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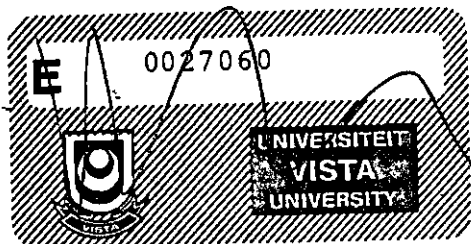
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T. J. CHILDANE

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A HISTORY OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO 1795

A Critical Analysis of Nineteenth Century South African Historiography



23 SEP 1999

...ssertation in partial
...ment of the requirements
...ne Licenciante degré
...story

Written under the guidance
and supervision of
Professor Dr. R. De Schryver,
Department of History

by : Ntsatsi Simon Kekana



E R R A T A

- p. 5 read 'gratefulness' and not 'greatefulness'.
- p. 21 insert 'this' after 'during' in the second line from below.
- p. 22 insert 'are' before 'agreed' in the sixth line form below.
- p. 26 read 'condusive' and not 'comclusive' third line from top.
- p. 26 insert 'other' before 'factors' in the first line of the last paragraph.
- p. 32 read 'chapter' for 'part' in the first line of the second paragraph
- p. 43 insert 'regering' in the last line of the last paragraph before turning to page 44.
- p. 46 strike out 'to' in the sixth line and replace it with 'of'.
- p. 48 insert 'was' in the eighth line from below after 'not square up with what ...'.
- p. 58 insert 'said' in the second paragraph the second line after 'as he had ...'.
- p. 66 insert 'had' in the last sentence of the second paragraph.
- p. 69 read 'arrived' in the third line and not 'started'.
- p. 70 insert 'not' in the first line of the last paragraph after 'then it is ...'.
- p. 75 insert 'occupation' in the sixth line of the second paragraph from the bottom between 'about' and 'southern part'.
- p. 85 insert 'not' in the sixth line of the first paragraph between 'were' and 'there'.
- p. 103 insert 'Theal' in the third line of the quotation after 'Dr'.

"For there are many questions about our history which remain unanswered. Our present day historians, following on similar theories yarned out by defenders of imperialism, insist we only arrived here yesterday. Where went all the Kenyan people who used to trade with China, India, Arabia long before Vasco da Gama came to the scene and on the strength of gunpowder ushered in an era of blood and terror and instability - an era that climaxed in the reign of imperialism over Kenya? But even these adventures of Portuguese mercantilism were forced to build Fort Jesus, showing that Kenyan people had always been ready to resist foreign control and exploitation. The story of this heroic resistance: who will sing it? Their struggles to defend their land, their wealth, their lives: who'll tell of it? What of their earlier achievements in production that had annually attracted visitors from ancient China and India?"

Ngugi wa Thiong'o in 'Petals of Blood'.

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Acknowledgements

The great historian Arnold Toynbee has explained in his introduction of A Study of History Volume 1 (abridged edition by D.C. Somervell, U.S.A., 1978, 5th reprint) that historians generally illustrate rather than correct the ideas of the communities within which they live and work. I must point out at the first instance that the kind of 'communities' envisaged by Toynbee are those which are not divided by feelings of racial separation. Thus, the history of those communities are factually presented in the same manner by the historians of those communities. Not so with the history of South Africa. That is the idea that has given birth to this work.

I acknowledge with the greatest appreciation the careful guidance that I received from Professor R. De Schryver, Ph. D. I am greatly indebted to his patient and painstaking analysis of all the drafts that I prepared to be scrutinised by him. I remember with great gratitude again, the Rankean historical seminar which was greatly informative in the method of the historical science. It is a tribute to his scholarship and academic finesse that I was able to write an intelligible work. I am very grateful to his patient guidance.

Cordial acknowledgement is due to Professor Louis Baeck, Dean of the Faculty of Economic and Applied Economic Sciences, for taking pains to make the scholarship available for my studies at the Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven.

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Cordial acknowledgement is due again to the staff of the Algemene Rijksarchief of Den Haag and that of Amsterdam, for making available to me copies of published primary sources. No progress would have been made without those sources. The London School of Economics and the London School of Oriental and African Studies also greatly assisted me with the location and use of the wealthy material found in their collection. The Royal Albert Library in Brussels has also been very helpful by making available to me copies of books which have long been out of print. I apprise

also the aid I received from the Library of the Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven for providing me with useful material.

My wife Daphne Sabeta Makgalemele has been a source of inspiration in my studies, together with Hlobo, Tebogo and the latest addition to the family, Mwene Mutapa Ramakgale, the emperor of Zimbabwe. I am greatly indebted to the encouragement I received from them in times of stress and difficulties.

I dedicate this work to my mother, Mokgaetse Mary Masoga as a sign of gratefulness for the difficulties she had in my upbringing.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

Definition of South Africa.

The term South Africa as used in this work should not only refer to the present Republic of South Africa. When the Portuguese arrived and started to know the southern half of Africa, they found the Empire of Mwene Mutapa already established. The Empire started from below the reaches of the Zambezi River in the north and went as far as the Cape to the south. To the west the Empire went as far as Angola. In the east the Empire stretched up to the coast. The Empire lasted from approximately the 8th century till the 14th century.

The Empire of Mwene Mutapa came into existence by means of wars of conquest. The emperors were originally the priest kings of the region around Zimbabwe. They consolidated their position first in that area and then started to pillage neighbouring areas. After their victories they called themselves Mwene Mutapa, which means master pillager or conqueror. Angola was thus made part and parcel of the Empire as a result of that belligerent policy, together with other areas. Most of the areas to the south were not brought into the Empire by means of wars of conquest. The emperor, by means of his power and influence, controlled the trade on the east coast of Africa, first with the Arabs from the 8th century and later on with the Portuguese after they had arrived. To the south of what is now called Mocambique there were no ports on the east coast of Africa where trade could be conducted, and no minerals were found in the interior of that area at that time. The people who lived in the Transkei and other areas therefore had to conduct their trade through the lands of Mwene Mutapa. Since the emperor was controller of the trade to whom some of payments had to be made, in order to benefit from that trade, the people from below Mocambique had to be his subjects. Thus was it that his empire stretched from the Zambezi River in the north to the Cape in the south. That is what also the Portuguese came to call South Africa.

The Empire of Mwene Mutapa was reduced in size when the people of Angola revolted and became free. Some closer to him also seceded under a man who came to call himself Changamire. So to the west the Empire now went as far as Zimbabwe, but still retained its borders to the east and the north. To the south, those people still belonged to the Empire even after the arrival

of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. Evidence of that is that a Khoikhoi servant of Van Riebeeck told him that they were the subjects of the emperor.

But the arrival and colonisation of the Cape by the Dutch steadily wrested the people who lived to the south of Mocambique from the authority of the emperor. Internal decay had also set in in the Empire, which also led ^{to} its general weakness. From the Cape the Dutch steadily encroached on land belonging to the Blacks. They ultimately came to occupy the whole country and called it South Africa, to the exclusion of other areas and the citadel of Mwene Mutapa.

It can therefore be seen that there is a historico-political definition of what South Africa is. I call it a historico-political definition because the history of all those people can be traced back to Zimbabwe. Political authority was vested in the Mwene Mutapa. The Empire started from the Zambezi River in the north to the Cape in the south, and from Zimbabwe itself to Mocambique in the east. But I have already explained that with the general weakness of the Empire and the Dutch colonisation, what should properly be South Africa was fragmented. It was fragmented when the Dutch started to control the areas to the south of Swaziland, and the Portuguese the area of Mocambique. As a result of that, the people of what is today the Republic of South Africa and Mocambique lost their right to the land. Political power then came to be wielded by the whites, as it is today.

It is clear that a geo-political definition of South Africa today is not proper, if one takes the historico-political definition of the South Africa of Mwene Mutapa into consideration. My main focus in this work will be on the relationship between the Dutch colonists at the Cape and the Bantu-speakers below the Limpopo River. ^x

The early wars of resistance by the people against the Dutch colonists was an assertion of a historico-political right to the land. The wars of resistance did not stop in 1795, they continued and are still continuing today. They are echoing the same thing that was echoed by our ancestors when the Dutch colonists arrived in 1652; to deny the white men to usurp the land from its people and the right of controlling their destiny and future in their own country.

Introduction

The object of this dissertation is to examine the written history of the Black people of South Africa by white historians, and to find out as to whether it has been truthfully presented. It is also the object of this work to evaluate the extent of objectivity found in the writing of the history of Black people by white historians. Many assertions and theories about the origin and time of arrival of Black people are made by South African historians. It is again, the object of this work to find out as to whether such assertions and theories are valid. Such an examination of the history of the Black people written by white historians is necessary in South Africa. It is necessary because in a country where there is rampant and legalised segregation of the people, the community that is supposed by law to be superior may distort the past of those who they regarded as inferior in order to justify their oppression. My purpose is therefore, to set the record of Black South African history straight. In setting it straight, it is my well-considered opinion that in most instances the history of the Black people has not been properly and objectively presented.

As the subtitle of the work indicates, this is a critical analysis of nineteenth century historiography of Black people. I have not indicated the year in which the analysis begins. The reason why I have not done that is because in South Africa history is said to start in 1652 with the arrival of the White man. The view is incorrect, because it supposes that the Black man did not have a past before the arrival of the white man. As my analysis goes back to the period before the arrival of the white man, I cannot give it a precise starting point. My analysis however, goes up to 1795, the year in which the British annexed the Cape for the first time.

The books that I have critically analysed in this work are those that have been written in the nineteenth century. They are The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, written by Reverend W.C. Holden in 1866 and published in London and Cape Town, A History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to the Year 1819, and From 1820 to 1868, written by A. Wilmot and J.C. Chase in 1869 and published in Cape Town, and Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope 1866, written by John Noble in the same year, and published in Cape Town. The historian G. M. Theal

has, however, written in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His works will be treated as if they were all written in the nineteenth century. Theal has written the following four volumes: Ethnography and Condition of South Africa Before A.D. 1505, the second edition published in London in 1919, which is an introduction to the series. The first volume, which is the second volume of the series, and the second and third volumes all bear the following title: History of Africa South of the Zambezi. They all deal with the settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in 1505 up to the conquest of the Cape by the British in 1795. Yet another book written by W.C. Holden will be examined in this work. It is History of the Colony of Natal published in 1855 in Cape Town. Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop: Nederlandse Volksplanting 1652-1806 written by G. Louts and published in 1854 in Amsterdam shall also be evaluated in this work. The last book which will be esteemed in this work is the one written by J. Stuart, De Hollandse Afrikanen en Hunne Republiek in Zuid-Afrika published in 1854 in Amsterdam.

The following books, also written in the nineteenth century, have no direct bearing on the period under consideration: J. Stuart wrote De Hollandse Afrikanen en Hunne Republiek in Zuid Afrika published in 1854 in Amsterdam. It starts with the history of South Africa in 1852. The author intended with his book to do the following: "*De oorspronkelijke berigten uit Zuid-Afrika waren partijdig. De Engelsen tegen de Kaapsche Landverhuizers en voor de zwarte of gekleurd inboorlingen, de Hollandsche tegen de daden van het Engelsche Gouvernement en de Zendingen. Daardoor werden alle beschrijvingen, op die berigten gegrond, onjuist.*" (1). He therefore wanted to rewrite their history in an objective manner so that it benefit those people. J. Noble wrote yet another book, South Africa Past and Present: A Short History of the European Settlement at the Cape published in 1877 in Cape Town. It has not been possible to locate the following books also written in the nineteenth century which have a bearing on this work: J.S. de Lima who wrote Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop in 1824, J.C. Chase, The Natal Papers in two volumes in 1843, and U.G. Louts, De Kaapsche Landverhuizers of Neêrlands Afstammelingen in Zuid-Afrika published in 1847.

I have relied on published primary sources in this work. The major part of this work is of course based on other sources. Such a reliance on

1. J. Stuart: De Hollandse Afrikanen en Hunne Republiek in Zuid-Afrika, published 1854, Amsterdam, p. 5.

other sources could not be avoided because much of the history of the Black people in South Africa before 1652 has not been documented. Because of the nature of my topic it has been very difficult to locate both primary and other sources. Thus was it imperative that I visit the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in search of them. I was very fortunate to find that the library of the Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven has quite a number of published sources which were useful. The analysis of authors in this work has been arranged according to the years in which their books have been published. Some of the books have been written in the Dutch language by historians who came from the Netherlands during the time of the Dutch occupation of the Cape. Others have been written by English historians and missionaries who came to the Cape when it was annexed by the British in 1795 and again in 1806. Material for this work is therefore mainly taken from those two countries which at one time occupied the Cape.

I have used published primary sources. They are the following:

Dagregister van Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck in three volumes worked by D.B. Esman and H.B. Thom published between 1952 and 1957 in Cape Town, G. M. Theal who published Records of the Cape Colony From September 1793 to April 1796 in London in the year 1897, and he also translated the following records from Portuguese to English: Records of South Eastern Africa in eight volumes published from 1890 to 1903 in London. G. Waterhouse published Simon Van der Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand 1685-1686 in 1832 in Dublin, Kaapse Plakaatboek 1703-1753 Deel Twee by M. K. Jeffreys, D. Naude and P.J. Venter published in 1948 in Cape Town, Kaapse Plakaatboek 1767-1795 Deel Vier published by S. Naude and P.J. Venter in 1949 in Cape Town, and another Kaapse Plakaatboek 1764-1786 Deel Twee by the same authors. I have also used Kaapse Argiefstukken 1778-1782 in five volumes edited by M.K. Jeffreys in 1926 to 1931 in Cape Town. Other sources that I have made use of are books written by African historians, linguists, anthropologists, and archeologists. I have also made use of European historians in some instances.

The contents of this work have been divided as follows:

- * The first chapter deals with the peculiar and exclusive nature of South African historiography, the root of its problems and why it is so. I also deal with the different theories concerning the origin of the Bantu-

speaking people according to white historians and linguists. The time according to which the Bantu-speaking people arrived in South Africa is also dealt with.⁷¹ The second part deals with the evolution of man in Africa. It also explains how and when the Bantu-speaking people arrived there. The second chapter deals with the early historiographers of the nineteenth century. There I indicate that they did not know much about the Bantu-speakers to be able to reconstruct their history. Then there is a short evaluation of that history at the end.

Then follows an analysis of the historian Theal. His early works were written in the nineteenth century but were later on improved in the twentieth century. He also wrote in the twentieth century, and that is why he belongs to both periods in the historiography of South Africa. The third chapter therefore analyses the introductory Ethnography of Theal. I indicate that most of his conclusions are incorrect in the light of recent information on the subject. The second part of the chapter deals with what Theal considers to be the beginning of South African history. It also deals with what he considered to be the manner in which the Bantu-speaking people occupied South Africa. I show how recent information does not support his conclusions. The third part of the chapter analyses the colonial history of Theal. I indicate that the sources of the period do not agree with him, and how later historians who wrote on the same subject differ with him from the standpoint of the sources. In the evaluation I point out the necessity of uprooting the one-sided and exclusive nature of South African historiography. I call for, among other things, the need for a balanced historiography in South Africa.

It is the first time that a work of this nature is written on the history of South Africa. It is also the first time that a Black man should address himself in this manner to the history and origins of his people.

This work does not profess to have said the last word on the subject. The oral tradition of the Black people of South Africa has not yet been fully studied. Only when all the sources of evidence concerning the history of the Black people in South Africa have been exhausted, then shall we have a representative history of the country.

CHAPTER ONE

I. Theories about Bantu-speaking origins in South Africa.

The nineteenth century historiography of South Africa is not quite representative of the history of all the people of South Africa. This is so because the history of the Black people has been buried and ignored as unworthy. In cases where some historians have tried to deal with it, there has been a lack of understanding their oral tradition and in others, there has been a distorted presentation as a result of subjectivity.

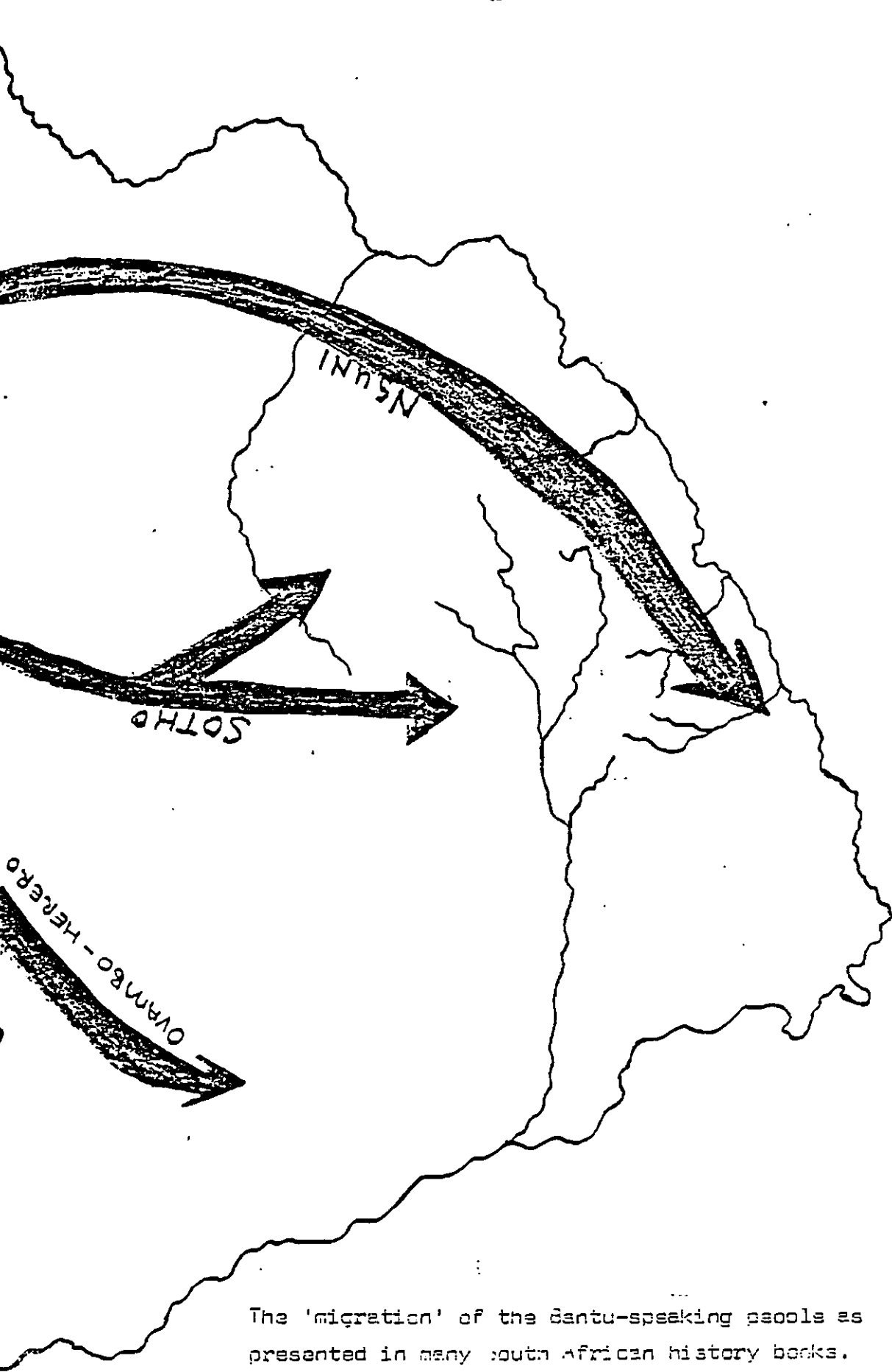
Origin

The presence of Bantu-speaking people has always been a problem to South African historians, anthropologists and linguists. They have at various times propounded theories about their origins. Conclusions that they have always come to — in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — is that Blacks arrived in three streams in South Africa from the area of the Great Lakes in Africa. Some historians like Muller say that they arrived at the same time with the white men in South Africa (1). Others like Walker (2) were daring enough to say that the white man arrived before the Black in South Africa.

The three streams spoken of were as follows: the Nguni language group came down the eastern coast of Africa. They were following a fertile agricultural belt in order to graze their cattle, the Sotho language-group came down through central southern Africa, and the Ovambo-Herero took a westerly direction and settled in South West Africa/Namibia (See the map on the following page). This theory is still being supported by historians like Muller and Walker quoted above. One still finds it in standard history books of the country, like The Rise of South Africa 2nd edition Cape Town, 1971, by G.E. Cory, and Cambridge History of the British Empire volume 8 printed in Great Britain, 1936, and

1. C.F.J. Muller: 500 Years History of South Africa, 2nd ed. Cape Town, 1971.

2. E. A. Walker: A History of Southern Africa, 3rd ed. London, 1958.



The 'migration' of the bantu-speaking people as presented in many south African history books.

edited by E. A. Walker. It is still taught to the millions of young unsuspecting minds of both racial groups in South Africa. It is my intention in this work, to show that the theory is unfounded, and consequently, false.

Another theory concerning the origin of the Bantu-speaking people was propounded after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and just before the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. It was a theory by J.F. Van Oordt, a linguist. He concluded after an unbroken research period of three years that the origins of the Bantu-speaking people were as follows: The Bantu language belongs to that group of languages, generally known as the Ugro-Altaic. The fact that in the Bantu language there are two distinct groups of words, one of which is far more archaic than the other, entitles us to come to the conclusion that there have been TWO Bantu invasions of Africa. The first Bantu invasion of Africa commenced from some part in or near Hindostan, and the language of these first invaders is directly connected with the non-Aryan languages of India. The second Bantu invasion of Africa started from the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and probably took place about the year 680 B.C. Lastly, that the original home of the Bantu race is the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Pagan races at present found in that peninsula are ethnographically and linguistically very related to the present Bantu races of Africa. And as a corollary I beg to add: The Ugro-Altaic group of languages as well as the Bantu, which forms part of that group, have arisen from a mixture of Hamitic and Turanian elements (3).

Needless to say, the theory was so far-fetched and unrealistic that nobody ever took what Van Oordt said with any academic seriousness. Like others before him, Van Oordt was wont to admit that the Bantu speakers have their origins in Africa. I will show in this work that he was incorrect.

Yet an historian F.A. Van Jaarsveld nearly went to the root of the origins of the Bantu-speakers, but stopped short of discovering the truth. He says that they came from the Benue river in eastern Nigeria (4). As a general statement it is not wrong. But to be specific, the people

3. J.F. Van Oordt: The Origins of the Bantu, Cape of Good Hope, 1907, Cape Town, p. 7.

4. F.A. Van Jaarsveld: Van Van Riebeeck tot Verwoerd 1652-1966 1st. ed. Jhb, 1971, pp. 6-7.

‡ who left the Benue river were pre-Bantu speakers, that is, the direct ancestors of the present Bantu-speakers. As it stands, the statement of Van Jaarsveld means that from the Benue river the Bantu speakers then spread into the whole of Africa, an incorrect assumption. In fact, as it stands, this theory of Van Jaarsveld appears to have been taken from the anthropologist G. Murdock (5).

Time of arrival

As far as another problem, that of the arrival, is concerned, there are historians who have put it at incorrect times. The major part of this work will show that the 19th century historians were incorrect in their assumptions about the arrival of the Bantu-speaking people. The historian Walker says that they were not in South Africa by the time of Al-Mas'udi, and that in some areas whites occupied the country before them (6).

Yet Muller indicates that: *"At the beginning of the 16th century the Black peoples...who later became known as the Bantu began moving towards South Africa."* (7). *

In perpetuation of that fallacy South African politicians took up that historical lie to further their own policies. Thus was C.P. Mulder, former minister of Information (who resigned after what is now called the Mulder-Gate Scandal) quoted as saying: *"In South Africa today, there are evolving eight major Black nations in parts of our country which were settled there three centuries ago when migration commenced simultaneously from Europe and other parts of Africa to the southern tip of the continent."*(8). Strong, an author interested in racial affairs, has also said the following in her book: *"The Bantu...were not indigenous. They came after the Dutch and the British."*(9). The former Department of Information in South Africa was itself a great propagandist of that incorrect historical theory. In one of its pamphlets it said the following: *"The Bantu crossed what are today the northern borders of South Africa at about the same period in history when the Dutch landed at the Cape (in 1652 A.D.)"* (10).

5. H.A. Gailey: History of Africa From the Earliest Times to 1800, Illinois, 1970, pp. 26-27.

6. Walker: A History of Southern Africa, 3rd. ed. London, 1958, p. 7.

7. Muller (ed): 500 Years History of South Africa, 2nd ed. Cape Town, 1971, p.43

8. Los Angeles World Affairs Council, June 6 1975.

All the statements quoted here are incorrect. They are incorrect because the latest historical evidence does not agree with them. It is one of the main tasks of this work to show how incorrect they are. Appalled by the incorrectness and subjectivity of such statements, the Hungarian historian Endre Sik reacted as follows: *"British and Boer bourgeois historians, trying to excuse what their nations have perpetrated in South Africa, persistently argue that the Bantu peoples did not come to the south until the 18th century, meaning that the Bantus came after the Boers and simultaneously with the British. From this they would infer that, consequently, the wars of the Boers and the British with these peoples were not predatory colonial wars aimed at plundering and oppressing the backward, weak African peoples, but wars between conquerors rivalling for the possession of territories that were 'alien property' to both sides."*(11).

Explanation of conflicting theories.

It may be worthwhile at this stage, to explain why South African historiography has ignored, misrepresented and subjectively presented the history of the Black people. The root of the problem of South African history is that it is political. It is political because it is predominantly a product of the climate of the region. Present day South African society has developed from the interaction of two broad cultural streams, namely the indigenous African peoples and the immigrant white groups. The result has been that for centuries historical research has been conducted upon the assumption that the indigenous African groups had no past worth studying since their culture remained static. In some cases the reason given was that there were no documents from which it could be read (12). All the atten-

9. P. Strong: The Other Side of the Coin — A Visit to South Africa, London, 1967, p. 4.

10. South Africa Today No 27 (Department of Information, Pretoria, 1964)

11. E. Sik: The History of Black Africa, Volume 1, Budapest, 1966, p. 172.

12. Van Jaarsveld: Van Van Riebeeck tot Verwoerd 1652-1966, 1st ed., Johannesburg, 1971, pp. 61-62.

tion of the historians was accordingly focussed on the activities of the immigrant and politically dominant white minority of South Africa. The result has been a gross imbalance in the volume of studies of the two main groups. Thus, while the greatest volume on the history of the country could be found, the study of the indigenous Black society has remained the most undeveloped — particularly for the period before their contact with the white immigrant or trading groups. Because Black communities have been largely considered extraneous or at best peripheral to main focus of South African historical writing, a severely limited historiographical tradition has been pursued and perpetuated with such tenacity and doggedness that not even the extant evidence that has been produced by scholars in different fields of research has not roused South African scholars from their sleep of generations. The focus on the study of the past of the dominant white minority has been strengthened by a rigid insistence in South African universities (and generally speaking by South African based publishing houses as well) of the inadmissibility of non-archival sources as valid evidence for historical reconstruction. The deliberate exclusion of the allied disciplines such as archeology, social and physical anthropology and linguistics inherent in this narrow disciplinary focus has not only deprived South African historiography of all the insights and imagination that have enriched studies elsewhere on the continent, especially in Europe and America, but has contributed tremendously towards maintaining the one-sidedness of historical studies in the country. This has subjected future South African historians to the tyranny of the evidence that is available to them.

° Oxford History has also explained the peculiarities of South African historiography as follows: *"It is peculiarly difficult to write the history of a society which has become rigidly stratified as South African society. Recent Histories of South Africa illustrate the difficulty. Nearly everyone of them embodies the point of view of only one community. The group focus is seen in the structure of the work as well as in the interpretation they give to the events. They are primarily concerned with the achievement of white people in South Africa, and their relations with one another. The experiences of the other inhabitants of South Africa are not dealt with at any length: they are treated mainly as peoples who constituted 'Native' or 'Coloured' or 'Indian'*

problems for whites." (13) Oxford History then continued to explain why * such peculiarities are to be found in South African historiography as follows: "The reasons for the limitations are obvious. Group focus is the product of the social milieu in a plural society, where communication between the different communities is restricted and the individual historian is conditioned by the assumptions and prejudices of his own community, whether it is a community of religion, or class, or language, or race, or some combination of two or more of these factors... In a rigidly stratified society historical writing (or historical tradition orally transmitted) is not merely a reflection of social inequality, it is also a powerful instrument for the maintainance of inequality. This is certainly the case in South Africa, where much historical writing promotes the perpetuation of language and race barriers, and some of it does so intentionally." (14)

Such views, as I have already indicated, have led to wrong assumptions about South African history. With very few exceptions the tendency of major professional historical works has been to open with events written from Dutch sources, whether these were in South Africa or in Europe. The effect has been to highlight the seventeenth century as marking the start of the historical period in South Africa. The historian Theal has even been daring enough to say so (15). The historian Thompson has referred * to the early unwritten period of Southern African history as the forgotten factor in southern African history (16). He even went to the extent of warning that "... historians of Southern Africa disregard the history of African peoples, inside and outside the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, at the peril of failing to comprehend the majority of the inhabitants of their region." (17) It is the purpose of this work to revise and to try and rewrite in a small way, the historiography of the nineteenth century of South Africa.

13. M.Wilson & L.Thompson (eds): The Oxford History of South Africa, vol.1, Oxford, reprint 1975, p.v.

14. Ibid., pp. v-vi.

15. G. M. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi to 1795, vol.1, London, 1927, p. 1.

16. L.Thompson (ed): African Societies of Southern Africa, London, reprint, 1978, pp. 1-23.

17. Ibid., p.3.

It is important that the early history of the Black people is rewritten and even known by the people themselves, otherwise they will lose their national awareness. Although the historian De Kiewiet was writing about British imperialism in South Africa, words that he wrote are so important that they even apply to this work. He said: "*The history of South Africa is important, not because of the colour of its wars, nor the tragedy of its disaster, but because it cannot be ignored. It cannot be ignored because in a modern world beset by problems of race, and in an empire that has made its subjects peoples of a special charge, South Africa, past and present, holds a uniquely instructive place. To the Black man, not the white man, does South African history owe its special significance.*" (18) Needless to say, those words have been ignored by many South African historians.

18. C. W. De Kiewiet: The Imperial Factor in South Africa, London, new impression 1965, p.1.

II. Present Day Information on the History and Origins of the Bantu-speaking people.

A. Introduction.

In order to account for the history of the Bantu-speaking people of South Africa, it is necessary for us to go back to the origins of man. When we know where man originated and how he populated Africa, only will it then become clear to us when and how the Black people of South Africa arrived there. Some years ago, the origin of human culture, like those of the human race, were shrouded in total darkness. However, the discovery of human remains in ancient geological deposits proving the presence of early types of man at remote periods, and the disclosure of artificial products of human handiwork in similar deposits soon made it clear that the history of man and culture extended back over a very long space of time. Although now much is known about the remote origins of man through the various stages of development to our day the knowledge still remains far from being perfect (1). The material that provides evidence on the remote past of man is archeological.

B. The origins of man.

Archeological evidence that has been obtained during the 20th century certainly indicates that Africa is the birthplace of mankind. This theory was first put forward by Charles Darwin who based his argument on what was then known of the distribution of the higher apes. Fossil remains of the early hominids discovered in East and South Africa have confirmed Darwin's theory (2). It was Dr. L.S.B. Leaky who in 1963 found the remains of a creature generally known as Kenyapithecus wickeri in Kenya. The creature belonged to the hominid family and was regarded as the first being towards the evolution of man (3). The second being to be discovered in the evolutionary line by the same man was named

1. H.E. Barnes: A History of Historical Writing, New York, Dover Ed. 1963, p. 6.

2. R. Hallet: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, p. 35.

3. Ibid. (also see: R.W. July: Precolonial Africa, New York, 1975, pp. 20-21.

H.A. Gailey: History of Africa, Illinois, 1970, pp. 10-11.

Homo Habilis. Homo Habilis improved the implements of Kenyapithecus wickeri, refining them. The most common type of implement used during period (about one to one and a half million years ago) was the hand axe. It was used for skinning animals or cutting meat by those early men (4).

During the evolutionary stage known as Paleolithic or Old Stone Age, man spread to Europe and Asia in his various forms. However, Africa remained the centre of the greatest human activity, as man gradually extended his range throughout the whole continent. Older forms of man in evolutionary stages were found in other parts of Africa, for example the primate named Australopithecus africanus (southern ape) found in South Africa (5), and Zinjanthropus found in the Rift Valley of Tanzania (6). The various types of man found are only an indication that the process of natural selection was taking place through those years in the remote past.

↓ From Homo Habilis the next being to evolve which was the direct ancestor of man was Homo erectus, also found in Africa and was earlier called Pithecanthropus. Homo erectus was in many ways not different from modern man, although it is still convenient to refer to him as belonging to a different species. Although the remains of Homo erectus were found in other parts of Africa and also in Europe, in sub-Saharan Africa he was not found. It is because in those areas he lived in open spaces and his remains might have been destroyed by scavengers (7).

At all these times man was making tools parallel to his development in his evolutionary stages. Homo erectus was credited with introducing the hand axe and other tools for purposes of obtaining food (8).

Approximately thirty thousand years ago Homo erectus was replaced by modern man, called Homo sapiens. This last stage in the evolution of

4. R. W. July: A History of the African People, New York, 1970, pp. 9-12.

5. Gailey: History of Africa, Illinois, New York, 1970, p. 13.

6. Hallett: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, pp. 35-36.

7. Gailey: History of Africa, Illinois, 1970, pp. 14-15.

8. July: Precolonial Africa, New York, 1970, p. 27.

men also developed in tropical Africa. It has been suggested that when man evolved in tropical Africa he was dark-skinned in order to be protected against the rays of the sun. Those who went towards the poles lost their coloration as a result of natural selection, in order to derive the vitamins from the rays of the sun. Heavy pigmentation was a protection against lethal calcification of tissues which could have been caused by the sun (9).

Anthropologists and archeologists had at all times defined man by his ability to make tools. It was discovered however, that chimpanzees can also make tools for their own purposes. The definition of man was then changed to include other complex characteristics. In Africa, after his evolution, man established states and empires in north Africa. These were empires such as Mali, Kanem Bornu, Ghana and Songhai, and the Hausa states. To the south settlements were not formed until the beginning of the Christian era.

C. Bantu-speaking Expansion in Africa.

Since the question of the origins of man has now been answered, it is imperative that we now account for the origins of the Bantu-speaking people. The origins of these people and their expansion in Africa will make us understand how those people came to be in South Africa. The primary source of the origins of the Bantu-speaking people is a linguistic one. Although the Bantu languages are spoken over a vast area, they are very closely related to each other as English is to German. On this, all linguists agreed. They are also agreed that the Bantu language family must be regarded as a distinctly new family, the speakers of which must have expanded very rapidly in order to have achieved such a wide geographical dispersion with such a small degree of linguistic divergence (10).

In order to achieve such a wide degree of geographical dispersion, some conceived it in the form of migration and conquest. Sir H. Johnston

9. July: Precolonial Africa, New York, 1970, pp. 28-29.

(See also by the same author: A History of the African People, New York, 1970, pp. 10-11.)

10. R. Oliver & J.D. Fage: Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974. Reprint, p. 141.

and Dr. C.C. Wrigley are some of the people who conceived it as such (11). In South Africa, the historian G.M. Theal also propounded such a theory. It is also a stereotype that has continued in South African history up to today. It appears to have been taken from the eventful Mfecane^x period in South Africa during the nineteenth century. From it European historians have concluded that carnage and chaos long ruled in Africa before their advance (12).

Yet an alternative to the conquest theory is a theory of population growth which can show how the Bantu-speakers grew in numbers much more rapidly than their rivals. Such a theory would not exclude the element of conquest altogether, for that would imply that there were no earlier populations except the Bantu-speakers in Africa south of the equator (13).

The Bantu-speaking people today occupy a third of the continent. Although they differ in many ways of life, appearance and history, they share a common origin. At one time they were a single people occupying a small portion of what is today the eastern district of the state Nigeria (14).

x: The Mfecane: it was the wars of unification fought in South Africa among the Bantu-speaking people. They have been mistakenly referred to as the wars of destruction by South African historians. They were started by Shaka, king of the Zulu-speaking group of Natal and spread as far as central Africa. The wars also changed the demography of South Africa and led to new language groups, for example the Shangan who now live to the north of the Transvaal.

See the specialised work of J.D. Omer-Cooper: The Zulu-Aftermath, London, 1st. ed. 1966.

11. R. Oliver & J.D. Fage: Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974 reprint, p. 13.
12. B. Davidson: Africa in History, Themes and Outline, New York, 1978 reprint, p. 248.
13. Oliver & Fage: Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974 reprint, p. 142.
14. Hallett: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, p. 210.

The anthropologist G. Murdock was the first man to theorise on the origins of the Bantu-speaking people. He suggested that it was primarily because of the introduction of new foodplants and iron that they expanded to other areas of Africa. Some species of yams, bananas, cocoyams and sugarcane probably originated in Indonesia, and were brought to Africa by Indonesian invaders to Madagascar. They came in through West Africa and enabled Africans to move to hitherto unfriendly forests (15). The ancestors of the Bantu-speaking people then moved from their homeland near the Senue river on the beginning of the long and eventful expansion to the Congo and southern Africa.

This theory of Murdock was criticised by the linguist J. Greenberg. He wanted to know why the foodplants from Indonesia were introduced through West Africa and not through East Africa. The distance from Madagascar to about Mogedisho is shorter than that to the west coast of Africa. Greenberg then postulated the following theory: He assembled information on the grammars and vocabularies of most African languages. When he compared them he found that they showed certain similarities to a cluster of languages spoken by people living between the high plateau of central Nigeria and the area of the Cameroons where the nearest of the Bantu languages could be found. He then established that the Bantu languages were related to others spoken throughout West Africa and could be classed as a division of the great African language family he named Congo-Kordofanian. Having established that relationship he concluded that the ancestors of the Bantu-speakers had expanded southward from that area (16).

At about the same time Malcolm Guthrie, also a linguist, was busy on the Bantu-languages. Using a number of common word roots he made statistical comparisons of the appearances of each word root in widely dispersed Bantu languages. The languages which had the largest number of basic word roots were Bemba and Luba in the Katanga region of Zaire and adjacent Zambia. The further away from this area a language was spoken,

15. Gailey: History of Africa, Illinois, 1970, pp. 26-27.

16. E. J. Murphy: The Bantu Civilisation of Southern Africa. U.S.A., 1974, p. 14.

the fewer roots it had in common with other Bantu languages analysed. These findings did not invalidate those of Greenberg, but he concluded that the origin of the Bantu languages (the cradle land) was in Katanga (17). From here the Bantu-speakers spread to all parts of Africa.

The historical inference to be drawn from the findings of those men are the following: the ancestors of the Bantu-speaking people first came from the Nigeria-Cameroon area as suggested by Greenberg. They then went on to establish a home in the Katanga region. From there they expanded according to the pattern of Guthrie. It can therefore be seen that the two men were not contradicting each other. They must be seen as referring to different stages of expansion. The first stage consisted in a rapid expansion following the waterways of the Congo. This might have consisted of hundreds of Bantu-speakers. Stage two consisted in the consolidation and settlement of those people and their gradual expansion through the southern woodland from coast to coast. Guthrie's evidence implies that it was here that they achieved their main population increase. The Bantu language developed its final character here (18).

The Nigeria-Cameroon area is a country of grasses and woodland, and the people there are agriculturists. But it was not agriculture only which led to their expansion. The introduction of iron, whose art appears to have been learned from Egypt, also played an important part. Iron was important in the making of canoes and to make a way through the heavily forested woodland savannah. It was also used for hunting and fishing.

From the little that has already been said, it will be realised that the expansion of the Bantu-speaking people was not a simple north to south movement, recent information has shown that it was not the case. Fage has explained it as having taken place in the follo-

17. E.J. Murphy: The Bantu Civilisation of Southern Africa, U.S.A., 1974, pp. 17-18.

18. Oliver & Fage: Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974, reprint, p. 174.

wing way: When they came from their original homeland they established themselves in Katanga. Here they found conditions comparable to west Africa, which was conducive to the cultivation of graincrops and the increase of population. Their first stage of expansion was west and east through the same ecological zone until they reached the Atlantic ocean coast just south of the Congo mouth, and the Indian Ocean coast to the east of Lake Malawi. The second stage of expansion was primarily north and south of the nucleus through the not dissimilar savannahs of the east and central African highlands to as far as Uganda and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia respectively. This seems to have been accomplished about the third century (19). It was in a gradual manner, and not in spectacular movement of an entire people on the march that the Bantu-speaking people occupied Africa.

There certainly were factors that led to the expansion. The introduction of new cultigens and iron are some of the things that led to that expansion. There were also other economic factors. The availability of land in crowded communities encouraged expansion. Soil fertility in areas which were cultivated by an overcrowded community also influenced pressure, together with epidemic and endemic diseases also played a role.

D. The Occupation of South Africa by Bantu-speaking people.

(i) Time of arrival in South Africa.

Recent archeological evidence indicates that the Bantu-speaking people were present in the areas south of Limpopo, Swaziland and the eastern Transvaal by as early as the 4th or 5th centuries of the present era. The evidence even suggests that at that time they had spread down the east coast. They were found there during the sixteenth century by shipwrecked Portuguese sailors (20). Proof of their arrival in South Africa has been supplied by radio-carbon methods of dating. This contradicts the traditions of South African historians that Blacks arrived at the same time with the Dutch colonists during the seventeenth

19. J.D. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 110.

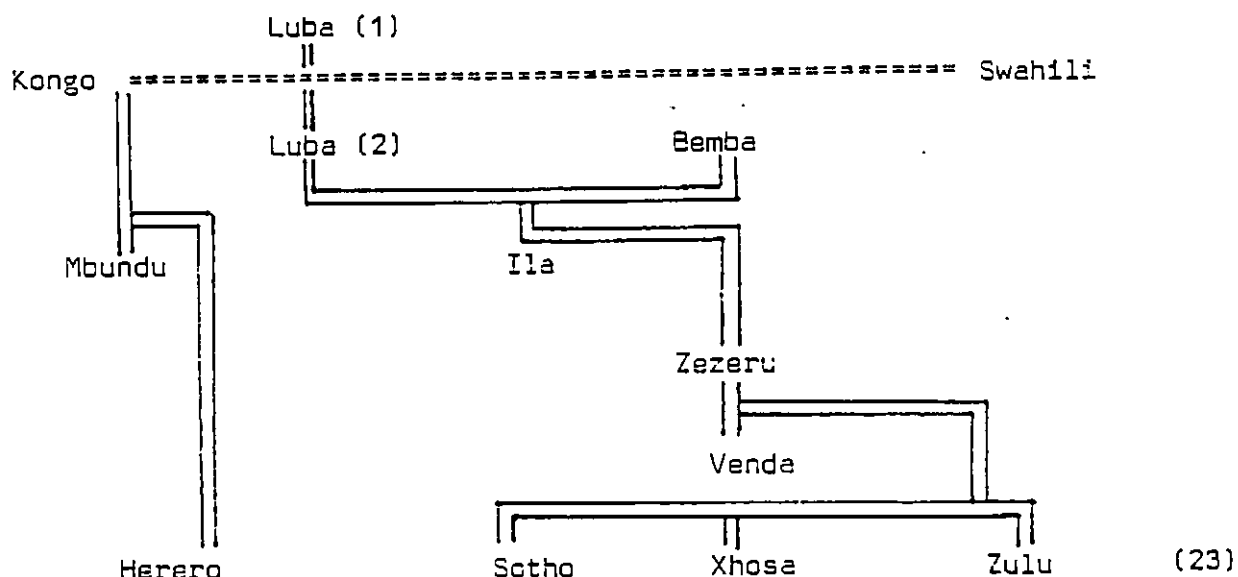
20. Ibid., p. 111.

century (21).

The Bantu-speakers did not occupy the whole country, but left some areas to the Khoikhoi and the San. There was much intercourse between the Khoisan and the Bantu-speakers. Evidence of that can be seen in the click sounds found in the Bantu languages, which come from the Khoisan. It is also thought that marriages took place between these people, and resulted in the formation of new tribes (22).

(11) The People.

The Bantu-speaking people of South Africa are divided into four linguistic groups. They are the Nguni, Sotho, Shangaan-Tonga and the Herero-Ovambo of South West Africa / Namibia. All those languages are closely related since they are derived from the Zezuru with the exception of the Ovambo-Herero group which is derived directly from the Kongo languages. They are explained as follows diagrammatically:



It will be noted that in this diagram Nguni and Shangan-Tonga are not represented. The reason why it is so is because Nguni is the collective name for Xhosa and Zulu which appear on the diagram. As for Shangaan-

21. T.R.H. Davenport: South Africa: A Modern History, Hong Kong, 1978. 2nd edition, p. 5.

22. Ibid.

23. Oliver & Fage: Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974 reprint, p. 136.

Tonga, it is a language which originates from the Nguni languages and the Tonga language of Mocambique. During the Mfecane period already referred to, a section of the Nguni people under Soshangana and other leaders fled from Shake and went to settle in Mocambique. There they came into contact with the Tonga people against whom they fought and defeated. But they subsequently assumed the language and culture of those people. Later on they moved into the eastern part of the Transvaal in South Africa where they are still found.

The people of South West Africa / Namibia shall not be considered in this work because they did not play an important role in the beginning of South African history. The Shangana-Tonga group shall also not be considered separately because it was created during the Mfecane period which does not fall within the cadre of this work. Therefore only the Nguni, Sotho and the Venda shall be considered. Much of their history is to be derived from oral tradition which has not yet been fully exploited in South Africa. For their distribution see the map on the following page.

1. The Nguni Language Group.

The term Nguni does not, properly speaking, apply to the group of people under consideration. It is only used by ethnologists and historians because there is no other by which this language group can be called. Contemporary usage of the term refers to those peoples living on the south east coast of Africa, speaking closely related variants of the same language, and practicing the same culture (24). Insofar as the term has been used by Africans in the 19th century, it appears to have had a specific conotation. The equivalent of Nguni in Sotho is Bakone. The Sotho applied this term indiscriminately to non-Sotho tribes (25).

Since their arrival in South Africa during the 4th and 5th centuries the Nguni have been living in the areas just mentioned. After

24. Thompson (ed): African Societies of Southern Africa, London, 1974
reprint, p. 126.

25. Ibid.

their arrival they came into contact with the Khoisan peoples, but the latter gave way to the Dutch colonists who were encroaching into the lands of the Black people.

The historian Theal has claimed that the Nguni were the descendents of the Abambo, but as Oxford History puts it: "*Theal's speculation – for it was no more than that – was taken as assured fact by Walker and Soga²⁶, and provided a legendary basis for South African history.*" (26).

After their arrival in South Africa they formed small kingdoms in the interior. They were not as big as the Mwene Mutapa empire of Zimbabwe. Since those kingdoms were concentrated in the interior, Portuguese survivors of wrecks did not see many of them, but only the Vambe kingdom among others. The Nguni language group is further divided into small ethnic and dialectical groups. These are, among others, the Xhosa, Zulu, Pondo, Thembu, Ndebele and the Bhaca. The ethnic groups, like the language groups, should not be mistaken to be politically independent nations. All the language groups of South Africa combined form one homogeneous nation. Their variant languages are derived from one root language, Zazaru.

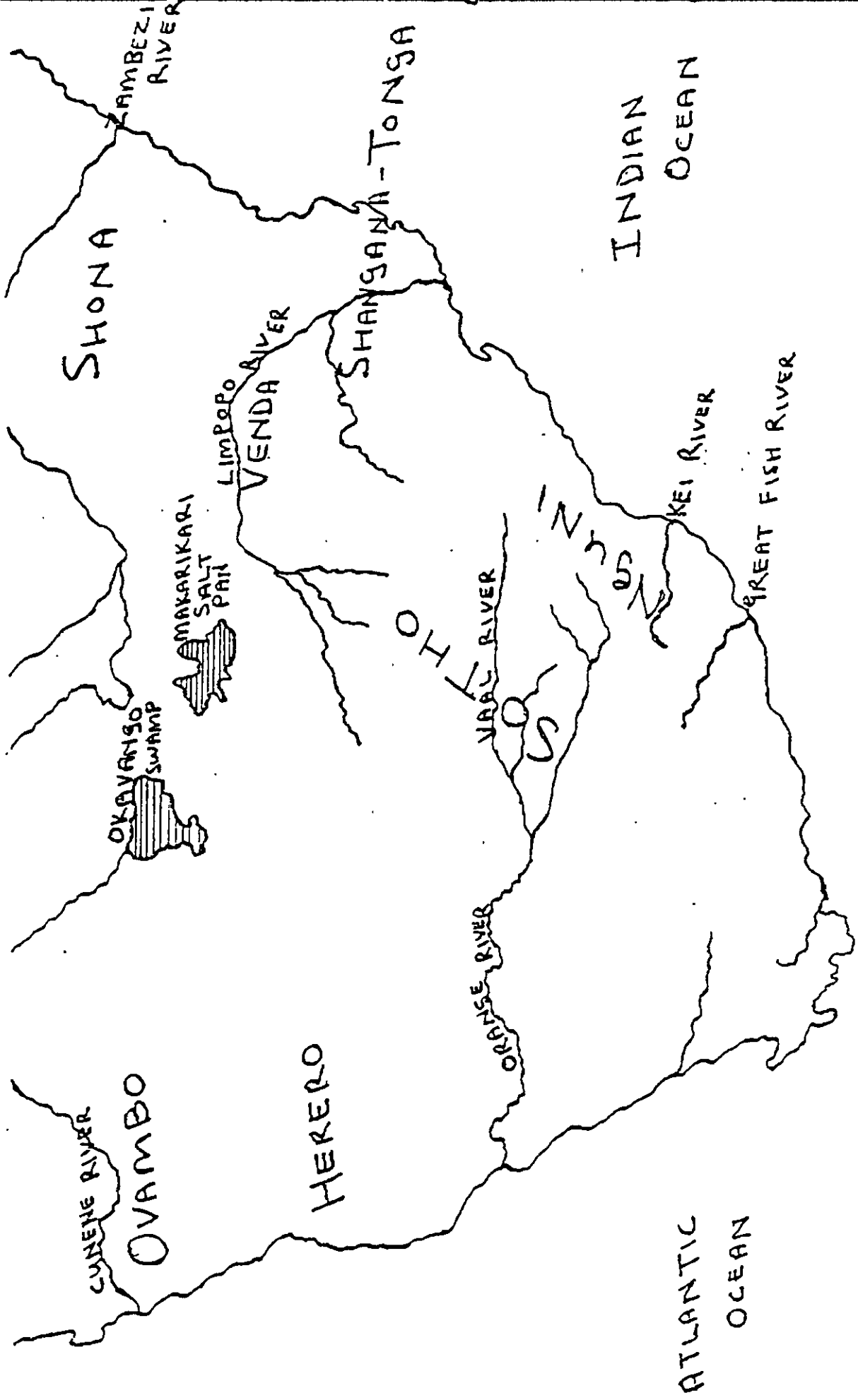
2. The Sotho Language Group.

The term Sotho is used here to denote all those peoples who speak variant dialects of the Sotho language. These forms are Northern Sotho (mistakenly referred to as Sepedi), Southern Sotho and Western Sotho or Setswana. Like the Nguni languages they are also derived from Zazaru, as the diagram indicates. The people who speak variants of the Sotho language are found in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the States of Lesotho and Botswana. Thompson explains that the term Sotho was first used and applied to the chiefdoms established on the Usutu River in Swaziland by the Nguni. It is not clear however, whether it was used to refer to the river or to the people (27). Before the arrival of the white people they also had kingdoms in the interior of South Africa.

x: Walker has already been referred to, but Soga is a Black historian who wrote on the Nguni people in his work with the title of The South-Eastern Bantu.

26. Wilson & Thompson: The Oxford History of South Africa to 1870 Vol. 1. Oxford, 1975 reprint, pp. 86-87.

27. Ibid., p. 95.



Together with the Karanga of Zimbabwe the Sotho were also stone-builders. Many of their constructions in stone are still to be found in certain areas of the Transvaal (28). Sotho ethnic groups are the Eapedi, Bahurutse, Bakwena, Batlokwa and many others.

3. The Venda Language Group.

The Venda are a small language group of all discussed so far. They live in the northern part of the Transvaal. Their language has close affinities with Shona spoken in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and clear connections with Sotho. It is also derived from Zezeru as the diagram indicates. Some of the Venda are still to be found living in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia today. They also took part in the copper trade between the Portuguese and the empire of Mwene Mutapa (29).

Like the Sotho and the Karanga they were also stone-builders and some of their structures can still be found at Dzata in Vendaland (30).

E. Conclusion.

The oral tradition of the Bantu-speaking people has not yet been studied and exploited. The result is that their history is not properly and coherently written up to today. In many instances the little that has been derived from oral tradition has been misunderstood by some historians. The archeology, legends and narrative traditional poems of the Bantu-speaking people have still to be analysed in order to get more information about their history.

So far, archeology has disproved the traditional historical view in South Africa that the Bantu-speaking People arrived at the same time with whites or that the Dutch colonists arrived before the Black people in certain areas of the country.

28. Wilson & Thompson: Oxford History of South Africa Vol.1., Oxford, 1975 reprint, pp. 141-142, 139.

29. Ibid., pp. 167-168.

30. Ibid., p. 174.

CHAPTER TWOI. Minor historians of the 19th century and the history of the Black people .A. Introduction.

My intention in this chapter of the work is to show in the light of recent information that the history of the Black people has been incorrectly presented by the historians of the 19th century. I therefore intend to correct those distortions that have been made intentionally or unintentionally. Some of the historians who wrote here did not have archival or the oral tradition of the Black people at their disposal. Consequently, distortions and misrepresentations did arise. Some of the historians of this period ascribed the origins of the Black people to mysteries, which it shall be the intention of this work to clarify.

The historians with whom I shall deal in this part are the following: A. Wilmot and J.C. Chase who wrote History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope From its Discovery to the Year 1819 and From 1820 to 1868, published in Cape Town in 1869. J. Noble who wrote the Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope 1866 published in Cape Town. Noble also wrote South Africa Past and Present: A Short History of the European Settlement at the Cape, published in Cape Town in 1877. As the title indicates, the book deals with the history of European settlement in South Africa and says nothing about the history of the Black people. It shall therefore not be examined in this work. The book written by J. Stuart, De Hollandse Afrikanen en Hunne Republiek in Zuid-Afrika, published in Amsterdam in 1854 shall also not be esteemed in this work because it does not concern itself with the Black people for the period under consideration. The Professor in Amsterdam G. Lauts wrote Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop Nederlands Volksplanting 1652-1806; published in Amsterdam in 1854, which shall be considered in this work. The Reverend W.C. Holden wrote History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa published in London in 1855 which shall also be appraised in this work.

Rev. Holden also wrote The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, published in London in 1866, which shall only be assessed here in the introduction. The reason why it shall be so accounted is because it is largely antropological than historical. Holden thinks that man did not come into existence by evolutionary means, but by creation. In accordance with that, Blacks came down from the great seat of human centre in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Their manners, language and customs, especially

serpent worship, use of sacrifices and circumcision, are identical to the great patriarchal stock. They went to Africa by descending through Egypt by the Isthmus of the Suez, followed the Nile and crossed the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb (1). Holden thinks that happened shortly after the dispersion at the confusion of tongues. He says that there is nothing violent in the theory, because while the descendents of Shem spread to the east, those of Japheth to the north and west, why should the progeny of Ham not people the south (2)?

Today the theory of creation has given way to that of evolution. Evolution says that man as we know him today, put his footprint upon the sands of time around five million years ago. The conventional story of Genesis has been compelled to give way before the new perspective forced upon us by the realisation of the vast period of time that has elapsed since our planet separated as a gaseous mass from the parent sun, or whirled about in fragments in a great planetesimal disc (3). While Holden is free to conjecture about the mysterious creation of man by God, it must be noted that mysticism does not play a role in history. The theory of Holden is also untenable because there is no archeological evidence to date, which proves that there was a migration of Black people from the Tigris and the Euphrates through the Suez to Africa. Customs and rituals as practised by Blacks in Africa, similar to those of the Jews, are no conclusive evidence of the Jewish origins. If that were so, such practises would also be found in Europe, which, according to the theory of Holden has been populated by the descendants of Japheth. Since that is not the case, I cannot see how the theory should apply in the case of the Black people only. If one were to use the similarity of customs and rituals as indicating the same origins, then it appears that Blacks would be the only people having a Jewish origin.

The last point raised by Holden that Blacks are descendants of Ham has given rise to an Afrikaner interpretation of history. It is propounded in that interpretation that the Afrikaners are the chosen children of God, who have been given a special task of civilising the Black people of South Africa, the children of Ham. Records of Afrikaner history are dotted with that view, wherein Blacks must remain hewers of wood and drawers of water

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1. W.C. Holden: The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races, London, 1866, pp.4-5
 2. Ibid., p. 5.
 3. H.E. Barnes: A History of Historical Writing, New York, 1963, pp. 4-5.

for whites, because of their origin (4). This it was claimed, was supported by the Old Testament wherein Afrikaners were likened to the Jews who left Egypt (for which read 'English' in the Cape Colony) after a period of oppression, and then settled in Canaan among the heathen (for which read 'Bantu'). They felt themselves called upon to open the 'desert' places to civilisation and Christendom, to curb the 'inferior generation of Ham' and to maintain their identity within the closed but independent state (5).

B. A Criticism of the Historiography of the Nineteenth Century.

Wilmot and Chase make mention of the following points concerning the circumnavigation and discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and of Africa:

1. That the Phoenicians sailed round Africa after commencing their journey in the Red Sea and coming back through the Pillars of Hercules, and that this voyage was also mentioned by Strabo writing towards the beginning of our era.
2. By the ninth century the Arabs were acquainted with the African coast to as far as Delagoa Bay, though it is not known as to whether they knew about the southern part of the continent.
3. Bartolomeus Diaz was sent by King John II of Portugal on a voyage of expedition from which he returned in 1486, after touching Algoa Bay where he fought with the natives. In 1497 the successor of John II, Emmanuel the Fortunate, sent Vasco da Gama on a voyage and he touched at St. Helena where he also fought with the natives. Mossel Bay and the Cape of Good Hope were passed, until he reached the east coast of Africa which he named Terra de Natal. They went back to Portugal in 1499 after reaching Calicut.
4. Europeans who called at the Cape met Khoikhoi at all times, and it was only after 1500 that the Kaffir nations, emigrants from more northern portions of the continent, advanced as far south as the Great Kei River.
5. After a Portuguese vessel was wrecked upon rocks at the Cape of Good Hope, the survivors marched into the country which was a desert. Some died of famine and many more were killed by the natives. The whole company of survivors was robbed by natives after surrendering their

4. F.A. Van Jaarsveld: The Afrikaners Interpretation of the South African History, Pretoria, 1963, pp. 6-7

5. Ibid, p. 125.

On the fourth point it is correct that on many occasions Europeans met the Khoikhoi when they called at the Cape. But it is incorrect that the Bantu-speaking people only came down from the north after 1500 and settled near the Great Kei River. The Bantu-speaking people occupied the area south of the Limpopo River, Swaziland and the eastern Transvaal as early as the fourth and fifth centuries. That point is borne out by archeological evidence (13). When Europeans got to know southern Africa towards the end of the 16th century, Bantu-speakers were already well within the north-eastern borders of what is now the Republic of South-Africa, and were still expanding at the expense of the Khoisan (14). It is not correct, therefore, to say that the Bantu-speakers moved from the north in 1500. On the fifth point it should be pointed out that the Portuguese ship was not wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, but near the Cape in the land of Natal. The wreck occurred when the ship was sailing in the direction of the Cape (15). On page 137 of the diary kept by the survivors and translated by Theal into English, mention of a desert is made, but it was only a desert in the sense that they could not find food or water. This was so because at all times they were travelling on the beach next to the sea. Again, it is a well-known fact that there was and there is no desert on the eastern coast of South-Africa.

The document of the wreck confirms that they were robbed by Black people on their way to Mocambique (16). Again, it is correct that they were robbed by natives after they had surrendered their weapons to them, as the document of the wreck points out (17). The survivors, who were 117 when they reached a Mocamboiquan village, were 26 in number and did not go to an Ethiopian village as Wilmot and Chase have it. They also did not find a passage to the Red Sea, but were saved by Diogo de Mesquita, a relation of one of the survivors who took them to Mocambique where they arrived in 1553 (18).

13. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 111.

14. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

15. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol. 3, London, 1898, p. 131.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., p. 144.

18. Ibid., pp. 146-148.

Wilmot and Chase continue with the following points:

1. That after the report of Jansz and Proot, the Directors of the Dutch East India Company sent Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape to establish a refreshment station in 1652.
2. That in 1660 Jan Dunkert went in search of Monomotapa, but went as far as Namaqualand only.
3. The ship Grundel was sent on an expedition in a northerly direction, but afterward went to the east. At Os Medos de Cura 17 men were left behind, and it was there that Black people were met with who were described as being of a good disposition. This was in 1670.
4. Van Riebeeck was interested in sending expeditions to the land of Monomotapa. Commissioner Van Odessen also encouraged expeditions in a memorandum of 1663, and this led to the discovery of Namaqualand. In 1684 an expedition party went as far as a Kaffir outpost to the present town of Albany. There it seized a Kaffir who took them to his tribe which was attacked by the party. The Kaffirs fled when they were shot at, but the boers pursued them and killed many (19).

That Van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape in 1652 is an incontrovertable fact. It is generally agreed by all historians and his reports indicate that he arrived in 1652. On the second point, it is correct that Dunckert undertook a journey of exploration in 1660. The Daghregister of Van Riebeeck reports as follows on that point: "*Ende also op geruchten latende uyten van een tocht na Monomtapa te doen (op die conditie hiermaer volgende) sich dan geopenbaert heeft eenen Jan Danckert van Nijoven, voor adelborst hier gecomen met 't de Gecroonde Leeuw, anno passado, een groot ingenieur ende geometricus, mitsganders oocq aan te sien persoon van meer als een gemeen soldaets capaciteyt, om soo een lantreyse als hooft van den trop der lief hebbers te doen, welcke hij met ons toestaan tot noch twaelff, beneffens hem, heeft opgevonden*"(20).

There can therefore be no argument with the authors on that point. That in 1670 the ship Grundel went on a voyage of exploration is true. However, it is incorrect to say that 17 men were left behind. A report of the Daghregister indicates that those men were lost, as one can read:

19. Wilmot and Chase: History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, pp. 31-39.

20. H.B. Thom and O.B. Bosman (eds.): Daghregister Gehouden by den Ooercooman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck Deel III 1659-1662, Kaapstad, 1957.

"...wederom deze baaij had comen te bestevenen, wijder met een zeer droeve tijdinge van zijn wedervaern op dese haer voijage, met het verlies van seventien personen ontmoet, waerdoor haer voorgenomen reijs niet a dessein hadden kunnen voltrekken."(21). The Commander of the Council complained on the same point that those men could have been profitably employed by the Company had they not gone on the trip (22). Nowhere in the report of the Council is it mentioned that the members of the Grundel met Black people on their voyage of exploration. If the direction that the ship took has been correctly reported, it is highly probable that its members met Black people, but since the report says nothing about such a meeting, the point remains only to be conjectured. Wilmot and Chase do not give us their source of information on that point, and since documentary evidence does not support them, it is highly probable that they are incorrect on that point.

On the last point, it is generally agreed by many South African historians that Van Riebeeck was interested in the exploration of South Africa. Evidence of that is when he sent out Dunckert on an expedition as already explained. Jan Wintervogel, the ship Roode Vos, and Abraham Gabbema were also sent by him on journey of exploration (23). About the expedition which went to the country of Blacks and even attacked them I have no information to comment on what the two authors have written. But of all the historians with whom I have dealt with in this work, they are the only ones to make mention of that event.

The two authors then continue as follows:

1. Members of the wrecked Stavenisse arrived safely at the Cape in 1687 after it had been wrecked near Terra de Natal in 1686. They had built a small vessel with the help of natives when some of them had made an overland journey to the Cape.
2. The little vessel Centaur was sent to go and look for those who had made the overland journey.
3. The survivors of the Stavenisse gave the following information about the country:

21. South African Archiefstukken: Resoluties van die Politieke Raad Deel II
1670-1680.

22. Ibid.

23. Thom and Bosman (eds.): Daghregister Deel I 1651-1655; Kaapstad, 1952,
p. 290, pp. 489-491.

- (a) One may travel for 200 or 300 mylen without any cause of fear from men, provided one goes naked, and without any copper or iron for these give inducement to the murder of those who have them.
- (b) Neither need one be in apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or krall a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also.
- (c) They travelled 150 mylen to the depth of about 30 mylen inland, through five kingdoms, namely, the Magosse, Matimbos, Mapontas and the Emboas.
- (d) They found an old Portuguese wrecked 40 years ago, who had adopted the African language and customs, and forgotten his.
- (e) They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, watermelons, and beans. Tobacco grows wild there.
- (f) The country swarms with cows, oxen, calves, steers and goats. The horses they do not catch or tame, although they approach within ten or twelve paces (24).

That the members of the Stavenisse arrived safely is correct as the authors point out. Those who took the overland journey did not arrive at the Cape as the journal points out. The Black people on their way advised them that the overland journey would be difficult because the San people would give trouble. Thus it is reported that some of them were killed by the Butuas or San (25). Likewise the second point of Centaur is correct because it located some of them on the coast of Natal (26). The first two statements in the third point are correct as is borne by the original narrative of the survivors. They were kindly received by the Black people though in some cases they were ill-treated (27) The third statement is also correct (28). The report however, makes no mention of finding an old Portuguese who had even forgotten his native manners. Nowhere is mention of him made. The possibility exists that in its present form, the report

24. Wilmot and Chase: History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, pp. 91-92.

25. G. Moodie: The Record, Johannesburg, 1959, p. 427.

26. Ibid., p.425.

27. Ibid., pp.426-427.

28. Ibid., p. 426.

has been tampered with, or that the survivors never met such a person. I also have no quarrel with the fifth and sixth points, because all those things are to be found in the country (29).

The last points mentioned by Wilmot and Chase are the following:

1. The galliot Noord was sent to go and fetch the remaining members of the Stavennisse, and that land was bought from the chief, but any form of settlement failed. The Noord was later wrecked on its way to the Cape.
2. An English Indiaman the Grosvenor was wrecked on the coast of Kaffraria above the St. John's River in 1672. Many survivors reached the shore and marched overland to the Cape.
3. After landing they met natives whose faces were painted red with matted hair, and a Dutch man who was a fugitive from justice in the Cape. When he told them that their overland journey to the Cape would be met by many difficulties, they insisted on leaving and many died on the way.
4. They met an expedition at the Zwartkops River which assisted them and also went in search of those who had remained behind, who, when not found, it was suspected had been detained by the Kaffirs. An expedition was fitted out in 1790 under Jan Van Reenen to proceed to the place of the wreck. They met a tribe of the Hambonas whose chief had taken three women survivors of the wreck as his wives.
5. Those Hambonas told them about a bastard Christian village where they passed on their way to the Cape. Here they found the three white women alluded to, and promised to come and fetch them. It is said that the widow of Ndlambe is the granddaughter of a Mrs. Campbell, one of the survivors of the Stavennisse (30)

I have no documentary evidence presently, to prove that the Noord was sent to go and fetch the last of the survivors of the Stavennisse, and also to buy that land from the natives. But if Theal is anything to go by, he also mentions that point (31). However, no form of settlement was ever attempted on the land after it had been bought, because the son of the

29. D. Moodie: The Record, Johannesburg, 1959, p. 428.

30. Wilmot and Chase: History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, pp. 92-311.

31. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol.I, London, 1927, 4th ed., pp. 309-311.

chief from whom it had been bought did not recognize that sale (32). On the second point it is correct that the Grosvenor was wrecked on the coast of Natal in 1782, and that there were many survivors. A report of their wreck reads as follows: "*Met deze te zamen zijn aan wal gekomen 136 personen*" (33). It is also correct that they marched overland to go to the Cape (34).

Though after landing the survivors of the Grosvenor met the natives of that area, the Daghregister just quoted says nothing about their decorations. It also says nothing about the Dutch man by the name of Trout who was a fugitive from justice in the Cape. However it is correct that their journey to the Cape met with many difficulties. The Daghregister reports: "*dat van de bovengem. gesauveerde perzoonen reeds eenige zoo door de geleerde Fatgues als de mishandelingen der Caffers (: in wiens handen zy alle gevallen ware:) zyn gestorven, terwijl d'overgebleevens zig nog in d'allerdeernisvaarlijkst omstandigheden onder die Wilde en Woeste natie waren bevindende*" (35). It is quite possible that on the fourth the survivors were met by a hunting expedition after they had been wrecked. But the Daghregister reports their coming as follows: "*Op gisteren den 4 desebr'z zijn alhier ter drostaye de 5 personen waer van in mijn laatsten gedatteerd 29 Nov. aan U Wel'Edele Hooggeborene gemeld heb gearriveert*" (36), and if Theal is still anything to go by, he also indicates that they arrived on a farm at the Zwartkops River (37). About the expedition fitted out in 1790 under Jan van Reenen I presently have no information to comment on what the authors have written. The same applies to the sixth point, where it is said that Ndamble had a white wife before he died. But I must hasten to point out that throughout the history of South Africa this point is not mentioned by other historians.

32. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. I, London, 1927, pp. 421-422.

33. K.M. Jeffreys: Kaapse Archiefstukke Deel I 1782, Kaapstad, 1926, p. 439.

34. Ibid., p. 372.

35. Ibid., p. 372.

36. Ibid., p. 439.

37. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. I, London, 1927, 4th ed., pp. 223-225. !

The next historian of the nineteenth century with whom I shall concern myself in this work is John Noble. Concerning the history of the Bantu-speaking people he has mentioned the following points:

1. When the colonists advanced eastwards they encountered the formidable Kaffirs of the Amakosa nation who had been steadily encroaching on land occupied by the Gonaqua Hottentots whom they defeated, to the west of the Great Fish River.
2. When they clashed with the colonists for the first time they appear to have been engaged in inter-tribal warfare with their neighbours the Ama-Thembus, who defeated them and killed their chief Khakhabe and thereby lost their cattle.
3. Many of them crossed the Fish River and plundered Europeans as a result of their impoverishment.
4. Amicable means which were tried to induce them to return to their own area failed, and the border inhabitants therefore resorted to the use of force to expel them.
5. A commando was assembled under Commandant Van Jaarsveld and the Kaffirs were successfully repulsed, the colonists retrieving many cattle among which were those stolen from them.
6. It was agreed by Plettenberg, as the new governor of the Cape, with some tribal chiefs that in order to avoid future disputes the Fish River from its source to sea must be regarded as a boundary.
7. Hostilities between the Kaffirs and the colonists were frequent, and the government, together with the first magistrate of Graff-Reinett, blamed it on the colonists who coveted the cattle of the Kaffirs.
8. The government then instructed its officials to inculcate in the colonists the principles of humanity and the policy of living in harmony with the Kaffir tribes. That course however, was characterised as working for the destruction of the land, and disturbances continued until the government found itself under the necessity of giving consent to commandos (38).

The first point mentioned by Noble is a highly controversial one. It is correct in the first place that all over Africa the Bantu-speaking people occupied territory which formerly belonged to the Khoisan peoples in their expansion to the south. But in the case of the colonists Noble fails to indicate that they were intruding on the ground that now belonged to the Blacks. His line of thinking is however not surprising because native land

38. J. Noble: Cape of Good Hope Official Handbook 1886, Cape Town, 1886, pp. 21-24.

rights do not seem to have had any significance with the colonists. Wilmot and Chase explain that point as follows: *"Native rights never appear to have had any real significance in the minds of the Dutch, and although, as we have seen, one or two nominal purchases were made, territory was annexed from time to time as convenience dictated."*(39) This same attitude of greediness for land of the Blacks appeared again when the Cape was annexed by the British. There, the British governor in the Cape had replied as follows when the colonists demanded to be given the land that belonged to the Black people: *"With what face can you ask me to allow you to occupy lands which belong to other people? What right can I have to give you the property of others and what blessing and protection could I expect from God were I to cause or even to encourage such gross and glaring act of injustice?"*(40)

On the second point I cannot align myself with Noble because what he states is not an historical fact, but a conjecture. He cannot speak with certainty that the Xhosa were fighting with the Thembu before their wars with the colonists, and as far as I am concerned, it is a question which cannot be resolved by speculation. For as long as there is no documentary evidence to support the speculation, such a statement remains unhistorical. If we follow the narrative of Noble, it will be seen that the third point is corrolary to the second. Nothing can be further from being correct. When Blacks first entered what was considered to be colonial territory, they did not plunder the colonists as Noble would have us believe. What he explains at this point occurred in 1780. But the logic of his explanation is that it occurred well before 1778. What happened is that Plettenberg made a tour of the districts in 1778 and agreed with some petty chiefs that they return to the area beyond the Fish River, away from the colonists. P.J. Van der Merwe explains it as follows: *"Ten spyte van hul beloftes aan die Goewerneur gemaack, het die Kaffers onder allerlei voorwendsels geweier om oor die Visrivier te trek. In April 1779 het hulle nog gelê waar die Goewerneur hulle besoek het. Die boers het geweet waarop dit sou uitloop en het toe Adriaan van Jaarsveld, die Veldkorporaal van Camdeboo en Agter-Bruintjieshoogte, versoek om die Kaffers te verdrywe. Hy het die hulp van die Landdros van Stellenbosch ingeroep, maar het die medewerking van die*

39. Wilmot and Chase: History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, p. 98.

40. Troup: South Africa: an Historical Introduction, Middlesex, 1975, p.75.

verkry nie. Dit wil egter voorkom of in die distrik Stellenbosch tot begin Desember 1779 geen openlike vyandelikhede tussen blank en Bantoe plaatsgevind het nie. Die veldwagtmeestersrapporte wat bewaar gebly het, swyg oor die Kaffers en in die besprekings oor die ingekome rapporte van veldwagtmeesters in die vergaderings van Heemraden en Krygsoffisiere, gehou op 7 Desember 1779 word alleen na onluste met die Boesmans verwys" (41).

Point number four, which speaks about amicable means employed to force Blacks back over the Fish River thus becomes null and void in view of what I have just quoted above. No such means were employed to get Blacks over the Fish River again. The fifth point is also explained in the above mentioned quotation. Even then, it was not Van Jaarsveld who led the commando, but Landdros De Wet (42). The commando of Van Jaarsveld only went against the blacks in October 1781, retrieving many cattle among which were those stolen by Blacks (43). It is correct as the sixth point explains, that Plettenberg concluded a treaty with some petty Black chiefs during his tour when inspecting the districts of the colony (44). It would be wrong, however, to think that Plettenberg had wanted to prevent disputes such as the one already explained by Noble. That is not the case. Van der Merwe explains the reason for the conclusion of the treaty as follows:

"Uit die voorafgaande sitate sal dit blyk dat die teenwoordigheid van die Kaffers met hulle vee ten weste van die Visrivier, waardeur die boere in die weiding benadeel was, die essensiële punt was waarom die Goewerneur se grensreëlings met die Kaffers gedraai het!" (45).

The last point of Noble is correct because the government wanted at all times that peace should be maintained between the colonists and Blacks. The government would not act on rumours by the colonists that Blacks were causing trouble in the colony. Van der Merwe further explains the attitude of the government:

41. P.J. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie 1657-1842, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 266-267.

42. Ibid., p. 271.

43. Jeffreys: Kaapse Archiefstukke Deel I 1782, Kaapstad, 1926, pp. 154-155.

44. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

45. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer 1657-1842, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 263.

"Op die Heemraadsvergadering, wat op hierdie datum gehou is (25 Oktober 1779), het die Landdros egter voorgedra dat daar agtelijks zeer veele klagten over 't gedrag en de geweldnarigen der nabuurige Caffers kwamen in te lopen, zonder dat men, vermits alle berigten differeden, op de egtheid derzelve veel staat konde maken. Hy het vervolgens aan die lede van die vergadering gevra of eigeen van hulle iets met sekerheid kon sê, sodat die regering daarvan in kennis gestel kon word. Aangesien niemand egter daaromtrent iets anders dan voor gerugten wist te zeggen, is toe geen besluit geneem nie en die lede is gevra om die Landdros in kennis te stel sodra hulle iets van belang verneem het." (46) The colonists however did not intend to cooperate with the government in its peaceful intentions. We shall see later on how war broke out in the colony as a result of that.

The Rev. Holden in his book History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa mentions the generally accepted historical facts about the voyages of the Portuguese. He also mentions that those voyages encountered the Bantu-speaking people when they rounded the Cape (47). Holden also mentions the wreck of the Stavennisse and the account they gave about the life of the Bantu-speaking people they met. That account, together with the dispatch by the Dutch Company of a vessel to explore the east coast of Africa compare favourably with the original document (48).

The book by the Professor of Amsterdam Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Nederlands Volksplanting 1652-1806 mentions a lot of events which do not fall within the cadre of this work. However, he does make mention of the wreck of the Stavennisse and all that befell the two parties that travelled by land and by sea. It is also compared favourably with the original account of the survivors (49). Lauts also mentions the wreck of the Grosvenor, some of whose survivors were lost on the coast (50). His account also compares favourably with archival sources (51).

46. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer 1657-1842, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 268.

47. Holden: History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa, London, 1855, pp. 35-36

48. Moodie: The Record, Johannesburg, 1959, p. 427.

49. G. Lauts: Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Amsterdam, 1854, pp. 36-37.

50. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

51. Jeffreys: Kaapse Archiefstukke Deel I 1782, Kaapstad, 1926, p. 439.

C. Conclusion.

The historians of the nineteenth century, Wilmot and Chase, Noble, Stuart, Lauts and Holden thus presented the history of the Black people as I have outlined above. They depended partly on unfounded conjectures as we have seen, and on a falsification of events. There is a total lack of corroborating what is written with any document of the past. The way they presented the results to their research does not accord with our modern scientific standards of research. Some of the conclusions that they drew from the historical evidence available to them was biased against the Black people. In fact, I can say with a lot of caution that the myth that Blacks were responsible for all the wars that broke out on the eastern frontier was started by the historians with whom I have so far dealt with. That myth was perpetuated with dogged tenacity by later historians, including those of the twentieth century. This, despite the fact that the historian Van der Merwe in Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie 1657-1842 has shown that that was not the case.

THE MAJOR HISTORIANI. The Historian Theal and the History of the Black People.A. Introduction.

The historian Dr. George McCall Theal was a turning point in the historiography of South Africa. It is therefore necessary that I give a short biographical sketch of the man and his works. He was born in Canada on 11 April 1837 and attended school there where he learned French, Latin and English and made up an elementary knowledge of Greek. His father wanted him to become a priest, but he preferred travelling. After working in his uncle's shop in Sierra Leone, he left for Australia but broke his journey at the Cape. He then became a teacher in Knysna, and later a bookkeeper for a merchant in King Williams Town. After that he became a reporter for a newspaper called Hollands Nieuwsblad and later the owner of The Kaffrarian Recorder in East London. After the closure of his newspaper he went to teach at the Dale College in King Williams Town, but in 1870 he left for Kimberley at the time of the discovery of diamonds. After a year he went to teach at the Lovedale Missionary Institute and at the same time began to publish his books. He was also employed as a part time keeper of the Archives at the Cape. He was then transferred to visit the State Archives in Den Haag. He worked in the British Museum, India Office and the Public Records Office.

Among the publications of Theal were the following: Abstracts of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council Policy at the Cape From 1651-1687, Kaffir Folklore (1862), Chronicles of the Commanders (1862), Boer and Bantu, A Fragment of Basuto History (1866) and The Republic of Natal in the same year. In 1887 he published History of the Boers in South Africa and in 1886 the first volume of his magnum opus History of Africa South of the Zambezi appeared. The Portuguese in South Africa appeared the following year. In Den Haag he copied documents which he produced in Belangrijke Historische Documenten in 1896. Records of the Cape Colony first appeared in 1897 copied in London. He also translated Records of South-Eastern Africa from Portuguese into English.

His method of writing history received a lot of criticism from later historians on the same period about which he had written. He did not consider it important to give authorities for what he had written. In his own words:

"I need not give any authorities for what I have now written concerning these people, for I think I can say with truth, that no one has ever made such a study of this subject as I have."(1). Although Theal did not write his works in the conventionally accepted historical method, a generation of South African historians took him at his word, and believed what he had written. As I.D. Bosman put it: "*Vir jare het niemand meer na die bronne gegaan nie, Theal was een voldoende bron.*"(2). No one could write a book on the history of South Africa without making use of the work of Theal. The historian Boeseken even said of him: "*Hy is de vader van onse geskiedenis*" (3). Amid all that applause for Theal as a reliable historian on South African history, there were a few dissident voices. Iwan-Muller and Cappon charged him with extreme unworthiness and indicated that his account was at variance both with the records and a commonsense analysis of the facts (4). P.J. Van der Merwe indicated that primary sources did not square up with what written by Theal and challenged him to produce the sources that he had consulted (5.) Agar-Hamilton explained that Theal indulged in unscholarly and violent personal prejudices and suffered from an inability to recognize evidence that did not agree with his preconceived notions (6) After having subjected the claims of Theal to a detailed scrutiny, J.S. Marais came out with the verdict that Landdrost Maynier who worked on the eastern frontier has been the most misunderstood figure in South African history; as a result of what Theal had written about him (7).

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1. G.M. Theal: The Portuguese in South-Africa, Cape Town, 1896, Preface.
 2. I.D. Bosman: Dr G.M. Theal as Geskiedskryver van Suid-Afrika, Amsterdam, 1931, p. 146.
 3. A.J. Boeseken: The South African Archives Journal No. I, Cape Town, 1959, pp. 40,42.
 4. F.A. Van Jaarsveld: Ou en Nuwe Weë in die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedskrywing, Johannesburg, n.d., pp. 13-14.
 5. P.J. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van Kaapkolonie 1657-1842, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 265-302.
 6. J.A.J. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, Jhb, 1937, pp. 60,84.
 7. J.S. Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic, Jhb, n.d., preface.

B. Bantu-Speaking Origins and Early History of South-Africa.

The historian Theal has stated the following points about the origins and early history of the Bantu-speaking people in his Ethnography and Condition of South Africa Before A.D. 1505 (London, 1919 2nd Edition):

1. That they are much more important in South African history because the Bushmen and the Hottentots are nearly extinct, and the Bantu far outnumber the whites and are still increasing.
2. That the Bantu tribes south of the Zambezi vary greatly in intellect, customs, appearance and speech, that it is obvious that they do not form one homogenous race.
3. And that the manner of constructing the various dialects in use by the Bantu being the same, and one ruling tenet in their religion being identical, they can be classed as a family group by themselves (8).

It is important to note that the first assertion made by Theal is correct. However, present political trends in South Africa have divided the Black people into their different ethnic groups, stressing their differences and maintaining that as a result of those differences, Blacks are not one nation but a number of nations which should be given independence to govern themselves. Consequent to that theory, the Black people are said to be in the minority, while the whites, consisting of Afrikaners, Portuguese, English, Greeks, Jews and many others, constitute one homogenous nation and race, and are thus in the majority.

On the second point it will be realised that Theal belongs to that old school of thought at the beginning of the twentieth century and earlier, who maintained that racial differences also mean differences in intelligence. It is not even necessary at this point in time, to point out that such a theory does not merit an academic discussion.

The customs of the Black people, though showing minor differences here and there, are essentially similar. One can still find a Black man paying lobola (bride price) in northern Africa as in southern Africa. Minor differences may be found in the manner of dress and construction of houses, which to a large extent are controlled by the geographical situation in which they live. To say therefore that the Bantu-speaking people vary greatly in customs is incorrect. Circumcision, the cutting of the hair of the relatives after

8. Theal: Ethnography and Condition of South Africa Before A.D. 1505, London, 1919, 2nd Edition, p. 143.

the burial of a family member, polygamy and the practise where a woman marries another to perpetuate the progeny of the family, are all customs which are to be found in all the tribes of Black Africa. There are thus no great differences in the customs of the Black people. In appearance I may agree with Theal that there are differences, because those who live in South Africa are lighter in complexion compared to those who live in the north of Africa, but this may merely be the result of the fact that they live nearer to the equator. Even though that is the case, we find the Ethiopians to be having a lighter complexion though they live next to the equator. As to physical stature, nothing can be said about it except for the fact it varies from tribe to tribe, and that no one particular tribe can be said to be different from the others.

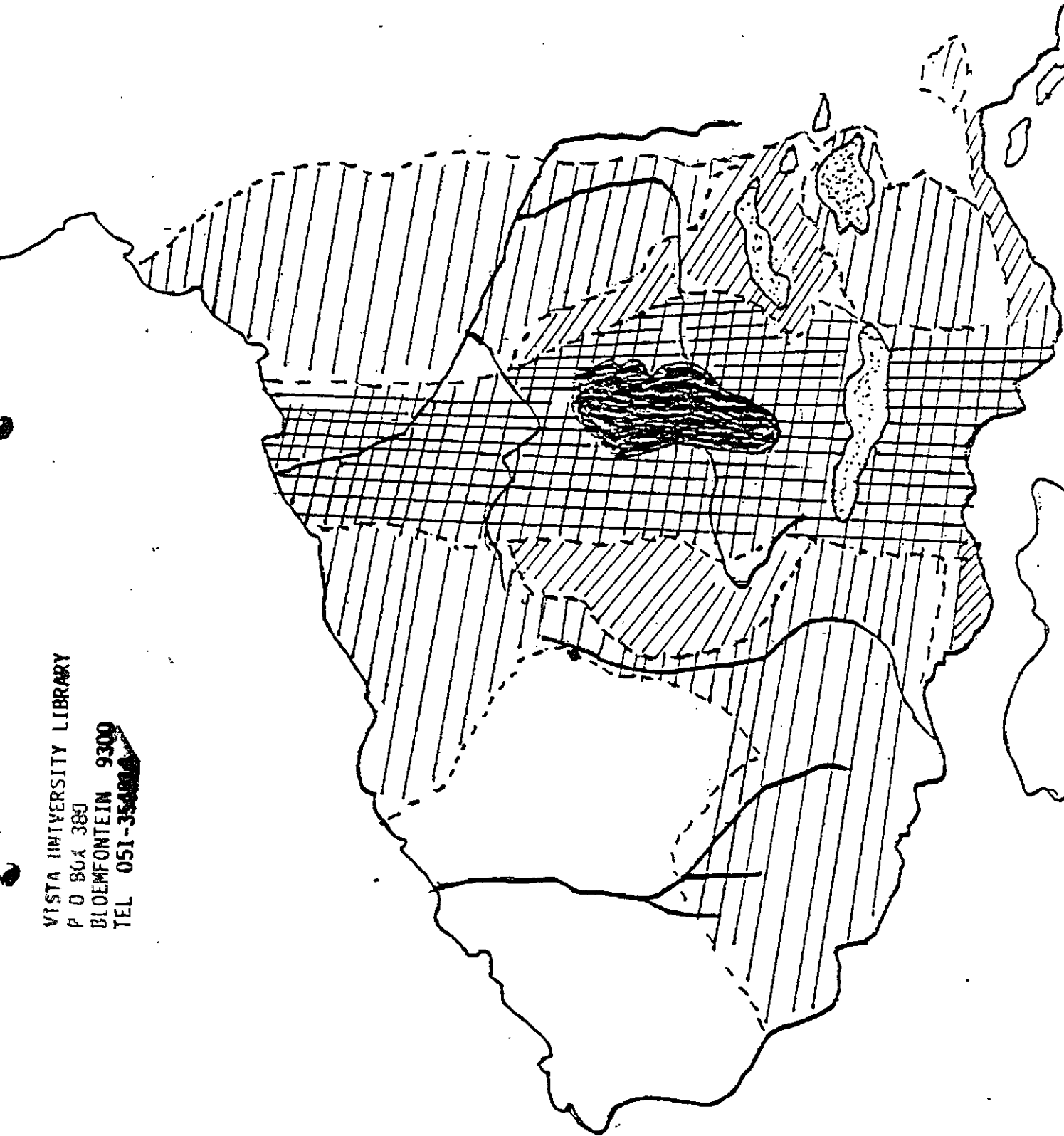
Their languages do not vary greatly and are taken from one and the same ur-language as the map on the following page indicates. Linguists have classified their languages as belonging to the Niger-Congo group as the map clearly explains. Therefore, to say that the Bantu-speaking people are different on the basis of the languages that they speak, is incorrect (9). That last statement of Theal also contradicts the first one. In it he says that because they have the same form of religion and because the manner of constructing their various dialects is the same, they can be classed together. I have already indicated that their languages do not vary as Theal would have us believe, and since he does not indicate what same form of religion they had, I assume that he is referring to ancestor worship. But those criteria for classifying a people are not reliable in all cases. Much too often it has happened in history that a race, like the Arabs, conquered other nations and imposed their religion and language on them. Language and religion cannot therefore be the only two criteria for the classification of a people. There must be other characteristics by which a people can be classified.

Theal has gone on to explain the origin of the Bantu-speaking people in this way:

1. At some time not exceedingly remote, a band of people speaking the parent of the various dialects now in use, and having ancestor worship as their religion, must have entered north-east Africa as so many bands have done before.
2. The Hamitic family then occupied the valley of the Nile, the Negroes spread

9. J.H. Greenberg: Studies in African Linguistic Classification, New York, 1955.

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STAGE 4 OF EXPANSION

along the southern border of the Sahara desert, various communities of lighter complexion (Asiatic) settled west of the Red Sea, the Bushmen occupying the remainder of the continent. The Hottentots were between the gulf of Aden and Lake Tanganyika while the Arabs and Indians were delving for gold in Rhodesia (10).

It may perhaps be difficult to know the exact date of the evolution of man, and that is why archeology approximates it in millions of years. This makes it difficult for one concerned with the evolution of societies, to give exact dates of their evolution. That is why Theal does not give the exact date but writes about the remote past. It must be noticed however, that he speaks about man as entering north-east Africa as many have done so in the past. If that is correct, which is not, there must be a place from which they come. Most unfortunate Theal does not mention it. For my part I explain the origins of man as being in Africa as the latest archeological excavations have proved.

The African historian Fage explains that the emergence of human society is to be found in North-East Africa and to the east of it according to the latest archeological excavations. The senior Dr Louis Leaky's pioneer excavations at Olduvai Gorge in the north of Tanzania, and a series of discoveries there prove that. Later finds at Lake Rudolf in Kenya and the river Omo in Ethiopia have taken the story of human evolution even further into the past from one to one and a half million years ago (11). After analysing that information the African historian Davidson also points out that man did not enter North-East Africa, but evolved there as Leaky has proved with his archeological discoveries (12). If those people had ancestor worship as their form of religion it would then mean that that type of religion was not an exclusive privilege of the Bantu-speaking people only. This would nullify his exclusive classification of the Bantu-speaking people on the basis of language and religion only. Entering Africa from the north-eastern part, it would be interesting to know the exact location from where those people migrated because it would then explain to us why they had that form of religion.

10. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp.143-144.

11. J.D. Fage: A History of Africa. London, 1978, p. 3.

12. B. Davidson: Africa in History, New York, 1978, Reprint, pp. 19-21.

On the second point Theal appears to be right because it is generally agreed among historians on the basis of the research done by linguists, that Africa was occupied by the Hamites, Negroes, the Nilotes and the Khoisan. But the term Hamitic signifying a people is outdated because of its racial connotations, meaning that those people are descended from Ham, the son of Noach. It should therefore be Erythraic as the map on page 51 has explained. As used by Theal here the term Hamitic confuses race with language and culture. Again, the Khoikhoi were not only to be found between the gulf of Aden and Lake Tanganyika, but as the map on page 51 indicates they spread as far as Southern Africa. This was as a result of the fact that they were pushed out of their original places of habitation by the downward descending Bantu-speakers as already explained in chapter two. This point will however be elaborated upon as the work unfolds.

Theal however concludes with a very controversial statement when he says that the Arabs and Indians were delving for gold in Rhodesia. It must be realised that Theal says nothing on that point about the presence of the Bantu-speaking people in Rhodesia. This therefore means that before the Bantu-speaking people occupied Rhodesia it was already occupied by those two races. Theal also does not tell us how the Arabs and the Indians came to be delving gold in Rhodesia at that time. Rhodesia is in the interior of southern Africa. For a person who comes from another continent it is necessary to be guided to the sources of gold in that interior country. Theal does not tell us how the Arabs and Indians came to know about the sources of Rhodesian gold in the interior of southern Africa. I conclude therefore that what he says has no substance. By the time the Arabs and the Indians knew about the presence of gold sources in Rhodesia, the Bantu-speaking people were already living there. The pattern of their distribution is explained by the map on page 51. As I have explained in chapter two they arrived in that area in the third century. The Indians and the Arabs only came to know and come to Africa in the seventh century when Greek trade came to stop in Africa (13).

Theal then continues with the following points:

1. That a band of immigrants conquered a section of the inhabitants and possibly incorporated their boys and girls, destroyed all the others but separated after a time into different tribes which pursued their own careers.

2. That the tribes must have fought each other in the process, the remaining ones growing stronger and pushing their way to the south.
3. And that the principal line of migration was along the eastern coast, which meant that the Hottentots who were living there had to give way. One day an Indian or Arabic source will shed light on the line of migration, since no book south of the Sahara can presently do that (14).

It is true that as the Bantu-speaking people spread into the whole of Africa there were times when they fought against each other. But the process did not take place in the manner explained by Theal. The immigrants conquered or settled down with the indigenous people, but did not break into groups. The incoming group then acquired governing power through their superior techniques and organization, conserving thereby their tradition at the expense of the peoples among whom they settled. This does not mean that one culture was automatically replaced by another. The migrating group did not move with women, and took wives from the people among whom they settled. There was thus an intergration of cultures (15). This means that the groups did not break up as Theal would have us believe.

The second point of Theal does not present the expansion of the Bantu-speaking people as a peaceful movement excepting the skirmishes that they now and then had. In fact, he thinks that without those small scale wars no expansion of the Bantu-speakers would have taken place, because he does not mention any other causes of the expansion. His theory of expansion is undoubtedly based on what happened during the first half of the nineteenth century when the Mfecane wars were being fought (16). About such fixated opinions concerning the Bantu-speaking people the African historian Davidson has, speaking about the impression left by those wars on white people who came to Africa said: *"These it was that spread before the advancing Europeans, a scene of carnage and chaos which they hastened to assume had long been natural to this land"* (17). Theal then says that the stronger tribes pushed their way to the south. With that statement he means that the movement of those people was a direct north to south movement. This is an incorrect view of the matter. The evidence

14. Theal: Ethnogeophy and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 144-146.

15. Davidson: Africa in History, New York, 1978, Reprint, pp. 109-110.

16. See: J.D. Omer-Cooper: The Zulu-Aftermath, London, 1966.

17. Davidson: Africa in History, New York, 1978, Reprint, p. 248.

that has been distilled from linguistics explains that there has been a northward as well as a southward expansion touching the east and west coasts of Africa. This is supported by the interrelationships between the languages spoken by Negro Africans. Very soon after they had been studied it was appreciated that the languages spoken by dark-skinned Africans south of a line of the north of the Cameroons to southern Somalia were closely related in their grammatical structures, for example their use of prefixes signalling particular classes of words and their cases, and that there were considerable similarities in their vocabularies (18).

On the last point that the principal line of migration was on the east coast, the conclusion of Theal is again incorrect. In the first place it will be realised that he does not give us any reason why he thinks expansion might have taken that line. I presume it is because that area, continuing further downwards through Mocambique to Natal, has more rainfall than the west coast of Africa. It is also known as the extension of the east African cattle area thus accounting for the reason why the people who live in that belt are cattle herders. I have already explained that expansion was no simple north to south movement, and that linguistics also bears out that point. The first stage in the expansion of the Bantu-speakers was west and east through an ecological zone until they reached the Atlantic coast just south of the Congo mouth and the Indian Ocean to the east of Lake Malawi (19). It can be understood from that that expansion did not only take place on the east coast of Africa.

Theal then continues with the following points:

1. An anthropologist Dr Budge in his work on Egypt has mentioned the raising of an army of Black men in Nubia in 3233 B.C., but could not say whether it was connected with the Bantu. Since Thebes traded with India it is certain that long before the dawn of written history the Indians and South Arabians were all acquainted with the eastern coast of Africa. That little trade was to be obtained below the tenth degree north latitude is highly probable because there were other people excepting the Bushmen. Although ivory, timber and gold could be obtained in Rhodesia, no mention of them is made.

18. Page: A History of Africa, London, 1978, pp. 22; 110.

19. Ibid., p. 110.

2. Israelite and Phoenician sources do not give any information concerning the Bantu-people.
3. During the Homeric age, believed to be 1200 and 850 B.C., the Greeks believed that such people existed. They named them the Ethiopians because of their sunburnt or swarthy colour. According to Theal it would be impossible to conjecture that those people were the ancestors of the Bantu, although he does not give reasons why. The Greek might have derived their knowledge from the Phoenicians since they had not seen them (20).

Concerning the work of Dr Budge I have no information to agree or to disagree with Theal. But I think the Black people became popular in Egypt during the time of the Pharaohs when they were used as slaves. That a little trade was carried on there as Theal suggests is highly probable. The reason why trade was to be found there is because the monsoon winds had been discovered, and those winds made trans-oceanic trade between the Arabian peninsula and Africa possible. That trade must therefore have extended as far as the tenth degree latitude.

Unlike Theal, on the second point I could not come across any Israelite or Phoenician source to verify what he has said. But since the Phoenicians were a sea-faring people, they even traded with some colonised parts of Africa. This was with the littoral countries such as Carthage, Tunisia and Tripolitania (21). This indicates that they did not go towards southern Africa and could not supply information on it. In the area colonised by Phoenicians only Berber tribes were to be found.

The last point of Theal is corroborated by other historians on its correctness. It is correct that the Greeks believed in the existence of the Black people although they had not seen them. However, it cannot be said with certainty as to whether they were the ancestors of the Bantu-speaking people. The Greeks called those Blacks the Ethiopians just as much as whites later on called them Negroes. They received their information about those Ethiopians from other Greek travellers. Herodotus observed that they lived to the south-west of Egypt in Ethiopia. By that he meant that they were to be found in Kush and Nubia and lands to the south of Kush. Gold, elephants and ebony were to be found there, and the men were the tallest in the world and also the longest-lived. About the lands

20. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 144-146.

21. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, pp. 45-47

On the second point of Aristotle I do not have any information to agree or to disagree with Theal. However, what he says on the third point is partly correct. I say so on the basis of what Plutarch had said on the victories of Alexander the Great in Asia (26), but according to the text he never sent Nearchus to prepare a way for trade. No doubt one of the results of the Alexandrian conquest was that trade was facilitated, but his primary motive was conquest and not trade. He sent Nearchus out before him, not to prepare a way for trade, but to prepare the way for more conquests (27). Nowhere in the Life of Alexander does Plutarch ever indicate that Alexander had commerce in mind when invading Asia. That the Greeks who lived under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus might have known the black people is possible, because they went to Abyssinia to hunt for elephants. However, nothing is left on record to indicate their knowledge (28).

The fourth point of Theal is substantiated by Plutarch (29). It is strange however, that there Theal does not say that Alexander was preparing for trade with those countries as he had so before. The reason as I have pointed out is because the primary aim of the military invasions of Alexander were for conquest and not for trade.

Theal then continues as follows:

That the Greek Strabo shed light on the Ethiopians of Africa. According to him they led a wandering life and were destituted of the means of subsistence, because of the barrenness of their soil. Being naked nomads, their mode of life was wretched and they had small flocks of sheep and oxen. Theal says that it was because of their diminutive form that the story of the pygmies arose. Those Ethiopians lived on barley and millet (a sort of grain cultivated mostly by Africans) from which a drink was prepared, and butter and fat were used in the place of oil. Some of them fed on grass and roots, using also the flesh of animals and its blood, including cheese and milk. They also revered their kings and were partly hunters and husbandmen. They had mines of copper, gold, iron and various precious stones, and their houses were made of palm and bricks. In war they used bows and arrows, their women also being armed and wearing a copper ring on the upper lip. While some go naked, others wear girdles of well-woven

26. Plutarch: Select Lives, London, no date, pp. 187-189.

27. Ibid., pp. 192-192.

28. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 156-157.

29. Plutarch: Select Lives, no date, p. 189.

hair around their loins, some wearing sheep skins without wool. They had two gods, the one being immortal and the cause of all things, the other being nameless whose nature was not even understood. Royal persons were highly esteemed by those people who received help from them. Some who resided in the torrid zone recognized no god and abhorred the sun because of its heat. When others threw their dead into the river as a form of burial, others preserved them in a hyalus and buried them in a coffin of clay. Oaths sworn by the dead were regarded as sacred, and if the king was mutilated, his attendants had to mutilate themselves in like manner (30).

According to the Portuguese, the people here described by Strabo have been correctly identified as Ethiopians. They lived in what old writers divided into Upper and Lower Ethiopia. The ones described here lived in the territory and town of Abyssinia. In order to get a good picture I quote a Portuguese source as follows: "*These two Ethiopias were so-called from Ethiope, son of Vulcan, who was their king and lord. Diodorus states that the Ethiopians were the first people to have knowmedge of God, the first to make use of religious ceremonies in divine worship, and the first to discover the art of writing, and that the knowledge of these things came from the Egyptians, who, according to him, were their descendants. But in my opinion these Ethiopians were the inhabitants of the land of Abyssinia, as they are a people who have had the laws from an early period, because the queen of Sheba who visited Solomon was of their race, and from that time to this they have had knowledge of the law which God gave to the Jews by the hands of Moses, and to the inhabitants lying between the Arabian Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, the proof of this being their barbarous and uncivilised condition.*"(31)

From that short description it can be seen that the Portuguese, the Greeks and Strabo are talking about the same people. But what makes it abundantly clear that they are talking about the same people is the following quotation: "*Formerly the Ethiopians believed that there were two Gods, one immortal, the creator of all things, who governed them, and whose creations were perfect, and the other uncertain, both in himself and the things ruled and governed by him. All the region of the Ethiopias is so abundant in gold and mines that formerly they set great value on copper and prized it more than gold.*" (32). This agrees with what

30. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp.158-161.

31. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol. I. London, 1898, p. 127.

32. Ibid.

Theal has already told from Strabo. Strabo has mentioned their use of copper to decorate their women, and the many mines of precious stones that they possessed. There is also agreement on the question of the Ethiopians formerly having two gods.

The original sources also indicate agreement with Theal on the point that attendants mutilate themselves in the manner in which their king is mutilated. The original source indicates that: "*Among many other ancient customs of this people there was one that if the king had any good or bad peculiarity, vice, or virtue, or was crippled or maimed in any part of his body, all the nobles and domestics of his household endeavoured to imitate him in it, and maimed or crippled themselves in whatever way the king was maimed.*" (33). Theal says that some of the customs found among those peoples are to be found among the Bantu-speakers with the result that it would not be surprising that distant Bantu-speaking ancestors would have been found among those people. I have already explained that there is no one single criterion that can be used to classify or identify a people, we need to know quite a number of good things pertaining to those people before we can attempt a classification. The same concerns this last statement of Theal. It cannot be said that because those people maimed themselves in the way their king was maimed, then ipso facto those people were the ancestors of the Bantu-speaking people. Plutarch in the book on the life of Alexander explained that the king had a habit of inclining his head a little to one side, and lively eyes, in which particulars his friends and successors chiefly affected to imitate him (34). We cannot conclude from that point that among the Greeks there was therefore some distant ancestors of the Bantu-speaker. Characteristics of imitation it would appear, are to be found in all races of mankind on earth. From the sources that I have quoted we have seen that those people were Abyssinians, but it may be true that among them they might have been some Bantu-speakers although that remains a conjecture.

Theal then consulted The Periplus of the Erythryan Sea which he says was written 80 A.D. It described the coast of Africa from Myos-Hormus to Pemba. After two days from Menuthias one reaches Rhapta on the seaboard of

33. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol.I, London, 1898, p. 128.

34. Plutarch: Select Lives, London, no date, p. 128.

Azania, whose exports were tortoise shells, ivory and rhinoceros horns. A few other trading stations were opened by Africans, but most were under Arab control. The Arabs spoke the language of the inhabitants and married their women (35).

The picture that was presented by the Periplus was the one that was found by the Portuguese in the 15th century, except that now real settlements had come into existence. Indians mixed with Arabs because they were employed as traders, and they also have mixed their blood with that of the Bantu. The third point of Theal is that the Periplus did not describe the inhabitants of Azania, but the country along the coast to Rhapta from five degrees north latitude is termed Azania. This, Theal says, is a Greek form of the Arabic name, and since the country was then occupied by the Bantu, they called it Zendj. This according to Theal, disproved the theory that Africa had a hot inhabitable zone in the south. But as to whether the Bantu were to be found further down to the coast it was not possible to say. Even if there were, one would ask why the Arabs did not trade with them (36).

On the first point it is true that the Periplus made the extent of the coast of Azania known. That is the reason why it was written. It was a seaman's guide for the ports that were found on the east coast of Africa. It did not appear in 80 A.D. as Theal would have us believe, but in 100 A.D. There is general agreement on the point that the Periplus did not give the people who used it a clue as to who the Azanians were. But Theal is incorrect in saying that the Greeks gave the name of Azania after the Arabs had called it Zendj. The Greeks were the first people to trade with Africa and called it Azania. They were followed by the Arabs in the seventh century who then called Africa by the name of Zendj (37). I have said that there is a general agreement on the point that the Periplus did not make the inhabitants of Africa clearly known to its readers. The African historian Davidson is also of that view (38). Oliver and Fage also explain that although the book made the extent of the Azanian coast known as far as

35. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, pp. 163-164.

36. Ibid., pp. 164-165.

37. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 21.

38. Davidson: A History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, p.26.

Cape Delgado and even Menuthias, it did not mention who the Azanians were (39). In his last statement Theal has wondered why the Arabs had not traded with the Bantu-speaking people further to the south of the eastern coast if they were to be found also in that area. The failure to do that according to him, was an indication there was nobody. Present day research indicates that there were people in that area, and that the reason why trade was not carried out with them was because gold had not yet been discovered in Rhodesia. After people had started to mine it there, there was a migration in the 12th century known as Shirazi when the Arabs went to live in Kilwa in order to obtain the gold of Rhodesia, and thus started trade with the Bantu-speaking people below Rhapta (40).

Theal's next book consulted the Natural History of Pliny, Translated with Copicus Notes and Illustrations by J. Bostock. The author of that book made Africa the smallest of the three continents, and from him nothing of value concerning the Bantu-speaking people could be learned (41).

Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria then wrote in the second century. He introduced latitudes and longitudes and also improved the map of the world. He named the territory of Africa Agysimba and placed it in the middle of the continent. Since Black men and rhinoceros were not found north of Meroé, he conjectured that Agysimba was at a distance from the Soudan. Others now believe that it was in the Soudan. Ptolomaeus indicated that from Rhapta to Cape Pressum, which is the Cape Delgado of our day, Ethiopians who were cannibals were to be found. This in the opinion of Theal brings the Bantu down to the tenth degree latitude, and a terrible commotion must have occurred to turn them temporarily to cannibalism and probably migrate southward in the process as this has often happened. Ptolomaeus also placed two large lakes and a mountain in the interior of Africa correctly on the map (42).

I am in agreement with Theal about what he has written about Ptolomaeus, and that the Ethiopians were found as far as Cape Delgado being cannibals. Other historians also agree with him on that point (43). The conjecture of Theal that Agysimba must have been to the south of the equator

39. Oliver and Fage: A Short History of Africa, U.S.A., 1962, pp. 96-97.

40. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 128.

41. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 165-166.

42. Ibid., pp. 166-167.

43. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 21.

is also borne out by Fage (44). Oliver and Fage also came to the conclusion that it was in the direction pointed out by Theal after a lengthy research (45). It should be remembered that Theal has said that there were no Black people as far down as Zimbabwe because if they were there then the Arabs would have traded with them. Following upon the information that he has gleaned from Ptolemaeus (and let it be remembered that Ptolemaeus wrote in the second century A.D.) Theal says that by that time they were only to be found as far as Cape Delgado. According to the investigation of Fage and other historians who have based their research on extant archeological data, the conclusions of Theal are incorrect. At that time the Bantu-speaking people were engaged in their last expansion from Kordofan which brought them to the territories of Natal, the Transvaal, Swaziland and South-East Africa (46). This properly tallies with the fact that the Geography of Ptolemaeus was written in the second century. But as to whether those people were cannibals as Theal suggests, I have found no evidence to agree or disagree with him. Theal however, conjectures a terrible commotion to have occurred which forced them to act like that and then to migrate southward "as so often happened". Before the arrival of the white man, there is no evidence that indicates that Bantu-speaking people migrated as a result of internal warfare. It is clear that Theal bases his assumption here on the history of southern Africa during the period of the Mfecane to which reference has already been made. This assumption also falls into the false opinion held by some Europeans that Africa was a scene of chaos and carnage before their arrival. Theal has concluded that nothing much is to be learned from Ptolemaeus about the Bantu-speaking people. I hold a contrary view to him because Ptolemaeus, properly studied, indicates the last stage when the Bantu-speaking people occupied the southern part of Africa.

Abou-Zeyd-Hassen wrote Relations des Voyages Fait Par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine dans le IXe de L'ère, which Theal consulted. He says that Hassan mentions the Zanj (which Theal incorrectly equates with Bantu) but that he did not state the extent of their country. They lived on millet and sweetcane and were ruled by chiefs who were always at war with

44. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 21.

45. Oliver and Fage: A Short History of Africa, U.S.A., 1962, p. 97.

46. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, pp. 110-111.

each other. Influence in their countries was wielded by self-appointed seers, and their trade was in skins of carnivores (47) My view is that Hassan gave a picture that was later on found by the Portuguese in that country.

Al-Mas'udi then wrote Les Prairies O'or which mentioned the following points about the Bantu-speaking people:

1. They had projecting lips and flat broad noses with vague perceptions and no acts of intelligence.
2. The Nile went through the Soudan which was joined by a country occupied by the Zanj and then flowed into the Indian Ocean.
3. The Zanj are to be found on the island of Kanbalou which is ruled by Mohammedans who had captured it from them.
4. The Zanj and the Abyssinians are separated by a branch of the Nile which flows into the Indian Ocean.
5. Pilots sailed from a channel on the borders of Abyssinia and the country of the Zanj to the island of Kanbalou, and they terminated their journey on that island, on Sofala and the country of the Bushmen.
6. They traded in skins of carnivora and tortoise shells and were established in Sofala, being ruled by Waklimi, a name for all sovereigns.
7. They employed their oxen as beasts of burden and some of their tribes were cannibals.
8. Their country extended from the Nile to that of the Bushmen, and they hunted elephants for ivory.
9. They used iron for decorative purposes instead of other precious metals, calling God Makalandjalou, were excellent orators and conformed to certain political rules in governing.
10. An arm of the Nile emptied into the Indian Ocean and the Bantu migrated along it (48).

Thus Al-Mas'udi, according to Theal.

The first point where Al-Mas'udi gives a description of the Bantu-speaking people is one about which anthropologists seem to be agreed. It is not necessary to point out the irrelevant description of the intelligence of those people. But I should note here that Ibn Haukal had said that when they (the Arabs) wrote about the Bantu-speaking people, they always wrote

47. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, Second Edition, 1919, p. 168.

48. Ibid., pp. 168-174.

from a position of superiority. Thus the description of Al-Mas'udi concerning the intelligence of those people (49).

On the second point Theal understood Al-Mas'udi correctly because in that time the empire of the Soudan extended to as far as the Nile, which means that Zanj country was immediately below it in the present day Tanzania. Again on the third, fourth and fifth points, including the sixth point. On the seventh point, the Records of South-Eastern Africa edited by Theal do not show the Bantu-speaking people using the ox as a beast of burden. The ox in southern Africa has always been used by the Khoisan as a beast of burden. Whether they are cannibals or not, I have no information on the matter. But Theal says that Mas'udi is correct on those points, without having resources to evidence. It must be noted that where else Theal writes about the Bantu for the points under consideration, Mas'udi did not identify the people about whom he was writing. Taking that into consideration, it would seem that Fage is justified when he says that at that time, the first century A.D., there were no Negroes on the east coast of Africa to as far south as Zanzibar, and that they were only seen south of Zanzibar in the fourth century. Then they expanded northwards, reaching their present limits by about the tenth century. When Europeans got to know Africa, Negro speakers of Bantu languages had already occupied northeast of what is now the Republic of South Africa and were still expanding (50).

In point number nine Theal is partly correct. He is incorrect in saying that the powers of the kings as described by Mas'udi are incorrect. The reason why the kings had absolute power was because they were chosen by the people in order to rule. Once a king became a tyrant he was dethroned and killed, and his sons were not allowed to succeed him. They did that because the king, by his injustice, had ceased to be the son of God, whom they called Mkalanjalu (51).

Theal said in point ten that Mas'udi had said that the Bantu-speaking people migrated along the arm of the Nile. In the printed primary sources relating to the history written by Mas'udi, and in all the secondary sources that I have consulted relating to what he had written, nowhere do they indicate that he said the Bantu-speaking people migrated along the arm of the Nile.

49. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 175-176.

50. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, pp. 21-22.

51. Davidson: A History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, pp. 28-29.

Taking all the new information that has been supplied by other disciplines such as archeology, linguistics and others, the idea that the Bantu-speaking people migrated along the arm of the Nile is absurd.

Theal continues to explain that although it was never explained how those people crossed the Zambezi, it can be conjectured to a certainty. This is his conjecture: there was constant pressure to move southward and a never ceasing war among the tribes along the coast. The second point he makes concerning that is that the people who inhabited the country adjoining the trading station to Rhapsa had Arab, Persian, Greek and Indian blood in their veins, and managed to make a home far away from their enemies which was fenced in by an unfordable river. They had superior intelligence because of their better blood which enabled them to do so. They also used gold for trading purposes (52).

There is no point in discussing the second point made by Theal because it is irrelevant. I shall therefore only concern myself with the first point that he has made. Concerning the first point, I have already explained that there was no simple north to south expansion as Theal puts it. Again, he mistakingly ascribes the stimulus of movement to war. I have already explained that this is a fixated opinion that Europeans when they came to Africa, and is incorrect. Fage explains the expansion to have taken place as follows:

The first stage was west and east through to the Atlantic coast to the south of the Congo mouth and the Indian Ocean coast to the east of Lake Malawi. The second expansion was north and south to as far as Uganda and Rhodesia and was completed by the third century, and the third stage was a north-south expansion up and down towards Somalia and the mouth of the Zambezi (53). All this explains how southern Africa was populated during the fourth and fifth centuries.

The expansion was not the result of never ceasing war as Theal puts it. Rather, the expansion should be seen as the result of contact with the Indian Ocean trade and access to South-East Asian foodcrops. It was assimilation of those foodcrops, not superior mentality or a never ceasing war which explains expansion, and aided the accelerative growth of Bantu-speaking agricultural peoples, and provided the key to later settlement of the regions hitherto not fully occupied by them (54).

52. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 174-175.

53. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 110.

54. Ibid.

The next source consulted by Theal was Ibn Haukal, who wrote The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Ninth Century. Like all the Mohammedan travellers, Theal says that Haukal gave very little information on the Bantu-speaking people because they regarded them with scorn. He only mentions that they traded in skins of carnivora (55). Edrisi wrote Geographie D'Edrisi en Française D'après Deux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, et Accompagnés de Notes, which was also consulted by Theal. Edrisi followed the geography of Ptolemaeus that South Africa curved like a horn to the east and projected far in that direction, but he professed to know nothing about it. He divided the earth into climatic zones unlike ours, and called the Bantu Zanj as well as Kaffirs because he believed that they did not have any religion. Theal says that Edrisi was wrong on that point, like other European missionaries who came to Africa. The Kaffirs knew how to extract iron from ore, and some of it was exported to India. They hunted animals for their skins and did'n know horses. The last point of Edrisi is that the country of the Zanj was bordered by Sofala and that Zanzibar and Malindi were ports of exports on their coasts (56).

The Geography of Ptolemaeus was faulty as copied by Edrisi and does not merit discussion because we know that South Africa does not curve like a horn to the east. But what he copied from somewhere is also supported by Davidson who indicates that the history of Edrisi was second-hand (57). It is again not necessary to point out that Theal is still incorrect to equate Zanj with Bantu, because Zanj refers to the Ethiopians and Bantu to something else. I agree with Theal that Edrisi was wrong in thinking that the Bantu-speaking people do not have a religion, because I have shown that Mas'udi has indicated that they had a God whom they called Mkalanjalu. The name Kaffir is therefore irrelevant and highly undesirable as a term of reference to the Bantu-speaking people. This is especially so if one takes into consideration how it has been used by the white people of South Africa in reference to the indigenous Blacks. Originally, however, the term had an innocent meaning, referring to non-Muslim Africans, and thus not to people who don't have a religion (58).

55. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, p. 175.

56. Ibid., pp. 175-178.

57. Davidson: A History of East and Central Africa, p. 94.

58. Ibid., p. 282 (see footnote on that page).

Aboulfeda wrote a book translated into French as De L'Arabe en Française et Accompagnée de Notes et D'Eclairissements which was also consulted by Theal. Nothing of importance is to be learned from it, and even his geographical positions are absurd (59).

Ibn Batuta published what was translated into the French language as Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah Texte Arabe, Accompagnée par Traduction which was consulted by Theal. He gave very little information about the Bantu-speaking people, although he touched Mombassa not so far away from the east coast of Swahil from which grain was imported. From Mombassa he went to Kilwa where he found that the Bantu-speaking people were being attacked because they were infidels. He described Kilwa as being inhabited by Zanj of a very black complexion (60). There is agreement with Theal by other historians on the information he gives about Batuta (61). Leo Africanus also wrote The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained, but Theal considered reference to him unnecessary because by the time he wrote the Portuguese had arrived in South-East Africa (62).

Theal then elucidated the following points about the Bantu-speaking people:

1. The territory of Sofala was occupied by the Bantu in the ninth century, but how far to the south it cannot be said with precision.
2. Beyond the Sabi River lived the Bushmen and to the west of its limit was Mashonaland, but it is not certain whether the tribe mentioned by Mas'udi was the Korana.
3. The Bantu of Sofala were the first to occupy land south of the Zambezi, and at the time of their arrival the Hottentots probably reached the Kunene river on the opposite coast.
4. After centuries had elapsed other Bantu followed and this was either the result of pressure or force. Those people were the ancestors of the Balala and Bakalahari (people of the Kalahari desert), and they settled about the headwaters of the Molopo river.
5. After their arrival still others came down to the south and increased under European protection, but not exceeding seven million (63).

59. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 178-179.

60. Ibid., pp. 179-180.

61. Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 125.

(see also Davidson: History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, p. 86)

62. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, p. 180.

63. Ibid., pp. 181-183.

The first point does not merit discussion because I have already explained that recent archeological and linguistic evidence indicates that they started in south Africa from the second century, and that their expansion ended in the fifth century. The second point of Theal is nullified by what I have just said above. That the people who lived in Sofala were among the first to arrive in South Africa is true, considering that empires which governed them were already established around the Zambezi river as I have shown. The fourth cannot be considered after what I have said above. The last point is not only absurd, but totally irrelevant as it is false. It gives the reader the false idea that white men immediately 'civilised' the black people upon their arrival in Africa, and that before the arrival of whites there was only chaos and carnage in the whole of Africa.

II. The Beginning of History and the Spread of the Bantu-speaking People in South Africa according to Theal.

A. The Beginning of South African History.

Theal has postulated the following points concerning the beginning of South African history:

1. The exact history of South Africa commences in the 15th century when the Portuguese landed at Sofala, because they then began to keep records of events that occurred.
2. Chronologies as given by the Bantu-speakers cannot give accurate date of events, and nobody can rely on old objects and oral chronologies from the people (1).

The first point of Theal is based on the incorrect assumption that traditional societies of Africa were static and did not have any history. Such a theory holds that there was no culture but a succession of office-holders in African societies. The theory was bolstered by Professor Trevor-Roper as late as 1963 when he said: *"I do not deny that man existed in dark countries and dark centuries, nor that they had political life and culture, interesting to sociologists and anthropologists, but history, I believe is essentially a form of movement... The positive content of history, to all these writers... (of the 18th century) consisted not in the meaningless fermentation of passive or barbarous societies but in the movement of society, the process, conscious or unconscious, by which certain societies, at certain times, had risen out of barbarism once common to all and, by their efforts and example, by the interchange and diffusion of arts and sciences, gradually drawn or driven other societies along with them to 'the full light and freedom of the 18th century'"* (2).

If we must agree with Theal and Trevor-Roper, then it is only Africans who did not have a history in the remote past. Writing about the dearth of historical records for the beginning of European history, the historian Fischer said when speaking about the Greeks: *"No chronicle records the sequence of these early migrations (1200-900 B.C.) and the confused struggles, of this wide-spread displacement and readjustment of people, ... We do*

1. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. I, London, 1927, 4th edition, p.1.

2. M. Wilson and L. Thompson: The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. I, Oxford, 1975, Reprint, p. viii.

not even know whether the later sovereigns of Mycenae were Greek. Legend and conjecture must take the place of true knowledge." (3). If that is the position which has been adopted by European history, I do not see why it should not be applied to African history. More than legend and conjecture, African history relies for the reconstruction of its past on linguistics, anthropology, art history, botany, zoology, archeology and epidemiology (4). With the aid of all those disciplines, the past of Africa can be unravelled and laid bare. From what I have said above it will be realised that history does not depend for its writing on written documents only.

The second point of Theal also raises questions about the validity of European history, which to a great extent has relied on tradition for its reconstruction. Collingwood has shown that great historical writers like Herodotus and Thucydides had also written a logographic history. He has gone on to show that the Romans preserved traditions of their corporate history. Those traditions were affected by the inevitable tendency to project the characteristics of late Republican Rome into the history of her earliest days (5). If the Bantu-speaking chronologies do not give an accurate history as Theal claims, the same should apply to the traditions of early European history. Collingwood shows again that the medieval historian still depends on tradition for his facts (6). For our remote past we also depend on tradition, together with other disciplines.

Indicating that oral chronologies of the Bantu-speakers are reliable, the African historian Stevens said: *"In spite of refinements in the applicability of oral tradition to historical writing, there is still considerable opposition to any reliance on them. This prejudice is unjustified. Just as conscientious Western historians have gone to great efforts to record historical 'fact' in the immutable form of the written word, so too have many non-literate peoples carefully sought to preserve certain of their own traditions by other means. Some forms of oral tradition, to be sure, are subject to gross distortion, but others are protected by regulations so strict as to keep the possibilities of their alteration well within the range tolerated by Western historians. It has become the job of the*

3. H.A.L. Fischer: A History of Europe, London, 1955, reprint, pp. 15-16

4. R. Hallett: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, p. 7.

5. R.G. Collingwood: The Idea of History, Oxford, 1978, reprint, pp. 26. 34.

6. Ibid., p. 52.

historian to discover which elements in oral tradition are reliable as sources of data, which are unreliable... total rejection has been all too frequent and, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, has allowed a vast and rich wealth of historical data to go unrecorded".(7). This clearly explains why chronologies of the Bantu-speaking people should be accepted methodologically. This view finds support from the most authoritative person on the subject (8).

B. The Spread of Bantu-speakers in South-Africa.

South Africa was populated as follows by the Bantu-speaking people according to Theal:

1. The Bantu of Sofala were the first to occupy land south of the Zambezi.
2. After centuries had elapsed other Bantu followed, and this was either the result of pressure or force.
3. The people were the ancestors of the Balala and Bakalahari, who settled at the headwaters of the Molopo river. Other bands soon followed and they increased under European protection, but did not exceed seven million (9).
4. Then other tribes followed in the following order:
 - (a) If tradition is to be trusted, Setswana tribes such as the Bataung, Barolong and Batleping followed. They all came from the area of the Great Lakes and moved southwards, attacking each other on the way, some being turned into Bakalahari.
 - (b) The second tribe to follow was the Savenda on the southern bank of the Limpopo river in the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century. They came from the lower basin of the Congo river and were not part of the western Bantu. They might be the people called Cabires by the Portuguese who plundered between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers after the Amazimba and the Abambo, but there is no evidence to support that. It is possible that they lived in the area for a long time before crossing the Limpopo.
 - (c) The last group to arrive were the Bakwebo under Modjadji, who were not different from the Venda and also came from the Congo basin (10).

7. A.I. Asiwaju and M. Crowder (eds.): Tariko Vol. 6 No.1: Historical Method, Hong Kong, 1978, p. 21.

8. See: J. Vansina: Oral tradition, Great Britain, 1965.

9. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second edition, pp.181-186.

10. Ibid., pp.186-190.

5. The Makaranga tribe occupied what is now called Mashonaland when the Portuguese established their settlement in 1505.. The tribe broke up before the 15th century and immigrant Mashona arrived from the west of Lake Tanganyika. The Portuguese did not place their arrival on record.
- 6.(a) To the east of the Makaranga lived the Batonga, who came from the west coast of Africa, their migration line crossing that of the Betshuana, as tradition indicates. One of the Portuguese who landed at Mocambique in 1498 and had a knowledge of the languages of west Africa was able to speak to them, which indicated their western origins.
- (b) It is not known what caused their migration, what length of time they took or what havoc they caused on the way, but they arrived on the eastern coast some time during the 15th century (11).
7. Very little definite information is known about the arrival of the ancestors of the Tembu, Pondo and Xosa, who settled in Natal. They began to increase towards the end of the 16th century after scattering themselves along the coast up to the Umzimvubu river (12).

In part one and three I have shown that Theal was incorrect to assume a north to south expansion of the Bantu-speaking people. Just to confirm that point again, I here quote the African Historians Oliver and Fage: *"From a nucleus in the woodland region of Katanga in the now Republic of Zaire, the first movement was to the four cardinal points. In the west expansion reached the Atlantic Ocean coast, in the east the Indian Ocean. To the north it went as far as just below Lake Tanganyika, to the south just below Lake Malawi. The second stage of expansion in the south went as far as just above the Zambezi River in a bow, and the last stage went as far as Natal to the Umzimvubu River on the east coast, and on the west a sizeable part of Namibia was occupied"*(13). Since the area around Sofala was the first to be occupied by Bantu-speaking people, Theal is correct in his first point, and the above mentioned quotation supports him in that.

11. Theal: Ethnogeography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp.190-192.

12. Ibid., pp.193-194

13. Fage and Oliver (eds): Papers in African Prehistory, Cambridge, 1974, reprint, pp. 146-149.

It is also correct as his second, third and fourth points indicate, that other Bantu-speakers followed after that. Where I do not agree with him is when he ascribes their expansion to force or to pressure. I have shown that expansion was due to the introduction of new cultigens and iron, which led to overpopulation and consequently expansion. I disagree with him again when he quotes statistics whose source is unknown of the number of the people in the country at that time. I disagree with Theal again for differentiating the Black people into tribal groups from their origins. The formation of tribes was a thing which occurred after they had settled permanently in the areas in which they were found by the white man when he arrived. So, when the Bantu-speaking people left Katanga they were not divided into tribes. The African historian Leggassick explains as follows: *"The damaging but powerful assumption of late 19th century social philosophy, and particularly those of the German and Austrian Kulturhistorische Schule, predominant in the colonial era of African historiography, were and remain prevalent in historical accounts of the African peoples of South Africa. Thus it has generally been assumed that people sharing a common culture and language must have moved to South Africa in a single wave of migration, conquering or exterminating those with whom they came into contact, and preserving their identity intact and static over time through some mysterious genetic process. Or, if it appears evident that the migration was not some single movement, then it consisted in successive waves of a group that had been a unit at some other place and earlier time"* (14). Giving examples of such trends of thought, he quotes Ellenberger as saying: *"It was during the sojourn in Rhodesia that (the Fokeng) threw off all the numerous offshoots which in course of time came to occupy the whole of South Africa."*(15). Leggassick then continues to say that: *"Such assumptions have recently been subjected to detailed and rigorous examination and criticism by African historians. Their persistence in South Africa can be accounted for only by the relative isolation of its academic community from trends in African history and by the necessity of such assumptions to underpin not only the philosophy of*

14. L. Thompson (ed): African Societies of Southern Africa, London, 1978, reprint, p. 92.

15. Ibid.

Apartheid, but the mythical emergence of the Afrikaner community"(16).

Besides all that I have said above, the map in chapter three clearly explains the spread and time of arrival of the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa.

The last point in that statement is also incorrect when it says that those tribes originated in the area of the Great Lakes. I have shown that their origins are to be found in Katanga. That as they moved down they always attacked each other is not entirely correct. What Theal is trying to present here is a picture, an incorrect one at that, of Bantu-speaking expansion taken from the ethnographer Stow when he said: "*The pioneers appear to have been comparatively insignificant tribes, the advance guard of the still greater body which was following, and which, when it overtook them, swept over them and reduced the greater portion to a state of vassalage*".(17). To say that Bantu-speaking expansion took place without any conflict would be incorrect, because they took lands that belonged to the Khoisan peoples perhaps by force. What Theal is trying to present here is a picture of the period of the Mfecane to which reference has already been made (18).

The second point in the fourth statement about the Venda arriving in the 17th or 18th century has already been shown to be incorrect. It is also incorrect of Theal to state that they came from the Congo basin as evidence indicates that they came from Katanga. His conjecture that the Venda might have been the people referred to by the Portuguese is also unfounded especially as he himself has no evidence to support that (19). In view of what has already been said about the southern part of Africa by the Bantu-speaking people, the fifth point of Theal that the Makaranga arrived in Mashonaland when the Portuguese established their trading settlement in 1505 is incorrect. They occupied it after the first millennium A.D. (20). Recent evidence agrees with Theal that the Makaranga split up before the 16th century (21), but the split did not result in the arrival of immigrant

16. L. Thompson (ed): African Societies of Southern Africa. London, 1978, reprint, pp. 93-93.

17. G. Stow: Native races of South Africa, London, 1905, p. 420.

18. Davidson: Africa in History: Themes and Outline, New York, 1978, reprint, p.124.

19. (a) R. W. July: Precolonial Africa, New York, 1975, p. 124.

(b) Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1978, p. 111.

20. Davidson: A History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, p. 64.

21. Ibid., p. 254.

Mashona from the Lake Tanganyika area. It resulted in the division of the Makaranga kingdom, the north of which fell under Mwene Mutapa who had all along been their supreme ruler, and the south fell under a new line of rulers known as the Changamire (22). It is right therefore to say that the Portuguese did not put the arrival of the Mashona on record because they were not there when those people arrived.

The first sixth point of Theal appears to be incorrect when he says the Batonga lived to the east of the Makaranga. A record of the Portuguese edited by him puts the matter as follows: "*Maramuca: This is the name of a great province or kingdom of Mokaranga, in its upper part, towards the north, the natives of which are Botongas.*" (23). This clarifies the position of the Batonga to those of the Makaranga. Needless to say, when Theal says that they came from the west coast of Africa and that their route of migration crossed that of the Betschuana he is incorrect. I have shown that Bantu-speaking origins have their nucleus in Katanga. That one of the Portuguese could speak their language is quite possible, taking into account that those people spoke similar languages, in as far as grammatical constructions are concerned, with their counterparts towards west Africa because their languages are classified as belonging to one family group, that of Kongo-Kordofanian (24). What it means is that in the first stage of expansion a number of pre-Bantu-speakers expanded to areas immediately south of the Congo forests. This movement would account for the similarities in Bantu and Western Sudanic languages. It was in this area that they developed the Bantu languages and from there expanded further south (25). This then explains why the Portuguese was able to converse with them. Their Katanguese ancestors came from West Africa .

Following from what has been so far said about the occupation of south Africa by Bantu-speaking people, the last statement of Theal can be enlightened on that point. Since I have now established that they arrived in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era in Natal, the statement of Theal that they began to increase at the end of the 16th century is

22. Davidson: A History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, p. 254.

(see also: Fage: A History of Africa, London, 1979, p. 134.)

23. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol I, London, 1898, p. 484.

24. Hallett: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, pp. 210-211.

25. Gailey: History of Africa from the Earliest Times to 1800, Illinois, 1970, pp. 27-31.

unacceptable. There is no evidence that Theal can produce that Blacks began to increase at the end of that century. It should be realized that the white man arrived and settled in South Africa in 1652. What Theal is therefore trying to say is that Blacks only increased under the civilising influence of whites. That to me is unacceptable, because when the white man arrived in the country Blacks were as numerous, or even more, than they are today. As I shall deal with evidence from shipwrecks on the question of how far south Blacks occupied the country, it will be seen that they did not go as far as the Umzimvubu river as Theal would like us to have it (27).

We continue to glean the following points from Theal on the expansion of the Bantu-speaking people:

1. An irruption occurred in north-west Africa (Guinea), and plundering people moved into the area below the Zambezi, destroying everything.
2. Those people, known as the Amazimba, turned to cannibalism when they ran out of food.
3. They drove bands of refugees before them that also plundered other people on their way from the Atlantic Ocean, known as the Abambo (28).
4. The Abambo and the Amazimba were partly destroyed by starvation and incessant war with the Mantati horde and the Amangwane two centuries later, but other remnants forced their way to other localities.
5. A considerable part of them thus cut across the Makaranga and settled in the Tugala valley further to the south.
6. On their way to the south they incorporated Karanga girls with whom they produced the Amazizi, called by other people the Amalanga.
7. When the Abambo occupied Natal, they forced pioneer settlers to move further south, and even today the Xosa, Fonde and Thembu speak of Natal as the country of the Abambo.
8. The Abambo broke into different tribes after settling in Natal, an indication that all those people who were pressed into the horde now wanted to lead a separate existence (29)

27. A. Axelson: The Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600, Cape Town, 1973, p. 208.

28. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 193-194.

29. Ibid., p. 195.

9. The Portuguese do not give information on the occupation of Natal by the Abambo, and it is likely that they knew nothing about it (30).
10. The Portuguese also did not record the arrival of the Zimba, and Theal says that what he has written is loose information which he has pieced together (31).

The first point of Theal is incorrect because the Zimba people were one of the many tribal groups of the kingdom of Malawi. Again, they carried out their plunders, not from the west of Africa to the Tugela river in the south, but from Malawi northwards through Tanzania in their terrible march (32). Gailey also explains the point of the origin of the Zimba people as the mid-Zambezi river area, moved north and killed many people on their way (33). The idea of Theal that those people came from the west of Africa is incorrect. That the Zimba turned to cannibalism as Theal suggests is correct. This is borne by extant research carried out by the African historians Davidson, Gailey, and Oliver and Matthew (34). But the Zimba did not become cannibals because they ran out of food. They left a peaceful agricultural life and became marauding cannibals (35). Exactly what made them leave that peaceful and settled life to adopt one of cannibalism and war is not known. That the Zimba drove before them many refugees who were afraid of becoming their food is correct, but since the Zimba did not originate from west Africa, and because they did not take the direction pointed out by Theal, those refugees were not the Abambo. As I continue with this analysis it will become clear why I say that those people were not the Abambo of Theal.

30. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, p. 195.

31. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi River Vol. I, London, 1927, 4th Edition, pp. 290-291.

32. Davidson: History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., 1969, pp. 62-63 and pp. 115-116.

33. Gailey: History of Africa From The Earliest Times to 1800, Illinois, 1970, p. 223.

34. Ibid., Oliver and Matthew: History of East Africa Vol. I, London, 1976, p. 138. Davidson: History of East and Central Africa, U.S.A., pp. 62-63.

35. Oliver and Matthew: History of East Africa Vol. I, London, 1976, p. 138. (see also: Gailey: History of Africa from the earliest Times till 1600, Illinois, 1970, p. 223.)

The fourth point of Theal is definitely incorrect, because the Zimba met their end when they were attacked by another group of people known as the Segeju when they were attacking the king of Malindi. Though Theal says that the Portuguese do not say anything about the Zimba, a record made by them and translated by him into English reads as follows concerning those people: *"But it is certain that the reader will be wishing to see the end of those bloodthirsty executioners, we will therefore relate briefly, though it is not part of our subject..at last they were all killed and exterminated by the king of Malinde, who gave battle to them, accompanied by other Kaffirs, men of valour called Mosseguejos. Thus did God punish and put to an end the instrument with which he chastised so many."*(36). The African historians Oliver and Matthew, quoting from the Portuguese Fr. Dos Santos who had been an eyewitness of the massacres committed by the Zimba, a fact which Theal knows because he translated his text into English, also shows that their end came at Malindi at the hands of the Segeju (37). Gailey also shows that the Zimba met their end at Malindi (38). It follows therefore that the fifth point of Theal is incorrect as a result of what I have just said above. The sixth and seventh points are likewise incorrect as result of the information I have elucidated above. So far, the propositions of Theal about the occupation of south Africa by Bantu-speaking people have been found to be incorrect, and the Zimba and Abambo do not originate and end in the manner he has proposed (39).

It is not necessary to discuss the incorrectness of the eighth point because it has already been invalidated by what I have discussed so far. The ninth point is correct: the Portuguese did not know anything about the origins of the Zimba and the Abambo. However, the last point is incorrect in denying the Portuguese knowledge about the arrival of the Abambo. The document of the time here quoted has been translated by Theal into English. It

36. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol. 3, London, 1898, pp.386-387.

37. Oliver and Matthew: History of East Africa Vol. I, p. 139.

38. Gailey: History of Africa From the Earliest Times to 1800, Illinois, 1970, p. 223.

39. Axelson: Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600, Cape Town, 1973, p. 139.

is surprising therefore, that when he handled the information himself he should deny what is factual knowledge. About the arrival of the Zimba the document reads as follows: *"It happened at this time that there appeared in those parts an army of Kaffirs named Zimbabos or Muzimbabos, a strange people never before seen there, who having left their own country traversed a great part of this Ethiopia, like the scorge of God, destroying every living thing they came across, with a brutality greater than that of beasts. For like true cannibals celebrated in antiquity, they ate human flesh: in the piece that they entered they spared not a living being, neither man nor animal, they killed all and ate all, even the worms, as if by conspiracy"* (40). It should therefore be apparent that Theal was concocting a mysterious origin for Bantu-speaking people.

Theal then continues with the following points:

1. Although the careers of the Abambo and the Zimba can be dimly traced, they form the present races of Thembu, Xosa and Pondo (41).
2. When the Bantu crossed the Umtamvuna river they encroached into Hottentot territory, and since the latter were weak they had to give way to them. Girls incorporated by the Bantu affected their language and appearance (42).
3. All the tribes discussed here including those who live north of the Kunene and Zambezi rivers are now called Bantu in compliance with the suggestion of Dr Bleek because they had no collective name for themselves, and the root word 'ntu' in all their languages means 'person' (43).
4. Before the Bantu migrated they differed from each other, even after settling those differences arose. Intercourse between them was restricted and they also regarded each other with jealousy (44).

40. Theal: Records of South-Eastern Africa Vol. 3, London, 1898, p. 384.

41. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, Second Edition, pp. 197-200.

42. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. I, London, 1927, 4th edition, pp. 303-308.

43. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, 2nd edition, p. 202.

44. Ibid., p. 204.

5. Though there are many trifling differences between the Bantu who migrated to south Africa, for general purposes they are classified as such.
6. They followed the following routes of migration:
 - (a) the Nguni came from the west coast of Africa (Guinea),
 - (b) the interior tribes (Sotho and Venda) came down between the Zambezi and Sabi rivers at the beginning of the 19th century, and
 - (c) the western tribes (Ovambo and Herero) who occupied the western part of the Kalahari and the Atlantic Ocean, are recent migrants who exercised no influence on South African history (45).

Since I have already pointed out that the Zimba theory of Theal is fictitious, it is obvious that the Xosa, Pondo and Thembu cannot have descended from them as he has explained. Recent research explains that the Thembu are from the Ntungwa who are said to have occupied Natal by way of south-east Transvaal (46). This does not even agree with the western origins of Theal. The Xosa also belong to the Ntungwa group (47). About the Mpondo there is agreement with Theal that they come from the Abambo, though not in the way in which he has put it (48). The second point of Theal though correct, is belated. The Bantu-speaking people have been encroaching on Khoisan territory right through Africa. There was interaction between the two groups of people, which resulted in some Bantu-languages being influenced to take some Khoisan sounds. This did not happen in a belligerent manner as Theal suggests (49).

I agree with Theal that the Bantu-speaking people have been called 'Bantu' at the suggestion of Or Bleek. Today the term is not wanted because it is equated with the oppressive racist regime of South Africa. The continued use of the term in the Republic of South Africa has antagonized the Black people, to such an extent that the government has replaced it with more confusing terms such as 'plural'. The fourth point of Theal is incorrect when it suggests that the Bantu-speaking people were

45. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, 2nd edition, p. 205.

46. Thompson: African Societies of Southern Africa, London, 1978, reprint, p. 130

47. C.F.J. Muller(ed): Five Hundred Years History of South Africa, Cape Town, 1971, 2nd edition, p. 434.

48. Ibid. (also: Thompson: African Societies of Southern Africa, London, 1978, reprint, p. 138.

49. C.G. Seligman: Races of Africa, Oxford, 1978, reprint, p. 22.

different from each other when they left their nucleus area. There is nothing to suggest that they regarded each other with jealousy. As a result it is even absurd to suggest that intercourse between them was restricted. This is just one of the ideas which had led to the Balkanisation of South Africa into so-called independent homelands for the Black people, because the white man believes that they differ. Theal is right in his fifth point when he says that trifling differences are to be found among them. In major characteristics however, there are no differences. But historians and ethnographers of South Africa have magnified those differences into national ones, and came out with the idea for politicians that those differences constitute and make those ethnic groups nations. The objective truth remains however, that a tribe is not a nation. The three routes of expansion suggested by Theal in his last point have already been invalidated by much of what has been discussed above.

The theories of Theal concerning the origins of the Great Zimbabwe are highly antiquated and subjective. Since it has now been established beyond doubt that the Great Zimbabwe has been built by the Bantu-speaking people of Shona origins, I shall only give a random sampling of his outdated ideas:

1. In the past a people whose nationality is not known once lived between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, being goldminers, and also built the Great Zimbabwe.
2. The period of occupying that area suddenly came to an end though what caused that is unknown.
3. They were replaced after a long period had elapsed by other occupants who were not great builders like themselves.
4. Zimbabwe was not built by the Bantu because they claim that it was built by supernatural beings, and because it is not possible to imagine the Bantu building, even under European compulsion (50)

I would like to point out an inconsistency and contradiction concer-

50. Theal: Ethnography and Condition, London, 1919, second edition, pp. 410-418.

ning all those points by Theal. This can best be done by quoting from a book he wrote in 1897: "*In een onbekend tijdperk in het verleden verscheen een volk beschaafder dan de Bantu, maar beneden de hoogte van de Europeanen, in het centrale tafelland van Afrika, ten zuiden van de Zambezi. Zij waren Aziaten (sic), en moeten in schepen gekomen zijn naar het eene of andere gedeelte der kust en toen landwaarts ingetrokken zijn, want geene sporen werden van hen in het noorden gevonden. Zij richtten gebouwen op van gehouwen steen zonder cement of kalk, sommigen zeer groot, waarvan de bouwvallen tot heden toe te zien zijn, en zij waren goudgravers op zeer grote schaal.*"(51) It should be noted that Theal does not even attempt to give us the nationality of the people who built Zimbabwe nor that of those who came after them. But in 1897 he was prepared to say that they had a lower intelligence and were Asiatics. Besides being incorrect, this is a racist theory. Archeology indicates that Asiatics never went into the interior of Africa, being people who traded with Blacks on the east coast. Relics of their presence in the form of porcelain has been found. But they never put up any structures in Africa. His last point is incorrect because many African historians have shown from archeological finds that Zimbabwe was built by Blacks (52). Since there is no doubt on the matter, I shall not discuss it further. I shall not pay attention to his racist remark that it is not possible to imagine a Black doing work even under European compulsion.

C. Evidence from Portuguese Shipwrecks.

Theal presents evidence from Portuguese who were shipwrecked on the east coast of Africa about the presence of the Bantu-speakers in south Africa as follows:

1. When the Sao Joao was wrecked in 1552 her survivors met Kaffirs from the Umzimvubu river until they arrived in Mocambique (53).
2. The Sao Bento was wrecked in 1554 and her survivors met Kaffirs at the Umtata river. They also saw Kaffir kraals on their way to

51. Theal: Geschiedenis van Zuid Afrika, Kaapsta, 1897, p. 12.

52. (a) Oliver & Fage: A Short History of Africa, U.S.A., 1962, p. 133.
 (b) Hallett: Africa to 1875, New York, 1970, p. 214.

53. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. 1, London, 4th edition, pp. 303-308.

Mocambique.

- (a) At the Umzimvubu river they also met hostile inhabitants who attacked them. At the Umzimkulu river the inhabitants were friendly.
- (b) At the Umkamanzi river they met Kaffirs who attacked them (54).
3. Manuel de Mesquita was ordered by the king to inspect the coast of Africa from Cape Correntes to the Cape of Good Hope for harbours. He did not report seeing any Bantu when he was at the Umzimvubu river (55).
4. The survivors of the Sao Thome wrecked in 1589 found the Makomata tribe at what is today Tongaland. They encountered many Bantu tribes on their way to Mocambique (56).
5. When the Santo Alberto was wrecked in 1593 her survivors were found by Luspance at the Umtata river where one of their slaves was able to talk to them.
- (a) The tribe of Luspance spoke a language which was a dialect of the languages of Kaffraria and they called their chief 'inkosi'.
- (b) Their tribe must have been a mixture of Hottentot and Bantu blood, which thing would repeat itself after two hundred years.
- (c) At the Umzimvubu river the country was thickly populated, and they met a tribe under king Vibo.
- (d) They met other tribes on their way with whom they bartered, and also one under Ubabu. Some people with beads of Indian origin were also to be seen.
- (e) Many other tribal kraals were seen with people speaking a dialect of the Nguni language.
- (f) The province of Natal was thickly populated when they passed through it (57).
6. In the whole region that the survivors traversed the tribes now living there were not found. The people were all Bantu as far as the Umzimvubu river and spoke dialects of the same language, but were not grouped as they are today (58)

54. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. 1, London, 4th ed.
pp. 309-314.

55. Ibid., pp. 315-318.

56. Ibid., pp. 322.

57. Ibid., pp. 323-328.

58. Ibid., pp. 329.

7. The Nossa Senhora Belem was wrecked in 1665 north of the Umzimvubu river where they were attacked by a group of Kaffirs (59).

Generally speaking, the account given by Theal of the shipwrecks is correct. I shall therefore only point out the instances where I differ with him. The third point that Manuel de Mesquita did not see any Bantu-speaker when he was inspecting the coasts of south Africa is irrelevant. The mere fact that he did not see them does not mean or prove that they were there. The historian Axelson, who has specialised on Portuguese enterprises in Africa, says that the job was not done by Mesquita but by Joao Pereira Dantas (60). It is also contradictory of Theal to say that De Mesquita did not see them when he had indicated in the first instance that the survivors of the Sao Bento saw them. I find it very strange again that Theal does not remark on the fact that one of the slaves of the survivors was able to speak to the people on the east coast of Africa, when he was of west Africa by origins. This ties up with the fact that the Katangese ancestors of those people spoke a pre-Bantu language which was similar to the languages of part of west Africa.

The sixth point of Theal seals the many of the incorrect 'facts' that he has tried to bring out concerning the Bantu-speaking people. If Theal wants us to accept the idea that the tribes now living in Natal were not there during the first half of the 16th century, and even long before that, then he must explain what happened to those who were found by the Portuguese survivors. In the history of South Africa, though much is not known about it before 1652, there is no race of people who have become extinct. The historian Welch, quoting the linguist Junod says: "*Junod is convinced from some of the words preserved by Couto and other Portuguese of that period, that the Zulu-Xosa language spoken in that region today was already fully formed at that time.*" (61).

59. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol.1, London, 4th ed. pp. 419-420.

60. Axelson: The Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600, Cape Town, 1973, p. 211.

61. S.R. Welch: Portuguese Rule and Spanish Crown in South Africa 1581-1640, Maseru (Lesotho), 1950, p. 91.

This clearly explains that the Bantu-speaking people found by shipwrecked Portuguese during the first half of the 16th century are those still living in the area today. Commenting on the narrative left behind by the survivors of the Santo Alberto about the Bantu-speaking tribes through which they passed on their way to Mocambique, Welch says: "*We see many kraals of small scattered communities, just as they are today. Even more remarkable is the fact the tribes are today in much more the same places and with the same names that they then had.*" (62).

Furthermore, the Portuguese wrote many Zulu names and spelt them in the Portuguese fashion. Welch explains: "*The experienced linguist Junod has reduced them to their Bantu equivalents. We are able to conclude that in Natal, Zululand and Amatongaland the native changed little in language or customs up to our time (sic). Even the type of social organization, where it is still pagan, has persisted.*" (63).

With that theory Theal has introduced in South Africa an unfounded myth, sadly believed by many and taught with zeal in the classrooms and universities of the country, that Blacks and Whites have arrived at the same time in that country, and that they therefore have the same right to it. I have shown so far that many of the assumptions and conclusions of Theal are incorrect, in the light of recent information.

62. S.R. Welch: Portuguese Rule and Spanish Crown in South Africa 1581-1640, Maseru (Lesotho), 1950, p. 149.

63. Ibid., p. 150.

III. The Colonial History of Theal.

A. The Period 1652 to 1686.

The second and third volumes of Theal detail the colonial history of South Africa. These are History of Africa South of the Zambezi volumes two and three, volume two being published in London in 1922 in third edition form, and volume three in the same manner. For footnote purposes I shall refer to them as Volume two or three respectively, mentioning only their places of publication, the year and the edition. Interspersed in that colonial history of Theal is to be found something akin to the history of the Black people.

Journeys of exploration were undertaken during the administration of the various governors, and some of them even accompanied those expeditions. Though there were some ten expeditions undertaken during the years 1652 to 1679, Theal records that none of them reported ever meeting the Bantu-speaking people. It was only when Simon van der Stel accompanied the expedition of 1685 that they were told by the Namaquas about their neighbours, the Briquas (1). This was a name by which they referred to the Bantu-speakers who spoke a dialect (or even original) of Sotho.

However, if Theal imagines that the expedition of Van der Stel was told of the Briquas by the Namaqua, then he is mistaken. According to the journal kept by the commander, no mention of the Namaqua telling them about those people is made (2). The journal is a day to day record of events that occurred during the expedition, and it was written by Van der Stel himself. I deduce from that unfounded statement of Theal an urge to prove his theory that the Bantu-speaking people were still 'migrating' to the south even after the arrival of the white man.

In 1686 a ship belonging to the Dutch Company, the Stavennissa, was wrecked on the coast of Natal. According to Theal they found the following tribes living there: Mangose (Xosa), Maponte (Amaphonde), and Butuas (Abatwa). The survivors unfortunately did not record the names of the chiefs they found in that area, but Theal postulates that Togu was then the great chief (3). The greater portion of Natal was occupied

1. Theal: Volume 2, London, 1922, 3rd edition, p. 225.

2. G. Waterhouse: S. Van der Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand 1685-1686, Dublin, 1932.

3. Theal: Volume 2, London, 1922, 3rd edition, p. 302.

by the Abambo, next to whom lived the Amapondomisi, Amapondo and Abatembu. To the west lived the Amaxhosa, but their exact locations were not given. The chief of the Xhosa was then Magama, who was mistakenly referred to as king by the survivors of the Stavennisse (4). When the Stavennisse was wrecked on the east coast of Natal the tribes mentioned by Theal were found by the survivors (5). But that no name of a king was mentioned is not true as Theal himself later on points out that the name of king Magama was mentioned by the survivors. No mention of Togu as the great chief was ever made. Neither did they say that Natal was the country of the Abambo. What they said was that they were wrecked in the country of the 'Seboes' (6). According to the survivors Natal seemed to have been occupied to a greater extent by the Xhosa, because they say: "*The tracts of land are called Maggosche (Xhosa) and are also fertile...*"(7). The reason why they called it the land of Maggosche could have been nothing else except that those people were in the majority, or that they occupied the greater part of it. Whatever it may mean, it does not suggest that the Abambo occupied the greater part of Natal.

As I have already shown, Theal has reported correctly when he said that the name of the king was Magama. However, he contradicts himself when he says that there was no king of note because Magama was a king of note. The Xhosa would not have been well-known people at that time if they were not a great tribe. Again, the tribe would not have been well-known if the king was not great. It appears then, that in as far as the survivors were concerned, there was no other great chief except Magama. Even, of all the kings found there by the survivors, they mention only the name of Magama.

When Theal says that all the tribes of Natal were formed between 1593 and 1689 he is incorrect(8). The statement of Welch and other historians already quoted have indicated that those tribes were formed long

4. Theal: Volume 2, London, 1922, 3rd edition, p. 302.

5. Moodie: The Record, Johannesburg, 1959, p. 426.

6. Ibid., p. 427.

7. Ibid., p. 426.

8. Theal: Volume 2, London, 1922, 3rd edition, pp. 303-304.

before the arrival of the white man. I quote again from Hammond-Tooke: *"The personal observations of the earliest European explorers and navigators, and of shipwrecked seamen, such as Perestrello (1554), the pilot of the Santo Alberto (1686) established beyond doubt not only that the Bantu were already dwelling in South-East Africa at that time, but also that in part they were identical tribes found in the same localities at the present day."*(9).

I shall not here concern myself with the tribal histories of Theal. I have shown in the first chapter what the histories of the main language groups were. The mistake that was done by Theal and other South African historians was to consider the Xhosa, Amaphondo and other tribal groups as distinct nations with distinct histories. This is a political ploy employed by divisionist Afrikaner politicians to achieve their own ends, regrettably adopted by some historians. As an example of such divisionist tactics I quote the former minister of Bantu Education and Development Mr M.C. Eotha: *"I want to bring a most interesting point to the attention of all of us. As regards the various nations we have here, the white nation, the Coloured nation, the Indian nation, the various Bantu nations (sic), something to which we have given little regard is the fact that numerically the white nation is superior to all other nations in South Africa..."*(10). In reality there are only three main language groups which should not be mistaken for nations politically or otherwise (11).

I have shown again that the basis of Theal concerning the histories of those people is incorrect. He theorised that the Bantu-speaking tribes of Natal are descended from the Abambo who were pursued by the Mazimba. I have shown that the Abambo were not pursued by the Zimba and that the Zimba met their end in Malindi at the hands of the Segeju. It can therefore be seen that those tribes did not originate in that manner and that the basis of Theal for their histories is incorrect.

9. W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed): The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of South Africa, U.S.A.; 1974, p. 56.

10. F. Troup: South Africa: An Historical Introduction. Middlesex, 1975, p. 348.

11. G.S. Were: A History of South Africa, London, 1974, p. 10.

B. Colonists make contact with the Blacks on the Eastern Frontier
1752 to 1795.

Theal has written that since the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape, and their establishment of a colony there, colonists had at various times with the approval of the authorities made contact with aboriginal inhabitants of the interior. When Plettenberg was appointed as Governor in 1774, he determined to create a boundary between the colonists and the Blacks.

Contacts and relations are presented by Theal as follows:

1. In his expedition of 1778 Plettenberg found many tribes living up to the Sundays and Bushman rivers. This was regarded as sufficient evidence that they were advancing into the colony, while Europeans were advancing north-eastwards (12).
2. In 1779 there was trouble among the Xhosa clans when the Gunukwebe under chief Thsaka crossed into the colony to live behind Bushman river.
3. It was asserted that the move had been provoked by whites because Willem Prinsloo, exasperated by the stealing habits of the Imidange tribe, shot those he caught stealing his cattle and revenged himself by seizing some cattle from them which belonged to him.
4. Another story was that his son, Marthinus Prinsloo, had gone on a bartering expedition to Kaffirland against the regulations of the Company and there had killed an immediate retainer of Rarabe.
5. One other story was that Koba, a chief who had agreed to respect the Fish river as a boundary with Plettenberg, had crossed it and was forced to go back with unnecessary force.
6. Official reports of those matters indicate that the Kaffirs who had crossed the border wanted to live in peace with the whites, and to prove that they killed the Hottentots who lived there and took their stock without worrying the colonists. But after that they began to steal the cattle of the colonists too (13).

12. Theal: Volume 3, London, 1922, 3rd edition, pp. 172-173.

13. Ibid., pp. 192-219.

We have in the first statement of Theal a clear indication that the rights of the natives to the ownership of land were not respected. While the Bantu-speaking people were engaged in a natural expansion in their country, Theal says that they were encroaching in the colony. However, he does not explain that in their north-east migration the colonists were encroaching on native territory. This would mean that wherever there were white men, that was colonial territory, and any Black people found there were encroaching on it.

Wilmot and Chase explained the attitude of the Dutch Company and its subjects as follows: "*Native rights never appear to have had any real significance in the minds of the Dutch, and although, as we have seen, one or two nominal purchases were made, territory was annexed from time to time as convenience dictated.*"(14). The colonists of this period however, were continuing a tradition introduced by Van Riebeeck concerning native rights to their land. Explaining how the Khoisan were dispossessed of their lands by the colonists, Troup explained: "*The Khoikhoi sued for peace, and tried to regain rights to their pastures, 'standing upon it that we (the Dutch) had gradually taken more and more of their land which had been theirs since the beginning of time ... Asking also, whether, if they came to Holland, they would be permitted to do the like'. The commander argued that if their lands were restored there would be not enough grazing for both nations. The Khoikhoi replied: 'Have we then no cause to prevent you from getting more cattle? The more you have the more lands you occupy. And as the land is not big enough for both of us who should give way, the rightful owner or the foreign invader?'*"(15). It is not surprising therefore that Theal should say that the natives were encroaching on 'colonial territory'. It is clear from what I have just said, that it is incorrect of Pretorius to conclude that the predicament of the frontier was "due to the inability of both (the natives and the colonists) to retrace their steps to the areas occupied by their main groups and the 'inability of two migratory streams to be

14. Wilmot & Chase: History of the Colony of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, p. 98.

15. Troup: South Africa: An Historical Introduction, Middlesex, 1975, p. 53.

turned upon their courses'(16). In 1677, 1727, 1739, 1770, 1774 and in 1786, the Cape government prohibited its subjects from violating certain prescribed boundaries, but the colonists defied the government at all times. They continued to occupy lands that did not belong to them, disregarding the rights of the rightful inhabitants. Thus was Troup to conclude that: *"Much of the trouble that was to smoulder and flare on the western frontier for the next thirty years was due partly to the influence of a few more than ususally intractable frontiersmen who lived where and as they wished, ignoring both the demands of the authority and the rights of members of other races, and stirring trouble when it suited them."*(17)

The second statement of Theal is a conjecture which is not supported by documentary evidence. It is a conjecture taken from J. Noble when he tried to give a reason as to why the tribes came into the so-called colonial territory. He had then stated that 'when they (the Xhosa) clashed with the colonists for the first time they appeared to have been engaged in inter-tribal warfare with their neighbours the Ama-Tembus' (18). It can therefore be seen that Theal was trying to turn a conjecture into an historical fact.

In his third statement Theal says that it was 'asserted' that Willem Prinsloo had shot Blacks who were stealing cattle. This was no assertion at all. The same applies to the statement that follows when he speaks about 'stories'. They were no stories at all, because there is documentary evidence to support them. Concerning those two statements, the document of the time, written by O.J. De Wet as Landdrost of Stellenbosch on 13 March 1780 has this to say: *"Bij de twee ingeslotene Brieven van de Veldwagtmeester over de Camdebo's Rivier tot aan de Bruynhoogte Josua Joubert, die ik eergisteren ontfangen heb, werd mij voor 't eerst kennis toegebracht, hoe 'er tusschen de kaffer agter de Bruins hoogte en de aldaar wonende Ingesetenen sedert omtrent drie maanden eenige openbare vijandelijkheden waren utigeborsten, ... dat deze Vijandelijkheden*

16. J.G. Pretorius: The British Humanitarians and the Cape Eastern Frontier 1834-1836, Johannesburg, 1970, p. 16.

17. Troup: South Africa: An Historical Introduction, Middlesex, 1975, p. 69.

18. Noble: Cape of Good Hope Official Handbook 1886, Cape Town, 1886, p.21.

wel voornamentlijk ontstaan zijn, aan de kaffers gepleegd, en in welken op zigte zij zig aan den Velwagtmeester beklaagd over Willem Frinsloo de oude, die zig van eenige beesten, hun toebehorende, meester had gemaakt en ook over Marthinus Frinsloo, door welken of zijne mede toegenoten, op hun togt in 't Kafferland, een der onderhorigen van Capit'n Gaggabe om 't leven gebracht: doch waaromtrent de aan beklaagden, hunne negatieven of beste verschonungen inbragten" (19). From this quotation it can be clearly understood that there was no story as Theal would like us to believe. It is true as the document points out, that Blacks stole the cattle that belonged to the colonists, but that this was in response to the atrocities and seizures committed by the Prinsloos.

Theal has referred to such reports as having been written by people who favoured Blacks. In this report it is difficult to picture De Wet as a person who favoured Blacks more than the colonists who have been entrusted to his authority. He has blamed them for stealing cattle belonging to the colonists, but has objectively pointed out the root of the problem, the colonists. De Wet does not favour people who were causing confusion and strife in his magistracy. Although the document already quoted has shown that the Blacks stole cattle belonging to the colonists, it again indicated the Prinsloos as the source of the trouble: *"Dan hoewel 't niet buiten waarschijnlijkheid blijft, dat deze klagten en beschuldigingen min of meer gegrond zullen zijn, gemerkt den aard der kaffers, hoe wrackzuchtig ook aan eene kant, evenwel aan d'andere niet wreed genoeg is, tot diergelijke stoute ondernemingen, ten zij dezelve voor wettige oorzaken, daar toe getergd vinden, is 't uw Hoog Ed. Geb. en Gestr. egter te wel bekend, dat door de verre afgelegenheid, alle pogingen, om te dien opzigte door een nauwkeurige Onderzoek, tot ontdekking der waarheid te geraken, vrugteloos zouden werden aangewend. Maar 't is ondertuschen ook zeker dat 't gezin van Willem Prinsloo de oude, voor 't grootste gedeelte Schadelijke en onrusverwekkende bewooners van dat Veld zijn, die niet nalaten zullen, alles te bepoeven, wat mogelijk zijn, om de Kaffers van daar te doen delogveren, ten einde de ruimte in hunne Velden uit te breiden, zo als de van de Kaffers Capitain Koba aan Uw Hoog Ed. Geb. en Gestr. gedaan, dat hij*

19. K. M. Jeffrey's: Kaapse Archiefstukken 1780, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 200-201.

zig met de zijne, over de Grootte Visch Rivier begeven zoude, ook reeds tot een goed voorwendsel genomen werd (: tot welke extremiteiten evenwel nog geen orde gegeven was:) (20).

It is therefore true that the 'invasion' of the colony had been provoked by the colonists, and that Marthinus Prinsloo and his father were guilty of the crimes that they had been accused of. There is no evidence in the document, that an army had been sent by the colony to drive the 'invading' Blacks out. The document only went on to impress upon the governor the necessity of stationing a commandant or two in the affected areas to keep their people in check. This was done in view of the fact that the Blacks were making a united front with the San in order to resist colonialist infiltration (21).

The fifth point has already been explained by the above-mentioned quotation. It is in it that the Prinsloos also wanted to occupy the lands belonging to chief Koba.

The last statement of Theal is also incorrect and is not supported by documentary evidence. According to the document of the times it is not true that the Bantu-speaking people did what Theal says they did after arriving in the colony. After arriving in the so-called colonial territory, J.H. Potgieter, landdrost of that area, wrote as follows to the colonial government: *"dat bekend te maake dat de menschen seyn gevluucht ver de kaffer... dat UED Oncerdancige Dienaar berigt UED mets desen op het nederige Namentlijk dat bekend te maake dat ik de menschen sullen tuijs houwe Meijn heer ik ken niet weete wat de naatsies in mijn desstrek verder in 't sin heb Meyn Heer dros ik sou wel al eer raport gedaen hebbe maar ik heb de mense eers wille spreek om meyn heer daar raport van te doen maar mijn paarde heb ik af gereede om na de wacheyt te verneeme Meyn Heer de naatsie haarle wagte is maar tot dat de menschen eers na drille is dan zou se het na haar le sin hebbe so dat ik niet weer Meyn Heer wat dat sulle daar mee in 't sin heb. De mense die daar gevlugt seyn daar hebben se ook al ree van gestoole Intschen soo bevel ik UED den*

20. K.M. Jeffreys: Kaapse Archiefstukken 1780, Kaapstad, 1936, pp. 200-201.

21. Ibid.

Heer Drosseij UED dierbare familie onder de genaderijke Bescherminge ders alderhoogste..."(22).

From this letter it is clear that Blacks did not enter the colony with any violent intentions, because the landdrost would then have reported that to the government. It is also clear that they did not murder the Khoisan as Theal would want us to have it. In fact, nothing whatsoever is said about those people that one wonders where Theal got the story that they were murdered by the Bantu-speakers. Although the colonists among whom the Blacks settled took to flight, it was not because Blacks had become violent, because the report of Potgieter would have mentioned it. As he put it, Potgieter 'ken niet weete wat de naatsie in mijn destrek in 't sin heb': So, in as far as the authorities were concerned, the Black people did not come with any evil intentions, and nobody could tell why the colonists fled. Potgieter did not even find it necessary to use his weary horses to go and report the matter to the Commander himself. If Blacks had attacked the colonists upon their arrival, it would have been strange for Potgieter not to report it to the Government, and it would also have been out of order for him not to use his horses, tired or not.

Commenting also on the same point, Van der Merwe said the following: *"Dit wil ook voorkom of die boere gevrees dat die kaffers hulle sou aanval en geglo het dat die kaffers net wag op 'n gunstige geleentheid om dit te doen. Uit die brief sou 'n mens nie kon aflei dat die kaffers hulleself aan enige geweldadigheede skuldig gemaak het nie. Die vae verwysings na veeëiefstal aan die end van die brief laat 'n mens vermoed dat dit nie 'n groot omvang kon aangeneem het nie, en in elk geval nie die vernacnste oorsaak van die vlug was nie. Om een of ander rede het daer egter 'n gespanne toestand ontstaan."*(23). This adds to the already quoted documentary evidences that the statements of Theal are without substance.

22. Jeffreys: Kaapse Argiefstukke 1779, Kaapstad, 1925, p. 256.

23. F.J. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 269.

Theal then continued to outline the events that led to the second clash between the colonists and Blacks as follows:

1. On the eastern frontier matters were in a similar condition, because the colonists were now dealing with clans of the Xhosa tribe who were expert stocklifters.
2. Matters came to a head during the summer of 1779-1780 when the colonists under Jcsua Joubert from Bruintjes Hoogte and Hendrik Ferreira in the Zuurveld attacked and defeated the Xhosa and a considerable number of cattle was taken from them.
3. Still more Xhosa came into the colony and Adriaan van Jaarsveld was asked to request them to retrace their steps. Some did, but those who did not were attacked and defeated. Cattle taken from them were divided among the members of the commando (24).

Although Theal says that the Xhosa were expert stocklifters, for the period under consideration he could not produce any evidence to prove it. If one reads through the documents of the period, there is no single instance where concrete prove of the so-called thefts of the Xhosa can be proved. Commenting on the very 'thefts' of the Xhosa, Van der Merwe, quoting the documents of the period, said the following: "*Tot 25 Oktober het daar vervolgens die dagregister niks verder wat op hierdie opsig van belang is, voorgeval nie. Op die Heemraadsvergadering, wat op hierdie datum gehou is, het die Landdrost egter voorgedra dat daar dagelyks zeer veele klagten over 't gedrag en de geweldenarijen der naburige Caffers kwamen in te loven, zonder dat men, vermits alle berigten aiffereerden, op de egtheid derzelve veel staat konde maken. Hy het vervolgens aan die lede van die vergadering gevra of eigeen van hulle iets met sekerheid kon sê, sodat die regering daarvan in kennis gestel kon word. Aangesien niemand egter daaromtrent iets anders dan voor gerugten wist te zeggen' is toe geen besluit geneem nie en die lede is gevra om die Landdrost in kennis te stel sodra hulle iets van belang verneem het."* (25). All that

24. Theal: Volume 3, London, 1922, 3rd edition, pp. 192-194.

25. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 268.

Theal says happened after Blacks had come into the colony and frightened the colonists away, whom Theal mistakingly says they were robbed. It is obvious then, that events did not happen as Theal presents them.

Although Theal is correct when he says that Ferreira and others went out on commando against Blacks, it is surprising that he does not say that the commando was illegal. It was illegal because it was not sanctioned by the government, and their leader was even brought before a court of law for taking the law in his hands. About that, we read from a document of the time: *"Wijders uijt de door de resp've Landdrosten van Stellenbosch en Swellendam aan den Eeere Gouverneur gesuppeditteerde en thans door zijn Edele en Rade overgelegde Raporten gebleken weezende, dat op d'ingekomene berigten, dat de Caffers diverse der vercfgeleegene Plaatsen onzer Ingezeetenen aangedaan, eenige Menschen om het Leven gebragt en het aldaar gevondene Vee zouden hebben weggevoerd, uijt het distriet van Stellenbosch den Velcwagmeester Josua Joubert, en uijt dat van Swellendam den Adjutant der Land-Militie aldaar Petrus Hendrik Ferreira, zonder daartoe alvorens Speciale Ordres 't zij van de voorsz. Landdrosten in 't particulier, of van dezelve met den krijgsraad in 't algemeen te hebben bekomen, met een Sterk Commando uijt de daacromstreez... om hierna exact te onderzoek te doen, en bij bevinding dat daacromtrent buijten eene dringende noodzakelijkheid en op eene Strafwcardige wijze mogte gehandeld zijn, als aan de Schuldinge voor den Raad van Justitie t'actioneeren."* (26).

From that quotation it will be realised that as far as officials were concerned, there was no conflict with Blacks, thus the necessity of arraigning all those who had gone on the Ferreira commando before a court of law.

It is correct as Theal points out in his last point that Van Jaarsveld was called in to come and drive out those Blacks who refused to leave the colony. Van Jaarsveld however, did not proceed to attack them immediately, but requested them first to leave failing which he would be forced to attack them. It is very strange that Theal does not mention that point. Van der Merwe documentarily reports Van Jaarsveld as having proceeded as

25. Jeffreys: Kaapse Argiefstukke 1780, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 58.

follows: "In 1780 vra Van Jaarsveld om toegelaat te word om met die Kaffers vrede te maak. Hy sal hulle die vee wat gedurende die oorlog geroef is, laat teruggee, 'want het is vast dat de Caffers ook luijden berooft en tot armoed gebragt heeft die ook wel weten nooit geen beest van hun gehad hebben, also kunnen den..." (27). It is also correct as Theal points out that cattle taken by the Ferreira commando were among that commando (28).

After the district of Graaff-Reinet was established Woeke was appointed as its first Landdrost. The government ordered him to preserve peace with the Blacks and to give presents to their chiefs in order to achieve that. Theal then continues as follows:

1. Ndlambe became regent of the Xhosa after the death of Rarabe, but he was not accepted by other tribes who now pledged their allegiance to Gcaleka, because they claimed that the death of Rarabe had freed them of their vassalage to him (29).
2. In 1773 a large body of the Xhosa crossed the Fish river and settled in the Zuurveld, the colonists fleeing without being able to save their cattle.
3. Captain Kuhne as Landdrost of the area raised a commando, but the invaders fled without being attacked. The Council of Policy subsequently ordered him not to attack them (30).
4. A commission was then sent by the government to go and treat with the Blacks, and upon the Landdrost asking them why they had invaded the colony they replied: "...that they did not regard their action as an invasion, because they considered the country between the Fish river and the Kowie their own, as they had purchased it some years ago from a Hottentot named Ruiter." (31).
5. When the Landdrost told them that they had agreed to respect the border they replied that they were willing to pay as much tribute to the government for the district as the farmers paid rent. They declined to give up possession of it.

27. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 274.

28. Jeffreys: Kaapse Argiefstukke 1780, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 169.

29. Theal: Volume 3, London, 1922, 3rd edition, p. 241.

30. Ibid., p. 243.

31. Ibid., pp. 242-244.

6. When the Xhosa heard rumours that the colonists were going to laager, they retired immediately from the area.
7. When chief Cungwa was met by the former secretary of the Zuurveld Wagener, he still based his claims for the contested area on the grounds that it had been bought from Ruiter. Wagener declined to admit that the sale of Ruiter was binding on the Europeans and offered to refund the Xhosa. They refused and were left to live there (32). The second Kaffir war ended in that manner in 1789.

I cannot find any evidence to agree or disagree with Theal on the first point. It is an accepted fact traditionally, that after the death of Rarabe there were some tribes which refused to recognize the authority of Ndlambe. This led to tense and strained relations among some tribes, and consequently some skirmishes. I must point out however, that these are traditions which have been collected by white men whose validity has not been tested. If that tradition is taken into consideration however, then Theal appears to be right.

The second and third points of Theal are incorrect. Due to the fact that I could not get the original documents of that period dealing with those events, I have here used Van der Merwe who is regarded as an authority on the subject and has used the documents of that period. He explains that after the first skirmish between the colonists and the Blacks friendly relations were started, and people on both sides went to live in each other's area. By the time that Kuhne was given his instructions in 1783, colonists and Blacks were living peacefully with each other. It is incorrect therefore, for Theal to say that there was an invasion of the colony by the Bantu-speaking people. That peaceful situation continued until in 1786 when a Black wanted to steal a sheep and was shot dead. Woeke realised that the situation would not be peaceful forever but was powerless to do anything. For the time however it looked like events would be peaceful, until Woeke received a letter of complaints from certain colonists about cattle thefts (33).

He did not accept or reject the complaints out of hand, but first wanted concrete evidence from the complainants that that was the case. He therefore replied as follows to that complaint:

32. Theal: Volume 3, London, 1922, 3rd. edition, pp. 242-244.

33. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 291.

"Vinde ik dat 't geen in datselve versok schrift nopens de molesten die door de Caffers-natie gepleegd worden, ... zouden gerroofd hebben niet voldoende bewijse opleevert, om die Natie vijandelijk aan te tasten... de Respective Veldwagmeesters dien aangaande geen rapport doen, en ook dat de bovengenoemde personen geen beklag gedaan en ook het versok niet meede onderteekend hebben." (34). It will be noticed that even in this letter Woeke did not speak about any invasion of the colony by Blacks. Even in their letter of complaints it is clear that the colonists did not complain about a Black invasion of the colony. It remains a mystery therefore, where Theal got the idea of a Black invasion of the colony in that year. The people were already living together by that time.

We return now to the Captain Kuhne commando mentioned by Theal. Kuhne did not raise a commando as Theal would want us to have it. Complaints about cattle thefts were becoming rife, and in February 1789 Woeke wrote as follows to the government: "*Uit verscheijden ingekome rapporten en klagten der Ingeseetenen leggen, en overal in de Colonie by tien en twintig rond swerven, allerlei moedswil en molesten pleegen, vee roven en in 't geheel na geen vriendelijke waarschouwing willen luijsteren, niets goeds in z'n hebben.*" (35) Under those circumstances Kuhne and a number of Veldwagmeesters were instructed by Woeke to drive the Blacks over the Fish river, and also to bring back any other colonist who could be found in what was then Kafferland. Van der Merwe, quoting the documents of the period explains it as follows: "*In hierdie omstandighede (those explained by Woeke in his letter to the government just quoted) het hy Kaptein Kuhne gelas om met drie velwagmeesters en hul onderhorige manskappe nog eens te beproeven, de Kaffers over de Grootte Visch Rivier drijvende te zien of ze aldaar zal zijn, dezelve vijandig te behandelen en raison te brengen. Welek onderneming egter niet eers als wanneer het de hoogste noodzakelijkheid verschijnt zal geschieden... Voor 'n eventuele aanval op die Kaffers gemaak word, sou verder gesorg word dat die grensboere betyds retireer, en sou 'n gewapende mag langs die Visrivier geplacs sou word om 'n algemene inval in die Kolonie te delet.*" (36).

34. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 295.

35. Ibid., p. 294.

36. Ibid., p. 295.

Meenwhile Woeke had written a letter to the government informing them about the action he had taken, but Kuhne completed his task before the letter reached the authorities. Without much difficulty Kuhne carried out his instructions and drove the Blacks up to the Fish river, but they could not cross it because it was swollen. Van der Merwe explains the events of that period as follows: "*Hij het sonder veel moeite die Kaffers van die Boesmanrivier tot aan die Grootvisrivier gedrywe, maar ongelukking was laasgenoemde rivier zo vol dat niemand daar deur kon nie. Gevolglik moes Kuhn die Kaffers voorlopig ten weste van die Visrivier laat bly, maar hy het belowe om hulle tot in Kafferland te drywe sodra die stroom passabel is. Daar was een Kaptein wat volstrek geweier om oor die Visrivier te trek... Voorst rapporteer Kuhn 'Dat er nog geene vyandelijkheden waren begonnen, dog dat die Kaffers voortginge allerlei molest the pleegen...'*"(37). It can therefore be seen that when Theal says that the Blacks fled without being attacked he was not reporting the events correctly. It can also be seen that Kuhne did not raise a commando which was supposed to go and fight against Blacks.

The fourth point of Theal is correct, and the commission sent out by the government was instructed to dissuade Blacks from claiming that area on the grounds that they had bought it. We read that "*Die Landdroos het die vergadering daarop gewys dat die veronderstelling van de Goewerneur m.b.t. die aansprake van die Kaffers op die Suurveld nie ongegrond is nie*", but that "*die kommissie moes probeer om die aansprake van die Kaffers op die Suurveld af te koop en hulle aldus genoodsak om oor die Visrivier te trek en daar te bly. Aan die Kapteins moes eenige snuijsterijen as tekens van vrede en vriendskap uitgedeel word, en die kommissie moes probeer om hulle te beweeg om hul volgelinge wat groepsgewyse binne die kolonie rondgeswerf het, in Kafferland te hou*"(38). The underlined phrase in the last sentence also indicates that Theal was incorrect to say that Blacks invaded the colony and were therefore to be driven out by means of force. On the fifth point Theal is also correct (39).

37. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, p. 297.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p. 302.

Following logically from what has been said, it will be realised that the sixth point of Theal is incorrect. Blacks never retired from that area because of any rumours, and in fact there were no rumours to the effect that the colonists were going to laager. After the peace commission had completed its task under those conditions, Wagener the former secretary to that area was left behind as Landdrost and government representative when others left for the colony. At all times Blacks were expected to cross the Fish river once it had subsided, but they never did and were in fact making preparations to attack the colony. Wagener tried to organize the colonists for defensive purposes, but the expected attack by Blacks never took place. He then went to meet Cungwa and Chaka who did not promise to maintain peaceful relations on the border areas (40).

Theal has reported correctly that Cungwa told Wagener that they had bought the land from Ruiters. Although Wagener said that Ruiters had no right to sell that land to them, and that his sale had misled Cungwa and his people, one wonders what right any colonist had to say is as far as that was concerned. It is an indisputable fact that the land belonged to the San people before the arrival of whites in 1652, and those people could do whatever they wished to do with it. Summarising what Theal had written for the period under consideration, Van der Merwe said: *"Die voorstelling wat ons hierbo van die wrywing tussen die boere en die kaffers in 1789 gegee het, verskil op belangrike punt van Dr Theal se beskrywing van 'The Second Kaffir Invasion of the Colony'. Dr wek die indruk dat die Kaffers in Maart 1789 plotseling die kolonie binnengeval het en dat die boere, wat nie in staat was om hulleself te verdedig nie, voor die Kaffers uitgevlug het. Uit die dokumente van die tyd wil dit egter blyk dat die Kaffers teen die einde van die jare tagtig sonder vyandelijke bedoelings geleidelik die kolonie binnegedring.*

Verder wek dr Theal die indruk dat kaptein Kuhne se ekspedisie bedoel was om die Kaffers te straf en geroofde vee terug te neem, en hy stel dit foutief voor als die kommando, toe hy op die punt gestaan het om die

40. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer. Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 303-309.

vrugte van een maklike oorwinning te neem, tot die bittere teleurstelling van die burgers op instruksies uit die Kaap ontbind moes word. In werklikheid was die bedoeling blykbaar glad nie dat Kuhn geweld moes gebruik nie. Inderdaad het Woeke dit oorweeg om eventueel die Kaffers vyandelik aan te tas. Maar dit sou nie geskied voordat die Landdros self met die Kapteins onderhandel het en die nodige maatreëls vir dit beveiliging van die grensboere getref het nie... En hy het nie die Kaffers verder als die Visrivier gedrywe nie, enkel en alleen omdat die rivier vol was en niemand daar kon deurkom nie. In die hierdie verband begaan dr Theal 'n chronologiese fout.

Tenslotte vertel dr Theal dat die boere, toe hulle voor die Kaffers yitmoes vlug, nie in staat was om al die vee te red nie (volume 3 page 178). Hy praat ook op 'n vae manier van 'the losses sustained by the invasion' en van 'the consequences (of the second Kaffir invasion of the colony) to the farmers' (page 181) en wil voorgee dat die boere op die Kaffergrens na die vertrek van Wagener voortdurend aan 'ruinous losses' blootgestel was en verplig was om hulle vee gewapend op te pas (page 182).

Ons het nie daarin geslaag om in die dokumente van die tyd die berigte te vind wat melding maak van die verliese wat die boere as gevolg van die 'inval' van die Kaffers gelei het nie. Al was die enkel berigte oor die beweerde veediefstalle deur die Kaffers waarna ons hierbo verwys het, ook absoluut betroubaar, dan kan ons nog nie enkei op grond daarvan aanneem dat veediefstalle in 1789 'n belangrike rol in die moeilikhede op die grens gespeel het nie" (41).

Even the commission sent out by the government did not report or was told that Blacks have been stealing the cattle that belonged to the colonists. Van der Merwe continues to explain the root of the problem as follows: "Aan die andere kant blyk dit uit verskillende dokumente baie duidelik dat botsing van belange oor die grond 'n baie belangrike oorsaak van die geskille en gespanne houding wat daar in 1789 tussen die boere en die Kaffers op die grens ontstaan het. En hieraan gee dr Theal nie die nodige aandag aan." (42). This then clearly explains that

41. Van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 313-315.

42. Ibid., pp. 315-316.

the explanation given by Theal of the events of that period is incorrect and unreliable.

Before the Cape was occupied by the British in 1795, Theal presents the following events to have occurred in the relations between the Blacks and the colonists:

1. The period after the appointment of Maynier as the new Landdrost was very trying on the frontier, as there was drought and the Xhosa had consumed the reserve grain of the colonists.
2. Ndlambe was at war with other chiefs and far and wide in the colony the Xhosa were stealing the cattle of the colonists. They said that they would not stop until Ndlambe had stopped being belligerent (43).
3. A burger named Barend Lindique then raised a commando to retrieve the stolen cattle without official approval, being then in league with Ndlambe.
4. A few days after that the Xhosa crossed the Fish river and made an attack on the Colony and many farms were laid waste. Lieutenant Pieter Hendrik Ferreira raised a commando to resist the attack (44).
5. Maynier tried to induce the chiefs to be peaceful by giving them presents, but he did not succeed. Maynier did not believe that the Xhosa were capable of acting with duplicity.
6. After a few skirmishes peace was ultimately made with the Xhosa. In giving a report on the causes of the war however, Maynier attributed it to the outrageous conduct of Coenraad du Buis and Lindique for calling a commando without any official approval. The report of Maynier was prepared to meet the views of the government (45).

Documentary evidence does not agree with the first statement of Theal. Neither do historians who wrote after him ever mention that Blacks stole grain that belonged to the colonists during the period of drought on the frontier. A document of the time reads as follows: *"The inhabitants are for the greater part impoverished - this poverty has disposed them for disaffection and revolt appears again by the example of Grave Reinet.*

43. Theal: Volume 3, London, 1922, 3rd edition, p. 281.

44. Ibid., pp. 282-283.

45. Ibid., pp. 287-291.

Those unhappy people are dispersed over an expansive surface and live at a considerable distance from each other — on one side they are incessantly harassed by the Bossies Marns (a species of Hottentots) & on the other they are obliged to struggle under the oppressive Yoke of their own government." (46). It will be seen that nowhere in this document is reference being made to the fact that Blacks stole grain from the colonists. Since that is one of the factors that led to the 'trying period' on the frontier, the document could have mentioned it since it mentioned the fact that the San were harassing the colonists. Troup also quotes the San as the people who gave the colonists a difficult time at the frontier (47). De Klerk and Muller also mention the fact that there was drought on the frontier during this period, but nowhere do they say that Blacks stole the grain of the colonists. If that did happen, we could be sure that the thefts committed by Blacks could have been mentioned (48). At any rate documentary evidence does not agree with Theal.

The second and third points of Theal are, so far as I have been able to verify from secondary sources, correct (49). But since those secondary sources were written after Theal had written, it is possible that those historians might have taken their information from him. Blacks invaded the colony because of the actions of Lindique and Ou Euis. Those two whites had clubbed with Ndlambe and terrorised some tribes, which led to the attack of the colony by the latter. Maynier was right (although Theal says that he was not) in blaming those colonists for the unrest on the frontier. I hereby stuff my standpoint with how Troup explained the situation on the frontier in order to explain the causes of the war:

"The drought of 1793 sent some thirty Boer families trekking across the Fish river in search of pasture. The Xhosa were short of grain and those in the Suurveid had also lost their cattle in the drought. The whites accused them of stealing cattle, 'eating up' pastures, killing off the game and enticing away their servants. The Xhosa complained of white misbehaviour and accused many of the frontier despots of brutal assaults, robbery, murder and of taking their women as concubines. In addition there

46. Theal: *Records of the Cape Colony 1793-1796*, London, 1897, p. 189.

47. Troup: *South Africa: An Historical Introduction*, Middlesex, 1975, p. 70.

48. (a) W. A. De Klerk: *The Puritans in Africa*, Manchester, 1975, p. 20.

(b) Muller (ed): *Five Hundred Years*, Cape Town, 1971, 2nd ed., p. 76.

49. *Ibid.*

were complaints about the Boers' treatment of their servants — both Khoikhoi and Xhosa going into service were assaulted, half-starved, their wages withheld, cattle or children often withheld if they wished to end their service." (50). A document of the time edited by Theal himself also has this to say about the behaviour of the colonists towards Blacks: "Note by some other person — The Dutch settlers too often provoke the Natives." (51). If it is true that the colonists provoked Blacks as the document of the time and Troup point out, it is not surprising that they acted as they did in 1793.

About the Ferreira commando mentioned in the fourth point, that went out against Blacks subsequent to their 'invasion' of the colony, I could not find any evidence to comment on what Theal has said. It is quite possible however, that in those circumstances the colonists might have taken some action.

That Maynier did not succeed in bringing about peace after Blacks had attacked the colonists in the fifth point is true. Theal attributes the failure of Maynier to the fact that he did not believe that Blacks can deal in duplicity. That was not the approach of Maynier. Maynier approached Blacks as equal human beings who had rights that should be respected. That was not the attitude of the Dutch colonists. (In fact, that was one of the causes of the Great Trek, when the Dutch colonists left the Cape in protest against, among other things, equality between Black and white.) Troup explains the integrity of Maynier as follows: "He was a man who hated cruelty and injustice, very much a product of the liberal climate of the outer of his time. But many of the autocrats on the frontier mistrusted him and resented his authority... He blamed San raids very largely for the prevalent unrest..." (52). The historian Selby also explained the character of Maynier concerning Blacks as follows: "Maynier was liberty, equality and fraternity personified. But he put a different interpretation on these ideas from that held by the cattle farmers on the frontier. They dwelt on liberty: liberty to do as they pleased." (53). It is obvious that

50. Troup: South Africa: An Historical Introduction, Middlesex, 1975, p.71.

51. Theal: Records of the Cape Colony 1793-1796, London, 1897, p. 169.

52. Troup: South Africa: An Historical Introduction, Middlesex, 1975, p. 70.

53. J. Selby: A Short History of South Africa, London, 1975, p. 24.

peace could not be maintained on a frontier where people chose to do as they pleased. Thus, Maynier was responsible for the failure of peace on the frontier, but the colonists were responsible by their actions.

The last point of Theal also blames Maynier for concluding the war and writing a report to the government that favoured Blacks. Maynier and the Company recognised the intrinsic rights of the Blacks to the disputed area on the frontier, and could thus not arbitrarily send them out of that area if negotiations failed. That is why the war ended as it did, with Blacks still living in the disputed territory. Criticising Theal for the manner in which he had wrongly presented Maynier for the period under consideration, Professor Marais has said: *"Maynier has perhaps been the most misunderstood figure in South African history. The man responsible for the misunderstanding is Theal. He plays the part of the Public Prosecutor. He is concerned to obtain a conviction, and denies the jury the opportunity of hearing the defence."* (54).

The revolt of the Dutch colonists against the Company after that war was shortlived, because in 1795 the British annexed the Cape.

C. Conclusion

Of all the historians dealt with in this work, Theal distinguished himself by trying to account for the population of Africa by members of the different language groups, and particularly of South Africa by the Bantu-speaking people. He has diligently tried to document the history of the Bantu-speaking people for the period under consideration, but his work is in most instances incorrect, unreliable and contradictory. He has for example contradicted himself in the following ways: On page 6 of his Ethnography and Condition he says: *"Several improvements though with one exception trifling, are observable, but no race, however backward, can continue to exist for an enormously long period without making some progress in knowledge and manufacture."* But on pages 157 to 158 of his third volume he says: *"But by comparing the Portuguese accounts at the beginning of the seventeenth with the Dutch and English accounts at the close of the eighteenth century, it can be ascertained that the southern*

54. J.S. Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic, Cape Town, 1964, p.25.

Bantu made no progress in knowledge or morals during the two hundred years between Xhosa and Kawaia." Again in volume three on page 107 he says this of the colonists: "They (that is the farmers of the Groot-Vis-rivier) made the same request as those of the Sneeuwberg, and their grievances were identical, if Xosas be substituted for Bushmen." But further on the same page he says: "The Xosas, who were addicted to lifting the stock of the European graziers, had only recently moved so far westward." It is strange that the colonists should want to live with people who stole their cattle. Theal has also been subjective in most cases, and blamed Blacks for causing all the unrest on the frontier when the documents of the period indicate that they were not responsible for those troubles. Sabrow as a result of that, commented as follows on the subjectivity of Theal: "He could have written a history which would have been a reliable and credible foundation on which to build. It is not. It is unreliable, untruthful, biased." (55). It is possible that the political climate and the attitude of times then prevailing in the country might have had an influence on him, but that is no excuse for not being objective in the writing of history.

Theal has also not given references for many things that he has written, claiming that no one has made a study of the subject as he has done (56). Butterfield has written that when the historian steps into the arena of the past, "he recognizes that he is stepping into a world of partial judgements and purely personal appreciations and does not imagine that he is speaking ex cathedra." (57). Theal has however, prepared himself to do the opposite. Marais has asked a question which is also fitting for the period under consideration: "If a man's prejudices have spoilt his work on the period 1778-1802, might they not have done the same in respect of other periods?" (58). The same question still holds for the period which has been considered in this work.

55. M. Sabrow: A Critical Assessment of Dr George McCall Theal, Cape Town, 1962, p. 192.

56. Theal: The Portuguese in South Africa, Kaapstad, 1896, preface.

57. Sir H. Butterfield: The Whig Interpretation of History, London, 1973, p. 11.

58. J.S. Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic, Cape Town, 1964, preface.

An Evaluation of 19th Century Historiography.

Early 19th century historiography did not look objectively at the history of the Black people. The earlier historians of that period simply did not know anything of the history of Blacks. That is why most of them did not write anything about the Black people. Even those who wrote merely put their 'facts' forward as conjectures. If one were to apportion blame for the neglect of Black South African History, early nineteenth century historiographers would be blameless because of their ignorance. Towards the end of that century there was a change in the tone of the historiography. The tone was felt in the 'facts' that those historians produced and defended with authority. For that period those 'facts' were acceptable and pardonable. They were acceptable in view of the widespread ignorance concerning the history of Black people. They were pardonable because those historians appeared to be earnestly seeking after the truth. What is now making them unacceptable is not merely because new information has been found which now makes them to be so. It is because in the face of recent and correct information those 'facts' are still flourishing. They have not only flourished, but they have become accepted historical tradition of the Black people. That is what makes those 'facts' unacceptable.

The changed tone in the historiography of the latter part of the 19th century, Theal being the main representative, led to certain changes. The treatment of Black history began to be characterised negatively, as has partly been seen in this work. It appeared that the object of the new historiography was to write a lily-white history of the colonists of South Africa, and to disrobe the African of his history, cultural heritage and humanity. Racial struggles, with Blacks always blamed for their outbreak, are the central themes of that historiography. That was not the only target of the historiography, because it also intended to prove that the Afrikaners were the first inhabitants of South Africa. Theal even went to the extent of writing as follows about that at the end of his first volume: *"Neither the Hottentots, nor the Bantu are aborigines, and consequently are not entitled to be called natives more than the children of European colonists born in South Africa are."* (1). All this was written from a viewpoint of robbing the Blacks of their right to the country and

1. Theal: History of Africa South of the Zambezi Vol. 1; London, 1927, p.510.

a disregard of their history.

The views of those historians, although based purely on conjecture, are now accepted as facts in present-day South African history. As I have shown in the introduction, they are now disseminated in standard South African historical works of the country, and are believed by professional historians. From that it will be seen that the problems facing South African historiography started in the second half of the nineteenth century. They also started at the same time when the historian Theal, without sufficient information, and obviously biased, started to write. A century of such traditional historiography was to follow. It is worthwhile I think, to try to find out why such a historiography developed. I think that it can be understood by going back into the past, and looking at the historical forces which brought it about.

One of the forces was the immense acceleration which took place in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in European economies and industries. The development of fire-arms, of the steam engine, steam ships, automobiles and many other inventions, gave Europeans an overwhelming sense of superiority. This affected their attitudes towards peoples of non-European descent throughout the world. This point is found especially in the works of Theal (2). Before that such views were not found in European writers or were to be found only to a negligible extent, in South Africa and generally in Africa.

The second factor was partly the result of missionary attitudes, not only to South Africa but to Africa in general. The missionaries of the first period were products of the pseudo-scientific racism and cultural chauvinism in Europe. They were self-acclaimed avant-garde representatives of the Christian civilisation. They often portrayed themselves as dauntless servants of God, surmounting all sorts of obstacles by force of their racial, moral and technological superiority. They kept diaries wherein they wrote about the different tribal groups among whom they worked. Thus the Rev. T. M. Thomas wrote Eleven Years in Central South Africa (1875), Rev. D. F. Ellenberger wrote History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern, the Rev. Moffat wrote Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa

2. Theal: Ethnography and Condition of Africa before A.D. 1505, London, 1919, 2nd edition, pp. 410-411.

(1894), and the Rev. W. C. Holden wrote The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (1866), and the History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa (1855). Those diaries and books were used by historians trying to reconstruct the past of the Bantu-speaking people. Reading about the barbaric way of those people, it gave them an overwhelming sense of superiority. Africa was presented as a cursed land and given over to the devil. In the battle between Christianity and what the missionaries called paganism, the whole of African culture was dismissed. They did not try to understand the norms and principles of African culture, but regarded it as born of the devil. This, as I have already explained, gave rise to an Afrikaner interpretation of history wherein Blacks are seen as the children of the Biblical Ham, who should thus be subjected by Europeans. There was a total rightness in the European way of doing things which led to a total rejection of African ways. African children were even given European names, in an effort to keep up with the civilised Christians from Europe. Many other normative aspects of African life also went overboard.

Along the ideas that I have so far represented, somehow the concept that Africans had no past and history took firm root. One still comes across such ideas in standard history works of South Africa as I have explained. It was assumed that Europeans had a history, because they built castles, produced written records and statesmen whose pictures could be seen even today. I have already shown how Vansina has shown the incorrectness of such ideas. I have also explained that the history of the Black people can be reconstructed from a proper study and understanding of their oral tradition, archeological research, linguistics, anthropology and the introduction of new cultigens.

In conclusion, let me point out that the historical profession has, as a responsibility, the maintenance of integrity and scholarly standards. That will always remain so despite the peculiarities of South African historiography. Whether that will be achieved in the present climate of South Africa is another question. For people who are concerned with bringing the history of Black people to light, there are certain things to consider. They must be sensitive to the fact that the very archives, diaries, reports, and monographs we depend on for scientific evidence have themselves been distorted by the intervening historiographical traditions and prejudices. Our historical commitment should therefore stem from our deepest commit-

ment to history, peoples and country we are writing about. There should be the ability to judge with fairness and honesty. There is a need to correct the pseudo-scientific and exclusive historiography of all the periods in our history. We also need to guard against a Euro-centric as well as an Afro-centric history.

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