

**HERITAGE MAPPING AND SURVEY OF THE OPHATHE GAME RESERVE
EMAKHOSINI OPHATHE HERITAGE PARK
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Report Produced by



**Len van Schalkwyk
eThembeni Cultural Heritage
Box 20057 Ashburton 3213
PIETERMARITZBURG South Africa
thembeni@iafrica.com**

for

**Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali
195 Jabu Ndlovu Street
PIETERMARITZBURG 3200**

November 2016

HERITAGE MAPPING AND SURVEY OF THE OPHATHE GAME RESERVE

EMAKHOSINI OPHATHE HERITAGE PARK

SCOPE OF WORK

The defined Scope of Work for this commission was: “The survey, and conducting of condition assessments, of heritage resources, with special reference to the archaeology within the defined area of the Opathe Game Reserve, Emakhosini- Opathe Heritage Park”; and submission of the report on SAHRIS.

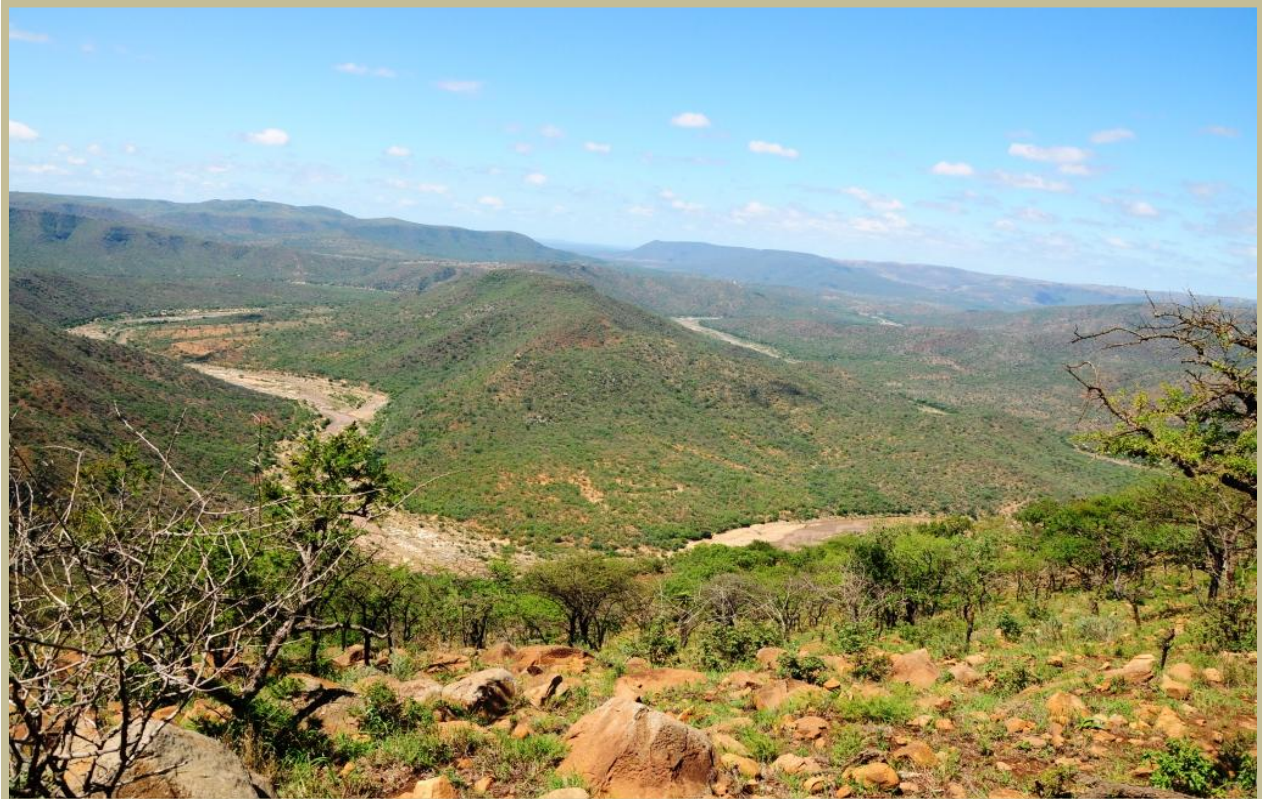


Figure 1. The steep and rugged topography of the Opathe Reserve (Western boundary on the Mfolosi River).

INTRODUCTION

eThembeni Cultural Heritage was commissioned by Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali to undertake an heritage survey and reconnaissance of the Opathe Game Reserve in the winter of 2016. The objective of the survey was to ascertain the presence/absence of heritage resources; including archaeological residues and sites, for management purposes and the potential for further research. The Opathe Game Reserve forms a sizeable part of the eMakhosini Opathe Heritage Park that straddles the middle basin of the White Mfolosi River, within the Valley of the Kings near Ulundi. The Park is steeped in the formative history of the Zulu nation and is a major tourism destination. Consequently, the survey also sought to identify heritage sites that could enhance the interpretation of a larger suite of environmental and cultural history in the Valley.¹

¹ See Appendix 2: summary and further readings on the cultural historic sequence of the wider region

Field work was undertaken in two field trips of 13-15 March and 17-19 May 2016. Early, Middle and Later Stone Age artefacts were observed as random occurrences. Evidence of Late Iron Age settlement was observed at two locations and three historical period cattle posts were recorded. No Early Iron Age residues were observed. Reference is also made to historical sites immediately adjacent to the proclaimed boundaries of the Park.

Due to security and nature conservation staff constraints the eastern boundary of the Park, comprising portions of the farm Stockville 13904, was not surveyed. This is unfortunate as satellite imagery indicates deep colluvial soils on the slip-off slopes adjacent to the Mfolosi River that have a high potential to yield Early Iron Age archaeological residues, albeit that these slopes have previously been mechanically cultivated.

SURVEY AREA DESCRIPTION

The Ophathe Game Reserve is some 8 825 ha in extent and comprises a steep and rugged topography with deeply incised valleys draining into the Mfolosi basin to the North and East (Figure 1). The Reserve, proclaimed by the KwaZulu Government in 1991 (see Appendix 1), comprises the consolidation of a number of farms now collectively known as the eMakhosini Ophathe Heritage Park.

The Reserve is named for the Ophathe River which rises on the Mthonjaneni plateau at c.1020 m amsl and drains a steeply grading basin into the Mfolosi River at c. 420 m amsl. *Ophathe* in turn is derived from an isiZulu idiom, *ungiholela ophathe*, meaning to entice someone into a situation of mortal danger. The naming of the river is apocryphally linked to circumstances around the ambush of Voortrekkers who rode in Andries Pretorius' "Wenkommando" of 1838, to destroy Umgungundlovu and retrieve cattle stolen at the Battle of Blaaukrantz (for detailed account see Chadwick [1986], Appendix 2). Other informants, however, believe that the name has greater antiquity; and is claimed to be associated with a skirmish involving Nwandwe cattle raiders who were lured and ambushed at the headwaters of the drainage basin during the battle of Gqokli Hill (Oscar Mtimkulu². pers.comm. 2016).

The Ophathe Reserve extends, in the south-west, from the Mthonjaneni Heights at c.1040 m amsl, to its north eastern boundary along the White Mfolosi River at c.400 m amsl. This altitudinal difference spans both a grassland and savanna biome³. Vegetation grades from Midlands Mistbelt Grasslands, with Subtropical Freshwater Wetlands that manifest in the form of tarns, on the higher elevations, grading altitudinally through Dry Hinterland Grassland to dry Zululand Lowveld woodland and thicket in the valley bottoms (*sensu* Mucina and Rutherford)⁴. Mean Annual Rainfall figures vary between 600 - 650 mm in the valley bottoms and 850 - 900 mm at the higher altitudes.

² Oscar Mtimkulu was born and raised in the eMakhosini Valley and is currently Conservator: Okahlamba–Drakensberg WHS

³ Low and Ribelo. 1996

⁴ Mucina and Rutherford. 2006



Figure 2. Incised drainage lines and the steep and rugged topography of the Ophathe Reserve.

These incised valleys expose a geological sequence spanning some 3500 million years. The oldest rocks are basal granites of the Kaapvaal Craton exposed within palaeo-river channels of the Mfolosi basin. Ascending to the heights above at Mthonjaneni the geology grades through granites and gneisses of the Natal Metamorphic Province (1800 mya), Natal Group Sandstones (500 mya), and Dwyka tillite and Ecca sandstones and shales of the Karoo Supergroup (250 mya). The consequence, in the middle and lower reaches of these valleys, are significantly mixed heterogeneous talus and screed slopes comprising elements and derivatives of all the overlying lithostratigraphy⁵.

This significant suite of geological exposures is certainly worthy of further interpretation and publicity as part of an enhanced visitor experience to the eMakhosini Ophathe Heritage Park; and bodes well for the establishment of a GeoTrail in the area.⁶

⁵ Uken, R et al. 2014

⁶ www.35igc.org/Uploads/Images/Content/Pongola%20Field%20trip%20GB%20Dec%202015.pdf



FIGURE 3. Ophathe Game Reserve_ Cadastral Boundaries

METHODOLOGY

Early, Middle and Later Stone Age artefact scatters were known to occur in and adjacent to drainage lines and *dongas* that erode both headward and laterally through the colluvial and screed deposits derived from erosion of the upslope lithology (personal observations). In the lower reaches of these drainage lines, reducing gradients and resistant underlying Ecca shales and sandstones result in the deposition of deep sand deposits forming palaeosols. These, themselves, are subject to downward and headward erosion during episodes of above average rainfall and episodic colluvial infill from sheet wash from the surrounding slopes; a process known as *pedogenesis*.⁷

The upper A-horizon palaeosol deposits have been C¹⁴ dated in the region to coincide with the Late Pleistocene Hypothermal between c.35 000 and 14 500 BP^{8,9} and span the terminal Middle Stone Age and early Later Stone Age. Consequently, *dongas* and drainage lines were targeted for evidence of Stone Age residues and possible *in situ* knapping floors. B-horizon palaeosols, beyond the range of C¹⁴, feasibly span the periods of earlier MSA technologies including Still Bay (c.70 kyr), Howieson's Poort (c.65 kyr) and late MSA (c. 55-60 kyr) technologies¹⁰; this however awaits future secure dating and research confirmation¹¹.

⁷ Clarke, A. et al. 2003

⁸ Botha, GA. et al. 1990

⁹ Botha, GA. et al. 1992

¹⁰ Wadley, L. 2015

¹¹ Botha, GA. et al. 1994

Informed by previous survey experiences by the author (see below), in both the eMakhosini and Mahlabathini basins, searches were further directed to level areas on the lower slopes of interfluves and in areas adjacent to drainage lines. It is here that deeper colluvial soils suitable for cultivation and perennial sources of water occur, that were prerequisites for Iron Age settlement. Slopes of > 30% gradient were observably eschewed for settlement in pre-colonial times (see Figure 2).

OBSERVATIONS

In the mid to late 1980's, prior to the construction of the R66 access road to Ulundi, the author was privileged to explore the farms Overloed and Witvolloos on horseback and on foot with the late Nick Steele¹². We traversed largely along the course and secondary tributaries of the Mthibelundi drainage basin which allowed for easier access through the thick Zululand woodland. On an excursion to visit Gqokli Hill¹³ and to try to re-imagine the course of that battle we commented on the lack of evidence of Iron Age occupation in the Mthibelundi basin. Nick ascribed this to the lack of perennial water, having observed that there certainly was evidence of Iron Age settlement in the Mkhubane drainage to the northwest of the D301 and closer to the Mfolosi River; and to the east of Gqokli along the Thengela Ridge, above the course of the Ophathe River. Both the Mkhubane and the Ophathe were observed to retain perennial residues of surface and sub-surface water even during the current 2016 drought.

In 1985/86, Dr. Tim Maggs and the author investigated a reported Late Iron Age iron smithing site located on the farm Overloed, adjacent to the Park on the southern bank of the White Mfolosi River. The site had been exposed by a combination of the colluvial overburden covering the site being removed by the high water levels of the Mfolosi during Cyclone Démonia (1984); and subsequently by the grading of an access road to the extant Afrimat hard rock quarry. The site had been graded and driven over by heavy machinery and only residual furnace and *tuyere* fragments and iron ore and slag were collected (KZN Museum Site Record).

Coincidentally, a few years later, the Ondini Cultural Museum was curating an exhibition at King Mpande kaSenzangakhona's Memorial site at Nodwengu; of copies of paintings of the artist and traveller, George French Angas.¹⁴ One of the Angas' paintings, annotated as "Zulu blacksmiths at work on the banks of the Mfolosi River", drew our attention (see Figure 4). Angas had a reputation as a very observant naturalist and gifted draftsman, and his landscape depictions are regarded as being highly accurate.

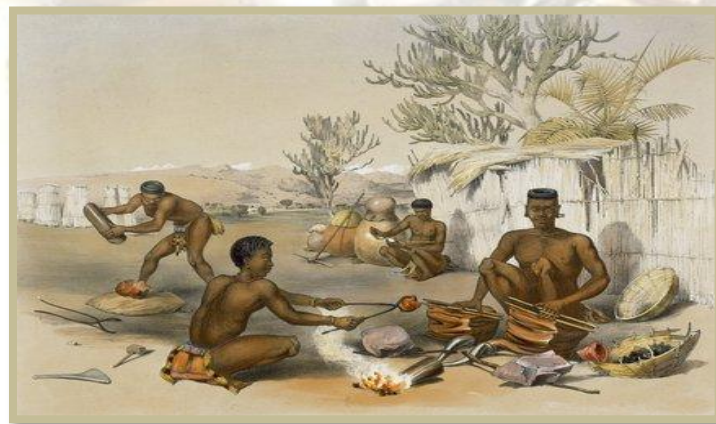


Figure 4 Zulu blacksmiths at work on the banks of the Mfolosi River (during the reign of Nkosi Panda c.1842)

¹² <http://www.natalia.org.za/Files/27/Natalia%20v27%20obituaries%20Steele.pdf>

¹³ <http://obscurebattles.blogspot.co.za/2015/02/gqokli-hill-1818.html>

¹⁴ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angas-george-french-1708>

The archaeological site is located close to two of the historically recorded drifts over the Mfolosi, along access routes to King Mapande's *iKhanda* at Nodwengu. Angas was at the time *en route* to visit the King. We ourselves, being familiar with the landscape, conjectured on the possibility of the archaeological site being the one Angas had observed and painted. With a large format facsimile copy of the painting in hand we revisited the site. Certainly, one can recognise the location of the Mabhedlane, Endlovane and Mkhazane hills on the skyline, as depicted in the painting.

Whilst the exercise remains one of conjecture we were however mindful during this survey to the possibility of the occurrence of further smelting and smithing site residues being present on the Ophathe Reserve.

Sites and residues observed (See also Table in Appendix 3)

All **Stone Age** residues observed on Opathe were random water worn occurrences that have been moved down slope by colluvial wash. No *in situ* knapping floors were discernible. It is possible that the eroding donga into the palaeosol on the western boundary, that extends into the adjacent farm, Dorstfontein, may well contain *in situ* MSA knapping floors. The upper reaches of the palaeosol was however inaccessible due to the game fence.

<u>Site and Period</u>	<u>Lat</u>	<u>Long</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
OP ESA1	S28.39388°	S28.39388°	ESA flaked core; random hill-washed occurrence
OP MSA DONGA1	S28.39221°	E31.35572°	Eroding Palaeosol; western boundary. Water worn MSA flakes (indet.age). Quartzite and hornfels (IS)
OPT LSA1	S28.37777°	E31.36943°	Random water washed LSA quartz debitage



Figure 5 ESA flaked core; random colluvially washed occurrence (OP ESA1)



Figure 6 Eroding palaeosol with scattered quartzite and hornfels (indurated shale) MSA *debitage* amongst other colluvially washed lithic debris (OP ESA Donga1)

No **Early Iron Age** (EIA) remains were observed within Opathe. Msuluzi period ceramics have been previously observed outside the reserve boundaries in ploughed fields located on colluvial slip-off slopes adjacent to the Mfolozi River; both adjacent to the Park and further downstream (L.van Schalkwyk, personal observations).



Figure 7 Ploughed fields on colluvial slopes of the Mfolozi River where Msuluzi ceramics have previously been observed

Future survey of the portion of the reserve comprising the farm Stockville 13904 may well yield EIA residues in the very similar colluvial slopes along that portion of the Mfolozi River and its attendant tributaries. Google imagery shows that these slopes have also been extensively ploughed in the recent historical past (20th C).

Late Iron / Historical period settlements were observed at two localities. The first, a contiguous scatter of residues runs down slope from SW to NE parallel to the western face of the Thengela Ridge (Figure 8). These comprised weathered pot sherds; broken upper and lower grindstones; heat spalled cooking fire-stones; and the very ephemeral remains of a hut floor (Figures 10, 11 and 12).

This part of the reserve is the most conducive to settlement, given the attributes of deep colluvial sandy soils, a relatively gentle slope and the close proximity of perennial water from the Opathe River. However, the age of the observed residues is difficult to gauge. Pottery fragments are temporally adiagnostic, as are the grindstone fragments. Suffice to say that they were deep-dished and synonymous with the grinding of maize. The ephemeral hut floor remains have been exposed to down slope erosion and trampling by both cattle and game.

The larger part of the settlement area has been previously bushed cleared to create a holding boma and loading ramp for wildlife relocations. More recently it has been used as a vulture restaurant. Game animals currently aggregate in the cleared area to graze the pioneer *Cynodon* and *Urocloa spp* grass lawn, and roll in the ash and dung residues of a previous cattle byre. The combination of down slope erosion, bush clearing and animal trampling have laterally displaced the material cultural debris over an area of c.1 km².

Whilst the area fits historical descriptions of settlement in the late 19th C (see Chadwick, Appendix 2) there is no doubt that this *locale* was inhabited in the early to middle 20th C by labour tenants when the farm Witvolos was run as a cattle farm. Both the 1975 and 1980 editions of the 1:50 000 topographical map of the area (2831AD Ulundi) show “Native Huts” located below the Thengela Ridge.

It is most probable that the *locale* has been inhabited for at least the last 150 years and the residual material culture is a scattered testimony of multiple occupations.

A single stone enclosed grave (OPT GRV1).was observed on the granite crest of the Thengela Ridge (Figure 13). The uniform height of secondary woodland in a c. 50m radius around the grave site suggests that the area may have been the location of a homestead. However, no other material cultural residues were observed and the grave may in fact be related to the previously described settlements further down slope to the west.

<u>Site and Period</u>	<u>Lat</u>	<u>Long</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
OPT LIA01	S28.38684°	E31.36555°	Series of contiguous material residues occurring
OPT LIA1	S28.39136°	E31.36413°	along the ridgeline over a distance of 900m.
OPT LIA2	S28.39075°	E31.36394°	Weathered clay sherds <10/10 ² m; broken U&L grind stones; ephemeral hut floor remains and heat spalled stones. Area denuded.
OPT GRV1	S28.38485°	E31.37479°	Stone enclosed grave on granite ridge above OPT LIA01.
OPT LIA3	S28.38699°	E31.44614°	Possibly historical? Random heat-spalled stones and U&L grindstone residues. Vegetation cleared and re-growth uniform.

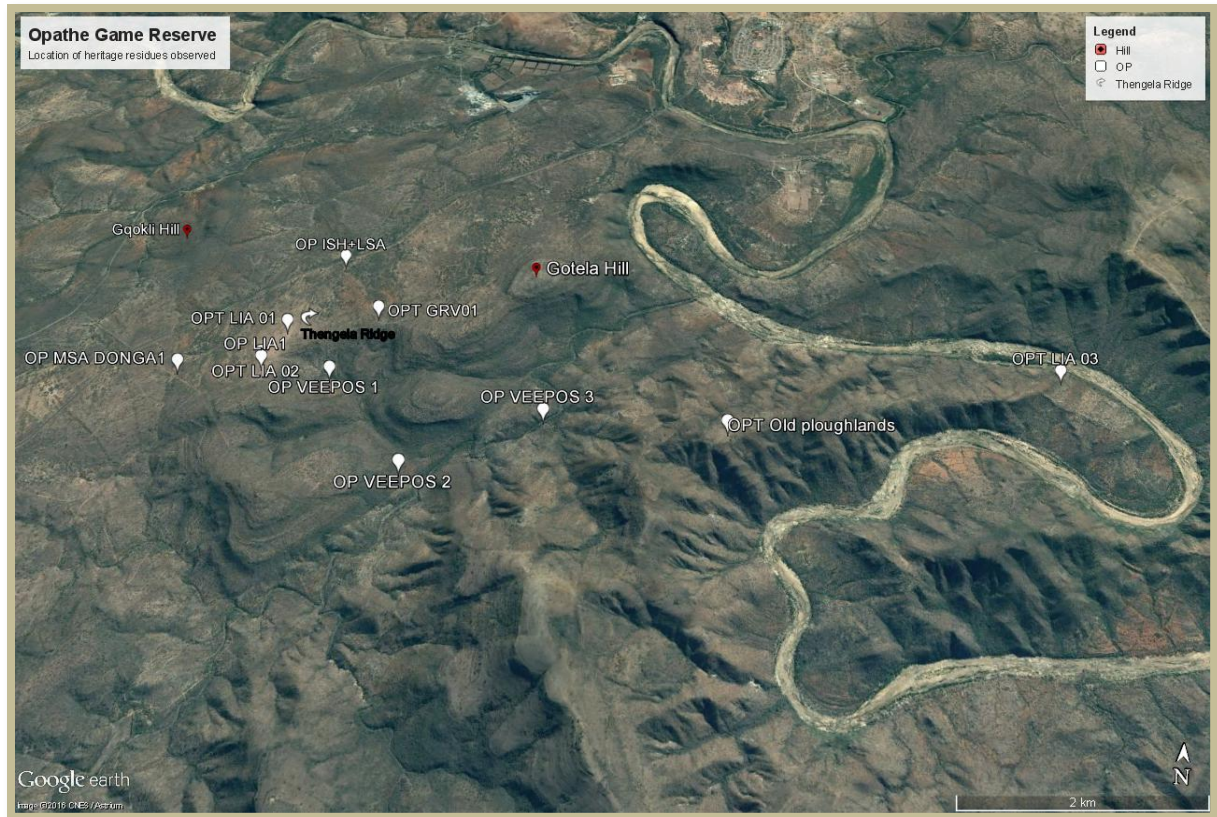


Figure 8 Opathe Reserve: Location of heritage residues observed (see also Google kml. image loaded to SAHRIS)



Figure 9 Late Iron Age / Historical settlement area below Thengela Ridge. Note vegetation clearance.



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13

Three historical period cattle-posts (veeposte) were observed during the survey. These all date to the early to late middle 20th C cattle farming activities on the farm Witvolos. They are conspicuous in the degraded nature of the valley bushveld vegetation and the uniform stands of secondary growth in their immediate vicinity. Surface scatters of broken grinding stones; heat spalled cooking-fire stones; enamel, ceramic and glass bottle residues; and barbed wire and industrial metal remnants litter the respective sites. These were clearly not just temporary encampments, but inhabited for longer periods of time as attested by the food preparation, serving and storage artefacts observed. All three are located within close walking distance of the Opathe River that ensured drinking water for both the livestock and the herders.

<u>Site and Period</u>	<u>Lat</u>	<u>Long</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
Ophathe River Veepos 1	28.39172°	31.37105°	All three livestock posts (veeposte) appear to date to 20 th C cattle farming activities. Grinding stones and heat-spalled cooking-fire stones present + enamel and ceramic residues + barbedwire/bottles
Ophathe River Veepos 2	S28.40118°	E31.38004°	
Ophathe River Veepos 3	S28.39476°	E31.39324°	



Figure 14 Figure 15



Figure 16 Cattle post-note contrast in vegetation

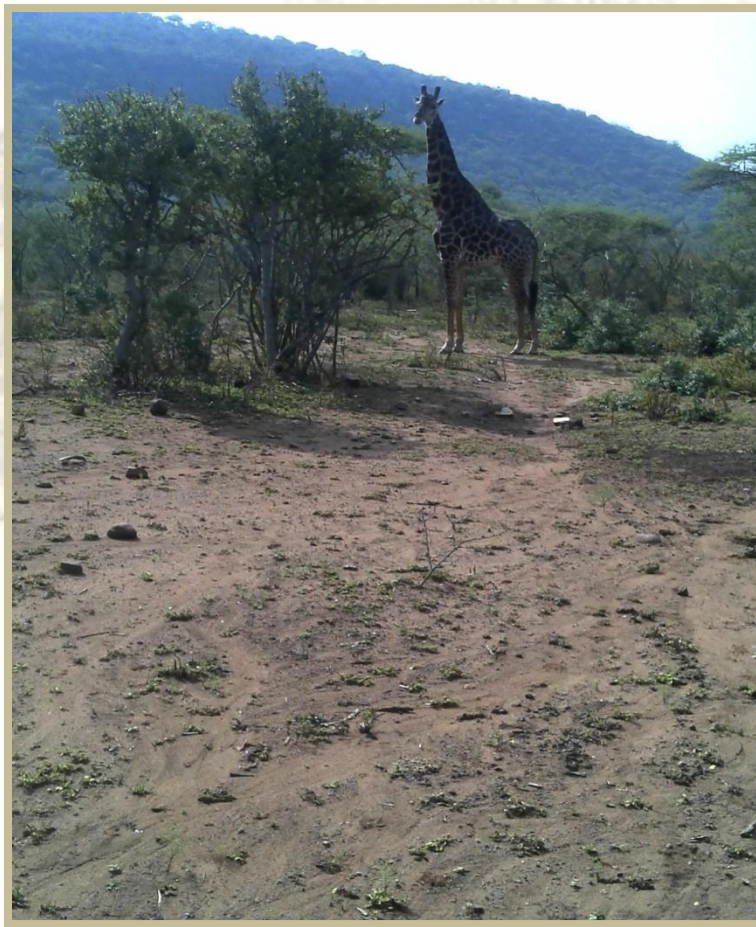


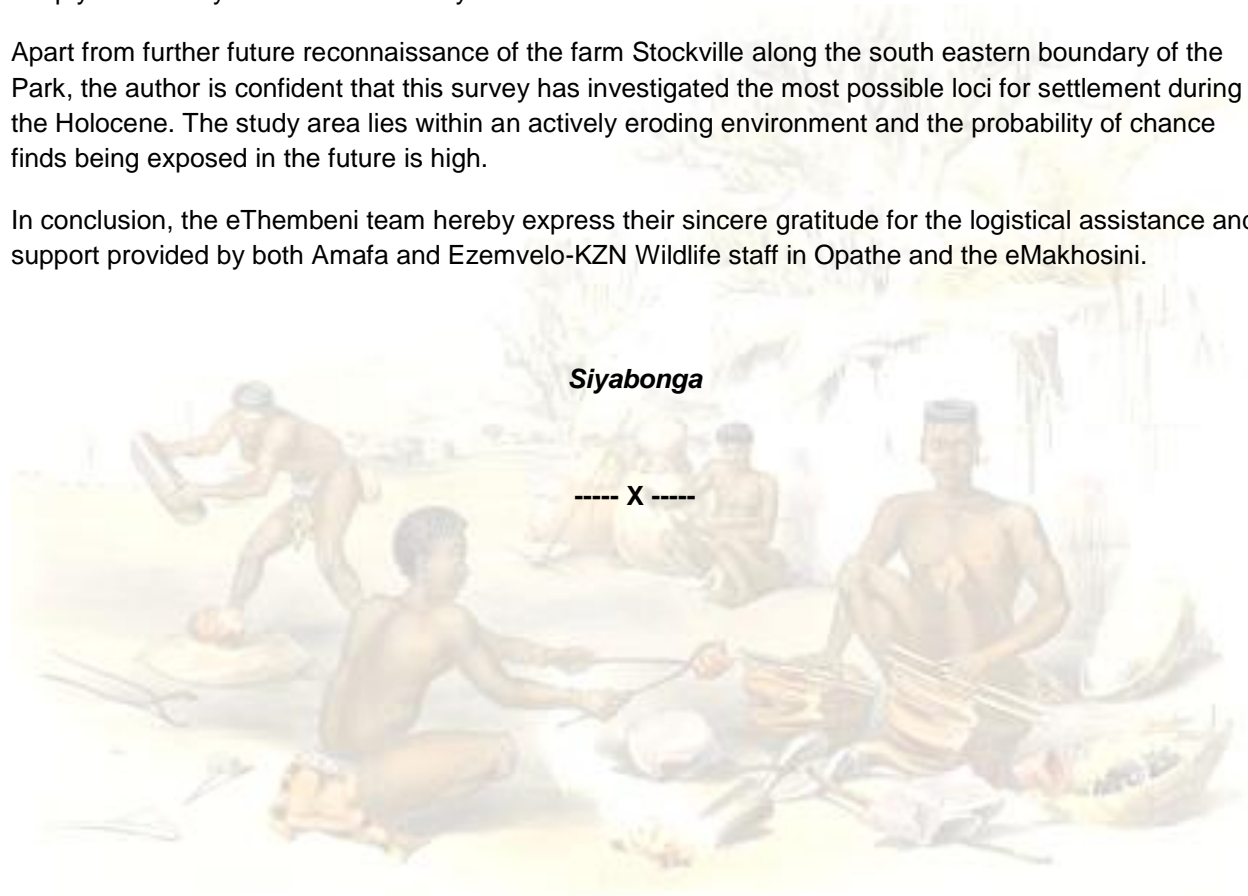
Figure 17 Late – note degraded and trampled vegetation and surface denudation

Discussion

Given the steep and rugged topography of the Opathe Reserve suitable settlement *locales* for Iron Age farmers were limited. The cultural residues observed during this survey clearly indicate that the study area has been traversed and utilised for millennia but settlement was limited. Along the bank of the Mfolozi River, comprising the north east boundary of the Park, tantalising small pockets of cultural debris (fire-spalled cooking stones, random fragments of both upper and lower grinders) indicate the possible presence of more intensive settlement in this zone (OP LIA3). However, deep sands occur here, up to 50 m from the current river alignment, a product of both the flood deposition during Cyclone Demoina in 1984 and down slope wash of leucocratic soils derived from the underlying granitic gneisses. Consequently, any settlement and potential iron smelting sites along these slip-off slopes, has been deeply masked by the extensive sandy overburden.

Apart from further future reconnaissance of the farm Stockville along the south eastern boundary of the Park, the author is confident that this survey has investigated the most possible loci for settlement during the Holocene. The study area lies within an actively eroding environment and the probability of chance finds being exposed in the future is high.

In conclusion, the eThembeni team hereby express their sincere gratitude for the logistical assistance and support provided by both Amafa and Ezemvelo-KZN Wildlife staff in Opathe and the eMakhosini.



References

- Botha, GA; de Villiers, JM; Vogel, JC. 1990. Cyclicity of Erosion, colluvial sedimentation and palaeosol formation in Quaternary hill slope deposits from northern Natal, South Africa. *Palaeoecol. Africa* (21). pp 195-210.
- Botha,GA; Scott, L; Vogel, JC; van Brunn,V. 1992. Palaeosols and Palaeoenvironments during the Late Pleistocene Hypothermal in northern Natal, South Africa. *SAJS* (88), pp 508 – 512.
- Botha,GA; Wintle,AG; Vogel,JC. 1994. Episodic late Quaternary palaeogully erosion in northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Catena* (23). Pp327-340. Elsevier.
- Clarke, ML;Vogel, JC; Botha GA; Wintle, AG. 2003. Late Quaternary hillslope evolution recorded in eastern South African colluvial badlands. *Palaeo* (197). pp.199-212. Elsevier.
(http://researchspace.csir.co.za/dspace/bitstream/10204/1394/3/clarke_2003.pdf)
- Low, AB. & Rebelo, AG. (eds.) 1996. *Vegetation of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland*. Pretoria: DEAT.
- Mucina, L., & Rutherford, MC. 2006.*The Vegetation of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland*. SANBI. Pretoria.
- Uken, R; Whitmore, G; Meth,D et al. 2014. KwaZulu-Natal – 3500 million years of geological history. Edu Poster. School of Geological and Computer Sciences. Howard College. UKZN. Durban.
- Wadley, L. 2015. Those marvellous millennia: the Middle Stone Age of Southern Africa. *Azania*. (2).50. pp 155–226. (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0067270X.2015.1039236>)



Appendix 1

KWAZULU GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. 289 OF 1991 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OPATHE GAME RESERVE IN THE DISTRICT OF MTONJANENI

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 29 (1) of the KwaZulu Nature Conservation Act, 1975 (Act 8 of 1975) as amended, I, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Minister of Economic Affairs, hereby determine the farms defined in the accompanying schedule be known as a game reserve and that the name Opathe Game Reserve be assigned to the said area.

M.G. BUTHELEZI
MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

SCHEDULE

DESCRIPTION OF THE OPATHE GAME RESERVE

The farms situated east of the new Ulundi to Melmoth Road P52:

The farm WITVOLOOS 5553	- Sub-division 1	971,2464ha.
	- Sub-division 3	394,6235ha.
The farm WELTEVREDEN 6113	- Remainder	800,2653ha.
	- Sub-division 1	727,7468ha.
The farm MARS 12874		895,9748ha.
The farms DOORNHOEK 15736 and DOORNHOEK 6112		2600,1426ha.
The farm STERKFORTEIN 6111		1565,0699ha.
The farm STOCKVILLE 13904		600,4723ha.
Overvoerd 7432 portion of remainder		270,0000ha.
Witvolcos 453 portion of sub-division 2		290,0000ha.
Extent of area		8 825,5400ha.

KWAZULU GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING Nr. 289 VAN 1991 INSTELLING VAN DIE OPATHE WILDRESERVAAT IN DIE DISTRIK VAN MTONJANENI

Kragtens die bevoegdheid aan my verleen deur artikel 29 (1) van die KwaZulu Natuurbewaringswet, 1975 (Wet 8 van 1975) soos gewysig, bepaal ek, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Minister van Ekonomiese Sake, hierby die gebied omskryf in bygaande skedule as 'n wildreservaat en dat die naam Opathe Wildreservaat aan die genoemde gebied toegeken word.

M.G. BUTHELEZI
MINISTER VAN EKONOMIESE SAKE

SKEDULE

BESKRYWING VAN DIE OPATHE WILDRESERVAAT

Die plase geleë oos van die nuwe Ulundi - Melmoth Pad P.52.

Die plaas WITVOLOOS 5553	- Onderverdeling 1	971,2464ha.
	- Onderverdeling 3	394,6235ha.
Die plaas WELTEVREDEN 6113	- Restant van	800,2653ha.
	- Onderverdeling 1	727,7468ha.
Die plaas MARS 12874		895,9748ha.

Appendix 2 Battle of Opathe Gorge – George Chadwick (NMC Pamphlet - 1986)

INTRODUCTION

After the victory at Blood River on 16 December, 1838 the Wenkommando (Victory Commando) pushed their way in the direction of Mgungundlovu via Nqutu, the eastern passes of the Itala Mountain and the lower hills of Babanango. On 19 December scouts were sent out to establish the situation of the complex but when Commando approached it on 21 December, they found it in flames. The Commando identified and buried the mortal remains of Retief and his party. The treaty, which had been concluded with Dingane, was found unharmed in Retief's knapsack. The Commando left the vicinity of Mgungundlovu on 24 December and formed their laager at the Mthonjaneni Drift at a spot which overlooked the wide Mfolozi Plain.

ZULU "CATTLE"

As was to be expected, one of the main aims of the Commando, led by Andries Pretorius and consisting of 475 Voortrekkers, including three British settlers from Port Natal, and accompanied by 70 Port Natal Blacks, was to regain some of the thousands of animals which had been plundered by the Zulus. From their favourably situated site they could see numbers of livestock grazing in the valleys below them. On 27 December, after they had been persuaded by Bongaza, a Zulu spy who was in touch with them, the Voortrekkers decided to send out a strong force to gather some of these animals together.

THE AMBUSH IN THE GORGE

A force of approximately 350 men, including the British settler, Captain Alexander Biquar, and accompanied by the Port Natal Blacks, under the leadership of Carel Landman and Hans (Dons) de Lange started off. Pretorius, who had been wounded in the hand at Blood River, remained in the laager with the rest of the Commando, 125 in number. According to some authorities, this mounted force followed a route, which coincides with the present road, until they were about halfway to the present Mfolozi bridge, where they turned eastwards to enter the precipitous gorge of the Opathe stream at a place where, from the Mthonjaneni heights, they had observed many animals. A place on the route, Magidela, is still to be seen today, probably so named by the Zulus when they heard the drumming of the horses' hooves (gida = dance). According to some accounts, it would appear that they rode down directly from the Mthonjaneni mountain and followed the route of the Opathe stream until they reached approximately the same place. As they were descending the slopes a Zulu, who stood on a hill overlooking the their position, called out very loudly, "Baphakati", ie, "They are already inside". Upon hearing this the Zulu impis which had been hiding amongst the trees and who had been holding their shields in such a way as to make them appear to be oxen, rushed from the valleys and gulleys to cut the Voortrekkers off from the laager and the gorge. In dismay, the Voortrekkers realised they had been led into ambush on a narrow wooded slope where their being mounted would not give them an advantage over the nimble-footed Zulus. They abandoned the idea of becoming involved in a skirmish and, with the Zulus close on their heels, moved on in the valley to where the Opathe stream joined the Mfolozi. While they were crossing the river the Zulus who had pursued them shouted to those who were positioned in military complexes on the further bank to also attack. The Voortrekkers were forced to turn westwards and soon came to a broad stream which they thought was a tributary of the Mfolozi and crossed to escape the new threat. In reality, they had crossed over an S bend and were now on the same side as their pursuers. After they had completed the rest of the S bend they crossed the river again and came out on the Ulundi Plain where they could again use their horses to advantage.

THE FIGHT ON THE PLAIN

By dividing into two sections and riding four by four so that two could fire while two loaded, the Voortrekkers succeeded in keeping the Zulus at a distance. Nevertheless, they were under pressure all the time and they had to ride far north over the Plain. While the fight was raging, a number of horses which the Zulus had captured from Uys and Potgieter came galloping to them. It is apparent that the Voortrekkers reached the Plain at about 11h00 and that they fought the whole day toward off the Zulu attacks and to keep them at bay. The tactic of riding past the Zulus to fire and then making a wide turn and then again to ride past with the object of attacking the flanks with loaded muzzleloaders was exceptionally exhausting for the horses and this forced them to gallop miles further than a glance at the map would indicate.

QUICKSAND AND HIDDEN STONES

At sunset the Voortrekkers were in a position to evade the Zulus and to turn eastwards in order, it appears, to come out at an easy crossing over the Mfolozi River. It is just on the other side of the present bridge where the river flows broadly and shallowly. As they rode into the river at dusk, the Voortrekkers found, to their dismay, that they had landed in quicksand. Within a few minutes the horses began to flounder whilst the Zulus began to attack from the rear. The Voortrekkers had to dismount to help the horses and became involved in a desperate fight to save their lives. Here, five Voortrekkers and Alexander Biggar, as well as all the Port Natal Blacks died. Many of the latter may have been shot dead by the Voortrekkers who, in the dusk, could not distinguish between friend and foe.

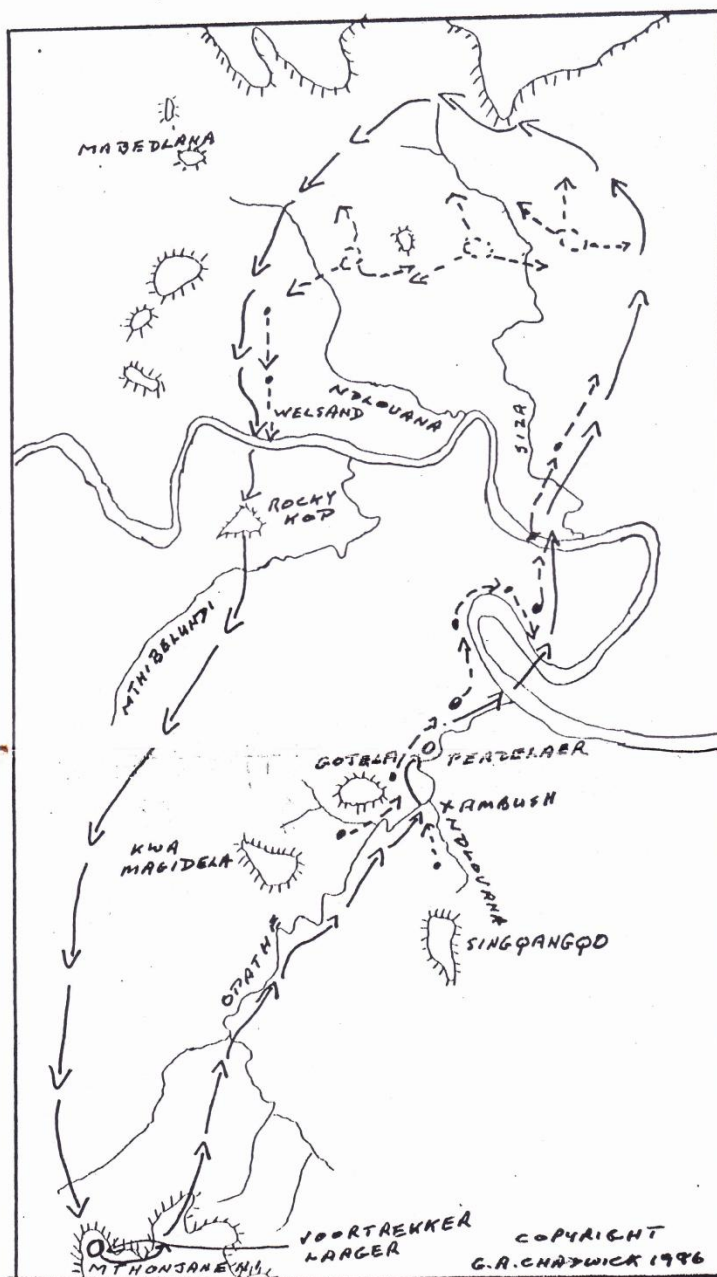
Eventually they reached the further bank and the Voortrekkers must have galloped over the Plain with a great sense of relief, leaving the Zulus behind in the darkness. Their difficulties were not yet ended. While they rode out from the slopes of a little hill a peculiar formation of sharp projecting stones trapped the hooves of some of the horses and some of the riders had to dismount and lead the horses while the Zulus were still fast on their heels. When they were over the hill they were in a position to reach the laager by about 22h00 by riding along the route of the present road. However, a group who became separated from the main force during the day did not turn up before midnight.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that Hans (Dons) de Lange, who had insisted that the group remain mounted keep on the move so as to fight on the Plain, was the hero of the day. As he correctly explained, the Commando did not have sufficient ammunition available to offer long-term resistance and the loss of the horses would have been fatal to them. One can imagine Pretorius' concern while he watched, from a well-situated laager, his Commando disappearing the distance involved in a mighty battle with the Zulus. Towards evening, when they reached the quicksand, it was too dark to see what was happening, but he must have seen the flashes of fire from the muzzleloaders and have heard how they were shooting.

Zulu casualties were very heavy and are estimated at about 3 000 and it is clear that the defeat at Blood River had not so broken their power that they could not put a strong force into the field. The number involved in the battle against the Voortrekkers must have been about 10 000.

This battle has, surprisingly, been accorded very little attention. It is clear that, had the Voortrekkers been overrun, the laager would have been very easily destroyed and there would have been nothing to prevent the Zulus from attacking the unprotected laagers in the Natal Midlands. It was indeed a turning point in the Voortrekkers' destiny.



THE OPATHE GORGE AND THE ULUNDI PLAIN

REFERENCE ☼ PROMINENT HILLS
 ↳ RIVERS AND STREAMS → VOORTREKKER
 MOVEMENTS - - - → ZULU MOVEMENTS

APPENDIX 3

<u>Site and Period</u>	<u>Lat</u>	<u>Long</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
OP ESA1	S28.39388°	S28.39388°	ESA flaked core; random hill-washed occurrence
OP MSA DONGA1	S28.39221°	E31.35572°	Eroding Palaeosol; western boundary. Water worn MSA flakes (indet.age). Quartzite and hornfels (IS)
OPT LSA1	S28.37777°	E31.36943°	Random water washed LSA quartz debitage
OPT LIA01	S28.38684°	E31.36555°	Series of contiguous material residues occurring
OPT LIA1	S28.39136°	E31.36413°	along ridgeline over a distance of 500m. Water
OPT LIA2	S28.39075°	E31.36394°	rounded clay sherds <10/10 ² m; broken U&L grind stones; ephemeral hut floor remains. Denuded.
OPT LIA3	S28.38699°	E31.44614°	? possibly historical. Random heat-spalled stones and U&L grindstone residues. Vegetation cleared and re-growth uniform.
Ophathe River Veepos 1	28.39172°	31.37105°	All three livestock posts (veeposte) appear to date
Ophathe River Veepos 2	S28.40118°	E31.38004°	to 20 th C cattle farming activities. Grinding stones
Ophathe River Veepos 3	S28.39476°	E31.39324°	and heat-spalled cooking-fire stones present +
			enamel and ceramic residues + barbwire/bottles etc.

See Google Kml. file loaded to SAHRIS.



Appendix 4

A SUMMARY HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL 1902

The following information was obtained from the website:

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/555568/South-Africa/44057/Pastoralism-and-early-agriculture#tab=active~checked%2Citems~checked&title=South%20Africa%20%3A%3A%20Pastoralism%20and%20early%20agriculture%20--%20Britannica%20Online%20Encyclopedia>

The authors of this document are Colin J. Bundy, Julian R. D. Cobbing, Martin Hall and Leonard Monteath Thompson

The prehistory and history of South Africa span nearly the entire known existence of human beings and their ancestors, some three million years or more, and include the wandering of small bands of hominins through the savanna, the inception of herding and farming as ways of life, and the construction of large urban centres. Through this diversity of human experience, several trends can be identified: technological and economic change, shifting systems of belief, and, in the earlier phases of humanity, the interplay between physical evolution and learned behaviour, or culture. Over much of this time frame, South Africa's past is also that of a far wider area, and only in the last few centuries has this southernmost country of Africa had a history of its own.

The Stone Age

The earliest creatures that can be identified as ancestors of modern humans are classified as australopithecines (literally "southern apes"). The first specimen of these hominins to be found (in 1924) was the skull of a child from a quarry site at Taung in what is now the North-West province. Subsequently more australopithecine fossils were discovered in limestone caves farther northeast at Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, and Kromdraai (collectively designated a World Heritage site in 1999), where they had originally been deposited by predators and scavengers.

South Africa's prehistory has been divided into a series of phases based on broad patterns of technology. The primary distinction is between a reliance on chipped and flaked stone implements (the Stone Age) and the ability to work iron (the Iron Age). Spanning a large proportion of human history, the Stone Age in Southern Africa is further divided into the Early Stone Age, or Paleolithic Period (about 2,500,000–150,000 years ago), the Middle Stone Age, or Mesolithic Period (about 150,000–30,000 years ago), and the Late Stone Age, or Neolithic Period (about 30,000–2,000 years ago). The simple stone tools found with australopithecine fossil bones fall into the earliest part of the Early Stone Age.

○ The Early Stone Age

Most Early Stone Age sites in South Africa can probably be connected with the hominin species known as *Homo erectus*. Simply modified stones, hand axes, scraping tools, and other bifacial artifacts had a wide variety of purposes, including butchering animal carcasses, scraping hides, and digging for plant foods. Most South African archaeological sites from this period are the remains of open camps, often by the sides of rivers and lakes, although some are rock shelters, such as Montagu Cave in the Cape region.

Change occurred slowly in the Early Stone Age; for more than a million years and over a wide geographic area, only slight differences existed in the forms of stone tools. The slow alterations in hominins' physical

appearance that took place over the same time period, however, have allowed physical anthropologists to recognize new species in the genus *Homo*. An archaic form of *H. sapiens* appeared about 500,000 years ago; important specimens belonging to this physical type have been found at Hopefield in Western Cape Province and at the Cave of Hearths in Mpumalanga province.

- The Middle Stone Age

The long episode of cultural and physical evolution gave way to a period of more rapid change about 200,000 years ago. Hand axes and large bifacial stone tools were replaced by stone flakes and blades that were fashioned into scrapers, spear points, and parts for hafted, composite implements. This technological stage, now known as the Middle Stone Age, is represented by numerous sites in South Africa.

Open camps and rock overhangs were used for shelter. Day-to-day debris has survived to provide some evidence of early ways of life, although plant foods have rarely been preserved. Middle Stone Age bands hunted medium-sized and large prey, including antelope and zebra, although they tended to avoid the largest and most dangerous animals, such as the elephant and the rhinoceros. They also ate seabirds and marine mammals that could be found along the shore and sometimes collected tortoises and ostrich eggs in large quantities. The rich archaeological deposits of Klasies River Mouth, Pinnacle Point and Blombos on the Cape south coast have preserved the first known instance of shellfish being used as a food source.

Klasies River Mouth has also provided important evidence for the emergence of anatomically modern humans. Some of the human skeletons from the lower levels of this site, possibly 115,000 years old, are decidedly modern in form. Fossils of comparable age have been excavated at Sibudu Cave and Border Cave, in the mountainous region between KwaZulu-Natal province and Swaziland.

- The Late Stone Age

Basic toolmaking techniques began to undergo additional change about 40,000 years ago. Small finely worked stone implements known as microliths became more common, while the heavier scrapers and points of the Middle Stone Age appeared less frequently. Archaeologists refer to this technological stage as the Late Stone Age. The numerous collections of stone tools from South African archaeological sites show a great degree of variation through time and across the subcontinent.

The remains of plant foods have been well preserved at such sites as Melkhoutboom Cave, De Hangen, and Diepkloof in the Cape region. Animals were trapped and hunted with spears and arrows on which were mounted well-crafted stone blades. Bands moved with the seasons as they followed game into higher lands in the spring and early summer months, when plant foods could also be found. When available, rock overhangs became shelters; otherwise, windbreaks were built. Shellfish, crayfish, seals, and seabirds were also important sources of food, as were fish caught on lines, with spears, in traps, and possibly with nets.

Dating from this period are numerous engravings on rock surfaces, mostly on the interior plateau, and paintings on the walls of rock shelters in the mountainous regions, such as the Drakensberg and Cederberg ranges. The images were made over a period of at least 25,000 years. Although scholars originally saw the South African rock art as the work of exotic foreigners such as Minoans or Phoenicians or as the product of primitive minds, they now believe that the paintings were closely associated with the work of medicine men, shamans who were involved in the well-being of the band and often worked in a state of trance. Specific representations include depictions of trance dances, metaphors for trance such as death and flight, rainmaking, and control of the movement of antelope herds.

- Pastoralism and early agriculture

New ways of living came to South Africa about 2,000 years ago. Until that time, human communities had survived by gathering plant foods and by hunting, trapping, and scavenging for meat, but with the introduction of agriculture—arguably the single most important event in world history—people began to make use of domesticated animals and plants. This in turn led to a slow but steady rise in population and to more complex political and religious organizations, among other things. Crops could be grown and cattle, sheep, and goats herded near permanent villages and towns in the east, where rainfall was adequate. In the more arid west, domestic livestock were kept by nomadic pastoralists, who moved over wide territories with their flocks and herds.

Although the origin of nomadic pastoralism in South Africa is still obscure, linguistic evidence points to northern Botswana as a probable source. The linguistic evidence is supported by finds of sheep bones and pottery from Bambata Cave in southwestern Zimbabwe that have been dated to about 150 BCE. Whether new communities moved into South Africa with their flocks and herds or whether established hunter-gatherer bands took up completely new ways of living remains unclear. In any case, the results of archaeological excavations have shown that sheep were being herded fairly extensively by the first few centuries ACE in eastern and western parts of the Cape and probably in the northern Cape as well.

While traces of ancient herding camps tend to be extremely rare, one of the best-preserved finds is at Kasteelberg, on the southwest coast near St. Helena Bay. Pastoralists there kept sheep, hunted seals and other wild animals, and gathered shellfish, repeatedly returning to the same site for some 1,500 years. Such communities were directly ancestral to the Khoekhoe (also spelled Khoikhoi) herders who encountered European settlers at the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-17th century.

The archaeological traces of farmers in the eastern regions of South Africa are more substantial. The earliest sites date to the 3rd century ACE, although farming was probably already well established by this time. Scatters of potsherds with distinctive incised decoration mark early village locations in Mpumalanga and parts of KwaZulu-Natal.

The Iron Age

Because the first farmers had knowledge of ironworking, their archaeological sites are characterized as Iron Age (c. ACE 200). New groups of people arriving in South Africa at that time had strong connections to East Africa. They were directly ancestral to the Bantu-speaking peoples who form the majority of South Africa's population today.

- Iron Age sites

Early Iron Age farmers grew crops, cutting back the vegetation with iron hoes and axes, and herded cattle and sheep. They heavily supplemented farming by gathering wild plant foods, engaging in some hunting, and collecting shellfish if they lived near enough to the coast. Where conditions for agriculture were favourable, such as in the uThukela River valley in the east, villages grew to house several hundred people. Some trade existed between groups of farmers—evidence for specialization in salt making has been found in the northeast—and with the hunter-gatherer bands that continued to occupy most parts of South Africa. Finely made life-size ceramic heads found near the city of Lydenburg (now Mashishing) in eastern South Africa and dated to the 7th century ACE are all that remains of the people who once inhabited this region.

Early Iron Age villages were built in low-lying areas, such as river valleys and the coastal plain, where forests and savannas facilitated shifting (slash-and-burn) agriculture. From the 11th century, however, in the period conventionally known as the Late Iron Age, farming communities began to settle the higher-lying grasslands. It has not been established whether these new communities were inhabited by invaders

or reflected the diffusion of new knowledge to existing populations. In many areas the new communities started making different forms of pottery and built villages out of stone. Most probably these and other changes in patterns of behaviour reflect the increasing importance of cattle in economic life.

- First urban centres

Other changes came in the north. Arab traders established small settlements on the Tanzanian and Mozambican coasts in their search for ivory, animal skins, and other exotica. The trade beads they offered in return began to reach villages in the interior, the first indications that the more complex economic and social structures associated with long-distance trade were developing. The arid Limpopo River valley, avoided by the earliest farmers, developed as a trade route. Sites such as Pont Drift (c. 800–1100) and Schroda (dated to the 9th century), show that their occupants were wealthy in both livestock and trade beads.

The Limpopo River valley was also the setting in which Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe developed as South Africa's first urban centres during the 11th century. Starting as a large village like Schroda and Pont Drift, Mapungubwe rapidly developed into a town of approximately 10,000 people. Differences in status were clearly demarcated: the elite lived and were buried at the top of the stark sandstone hill at the town's centre, while the rest of the population lived in the valley below. Hilltop graves contained lavish burial goods, including a carefully crafted gold rhinoceros and evidence of specialized crafts such as bone and ivory working. Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe were abandoned after the 13th century after having been occupied for several hundred years. The trade connections that the Limpopo valley offered were taken over by Great Zimbabwe, farther to the north.

- Europeans in South Africa

The first Portuguese ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, their occupants intent on gaining a share of the lucrative Arab trade with the East. Over the following century, numerous vessels made their way around the South African coast, but the only direct African contacts came with the bands of shipwreck survivors who either set up camp in the hope of rescue or tried to make their way northward to Portuguese settlements in present-day Mozambique. Both the British and the Dutch challenged the Portuguese control of the Cape sea route from the early 17th century. The British founded a short-lived settlement at Table Bay in 1620, and in 1652 the Dutch East India Company set up a small garrison under the slopes of Table Mountain for provisioning their fleets.

Settlement of the Cape Colony

In the initial years of Dutch settlement at the Cape, pastoralists had readily traded with the Dutch. However, as the garrison's demand for cattle and sheep continued to increase, the Khoekhoe became more wary. The Dutch offered tobacco, alcohol, and trinkets for livestock. Numerous conflicts followed, and, beginning in 1713, many Khoekhoe communities were ravaged by smallpox. At the same time, colonial pastoralists, the Boers, also called trekboers, began to move inland beyond the Hottentots Holland Mountains with their own herds. The Khoekhoe chiefdoms were largely decimated by the end of the 18th century, their people either dead or reduced to conditions close to serfdom on colonial farms. The San—small bands of hunter-gatherers—fared no better. Pushed back into marginal areas, they were forced to live by cattle raiding, justifying in colonial eyes their systematic eradication. The men were slaughtered, and the women and children were taken into servitude.

The trekboers constantly sought new land, and they and their families spread northeast as well as north, into the grasslands that long had been occupied by African farmers. For many generations these farmers had lived in settlements concentrated along the low ridges that break the monotony of the interior plateau. While it is difficult to make population estimates, it is thought that some of the larger villages could have

housed several hundred people. Cattle were held in elaborately built stone enclosures, the ruins of which survive today across a large part of Free State province and in the higher areas north of the Vaal River. Extensive exchange networks brought iron for hoes and spears from specialized manufacturing centres in the Mpumalanga Lowveld and the deep river gorges of KwaZulu-Natal.

Thus, by the closing decades of the 18th century, South Africa had fallen into two broad regions: west and east. Colonial settlement dominated the west, including the winter rainfall region around the Cape of Good Hope, the coastal hinterland northward toward the present-day border with Namibia, and the dry lands of the interior. Trekboers took increasingly more land from the Khoekhoe and from remnant hunter-gatherer communities, who were killed, were forced into marginal areas, or became labourers tied to the farms of their new overlords. Indigenous farmers controlled both the coastal and valley lowlands and the Highveld of the interior in the east, where summer rainfall and good grazing made mixed farming economies possible.

Growth of the colonial economy

From 1770 to 1870 the region became more fully integrated into the world capitalist economy. Trekboers, who were weakly controlled by the Dutch East India Company, advanced across the semidesert Karoo of the central Cape and collided with African agricultural peoples along a line running from the lower Vaal and middle Orange river valleys to the sea around the Gamtoos River (west of modern Port Elizabeth). These agriculture-based African societies proved resilient but, even at their height in the 1860s, were unable to unite completely enough to expel the Europeans.

The decisive moment for the colony occurred in 1806 when Britain seized Cape Colony during the Napoleonic Wars. Initially the colony's importance was related to its function as a strategic base to protect Britain's developing empire in India. In the next few years, however, it also served as a market, a source of raw materials, and an outlet for emigration from Britain.

African societies after the 1760s were increasingly affected by ivory and slave traders operating from Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, and the lower Zambezi River in the northeast as well as by traders and raiders based in the Cape to the south. In response to these invasions, the farming communities created a number of sister states different in structure, scale, and military capacity from anything that had existed before. The Pedi and Swazi in the eastern Highveld, the Zulu south of the Pongola River, the Sotho to the east of the Caledon River valley, the Gaza along the lower Limpopo, and the Ndebele in present-day southwestern Zimbabwe proved to be the most successful.

The areas of the Western Cape with the longest history of settlement by Europeans had evolved an agricultural economy based on wheat farming and viticulture, worked by imported slave labour. Slaves were treated harshly, and punishments for slaves who assaulted Europeans were brutal—one of the most heinous being death by impalement. Escaped slaves formed groups called Maroons—small self-sufficient communities—or fled into the interior. Because slave birth rates were low and settler numbers were increasing, in the 1780s the Dutch stepped up the enslavement of surviving Khoe (also spelled Khoi; pejoratively called Hottentots) to help run their farms. Those Khoe who could escape Dutch subjugation joined Xhosa groups in a major counteroffensive against colonialism in 1799–1801, and there were slave rebellions in the outskirts of Cape Town in 1808 and 1825.

The Dutch refusal to grant citizenship and land rights to the “Coloured” offspring of unions between Europeans and Khoe or slaves produced an aggrieved class of people, known as Bastards (or Bastards), who were Christian, spoke Dutch, and had an excellent knowledge of horses and firearms. Many fled north toward and over the Orange River in search of land and trading opportunities. After merging with

independent Khoe groups, such as the Kora, they formed commando states under warlords, three of the more successful being the Bloem, Kok, and Barends families, who were persuaded by missionaries in the early 19th century to change their name to Griqua. By the 1790s they were trading with and raiding local African communities such as the Rolong, Tlhaping, Hurutshe, and Ngwaketse. For self-defense some of these African communities formed larger groupings that competed against each other in their quest to control trade routes going south to the Cape and east to present-day Mozambique.

The Portuguese and also some British, French, Americans, and Arabs traded beads, brass, cloth, alcohol, and firearms along the southeast coast in return for ivory, slaves, cattle, gold, wax, and skins. During the late 18th century, large volumes of ivory were exported annually from Delagoa Bay, and slaves were taken from the Komati and Usutu (a major tributary of the Maputo) river regions and sent to the Mascarene Islands in the Indian Ocean and to Brazil to work on sugarcane and coffee plantations. By 1800 trade routes linked Delagoa Bay and coastal trade routes with the central interior.

European trade precipitated structural transformation within societies inland of Delagoa Bay. Warlords reorganized military institutions to hunt elephants and slaves. Profits from this trade enhanced the warlords' ability to disperse patronage, attract followers, and raise military potential and, in turn, their capacity to dominate land, people, and cattle. Near the bay, Tembe and Maputo were already powerful states by the 1790s. To the west of the coastal lowlands emerged the Maroteng of Thulare, the Dlamini of Ndvungunye, and the Hlubi of Bhungane. Between the Pongola and Tugela rivers evolved the Mthethwa of Dingiswayo south of Lake St. Lucia, the Ndwandwe of Zwide, the Qwabe of Phakatwayo, the Chunu of Macingwane, and, south of the Tugela, the Cele and Thuli. Several groups—for example, the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, and Qwabe later merged with the Zulu. These groups competed to dominate trade and became more militarized the closer they were to the Portuguese base.

The Cape Colony had spawned the subcolonies of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal by the 1860s. European settlement advanced to the edges of the Kalahari region in the west, the Drakensberg and Natal coast in the east, and the tsetse-fly- and mosquito-ridden Lowveld along the Limpopo River valley in the northeast. Armed clashes erupted over land and cattle, such as those between the Boers and various Xhosa groups in the southeast beginning in the 1780s, and Africans lost most of their land and were henceforth forced to work for the settlers. The population of European settlers increased from some 20,000 in the 1780s to about 300,000 in the late 1860s. Although it is difficult to accurately estimate the African population, it probably numbered somewhere between two and four million.

Increased European presence (c. 1810-35)

The infrastructure of the colony began to change: English replaced Dutch as the language of administration; the British pound sterling replaced the Dutch rix-dollar; and newspaper publishing began in Cape Town in 1824. After Britain began appointing colonial governors, an advisory council for the governor was established in 1825, which was upgraded to a legislative council in 1834 with a few “unofficial” settler representatives. A virtual freehold system of landownership gradually replaced the existing Dutch tenant system, under which European colonists had paid a small annual fee to the government but had not acquired land ownership.

A large group of British settlers arrived in 1820; this, together with a high European birth rate and wasteful land usage, produced an acute land shortage, which was alleviated only when the British acquired more land through massive military intervention against Africans on the eastern frontier. Until the 1840s the British vision of the colony did not include African citizens (referred to pejoratively by the British as “Kaffirs”), so, as Africans lost their land, they were expelled across the Great Fish River, the unilaterally proclaimed eastern border of the colony.

The first step in this process included attacks in 1811–12 by the British army on the Xhosa groups, the Gqunukhwebe and Ndlambe. An attack by the Rharhabe-Xhosa on Graham's Town (Grahamstown) in 1819 provided the pretext for the annexation of more African territory, to the Keiskamma River. Various Rharhabe-Xhosa groups were driven from their lands throughout the early 1830s. They counterattacked in December 1834, and Governor Benjamin D'Urban ordered a major invasion the following year, during which thousands of Rharhabe-Xhosa died. The British crossed the Great Kei River and ravaged territory of the Gcaleka-Xhosa as well; the Gcaleka chief, Hintsa, invited to hold discussions with British military officials, was held hostage and died trying to escape. The British colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg, who disapproved of D'Urban's policy, halted the seizure of all African land east of the Great Kei. D'Urban's initial attempt to rule conquered Africans with European magistrates and soldiers was overturned by Glenelg; instead, for a time, Africans east of the Keiskamma retained their autonomy and dealt with the colony through diplomatic agents.

The British had chronic difficulties procuring enough labour to build towns and develop new farms. Indeed, though Britain abolished its slave trade in 1807 and pressured other countries to do the same, the British in Southern Africa continued to import some slaves into the Cape after that date, but in numbers insufficient to alleviate the labour problem. A ban in 1809 on Africans crossing into the Cape aggravated the labour shortage, and so the British, like the Dutch before them, made the Khoe serfs through the Caledon (1809) and Cradock (1812) codes.

Anglo-Boer commandos provided another source of African labour by illegally capturing San women and children (many of the men were killed) as well as Africans from across the eastern frontier. Griqua raiding states led by Andries Waterboer, Adam Kok, and Barend Barends captured more Africans from among people such as the Hurutshe, Rolong, and Kwena. Other people, such as those known as the Mantatees, were forced to become farmworkers, mainly in the Eastern Cape. European farmers also raided for labour north of the Orange River.

Cape authorities overhauled their policy in 1828 in order to facilitate labour distribution and to align the region with the growing imperial antislavery ethos. Ordinance 49 permitted black labourers from east of the Keiskamma to go into the colony for work if they possessed the proper contracts and passes, which were issued by soldiers and missionaries. This was the beginning of the pass laws that would become so notorious in the 20th century. Ordinance 50 briefly ended the restrictions placed on the Khoe, including removing the requirement for passes, and allowed them to choose their employers, own land, and move more freely. Because an insufficient labour force still existed, Anglo-Boer armies (supported by Khoe, Tembu, Gcaleka, and Mpondo auxiliaries) acquired their own workers by attacking the Ngwane east of the Great Kei at Mbolompo in August 1828. The formal abolition of slavery took place in 1834–38, and control of African labourers became stricter through the Masters and Servants Ordinance (1841), which imposed criminal penalties for breach of contract and desertion of the workplace and increased the legal powers of settler employers.

○ THE DELAGOA BAY SLAVE TRADE

While events were unfolding at the Cape, the slave trade at Delagoa Bay had been expanding since about 1810 in response to demands for labour from plantations in Brazil and on the Mascarene Islands. During the late 1820s, slave exports from the Delagoa Bay area reached several thousand a year, in advance of what proved to be an ineffective attempt to abolish the Brazilian trade in 1830. After a dip in the early 1830s, the Bay slave trade peaked in the late 1840s.

The impact of the slave trade was increasing destabilization of hinterland societies as populations were forcibly removed. The Gaza, Ngoni, and other groups became surrogate slavers and joined the

Portuguese soldiers in inland raiding. Along the Limpopo and Vaal river networks, Delagoa Bay slavers competed with Griqua slavers in supplying the Cape. After slavers burned crops and famines became common, many groups, including the Ngwane, Ndebele, and some Hlubi, fled westward into the Highveld mountains during the 1810s and '20s. The Kololo, on the other hand, moved east out of Transorangia, where they ran into Bay slavers, and migrated west into Botswana. In 1826 they were attacked by an alliance of Ngwaketse and European mercenaries and ended up in Zambia in the 1850s exporting slaves themselves to the Arabs and Portuguese.

○ EMERGENCE OF THE EASTERN STATES

Four main defensive African state clusters had emerged in eastern South Africa by the 1820s: the Pedi (led by Sekwati) in the Steelpoort valley, the Ngwane (led by Sobhuza) in the eastern Transvaal, the Mokoteli (led by Moshoeshoe) in the Caledon River region, and the Zulu (led by Shaka) south of the Swart-Mfolozi River. The Pedi received refugees from the Limpopo and coastal plains, and the Mokoteli absorbed eastern Transorangian refugees, which enabled them to defeat the Griqua and Korana raiders by the mid-1830s. By 1825 Shaka had welded the Chunu, Mthethwa, Qwabe, Mkhize, Cele, and other groups into a large militarized state with fortified settlements called *amakhanda*. Zulu *amabutho* (age sets or regiments) defended against raiders, provided protection for refugees, and, apparently, began to trade in ivory and slaves themselves.

From 1824 the Zulu began to clash with Cape colonists who came to Port Natal (renamed Durban in 1835) and organized mercenary armies. These groups were comparable to the Portuguese *prazero* armies along the Zambezi and to the warlord state set up by the Portuguese trader João Albasini in the eastern Transvaal in the 1840s, but they operated on a smaller scale. During the 1820s European raiders joined Zulu *amabutho* in attacking areas north of the Swart-Mfolozi River and south of the Mzimkulu River, where in the mid-1820s French ships exported slaves. Francis Farewell's raiders, in alliance with Zulu groups, seized women and children in the same area in 1828.

Conflicts split the Zulu elite into rival factions and led to Shaka's assassination in 1828. Shaka's half brother Dingane became the Zulu leader, but his succession was accompanied by civil wars and by increasing interference in the Delagoa Bay trading alliances. By the mid-1830s a coalition of Cape merchants had begun planning for the formal colonization of Natal, with its superb agricultural soils and temperate climate. The British left the less-desirable malaria-ridden Delagoa Bay region to the Portuguese, who traded slaves out of Lourenço Marques (now Maputo, Mozambique.) for another half century.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM (c. 1835–70)

○ THE GREAT TREK

A few Boer settlers had moved north of the Orange River before 1834, but after that the number increased significantly, a migration later known as the Great Trek. The common view that this was a bid to escape the policies of the British, i.e. the freeing of slaves, is difficult to sustain, as most of the former slave owners did not migrate (most trekkers came from the poorer east Cape), and the earlier labour shortage had been alleviated by 1835. Instead, the trek was more of an explosive culmination of a long sequence of colonial labour raids, land seizures, punitive commando raids, and commercial expansions. Europeans, who possessed technologically advanced weaponry, also had instructive examples of how small groups of raiders in Natal and Trans-Orangia could cause disruption over large areas. Thus, the trekkers should not be seen as backward feudalists escaping the modern world, as some historians have maintained, but as energized people extending their frontier.

Several thousand Boers migrated with their families, livestock, retainers, wagons, and firearms into a region already destabilized and partially depopulated by Griqua and coastal raiders. They did encounter some Africans (such as the Ndebele), who in the early 1830s had moved from the southeastern to the western Transvaal. The Boers and their Rolong, Taung, and Griqua allies, however, crushed the Ndebele during 1837, taking their land and many cattle, women, and children. The remaining Ndebele fled north, where they resettled in southern Zimbabwe.

The trekkers had penetrated much of the Transvaal by the early 1840s. A grouping of commando states emerged based at Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and, from 1845, Ohrigstad-Lydenburg in the eastern Transvaal. Andries Hendrik Potgieter, Andries Pretorius, Jan Mocke, and others competed for followers, attacked weaker African chiefdoms, hunted elephants and slaves, and forged trading links with the Portuguese. Other Boers turned east into Natal and allied themselves with the resident British settlers. Farms developed slowly and, as had been the case in the Cape prior to the 1830s, depended on forced labour. Until the 1860s the Pedi and Swazi in the east and even the Kwenya and Hurutshe in the west were strong enough to avoid being conscripted as labour and thus limited the labour supply.

○ THE BRITISH IN NATAL

The appearance of thousands of British settlers in Natal in the 1840s and '50s meant that for the first time Africans and European settlers lived together—however uneasily—on the same land. The Boers began to carve out farms in Natal as they had done along the eastern frontier, but further slave and cattle raids on the Bhaca south of the Mzimkulu provided the pretext for British annexation of Natal in 1843. Theophilus Shepstone received an appointment in 1845 as a diplomatic agent (later secretary for native affairs), and his position served as a prototype for later native commissioners. The Harding Commission (1852) set aside reserves for Africans, and missionaries and pliant chiefs were brought in to persuade Africans to work. After 1849 Africans became subject to a hut tax intended to raise revenue and drive them into labour. Roads were built, using forced labour, and Africans were obliged to pay rent on state land and European farms. To meet these burdens some African cultivators grew surplus crops to sell to the growing towns of Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

The British were reluctant, though, to annex the Transorangian interior, where no strategic interests existed. Boer trade links with Delagoa Bay posed little threat because Portugal was virtually a client state of Britain. To the Boers fell the tasks of eroding African resistance and developing the land, although the policy never received clear enunciation or much financial backing. Britain halfheartedly attempted to protect some of its African client states, such as that of the Griqua and the Sotho state led by Moshoeshe. However, after further fighting with the Rharhabe-Xhosa on the eastern frontier in 1846, Governor Colonel Harry Smith finally annexed, over the next two years, not only the region between the Great Fish and the Great Kei rivers (establishing British Kaffraria) but also a large area between the Orange and Vaal rivers, thus establishing the Orange River Sovereignty. These moves provoked further warfare in 1851–53 with the Xhosa (joined once more by many Khoes), with a few British politicians ineffectively trying to influence events.

A striking feature of this period was the capacity of the Sotho people to fend off military conquest by the British and Boers. After defeating and absorbing the rival Tlokwa in 1853–54, Moshoeshe became the most powerful African leader south of the Vaal-Pongolo rivers. His soldiers utilized firearms and, in the cold Highveld, horses—which proved to be the keys to political and military survival there.

○ **ATTEMPTS AT BOER CONSOLIDATION**

Faced with these unprofitable conflicts, the British temporarily withdrew from the southern African interior, and the Transvaal and Orange Free State Boers gained independence through the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions (1852 and 1854, respectively). Both Boer groups wrote constitutions and established *Volksraade* (parliaments), although their attempts at unification failed. For more than a decade, civil wars and the struggle with the environment hampered consolidation among the Boers. Nevertheless, the Orange Free State's economy grew rapidly, and by the 1860s the Boers were exporting significant amounts of wool via Cape ports.

Between 1811 and 1858 colonial aggression deprived Africans of most of their land between the Sundays and Great Kei rivers and produced poverty and despair. From the mid-1850s British magistrates held political power in British Kaffraria, destroying the power of the Xhosa chiefs. Following a severe lung sickness epidemic among their cattle in 1854–56, the Xhosa killed many of their remaining cattle and in 1857–58 grew few crops in response to a millenarian prophecy that this would cause their ancestors to rise from the dead and destroy the whites. Many thousands of Xhosa starved to death, and large numbers of survivors were driven into the Cape Colony to work. British Kaffraria fused with the Cape Colony in 1865, and thousands of Africans newly defined as Fingo resettled east of the Great Kei, thereby creating Fingoland. The Transkei, as this region came to be known, consisted of the hilly country between the Cape and Natal. It became a large African reserve and grew in size when those parts that were still independent were annexed in the 1880s and '90s (Pondoland lost its independence in 1894).

European missionaries and their African catechists worked unrelentingly from the 1820s to Christianize indigenous communities and to introduce them to European manufactured goods they had previously done well without. Whatever intentions the missionaries may have had, their efforts undermined African worldviews and contributed to the destruction of traditional African communities throughout South Africa. For a time nevertheless, a small number of African peasant farmers used plows, paid rents and taxes, produced for the market, and sold surplus grain to the towns in competition with colonial farmers. The difficulty they encountered obtaining capital, however, as well as the legal and political discrimination they faced, drove most of them out of business in the decades following the South African War of 1899–1902.

○ **DISPUTES IN THE NORTH AND EAST**

To the north, colonial communities and African states alternately cooperated and competed with each other, with the advantage slowly moving to the colonists. The Swazi and Gaza supplied slaves both to the Transvaal Boers and to the Portuguese. During the 1850s the Swazi overran much of the Lowveld, where they absorbed many groups and exchanged captured children for firearms and horses with the Transvaal settlers. After the death of Soshangane (leader of the Gaza state) in 1856, a Gaza civil war broke out that also involved the Swazi, Boers, and Portuguese. After the Swazi gained control of land almost to Maputo in 1864, the Gaza (under the victorious Mzila) migrated northward into the Buzi River area of present-day eastern Zimbabwe.

Farther south the Zulu competed with the Swazi and the Boers to dominate the Pongolo and Ngwavuma valleys and with the Boers to control the Buffalo (Mziniathi) River area. The colonial administrator, Theophilus Shepstone, interfered not only in Zulu politics but also in Ndebele succession dispute (1869–72), attempting to oust the eventual leader (Lobengula) in favour of a pretender. Marthinus Pretorius, the Transvaal leader, annexed huge areas, at least on paper. To the irritation of settler farmers and plantation owners, few Zulu went south to work in Natal. Instead, a supply of Mozambican indentured labourers (some of them forced) entered the region. This eventually evolved into a steady flow of migrant workers in the following decades, but because not enough labour appeared initially in the early 1860s, indentured labourers from India were brought in to work on the new sugar plantations.

The Sotho continued their tenacious hold on their lands along the Caledon River and for a time supplied the Boers of the Orange Free State with grain and cattle. The Sotho mobilized a force of 10,000 and defeated the Boers in 1858. The Boers, however, coveted the fertile Caledon valley and defeated the Sotho eight years later after the Boers regained their unity. The Sotho were forced to sign the Treaty of Thaba Bosiu (1866), and only British annexation of Sotho territory in 1868 prevented their complete collapse.

○ THE ZULU AFTER SHAKA

The Zulu, although initially successful at repelling the Europeans, were, like the Ndebele, eventually overpowered by them in clashes such as the Battle of Blood (Ncome) River in 1838. Boer attacks on the Zulu between 1838 and 1839 precipitated a Zulu civil war between Dingane and Mpande. The latter allied himself with the Boer invaders and so split the kingdom. Between 1839 and 1840 the Boers seized large parts of the Zulu kingdom, including the area between the Tugela and the Swart-iMfolozi. When the British in turn evicted the Boers and annexed Natal in 1843, the southern region to the Tugela was restored to the Zulu. Mpande (reigned 1840–72), a formidable ruler, controlled territory between the Tugela in the south and, roughly, the Pongolo in the north, boundaries that were not seriously disturbed until 1879.

In 1856 the primary conflict in the Zulu civil war (the Battle of Ndongakasuka on the lower uThukela River, close to the sea) elevated Mpande's younger son, Cetshwayo, over Mpande's older son, Mbuyazi. Although Cetshwayo formally became ruler of Zululand only upon his father's death in 1872, he had in fact effectively ruled the kingdom since the early 1860s.

By the late 1870s, colonial officials had identified the Zulu kingdom as a major obstacle to confederation, and in January 1879 British and colonial troops invaded Zululand (**see** Zulu War). During his rule Mpande had expanded Zulu military capacity, and Cetshwayo used this effectively against the British invaders at Isandlwana in 1879. The annihilation of a large British force at Isandlwana slowed the invasion, but imperial firepower ultimately prevailed. For the Zulu, political dismemberment followed military defeat. British divide-and-rule policies precipitated another civil war in 1883, and Zululand was annexed in 1887.

○ THE DECLINE OF THE AFRICAN STATES

As the 1860s came to an end, the great African states began to weaken. Not only did many important African leaders die during this period (Soshangane in 1858, Sekwati of the Pedi in 1861, Mswati in 1865, Mzilikazi in 1868, Moshoeshe in 1870, and Mpande in 1872), but, increasingly, Europeans were determined to exploit Africans as a source of labour and to acquire the last large fertile areas controlled by them.

Colonial troops tipped the balance decisively against societies that had previously withstood attempts to bring them under the settlers' control. A century of military conflict on the Cape frontier ended with the Cape-Xhosa war of 1877–78 (**see** Cape Frontier Wars). Between 1878 and 1881 the Cape Colony defeated rebellions in Griqualand West, the Transkei, and Basutoland. Sir Bartle Frere, governor of the Cape and high commissioner for southern Africa from March 1877, rapidly decided that independent African kingdoms had to be tamed in order to facilitate political and economic integration of the region.

Governor George Grey had already proposed a federated South Africa in 1858, and in the late 1860s the discovery of gold and diamonds reactivated this idea. The annexation of Basutoland in 1868 began a series of movements toward consolidation that included the British seizure of the diamond fields from the competing Griqua, Tlhaping, and Boers in 1871 (the Keate Award), Colonial Secretary Lord Carnarvon's more determined federation plan of 1875, Shepstone's invasion of the Transvaal in 1877, and the British invasions of Zululand and Pediland in 1879. British troops also took part in an 1879 campaign that

crushed Pedi military power in the northern Transvaal. With the collapse of Zulu resistance in the 1880s, the invasions of the Gaza and Ndebele kingdoms in 1893–96, and the crushing of Venda resistance in 1898, by 1900 no autonomous African societies remained in the region.

DIAMONDS, GOLD, AND IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION (1870–1902)

South Africa experienced a transformation between 1870, when the diamond rush to Kimberley began, and 1902, when the South African War ended. Midway between these dates, in 1886, the world's largest goldfields were discovered on the Witwatersrand. As the predominantly agrarian societies of European South Africa began to urbanize and industrialize, the region evolved into a major supplier of precious minerals to the world economy; gold especially was urgently needed to back national currencies and ensure the continued flow of expanding international trade. British colonies, Boer republics, and African kingdoms all came under British control. These dramatic changes were propelled by two linked forces: the development of a capitalist mining industry and a sequence of imperialist interventions by Britain.

○ Diamonds and confederation

A chance find in 1867 had drawn several thousand fortune seekers to alluvial diamond diggings along the Orange, Vaal, and Harts rivers. Richer finds in “dry diggings” in 1870 led to a large-scale rush. By the end of 1871 nearly 50,000 people lived in a sprawling polyglot mining camp that was later named Kimberley.

Initially, individual diggers, black and white, worked small claims by hand. As production rapidly centralized and mechanized, however, ownership and labour patterns were divided more starkly along racial lines. A new class of mining capitalists oversaw the transition from diamond digging to mining industry as joint-stock companies bought out diggers. The industry became a monopoly by 1889 when De Beers Consolidated Mines (controlled by Cecil Rhodes) became the sole producer. Although some white diggers continued to work as overseers or skilled labourers, from the mid-1880s the workforce consisted mainly of black migrant workers housed in closed compounds by the companies (a method that had previously been used in Brazil).

The diamond zone was simultaneously claimed by the Orange Free State, the South African Republic, the western Griqua under Nicolaas Waterboer, and southern Tswana chiefs. At a special hearing in October 1871, Robert W. Keate (then lieutenant governor of Natal) found in favour of Waterboer, but the British persuaded him to request protection against his Boer rivals, and the area was annexed as Griqualand West.

The annexation of the diamond fields signaled a more progressive British policy under a Liberal ministry but fell short of the ambitious confederation policy pursued by Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary in Benjamin Disraeli's 1874 Conservative government; he sought to unite the republics and colonies into a self-governing federation in the British Empire, a concept inspired by Theophilus Shepstone, who, as secretary for native affairs in Natal, urged a coherent regional policy with regard to African labour and administration.

Carnarvon concentrated at first on persuading the Cape and the Free State to accept federation, but a conference in London in August 1876 revealed how unreceptive these parties were to the proposal. With his southern gambit frustrated, Carnarvon embarked on a northern strategy. The South African Republic (Transvaal), virtually bankrupt, had suffered military humiliation at the hands of the Pedi, and support for President Thomas F. Burgers had declined because of this. Carnarvon commissioned Shepstone to annex the Transvaal, and, after encountering only token resistance at the beginning of 1877, he proclaimed it a British colony a few months later.

The new possession proved difficult to administer as empty coffers and insensitivity to Afrikaner resentments led to a clash over tax payments, and, under a triumvirate of Paul Kruger, Piet Joubert, and Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, the Transvaal Boers opted to fight for independence. British defeats, especially at Majuba in 1881, ended British insistence on the concept of confederation. By the London Convention of 1884, republican self-government was restored, subject to an imprecise British “suzerainty” over external relations.

○ **AFRIKANER AND AFRICAN POLITICS IN THE CAPE**

The white population in the Cape numbered 240,000 by the mid-1870s and constituted about one-third of the colony’s population. Cape revenues accounted for three-fourths of the total income in the region’s four settler states in 1870, as the diamond discoveries created more revenue that could be used to build railways and public works. Although by this time some two-thirds of the settler population spoke Dutch or Afrikaans, political power rested largely with an English-speaking elite of merchants, lawyers, and landholders.

The conflict between Afrikaners and English speakers led to the establishment of the Afrikaner Bond in 1879. The Bond initially represented poorer farmers and espoused an anti-British Pan-Afrikanerism in the Cape and beyond, but, after its reorganization a few years later under Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, the group began to champion the Cape’s commercial interests and acquired a new base of support—mainly wealthier farmers and urban professionals. When Hofmeyr threw his support behind Cecil Rhodes in 1890, he enabled Rhodes to become prime minister of the Cape; their alliance stemmed from a mutual desire for northward economic expansion. A major cleavage, however, opened up between Bond politicians and the English-speaking voters loosely defined as Cape liberals. The latter, particularly those in constituencies in the eastern Cape that had a significant percentage of black male voters, were tactically friendly to the small enfranchised stratum of fairly prosperous black peasants, whereas the Bond and most English-speaking white voters were hostile toward the black farmers growing cash crops and pursued more-restrictive franchise qualifications.

The number of blacks in the colony greatly increased between 1872 and 1894 as heretofore independent territories were annexed to the Cape. As black farmers became more prosperous and as more blacks became literate clerks and teachers, many individuals qualified to vote. The rise of the Afrikaner Bond and new laws affecting franchise qualifications and taxes also stimulated more-vigorous black participation in electoral politics after 1884. New political and educational bodies came into existence in the eastern Cape, as did the first black newspapers and black-controlled churches. The period also witnessed the first political organizations among Coloureds in the Cape and Indians in Natal and the Transvaal.

○ **GOLD MINING**

Prospectors established in 1886 the existence of a belt of gold-bearing reefs 40 miles (60 km) wide centred on present-day Johannesburg. The rapid growth of the gold-mining industry intensified processes started by the diamond boom: immigration, urbanization, capital investment, and labour migrancy. By 1899 the gold industry attracted investment worth £75 million, produced almost three-tenths of the world’s gold, and employed more than 100,000 people (the overwhelming majority of them black migrant workers).

The world’s richest goldfield was also the most difficult to work. Although the gold ore was abundant, the layers of it ran extremely deep, and the ore contained little gold. To be profitable, gold mining had to be intensive and deep-level, requiring large inputs of capital and technology. A group system, whereby more than 100 companies had been arranged into nine holding companies, or “groups,” facilitated collusion between companies to reduce competition over labour and keep costs down. The gold mines rapidly

established a pattern of labour recruitment, remuneration, and accommodation that left its stamp on subsequent social and economic relations in the country. White immigrant miners, because of their skills, scarcity, and political power, won relatively high wages. In contrast, the more numerous unskilled black migrants from throughout Southern Africa, especially from present-day Mozambique, earned low pay (at century's end about one-ninth the wage of white miners). Migrant miners were housed in compounds, which facilitated their control and reduced overhead costs.

○ THE ROAD TO WAR

Even before the discovery of gold, the South African interior was an arena of tension and competition. Germany annexed South West Africa in 1884. The Transvaal claimed territory to its west; Britain countered by designating the territory the Bechuanaland protectorate and then annexed it as the crown colony of British Bechuanaland. Rhodes secured concessionary rights to land north of the Limpopo River, founded the British South Africa Company, and in 1890 dispatched a pioneer column to occupy what became known as Rhodesia.

While these forces jostled for position in the region at large, the domestic politics of the Transvaal became unsettled. Paul Kruger's government made strenuous efforts to accommodate the mining industry, but it was soon at loggerheads with Britain, the mine magnates, and the British and other non-Afrikaner Uitlander ("Outlander") immigrants. British policy makers expressed concern about the Transvaal's potential as an independent actor, and deep-level-mine owners chafed at mine bosses' corruption and inefficiency. The grievances of the Uitlanders, largely excluded from the vote, provided both cause and cover for a conspiracy between British officials and mining capitalists. An Uitlander uprising in Johannesburg was to be supported by an armed invasion from Bechuanaland, headed by Leander Starr Jameson, Rhodes's lieutenant, who would intervene to "restore order."

The plot was botched. The Uitlander rising did not take place, but Jameson went ahead with his incursion in December 1895, and within days he and his force had been rounded up. While Rhodes had to resign as prime minister of the Cape, British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain managed to conceal his complicity. The Jameson Raid polarized Anglo-Boer sentiment in South Africa, simultaneously exacerbating republican suspicions, Uitlander agitation, and imperial anxieties.

In February 1898 Kruger was elected to a fourth term as president of the Transvaal. He entered a series of negotiations with Sir Alfred Milner (who became high commissioner and governor of the Cape in 1897) over the issue of the Uitlander franchise. Milner declared in private early in 1898 that "war has got to come" and adopted intransigent positions. The Cape government, headed by William P. Schreiner, attempted to mediate, as did Marthinus Steyn, the president of Free State, even while he attached his cause to Kruger's. In September 1899 the two Boer republics gave an ultimatum to Britain, and, when it expired on October 11, Boer forces invaded Natal.

○ THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (1899–1902)

While the government of Lord Salisbury in Britain went to war to secure its hegemony in Southern Africa, the Boer republics did so to preserve their independence. The expensive and brutal colonial war lasted two and a half years and pitted almost 500,000 imperial troops against 87,000 republican burghers, Cape "rebels," and foreign volunteers. The numerical weakness of the Boers was offset by their familiarity with the terrain, support from the Afrikaner populace, and the poor leadership and dated tactics of the British command. Although often styled a "white man's war," both sides used blacks extensively as labour, and at least 10,000 blacks fought for the British.

In the first phase of the war, Boer armies took the offensive and punished British forces at Colenso, Stormberg, and Magersfontein in December 1899 ("Black Week"). During 1900 Britain rushed

reinforcements to the front, relieved sieges at Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and took Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. In the third phase, Boer commandos avoided conventional engagements in favour of guerrilla warfare. The British commander, Lord Kitchener, devised a scorched-earth policy against the commandos and the rural population supporting them, in which he destroyed arms, blockaded the countryside, and placed the civilian population in concentration camps. Some 25,000 Afrikaner women and children died of disease and malnutrition in these camps, while 14,000 blacks died in separate camps. In Britain the Liberal opposition vehemently objected to the government's methods for winning the war.

Boer forces, which at the end consisted of about 20,000 exhausted and demoralized troops, sued for peace in May 1902. The Treaty of Vereeniging reflected the conclusive military victory of British power but made a crucial concession. It promised that the "question of granting the franchise to natives [blacks]" would be addressed only after self-government had been restored to the former Boer republics. The treaty thus allowed the white minority to decide the political fate of the black majority.

Additional Reading

General

Broad coverage of South Africa's history is provided in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (eds.), **The Oxford History of South Africa**, 2 vol. (1969–71), the only general reference work to make a serious attempt to record the history of all the peoples of the country; Leonard Monteath Thompson, **A History of South Africa**, rev. ed. (1995), a fluent and elegantly written account; T.R.H. Davenport and Christopher Saunders, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 5th ed. (2000); Dougie Oakes (ed.), **Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa** (1989); Robert Ross, **A Concise History of South Africa** (1999); Frank Welsh, **South Africa: A Narrative History** (1999); and J.D. Omer-Cooper, **History of Southern Africa**, 2nd ed. (1994). Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey, **Historical Dictionary of South Africa**, 2nd ed. (2000), presents useful information on historical topics. Cherryl Walker (ed.), **Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945** (1990), discusses the changing status of women in the past 100 years.

Prehistory to 1870

Early history is explored in Richard Elphick, **Kraal and Castle** (1977; also published as **Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa**, 1985), a detailed study of the interactions between the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope and the Khoekhoe chiefdoms of the region; and Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.), **The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840**, 2nd ed. (1989), essays that review the history comprehensively from the first years of Dutch settlement. David Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson, **Images of Power: Understanding Bushman Rock Art** (1989), is an introduction to the rock paintings of southern Africa.

There is still no good published overview account of the period 1770–1870 in South African history, and there are enormous gaps in knowledge. Nevertheless, the following titles are useful: Clifton C. Crais, **White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865** (1992); Ben MacLennan, **A Proper Degree of Terror: John Graham and the Cape's Eastern Frontier** (1986), a study of the colonial invasion of the Zuurveld in 1811–12; Robert Ross, **Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa** (1983); Nigel Worden, **Slavery in Dutch South Africa** (1985); Noël Mostert, **Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People** (1992); Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolombo," **Journal of African History**, 29(3):487–519 (1988), which argues that the Mfecane is largely a creation of early 20th-century South African historians; Carolyn Hamilton (ed.), **The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History** (1995), which attempts to put the debate on the Mfecane in perspective; J.B. Peires, **The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence** (1981), up to the 1840s, and **The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–7** (1989); Colin Bundy, **The Rise and Fall of the**

South African Peasantry, 2nd ed. (1988), on the emergence of the African peasants after the 1840s; Jeff Guy, **The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879–1884** (1979, reissued 1994), mainly on the British invasion of 1879 and its aftermath; and Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (eds.), **Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa** (1980), essays on the pre-1900 period. Bill Freund, **The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society Since 1800**, 2nd ed. (1998), examines economic and social conditions in Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries.

