the sum of its part, into an event by giving it a name. Walker may have been influenced by Macgregor and Ellenberger's terms Difakane/Lifaqane. Orpen's suggestion was that Difakane came from 'Im Fecani' (Orpen's underlining), another spelling of the Fetcani invaders, who migrated from the Transgariap to the Transkei. He also stated that the Xhosa root was the verb 'nKu-faca', which meant 'to kill or to stab with a short assegai'.¹⁰² Although Walker only used the word Mfecane three times in his book, its use in the following sentence defined its purpose: 'the trekkers [were] masters of the open country which had been cleared of most of its inhabitants by either death or displacement during the Mfecane'.¹⁰³

The general history texts assessed in this section were all influenced by Theal's racist approach to African history and mostly ignored the other works analysed

1938-1988', South African Historical Journal, 21 (November 1989), 19-37. E.A. Walker, 'A Zulu Account of the Retief Massacre', The Critic, 3 (January 1935), 68-74. E.A. Walker, The Cape Native Franchise (Cape Town, 1936). E.A. Walker, 'The Formation of the New States, 1835-1854' in E.A. Walker, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates (Cambridge, 1936), Volume VIII of J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton and E. A. Benians, (eds), The Cambridge History of the British Empire, 8 Vols. (Cambridge, 1929-1959), VIII. E.A. Walker, A History of South Africa (London, 1928), which ran into several editions. He expanded it to E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa (London, 1957), which had its last edition in 1968. Theal, History of South Africa, Third Series. Theal, Basutoland Records. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony. Theal, Records of South East Africa.

¹⁰¹ Walker, History of South Africa, x, 210, 226.

¹⁰² (CA) A302, J.M. Orpen, Memorandum: Remarks Which Occur to Me While Reading Mr. MacGregor's Book Basuto Traditions, 1905, 1.

¹⁰³ Walker, History of South Africa, 210. See also pages x and 182. Kropf, Kaffir-English Dictionary, both in the first edition of 1899 and the second of 1926.

in this chapter. The influence of Theal, Cory and above all Walker on the understanding of the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative by generations of students and academics alike deep into the twentieth century cannot be underestimated.

In this chapter two types of texts have been examined. The majority were written by amateur historians from Europe, among whom missionaries and colonial administrators, both active and retired, predominated. Mostly they had not adopted Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, and their focus was only on one geographic or ethnographic area. The main texts - Macgregor, Ellenberger, Whiteside, Native Affairs, War Office, Molema, Mziki - can be called "antiquarian" along with those of Bryant and Stuart for whom the terms had been originally coined. While the antiquarian texts were a dead-end development, which made no progress beyond 1929, their influence on future historians was significant, and they were regarded as trusted specialists from whom many details could be culled. In contrast a minority of books with a general, South African-wide focus, including the one by the only academic historian, reflected Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative. They bequeathed this mfecane narrative in the form of a dominant racist, anti-African discourse, reduced to one page and named Mfecane by Walker, to the rest of the twentieth century. The methodology of most of these writers was an endless recycling of ideas from previously published materials. Education, which expanded under the various Union governments, required new history textbooks in both English and Dutch/Afrikaans. Many were supplied, a number also by authors examined in this chapter, whose Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane ideas influenced generations of English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans as well as those Africans to whom a school education was available.

Considerably fewer books on the mfecane narrative were published in European languages other than English in this period. This is due to the decline in interest in missionary activities in Europe as well as to the fact that missionaries tended to publish increasingly in English. In the aftermath of the South-African War, Dutch-speaking authors were concerned mostly with

Afrikaner history. The few European-language works on the mfecane in this period all used pre-Theal versions and, as in previous periods, made no impact on the developing mfecane narrative in the English language.¹⁰⁴

African-language books by Europeans, such as Bryant, Stuart, Macgregor and Ellenberger entrenched the standard mfecane history in educated African minds. However, the majority of texts in the vernacular, written by African authors and those interested in history were tolerant, liberal and politically moderate. Even though their histories aimed to give a historical identity to Africans, the educated writers followed European authors in portraying African peoples in the past as culturally backward.¹⁰⁵ These works also had little impact on the developing mfecane historiography in English. English-speaking authors with African language skills did not take them seriously and few were listed in their bibliographies. The number of Africans publishing in English was small and many of these, such as Plaatje, concentrated on the pressing issues of the day, such as fighting segregation. Soga's Xhosa manuscript on Xhosa history, rejected by Lovedale Press in 1926, only appeared in 1930 in English with support of the Wits academic journal, Bantu Studies.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the African

¹⁰⁴ J. Richter, Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1824-1924 (Berlin, 1924). K. Fricke, Die Berliner Mission (Berlin, c.1907). A. Boegner, 'Preface', Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912), v-xxviii. F. Puaux, 'Les Origine de la Mission', Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912). E. Jacottet, 'Histoire de la Mission du Lessouto', Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912). For Jacottet's work on Sotho Folklore see Footnote no. 40. V. Ellenberger, A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland, 1833-1933 (Moriya, 1938), was a translation and expansion of Jacottet's above chapter. H. Deherain, L'Expansion des Boers ou XIXe Siecle (Paris, 1905). Malan, Opkomst van 'n Republiek.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, Changing Past, 133-34. Saunders, South African Past, 109-10. See for example: M.M. Fuze, Abantu Abamnyama (Pietermaritzburg, 1922). See also M.M. Fuze, The Black People and Where They Came From: A Zulu View, A.T. Cope (ed.) (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1979). T. Mofolo, Chaka (Moriya, 1925). P. Lamula, UZulu kaMalandela (Durban, 1924). E. Motsamai, Mehla ea Malimo (Moriya, 1912). Ndamase, V.P. AmaMpondo: Ibali ne-Ntlalo (Lovedale, 1927). B.W. Vilakazi, Inkondlo kaZulu [originally no place, 1935], reprinted in Friedman, E.L., Malcolm, D.M. and Sikakana, J.H. (eds), Zulu Horizons (Johannesburg, 1962).

¹⁰⁶ S.T. Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1916). See his novel of the Tswana-speaking chiefdoms under the threat of the Ndebele - Plaatje, Mhudi. E.A. Voss, 'Preface',

historical voice on the mfecane narrative was virtually not heard in English; and where it was (Molema), it served to enhance the dominant discourse. Against the background of increasing control by the Native Affairs Department of African land and labour, African history essentially remained in the hands of interested European historians.

The underlying structure of the mfecane narrative, which had been established in publications by 1846, was only modified slightly by 1928 through the addition of histories of hitherto-unknown chiefdoms. Several themes came to the fore during this period. Against the background of the efforts of the Milner administration and successive Union governments at building a modern industrial state, several authors detected nation-building as the underlying motive of the Zulu, Ndebele, Basotho and Pedi states. These authors were also influenced by the “great man” approach to history, generally condemning African leaders as bloodthirsty savages. This pertained particularly to Shaka, with only Posselt regarding him as a nation-building genius - a view not unlike that of Omer-Cooper decades later. The authors continued to regard Moshoeshoe as the one positive exception to all other African chiefs. Theal’s idea of a depopulated Ndebele *cordon sanitaire* in order to discourage Zulu attacks was repeated by some authors and in some works it was also mooted as the motive for Shaka’s depopulations. Arbousset’s three-period hypothesis for the Transgariiep evaporated in this period. Most authors failed to detect a “merry Africa”. They described the decade after 1820 as years of heightened conflict, often portrayed in disastrous terms, followed by either an abrupt end to the narrative or by more dislocations due to boer settlements. Lastly, the misidentification of the Mantatees with the Tlokwa only occurred with writers whose focus was outside of the greater Caledon Valley area, while those writing on events within the area regarded the Tlokwa as a purely local actor. Only

Plaatje, Mhudi, 13-14. Plaatje also published a series of biographies of outstanding Barena, mainly of Tswana-speaking chiefdoms, which were reprinted in S.T. Plaatje, ‘Biographies’, English in Africa, 3 (1976), 11-30. Saunders, South African Past, 106-7. Smith, Changing Past, 134. The manuscript, J.H. Soga, Abe-Nguni Abo-Mbo Nama-Lala [1926]. J.H. Soga, The South Eastern Bantu (Johannesburg, 1930). See also J.H. Soga, The Ama-Xhosa: Life and Customs (Lovedale, [1932]).

Ellenberger resuscitated Arbousset's periodization and devoted considerable space to the mythical gyration through the Transgariep by the Mantatees/Tlokwa horde.

Many authors claimed that their works were largely based on oral African traditions, but a closer examination revealed that they were mostly based on written sources. Oral material was indeed used, but often heavily edited with additions from published texts. Five authors used an anthropological methodology and presented a series of detailed micro-histories based on oral material which contained aspects of the mfecane in the Transgariep which differed from the orthodox view. One of the more radical was the description of a seamless stream of wars, raids and migrations by the chiefdoms of the interior, which worsened in the decade after 1822, but did not lead to any extermination. Orpen's view that the impact of Griqua and Kora raiders was worse than that of the invading chiefdoms from Natal was also unusual. However, none of these and other, more minor examples, of the contradictory sub-discourse were in any way able to modify the dominant discourse. The reasons for this are two-fold: firstly, the dominant discourse was carried into the rest of the twentieth century not by the regionally focused "antiquarian" texts of the specialists, but by the racist Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane history of Theal, Cory and Walker. The other was that these writers used literary devices familiar to the readers, such as elements of the gothic novel and the romance, which transformed the mfecane narrative into almost an unassailable myth.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

If the white man has any right at all [in the territories which he has colonised], he is there in the name of civilisation; if our civilization has any right there at all, it is because it represents higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order. Kidd quoted in Du Plessis, 1911.¹

Any system of ideas that can remain unchanged teachable wisdom ... from ... [the 1820's] until the present ... must be something more formidable than a mere collection of lies. Orientalism [mfecane in our case] therefore is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient [early nineteenth century African history], but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Said, 1978.²

The historiography of the mfecane in the 1823 to 1928 period was a journey through many well known and relatively obscure texts, revealing how this historical narrative, only named at the end of the period, was constructed over time. There were various approaches to this history by amateur historians whose professions, such as missionary, clergy, colonial administrator, traveller, colonist, trader, pro-colonist publicist and politician, coloured their individual approach to their works. Equally important are the European intellectual influences which shaped these white (with one exception) male writers' underlying attitude to Africa. These men were in southern Africa because, in addition to their individual motives, they saw themselves as part of a European civilising mission to Africa, as implied in the first quotation above.³ English can be defined as the 'master code'⁴ for the writing of mfecane history. Authors'

¹ B. Kidd, Control of the Tropics (New York and London, 1898) quoted in Du Plessis, History of Christian Mission, 265.

² Said, Orientalism, 6.

³ Kiernan, Lords of Human Kind, 23.

⁴ Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', v.

accounts of the mfecane in French, German, Dutch and a variety of African languages made no input into the developing mfecane narrative unless they were translated into English. The English texts were embedded in the contemporary intellectual European world of ideas, one of the most important with regard to African and mfecane history being the European “Image of Africa”,⁵ as discussed in Chapter 1. It was an all-embracing, negative attitude towards Africans, which changed only slowly over time. It became ever more racist towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, due to influences from both social Darwinism and scientific racism.⁶ This shared image existed in the minds of Europeans writing about African history. It was largely responsible for the fact that, within a little over two decades of the first newspapers articles containing information on the mfecane wars, the mfecane narratives became a solidified dominant discourse. Over time it assumed the quality of a myth, which was considerably enhanced by the writers’ borrowing from literary devices such as the romance and the gothic novel. Brantlinger states that historical writing conversely also influenced literature when he wrote that the ‘Victorian imaginative discourse about Africa tended towards discredited forms, Gothic romance and boy’s adventure story. Fiction writers imitated the explorers, producing quest romances with Gothic overtones in which the heroic white penetration of the Dark Continent is the central theme’.⁷

The Unfolding of the mfecane Narrative

A review of how the successive salient features of the mfecane narrative unfolded during the first century of its existence will enable the reader to follow the conclusion drawn in this concluding chapter. Newspaper articles reporting from the edge of the “blank space” on vague rumours of events taking place among African societies beyond the border of the Cape Colony, as well as letters from the men on the spot, such Fynn, Farewell, King, Edwards, Archbell,

⁵ Curtin, The Image of Africa.

⁶ See Chapter 5, Introductory Section.

⁷ Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness, 188-89. For example see in chapter 4 for Haggard.

Hodgson, Broadbent, Thompson, Shaw, Kay and Ayliff,⁸ formed the basis, and to a large degree the “primary” material, for the study of the development of the mfecane narrative. In the 1823 to 1838 period as covered in Chapter 2, the mfecane narrative was a series of parallel stories of wars in various different areas; the rise of the Zulu state in Zululand and the depopulation of Natal; first the Mantatees and then the Ndebele depopulating the “blank space” of the interior; the Ngwane migrating from Natal - via the Transgariep - to the Transkei where they were defeated by a colonial army; and lastly the story of the Fingo, with their origin in Natal, their enslavement by the Gcaleka and their liberation by D’Urban. At this stage mindless repetition of previously published information was already a salient feature. The writers of the 1839-1876 period as covered in Chapter 3, many of them missionaries, focused only on one geographical area or ethnic group, and incorporated information from beyond only when necessary, above all accounts of Shaka and his Zulu state. The expansion of both missionary endeavours and trekker settlement into the far corners of South Africa filled in the “blank space”, revealing both the locations of, and some information on, the histories of chiefdoms hitherto unknown to Europeans, such as the Kololo. One consequence of this was that Arbousset’s English book revealed the greater Caledon Valley area as a new and separate theatre of mfecane war.⁹ The mfecane narrative always depicted an ultimate Zulu cause for specific migrations or regional wars, but only Shaw’s and Holden’s works contain first steps towards integrating these regional narratives into a coherent whole.¹⁰ By 1876 repetition of previous authors, rather than the “primary” material, was very common. The 1877-1904 period, covered in Chapter 4, brought important changes. On the one hand this was the period of Theal’s innovation of the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, whereby he went significantly beyond the tentative ideas of Shaw and Holden. In Theal the mfecane narrative became an integrated set of events, as yet without a name.¹¹ On the other hand the further expansion of the boer republics

⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁹ Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour.

¹⁰ Shaw, Story of My Mission, 520-21. Holden, ‘Brief History of O.F.S.’, 342.

¹¹ Theal, History of Boers.

and Natal brought to light information of other, hitherto unknown, often regional participants in the mfecane narrative, such as the Gaza and the Ngoni chiefdoms, two Ndwandwe split-offs who moved beyond the borders of South Africa, as well as the Pedi state in the Eastern Transvaal and the Swazi state further South. Though there was a concerted effort to collect and use African oral material, lack of trust in African accounts led authors to repeat information from published accounts. Most of the works by amateur historians of the 1905-1928 period analysed in Chapter 5 did not reflect Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, but focused on one geographical area or ethnic group. Although they produced specialised narratives which were consulted extensively by later historians, their conception of the mfecane had reached a dead-end. It was Walker who took Theal's version to its logical conclusion when he attached the Xhosa neologism "Mfecane" to the Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, which in Theal had already become larger than the sum of its parts. The Theal, Cory and Walker version of mfecane history was the one which was repeated by later historians and thus came to dominate the writing of mfecane history almost to the present.¹²

More Detailed Issues

A number of themes and their developments were detected in the works considered in this thesis. Only major trends and variations are reviewed here. The texts on mfecane history were steeped in the "great man" approach to history. The cause of the mfecane wars were ultimately traced to a single human being, Shaka. He was portrayed as the epitome of everything Europeans, in accordance with the "Image of Africa", believed of African rulers - that they were blood-thirsty, barbarous, treacherous, cunning, devious, cruel and sadistic. Shaka was always compared to other characters of history with a bloodthirsty reputation, such as Atilla, Timur Lenk or Napoleon.¹³ Other African leaders, above all Matiwane and Mzilikazi were seen as only a little less evil

¹² Theal, History of South Africa, First Series, III and IV. Cory, Rise of South Africa, 5 Vols. Walker, History of South Africa.

¹³ See Wylie for details. Wylie, Savage Delight.

than Shaka. The only surprising exception was Moshoeshoe, who was variously described by all writers as a good chief, a wise ruler and a mild person who pursued justice. This demonstrates that it was ultimately not the African rulers' innate ability that determined their image in European publications but the writers' repetition of pre-existing stereotypes.

While the treatment of the purported depopulation of Natal was uneven in the literature, all authors treated it as fact, as they did the belief that only scavengers and cannibals survived in Natal. The initial reports by Port Natal traders of the mid and late 1820's blamed Shaka for sending in his armies because, so they reported, he wanted to be the only black king whose realm bordered on the white king's country, the Cape Colony (see Chapter 2). This version was repeated by most authors even though the motives stated for the extermination differed. There were also some alternative ideas. Shepstone introduced the four-wave theory, whereby he blamed four chiefdoms for a first series of attacks on 39 Natal chiefdoms, followed later by the Zulu finishing off the remaining 54, as discussed in Chapter 4. This idea was only picked up by Theal in an early work - but not his major ones wherein he blamed Shaka's Zulu *amaButho* for the depopulation - and by Bryant, in his Dictionary in 1905, as Shepstone only published it in an obscure form.¹⁴ Whiteside in his Fingo history narrates how the Mbo fled from Shaka through a Natal in which there was no food, with most of the Mbo dying there. He failed to indicate whether this was as a result of Natal's depopulation or as a result of the Mbo destroying the Natal chiefdoms.¹⁵ The legacy to the rest of the twentieth century historians was the myth that the Zulu depopulated Natal, as transmitted through Theal, Cory and Walker (see Chapter 5).

Ngwane history was throughout contradictorily portrayed in the works examined. This was largely due to the geographical area in which the author was situated and his ideology. Writers focusing on the Eastern Cape or Natal,

¹⁴ Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch', 85. Theal, Compendium. Bryant, 'Early History of the Zulu People', 48-49.

¹⁵ Ayliff et al., History of Abambo.

particularly if they were liberals or at least not rabid racists, viewed the Ngwane state as a victim. They depicted the Ngwane being pushed out of Natal by Zulu aggression and later again by the Zulu from the greater Caledon Valley area south into the Transkei, where they were destroyed by a British-led army, which unfortunately mistook them for Zulu. Authors who focused on the greater Caledon Valley area and racists of Godlonton's ilk regarded the Ngwane as a bloodthirsty chiefdom which caused massive destruction, depopulation and forced people to become cannibals. Theal, Cory and Walker followed the latter line, also regarding the Ngwane as a deadly threat to the Cape Colony. With both sides concentrating on the nature of the Ngwane state, victim or cruel barbarian threat, all authors failed to notice that the result of this attack was that a large number of women and children were taken as slave labour to the colony, under the humanitarian cover of giving succour to them.

The Fingo story is clearly connected to that of the depopulation of Natal, but served a very specific goal, that of the creation of a new ethnic identity, for as Tisani put it, the Fingo were a 'colonial creation'.¹⁶ There were three founding documents on the Fingo myth: Ayliff's articles of 1835, Governor D'Urban's official report and Godlonton's history of the war, which incorporated aspects from the other two. Ayliff's argument, as repeated by Godlonton, was that survivors of nine chiefdoms from the Natal interior fled in terror of genocidal attacks by the Ngwane and Zulu states, moving south-west as far as the Gcaleka chiefdom where they were enslaved. In 1834 they were released from bondage and escorted to the Colony by Governor D'Urban upon Ayliff's intervention.¹⁷ This was a myth, as Cobbing and Webster have shown.¹⁸ It is an undisputed fact that until 1834 the eastern part of the Cape Colony had a chronic labour shortage.¹⁹ The large infusion of Fingo into the eastern Cape the

¹⁶ Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography', 294.

¹⁷ Ayliff, 'Fingoes'. Godlonton, Narrative of Irruption, 141-2, 158-159, 176-7, 187.

¹⁸ Cobbing, 'Mfecane as Alibi'. Webster, 'Land Expropriation'. Webster, 'Unmasking Fingo'.

¹⁹ S. Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980), 171-200. S. Newton-King, Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier (Cambridge 1999). Van den Horst, S.T. Native Labour in South Africa (Cape Town, 1942).

year after slavery was finally abolished in the Cape Colony solved this problem for the colonists. Fully aware that London would not condone such a large scale slave raid, which is what it came down to when stripped of all Godlontonesque verbiage, D'Urban, Ayliff and Godlonton needed a fig-leaf to hide the army's forceful removal of 16 800 people, mainly women and children, into the Colony. They then created the fictitious Fingo story, which was a wholesale success. Not only did every writer in the next generation repeat their account, although they left out the Ngwane as co-aggressor and just retained Shaka, but authors from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards also reiterated this version. Shepstone was the exception, introducing the four-wave theory in an obscure publication which only resurfaced with Bryant from 1905 onwards.²⁰

Their myth was conceived in published works and it has been possible to expose it by a thorough study of the literature. Ayliff can be proved to have lied at least twice and misrepresented much of the Fingo reality. In his article he made out that he was the Fingo "father" before the war, but his missionary journal shows that he had very little to do with the Fingo before 1835. The removal of the pages which covered the period of the war from his journal demonstrates that he was hiding something.²¹ W. Shaw's analysis, that the Fingo were 'Africans of several distinct nations, who, ... have sought refuge in the country of Hintsá, who has treated them kindly, and allowed them to settle among his people',²² clearly reveals Ayliff's duplicity. If ever a missionary deserved Majeke's condemnation of missionaries in Africa as servants of colonialism, then it was Ayliff.²³ The reality was that, in contrast to Ayliff's and Godlonton's version, "the Fingo" were not a homogenous group from Zululand and Natal, but consisted of five different groups of people, most of whom were Xhosa-speakers with a common founding myth. The largest number by 1835 were, as Webster shows, Xhosa-speakers, mainly women and children, who

²⁰ See Footnote no. 14.

²¹ (CL) MS 15 386 J. Ayliff, A Record of Dealings of God to my Soul, Diary, November 1834 - December 1847.

²² Webster, 'Unmasking Fingo', 256.

²³ Majeke, N. [Taylor, D.] The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg, 1952).

had been forcefully abducted by the British army and moved under armed guard to the eastern Cape. This army was aided by a colonial militia consisting of boers and settlers with their Khoi servants who also amassed a war booty of about 60 000 head of cattle.²⁴ Britain used Xhosa-speaking allies as auxiliary troops in the war and they as well as their dependants were also called Fingo and were seen as part of the Fingo people. When the war of attrition against the Ngqika sub-chiefs created famine, more and more of them surrendered and were added to the Fingo groups. During the disastrous colonial wars against Xhosa speakers in the decades following the 1834-35 war many more Xhosa, out of desperation, declared themselves Fingo in order to become eligible for government food and land.²⁵

The fifth group were the Fetcani, who originated in Natal and Zululand. Fetcani was a Xhosa word applied to raiders and refugees from north of the Gariep. Europeans noted them among many Transkeian chiefdoms in the 1820's where Fetcani informed them that they were of Zizi, Sotho, Hlubi, Mbo, Fingo and other²⁶ ethnic origin and arrived in the Transkei via the Transgariep. At that stage Fingo was just one of many ethnic identities. In 1829 the Qwabe chiefdom, a vassal of the Zulu state, declared UDI in pursuit of their own sovereignty and migrated through Natal to settle south of the Mzimkhulu River, where they came in conflict with the Mpondo state. In the Transkei this development caused considerable anxiety and the Qwabe were significantly, but for no apparent reason, referred to as Fingo. It may be that this was a term which was used to refer to raiders from Natal, as was Fetcani. A study of historical Xhosa terms is urgently required to clarify this and other historical concepts. A survey of the literature shows that at the same time there was a shift in the definition of the Fetcani. From 1829 onwards they were referred to as Fingo and their origin was changed from Natal via the Transgariep to coming

²⁴ Webster, 'Unmasking Fingo', 250-53, map 252.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 259. Webster, 'Land Expropriation'. Moyer, 'History of Mfengu'. R.J. Bouch, 'The Colonialization of Queenstown (Eastern Cape) and its Hinterland, 1852 – 1886', Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1990.

²⁶ 'Presbyterian Mission of Chumie, 3 July 1824'. 'Extract from a Letter, Hadley, 2 January 1833', 305-308. [Philipps], Scenes and Occurrences,

36, 208. The Colonist, 29 July 1828. 'Letter to The Colonist, Grahamstown, 7 August 1828', The Colonist, 19 August 1828.

from Natal directly, like the Qwabe.²⁷ This then seems to be the likely basis for Ayliff's ideas. Fingo, who were of Fetcani origin and in 1835 lived in or near Gcaleka and Thembu mission stations, were moved to new mission stations in Peddie and the Tyhume River valley. From there men were appointed by government as chiefs over the Fingo, because they were after all, according to the myth, migrants from Zululand and Natal. Thus it is clear that the majority of the Fingo were of Xhosa-speaking origin with only a small proportion of the chiefly elite who had come from Zululand and Natal, via the Transgariep.²⁸

There remains the question as to why such a flimsy and artificial colonial identity should have taken root among the people for whom it was invented. Personal communications from anthropologists indicate that this is impossible. Clearly a detailed study of this issue is now required. However, there is a body of literature which clearly demonstrates that artificial modification of ethnic identity has occurred, particularly in the colonial context, in other parts of Africa and indeed the world. Ethnicity is a social construct which can either be asserted from inside or ascribed from the outside, and in time can be internalised by the people to whom it was ascribed to, according to Cornell. He goes on to describe how Yoruba ethnic identity was constructed by missionaries in the nineteenth century.²⁹ The same pertains to the invention of the Tsonga by Swiss missionaries.³⁰ Therefore, Cornell believes that, 'as a result of gradual or sudden social change, already existing groups of people defined in various ways ... consequently either rethink who they are in ethnic or racial terms, or are rethought, so to speak, by others'.³¹ In the case of the Fingo sudden social change is indeed a given, with the majority being torn from their family and wider social structures, and being forced to be subservient to a new people – colonists - and subject to a new ethnic identity. However, as far as the mfecane

²⁷ See missionary journals and Kay in chapter 2.

²⁸ See Footnote no. 25.

²⁹ Cornell et al., *Ethnicity and Race*, 51, 81-85, 92-93.

³⁰ Harries, 'Roots of Ethnicity', 25-52.

³¹ Cornell et al., *Ethnicity and Race*, 197. See also L. Vail, 'Ethnicity in Southern African History, in L. Vail, *Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London, 1989), 1-21.

narrative is concerned, Godlonton's Fingo account was repeated by all authors examined in this thesis who dealt with the Fingo.

The purported devastation of the greater Caledon Valley area was blamed by all authors on the invasions of the Ngwane and Hlubi states. A secondary force of destabilisation mentioned was the Tlokwa chiefdom, which never had a good press from the beginning. This may be blamed on Sekonyela who was a rather indifferent ruler,³² but his main disadvantage was that he was a rival of Moshoeshe, the only African ruler with a consistently positive image. This was created by Smith and French missionaries in the mid-1830's, at the same time as Sekonyela's negative image was formed by Methodist missionaries.³³ The rivalry between the two states, situated in close proximity to each other, together with anti-Tlokwa information fed to writers by the Basotho ruling elite effectively sidelined Sekonyela and the Tlokwa. However it was not Sekonyela, but his mother, who was the regent while he was a minor, who featured prominently in the mfecane narrative. When the Methodist missionaries settled with the Tlokwa state in 1833 they knew the conventional account of the Mantatees and the battle of Dithakong of 1823. On hearing that the *Morena's* mother's name was "Ma-antatees", they misidentified the Tlokwa as being Mantatees and publicised this in newspaper articles which information was included by Godlonton in his work.³⁴ There was however a curious dichotomy in the treatment of the Tlokwa in the mfecane narrative. Most authors focusing on the Transvaal invariably equated the Mantatees with the Tlokwa and after their defeat at Dithakong described how, after further wars with Tswana chiefdoms, they returned to their former homes in the upper Caledon valley. In 1857 Livingstone added a further element to the Mantatee story when he claimed that the Kololo were incorporated into the Mantatees by "Ma-antatees"

³² See P.B. Sanders, 'Sekonyela and Moshweshwe: Failure and Success in the Aftermath of the Difaqane', *Journal of African History*, 10 (1969), 439-55.

³³ *Journal des Missions Evangelique* (1833-1836). Arbousset et al., *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour*. Casalis, 'Northern Tribes'. Smith, *Report of Expedition*. See Footnote no. 34.

³⁴ [Wesleyan Minister], 'Letter of 10 December 1833'. 'Investigatus, 6 February 1834'. Edwards, 'Extract from a Letter, 17 March 1836', 349-50. See also: 'Extract from a Letter from the Rev. J. Edwards', 789-90. Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks*, I, 53; and II and III, 158-166.

and were also present at the battle of Dithakong. Thereafter the Kololo were supposed to have broken away and fled north, ultimately settling in the upper Zambezi river. The alternative view was held mainly by authors who focused on the greater Caledon Valley area. They depicted the Tlokwa as a local player only who, after being dislodged by the Hlubi, gyrated through the area battling it out with the latter, the Ngwane and the small Sotho-speaking chiefdoms. The Tlokwa were thus regarded as partly responsible for depopulation and the creation of cannibals in the greater Caledon Valley area. Ellenberger was an exception who combined both views, with some other variations.

The Ndebele had a fierce reputation as great exterminators in all accounts. At first Mzilikazi was regarded either as a brother of Shaka or as one of his generals. In the late 1830's Mzilikazi was recast as the son of a vassal, who became a general of Shaka, before being compelled to flee to the highveld. Grout was the first to state that Mzilikazi's chiefdom was called Khumalo. It was only in the mid-1870's that the Khumalo were first believed to be part of the Ndwandwe state and only after the latter's defeat did the Khumalo become vassals of Shaka.³⁵ Generally authors regarded the impact of the Ndebele migrations as catastrophic for the local population of the Transvaal, causing depopulation, abandoned homesteads, with bleaching skulls and bones being reported. In contrast other authors reported on a variety of chiefdoms settling in the Transvaal during and after the reported ravages by the Mantatees, Ndebele and Swazi. One of the earliest was Broadbent's list of chiefdoms that settled in 1824 in the interior (see Chapter 2), as well as Harris' map discussed in Chapter 3. The most comprehensive studies of Transvaal chiefdoms were undertaken by Stow, Macgregor, the Transvaal (Colony), Native Affairs Department, the Great Britain War Office in 1905 and Molema in 1920 (see Chapter 5).³⁶ This contrasting image describes the history of the chiefdoms of the Transvaal as an endless time of war and migration. However, the invasions of the Mantatees and Ndebele were described as a period of intensified war,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II and III, 183-84. Harris, *Wild Sports*, 39-40, map 356. Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scene*, 544-45. Grout, *Zulu-Land*, 229. Fynney, 'Rise and Fall of Zulu Nation', 1-7.

³⁶ See Footnote no. 65.

migration in search of peace, reorganising of political allegiances by various means, including becoming vassals of the Ndebele state. However, it was the older, racist, “great man” idea with its focus on Mzilikazi, the ‘blood-bibber’³⁷ and depopulator of the Transvaal, that appeared in the Theal, Cory and Walker version of mfecane history which was transmitted into the remainder of the twentieth century.

An important result, often mentioned, of the mfecane wars was thought to have been the appearance of cannibals in Natal, the Transvaal and the greater Caledon Valley area. This phenomenon requires closer scrutiny because of the clear connection made by authors between anthropophagi and slavery. Dictionaries define cannibals as people that eat human flesh. The word is a fifteenth-century Spanish corruption of the ethnic name for the inhabitants of the Bahamas, the Carib, who ate war captives. Cannibals soon became a synonym for uncivilised, ‘bloodthirsty savages’.³⁸ The first references to cannibals in mfecane historiography was in Thompson’s first newspaper article of 1823, wherein he accused the Mantatees of being cannibals. He elaborated on this theme in his book, as did Moffat in his much-read first book.³⁹ The first mention of cannibals in Natal was in an 1826 newspaper article by King, who claimed that there were ‘nations of cannibals’ in the interior of Natal,⁴⁰ survivors of Shaka’s depopulation of Natal, an idea which was much expanded on by both Godlonton and Isaacs.⁴¹ Lastly, cannibalism in the greater Caledon Valley area goes back to an article by Edwards, which was later much elaborated on by

³⁷ Molema, Bantu Past and Present, 66.

³⁸ Murray, J.A.H. (ed), New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, 10 Vols. (Oxford, 1837 - 1915), II, 71. See also Seligman, R.A. and Johnson, A. (eds), Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (no place, 1930), 172-73.

³⁹ Thompson, The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 19 July 1823. South African Commercial Advertiser, 12 September 1826. Thompson, Travels and Adventures, 2 Vols. Moffat, Missionary Labours.

⁴⁰ [J.S. King], ‘Lt. Farewell’s Settlement.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I, 72. Isaacs, Travels and Adventures.

Godlonton and Arbousset.⁴² These writers exhibited a morbid fascination with cannibals which, through the process of repetition, spread through nearly all mfecane works and was thus incorporated prominently into Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, but not into Walker's version.⁴³

Modern studies of cannibalism present two contradictory results. According to Arens there is no credible description of people eating people in the literature and that 'the idea of "others" as cannibals, rather than the act, is the universal phenomenon. The significant question is not why do people eat human flesh, but why one group invariably assumes that others do'.⁴⁴ This latter issue can also be found in the mfecane literature, such as when Arbousset reported on a chiefdom which Sotho-speaking people described as cannibals and thus too dangerous to visit. A glance at his map shows that Arbousset noted the areas of cannibal villages, but, because he never visited them, he had no first-hand knowledge of them.⁴⁵ Some of the chiefdoms designated as cannibals were politically aligned to the Tlokwa state, which served to further blacken their image. The only "cannibals" the French missionaries met were those, who so they were assured, had been reformed by Moshoeshoe, which further expanded his hagiography. Likewise, none of the cannibals in Natal were ever visited by Europeans and their anthropophagi described. It is thus clear that 'both Europeans and Arabs seem to have a morbid interest in cannibalism and ten to one accept almost any tale told them about it',⁴⁶ as Evans-Pritchard put it. Sanday, however, whose study of fifteen ancient and modern societies showed that eleven of these had experience of cannibalism, contradicted Arens idea. Sanday clarified this in two ways. Firstly, this eating of human flesh was only a ritualistic practice and no humans were ever a food source. Secondly, none of

⁴² [Wesleyan Minister], 'Letter of 10 December 1833'. Godlonton, Introductory Remarks, I. Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour.

⁴³ 'Cannibalism in South Africa', 195-96. 'Cave Cannibals', 641-45. Bryant, 'Man-Eaters of Bantuland', 12-17. Theal, History of Boers. Walker, History of South Africa.

⁴⁴ Arens, W. The Man-Eating Myth (New York, 1979), 139.

⁴⁵ Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 54-79, 271, 287, map.

⁴⁶ Quote by Evans-Pritchard, in Arens, Man-Eating Myth, xiii.

the societies found to be cannibalistic lived in Africa.⁴⁷ She did not seem to be aware of the Sotho practice of including some human material in the Sangoma's ritual material, commonly referred to as muti.⁴⁸ Beyond that both agree the idea of cannibals hunting and eating humans for food during the mfecane years is a myth.

How then were these nineteenth century European authors deceived? A number of different aspects come together to form a coherent explanation. Most societies have a fear of a 'cannibal monster'⁴⁹ and this, combined with a human tendency to think the worst of ones' rivals, easily led people to construct their rivals and others with whom they were in conflict as cannibals. Another explanation seems to be based on the difficulty of mfecane authors' translation of African information, especially where their African language proficiency was limited or non-existent. Thus misunderstandings could easily occur and once these were incorporated into the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative they usually remained, such as the mis-identification of the Mantatees with the Tlokwa state discussed above. Idioms are always the most difficult aspect of any language to translate and are thus often interpreted literally which tends to create misunderstandings. Various southern African languages contain the idiom of somebody being "eaten up", which Europeans translated literally as cannibalism. The concept was used in two very different ways in African languages. Dingane was reported to have ordered several prominent men to be "eaten up", meaning that they were to be stripped of all their possessions,

⁴⁷ C. Marx, 'Der Afrikareisende George Schweinfurth und der Kannibalismus', Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter, 34 (1989), 69-97. Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 54-79, 271, 287, map. Sanday, Divine Hunger, xi, 9-10, 28, 217. Arens, Man-Eating Myth. F.J.P. Poole, 'Cannibals, Trickster and Witches' in P. Brown and D. Tuzin (eds), The Ethnography of Cannibalism (Washington D.C., 1983), 6-8.

⁴⁸ 1951, X (Cmd. 8209). Basutoland Medicine Murder, April 1951. See also news items of the twentieth century and the twenty-first century's of so-called muti murders.

⁴⁹ Sanday, Divine Hunger, 102, 217. See also South African Folklore, such as in H. Callaway, Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulu (Pietermaritzburg, 1866-7). M. Martin, Basutoland, its Legends and Customs (London, 1903). 'Book Review of M. Martin, Basutoland, its Legends and Customs, 1903 (London)', Folk-Lore, 14 (June 1903), 230-42. Jacottet, Basotho Lore. See also Footnotes no. 53 and 54.

including their livestock and sometimes also their wives and children, as punishment for a crime.⁵⁰ In the other examples it was reported that an aggressor chiefdom was “eating up” or “devouring” the land or certain chiefdoms. Here the idiom stood for raiding, stealing of livestock as well as other food, and thus bringing hardship to the victims.⁵¹ The practice of seeing cannibals in the mfecane narrative is thus based on *a priori* ideas from the European “Image of Africa”, which was activated through the literal translation of the idiom “eating up”, reaching its gothic excess in Ellenberger’s gruesome calculation of 300 000 Sotho-speaking people being eaten during the six worst years of the mfecane by four thousand “cannibals”.⁵²

There is also a connection between cannibalism and slavery in the mfecane literature. An analysis of nursery tales from the Transkei of 1875 shows that cannibals in Xhosa oral literature abducted only girls and young women, ostensibly to “eat” them, but in reality they were put to work and thus were actually slaves.⁵³ This was also reported by Wangemann, who found in Pedi oral literature cannibals stealing people allegedly as a food source. But escapees reported that they were put to work and not eaten.⁵⁴ Callaway in his book on oral literature of Natal in 1867 went on to state the logical conclusion that, ‘it is probable that the native accounts of cannibals are for the most part, the traditional record of incursions of foreign slave hunters’. He then explained that for Africans something that is eaten is utterly wasted and the extraction of slaves from a society was seen as equivalent to being eaten.⁵⁵ Ayliff, in his

⁵⁰ Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, II, 49.

⁵¹ See Footnote no. 39. Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, I, 139-140. Arbousset et al., Narrative of an Exploratory Tour, 54-79, 271, 287, map.

⁵² Ellenberger, History of Basuto, 222-25. He assumed arbitrarily that there were 4 000 cannibals living in the greater Caledon Valley area, each eating one person per month, which equals 48 000 people per year times 6 years = 300 000 people eaten.

⁵³ T. ‘Kaffir Nursery Tales’, The Cape Monthly Magazine, 9 to 10 (October 1874 - July 1875). T was possibly Theal, see the discussion in connection with Mhlanga, ‘Story of Native Wars’, 248-52, in Chapter 4.

⁵⁴ Wangemann, Lebensbilder, 95-100.

⁵⁵ Callaway, Nursery Tales, 159.

account of Fingo history for Governor Cathcart of 1853, went considerably further when he wrote that he was 'inclined to fear that the hellish practice of the slave trade thus begun on this [Natal] coast, was the origin of those wars which have nearly produced the entire extinction of the African tribes of this Continent'.⁵⁶ The European slave trade's impact on West African societies has been significant and is well-documented.⁵⁷ Eighteenth century West African descriptions such as this one by Atkins - 'if he [the chief] cannot obtain a sufficient number of Slaves that way, he marches an Army, and depopulates ... commit[ing] great Depredations inland'⁵⁸ - are part of the historical record. However, in mfecane history, the link between slave raiding and the reported depredations was, with a few exceptions⁵⁹, never made by nineteenth or twentieth century authors or historians until the 1980's. The ideas by Cobbing and others from the late 1980's, that the events described in the mfecane narrative have to be re-examined in the context of the impact of the slave trade on African societies were foreshadowed by the above nineteenth century writers.

Results

The historiographical analysis of the works considered in this thesis yielded three significant results. Most authors repeated the ideas of previously published works. Many of the authors who claimed to have relied on African oral materials in fact based their work on published information. Throughout the

⁵⁶ (CL) MS 15 543 Sketch of Fingo History for Cathcart by John Ayliff, c.1853, quoted in Webster, 'Unmasking Fingo', 255.

⁵⁷ T.F. Buxton, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (London, 1840). E. Reynolds, Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade (London, 1965). R.E. Conrad, World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil (Baton Rouge, Alabama, 1986). D.B. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca, 1975). Lovejoy, P.E. Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa (Cambridge, 1983). Lovejoy, P.E. 'The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis', Journal of African History, 23 (1982).

⁵⁸ J. Atkins. 'Ouidah in 1721', in Davidson, African Past, 224.

⁵⁹ See Footnotes No. 55 and 56, as well as the comment by Delegorgue in Chapter 4. For the twentieth century see also Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 18-20. Saunders, 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane', 26.

century under review there were writers whose texts contained information which was contrary to the dominant discourse of the mfecane narrative.

Firstly, the methodology of research for most authors consisted mainly of repeating ideas of previous writers, or as Maylam put it 'much of it [was] based on assertion, unsubstantiated premise, or on ideas borrowed unquestioningly from previous writers. It is surprising how little careful, thorough research has been undertaken into the history of South Africa's racial order [and thus also the mfecane narrative], particularly for the pre-1900 era'.⁶⁰ This was also noted by Wylie, when he indicated that 'one of the most striking features of white writing on Shaka [and also the mfecane narrative] is the high level of unquestioning repetition, which ranges over a continuum from outright plagiarism through close paraphrasing to the adoption of implicit concepts and attitudes'.⁶¹ Repetition *ad nauseam* is clearly discernible to the reader, as description after description of the same event in the same way is passed from the authors of one generation to the next with little, often purely decorative, variations.

Secondly, African oral material was incorporated by authors in various ways and has been discussed where applicable. From the 1850's it was fashionable to claim that one's work was based on oral information. In most cases there is no way of evaluating which parts of a published work were based on oral materials, except where they were reprinted verbatim, albeit edited, and in English. The same difficulty pertains to published works which were attributed to Africans, such as Mziki in Chapter 5 and the four European-edited articles based on oral narratives in Chapter 4.⁶² The extent of European editing of these and other narratives is apparent, even though its extent cannot always easily be gauged. In most cases this is made much more difficult if the writers omitted to publish original interviews. None of the authors have published their interviews in the African language and only a few are accessible in archives. Thus

⁶⁰ Maylam, *Racial Past*, 207.

⁶¹ Wylie, 'Textual Incest', 418.

⁶² Mziki, *Mlimo* - 1926. Mhlanga, 'Story of Native Wars'. Moshoeshoe, 'Little Light'. Moloja, 'Story of Fetcani Horde'. Scully, *Fragments of Native History*.

extensive research is required to find and publish such material as has already been done with Stuart's oral material. Following Hamilton to some degree, it is logical that information on the mfecane narrative was transmitted from Africans, often members of the ruling elite of dominant chiefdoms, to European writers, with the resultant mfecane accounts containing a mixture of African and European ideas.⁶³ The few detailed analyses which have been undertaken, such as on Ellenberger's book in chapter 5, have shown that only a small portion of his text was based on oral information, with the majority coming from published materials.⁶⁴ One of the reasons for this is that most authors did not trust the African informants and the accuracy of their stories, due to their negative attitude toward Africans. The authors felt safer referencing oral information against published works with the latter being used in the event of a difference of opinion. This is another reason for the levels of repetition of previously published ideas being so high in these texts. Generally, the earlier books incorporated royal oral traditions of the larger African states which became part of the mfecane orthodoxy. Later, other oral information either from different sources in these same states or from smaller states was also published, but it had a limited impact on the mfecane narrative.

Thirdly, there was a sizable minority of writers who presented information at odds with the dominant discourse, such as Pringle, Kay, Shepstone's 1864 accounts, Fynney, Bird, Macgregor, Orpen, Transvaal (Colony), Great Britain War Office and Molema, to name the most important ones.⁶⁵ Such information can be defined as a contradictory sub-discourse. However, the dominant discourse, fortified by its status as a romantic myth, was strong enough to either ignore this sub-discourse or to integrate contrary narrative aspects, such as

⁶³ Webb et al. (eds), James Stuart Archive. Hamilton, Terrific Majesty.

⁶⁴ Keen, 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book'. Ellenberger, History of Basuto.

⁶⁵ Pringle, African Sketches. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence. Kay, Travels and Researches. Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch'. [Shepstone], 'Inhabitants'. Fynney, 'Rise and Fall of Zulu Nation'. Bird, Population in Natal. Orpen, Reminiscences of Life. Stow, Native Races of South Africa. Macgregor, Basuto Traditions. Transvaal (Colony), Short History. Great Britain, Native Tribes. Molema, Bantu Past and Present.

Shepstone's four-wave theory,⁶⁶ thus being enhanced rather than threatened. The approach towards contradictory material by the authors analysed in this thesis was succinctly described by Wylie in his discussion of Cory's methodology:

Without positively asserting more than he can prove, he gives prominence to all the circumstances which support his case; he glides lightly over those which are unfavourable to it; his own witnesses are applauded and encouraged; the statements which seem to throw discredit on them are controverted; the contradictions into which they fall are explained away;... what cannot be denied is extenuated, or passed by without notice; concessions are even sometimes made: but this insidious candour only increases the effect of the vast mass of sophistry.⁶⁷

As with all academic spheres one thesis can not possibly deal with all the issues and thus there is room for further study. Indeed, there is room for parallel historiographies, examining the material with different foci. A detailed study on the historiographical development of the mfecane narrative from 1928 onwards to the present is also needed, or a more extensive study which would cover the whole period from the 1820's to the present. Studies, based on post-modern literary criticism, of mfecane literature exist, but so far only on the Zulu and especially on Shaka. Such enquires should be extended to all aspects of the mfecane narrative. Also, regional mfecane historiographies focusing in much greater detail on one specific geographical area would be of use, such as the one by Wright on Natal.⁶⁸ Others could concentrate on the historiographical treatment of one African state over time, such as the Ngwane or one of the smaller chiefdoms in the Transvaal. Furthermore, extensive linguistic studies are required, on the one hand to examine the various Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho-Tswana language terms which are part of the mfecane, including this term itself. On the other hand, studies are required which would trace and publish original interviews with African informants and the translations that exist in archives. A

⁶⁶ Shepstone, 'Historical Sketch' , 85.

⁶⁷ Originally, Kenyon on Hume, in Kenyon, History Men, 56, quoted with reference to Cory in Wylie, Savage Delight, 190.

⁶⁸ Wright, 'Political Mythology'. See also Maloka for the greater Caledon Valley area. Maloka, 'Missionary Historiography'.

study of how ethnic identity can change, especially with reference to the Fingo, is urgently required. The historiographical literature of nineteenth century history, especially in the early years, is very limited and on themes of African history even more so.⁶⁹ In addition there is much more scope for research into critically re-evaluating the content of mfecane history from different angles in order to arrive at very different explanations, such as made possible by the anti-mfecane critique of the 1980's and 1990's, by Cobbing, Wright, Etherington, Webster, Gewald and others. Thus there is much scope for further work in order to finally take up the challenge that Brookes presented to historians in 1924:

Dingiswayo and Tshaka, Moselekatse and Moshesh, Ketswayo and Logemgula are not unworthy figures round which to build a history which would read like a romance. But, the future historian of South Africa will realise that the record of social, economic and political progress is equally as inspiring as, and far more helpful than, the biographical, romantic and warlike elements which have so long usurped for us the whole field of history.⁷⁰

This study of the development of the mfecane narrative between 1823 and 1928 has been enlightening in several respects. It demonstrated that many publications devoted to African history existed, especially on mfecane history in this period. These texts were written almost exclusively in English by amateur male Europeans and thus have a colonial and European point of view, based on the discourse of the European "Image of Africa". During the first two post-1823 decades of mfecane history writing, a series of texts focused on events in one specific geographic area: such as Natal and Zululand; the Transkei; the interior regions comprising the Free State and the Transvaal; and lastly the greater Caledon Valley area. This mfecane narrative of geographically parallel, separate accounts was thereafter repeated with impunity by succeeding generations of authors. It became a dominant colonial discourse, which was in time further strengthened by being invested with literary elements, such as the gothic novel and the romance, turning mfecane history into myth. Consequently it was impervious to contradictory evidence as contained in the identified sub-

⁶⁹ For an exception see Tisani, 'Xhosa Historiography'.

⁷⁰ E.H. Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South African from 1830 to the Present Day (Cape Town, 1924), 394.

discourse, which was never able to develop into a full-scale counter-narrative. Such evidence was either ignored or even incorporated as acceptable variables of the main story line. Thus the mfecane narrative assumed a solidity of paradigmatic proportion, which it was even able to retain after being incorporated into academic history from 1928 onwards. In many texts there was a curious distinction in the way the mfecane narrative was portrayed. There were generalised statements, which claimed that there was a calamity among African chiefdoms during the early nineteenth century that affected the whole sub-continent and led to large depopulated areas. Shaka was blamed as the ultimate cause for this and other chiefs only to a lesser extent. In many texts the detailed descriptions revealed a much more nuanced image of the early nineteenth century events. An example of this would be the five series of micro-histories on the Transvaal, which revealed that the history of these chiefdoms was marked by war, peace and migration before, during and after the mfecane years, without any extermination being reported. It was the more general, Zulu-centric image which informed Theal's version of mfecane history and which was continued by Cory, and in extremely compressed form by Walker, which informed most of the remainder of the twentieth century authors. A similar condensed and racist Zulu-centric version appeared in the school text books of Theal, Whiteside, Godee-Molsbergen and others, who thus planted mfecane ideas into the minds of generations of twentieth century school children. It was a century where much history writing was focused either on the contemporary situation of an ever-increasing policy of segregation and apartheid or on the related research into how this racial domination arose in the nineteenth century. The mfecane paradigm which took its final form with Theal, Cory and Walker was accepted uncritically by most twentieth century historians. It is thus not surprising that the mfecane paradigm was able to persist in South African history until the 1980's and 1990's when historians, largely schooled in the materialist approach to history, began to question the term and the underlying ideas, as well as the sequence and elements of the mfecane narrative.

Bibliography

INDEX

A. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

1. Unpublished Documents and Manuscripts 201

B. Published Material

2. Bibliographical Aids and Works of Reference 207

3. Printed Official Sources 211

4. Newspapers 214

5. Unpublished Theses and Papers 215

6. Published Articles 224

7. Published Books 258

Chapter 7 A. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

1. Unpublished Documents and Manuscripts

1.1 Cape Town Archives Repository

a. Public Records

(i) Colonial Office

CO 233, Sundry Military and Naval Officers, 1825: Hoffmann & Peterssen to Cmd. Moorsom, 9 March 1825.

CO 253, No. 67, Mr. Hewston to Major M. Ryan (Military Secretary).
Mr. Johnstone, to Mr. Hewston (Commissariat).

CO 362, Letters Received: Orphan Chamber, School
Commission and Agents and Missionaries in the

Interior - 1829: Shepstone to Col. H. Somerset,
Morley, 16 October 1829.

CO 2649, Letters Received: Drostdy Graaff-Reinet, 20 July and 11
August 1823.

CO 3938, Memorials Received - 12 October 1828. Capt. Jardine to
Governor Cole, Medical Appointment of Dr. William Gill.

CO 3942 (356), Memorials Received - 12 January 1829. Memorial of
Dr. W. Gill to Governor Cole - Medical Appointment.

CO 6080, Arrival of Ships at the Cape of Good Hope, 1811.

(ii) Government House

G.H. 19/3, Papers Relating to the Caffre Chief Chaka, 1828-1829: J.S. King
to Civil Commissioner, Uitenhage, 24 May 1828 on Land Treaty:
Shaka to J.S. King, Mlo-lalili, February 1828.

(iii) Advisory Council

A.C. 11, Letter by Campbell, 29 June 1833.

(iv) Slave Office

SO 3/1, Report of Registrar/Protector of Slaves, Cape Town, 1826-
27: Report of Proceedings of the Registrar and Guardian of
Slaves, 24 June 1827.

SO 15/2, Extracts from Proceedings of the Committee on Illicit Traffic in
Slaves, 1808.

(v) Lt. Governor File

LG v. 9, Commissioner General: Commission of Inquiry into Reports of Cruelty
Against Native Tribes Beyond the Orange River, 1830.

(vi) Albany District

1/AY/8/49, Civil Commissioner of Albany: Letters Received from Assistant Civil Commissioner of Somerset - 15 November 1836.

1/AY/8/55, Civil Commissioner of Albany: Letters Received from Assistant Civil Commissioner of Somerset - 10, 22 and 24 June 1835.

(vii) Other

MOOC - 6/9/104 (624), Death Notices.

b. Non-Public Records

(i) A302, Vol. 1 - J.M. Orpen Papers, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1874-1934.

(ii) A302, Vol. 4 - J.M. Orpen Papers, Basutoland

J.M. Orpen, Memorandum: Remarks Which Occur to me While Reading Mr. MacGregor's Book "Basuto Traditions", 1905, p2.

J.M. Orpen, Notes on Fetcani, 1905, p2.

(iii) A302, Vol. 6, J.M. Orpen Papers, Orange Freestate

J.M. Orpen, Notes, 1905.

(iv) Other

MS 1237, J.M. Orpen, Notes on Memorials of P. Kruger.

MS 1263, J.M. Orpen, Notes on Strachan, D. "Boers and Bacas", p3.

A378 (D) G.E. Cory, A Short History of Slavery at the Cape, p30.

1.2 South African Library, Cape Town

a. G.W. Stow Papers.

MSB 472, G.W. Stow, The Intrusion of the Stronger [Bantu] Races, p1067.

b. Peter Crail Collection

M 343, Dregé, C.F. Auszuege aus Briefen, p26

M 343, Dregé, C.F. Tagebuch 1806 – 1845.

c. G.44.a.e

A.R. Orpen, Genealogy of the Bamoketeri Clan.

C.S. Orpen, Genealogy of the Banonaheng Clan.

d. Other

Articles by Vernon S. Forbes, Vishoek, 1977, p5.

[Lindley, S.], A Short Account of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Lindley's Work in Africa, 1916, p35.

1.3 Cory Library, Grahamstown

a. J.M. Orpen Papers, MS 1029, MS 1205 – 1212, MS 1251, MS 1258.

b. John Ayliff Papers

MS 15 386 J. Ayliff, A Record of Dealings of God to my Soul, Diary, November 1834 - December 1847.

MS 15 543 Sketch of Fingo History for Cathcart by John Ayliff, c.1853.

c. Cory Papers

MS 119 G.E. Cory, Notes: Conversations with W.R.D. Fynn, 1913.

MS 17 042 Notebooks (8): Colonial Archives, Cape Town, Vol. IV: Campbell to Bell, 19 December 1828. The Appointment of Capt. Aitchinson, as Government Agent to the Zulu, 19 December 1828.

d. Other

MS 1363 B.P Godlonton, to G.E. Cory, 17 June 1921.

MS 6670 Roberts, M. (Translator) The Journal of John August Wahlberg, Translation of the Swedish Original, p57.

MS 14264 Heathcote, E.K. Philips, 1820 Settler: Letters omitted by Keppel-Jones, Durban, 3 Vols. 1966, p245.

1.4 Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg

H.F. Fynn Papers - A1382

File 19, No. 81, H.F. Fynn, Boer Migration from Cape Colony to Natal: Cane's Fight with Dingaan's Regiments (ca. 1861).

1.5 Library of the Local History Museum, Durban

63/1323, James Archbell, a Great Missionary and a Distinguished Citizen of Early Natal Days, post 1942, p7.

1.6 Killie Campbell Library, Durban

Campbell, E. On the Side of the Biggars. Light on the 1830's, Our Bravest Decade, c. 1955.

1.7 Die Transvaalse Argiefbewaarplek, Pretoria

a. Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek

Staats Sekretaris: Inkomende Stukke

SS 465/R 4124 -80 - 1880. Steyn, J.C. Verklaring Op Sy Ontmoeting met Mzilikazi, 1839-41, 267-71.

1.8 Lesotho Evangelical Church Archives, Morija, Lesotho

D.F. Ellenberger Papers

Document Historique, Grand Format, II, 3.

J.M. Orpen, Notes on: Mziki (A.A. Campbell) 'Mlimo: the Rise and Fall of the Matebele', *Bulawayo Chronicle*, c.1905.

1.9 National Archives of Zimbabwe

A3/18/28, Taylor, H.J. A Short History of the Native Tribes of the Province of Matabele, January 1904.

1.10 Rhodes House Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England

Macmillan Papers

MS Afr. S. 216, Macmillan's Notes on Dr. J. Philip's Papers.

1.11 Personal Correspondence

Communication from A. Brütsch, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, 1989.

Correspondence with S. Gill, Archivist of the Lesotho Evangelical Church, Morija, Lesotho, May 2004.

Communication from Dr. J. Cobbing, 1992.

Chapter 8 B. PUBLISHED MATERIAL

2. Bibliographical Aids and Works of Reference

Brewster, D. (ed), The Edinburgh Encyclopedia (Edinburgh, 1830).

Brits, J.P. The Penguin Concise Dictionary of Historical and Political Terms (Harmondsworth, 1995).

Carpenter, H. and Prichard M. (eds), The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature (Oxford, 1984).

De Kock, W.J., Krüger, D.W. and Beyers, C.J. (eds), Dictionary of South African Biography, 5 Vols. (Cape Town, 1968-1987).

Duminy, A.H., Honnet, M.L. and King, R.J.H. (eds), A Guide to Unofficial Sources Relating to the History of Natal (Durban, 1977).

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 30 Vols. (15th. Edition, Chicago, 1986).

Frost, P.J. A Bibliography of Missions and Missionaries in Natal (Cape Town, 1969).

Gordon, L. Lesotho: a Bibliography (Johannesburg, 1970).

Hahn, T.H. An Index of the Grey Collection in the South African Public Library (Cape Town, 1884).

Hammond, N.G.L. and Scallard, H.H. (eds), The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 1970).

Harding, W. The Cape of Good Hope Government Proclamations from 1806 - 1825 and Ordinances Passed in Council 1825-1828 (Cape Town, 1838).

Harris, L.L. (ed), Nineteenth Century Literature Criticism, 22 Vols. (Detroit, 1983-1990).

List of Accession No. 15: Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University, (Grahamstown, no date).

Long, U. An Index to Authors of Unofficial, Privately-Owned Manuscripts Relating to the History of South Africa 1812-1920 (London, 1947).

The Macmillan Encyclopaedia (London, 1986).

Mendelssohn, S. Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography, 2 Vols. (London, 1910).

Motive Index of Folk Literature, 6 Vols. (2nd. edition, Copenhagen, 1955-1958).

Muller, C.F.J., Van Jaarsveld, F.A. and Van Wijk, T. (eds), A Select Bibliography of South African History (Pretoria, 1966).

Muller, C.F.J., Van Jaarsveld, F.A. and Van Wijk, T. (eds), Supplement to a Select Bibliography of South African History (Pretoria, 1974).

Muller, C.F.J., Van Jaarsveld, F.A., Van Wijk, T. and Boucher, M. (eds), South African History and Historians: a Bibliography (Cape Town, 1979).

Murray, J.A.H. (ed), New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, 10 Vols. (Oxford, 1837 to 1915).

Musiker, R. South Africa (Johannesburg, 1979).

Musiker, R. and N. Guide to the Cape of Good Hope Official Publications: 1854 - 1910 (Boston, 1976).

Musiker, N. and R. South African History: A Bibliographical Guide, with Special Reference to Territorial Expansion and Colonialization (New York and London, 1984).

Pollak, O.B. and K. Thesis and Dissertations on Southern Africa: An International Bibliography (Boston, 1976).

Potgieter, D.J. (ed), Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, 12 Vols. (Cape Town, 1970-76).

Rundle, M. and Winter, J.S. Reginald Frank Kennedy: A List of Publications (Johannesburg, 1971).

Schmidt, K.L.M. A Bibliography of Personal Accounts of the Cape of Good Hope in Printed Books, 1715 - 1850 (Cape Town, 1955).

Schoeman, K. Bibliography of the Orange Free State until 31 May 1910 (Cape Town, 1984).

Seligman, R.A. and Johnson, A. (eds), Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (no place, 1930).

Silva, P. (ed), Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1996).

Simpson, J.A. and Weiner, E.S.C. (eds), The Oxford English Dictionary, 20 Vols. (2nd. edition, Oxford, 1989).

Smit, D.E. Bibliography of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Works in A South African Bibliography to the Year 1925 (Cape Town, 1983).

Société des Missions Evangelique de Paris, Bibliographical Notice of the Late Reverend Prosper Lemue (Morija, 1870).

South African Library, A South African Bibliography to the Year 1925, 4 Vols. (London, 1979).

South African Library, Guide to the South African Manuscript Collections in the South African Library, Cape Town (5th. Edition, Pretoria, 1990).

Stephen, L. (ed), Dictionary of National Biography, 5 Vols. (London, 1886).

Stevens, R.P. Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (London, 1967).

Theal, G.M. Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets (Cape Town, 1912).

Truhart, P. (ed), Regents of Nations, 3 Vols. (München and New York, 1984).

Van Schoor, M.C.E. and Malan, S.I. (eds), 'n Bibliografie van Werke oor die Oranje-Vrystaat Vanaf die Voegste Tye tot 1910 (Bloemfontein, 1954).

Willet, S.M. and Ambrose, D.P. (eds), Lesotho: A Comprehensive Bibliography (London, 1980).

3. Printed Official Sources

South African Territories

3.1 Cape (Colony)

Parliamentary Papers

1865, Proceed. and Evidence by Com. On Native Affairs, 1865.

1873, Rept. from Com. on Basuto Native Laws and Customs, 1873.

1873, A.12-'73. Rept. of Select Com. on Native Affairs, 1874.

1883, (G.4.-'83). Rept. of Government Com. on Native Customs, 1883.

3.2 Natal

a. Republic

Notule van die Natalse Volksraad, Volume 1, 1838-1845 (Met Bylae), South African Archival Records - Natal (Pretoria, 1958).

b. Colony

1850. Bluebook of the Colony of Natal, 1850.

1852. Rept. Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1852-1853.

1852. Proceedings, Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1852-1853.

3.3 Orange Freestate (Republic)

'Notule van die Volksraad van die Oranje Vrystaat, Volume 3, 1858', in South African Archival Records, Orange Freestate (Cape Town, 1960).

3.4 Transvaal (Colony)

Native Affairs Department

Short History of the Tribes of the Transvaal [original] (Pretoria, 1905), State Library Reprint Series, 24 (Pretoria, 1968).

3.5 South Africa (Union), Parliament

1955. Summary of the Rep. of the Com. for the Socio-Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa (Pretoria, 1955).

3.6 United Kingdom

a. Parliamentary Papers:

1829, V (300). Cape, Rept. of Commissioners on Trade, Harbors and Navigation, 3 October 1828.

1830, XXI (584). Cape, Rept. of Commissioners on Native Tribes, 28 January 1830.

1835, XXXIX (50). Cape, Papers re Aborigines, 1834.

1835, XXXIX (252). Cape, Papers re Aborigines, 1834.

1836, VII (538). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines, August 1836. [Minutes, Appendix and Index only].

1836, LI (330). Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines (British Settlements); with the Minutes of Evidence: Appendix and Index, August 1836.

1837, XLIII (503). Papers re Kaffir War 1835-7.

1837, VII (238), (425). Further Rept. from Select Com. on Aborigines, 1830-6.

1851, XXXVIII (424). Papers re Kaffirs, 1837-46.

1852-3, LXVI (1646). Corresp. re Orange River Territory, 1851-3.

1854, XLIII (1758). Corresp. re Orange River Territory, 1853-4.

1886, XLVII [C.4889]. Rept. of Commissioners on Land Settlements in British Bechuanaland, 29 May 1886.

1905, LV (Cd. 2399). Report of the S. A. Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905.

1951, X (Cmd. 8209). Basutoland Medicine Murder, April 1951.

b. Great Britain War Office

(i) Intelligence Division of the Quarter-Master-General's Department

Précis of Information Concerning South Africa: The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, Kafraria and Basutoland with Special Reference to Native Tribes (London, 1877).

Précis of Information Centering on the Colony of Natal (London, 1879).

Précis of Information Concerning South Africa: Orange River Free State and Griqualand West (London, 1878).

Précis of Information Concerning Basutholand (London, 1880).

(ii) General Staff

The Native Tribes of the Transvaal [original] (London, 1905), reprinted (Pretoria, 1962).

4. Newspapers

The Cape of Good Hope and Port Natal Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, December 1844

The Cape Times, July 1898, April 1921, July 1974

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 1808, 1812-13, 1817, 1819-20, 1822-23, 1825

From 1826 it became the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 1828-34, 1836, 1838-39, 1841, 1843

The Colonist, 22 November 1827 - 30 September 1828

The Friend of the Freestate and Bloemfontein Gazette, April 1880

Graham's Town Journal, 1831-34, 1836-38

Grocott's Daily Mail, 1946

The Natal Advertiser, 1908

The Natalian, June 1908

The Natal Witness, 1853

The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, November 1853

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, August 1824 - 26
December 1826

South African Commercial Advertiser, 7 January 1824 - 5 May 1824, 1825-26,
1828-29, 1830-34, 1836-37, 1843,

South African Commercial Advertiser and Cape Town Mail, 1857.

Southern African Review of Books, 1991

The Spectator, May 1834

The Star, October 1925

The Sunday Times, July 1990

The Times, August 1875

The Times Higher Education Supplement, November 1991

Weekend Gazette, 1991

The Weekly Mail, 13-19 September 1991

De Zuid Afrikaan, 1838, 1856

5. Unpublished Theses and Papers

Babrow, M. 'A Critical Assessment of Dr. George McCall Theal', M.A. thesis,
University of Cape Town, 1962.

Bank, A. 'The Great Debate and the Origin of South African Historiography', Rhodes University, July 1995.

Beck, R.B. 'The Legalization and Development of Trade on the Cape Frontier, 1817-1830', Ph.D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1987.

Bouch, R.J. 'The Colonialization of Queenstown (Eastern Cape) and its Hinterland, 1852 – 1886', Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1990.

Bradlow, E. 'Mental Illness or a Form of Resistance? The Case of Soera Brotto', University of Cape Town, August 1989.

Bramdeow, S. 'Henry Francis Fynn and the Fynn Community in Natal, 1824-1988', M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1988.

Burton, D.R. 'The South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05', M.A. thesis, UNISA, 1985.

Canonici, N.N. 'The Missionary Period in Zulu Literature', University of Natal, Durban, September 1989.

Carlean, K. 'Myths of the Mfecane and South African Educational Texts: A Critique', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

Cobbing, J. 'The Ndebele Under the Khumalos, 1820-1896', Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976.

Cobbing, J. 'Zulu Amabutho and Production: Some Preliminary Questions', Rhodes University, 1977.

Cobbing, J. 'The Case Against the Mfecane', Rhodes University, 1982.

Cobbing, J. 'The Myth of the Mfecane', Rhodes University, 1987.

Cobbing, J. 'Jettisoning the Mfecane (with Perestroika)', Rhodes University, 1988.

Cobbing, J. 'Grasping the Nettle: The Slave Trade and the Early Zulu', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

Cobbing, J. 'Ousting The Mfecane: A Reply to Elizabeth Eldredge', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Cobbing, J. 'Rethinking the Roots of Violence in Southern Africa, c. 1790-1840', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Cobbing, J. 'So Dreadful a Storm': The Textual Evolution of the Mfecane', 1st Draft, Rhodes University, 29 March 1996.

Coetzee, J.A. 'Politieke Groeperinge in die Wording van die Afrikanernasie', Ph.D. thesis, UNISA, no date.

Crais, C.C. 'Some Thoughts on Slavery and Emancipation in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1770- 1838', University of Cape Town, August 1989.

Crais, C.C. 'Slavery and Freedom Along a Frontier: The Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1770-1838', Final Draft for Publication in 1991.

Cuthbertson, G. 'Cape Slavery: Enslaved to American Historiography?', Rhodes University, December 1991.

Dooling, W. 'The Process of Slave Amelioration in Graaff-Reinet, 1823-1830', University of Cape Town, August 1989.

Eldredge, E.A. 'The Mfecane' Reconsidered: The Origins of Violence in Southern Africa, c. 1800 - 1830', University of Virginia, October 1990.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa c. 1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Ellison, J.T. 'The Remembrance of Your Kindness to Us: Henry F. Fynn's Other Decade in Natal, South Africa, 1852-1861', B.A. Hons. essay, Middelburg College, Cape Province, 1977.

Etherington, N. 'Reassessing the Great Trek: Historiographical Twin Brother of the Mfecane', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Freund, W. 'Society and Government in Dutch South Africa: The Cape and the Batavians, 1803-1806', Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1971.

Gebhard, W.R.L. 'The Mfecane and the Great Trek: Conflicting Interpretations and their Ideological Significance', Universität Essen, 1990.

Gewald, J.B. 'Mountaineers as Mantatees: A Critical Reassessment of the Events Leading up to the Battle of Dithakong', M.A. thesis, University of Leiden, 1989.

Gorham, C. 'Swallows and Locusts: Traders in Natal, the Mfecane and the History of Nineteenth Century South Africa', B.A. Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1990.

Green, M.S. 'The Influence of the Missionaries on the History of Basutoland from 1833 to the Annexation by the British Government in 1868', Ph.D. thesis, UNISA, 1928.

Hamilton, C. 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', M.A. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986.

Hamilton, C. 'The Character and Objects of Chaka and Their Many Interpretations in the 1820's: The Cobbing Thesis Reconsidered', University of Cape Town, May 1991.

Hamilton, C. 'The Character of Chaka: A Reconstruction of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Hamilton, C. and Wright, J. 'Making Pre-Colonial Histories in South Africa: Past Trends and Present Debates', Rhodes University, July 1995.

Harries, P. 'Labour Migration from Mozambique to South Africa: With Special Reference to the Delagoa Bay Hinterland, c.1862-1897', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1983.

Hartley, G. 'The Battle of Dithakong and "Mfecane" Theory', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Hedges, D.W. 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,' Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978.

Kennedy P.A. 'The Fatal Diplomacy: Sir Theophilus Shepstone and the Zulu Kings, 1839-1879', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976.

Kimble, J. 'Towards an Understanding of the Political Economy of Lesotho, 1830-1885', M.A. thesis, Roma University, 1978.

Lambourne, B. 'Some Perspectives on the War of 1834-5 and its Raison d'Etre: The Fingoes', B.A. Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1990.

Legassick, M. 'The Missionaries, the Griqua and the Sotho-Tswana: The Politics of a Frontier Zone', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1969.

Lye, W.F. 'The Difaqane: The Sotho Wars in the Interior of South Africa, 1822-1837', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970.

Maloka, E.T. 'Missionary Historiography and Ethnography: Casalis, Arbousset and Ellenberger and the History of 19th Century Lesotho', B.A. Hons. essay, University of Cape Town, 1988.

Margeot, M.Y.G.H. 'Of Maps and Historians', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

Marquard, J. 'A Neglected Pioneer in South African Literature: W.C. Scully', Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984.

McGinn, M.J. 'J.C. Chase - 1820 Settler and Servant of the Colony', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1975.

Moyer, R.A., 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1815-65', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976.

Newton-King, S. 'The Enemy Within', University of Cape Town, August 1989.

Peires, J.B. 'Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane?', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Pretorius, J. St. E. 'Die Beleid van die Suid-Afrikaanse Geweste Teenoor die Handel in Vuurwapens en Ammunisie met die Inboorlinge, 1806-1881', M.A. thesis, University of the Orange Freestate, 1955.

Pretorius, R. de. V. 'Die Geskiedenis van die Vrystaatse Griekwas, 1825-1862', M.A.thesis, University of the Orange Freestate, 1964.

Pridmore, J. 'The Production of H.F. Fynn, c. 1830-1930', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

Pridmore, J. 'Impact of European Traders on Port Natal, 1824-1834: A Look at Environment and Society', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, July 1992.

Pridmore, J. 'Beyond the "Natal Frontier"?: H.F. Fynn's Cape Career, 1834-1852', Rhodes University, July 1995.

Richner, J.E. 'The Withering Away of the Lifagane: Or a Change of Paradigm', B.A. Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1988.

Richner, J.E. 'Eastern Frontier Slaving and its Extension into Transorangia and Natal, 1770-1843', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Richner, J. 'Looking Through a Dark Glass - The European "Image of Africa"', Rhodes University, 1992.

Richner, J.E. 'The Sub-Continent Wide Expansion of Cape Frontier Slavery: The Enslaving of Indigenous People from the Eastern Cape to the Transorangia and Natal, 1770-1843', Rhodes University, 1992.

B.E. Seton, 'Wesleyan Missions and the Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835', Ph.D. thesis, 1962, University of Cape Town.

Shell, R. 'Adumbration of Cape Slavery: Other Forms of Labour', Rhodes University, August 1989.

Shell, R. 'History of the Slave Trade to the Cape, 1652-1822', Rhodes University, August 1989.

Smith, A.K. 'The Struggle for the Control of Southern Mozambique, 1720-1835', Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970

Stapleton, T.J. 'Reluctant Slaughter: Maqoma and the Cattle-Killing, 1853-57', Rhodes University, October 1991.

Stapleton, T.J. 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-Ethnicity: The Fingo Debate', Rhodes University, July 1995.

Swanson, M.W. 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa, 1830-1930', Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1965.

Tisani, N. C. 'Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography in the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis', Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 2000.

Urie, J.M. 'A Critical Study of the Evidence of Andries Stockenström Before the Aborigines Committee in 1835, Viewed in the Light of His Statements and Policies before 1835', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1953.

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'Arbitrary Rule and the 18th Century Discourse of Africa', University of Natal, Durban, September 1989.

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'The Emplotment of Ethnicity: The Narrative Politics of Othering', Rhodes University, April 1993.

Vietzen, S. 'The Rev. James Archbell: A Study in Missionary Activity', B.A. Hons. essay, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1962.

Vigne, R. 'Scully's The White Hecatomb: Mfecane History or Fiction', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1995.

Webb, A.C.M. 'The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1975.

Webster, A.C. 'Ayliff, Whiteside, and the Fingo "Emancipation" of 1835: A Reappraisal', B.A. Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1988.

Webster, A.C. 'A Paradigm Explored: The Eastern Cape in 1835', Rhodes University, 30 October 1989.

Webster, A.C. 'An Examination of the Fingo Emancipation of 1835', Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, April 1990.

Webster, A.C. 'Land Expropriation and Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the Emancipation of the Fingo', M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1991.

Webster, A.C. 'Southern Africa in the 1820's', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Webster, A.C. 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited', University of the Witwatersrand, September 1991.

Westaway, A. 'An Attempted Reconstruction of the History of the Ndwandwe and their Cadet Groupings, Particularly the Gaza and Jere, Between the Mid-18th Century and 1826', B.A.Hons. essay, Rhodes University, 1989.

Wright, J. 'Politics, Ideology and the Invention of Nguni', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, May 1983.

Wright, J. 'The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Centuries: A Critical Reconstruction', Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989.

Wright, J. 'Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane', University of Cape Town, 1989.

Wright, J. 'A.T. Bryant and the Wars of Shaka', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, October 1990.

Wylie, D. 'Utilizing Isaacs: One Thread in the Development of the Shaka Myth', University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1989.

Wylie, D. 'A.T. Bryant's Inexplicable Swarms: Style in the Portrayal of Shaka', Rhodes University, July 1995.

6. Published Articles

6.1 Published Articles With no Authors Cited

'Cowan and Donovan', Gentlemen's Magazine (January 1810), 75-76.

'South Africa', Missionary Notices, 3 (November 1821), 161.

'Report of the Director, 1824', African Institution, 18 (1824).

'The Cape Chronicle, 1824', The South African Journal, 1 (January - February 1824), 75-83.

'Bechuana Mission – Mantatees Invaders', The Cape Chronicle, 1824, in The South African Journal, 2 (March - April 1824), 173-75.

'The Cape Chronicle, 1824', The South African Journal, 2 (March - April 1824), 173-80.

'Rolong Mission', Missionary Notices, 4 (October and November 1824), 346-49, 355-56.

'Report of the Director, 1825', African Institution, 19 (1825).

'Sketch of the Bechuana Mission', Missionary Sketches, (October 1828), folio 1-3.

'Prospects of South Eastern Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1 (June, 1830), 40.

'The Aborigines of the Colony', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1 (June 1830), 1-2.

'Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1 (March 1831), 134-35.

'Clarkson's Lecture on Negro Slavery', Gentlemen's Magazine, 101 (August 1831), 160-61.

'Dr. Andrew Smith and the Progress of Discovery', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 2 (July 1832), 336.

'The Sultan Abdallah and Family', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (February 1833), 32.

'Expedition to Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (July 1833), 116.

'Geography at the Cape', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (August 1833), 132.

'Another Glance at Capt. Owen's Voyage to Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 2 (December 1833), 195.

'Papers in Reference to a Plan for an Expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (December 1833).

'Expedition into the Interior of South Africa', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 4 (1834), 362-74.

'Association for Exploring Central Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (February 1834), 31.

'Trading Expedition into the Interior', Missionary Register (April 1834), 165.

'Instructions Addressed to the Director of the Expedition into Central Africa', The South African Quarterly Journal, 2 (April-June 1834), 257-71

'Instructions for the Expedition Into Central Africa, From the Cape of Good Hope', Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (July 1834), 1-10.

'Communications Made by a Native Respecting a Lake in the Interior of South Africa', The South African Quarterly Journal, 2 (July-September 1834), 351-52.

'The Sultan of Johanna: Arrival of the H.M.S. Trinculo, Capt. Both, R.N.', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (September 1834), 143.

'Invasion of the Eastern Districts of the Colony', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (December 1834), 195-96.

'Great Britain and her Free People', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (March 1835), 48.

'The Optium Cum Dignitate in Caffreland', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (March 1835), 63-64.

'The Cloud of Witnesses', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (July 1835), 112.

'Captain Alexander's Intended Visit to the Damaras of South Africa', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 6 (1836), 314-21.

'The Bechuana Country', The Albany Mirror, 1 (April 1841), 13-14.

'Footsteps of the Old Travelers', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 5 (1859), 356-63.

'John Fairbairn, ESQ. M.C.A., Late Editor of the Commercial Advertiser', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 3 (1860), 374-84.

'Mcleod's East Coast of Africa', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 3 (1860), 274-86.

'A Visit to the Griquas in No-Man's Land', The Net: Cast in Many Waters, 1 (July 1866), 97-117.

'Conversion of a Liberated Slave to Christianity', The Net: Cast in Many Waters, 3 (July 1868), 107-11.

'The Cave Cannibals of South Africa', The South African Magazine, 2 (November 1868), 641-45.

'Cannibalism in South Africa', The South African Magazine, 3 (1869), 56-63, 195-97.

'A Chapter about Kwamagwaza and the King of the Zulus', The Net: Cast in Many Waters, 4 (February 1869), 21-30.

'Orange Freestate and Basutoland: Visit to Moshesh', The Net: Cast in Many Waters, 3 (May 1869), 65-71.

'The History of the Cape Colony', Ch. IX, The Cape Monthly Magazine, 1 (1870), 568-76.

'The Transgariëp Exodus', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 4 (1872), 129-38.

'The Griquas and their Exodus', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 6 (December 1872), 321-37.

'In the Camp with Pretorius', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 14 (June 1877), 371-76.

'A Contribution from a Bushman', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 1 (December 1877), 53-55.

'The Orange Freestate Forty Years Ago', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (June 1879), 824-32.

'Schetsgeschiedenis van die Boesman's School van Bethulie', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (August 1879), 939-43.

'An Historical Parallel', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 3 (1880), 358-59.

'Thomas Pringle', Cape Quarterly Review, 1 (October 1881), 103-27.

'St. Helena Records: Capture by Pirates of the St. Helena Schooner', The South African Illustrated News, 2 (July 1885), 333-34.

'A Century of South African History', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 2 (1901), 1-14.

'First Colonialization of Natal', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 7 (1901), 7-13.

'Tchaka the Terrible', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 10 (1901).

'Moshesh of the Mountains, the Warrior-Diplomatist', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 12 (1902).

'Umziligazi, the Lion of the North', Annals of South Africa Series, South Africa Handbook, 12 (1902).

'Book Review of M. Martin Basutoland, its Legends and Customs, 1903 (London)', Folk-Lore, 14 (June 1903), 230-42.

6.2 Published Articles With Authors Cited

A Naval Officer [Owen, W.F.W.], 'Remarks on Delagoa Bay, a Large Harbour Situated on the South-East Coast of Africa, and on the Country and Nations Adjoining it', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (January 1830), 132-44.

A Resident, 'The State of Slavery at Mauritius', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1 (November 1830), 78-79.

Alexander, 'Note on the Fingoes' subjoined in the Book Review on: J.W.D. Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 5 (1835), 314-21.

Ambrose, D.P. 'The Basuto Settlement at Griquatown, 1824-41', Basutoland Notes and Records, 1 (1974), 60-64.

An Old Resident, 'The People of England and the People of South Africa', Cape Quarterly Review, 1 (July 1882), 665-72.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from a Letter, Platberg, 31 Dec. 1829', Missionary Notices, 6 (November 1830), 329.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from a Letter, Platberg, 30 June 1830', Missionary Notices, 6 (July 1831), 486-89.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from the Journal, Platberg, 28 August 1831', Missionary Notices, 7 (April 1832), 152-53.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from a Letter, Platberg, 27 May 1833', Missionary Notices, 7 (December 1833), 384-86.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from the Journal', Missionary Notices, 7 (August 1834), 516-21.

Archbell, J. 'Extract from a Letter, 19 May 1837', Missionary Notices, 8 (November 1837), x.

Atmore, A. and Marks, S. 'The Imperial Factor in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Reassessment', The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 3 (October 1974), 105-39.

Bain, A.G. 'Extracts from the Journal of Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain Kept During a Visit to Some of the Interior Tribes of Southern Africa in the Year 1826', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (July-September 1830), 415-28.

Bain, A.G. 'Journal of a Traveler', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (February 1835), 19-23.

Ballard, C. 'The Role of Trade and Hunter-Traders in the Political Economy of Natal and Zululand, 1824-1888', African Economic History, 10 (1981), 3-21.

Ballard, C. 'Natal 1824-1844: The Frontier Interregnum', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 5 (1982), 49-64.

Bank, A. 'The Great Debate and the Origin of South African Historiography', Journal of African History, 38 (1997), 261-81.

Bank, A. 'The Return of the Noble Savage: The Changing Image of Africans', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 17-43.

Bartholemew, R.N. 'Private Journal Kept on Board on H.M.S. Leven, When Surveying the Coast of Africa', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 4 (1833), 220-39.

Beck, R.B. 'Bibles and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century', Journal of African History, 30 (1989), 211-25.

Benyon, J.A. 'The Necessity for New Perspectives in South African History with Particular Reference to the Great Trek', Historia, 33 (November 1988), 1-10.

Beta, 'Habits and Customs of the Korana', Cape Illustrated Magazine, 9 (September 1898), 421-24.

Bezuidenhout, D.P. 'Voortrekkers Verhaal', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 3 (December 1879), 84-92.

Bird, J. 'Personal Recollections of Dingaan and his Massacre of Retief and his Party', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 1 (November 1877), 55-59.

Boeseken, A.J. 'Theal en Sy Bronne', Historia, 9 (March 1964), 48-52.

Boeseken, A.J. 'The Meaning, Origin and Use of the Terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan', CABO, 1 (August 1972), 5-10.

Boeseken, A.J. 'Dr. A.J. Boeseken Replies to Prof. R.H. Elphick', CABO, 2 (January 1974), 8-10.

Boeseken, A.J. 'On Changing Terminology in History', CABO, 2 (November 1975), 12-15.

Boeseken, A.J. 'Lewe en Werk van E.C. Godee-Molsbergen', South African Historical Journal, 8 (November 1976), 119-31.

Bowker, J.H. 'Other Days in South Africa', The Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society, (July 1884), 68-73.

Boyce, W.B. 'Extract of the Journal, Bunting, Pondoland', Missionary Notices, 7 (March 1832), 39-42.

Breckenridge, K. 'On the Mfecane Aftermath', Alternation, 4 (1997), 247-49.

Bredenkamp, H.C. 'Die Khoisan en Vakterminologie na The Oxford History of South Africa: 'n Historiografiese Dilemma', South African Historical Journal (November 1991), 61-76.

Brill, J. 'Een Gedenkskrift over den Trek', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (July 1879), 881-83.

Broadbent, S. 'Letter, Graaff-Reinet, 20 August 1822', Missionary Notices, 4 (February 1823), 17.

Broadbent, S. 'Extracts from Broadbent's Journal', Missionary Notices, 4 (May 1824), 258-60.

Broadbent, S. 'Letter, Maquasse, March 31st 1824', Missionary Notices, 4 (November 1824).

Broadbent, S. and Hodgson, T.L. 'Letter, Maquassie, 1 July 1823', Missionary Notices, 4 (January 1824), 199-201.

[Brown, J.] 'The Bechuana Tribes', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 11 (July 1875), 1-5.

Brütsch, A. 'Arbousset and the Discovery of Mont-aux-Sources', Basutoland Notes and Records, 1 (1968), 49-56.

Bryant, A.T. 'The Origin of the Zulus', Native Teachers' Journal, 1 (1919), 9-16.

Bryant, A.T. 'The Man-Eaters of Bantuland and Elsewhere', The South African Quarterly, 5 (March to May 1923), 12-17.

Bryant, A.T. 'Some South-Bantu Nation-Builders', The South African Quarterly, 7 (July 1925 to February 1926), 18-22.

Campbell, G. 'Madagascar and the Slave Trade, 1810-1895', Journal of African History, 22 (1981), 203-27.

[Cambell, J.] 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Campbell's Journey from New Lattakoo to Kurrechane', Missionary Sketches, 15 (October 1821), folio 1-2.

Chase, J.C. 'Substance of the Journal of Two Trading Travelers, and of the Communications of a Missionary, Regarding their Recent Visits to the Countries in the Rear of the Portuguese Settlement at De la Goa Bay', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (July - September 1830), 402-07.

Chase, J.C. 'Messrs. Cowie and Green's Expedition to Dela Goa Bay', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (October 1831), 30-32.

Chase, J.C. 'Notice Respecting the Expedition Overland from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to the Portuguese Settlement of De la Goa Bay by Messrs. Cowie and Green, in 1829', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (October 1831), 57-65.

Chase, J.C. 'A Sketch of the Establishment, Progress and Present State of the Settlement of Albany', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 3 (December 1833), 181-83.

Chase, J.C. 'Progress and Present State of Geographical Discovery in the African Continent', The South African Quarterly Journal, 2-3 (1834), 97-106, 129-137.

Chase, J.C. 'The Late Kaffir Trade', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (March 1835), 27-31.

Clancey, P.A. 'Natal's Role in the Development of Ornithology in South Africa', The Lantern, 14 (September 1964), 16-17.

Clarence-Smith, W.G. 'For Braudel: a Note on the Ecole des Annales and the Historiography of Africa', History of Africa (1977).

Cobbing, J. 'A Tainted Well: The Objectives, Historical Fantasies, and Working Methods of James Stuart, with Counter-Argument', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 11 (1988), 115-154.

Cobbing, J. 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History, 29 (1988), 487-519.

Comaroff, J. 'Humanity, Ethnicity, Nationality', Theory and Society, 20 (1991), 661-87.

Cooley, W.D. 'A Memoir on the Civilization of the Tribes Inhabiting the Highlands near Delagoa Bay', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 3 (1833), 310-24.

Crais, C.C. 'Gentry and Labour in Three Eastern Cape Districts, 1820-1865', South African Historical Journal, 18 (November 1986), 125-46.

Crais, C.C. 'Slavery and Freedom along a Frontier: The Eastern Cape, South Africa: 1770-1838', Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Contemporary Studies, 11 (1990), 190-216.

Crais, C.C. 'The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa', Journal of Social History, 25 (Winter 1991), 255-76.

Cubbin, A.E. 'The English Alliance with the Voortrekkers against the Zulus', Historia, 33 (November 1988), 63-73.

Curson, H.H. 'Two Notes on South African Military Interests', Africana Notes and News, 14 (September 1960), 91-94.

D. 'Reminiscences of an Old Kaffir', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 3 (November 1880), 289-94.

De Jong, P.S. 'Perpektiefstelling oor Omstrede Aangeleenthede van die Groot Trek', Historia, 33 (November 1988), 27-37.

Doke, C.M. 'Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century', African Studies, 18 (1959), 1-27.

Domar, E.D. 'The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis', The Journal of Economic History, 30 (1970).

Dornan, S.S. 'The Basuto - Their Traditional History and Folklore', Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association, 8 (1908), 65-94.

Du Bruyn, J. 'Early Transvaal - A Historiographical Perspective', South African Historical Journal (May 1997), 136-44.

Edwards, J. 'Extract from a Letter, Boetsap, 5 November 1832', Missionary Notices, 7 (September 1833), 336-38.

Edwards, J. 'Extract from a Letter, Mantatees, March 17th 1836', Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, 15 (October 1836), 788-90.

Edwards, J. 'Extract from a Letter, with the Mantatees, 17 March 1836', Missionary Notices, 8 (October 1836), 348-51.

Eiselen, W. 'Nuwe Sesoeto Tekste van Volkekundige Belang', Annale van die Universiteit Stellenbosch, 6 (1928), 1-81.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Land, Politics and Censorship: The Historiography of Nineteenth Century Lesotho', History in Africa, 15 (1988), 191-209.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, ca 1800-30: The Mfecane Reconsidered', Journal of African History, 33 (1992), 1-35.

Ellenberger, D.F. 'History ea Ba-Sotho', Leselinyana la Lesotho (1901).

- Ellenberger, D.F. 'History of the Bataung', Leselinyana la Lesotho (October 1903).
- Elphick, R. 'Prof. R.H. Elphick Replies to Dr. A.J. Boeseken', CABO, 2 (January 1974), 3-7.
- Elphick, R. 'Prof. R.H. Elphick's Final Rebuttal of Dr. Boeseken's Argument', CABO, 2 (November 1975), 12-15.
- Etherington, N. 'The Aftermath of the Aftermath', South African Historical Journal, 25 (1991), 154-76.
- Etherington, N. 'The Great Trek in Relation to the Mfecane: A Re-Assessment', South African Historical Journal, 25 (1991).
- Etherington, N. 'Zulu Kings, Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 228-35.
- Fairclough, T.L. 'Notes on the Basuto, their History, Country, etc.', Journal of the African Society, 4 (1905), 194-205.
- Forbes, V.S. 'Some South African Original Drawings and Maps in London', Africana Notes and News, 10 (December 1952), 21-24.
- Forster-Carter, A. 'From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment', World Development, 4 (March 1976), 167-71.
- Frere, B.E. 'Historical Sketch of South Africa', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4 (1889), 237-59.
- Frere, B.E. 'On Temperate South Africa', Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 3 (1881), 1-19.

George, K. 'The Civilized West Looks at Primitive Africa, 1400 - 1800', ISIS, 49 (1958), 62-72.

Gerdner, T. 'Die Swart Blink Akkadis', Die Brandwag, 16 (June 1952), 14-16.

Giddy, R. 'Extract of a Letter, Thaba Nchu, 15 May 1837', Missionary Notices, 8 (November 1837), 556-63.

Giliomee, H.B. 'Democracy and the Frontier', South African Historical Journal (November 1974), 30-51.

Gray, S. 'South African Fiction and a Case History Revised: An Account of Research into Retellings of the John Ross Story of Early Natal', Researches in African Literature, 19 (1988), 473-74.

Gray, S. 'John Ross and Slavery', English in Africa, 17 (1990), 1-15.

Groenberg, G. 'Johan August Wahlberg and his Travels in South Africa', Africana Notes and News, 8 (March 1951), 40-45.

Grundligh, A. and Sapire, H. 'From Feverish Festival to Repetitive Ritual? The Changing Fortunes of Great Trek Mythology in an Industrializing South Africa, 1938-1988', South African Historical Journal, 21 (November 1989), 19-37.

Guy, J. 'Shaka's Shadow', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 211-27.

Hadley, 'Extract from a Letter, Thembuland, 2 January 1833', Missionary Notices, 7 (July 1833), 305-06.

Hall, H. 'A Sketch of Basutoland', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 3 (1858), 301-04.

Hamilton, C. 'An Appetite for the Past: The Re-Creation of Shaka and the Crisis of Popular Historical Consciousness,' South African Historical Journal, 22 (November 1990), 141-57.

Hamilton, C. 'The Character and Objects of Chaka: A Reconstruction of the Making of Shaka as a Mfecane Motor', Journal of African History, 33 (1992), 37-63.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D. 'Descent Groups, Chiefdoms and South African Historiography', Journal of Southern African Studies, 11 (April 1985), 305-19.

Hancock, W.K. 'Trek', The Economic History Review, 10 (1958), 331-39.

Harington, A.L. 'The Graham's Town Journal - its Founding, Early History and Influence', South African Historical Journal, 1 (November 1969), 15-28.

Harries, P. 'Slavery, Social Incorporation and Surplus Extraction: The Nature of Free and Unfree Labour in South East Africa', Journal of African History, 22 (1981), 309-30

Harries, P. 'The Roots of Ethnicity', African Affairs, 87 (June 1988), 25-52.

Hartman, O.H. 'Jean-Pierre Pellissier: Notes on His Map of 1834', Historia, 3 (March 1958), 27-34.

Hattersley, A.F. 'Christopher Chapman Bird, Colonial Secretary, 1814-1824', Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, 10 (June 1956), 117-28.

Hattersley, A.F. 'Francis George Farewell, and the Earliest Natal Settlers', Africana Notes and News, 14 (December 1961), 315-20.

Henige, D.P. 'Oral Tradition and Chronology', Journal of African History, 12 (1971), 371-89.

- Hicks, J.B. 'Some Notes Concerning the Marico District of the Transvaal', Journal of the African Society, 23 (1923).
- Hodgson, T.L. 'Extracts from his Journal, 9 August 1823', Missionary Notices, 5 (March 1824), 227-31.
- Hodgson, T.L. 'Extracts from the Journal of T.L. Hodgson', Missionary Notices, 5 (February 1828), 403-405.
- Hodgson, T.L. 'Extracts from a Letter, Boetsap, 24 November 1828', Missionary Notices, 6 (August 1829), 120.
- Hole, H.M. 'The Rise of the Matebele', Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, 12 (December 1913), 135-37.
- Holt, B. 'Nicolaas Lochenberg: Freebooter, Elephant-Hunter and Fugitive from Justice', Africana Notes and News, 11 (December 1953), 3-9.
- Holt, B. 'Old Bunting (Turvey's Bush)', Africana Notes and News, 14 (March 1961), 194-97.
- Holub, E. 'Die Ma-Tebele', Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 25 (1893), 177-80.
- Hook, P.M. 'The Natal Tribes', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 8 (September 1880), 161-64.
- How, M. 'An Alibi for Mantatisi', African Studies, 13 (1954), 65-76.
- Huet, P. 'Reisjournaal: Verhaal van Een Uitstappie uit Aliwal Naar de Fransche Zendelingstadien in het Basootoland', Elpis, 1 (1857), 149-87.
- Hulley, R.B. 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Owen's Visit to Zululand in the Year 1837', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 2 (1880), 322-32.

Hyam, R. 'African Interests and the South Africa Act, 1908-1910', The Historical Journal, 8 (1970), 85-105.

Isaacman, A. and B. 'The Prazeros as Transfrontiersmen: A Study in Social and Cultural Change', International Journal of African Historical Studies, 8 (1975).

Jackson, 'A Visit to Panda, King of the Zulu', The Net; Cast in Many Waters, 2 (October 1867), 156-60.

Jameson, H.L. 'An Ethnographic Bureau for South Africa', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 5 (1907), 160-67.

Jeffreys, M.D.W. 'Who Introduced Maize into South Africa?', South African Journal of Science, 63 (January 1967), 23-40.

Jenkins, 'Extract from a Letter, Mequatling, 24 December 1833', Missionary Notices, 8 (August 1834), 516-21.

Jenkins, 'Extract from the Journal, Umpukani, 20 July 1835', Missionary Notices, 8 (March 1836), 239-41.

Jenkins, 'Extract from a Letter, Umpukani, 26 March 1836', Missionary Notices, 8 (October 1836), 348-51.

Jensen, F.H.W. 'A Note on the Bahurutshe', African Studies, 7 (1947), 176-179.

Jeppe, F. 'Die Transvaalsche oder Süd-Afrikanische Republik', Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt, 24 (1868), iii-iv, 1-24.

Jessope, J.P. 'Some Botanists and Botanical Collections', The Lantern, 13 (September 1963), 80-85.

Jewsiewicki, B. and Mudimbe, V.Y. 'Africans' Memories and Contemporary History of Africa', History and Theory, 32 (December 1993), 1-8.

Jomard, M. 'A Brief Notice Respecting the Progress and Present State of Discovery in the Interior of Africa', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (January-March 1830), 204-07.

Jouannin, M. 'Sketch of the Progress of Geographical Discovery During the Past Year', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (October 1831), 86-90.

Junod, H.A. 'The Best Means of Preserving the Traditions and Customs of the Various South African Native Races', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 5 (1907), 141-59.

Kallaway, P. 'Danster and the Xhosa of the Gariep: Towards a Political Economy of the Cape Frontier 1790-1820', African Studies, 41 (1982), 143-66.

Kay, S. 'Extracts From his Journal, 1821', Missionary Notices, 3 (November 1821), 161-65, 198-201.

Kay, S. 'Letter, Tswanaland, 20 March 1822', Missionary Notices, 4 (January 1823), 4.

Keegan, T. 'Dispossession and Accumulation in the South African Interior: The Boers and the Tlhaping of Bethulie, 1833-61', Journal of African History, 28 (1987), 191-207.

Keegan, T. 'The Making of the Orange Free State, 1846-54', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 17 (October 1988), 26-54.

Keegan, T. 'The Overthrow of Cape Slavery', Southern African Review of Books (July - October 1991), 20-21.

Kennedy, R.F. 'Not in Mendelsohn', Africana Notes and News, 4 (December 1946), 1-2.

Kennedy, R.F. 'Historical Accuracy', Africana Notes and News, 6 (June 1949), 53-54.

Kennedy, R.F. 'Originals of Some of the Harris Prints', Africana Notes and News, 15 (December 1962), 155-65.

Killingray, D. 'War and Society in Africa Since 1800', South African Historical Journal (November 1991), 131-38.

Kirby, P.R. 'The Aftermath of the Andrew Smith Expedition of 1834-36', Africana Notes and News, 5 (December 1947), 3-19.

Kirby, P.R. 'Unpublished Documents Relating to the Career of Nathaniel Isaacs, the Natal Pioneer', Africana Notes and News, 18 (June 1968), 63-79.

Kirby, P.R. 'John Centlivres Chase, Geographer and Cartographer', Africana Notes and News, 18 (December 1968), 135-60.

Kirby, P.R. 'Further Facts Relating to the Career of Nataniel Isaacs, the Natal Pioneer', Africana Notes and News, 18 (June 1969), 237-42.

Knobel, L. 'The History of Sechele', Botswana Notes and Records, 1 (1968), 51-63.

Koopman, A. 'Dingiswayo Rides Again', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 2 (1979), 1-12.

Krauss, F. 'The Natal Voortrekkers and Their War with the Zulu', translated by Crawhurst, A.W. and Spohr, O.H., Historia, 14 (March 1969), 22-42.

Krauss, F. 'The Zulu', translated by Crawhurst, A.W. and Spohr, O.H., Africana Notes and News, 18 (March 1969), 201-20.

Kros, C. 'Slaying the Zulu-Centric Difeqane Monster', Matlahasedi, 2 (July 1992), 56-58.

Kros, C. 'Interview with Carolyn Hamilton', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 199-205.

Kunene, D.P. 'Leselinyana la Lesotho and Sotho Historiography', History in Africa, 4, (1977), 149-61.

Lacy, G. 'The Battle of Blood River', Battles and Sieges Series, South Africa Handbook, 20 (1903).

Lacy, G. 'The Boers and Their Native Wars', South African Sketches and Stories Series, South Africa Handbook, 49 (no date).

Lacy, G. 'Southern African Exploration: Pioneer Hunters, Traders and Explorers of Southern Africa', South Africa, 25-27 (January to September 1895).

Lagden, G. 'Basutoland and the Basuto', Scottish Geographical Magazine, 17 (July 1901), 347-62.

La Hausse, P. 'Oral History and South African Historians', Radical History Review, 46-47 (1990), 346-56.

Le Roux, C.J.B. 'Book Review of: B.J.T. Leverton (ed.), Records of Natal, Volume Vol. 2, Sept. 1828 - July 1835', Historia, 34 (November 1989), 124-26.

Leslie, L. 'Some Remarks on the Bushmen of the Orange River', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (October 1829), 79-82.

Leverton, B.J.T. 'The Story of the Fynn Papers', The Lantern, 9 (December 1961), 79-85.

Lewis, L. 'Book Review of: An Account of the Ovahs, a Race of People Residing in the Interior of Madagascar', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 5 (1835), 230-242.

Lichtenstein, W.H.C. 'The Boers or Dutch Farmers of South Africa', Chambers Edinburgh Journal, 12 (January 1843), 404-5.

Liebenberg, B.J. 'Bloedrivier en God's Hand', South African Historical Journal (November 1980), 1-12.

Liebenberg, B.J. 'Mietes Rondom Bloedrivier en die Geloofte', South African Historical Journal (November 1988), 17-32.

Lovejoy, P.E. 'The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis', Journal of African History, 23 (1982), 473-501.

Lye, W.F. 'The Difaqane: The Mfecane in the Southern Sotho Area, 1822-1824', Journal of African History, 8 (1967), 107-31.

Lye, W.F. 'The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River', Journal of African History, 10 (1969), 87-104.

Mabille, A. 'The Basuto of Basutoland', Journal of the African Society, 19-20 (April 1906), 233-38, 366-67.

[MacGregor, J.C.] 'History ea Le-Sotho' Series, Leselinyana la Lesotho (1896-1901).

MacLean, C.R. 'Loss of the Brig Mary at Natal: With Early Recollections of that Settlement', Nautical Magazine, 22-24 (1853-1855).

MacQueen, J. 'Journey from Inhambane to Zoutpansberg, by Joaquim de Santa Rita Monthana', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 32 (1862), 63-68.

Mann, R.J. 'The Black Population of the British Colony of Natal, South Africa,' Intelligent Observer (October 1866), 184-93.

Mann, R.J. 'Wild Kaffir Life and Wild Kaffir Intelligence', Intelligent Observer (November 1866), 289-97.

Mann, R.J. 'Recent Passages of Zulu-Kafir History', Journal of the Society of Arts, 30 (June 1882), 809-10.

Manning, J.K. 'Old Nondela', Southern Review, 1 (June 1952), 14-16.

Martin, A.C. 'Die Aandeel van die Engelse in die Pioneerwerk in Natal en Elders', Die Saamwerk - Eufees Gedenkuitgawe (December 1938), 96-103.

Martin, M. 'Reply to Book Review of Her Book Basutoland, its Legends and Customs', Folk-Lore, 16 (June 1903), 415.

Marx, C. 'Der Afrikareisende George Schweinfurth und der Kannibalismus', Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter, 34 (1989), 69-97.

Mazery, P. 'Dingane and the Portuguese', The Lantern, 23 (June 1974), 67-71.

Mears, W.G.J. 'The Bechuana Mission or the Advance of Christianity into the Transvaal and the Orange Freestate', Methodist Missionary, 4 (1960), 26-61.

Melvill, J. and Kolbe, G.A. 'Missionary Tour through the Country of the Bashutoos', Transactions of the London Missionary Society, 52 (October 1829), 123-28.

Mhlanga, P. 'A Story of Native Wars by n Aged Fingo, The Cape Monthly Magazine, 14 (April 1877), 248-52.

Miller, J.C. 'Mzinga of Matambo in a New Perspective', Journal of African History, 16 (1975), 201-16.

Milne, J. 'Major Warden: Early Life', Basutoland Notes and Records, 1 (1963/4), 27-40.

[Moffat, R.] 'Extract of the Journal of R. Moffat, Previously Published in, The Missionary Chronicle of the London Missionary Society', Missionary Notices, 4 (February 1824), 220-1.

Moffat, R. 'Visit to Moselekatse, King of the Matebele', Royal Geographical Society Journal, 26 (1856), 84-109.

Moloja, 'The Story of the Fetcani Horde, by One of Themselves', Cape Quarterly Review, 1 (1882), 267-275.

Moodie, D.C.F. 'The Ethnology of the Zulus of South Eastern Africa', The Victorian Review, 1 (June 1882), 175-192.

Morton, B. 'Agonising Over the Mfecane', Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 17 (1997), 99-119.

Moshoeshoe, N. 'A Little Light from Basutoland', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 2 (April and May 1880), 221-33; 280-92.

Moshoeshoe, T. 'The Story of the Sotho, Part 1', Damane, M. and Sanders, P.B. (eds), Mohlomi, Journal of Southern Africa Historical Studies, 2 (1978), 115-61.

Mudimbe, V.Y. 'Power of the Greek Paradigm', The South Atlantic Quarterly, 92 (Spring 1993), 361-85.

Muller, C.F.J. 'Karel Landman se Trekgeselskap', Historia, 1 (1956), 126-41.

Muller, C.F.J. 'Waarom die Groot Trek Geslaag Het', Communications of the University of South Africa, B.12 (1960), 3-22.

- Muller, C.F.J., 'Die Bronne van die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis in die Buiteland', Historia, 5 (September, 1960), 147-52.
- Muller, C.F.J. 'Robert Schoon, 'n Vroeë Suid Afrikaner', South African Historical Journal, 4 (November 1972), 3-28.
- Muller, C.F.J. 'Carel Hendrik Kruger, Avonturier oor die Kaapse Noordgrens, c.1787-1836', South African Historical Journal, 9 (November 1977), 13-18.
- Muller, F. 'Die Bantusprachen', Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1 (1877), 238-62.
- Nash, M.D. 'J.C. Chase's Forgotten Journal', Africana Notes and News, 24 (June 1981), 200-01.
- Nathan, M. 'British Voortrekkers: How Britain and Boer Stood Shoulder to Shoulder in the Taming of South Africa', Forum, 1 (December 1938).
- Nel, O.L. 'Van Melewe in Natal', Hertzog-Annale, 12 (December 1963), 140-44.
- Newitt, M.D.D. 'The Portuguese on the Zambezi: An Historical Interpretation of the Prazo System', Journal of African History, 10 (1969), 67-85.
- Noble, J. 'A Life's Labours in Africa', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 1 (1870), 3-13, 112-23.
- Norton, S.S.M. 'A Description of the Modderpoort Neighborhood One Hundred Years Ago', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (1909), 114-17.
- Okoye, F.N.C. 'Dingane: A Reappraisal', Journal of African History, 10 (1969), 221-35.

- Okoye, F.N.C. 'Tschaka and the British Traders, 1824-1828', Transafrican Journal of History, 2 (1972), 10-32.
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. 'Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique', Journal of Southern African Studies, 19 (June 1993), 272-94.
- Orpen, J.M. 'A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen', Cape Monthly Magazine, 9 (1874), 1-13.
- Parson, Q.N. 'Khama's Own Account of Himself', Botswana Notes and News, 4 (1972), 137-46.
- Peires, J.B. 'African History', South Africa International, 19 (1988), 74-80.
- Peires, J.B. 'Paradigm Deleted: The Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane', Journal of Southern African Studies, 19 (June 1993).
- Philip, P.H. 'The Vicissitudes of the Early British Settlers at the Cape', Part 1, Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, 40 (June 1986), 159-70.
- Plaatje, S.T. 'Biographies', English in Africa, 3 (1976), 11-30.
- Plymen, J. 'An Introductory Study of the French Protestant (Paris Evangelical Missionary Society) and Wesleyan Mission Stations in the Conquered Territory', Basutoland Notes and News, 1 (1963-64), 50-59.
- Pocock, J. 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', Journal of Modern History, 47 (1975).
- Posselt, F.W.T. 'The Rise of the AmaNdebele', Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, 18 (1919-20), 3-21.

Pretorius, H.A. 'Journal van de Afgewekene Republiek in Suid Afrika in het Jaar 1837 en 1838, All Gebeurtenisse', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (August 1879), 933-37.

Pridmore, J. 'The Reception of Henry Francis Fynn, c. 1824-1992', Current Writing, 6 (1994), 57-72.

Pridmore, J. 'The Writings of H.F. Fynn: History, Myth or Fiction', Alternation, 1 (1994), 72-83.

Pridmore, J. "'Pioneers" and "Natives": Establishing the Natal "Metanarrative", 1836-1860', Kleio, 28 (1996), 50-61.

Pridmore, J. 'Hunter, Trader and Explorer? The Unvarnished Reminiscences of H. F. Fynn', Alternation, 5 (1997), 46-55.

Pridmore, J. 'The Wives of Henry Fynn: "Unwritten but Potentially Transfiguring Texts"? The Untold Biographies of Vundhlazi of the Zelemu and Christina Brown', Alternation, 4 (1997), 73-83.

Pringle, T. 'The New Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope', The Courier (1821).

Pringle, T. 'Letter from South Africa: No. I, Slavery', New Monthly Magazine, 17 (1826), 481-88.

[Pringle, T.] 'The Bechuana Boy', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 2 (September 1832), 637-68.

Rawson, H.E. 'The Basuto', Journal of the African Society, 9 (January 1910), 153-60.

Reyburn, H.A. 'Land, Labour and Law', Studies in Cape Frontier History Series, The Critic, 3 (October 1934), 40-56.

Reyburn, H.A. 'Piet Retief to Duncan Campbell', The Critic, 2 (March 1934), 175-83.

Reyburn, H.A. 'Toverberg', Studies in Cape Frontier History Series, The Critic, 3 (July 1935), 204-9.

Reyburn, H.A. 'Reprisals', Studies in Cape Frontier History Series, The Critic, 4 (October 1935), 47-59.

Robertson, H.M. '150 Years of Economic Contact Between Black and White, Part 1', The South African Journal of Economics, 2 (December 1934), 403-19.

Roos, J. De V. 'Carel Trigardt, 1811-1901: Seun van Louis Trigardt die Transvaalse Voortrekker. Sy Eie Opsomming van Sy Avontuurlike Lewe', Die Huisgenoot (24 October 1930), 29-47.

Ross, R. 'Ethnic Identity, Demographic Crises and Xhosa-Khoikhoi Interaction', History in Africa, 7 (1980), 259-71.

Sanders, E.R. 'The Hamitic Hypothesis', Journal of African Studies, 10 (1969), 521-32.

Sanders, P.B. 'Sekonyela and Moshweshwe: Failure and Success in the Aftermath of the Difaqane', Journal of African History, 10 (1969), 439-55.

Satir, V.E., [H. Jaffe], 'The Difaqane, Fact vs. Fiction: Colonial Dispossession', The Educational Journal (September 1983), 6-10.

Saunders, C.C. 'Early Knowledge of the Sotho: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Accounts of the Tswana', Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, 20 (March 1965), 60-70.

Saunders, C.C. 'The Missing Link in Theal's Career: The Historian as Labour Agent in the Western Cape', History in Africa, 7 (1980), 273-80.

Saunders, C.C. 'George McCall Theal and Lovedale', History in Africa, 8 (1981), 155-64.

Saunders, C.C. 'Between Slavery and Freedom: The Importation of Prize Negroes to the Cape in the Aftermath of Emancipation', Kronos, 9 (1984), 36-43.

Saunders, C.C. 'Liberated Africans in the Cape Colony in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', International Journal of African Historical Studies, 18 (1985), 223-39.

Saunders, C.C. 'Conference Report: Mfecane Afterthoughts', Social Dynamics, 17 (1991), 171-77.

Schapera, I. 'A Short History of the Bangwaketse', African Studies, 1 (1942), 1-26.

Schapera, I. 'Livingstone and the Boers', African Affairs, 59 (April 1960), 144-56.

Schoeman, K. 'n Reis Na Thaba Nchu in 1835; 'n Vroeë Beskrywing van die Transoranje', Africana Notes and News, 26 (March 1985), 176-80.

Schoeman, K. 'Stem Uit die Verstrooing; Of Hoe Dipapang die Difaqane Oorleef Het', Africana Notes and News, 27 (June 1986), 79-82.

Schoeman, K. 'Vroeë Blanke Reisigers in die Oranje-Vrystaat (1827-1840)', Africana Notes and News, 28 (June 1988), 53-63.

Schunke, H.C. 'South African Tribes', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 12 (March to May 1876), 180-85, 244-49, 283-88.

Scully, W.C. 'Fragments of Native History', The State, 1-2 (September to November 1909) 284-92, 435-41, 595-603.

Scully, W.C. 'The Griquas and Their Great Trek', The State, 4 (August 1910), 273-78.

Shaw, B. 'Letter, Namaqualand, 6 July 1817', Missionary Notices, 1 (December 1817), 190.

Shaw, B. 'Letter and Extract from his Journal', Missionary Notices, 3 (February 1822), 214-16.

Shaw, W. 'Letter, Cape Town, 19 March 1823', Missionary Notices, 4 (October 1823), 149.

Shaw, W. 'Letter, Wesleyville, 31 August 1827', Missionary Notices, 5 (February 1828), 403.

Shepstone, T. 'Extract from a Letter, Morely', Missionary Notices, 6 (April 1830), 244.

Shepstone, T. 'The Early History of the Zulu-Kafir Race of South-Eastern Africa', Journal of the Society of Arts, 23 (January 1875).

Shepstone, T. 'The Zulus', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 9 (1875), 95-104.

Shrewsbury, 'Extract From a Letter, Grahamstown, 16 April 1830', Missionary Notices, 6 (September 1830), 327-30.

Smith, A. 'Observations Relative to the Origin and History of the Bushmen', The South African Quarterly Journal, 1 (January to March 1830), 171-89.

Smith A. 'The Expedition into Central Africa: The Latest Accounts of the Expedition', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 5 (January 1835), 13-14.

Smith, E.W. 'Sebatwane and the Makololo', African Studies, 15 (1956), 49-60.

Spies, F.J. du T. 'Onsekerheid in Verband Met die Geloofte van 1838', Historia, 37 (November 1988), 51-62.

[Steenkamp, A.E.] 'Journal of a Voor-Trekker', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 13 (September 1876), 180-87.

Steenkamp, A.E. 'Een Gedenkskrift of Journaal van Onze Uittogt Uijt Onze Moeders Lant tot Hier aan Port Natal', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (July 1879), 883-90.

Stow, F.G.S. and Orpen, F. 'Griqualand West', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 5 (August 1872), 65-78.

Stow, G.W. 'The Days of Tshaka', Orange Freestate Monthly Magazine, 2 (August 1879), 897-904.

Stuart, J. 'Tshaka, the Geat Zulu Despot', United Empire, 15 (1924).

Swanepoel, C.F. 'Aspects of Oral Art and the Genesis of Southern-Sotho Literature, 1833-1863', South African Journal of African Languages, 9 (1989), 121-26.

T. 'Kaffir Nursery Tales', The Cape Monthly Magazine, 9-10 (October 1874 to July 1875), 247-50, 376-80, 39-44.

Theal, G.M. 'Boers and Bantu: A History of the Wanderings and Wars of the Emigrant Farmers', South African Illustrated News, 2 (14 November to 26 December 1885).

Thompson, J.N. 'William Rowland Thompson: Frontier Merchant', Africana Notes and News, 17 (December 1966).

Thompson, L.M. 'Afrikaner Nationalist Historiography and the Policy of Apartheid', Journal of African History, 3 (1962).

[Threlfall, W.] 'Threlfall's Arrival in Delagoa Bay', Missionary Notices, 4 (November 1823), 164-66.

Threlfall, W. 'Extract from his Journal', Missionary Notices, 4 (March and April 1825), 419-22, 435-36.

Tooke, H.W. 'Uncivilized Man South of the Zambezi', Science in South Africa (August 1905), 1-23.

Tylden, G. 'The Commando System in South Africa, 1795-1881', Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, 33 (1945), 34-38.

Tylden, G. 'Vegkop, 2 October 1836: A Reconstruction', Africana Notes and News, 14 (March 1961), 180-82.

V.O., J. W. G. 'Iets Uit de Geschiedenis der Boschjesmans', Ons Tijdschrift, 4 (1899).

Van Aswegen, H.J. 'Die Mfecane: Werklikheid of Mite?', Historia, 39 (Mei 1994), 19-32.

Van der Merwe, W. 'Die Berlynse Sendelinge van Bethanie (Oranje-Vrystaat) en die Kora, 1834-1856', South African Historical Journal, 17 (November 1985), 40-63.

Van Hoepen, E.C.N. 'Belangrike Historiese Ontdekkings in die Oranje Vrystaat', Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 12 (April 1952), 106-08.

Van Jaarsveld, F.A. 'Die Tydgenootlike Beoordeling van die Groot Trek, 1836 - 1842', Communications of the University of South Africa, C 36 (1962), 3-56..

Van Jaarsveld, F.A. 'Die Beeld van die Groot Trek in die Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedskrywing, 1843 - 1899', Communications of the University of South Africa, C 42 (1963), 5-82.

Van Straaten, M.C. 'Basutoland Ritual Murders', The Nongquai, 40 (September 1949), 1122-26.

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'Origins of Some Victorian Images of Africa', English in Africa, 6 (March 1979), 12-32.

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'The Metadiscourses of Post-Colonialism', History and Anthropology, 9 (1996), 267-91.

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'The Ethiopia Metaphor: A Dialectic Myth of Africa', Alternation, 4 (1997), 5-18.

Van Zyl, M.C. 'Die Historiese Navorsers en die Suid Afrikaanse Argiewe', South African Historical Journal, 1 (November 1969).

Venter, I.S.J. 'Die Sendelingstasie Thaba Nchu, 1833-1900', Communications of the University of South Africa, C 18 (1960), 16-24.

Venter, I.S.J. 'Die Ruilkontrakte in 1833-34, Aangegaan Tussen Mosjesj en die Wesleyane', Communications of the University of South Africa, C 20 (1960), 3-19.

Vickery, K.P. "'Herrenvolk' Democracy and Egalitarianism in South Africa and the U.S. South", Contemporary Studies in Society and History, 16 (March 1974).

Visagie, J.C. 'Minder Bekende Voortrekkerleiers', Historia, 35 (May 1990), 39-57.

Vivian, 'Expedition Into Central Africa', The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 4 (July 1834), 111.

Walker, E.A. 'A Zulu Account of the Retief Massacre', The Critic, 3 (January 1935), 68-74.

Walton, J. 'Early Voortrekker Houses in the Southern Free State', South African Architectural Record, 37 (July 1952), 176-79.

West, K. 'Theorizing About "Imperialism": A Methodological Note', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 1 (January 1973), 14

Wilmot, A. 'The Honorable Robert Godlonton', South African Men of Mark Series, South African Handbook, 76 (no date), 12-15.

Wilmot, A. 'The Rev. Robert Moffat', South African Men of Mark Series, South Africa Handbook, 77 (no date), 27-28.

Wilmot, A. 'Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart.', South African Men of Mark Series, South Africa Handbook, 76 (no date)1-7.

Wilmot, A. 'Thomas Pringle, Poet', South African Men of Mark Series, South Africa Handbook, 66 (no date), 24-28.

Winter, J.A. 'The History of Sekwati', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 9 (1912), 329-32.

Winter, J.A. 'Hymns in Praise of Famous Chiefs', South African Journal of Science, 9 (1912).

Winter, J.A. 'The Mental and Moral Capabilities of the Natives, Especially of Sekukuniland, Eastern Transvaal', South African Journal of Science, 11 (1914).

Winter, J.A. 'Native Medicines', South African Journal of Science, 11 (1914).

Winter, J.A. 'The Phallus Cult Amongst the Bantu: Particularly the Bapedi of Eastern Transvaal', South African Journal of Science, 9 (1913).

Winter, J.A. 'The Tradition of Ra'lolo', Report of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 9 (1912), 87-100.

Wolf, 'Book Review of: Narrative of Voyage to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 3 (1833), 197-223.

Wörger, W. 'Clothing Dry Bones: The Myth of Shaka', Journal of African Studies, 4 (1979), 144-58.

Wright, J. 'Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 23 (1989), 272-91.

Wright, J. 'Imaging Shaka: A Postcolonial Analysis', South African Historical Journal, 39 (November 1998), 206-10.

Wrigman, A.T. 'The Rise and Development of Our Native Question', The South African Magazine and Review, 1 (1880), 1-7, 97-105, 307-11.

Wylie, D. 'Who's Afraid of Shaka Zulu?', Southern African Review of Books (May-June 1991), 8-9.

Wylie, D. 'Autobiography as Alibi: History and Projection in Nathaniel Isaacs' Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, (1836)', Current Writing, 3 (October 1991), 71-90.

Wylie, D. 'Textual Incest: Nathaniel Isaacs and the Development of the Shaka Myth', History in Africa, 19 (1992), 411-33.

Wylie, D. 'Proprietor of Natal: Henry Francis Fynn and the Mythology of Shaka', History in Africa, 22 (1995), 409-437.

Zingoongo, 'Natal: Colonial Traveling', The Albany Mirror, 1 (September 1841), 84-85.

7. Published Books and Pamphlets, Contemporary and Modern

Anonymous The African Court Calendar for the Year 1824 (no place, 1825).

Anonymous A Brief Memoir of Commodore Joseph Nourse, C.B (London, 1825).

Anonymous Lloyd's Register of Shipping: No's. 560, 582, 590 (London, 1825).

Anonymous The Cape of Good Hope Almanac, for the Year 1826 (no place, 1827).

Anonymous 'The District of Albany: 1829', South African Almanac and Directory for 1830 (Cape Town, 1830).

Anonymous Abstract of the Proceedings Drawn Up for Publication by the Managing Committee of the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa (Cape Town, 1833).

Anonymous Instructions for the Expedition Into Central Africa From the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1834).

Anonymous De Oranjevrijstaatsche Almanak (Bloemfontein, 1876).

Anonymous James Archbell: A Great Missionary and a Distinguished Citizen of Early Natal Days (no place, 1942).

A Resident of the Cape of Good Hope Remarks on the Demoralizing Influence of Slavery (London, 1828).

Acocks, J.P.H. Veld Types of South Africa, Botanical Survey Memoir Series 28 (Pretoria, 1953).

Adams, T.P. An Eulogy on Dr. Alexander Cowie and Mr. Benjamin Green (Grahamstown, 1830).

Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I. The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers (Cape Town, 1928).

Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I. The Road to the North (London, 1937).

Ambrose, D.P. Maps of Lesotho and Surrounding Areas, 1779-1828, 2 Vols. (no place, 1976).

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Zulu Missions: A Condensed Sketch, 1835-1886 (Boston, 1886).

Anderson, E. A. History of the Xhosa of the Northern Cape 1795 - 1879, Centre for African Studies, (University of Cape Town, 1987).

Anstey, R. 'Slavery and the Protestant Ethic', in Craton, M. (ed), Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies (Toronto, 1979), 157-81.

Appleyard, J.W. The Kaffir Language (King William's Town, 1850).

Arbousset, T. and Daumas, F. Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1846).

[Arbousset and Pellissier] Addresses of the Rev. Messrs. Arbousset and Pellissier, at a Meeting Held in the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Town for the Purpose of the Forming of an Auxiliary to the Paris

Evangelical Missionary Society, on Wednesday the 8th, 1857 (Cape Town, 1857).

Arens, W. The Man-Eating Myth (New York, 1979).

Armstrong, J.C. and Worden, N. 'The Slaves, 1652-1834', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989), 162-168.

Atkins, J. 'Ouidah in 1721', in Davidson, B. (ed), The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times (Harmondsworth, 1966), 223-24..

Ayliff, J. and Whiteside, J. History of the Abambo: Generally Known as Fingo (Butterworth, 1912).

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

Babrow, M. 'Theal: Conflicting Opinions of Him', in Liebenberg, B.J. (ed), Opstelle oor die Suid-Afrikaanse Historiographie (Pretoria, 1975), 7-16.

Backhouse, J. An Appeal on Behalf of the Griquas and Other Coloured People of South Africa (York, 1841).

Backhouse, J. A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa (London, 1844).

Baines, T. Journal of a Residence in Africa, 1842-1853, 2 Vols. (Van Riebeeck Society, Vols. 42 and 45, Cape Town, 1961, 1964).

Balfet, F. Samuel Rolland 1801-1873: Pioneer van die Sending in die Vrystaat (Cape Town, 1984).

Ballard, C.C. John Dunn: The White Chief of Zululand (Johannesburg, 1985).

Ballard, C.C. 'Traders, Trekkers and Colonists', in Duminy, A.H. and Guest, B. (eds), Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), 116-23.

Bannister, S. Humane Policy: Or Justice to the Aborigines of the New Settlements (London, 1830).

Bannister, S. British Colonialization and Coloured Tribes (London, 1838).

Bannister, S. Memoir Respecting the Colonialization of Natal (London, 1839).

Banton, M. Racial Consciousness (London, 1988).

Barker, A.J. The African Link: British Attitudes to the Negro in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1550-1807 (London, 1978).

Barnard, B.J. 'n Lewensbeskrywing van Majoor Henry Douglas Warden, Archives Yearbook for South African History Series (Pretoria, 1948), I.

Bate, O.H. 'Some Notes on South African Masonic History', in United Lodge of Instruction (London 1906), 69-81.

Beachey, R.W. The Slave Trade of Eastern Africa (London, 1976).

Becker, P. Path of Blood (Harmondsworth, 1962).

Beinart, W., Delius, P. and Trapido, S. (eds), Putting a Plough to the Ground (Johannesburg, 1986).

Bekker, S. Ethnicity in Focus: The South African Case (Durban, 1993).

Bell, K.N. and Morrell, W.D. (eds), Select Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1830-1860 (Oxford, 1928).

- Beloff, M. Britain's liberal empire 1897-1921, Vol. 1 of Beloff, M. Imperial Sunset, 2 Vols. (2nd.edition, New York, 1987).
- Bennett, N.R. Africa and Europe from Roman Times to the Present (New York, 1975).
- Bennie, J. An Account of a Journey into Transorangia and the Potchefstroom-Winburg Trekker Republic in 1843 (Cape Town, 1956).
- Bergh, J.S. (ed), Herdenkingsjaar 1988: Portugese, Hugenote en Voortrekkers (Pretoria, 1988).
- Bergh, J.S. and Visagie, J.C. The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone, 1660-1980 (Durban, 1985).
- Bird, J. The Early Days of Natal: Incidents in the Emigration from the Cape Colony to Natal, 1837-1840 (Pietermaritzburg, 1886).
- Bird, J. (ed), The Annals of Natal, 1495-1845, 2 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg, 1888).
- Bird, J. Is the Kafir Population in Natal Alien or Aboriginal? (Pietermaritzburg, 1890).
- Bird, W.W. State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 (London, 1823).
- Bitterly, U. Die Wilden und die Zivilisierten (München, 1976).
- Bleek, W.H.I. A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages, 4 Vols. (London, 1862 - 1869).
- Boahen, A. A. (ed), Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935, UNESCO General History of Africa Series, 8 Vols. (Paris and London, 1990).

Bodwich, T.E. An Account of the Discoveries of the Portuguese in the Interior of Angola and Mozambique (London, 1824).

Boegner, A. 'Preface', Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912), v-xxviii.

Bokwe, J.K. Ntsikana: The Story of an African Convert (Lovedale, 1896)

Bolt, C. Victorian Attitudes to Race (London and Toronto, 1971).

Bond, T. Remarks on the Policy Pursued in the Government of the Native Population in Natal from 1843-1874 (Durban, 1875).

Boniface, C.B. Relation du Naufrage du Navire Français L'Eole, sur la Côte de la Caffrerie en Avril 1829 (Cape Town, 1929).

Bonner, P. Kings, Commoners and Concessionaries: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth Century Swazi State (Johannesburg, 1983).

Boon, M.J. The History of the Orange Freestate (London, 1885).

Boonzaier, E. 'Race and Race Paradigm', in Boonzaier, E. and Sharp, J. (eds), South African Keywords (Johannesburg, 1988), 58-61.

Bosman, F.C.L. (ed), De Vruchten Mijner Werkzaamheden (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 24, Cape Town, 1943).

Botha, C.G. Place Names in the Cape Province (Cape Town, 1917).

Botha, H.C. John Fairbairn in South Africa (Cape Town, 1984).

Bourne, H.R.F. The Aborigines Protection Society: Chapters in its History (London, 1899).

Bourne, H.R.F. Blacks and Whites in South Africa (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1900).

Boxer, C.R. Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825 (Oxford, 1963).

Boxer, C.R. The Portuguese Seaborn Empire, 1415-1825 (London, 1969).

Boyce, A.N. Europe and South Africa: A History for South African Schools (Cape Town, 1974).

Boyce, W.B. Notes on South African Affairs ([originally Grahamstown, 1838], reprinted, Cape Town, 1971).

Boyce, W.B. A Grammar of the Kafir Language (2nd. edition, London, 1844).

[Boyce, W.B.] Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies, 1861 (London, 1863).

[Boyce, W.B.] Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw (London, 1874).

Bradlow, E. The Cape Government's Rule of Basutoland, 1871-1883, Archives Year Book for South African History Series (Pretoria, 1969), I.

Brantlinger, P. Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914 (Ithaca, 1988).

Breitenbach, R. (ed), Journeys of Discovery (Grahamstown, 1988).

Breutz, P-L. The Tribes of Rustenburg and Pilansberg District, South Africa, Ethnological Publications Series, 28 (Pretoria, 1953).

Breutz, P-L. The Tribes of Marico District, South Africa, Ethnological Publications Series, 30 (Pretoria, 1953-4).

Breutz, P-L. A History of the Batswana and the Origin of Bophuthatswana (Margate, 1989).

Broadbent, S. The Missionary Martyr of Namaqualand: Memorials of the Rev. William Threlfall (London, 1857).

Broadbent, S. A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity Amongst the Barolong Tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa (London, 1865).

Brookes, E.H. The History of Native Policy in South African from 1830 to the Present Day (Cape Town, 1924).

Brookes, E.H. and Webb, C. A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1965).

Brooks, H. and Mann, R.J. Natal: A History and Description of the Colony (London, 1876).

Brown, P. and Tuzin, D. (eds), The Ethnography of Cannibalism (Washington, D.C., 1983).

Brownlee, F. (ed), The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records ([originally Lovedale, 1923], reprinted, Westport, 1970).

Brownlee, W.T. Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History and Other Papers of the Late Hon. Charles Brownlee, Gaika Commissioner (Lovedale, 1896).

Bryant, A.T. 'A Parting Word About the Zulu', in Bryant, A.T. ['Sihlobosami'], Roman Legions on Libyan Fields: Or the Story of the Trappist Missionaries Among the Zulus in Natal (Mariannahill, 1887).

Bryant, A.T. 'A Sketch of the Origin and Early History of the Zulu People', Preface to Bryant, A.T. A Zulu-English Dictionary (Pietermaritzburg, 1905), 31-66.

Bryant, A.T. Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (London, 1929).

Bryant, A.T. The Zulu People as they Were Before the White Man Came (Pietermaritzburg, 1949).

Bryant, A.T. A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes (Cape Town, 1964).

Bryce, J. Impressions of South Africa (3rd.edition, London, 1899).

Bryden, H.A. A History of South Africa (London, 1904).

Bryer, L. and Hunt, K.S. Die 1820-Setlaars (Cape Town, 1984).

Buchan, J. Sick Heart River (Harmondsworth, 1985).

Bulpin, T.V. Natal and the Zulu Country (Cape Town, 1966)

Bunbury, C.J.F. Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1848).

Burchel, W.J. Travels in the Interior of South Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1822, 1824).

Burckhardt, G.E. and Grundemann, R. Les Missions Évangéliques Depuis Leur Origine Jusqu'a Nos Jours (Lausanne, 1884).

Burman, J. The Unofficial History of the Cape (Cape Town, 1992).

Burness, D. (ed), Shaka King of the Zulus in African Literature (Washington, D.C., 1976).

Butler, J. et al. (eds), Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect (Middleton and Cape Town, 1987).

Butterfield, H. History and Human Relations (London, 1951).

Butterfield, P.H. Peace and War on the Frontier 1828-1835: The Journal of Major William Cox, Port Elizabeth Series 7 (Port Elizabeth, 1982).

Buxton, T.F. The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (London, 1840).

Byrne, J.C. Emigrant's Guide to Port Natal (London, 1848).

Caffrey, K. The British in Southern Africa, Great Emigrations Series 3 (London, 1973).

Caldecott, C.H. Descriptive History of the Zulu Kaffirs (London, 1853).

Caldecott, C.H. Geschichtliche Darstellung der Zulu Kaffern (Berlin, 1854).

Calderwood, H. Caffres and Caffre Missions: With Preliminary Chapters on the Cape Colony as a Field for Emigration and a Basis of Missionary Operations (London, 1858).

Callaway, H. Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulu (Pietermaritzburg, 1866-7).

Cameron T. and Spies, S.B. (eds), An Illustrated History of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1986).

Campbell, J. Travels in South Africa Undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society (London, 1815).

Campbell, J. Travels in South Africa: A Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country, 2 Vols. (London, 1822).

Cana, F.R. South Africa: From the Great Trek to the Union (London, 1909).

Carlyle, J.E. South Africa and its Mission Fields (London, 1878).

Carnegie, D. Among the Matabele (London, 1894).

Casalis, E. Les Bassoutos: Ou Vingt-Trois Années de Sejour et d'Observations au Sud de l'Afrique ([originally Paris, 1841]; 2nd.edition Paris, 1859).

Casalis, E. The Basutos, or, Twenty-Three Years in South Africa (London, 1861).

Casalis, E. My Life in Basutoland ([originally London, 1889], reprinted, Cape Town, 1971).

Catterall, H.T. Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, 2 Vols. (Washington, D.C., 1926).

Cell, J.W. The Highest State of White Supremacy (Cambridge, 1982).

Chadwick, G.A. 'The Battle of the Tugela', in van Niekerk, F. (ed), On the Trail of the Voortrekkers (Durban, 1988), 118-129.

Chadwick, N. The Celts (Harmondsworth, 1970).

Chamberlain, M.E. Britain in India: The Interaction of Two Peoples (Newton Abbot, 1974).

Champion, S.E. (ed), Rev. George Champion, Pioneer Missionary to the Zulus (New Haven, 1896).

Chanaiwa, D. (ed), Profiles of Self-Determination (Northridge, 1976).

Chapman, J. Travels in the Interior of South Africa, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1868], reprinted, Cape Town, 1971).

Chapman, M. The Paperbook of South African English Poetry (Johannesburg, 1989).

Chase, J.C. 'Notice Respecting the Late Expedition Overland to the Portuguese Settlement of Delagoa Bay, by Messrs. Cowie and Green', South African Almanac and Directory for 1830 (Cape Town, 1830).

Chase, J.C. Practical Considerations on the Exact Position of the Slave Question as far as it Regards the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1831).

Chase, J.C. Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of the "South African Researches", the Rev. John Philip, by the British Immigrants of 1820 (Cape Town and Grahamstown, 1836).

Chase, J.C. The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay (London, 1843).

Chase, J.C. (ed), Natal: A Reprint of all Authentic Notices (Grahamstown, 1843).

Chase, J.C. Old Times and Old Corners (Port Elizabeth, 1868).

Cheeseman, T. The Story of William Threlfall (Cape Town, 1910).

Chesson, F.W. The Dutch Boers and Slavery in the Transvaal Republic (London, 1869).

Child, H. The History of the amaNdebele (Salisbury, 1968).

Christol, F. Au Sud de l'Afrique (Paris, 1897).

Christopher, J.S. Natal, Cape of Good Hope (London, 1850).

Churchill, W.S. The River War ([originally London, 1899], 3rd. edition, London, 1933).

Clarck, G.B. British Policy Towards the Boers: An Historical Sketch (London, 1881).

Clark, J.D. and Clay, G. 'David Livingstone: Chronology', in Lloyd, B.W. (ed), Livingstone, 1873-1973 (Cape Town, 1973), 86-97.

Clinton, D.K. The South African Melting Pot (London, 1937).

Cloete, H. 'Remarks Upon Some of the Results Developed by the Publication of a Portion of the Cape Records, Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, by a Member of the Late Committee', in Moodie, D. (ed.), Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes (Cape Town, 1841), 1-48.

Cloete, H. Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers (Cape Town, 1856).

Cloete, H. and Bird, C. 'Report of the Committee to the Subscribers of the Fund', in Moodie, D. (ed), Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes (Cape Town, 1841), 1-8.

Coates, A. Basutoland (London, 1966).

Cobbing, J. 'Grasping the Nettle: The Slave Trade and the Early Zulu', in Edgecombe, D.R., Laband, J.P.C. and Thompson, P.S. (eds), The Debate on Zulu Origins (Pietermaritzburg, 1992).

Cochrane, J. 'The Critique of Missions and Missionaries', in Cochrane, J. (ed), Servants of Power (Johannesburg, 1987), 12-54.

Coertze, R.P. 'Volkerkundige Groeperinge in die Binneland Tydens die Groot Trek', in Bergh, J.S. (ed), Herdenkingsjaar 1988: Portugese, Hugenote en Voortrekkers (Pretoria, 1988).

Colenbrander, P. 'The Zulu Kingdom, 1828-79', in Duminy, A.H. and Guest, B. (eds), Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), 83-97.

Colenso, J.W. Ten Weeks in Natal (Cambridge, 1855).

Comaroff, J. and J. Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, 2 Vols. (Chicago, 1991).

Conrad, J. Heart of Darkness (London, 1902).

Conrad, R.E. World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1986).

Cooley, W.D. Prospectus of an Expedition into the Interior of South Africa from Delagoa Bay (London, 1834).

Cooper, A.A. Freemasons of South Africa (Cape Town, 1986).

Cope, R.L. (ed), The Journals of the Rev. T.L. Hodgson (Johannesburg, 1977).

Cope, A.T. (ed) The Black People and Where They Came From: A Zulu View, (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1979).

Cornell, S. and Hartman, D. (eds), Ethnicity and Race (Thousand Oaks, 1998).

Cornevin, M. Apartheid, Power and Historical Falsification (Paris, 1980).

Cory, G.E. A Short History of Slavery at the Cape (Cape Town, no date).

Cory, G.E. The Rise of South Africa, 5 Vols. (London, 1910 - 1940).

Cory, G.E. The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 7, Cape Town, 1926).

Cox, O.C. Caste, Class and Race (New York, 1948).

Crais, C.C. The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, 1992).

Craton, M. (ed), Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies (Toronto, 1979).

Crisp, W. The Bechuana of South Africa (London, 1896).

Crowther, M.A. The Workhouse System, 1834-1929 (London, 1981).

Curtin, P.D. The Image of Africa: British Ideas in Action, 1780-1850 (Madison, 1964).

Dachs, A.J. 'Christian Missionary Enterprise and Sotho-Tswana Societies in the 19th Century', in Dachs, A.J. (ed), Christianity South of the Zambezi, 2 Vols. (Harare, 1983), 53-62.

Dalby, D. (ed), Language and History in Africa (New York, 1970).

Damane, M. Peace, the Mother of Nations (Moriija, 1947).

Damane, M. and Sanders, P.B. Lithoko: Sotho Praise-Poems (London, 1974).

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History (3rd. edition, Johannesburg, 1987).

Davidson, B. (ed), The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times (Harmondsworth, 1966).

Davies, M.P. Twin Trails: The Story of the Fynn and Southey Families (Salisbury, 1974).

Davis, D.B. The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca, 1975).

Davis, D.B. Slavery and Human Progress (New York, 1984).

De Boissiere, R. Crown Jewel (London, 1981).

De Gruchy, J. The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1999).

De Kiewiet, C.W. A History of South Africa: Social and Economic (London, 1941).

De Kock, L. Civilizing Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa (Johannesburg, 1996).

De Kock, M.H. The Economic Development of South Africa (London, 1936).

Deacon, J. and Lancaster, N. Late Quaternary Palaeoenvironments of Southern Africa (Oxford, 1988).

Deherain, H. L'Expansion des Boers ou XIXe Siecle (Paris, 1905).

Delegorgue, L.A.J. Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe 1838-1844, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1847).

Delius, P. The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century (Johannesburg, 1983).

Dieterlen, H. Adolphe Mabilie [1836-1894] ([originally Paris, 1898] reprinted, Paris, 1930).

Diffie, B.W. and Winius, G.D. Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580 (Minneapolis, 1977).

Dominy, G. 'Myths, Manipulation and Nettles: Historians and the Shaping of the Mfecane Controversy: A Critical Introduction', in Edgecombe, D.R., Laband, J.P.C. and Thompson, P.S. (eds), The Debate on Zulu Origins (Pietermaritzburg, 1992).

Don Africana Library, Change and Design: The Story of Durban Bay (Durban, 1983).

Don Africana Library, Aspects of Africa in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries: Illustrations and Maps (Durban, 1989).

Dubow, S. Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa (Cambridge, 1995).

Du Buisson, L. The White Man Cometh (Johannesburg, 1987).

Duff, J.C.A. Records of the Albany Lodge, No. 389, E.C. (Grahamstown, 1929).

Duly, L.C. 'A Revisit with the Cape's Hottentot Ordinance of 1828', in Kooy, M. (ed), Studies in Economics and Economic History (London, 1972).

Duly, L.C. British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844: A Study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire (Durham, 1968).

Duminy, A.H. and Ballard, C. (ed), The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives (Pietermaritzburg, 1981).

Duminy, A.H. and Guest, B. (eds), Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989).

Du Plessis, A.J. Die Republieck Natalia, in Archives Year Book for South African History Series (Pretoria, 1942), I.

Du Plessis, J. A History of Christian Mission in South Africa (London, 1911).

Durant, W. The Story of Philosophy ([originally New York, 1926], 2nd. edition, New York, 1954).

Edgecombe, D.R. 'The Mfecane or Difaqane,' in Cameron T. and Spies, S.B. (eds), An Illustrated History of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1986).

Edgecombe, D.R., Laband, J.P.C. and Thompson, P.S. (eds), The Debate on Zulu Origins (Pietermaritzburg, 1992).

Elbourne, E. 'Whose Gospel? Conflict in the LMS in the Early 1840's', in de Gruchy, J. (ed), The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1999), 132-55.

Eldredge, E.A. A South African Kingdom (Cambridge, 1993).

Eldredge, E.A. 'Delagoa Bay and the Hinterland in the Early 19th Century: Politics, Trade, Slaves and Slave-Rading', in Eldredge, E.A. and Morton, F. (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1994) 127-65.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Slaving Across the Cape Frontier', in Eldredge, E.A. and Morton, F. (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1994), 93-126.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa c.1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 123-61.

Eldredge, E.A and Morton, F. (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour and the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1994).

Ellenberger, D.F. Almanaka ea Basotho (Morija, 1904).

Ellenberger, D.F. History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern (London, 1912).

Ellenberger, D.F. Histori ea Basotho - Karolo ea Pele (Morija, 1917).

Ellenberger, D.F. Histori ea Basotho (Morija, 1928).

Ellenberger, V. A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland, 1833-1933 (Morija, 1938).

Eloff, C.C. Oos Vrystaatse Grensgordel, HSRC-Streekshistoriese Monographie Reeks 14/1 (Pretoria, 1980).

Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. 'The Origins and Entrenchment of European Dominance at the Cape, 1652-1840', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989), 544-61.

Elphick, R. and Malherbe, V.C. 'The Khoisan to 1828', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989), 32-53.

Emery, F. Marching Over Africa: Letters from Victorian Soldiers (London, 1986).

Ente, W.K. Natal en Nieuwe Gelderland (Arnhem, 1861).

Etherington, N. Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South-East Africa, 1835-80 (London, 1978).

Etherington, N. 'Old Wine in New Bottles: The Persistence of Narrative Structures in the Historiography of the Mfecane and the Great Trek', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 35-49.

Etherington, N. 'Putting the Mfecane Controversy into Historiographical Context', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 13-19.

Etherington, N. The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815-1854 (Harlow, 2001).

Everleigh, W. A Short History of South African Methodism (Cape Town, 1913).

Farrer, J.A. Zululand and the Zulus (London, 1879).

ffalliot, P. and Liversidge, R. (ed), Ludwig Krebs, Cape Naturalist to the King of Prussia, 1792-1844 (Cape Town, 1971).

Fold, S. (ed), The Diary of James Laing (pre-publication copy).

Forbes, V.S. 'Biographical Sketch of George Thompson', in Thompson, G. Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa ([originally London, 1827], reprinted, Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 48, Cape Town, 1967), v-xxii.

Forbes, V.S. Articles by Vernon S. Forbes (Vishoek, 1977).

Fortes, M. and Evans-Prichard, E.E. (eds), African Political Systems (London, 1940).

Fouche, L. Evolutie van die Trek Boer (Pretoria, 1909).

Fraser, A. Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens (London, 1988).

Freeman, J.J. A Tour of South Africa (London, 1851).

Fricke, K. Die Berliner Mission (Berlin, c.1907).

Friedman, E.L., Malcolm, D.M. and Sikakana, J.H. (eds), Zulu Horizons (Johannesburg, 1962).

Fritsch, G. Drei Jahre in Süd-Afrika (Breslau, 1868).

Fritsch, G. Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas (Breslau, 1872).

Fromm, E. To Have or to Be (London, 1976).

Fuze, M.M. Abantu Abamnyama (Pietermaritzburg, 1922).

Fyfe, C. A Short History of Sierra Leone ([originally Oxford, 1962], new edition, London, 1979).

Fynney, F.B. 'The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation', in Fynney, F.B. (ed), Zululand and the Zulu [original] (Pietermaritzburg, 1880), State Library Reprint 18 (Pretoria, 1967), 1-19.

Gallienne, G. Thomas Arbousset: Missionaire ([originally Paris, 1904], reprinted, Paris, 1933).

Gardiner, A.F. Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa Undertaken in 1835 (London, 1836).

Gardner, B. The East India Company: A History (London, 1974).

Gebhard, W.R.L. 'The Mfecane and the Great Trek: Conflicting Interpretations and Their Ideological Significance', in Lehmann, E. and Reckwitz, E. (eds), Mfecane to Boer War: Versions of South African History (Essen, 1992), 27-41.

Gemme, F.R. 'Introduction', in Haggard, H.R., King Solomon's Mines ([originally London, 1885], reprinted, New York, 1967), 5-10.

Germond, R.C. (ed), Chronicles of Basutoland: A Running Commentary on the Events of the Years 1830-1902 by the French Protestant Missionaries in South Africa (Morija, 1967).

Geyer, A.L. Das Wirtschaftliche System der VOC am Kap der Guten Hoffnung 1785-1795 (München and Berlin, 1923).

Gibson, J.Y. The Story of the Zulus (London, 1908).

Gie, S. Geskiedenis vir Suid-Afrika, 2 Vols. (Stellenbosch, 1928).

Giffard, A. The Reminiscences of John Montgomery, Grahamstown Series 6 (Grahamstown, 1981).

Giliomee, H.B. Die Administrasiedepartement van Lord Caledon 1807-1811, Year Book for South African History Series (Pretoria, 1966), II.

Giliomee, H.B. 'Processes in Development of the Southern African Frontier', in Thompson, L. and Lamar, H. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven and London, 1981), 76-119.

Giliomee, H.B. 'The Eastern Frontier, 1771-1812', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 2nd. ed. (Cape Town, 1989), 421-69.

Gill, S.J. A Short History of Lesotho (Morija, 1993).

Gledhill, E. and J. In the Steps of Piet Retief (Cape Town, 1980).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. Geskiedenis van Zuid-Afrika voor School Gebruik (Amsterdam, 1910).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. A History of South Africa: For Use in Schools (London, 1910).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. More Items of VOC History (no place, 1912).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. South African History Told in Pictures (Amsterdam, 1913).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. Reizen in de Hollandse Tijd, 4 Vols. (s'Gravenhage, 1916-1932).

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. Geskiedenis van die Minahassa (Weltevreden, 1928).

Godfrey, D. The Enchanted Door (Cape Town, 1963).

Godlonton, R. Introductory Remarks to the Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Part 1 (Graham's Town, 1835).

Godlonton, R. Introductory Remarks to the Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Part 2 and 3 (Graham's Town, 1836).

Godlonton, R. A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35 (Graham's Town, 1836).

Godlonton, R. Sketches of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope as They Are in 1842 (Grahamstown, 1842).

[Godlonton, R.], A Brief Memoir of the Rev. John Ayliff (Grahamstown, 1862).

Godlonton, R. and Irving, E. Review of the Conditions of the Frontier Hottentots, 1799-1850 (Grahamstown, 1851).

Golan, D. Inventing Shaka (London, 1994).

Gordon, R.E. Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa - 1820-1900 (Cape Town, 1968).

Gordon, R.E. and Talbot, C.J. (eds), From Dias to Vorster: Some Source Material on South African History, 1488-1975 (Cape Town, 1977).

Gordon-Brown, H. The Settler's Press (Cape Town, 1979).

Gould, S.J. The Mismeasurement of Man (London, 1984).

Gray, S. John Ross: The True Story (Harmondsworth, 1987).

Greswell, W.A. Our South African Empire, 2 Vols. (London, 1885).

Gronum, C.F. Boere en Jagters in die Ou Marico (Potchefstroom, 1974).

Grosskopf, E.B. Phillppolis in die Ou Dae, Transgariiep Museums Reeks 9 (Bloemfontein, 1980).

Grout, L. The Isizulu: A Grammar of the Zulu Language (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1859).

Grout, L. Zulu-land: Or, Life Among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-land, South Africa (London, 1862)

Gump, J.O. The Formation of the Zulu Kingdom in South Africa, 1750-1840 (San Francisco, 1990).

- Haggard, H.R. Cetshwayo and His White Neighbours (London, 1882).
- Haggard, H.R. King Solomon's Mines ([originally London, 1885], reprinted, New York, 1967).
- Haggard, H.R. Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal and the Transvaal (London, 1900).
- Haggard, H.R. Marie (London, 1912).
- Haggard, H.R. Child of Storm (London, 1913).
- Haggard, H.R. Finished (London, 1917).
- Hailey, W.M. The Republic of South African and the High Commission Territories (Oxford, 1963).
- Hakluyt, R. Voyages to the Virginia Colonies (London, 1986).
- Halford, S.J. The Griquas of Griqualand (Cape Town, 1949).
- Hall, M. The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1869 (Cape Town, 1987).
- Hamilton, C. 'The Character and Objects of Chaka: A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 183-211.
- Hamilton, C., 'Introduction: History and Historiography in the Aftermath', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995) 1-9.
- Hamilton, C. Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1998).

Hammond, D. and Jablow, A. The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing About Africa (New York, 1970).

Hammond-Tooke, W.D. The Journal of William Shaw, Graham's Town Series 2 (Cape Town, 1972).

Hammond-Tooke, W.D. Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists, 1920-1990 (Johannesburg, 1997).

Harris, W.C. Sketch of the Emigration of the Border Colonists (Cape Town, 1837).

Harris, W.C. Wild Sports in Southern Africa (3rd.edition, London, 1852).

Harrison, T. (ed), 'Introduction', in Marryat, F. The Mission: Or Scenes in Africa, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1845], reprinted, New York, 1970), iii-vii.

Haswell, J. The British Army: A Concise History (London, 1975).

Hattersley, A.F. South Africa 1652-1933 (London, 1933).

Hattersley, A.F. More Annals of Natal (London, 1936).

Hattersley, A.F. The British Settlement of Natal (Cambridge, 1950).

Heathcote, E.K. Philips, 1820 Settler: Letters Omitted by Keppel-Jones (Durban, 1966).

Heese, P.A. Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner 1657-1867 (Cape Town, 1971).

Henige, D.P. The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera (Oxford, 1974).

Henige, D.P. Oral Historiography (London, 1982).

Herrman, L. A History of the Jews in South Africa (Johannesburg and Cape Town, 1935).

Herrman, L. 'Nathaniel Isaacs: A Biographical Sketch', in Herrman, L. and Kirby, P.R. (eds), Travels and Adventurers in Eastern Africa (3rd. edition, Cape Town, 1970), v-xxxi.

Hexham, I. The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Nationalism Against British Imperialism, Texts and Studies in Religion Series 3 (New York, 1981).

Hockly, H.E. The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa ([originally Cape Town, 1848], reprinted, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1957).

Hoetnik, H. 'Slavery and Race', in Craton, M. (ed), Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Studies (Toronto, 1979), 255-74.

Hofmeyr, I. 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in Marks, S. and Trapido, S. (eds), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism (London, 1987).

Hofstede, H.J. Geschiedenis van den Oranje-Vrystaat (s'Gravenhage, 1879).

Holden, W.C. 'Brief History of the Orange-River Sovereignty, South Africa', Appendix to Holden, W.C., History of the Colony of Natal (London, 1855).

Holden, W.C. History of the Colony of Natal (London, 1855).

Holden, W.C. The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (London, 1866).

Holden, W.C. A Brief History of Methodism and of Methodist Missions in South Africa (London, 1877).

Hole, H.M. The Passing of the Black Kings ([originally London, 1932], reprinted, Bulawayo, 1978).

Holmes, T. David Livingstone: Letters and Documents, 1841-1872 (Lusaka, 1990).

Holt, B. Great Heart of the Border: The Life of Rev. John Brownlee (King William's Town, 1976).

Howard, M. 'Empire, War and Race in Pre-1914 Britain', in Lloyd-Jones, H., Pearl, V. and Blair, W. (eds), History and Imagination (London, 1981).

Hugo, M. Piet Retief (Johannesburg, 1961).

Hummel, A.C. 'The 19th Century Eastern Cape Frontier: A Missionary Perspective', in Lehmann, E and Reckwitz, E. (eds), Mfecane to Boer War: Versions of South African History (Essen, 1990), 73-87.

Hutton, C.W. The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenström, 2 Vols. ([originally Cape Town, 1887], reprinted, Cape Town, 1964).

Hyam, R. Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office, 1905-1908 (London, 1968).

Hyam, R. The Failure of South African Expansion 1908-1948 (London, 1972).

Immelman, R.F.M. Men of Good Hope: The Romantic Story of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, 1804-1954 (Cape Town, 1955).

Ingram, J.F. Natalia: A Condensed History of the Exploration and Colonialization of Natal and Zululand (London, 1897).

Ingram, J.F. The Story of an African Seaport: Being the History of the Port and Borough of Durban, the Seaport of Natal (Durban, 1899).

Ireland, W. Historical Sketch of the Zulu Mission in South Africa (Boston, 1872).

Isaacs, N. Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1836], reprinted, Van Riebeeck Society, Vols. 16 and 17, Cape Town, 1936,1937).

Isichei, E. A History of African Societies to 1870 (Cambridge, 1997).

Jackson, M.V. European Power and South East Africa: A Study of International Relations on the South-East Coast of Africa, 1796-1856 ([originally, London, 1942], 2nd.edition, London, 1967).

Jacobs, J.F. Die Griekwas en Hulle Bure (Bloemfontein, 1942).

Jacottet, E. The Treasure of Ba-Sotho Lore (Morijsa, 1908).

Jacottet, E. Ditsomo tsa Basotho (Morijsa,1909).

Jacottet, E. 'Histoire de la Mission du Lessouto', in Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912).

Jaffe, H. European Colonial Despotism (London,1994).

Jansen, E. Die Voortrekker in Natal: Opstelle (Cape Town, 1938).

Jansen, E.G. Uit die Voortrekkertyd (Pretoria, 1939).

Johnston, K. Africa (London, 1878).

Jousse, T. La Mission Francaise Évangélique au Sud de l'Afrique, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1899).

Junod, H.A. Life of a South African Tribe, 2 Vols. ([originally Neuchatel, 1912-1913], reprinted, London, 1927).

Kaigh-Eustace, E. The Tragedy of Mosega (Richmond, 1930).

Kallaway, P. and Adler, T. (eds), Contemporary Southern African Studies Research Papers, 2 Vols. (Johannesburg, 1978).

Katz, W.R. Rider Haggard and the Fictional Empire (Cambridge, 1987).

Kay, S. Travels and Researches in Caffraria (London, 1833).

Keegan, T. 'White Settlement and Black Subjugation on the South African Highveld', in Beinart, W., Delius, P. and Trapido, S. (eds), Putting a Plough to the Ground (Johannesburg, 1986), 218-21.

Keegan, T. Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order (Cape Town, 1996).

Keen, K. 'Analysis of D.F. Ellenberger's Book History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern', in Keen, K. Two Decades of Basotho Development, 1830-50 (Gothenburg, 1975), 303-23.

Kenney, R.U. Piet Retief: The Dubious Hero (Cape Town, 1976).

Kenyon, J.P. The History Men: The Historical Profession in England Since the Renaissance (London, 1983).

Keppel-Jones, (ed.), A. Philipps: 1820 Settler: His Letters (Pietermaritzburg, 1960).

Kidd, B. Control of the Tropics (New York and London, 1898).

Kidd, D. The Essential Kafir (London, 1905).

Kiernan, V.G. The Lords of Human Kind (London, 1969).

Kiernan, V.G. European Empires From Conquest to Collapse, 1815-1960 (London, 1982).

Kightly, C. Folk Heroes of Britain (London, 1982).

Kirby, P.R. (ed), The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, 2 Vols. (Van Riebeeck Society, Vols. 20 and 21, Cape Town, 1939, 1940).

Kirby, P.R. (ed), Andrew Smith and Natal (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 36, Cape Town, 1955).

Kooy, M. (ed), Studies in Economics and Economic History (London, 1972).

Kratzenstein, E. Kurze Geschichte der Berliner Mission in Sued-Afrika (3rd. edition, Berlin, 1887).

Kropf, A. A Kaffir - English Dictionary (Lovedale, 1899) (2nd. edition, Lovedale, 1915).

Kuhn, T.S. The Structure of Scientific Revolution (2nd. edition, Chicago, 1970).

Kuper, A. Anthropology and Anthropologist: The British School 1922-1972 (London, 1972).

Lagden, G. The Basutos (London, 1909).

Laidler, D.W. The Growth and Government of Cape Town (Cape Town, 1939).

Lamar, H. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven and London, 1981).

Lamula, P. UZulu kaMalandela (Durban, 1924).

Laslett, P. Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations (Cambridge, 1977).

Lattimore, O. Studies in Frontier History (London, 1962).

Le Cordeur, B. The Relations Between the Cape and Natal, 1846 - 1879, Archives Year Book for South African History (Pretoria, 1965), I.

Le Cordeur, B. and Saunders, C.C. (eds), The Kitchingman Papers (Johannesburg, 1976).

Le Roux, L.C.P. Die Maatskaplike en Staatskundige Omstandighede van die Griquas in die Transgariep, Transgariep Museums Reeks 7 (Bloemfontein, 1979).

Le Roux, S.D. Pioneers and Sportsmen of South Africa, 1760 - 1890 (Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1939).

Legassick, M. 'The Sotho-Tswana People Before 1800', in Thompson, L.M. (ed), African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies (London, 1969), 86-125.

Legassick, M. 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography', in Kallaway, P. and Adler, T. (eds), Contemporary Southern African Studies Research Papers, 2 Vols. (Johannesburg, 1978), II, 1-33.

Legassick, M. 'The Northern Frontier to 1820. The Emergence of the Griqua People', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 - 1820 (Cape Town, 1979), 243-78.

Legassick, M. 'The Northern Frontier in c.1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989), 358-420.

Lehmann, E. and Reckwitz, E. 'The Dead Shall Arise: In Place of a Foreword', in Lehmann, E. and Reckwitz, E. (eds), Mfecane to Boer War: Versions of South African History (Essen, 1992), 7-14.

Lehmann, H. 150 Jahre Berliner Mission (Erlangen, 1974).

Leslie, D. Among the Zulu and AmaTongas (Edinburgh, 1875).

Leverton, B.J.T. (ed), Records of Natal, Volume One, 1823 - August 1828, South African Archival Records: Important Cape Documents, Vol. IV (Pretoria, 1984).

Leverton, B.J.T. (ed), Records of Natal, Volume Two, September 1828 - July 1835, South African Archival Records: Important Cape Documents, Vol. V (Pretoria, 1989).

Leverton, B.J.T. (ed), Records of Natal, Volume Three, August 1835 - June 1838, South African Archival Records: Important Cape Documents, Vol. VI (Pretoria, 1990).

Leverton, B.J.T. (ed), Records of Natal, Volume Four, July 1838 - Sept. 1839, South African Archival Records: Important Cape Documents, Vol. VII (Pretoria, 1992).

Library of Parliament, European and Coloured Races (Cape Town, 1927).

Lichtenstein, M.H.K. Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1812, 1815], reprinted, Van Riebeeck Society, Vols. 10 and 11, Cape Town, 1928, 1930).

Liebenberg, B.J. 'George McCall Theal as Geskiedskrywer', in Liebenberg, B.J. (ed), Opstelle oor die Suid-Afrikaanse Historiographie (Pretoria, 1975), 1-6.

Liebenberg, B.J. Andries Pretorius in Natal (Pretoria and Cape Town, 1977).

Linder, A. The Swiss at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1971 (Basel, 1997).

Linder, A. Die Schweizer in Mozambique: 1721-1996 (Rondebosch, 1998).

Lindley, A.F. Adamantia: The Truth about the South African Diamond Fields (London, 1873).

Lister, M.H. (ed), The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain: Trader, Explorer, Soldier, Road Engineer and Geologist (Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 30, Cape Town, 1949).

Livingstone, D. Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (London, 1857).

Lloyd, B.W. 'Livingstone's Campaign to Eradicate the African Slave Trade: A Brief Review of his Efforts and their Results', in Lloyd, B.W. (ed), Livingstone, 1873-1973 (Cape Town, 1973), 80-85.

Lloyd-Jones, H., Pearl, V. and Blair, W. (eds), History and Imagination (London, 1981).

London Missionary Society, The Report of the Directors of the London Missionary Society (London, 1824).

London Missionary Society, The Report of the Directors of the London Missionary Society (London, 1825).

Longmate, W. The Workhouse (London, 1974).

Lovejoy, P.E. Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa (Cambridge, 1983).

Lucas, L. 'Historical Geography of the British Colonies', in Lucas, L. (ed), South Africa: History Since 1895, 4 Vols. (Oxford, 1899).

Lucas, T.J. The Zulus and the British Frontiers (London, 1879).

Lye, W.F. 'The Distribution of Sotho Peoples After the Difaqane', in Thompson, L.M. (ed), African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies (London, 1969), 191-206.

Lye, W.F. Andrew Smith's Journal of his Expedition into the Interior of South Africa, 1834-36 (Cape Town, 1975).

Lye, W.F. and Murray, C. Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and Southern Sotho (Cape Town and London, 1980).

Mabille, A. The Little Light of Basutoland, (Roma, 2001).

MacCana, P. Celtic Mythology (London, 1970).

MacGregor, J.C. Basuto Traditions (Cape Town, 1905).

MacIntyre, J. Origin of Durban Street Names (Durban, c.1856).

MacKenzie, A. and Stead, A. South Africa: Its History, Heroes and Wars (London and Chicago, 1900).

MacKenzie, J. Ten Years North of the Orange River (Edinburgh, 1871).

MacKenzie, W. 'A Sketch of the Boers', in MacKenzie, W. Outlines of Education (London, 1824).

MacKeurtan, G. The Cradle Days of Natal (1497-1845) (London, 1930).

MacLennan, B. A Proper Degree of Terror: John Graham and the Cape's Eastern Frontier (Johannesburg, 1986).

Macmillan, W.M. The South African Agrarian Problem and Its Historical Development (Johannesburg, 1919).

Macmillan, W.M. 'Native Land and the Provision of the Native Land Act of 1913', in European and Bantu: Papers and Addresses Read at the Conference on Native Affairs 27 to 29 September 1923 (Cape Town, 1923).

Macmillan, W.M. Land, the Native and Unemployment (Johannesburg, 1924).

Macmillan, W.M. The Cape Colour Question (London, 1927).

Macmillan, W.M. Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem (London, 1929).

Macmillan, W.M. Complex South Africa (London, 1930).

Macmillan, W.M. Warning from the West Indies (Harmondsworth, 1938).

Maggs, T.M.O`C. Iron Age Communities of the Southern Highveld (Pietermaritzburg, 1976).

Maggs, T.M.O`C. 'Iron Age Farming Communities', in Duminy, A. and Guest, B. (eds), Natal and Zululand From Earliest Times to 1910: a New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), 36- 48.

Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912).

Majeke, N. (Taylor, D.) The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg, 1952).

- Malan, J.H. Die Opkomst van 'n Republiek (Bloemfontein, 1919).
- Malherbe, V.C. What They Said (Cape Town, 1971).
- Mandy, F. Matabeleland: The Future Gold Fields of the World (Cape Town, 1889).
- Mann, R.J. The Colony of Natal (London, 1859).
- Mann, R.J. The Zulu and the Boers of South Africa (London, 1879).
- Marcet, J. The History of Africa (London, 1830).
- Marks, S. and Atmore, A. 'The Problem of the Nguni: An Examination of the Ethnic and Linguistic Situation in South Africa Before the Mfecane', in Dalby, D. (ed), Language and History in Africa (London, 1970), 120-32.
- Marks, S. and Atmore, A. (eds), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980).
- Marquard, J.M. and Melville, J. Family Register of the Melville Family (Port Elizabeth, 1977).
- Marryat, F. The Mission: Or Scenes in Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1845).
- Marsh, J.W. A Memoir of Allen F. Gardiner (London, 1857).
- Martel, G. (ed), Studies in British Imperial History: Essays in Honour of A.P. Thornton (London, 1986).
- Martin, E.W. (ed), Comparative Development in Social Welfare (London, 1972).
- Martin, M. Basutoland, its Legends and Customs (London, 1903).

- Martin, R.M. History of Southern Africa (London, 1836).
- Mason, G.H. Life with the Zulus of Natal, South Africa (London, 1855).
- Maylam, P. History of the African People of South Africa: From the Early Iron Age to the 1970's (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1986).
- Maylam, P. South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid (Aldershot, 2001).
- Mears, W.G.J. The Rev. James Allison, Missionary (Durban, 1967).
- Meinties, J. The Voortrekkers (London, 1973).
- Merensky, A. Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben im Transvaal, 1859-1882 (2nd. edition, Berlin, 1899).
- Methley, J.E. The New Colony of Natal (2nd. edition, London, 1850).
- Methuen, H.H. Life in the Wilderness: Or Wanderings in South Africa (London, 1846).
- Meurant, L.H. Sixty Years Ago ([originally Cape Town, 1885], reprinted, Cape Town, 1963).
- Miers, S. and Kopytoff, I. (eds), Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1977).
- Mnguni (Jaffe, H.) Three Hundred Years: A History of South Africa, 3 Vols. (Cape Town, 1952).
- Moffat, R. Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa (London, 1842).
- Moffat, R. Visit to Moselekatse, King of the Matebele (London, 1856).

Moffat, R. A Life's Labours in South Africa (London, c.1871).

Moister, W. A History of Wesleyan Missions (London, 1871).

Molema, S.M. Bantu Past and Present ([originally Edinburgh, 1920], reprinted, Cape Town, 1963).

Mofolo, T. Chaka (Morija, 1925).

Moodie, D. (ed), The Record, or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, 5 Vols. ([originally Cape Town, 1838-1841], reprinted, Amsterdam and Cape Town, 1960).

Moodie, D. 'Memorandum For the Information of the Subscribers for the Publication of the Papers Collected from the Cape Records, Relative to the Native Tribes', in Moodie, D. Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes (Cape Town, 1841), 1-29.

Moodie, D. A Voice from Kahlamba, No.2: The Natal Kaffirs (Pietermaritzburg, 1857).

Moodie, D. The Natal Kafir Question (Pietermaritzburg, 1859).

Moodie, D.C.F. The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulu, 2 Vols. (Cape Town, 1888).

Moodie, J.W.D. Scenes and Adventures of a Soldier and Settler (Montreal, 1868).

Morris, J. The Age of Arthur (London, 1973).

Morrow, L.F. 'Pre-Mfecane Carry-Overs in Subsequent Ndebele Politics', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries III,

Collected Seminar Papers (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1973), 85-95.

Morton, F. 'Slavery and South African Historiography', in Eldredge, E.A and Morton, F. (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour and the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1994), 1-10.

Morton, F. 'Slavery in South Africa', in Eldredge, E.A and Morton, F. (eds), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour and the Dutch Frontier (Pietermaritzburg, 1994), 251-61.

Mosse, G.L. Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism (London, 1978).

Mostert, N. Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People (London, 1992).

Motsamai, E. Mehla ea Malimo (Moriija, 1912).

'Mr. Farewell's Account of Chaka, the King of Natal and the Hollentontes', Appendix 1 in Owen, W.F. Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, 2 Vols. (London, 1833), 389-420.

Mudimbe, V.Y. The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge (London, 1988).

Mudimbe, V.Y. The Idea of Africa (London, 1994).

Muller, C.F.J. Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek (Cape Town, 1948).

Muller, C.F.J. Die Oorsprong van die Groot Trek (Cape Town, 1974).

Muller, C.F.J. 'Robert Schoon, Vriend van die Afrikaner en die Matebele', in Muller, C.F.J. (ed), Leiers Na die Noorde (Cape Town, 1976), 22-49.

Murray, H., Prof. Jameson and Wilson, J. Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa (4th. edition, Edinburgh, 1844).

Mziki (Campbell, A.A.) Mlimo: The Rise and Fall of the Matebele (Pietermaritzburg, 1926).

Naaido, J. 'Was the 50th Ordinance a Charter of Khoi Liberties?', in Naidoo, J. (ed), Tracking Down Historical Myths (Johannesburg, 1989), 35-48.

Naidoo, J. 'Was Retief an Innocent Victim?', in Naidoo, J. (ed), Tracking Down Historical Myths (Johannesburg, 1989), 106-20.

Naidoo, J. 'Was the Retief Dingane Treaty a Fake?', in Naidoo, J. (ed), Tracking Down Historical Myths (Johannesburg, 1989), 82-105.

Nash, M.D. 'The Settlers, 1820-1824', in Cameron, T. and Spies, S.B. (eds), An Illustrated History of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1986), 94-99.

Nash, M.D. The Settler Handbook (Cape Town, 1987).

Ndamase, V.P. AmaMpondo: Iballi ne-Ntlalo (Lovedale, 1927).

Nel, W.G. Een Bladzijde Uit de Geschiedenis der Voortrekkers (Pietermaritzburg, c.1897).

Neumark, S.D. Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836 (Stanford, 1956).

Newall, P. Cape Town Harbour: 1632 to the Present (Cape Town, 1993).

Newton-King, S. 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', in Marks, S. and Atmore, A. (eds), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980), 171-200.

- Newton-King, S. Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier (Cambridge, 1999).
- Niven, R. An Impartial Analysis of the Kafir Character (Graham's Town, 1840).
- Noble, J. Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony (London, 1875).
- Noble, J. South Africa, Past and Present: A Short History of the European Settlements of the Cape (London and Cape Town, 1877).
- Norwich, O.I. Maps of Africa (Johannesburg, 1983).
- Nüesch, V. Die Geschichte der Schweizer Mission in Süd-Afrika (no place, 1933).
- Oberholster, J.J. The Historical Monuments of South Africa (Cape Town, 1972).
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa (London, 1966).
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. 'Aspects of Political Change in the Nineteenth-Century *Mfecane*', in Thompson, L.M. (ed), African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies (London, 1969), 207-29.
- Orange Free State Commission, Sketch of the Orange Free State of South Africa ([originally Bloemfontein, 1875], State Library Reprint 34, Pretoria, 1968).
- Ormsby-Gore, W.G.H. African Polities in the High Commission Territories (Lovedale, no date).
- Orpen, J.M. History of the Basutus of South Africa (Cape Town, 1857).
- Orpen, J.M. Our Relations with the Imperial Government (Cape Town, 1879).

Orpen, J.M. Some Principles of Native Government Illustrated: And The Petitions of the Basuto Tribe Regarding Land, Law, Representation and Disarmament, to the Cape Parliament (Cape Town, 1880).

Orpen, J.M. Bechuanaland (London, 1885).

Orpen, J.M. The Diet of Native Labourers (Salisbury, 1902).

Orpen, J.M. Reminiscences of Life in South Africa: From 1846 to the Present Day, with Historical Researches (Durban, 1908).

Orpen, J.M. The Native Question in Connection with the South Africa Bill or Union Constitution Act (Cape Town, 1909).

Orpen, J.M. Natives, Drink, Labour: Our Duty (London, 1913).

Owen, W.F. Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar: Performed in H.M. Ships Leven and Barracouta, under the direction of Captain W.F.W. Owen, 2 Vols. (London, 1833).

Page, J. Captain Allen Gardiner: Sailor and Saint (London, 1897).

Park, M. 'To the Niger', in Davidson, B. (ed), The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times (Harmondsworth, 1966), 305-17.

Parsons, N. 'The Time of Troubles': Difaqane in the Interior', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 301-06.

Peires, J.B. 'Xhosa Expansion Before 1800', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries VI, Collected Seminar Papers (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1975), 1-14.

Peires, J.B. (ed), Before and After Shaka: Papers in Nguni History (Grahamstown, 1981).

Peires, J.B. The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg, 1981).

Peires, J.B. 'The British and the Cape, 1814-1834', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989), 472-511.

Peires, J.B. 'Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane?', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 213-40.

Pellissier, S.H. Jean Pierre Pellissier of Bethulie (Pretoria, 1956).

Peregrino, J. A Short History of the Native Tribes of South Africa (London, 1900).

Perry, J.G. Footprints in Time - Cape (Johannesburg, 1971).

Philip, J. Researches in South Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1828).

Philip, P. British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819 (Cape Town, 1981).

[Philipps, T.] Scenes and Occurrences in Albany and Caffer Land, South Africa (London, 1827).

Picken, A. Christian Mission: Travels and Researches of Eminent English Missionaries (London, 1832).

Pieterse, J.N. White on Black (New Haven and London, 1992).

Plaatje, S.T. Native Life in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1916).

Plaatje, S.T. Mhudi: An Epic of South African Native Life a Hundred Years Ago ([originally Lovedale, 1930], reprinted, Johannesburg, 1989).

Platzky, L. and Walker, C. (eds), The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1985).

Poewe, K. 'From Volk to Apartheid: The Dialectic Between German and Afrikaner Nationalism', in Von der Heyden, U. and Liebau, H. (eds), Missionsgeschichte - Kirchengeschichte - Weltgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1996), 191-213.

Poole, F.J.P. 'Cannibals, Tricksters and Witches', in Brown, P. and Tuzin, D. (eds), The Ethnography of Cannibalism (Washington, D.C., 1983), 6-8.

Posselt, F.W.T. Fact and Fiction: A Short Account of the Natives of Southern Rhodesia ([originally Salisbury, 1935], Rhodesiana Reprint Library, Silver Series 19, Bulawayo, 1978).

Postma, D. Eenige Schetsen Voor Eene Geschiedenis van de Trekboeren (Amsterdam and Pretoria, 1897).

Potgieter, L. and Theunissen, N.H. Kommandant-Generaal Hendrik Potgieter (Johannesburg, 1938).

Preller, G.S. Piet Retief (3rd. edition, Pretoria, 1908).

Preller, G.S. Voortrekkermense, 6 Vols. (Cape Town, 1920-1938).

Preller, G.S. Dagboek van Louis Trichardt (Cape Town, 1938).

Pretorius, H.S. and Kruger, D.W. Voortrekker-Argiefstukke (Pretoria, 1937).

Pridmore, J. 'Henry Francis Fynn and the Construction of Natal's History: Oral Recorder or Myth Maker?', in Sienaert, E.R., Bell, A.N. and Lewis, M. (eds), Oral Tradition and Innovation (Durban, 1991), 24-32.

Pridmore, J. 'H.F. Fynn and Oral Tradition Debunking the Fynn Myths?', in Sienaert, E.R., Cowper-Lewis, M. and Bell, N. (eds), Oral Tradition and its Transmission (Durban, 1994), 188-99.

Pringle, T. Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany (London, 1824).

Pringle, T. African Sketches (London, 1834).

Pringle, T. Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (London, 1835).

Prinsloo, A. Die Geskiedenis van Smithfield en die Caledonrivierdistrik (1819-1952) (Bloemfontein, 1955).

Puaux, F. 'Les Origine de la Mission', Maison des Missions Évangélique, Livre d'or de la Mission du Lessouto (Paris, 1912).

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 'Preface', in Fortes, M. and Evans-Prichard, E.E. (eds), African Political Systems (London, 1940), xi-xxiii.

Ralls, A. Glory Which is Yours: A Tribute to Pioneer Ancestors (Pietermaritzburg, no date).

Rasmussen, R.K. Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa (Cape Town, 1978).

Retief, H.P. Datums van Gebeurtenissen uit de Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van 1486 tot 1895 (Paarl, 1897).

Revoil, B.H. Les Zoulous (Lille and Paris, 1880).

Reynolds, E. Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade (London, 1965).

Richter, J. Adam Oppermann und Sein Haus (Berlin, 1898).

Richter, J. Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1824-1924 (Berlin, 1924).

Richter, M. Medieval Ireland: The Enduring Tradition (London, 1988).

Ritchie, L. The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle: With a Sketch of His Life (London, 1837).

Robinson, R. and Gallagher, J. Africa and the Victorians (London, 1961).

Rochlin, S.A. Nathaniel Isaacs and Natal (London, 1930).

Rodney, W. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London and Dar-es-Salam, 1972).

Rose, C. Four Years in Southern Africa (London, 1829).

Ross, R. 'Capitalism, Expansion, and Incorporation on the Southern African Frontier', in Lamar, H. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa compared (New Haven and London, 1981) 209-33.

Ross, R. 'The Cape of Good Hope and the World Economy, 1652-1835', in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1989) 263-71.

Ross, R. Beyond the Pale (Johannesburg, 1994).

Rossouw, F. South African Printers and Publishers, 1795-1925 (Cape Town, 1987).

Said, E.W. Orientalism (London, 1978).

Salnik, P. 'Tribe as Colonial Category', in E. Boonzaaier and J. Sharp, (eds), South African Keywords (Cape Town, 1988), 68-75.

Salt, H. A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of That Country (London, 1814).

Sanday, P.R. Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System (Cambridge, 1986).

Sanders, P.B. Moshoeshoe: Chief of the Sotho (Cape Town, 1975).

Santana, F. Documentacao Avulsa Moçambicana do Arquivo Historico Ultramarino (Lisboa, 1964).

Saron, G. and Hotz, L. The Jews in South Africa (Oxford, 1955).

Saunders, C.C. 'The Annexation of the Transkei', in Saunders, C.C. and Derricourt, R. (eds), Beyond the Cape Frontier (London, 1974), 185-98.

Saunders, C.C. 'The 100 Years War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier', in Chanaiwa, D. (ed), Profiles of Self-Determination (Northridge, California, 1976), 55-77.

Saunders, C.C. (ed), Black Leaders in Southern African History (London, 1979).

Saunders, C.C. 'Political Processes in the Southern African Frontier Zones', in Lamar, H. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven, Connecticut, and London, 1981), 149-71.

Saunders, C.C. The Making of the South African Past: Major Historian on Race and Class (Cape Town, 1988).

Saunders, C.C. 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane Historiography', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 21-34.

Saunders, C.C. and Derricourt, R. (eds), Beyond the Cape Frontier (London, 1974).

Schapera, I. (ed) Apprenticeship at Kuruman, Oppenheimer Series 5 (London, 1951).

Schapera, I. (ed), Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence: 1841-1856 (Berkeley, 1961).

Schermbroecker, F.X. A Sketch of the Public Career of Col. Charles Duncan Griffith (King William's Town, 1881).

Schoeman, A.E. Coenraad de Buys: The First Transvaler (Pretoria, 1938).

Schoeman, K. The Wesleyan Mission in the Orange Free State 1833-1854 (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1991).

Schreuder, D.M. The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised (Cambridge, 1980).

Schreuder, D.M. 'The Imperial Historian as Colonial Nationalist: George McCall Theal and the Making of South African History', in Martel, G. (ed), Studies in British Imperial History: Essays in Honour of A.P. Thornton (London, 1986), 95-158.

Schrire, D. The Cape of Good Hope 1792 – 1842 (London, 1965).

Scully, W.C. A History of South Africa (London, 1915).

Sienaert, E.R., Bell, A.N. and Lewis, M. (eds), Oral Tradition and Innovation (Durban, 1991).

Sienaert, E.R., Cowper-Lewis, M. and Bell, N. (eds), Oral Tradition and its Transmission (Durban, 1994).

Shaw, W. Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hodgson (London, 1836).

Shaw, B. Memorials of South Africa: Wesleyan Missionaries (London, 1840).

Shaw, W. The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa (London, 1860).

Shillington, K. The Colonialization of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900 (Johannesburg, 1985).

Shooter, J. The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country (London, 1857).

Shrewsbury, J.V.B. Memorials of the Rev. William J. Shrewsbury (London, 1867).

Sibree, J. London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc., from 1796 - 1923 (London, 1923).

Smith, A. Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa (Cape Town, 1836).

Smith, G., Kreuser, F. and Vlok, A. (eds), History for Standard 8 (Cape Town, 1980).

Smith, K. The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (Cape Town, 1988).

Smith, K.W. From Frontier to Midlands: A History of Graaff-Reinet (Grahamstown, 1976).

Smith, T. South Africa Delineated (London, 1850).

Soga, J.H. The South Eastern Bantu (Johannesburg, 1930).

Soga, J.H. The Ama-Xhosa: Life and Customs (Lovedale, [1932]).

Solomon, E. Two Lectures on the Native Tribes of the Interior (Cape Town, 1855).

Soussa de Lima, J. Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop (Cape Town, 1825).

South African Library, The South African Commercial Advertiser, No. 1 January 1824 to No. 18, May 1824: Together With the Facts Connected with the Stopping of the South African Commercial Advertiser, South African Library Reprint Series 6 (Cape Town, 1978).

Sparrmann, A. A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1785], Van Riebeeck Society, Vols. 6 and 7, Cape Town, 1975, 1977).

Spencer, S.O'B. British Settlers in Natal, 1824-1857: A Biographical Register, 6 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg, 1981-1992).

Spohr, O.H. (ed), Travel Journal / Cape to Zululand (Cape Town, 1973).

Steedman, A. Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa (London, 1835).

Stepan, N. The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London, 1982).

- Stow, G.W. The Native Races of South Africa (London, 1905).
- Stuart, J. Studies in Zulu Law and Custom (Durban, 1903).
- Stuart, J. The Conjunctive and Subjunctive Methods of Writing Zulu (Durban, 1906).
- Stuart, J. (ed), Zulu Orthography (Durban, 1907).
- Stuart J. 'The Zulus', part of Ch XIX, Natives and Indians, in Tatlow, A.H. Natal Province: Descriptive Guide and Official Hand-Book (Durban, 1911).
- Stuart, J. The History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906, 2 Vols. (London, 1913).
- Stuart, J. uTulasizwe (London, 1923).
- Stuart, J. uBaxoxele (London, 1924).
- Stuart, J. uHlangakula (London, 1924).
- Stuart, J. uKlumetule (London, 1925).
- Stuart, J. uVusezakiti (London, 1926).
- Stuart, J. and Malcolm D. (eds), The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, (Pietermaritzburg, 1950).
- Switzer, L. Power and Resistance in an African Society (Pietermaritzburg, 1993).
- Tabler, E.C. Pioneers of Natal and South Eastern Africa, 1557-1878 (Cape Town, 1977).

Tatlow, A.H. Natal Province: Descriptive Guide and Official Handbook (Durban, 1911).

Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Harmondsworth, 1922-1938).

Taylor, J.S. 'The Unreformed Workhouse - 1776-1834', in Martin, E.W. (ed), Comparative Development in Social Welfare (London, 1972).

Theal, G.M. South Africa As It Is (King William's Town, 1871).

Theal, G.M. Compendium of South African History and Geography (3rd. edition, Lovedale, 1877).

Theal, G.M. Basutoland Records: Copies of Official Documents of Various Kinds, Accounts of Travellers, etc., 5 Vols. (Cape Town, 1883).

Theal, G.M. The Republic of Natal (Cape Town, 1886).

Theal, G.M. History of the Boers in South Africa (London, 1887).

Theal, G.M. History of South Africa, First Series, 5 Vols. (London, 1888 - 1893).

Theal, G.M. Short History of South Africa (1486-1826) (Cape Town, 1890).

Theal, G.M. Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika voor Kinderen (s'Gravenhage, 1892).

Theal, G.M. South Africa, Stories of Nations Series (London, 1894).

Theal, G.M. Records of the Cape Colony, 37 Vols. (Cape Town, 1895 - 1905).

Theal, G.M. Geschiedenis van Zuid Afrika (Den Haag, 1897).

- Theal, G.M. History of South Africa, Second Series, 5 Vols. (London, 1897 - 1908).
- Theal, G.M. (ed), Records of South-Eastern Africa, 9 Vols. (Cape Town, 1898 - 1902).
- Theal, G.M. Progress of South Africa in the Century (London, 1900).
- Theal, G.M. History of South Africa, Third Series, 11 Vols. (London, 1907 - 1922).
- Theal, G.M. Maskew Miller's Short History of South Africa and Its People (Cape Town, 1909).
- Theal, G.M. The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of Africa South of the Zambezi (London, 1910).
- Theal, G.M. 'Chronicles of Two Leaders of the Great Emigration, Louis Trigard and Pieter Uys', in Theal, G.M. (ed), Willem Adriaan van der Stel and Other Historical Sketches (Cape Town, 1913), 253-94.
- Theal, G.M. History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambezi, Vol. 3 of Theal, G.M. History of South Africa, Third Series (London, 1922).
- Theal, G.M. Maskew Miller se Kort Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika (Cape Town, 1922).
- Theal, G.M. Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van 1486-1814 (Cape Town, 1890).
- Thomas, T.M. Eleven Years in Central South Africa ([originally London, 1872], reprinted, Brown, R. (ed), London, 1971).

Thompson, G. Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, 2 Vols. (London, 1827).

Thompson, L.M. 'The Forgotten Factor', in Thompson, L.M. (ed), African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies (London, 1969).

Thompson, L.M. Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho 1786-1870 (Oxford, 1975).

Thompson, L.M. 'Co-operation and Conflict: The High Veld', in Wilson, M. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), A History of South Africa to 1870 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1982, 391-446).

Thompson, L.M. 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal', in Wilson, M. and Thompson L.M. (eds), A History of South Africa to 1870 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1982), 334-90.

Thompson, L.M. The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven and London, 1985).

Thompson, L.M. and Lamar H. 'Comparative Frontier History', in Lamar, H. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven and London, 1981), 3-13.

Thompson, L.M. and Lamar H. 'The North American and Southern African Frontiers', in Lamar, H. and Thompson, L.M. (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven and London, 1981), 14-40.

Thompson, L.M. and Wilson, M. (eds), The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. 1 [1st edition (London, 1969): 2nd. edition entitled, A History of South Africa to 1870 (Cape Town, 1982).

Thompson, W. South Central Africa and Its Explorers (Cape Town, 1856).

- Thunberg, C.P. Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, 2 Vols. (London, 1793).
- Tlou, T. 'Servility and Political Power: Botlhanka Among the BaTawana of Northwestern Botswana, ca. 1750-1906', in Miers, S. and Kopytoff, I. (eds), Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1977), 368-82.
- Townsend, W.J., Workman, H.B. and Eayrs, G. A New History of Methodism, 2 Vols. (London, 1909).
- Trapido, S. 'Aspects in the Transition from Slavery to Serfdom: The South', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries VI, University of London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies Seminar Papers, 6 (1976), 24-31.
- Trollope, A. South Africa ([originally London, 1878], reprinted, Cape Town, 1973).
- Tromp, T.M. De Stam der AmaZoeloe (Leiden, 1879).
- Twentyman-Jones, L. Research Resources in Cape Town: A Guide, Centre for African Studies (University of Cape Town, 1984).
- Tylden, G. The Armed Forces of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1954).
- Tyler, J. Forty Years Among the Zulu (Boston, 1891).
- Tyson, P.D. Climatic Change and Variability in Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1966).
- Uys, D.C. De Trek van 1835 Uit de Kaap-Kolonie Naar Natal: Hoe en Door Wien de Trek Begonnen is (Pretoria, 1899).

- Vail, L. 'Ethnicity in Southern African History', in Vail, L. (ed), Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa (London, 1989), 1-21.
- Vallentin, W. Die Geschichte der Sued Afrikanischen Republik Transvaal, 2 Vols. (Berlin, 1901).
- Van Aswegen, H.J. Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tot 1854 (Pretoria and Cape Town, 1989).
- Van den Horst, S.T. Native Labour in South Africa (Cape Town, 1942).
- Van der Merwe, P.J. Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek (1770 -1842) (Den Haag, 1937).
- Van der Walt, A.J.H., Geyer, A.L and Wijd, J.A. Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika (Bloemfontein, 1951).
- Van Heerden, P.S. Herinneringen uit den Tijd der Vrijstaatsche Voortrekkers (Stellenbosch, 1908).
- Van Jaarsveld, F.A. Die Afrikaner en Sy Geskiedenis (Kaapstad, 1959).
- Van Jaarsveld, F.A. Honderd Basiese Dokumente by die Studie van die Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, 1648-1961 (Cape Town, 1971).
- Van Jaarsveld, F.A. Van Van Riebeeck tot Verwoerd, 1652-1966 (Johannesburg, 1971).
- Van Niekerk, F. On the Trail of the Voortrekkers (Durban, 1988).
- Van Niekerk, F.N. Die Vrymesselary: Sy Geheime en Gevare (2nd. edition, Bloemfontein, 1969).

Van Schoor, M.C.E. et al, Senior History for South African Schools: Standard 8 (Cape Town, no date).

Van Warmelo, N.J. Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa, Ethnological Publications Series 5 (Pretoria, 1935).

Van Warmelo, N.J. (ed), History of Matiwane and the Amangwane Tribe, Ethnological Publications Series 7 (Pretoria, 1938).

Van Wyk Smith, M. 'Prester John and the Anthropophagi: The Africa of Expectation', in Breitenbach, R. (ed), Journeys of Discovery (Grahamstown, 1988), 70-82.

Van Wyk Smith, M. Shades of Adamaster (Grahamstown, 1988).

Vansina, J. Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Methodology (London, 1965).

Vansina, J. Kingdoms of the Savanna (Madison, Wisconsin 1966).

Vaughan, I. Oh Valiant Heart (Cape Town, 1984).

Venter, E.A. 400 Leiers in Suid-Afrika Oor Vier Eeue (Potchefstroom, 1980).

Verbeek, J., Nathanson, M. and Deel, E. (eds), Webb's Guide to the Official Records of Natal (3rd.edition, Pietermaritzburg, 1984).

Vilakazi, B.W. 'Inkondlo kaZulu' ([original] no place, 1935), repinted in Friedman, E.L., Malcolm, D.M. and Sikakana, J.H. (eds), Zulu Horizons (Johannesburg, 1962).

Viney, G. and Simons, P.B. The Cape of Good Hope: 1806 to 1872 (Houghton, 1994).

Visagie, J.C. Die Trek uit Oos-Rietrivier: Studies oor die Groot Trek (Stellenbosch, 1989).

Voigt, J.C. Fifty Years of the History of the Republic in South Africa, 1795-1845, 2 Vols. ([originally London, 1899], reprinted, Cape Town, 1969).

Von der Heyden, U. 'Das Schrifttum der Deutschen Missionsgesellschaften als Quelle für die Geschichtsschreibung Südafrikas', in Von der Heyden U. and Liebau, H. (eds), Missionsgeschichte - Kirchengeschichte - Weltgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1996), 123-28.

Von Lenk, H. Die Wanderungen der Buren, bis zur Gruendung Ihrer Staaten (Leipzig, 1901).

Wagner, R.G. 'Coenrad de Buys in Transorangia', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries IV, Collected Seminar Papers (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1974), 1-5.

Walker, E.A. The Teaching of History (Cape Town, 1912).

Walker, E.A. The Place of History in University Education (Cape Town, 1919).

Walker, E.A. Historical Atlas of South Africa (Cape Town and Oxford, 1922).

Walker, E. A. A Modern History for South Africans (London, 1926).

Walker, E.A. A History of South Africa (London, 1928).

Walker, E.A. The Frontier Tradition in South Africa (Oxford, 1930).

Walker, E.A. The Great Trek (London, 1934).

Walker, E.A. The Cape Native Franchise (Cape Town, 1936).

Walker, E.A. 'The Formation of the New States, 1835-1854', in Walker, E.A. (ed), South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates (Cambridge, 1936), Volume VIII of Holland Rose, J. Newton, A.P. and Benians, E.A. (eds), The Cambridge History of the British Empire, 8 Vols. (Cambridge, 1929-1959).

Walker, E.A. A History of Southern Africa (London, 1957).

[Walker, J.] Sketches of Some of the Various Classes and Tribes Inhabiting the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (London, 1851).

Wallis, J.P.R. The Matabele Missions of Robert Moffat, Oppenheimer Series 1, 2 Vols. (London, 1945).

Walton, J. Vroeë Plase en Needersettings in die Oranje Vrystaat (Cape Town, 1955).

Wangemann, H.T. Lebensbilder aus Südafrika (3rd. edition [originally Berlin, 1876], reprinted, State Library Reprint 44, Pretoria, 1969).

Wangemann, H.T. Die Berliner Mission im Koranalande (Berlin, 1873).

Watson, R.S. The History of English Rule and Policy in South Africa ([originally Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1879], reprinted, State Library Reprint 87, Pretoria, 1979).

Watt, S. 'The Battle of Blood River, 16 December 1838', in van Niekerk, F. (ed), On the Trail of the Voortrekkers (Durban, 1988), 179-83.

Watt, S. 'The Voortrekkers in Natal', in van Niekerk, F. (ed), On the Trail of the Voortrekkers (Durban, 1988), 20-30.

Weale, J.P.M. The Truth About the Portuguese in Africa (London, 1891).

Webb, C. de B. The Mfecane, Centre for African Studies (University of Cape Town, 1979).

Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J. (eds), A Zulu Speaks: A Statement Made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the History and Customs of his People (Durban, 1978).

Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B. (eds), The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, 5 Vols. (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976-2001).

Webb, F., Alexander, S.J. and Webb, C. de B. (eds), Delegorgue, A. Adolphe Delegorgue's Travels in Southern Africa, 2 Vols. (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1990, 1997).

Webb, R.S. Gazetteer for Basutoland (Paarl, 1950).

Webster, A.C. 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 241-76.

Welsh, D. Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal (Cape Town, 1971).

Welsh, F. A History of South Africa (London, 1998).

White, W. Journal of a Voyage Performed in the Lion Extra Indiaman (London, 1800).

Whiteside, J. A New Geography of South Africa (Cape Town, 1891).

Whiteside, J. A New School History of South Africa (Cape Town, 1894).

- Whiteside, J. History of the Wesleyan Church of South Africa (London, 1906).
- Whiteside, J. The South African Union Reader (Cape Town, 1912).
- Wilmot, A. The Story of the Expansion of Southern African (Durban, 1895).
- Wilmot, H. and Chase, J.C. A History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1869).
- Wilson, M. and Thompson L.M. (eds), A History of South Africa to 1870 (2nd. edition, Cape Town, 1982).
- Windschuttle, K. The Killing of History (New York, 1996).
- Winqvist, A.H. Scandinavians in South Africa (Cape Town, 1978).
- Wood, J.G. Natural History (London, 1854).
- Wood, J.G. The Uncivilized Races of Men in All Countries of the World (Cincinnati, 1877),
- Wood, W. Statement Respecting Dingaan, King of the Zulu (Cape Town, 1840).
- Worden, N. Slavery in Dutch South Africa (Cambridge, 1985).
- Wörger, W.H. South Africa's City of Diamonds (Craighall, 1987).
- Wright, J. Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg, 1840-1870 (Pietermaritzburg, 1971).
- Wright, J. 'Beyond the Concept of the Zulu Explosion, in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 107-21.

Wright, J. 'Political Transformation in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late 18th and 19th Centuries', in Hamilton C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 163-81.

Wright, J. and D.R. Edgecombe, 'Mpande kaSenzagakhona c. 1798-1872', in Saunders, C.C. (ed), Black Leaders in Southern African History (London, 1979), 45-52.

Wright J. and C. Hamilton, 'Traditions and Transformations: The Pongola-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in Duminy, A.H. and Guest B. (eds), Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), 49-82.

Wylie, D. 'Language and Assassination: Cultural Negations in White Writers' Portrayal of Shaka and the Zulu', in Hamilton, C. (ed), The Mfecane Aftermath (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 71-106.

Wylie, D. Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka (Pietermaritzburg, 2000).

Young, R. White Mythologies: Writing History and the West (London and New York, 1990).

Zietsman, P.H. De Emigranten-Expeditie: Of Dagverhaal van de Expedities te Port Natal, Tegen den Zoolah Koning Dingaan (Cape Town, 1840).

Zöllner, L. and Heese, J.A. The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa and their Descendants (Pretoria, 1984).