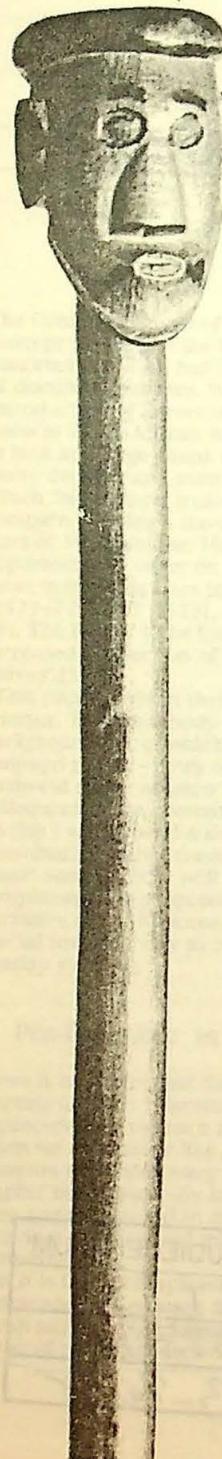


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PRE-DIFAQANE WARS IN THE WEST  
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## PRE-DIFFAQANE WARS IN THE WEST

by

Neil Parsons

The Cobbing critique of the Mfecane/Difaqane has opened up debate on a historical concept which, like the Norman Conquest or the Renaissance (term adopted by congress of historians c.1904), has for too long served as a lazy-man's begin-all date and legitimation of dominant cultures. Whatever its merits and demerits in detail, and its seeming re-introduction of Eurocentric historical reasoning, the Cobbing critique obliges us to look anew at South African history in much broader contexts of time and space. We are obliged to look at a large chunk of the continent and its oceanic connections over a time frame of many decades and even centuries.

Such 'big picture' treatment of the Mfecane/Difaqane might, for example, suggest that we compare Cobbing's slave trading and raiding thesis with studies of the Zimba and Jaga wars of Mozambique/Malawi and Angola/Zaire in the 16th-17th centuries. It was apparently the onset on intensive Portuguese slave trading and raiding which triggered off these marauding wars in the remote interior - the Jaga wars south of the lower Zaire (1571-72, 1590, 1623), and the Zimba wars north of the lower Zambezi (1570-71, 1587-88). The horror to be found in Portuguese sources no doubt being off-set by delight at increased production of captives/witches/debtors/destitutes/orphans, for all of which read 'slaves'.[1]

This paper looks at three further aspects of the 'big picture' raised by the Cobbing critique. The main body of the paper is concerned with trying to understand the background out of which the Difaqane Wars grew in what I have called the Kalahari-Limpopo region - more or less Botswana plus environs, particularly the highveld and bushveld of the western Transvaal. Hopefully this will fit in with the papers at the colloquium to be presented by Simon Hall, Margaret Kinsman, Andrew Manson, and others. To this I will append a short note on the post-Difaqane trans-Kalahari slave trade, as an unauthorized advertisement for research by Barry Morton at Indiana University, which would seem to fit in well with the paper to be presented by J.B. Gewald. Finally I will complement the proposed paper of Cynthia Kros and Shelley Greybe on the need for a narrative of the Mfecane/Difaqane for teaching purposes - to be discussed further on the special teachers' day to be held on the Monday after my departure via Jan Smuts airport on Sunday evening.

### 1. Pre-Difaqane in the Kalahari-Limpopo Region

There is no doubt that the Difaqane period - meaning the invasions of the Kololo and the Ndebele and the 'migratory wars' that they set off - is remembered as a time of unprecedented violence and destruction among the people of the Kalahari-Limpopo region. When we lived more like game than men, as Kgosi Khama III of the Ngwato put it in his memoirs to a missionary scribe c. 1901.[2] The 'snowball' states (to use J.A. Barnes' graphic but climatically inappropriate term) of the Kololo and the Ndebele seem to have been unprecedented in their size and vitality as military-based kingdoms, originating outside the region and migrating beyond it, moving fairly rapidly over thousands of kilometres.

Yet it is far too simplistic to regard the Kololo and Ndebele as completely alien and unprecedented, passing through the region like a sharp knife that left a gash for the Boers to rub salt into. The Kololo and the Ndebele, like the Boers, were following in the well-worn tracks of previous migrating hunters and traders. It is also possible to pre-date the period

of turmoil in the region, albeit in less sizeable and dramatic eruptions, up to half a century before the 1820s. Probably not wholly accurately, I have referred elsewhere to these minor migratory wars after about 1770 as 'Tswana-Sotho States in Crisis', and subsequently in the wider context of Zimbabwe and the northern Transvaal somewhat tendentiously as 'Ivory Wars'.[3 - see also section 3 below] It was a period of numerous skirmishes and migrations over hunting and herding and wives, with hunger for them no doubt sharpened by drought. The result was the basic pattern of distribution of Tswana dominion over the rest of Botswana beyond its south-east corner.

The origins of such 'Ivory Wars' in the later 18th century then raise in turn the possibility of whole sets of questions about earlier societies of the Later Iron Age, back perhaps to the 11th century. Such questions, once formulated, about such things as the origins and development of institutions such as age-regiments and the *mafisa* system ('cattle-feudalism'), may well challenge the whole basis of our knowledge of the history of the Sotho/Tswana peoples.

It was Martin Legassick who started the ball rolling in 1969 by bringing together an indispensable but indigestible modern synthesis of the oral traditions concerning origin and migration of Sotho-Tswana chiefdoms.[4] His work began to suggest ways to get beyond the rather simple fission-and-fusion model for origin and migration put forward by ethnologists, and the possibilities for use of archaeological data. I myself got all enthusiastic about the idea of putting all the migrations into computer graphics expressing time and space, though being cyber-illiterate never got beyond drawing a few maps superimposing Legassick onto the stone-walled ruin zones plotted by Revil Mason and others across the highveld. My own thoughts on the topic have not progressed much further over the past twenty years, but the 'big picture' has been somewhat clarified by Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell in their unjustly neglected History of Botswana written for schools but containing 'professional' insights unavailable elsewhere.[5]

Tlou and Campbell have argue for a general substratum of the Sotho-Tswana peoples emerging from local Early Iron Age and possible exogenous roots by the 11th century. Its western variant, associated with the Khalagari (Kgalagadi) dialects, being evident in archaeology at Gabane near Gaborone around a carbon-date of 1095 AD. (Local EIA dates being up to 600 or more years earlier.) They plot Khalagari expansion to south-western Botswana by the 16th century and to north-east and north-west Botswana by the 18th century. Khalagari expansion being followed by the expansion of Tswana chiefly lineages (Rulong-Kwena etc.), by the secession of junior brothers from royal lineages incorporating Khalagari and other groups of people.

Their main explanation for the process of expansion is simple, skirting dangerously near the modish eco-determinism of the 1970s-80s: 'Droughts were the main cause of fission. Groups split up in order to find water or pasture.'(p.62) Major droughts being identified in the 14th century, around 1530-40, and in the 17th century. The process of fusion of people into chiefdoms under royal leadership, on the other hand, is understood in terms of central accumulation of cattle as a political resource to be 'lent' out to followers in return for allegiance and tribute. (The word for female chief, *mohumagadi*, being simply the female of *mohumi*, rich man, indicates the close relationship between riches and rule. The combination of *kgo* from *kgomo* for cow, with *she* the word for chief in more northerly Bantu languages, to form *kgosi*, or *nkosi*, to indicate male cattle-chief being somewhat more contentious linguistically.)

Though perhaps exhibiting a rather touching faith in the chiefly accession being determined by inheritance of the blood royal, Tlou and Campbell raise many questions about the nature of *bogosi* (chiefship / kingship / governance) and state development. Besides the accumulation of cattle they lay particular emphasis on the service of subjects to the state and *kgosi* through service in age-regiments. From early 19th century sources it is evident that western Tswana states on the Kalahari margins were hunting on a large scale in the winter season. Hundreds or thousands of people were used to drive many thousands of wild animals along brush-fences into enormous trap holes. National assemblies of men in the veld, for purposes of hunting, were integral to national politics and an essential prerequisite to any military activity by the age-regiments. The nation that hunts together, sticks together, seems to have been the motto. Hunting was an essential male labour service to the state.(pp.77-78)

What was this all for, for what economic aim and purpose? As Tlou and Campbell point out: 'An important part of a man's life was spent in sewing skins into blankets.' (p.80) It

was the customary activity of elders and juniors, from the *kgosi* down, to sit sewing karosses (i.e. finished furs and skins) while discussing the affairs of the polis in Kgotla. The often reproduced picture by Thomas Baines of a Kgotla on the Vaal River confirms this. [Y]

The further question this all begs is production for what market? Tlou and Campbell, with the early 19th century in mind, talk of trade in fur blankets with the Kgothu (i.e. Khoe herders and Orlam) of the south in exchange for sheep, and trade with other Tswana presumably in the east for iron and possibly grain. (p.80) Tlou and Campbell emphasise that the Kwena and Ngwato had already established hunting and trading connections in east-central and north-western Botswana before about 1770 when Ngwato and Tawana migrations to those areas began. They stick to their general thesis of Tswana expansion caused by increase of population on the western Witwatersrand uplands interrupted by droughts which scattered the people deeper into the Kalahari. But they also indicate that the expansion north-westwards was in pursuit of furs and ivory, and the superior large-horned cattle known to live on the Boteti and in Ngamiland. (p.90)

The evidence for hunting and trade between the Tswana and others on the upper Limpopo and the Boteti and Ngamiland, before 1770 and in the 1770-1820 period is extremely fragmentary. But Indian Ocean beads, most likely from either the Limpopo or Zambezi, had reached Tsodilo (on the Botswana-Namibia border) by the 10th century, and Denbow's excavations of 1990 appear to show how Mapungubwe on the middle Limpopo was in trade or tribute contact with the Boteti. Both the Boteti and Ngamiland remained famous for their elephant herds well into the 19th and even 20th centuries, and the Mbukushu of Ngamiland and the Khoe herders of the Boteti were famous for their skills as brave elephant hunters with spears. Other fragments include David Livingstone's claim in the 1840s that Tswana karosses from the Kalahari were finding their way to China. Maybe an imagined mystical link between two mission fields of the L.M.S., but intriguing all the same. [3] I am not aware of studies of trade figures in ivory and furs from the Cape and Mozambique coasts that could help to give a wider context to this. Obviously much more archaeological evidence of trade is needed, as well as interrogation of existing sources.

So my 'Ivory Wars' of 1770-1820 should at least be ivory-and-cattle-and-fur wars. There is also some evidence, though I have done no systematic survey of the causes of all these minor skirmishes, that the little wars were also about wives. The most famous story is told by John Tom Brown (1926). The secession of the Ngwato from the Kgabo-Kwena was preceded by a dispute over love and cattle, during which a group of Ngwato went and stripped naked the wives of the Kwena *kgosi* Motswasele - revenged by the *kgosi*'s men who carried aloft the recaptured *skirts*. No doubt a story which - like the relation between the marriages of Henry VIII and the founding of the Church of England - needs considerable further elucidation and 'deconstruction', but one that does offer a reason why the Kwena attacked the Ngwato and caused them to flee north. [4]

This 'Battle of the Skirts', as J.T. Brown calls it, took place sometime around 1770. At least as far as Botswana is concerned it seems to set off a chain reaction of aggressive migrations northwards; the Ngwato chasing previous Tswana migrants such as the Kaa and Khurutshe, with effects as far north as Bulozi (Barotseland) in western Zambia. The Lozi record that they were attacked by Khurutshe invaders two or three generations before the Kololo arrived from the same direction c.1840. [5]

I have not had time in writing this paper to check through the events and traditions of this period among the Tswana of the western Witwatersrand uplands (including south-east Botswana) and the Limpopo bushveld, and the plains south of the Molopo. But the military rivalry of Ngwaketse and Hurutshe kingdoms over hunting tribute and possibly minerals is well attested from contemporary sources such as John Campbell. Warfare hotted up after 1805 until 'By 1820 warfare was so widespread among the western Tswana that hardly a chiefdom had not seen its chief recently killed in battle.' [5] One could add that the traditions of the Sotho to the south (stories of Moshoeshoe the cattle-'shaver') and of the Pedi to the north indicate a parallel period of rising violence before the 'formal' beginning of the Difaqane from invasions across the Drakensberg.

In posing a two stage progression of violence before the Difaqane, roughly 1770-1805 and 1805-20, I am flying a kite that I hope will inspire others to fault or fulfil the thesis. Here are a few more fragmentary questions that might be considered:

(a) While I am aware of research on the Ndzundza-Ndebele, I am not aware of work that tackles the 'Tebele' diaspora from the direction of Ndzundza territory across the bushveld

up to and beyond the Limpopo, into for example the Tswapong hills of east-central Botswana. Where and when and how did this diaspora take place. We know that usage of the word 'Matebele' pre-dates Mzilikazi and has broad connotations of 'marauder' and even of a mercenary soldier. There are also traditions of association with mining and metallurgy of these Tebele groups among the Tswana and Pedi: even to the extent of abandoning mining and Nguni language for cattle and Tswana language once they had worked their social passage upwards. Can we relate the 'Tebele' diaspora to the spreading demand for good iron spears and good spearmen, used both for ivory hunting and cattle raiding ?

(b) Closely related to this is a whole barrage of questions about the 'Pedi' of the north-western Transvaal and environs, and their relations with Venda, Kalanga, Tsonga, Tebele, as well as Kgatla-Tswana etc. We are familiar with the Soutpansberg being good hunting ground in the 19th century, and elephants survive in the Motloutse-Limpopo area (i.e. around the site of Mapungubwe) even today. This had been the trading hinterland of Delagoa Bay and Inhambane for a millennium, and the colloquium faces a major task in unravelling questions of ivory and slave supplies to the coast in the decades and centuries before c.1820. Was there really increased demand for ivory and slaves, at what times ? Alan Smith has already drawn attention to Pedi migrations eastwards towards the coast in the 17th-18th century, and I have remarked on Pedi migrations towards the Kalahari westwards at about the same time. How were these migrations related to long-distance ivory trade, as well as trade in copper and iron ? There was also northward Pedi expansion over previously Venda-speaking areas, and even - as the well known case of the Nswazwi shows - into Rozvi/ Kalanga country. (One wonders if extension of the apparently Venda cult of Ngwali northwards was contemporaneous.)

(c) The Hurutshe diaspora in the form of Khurutshe (merely a northern dialectical variant) in Botswana and Zambia has already been alluded to. There was also a Hurutshe diaspora in the northern Transvaal. The sons of Mohurutshe, the eponymous female founder, quarrelled, apparently around 1500 - though a much later date may be more apposite. Young Motebele lost out, despite employing Nguni mercenaries (hence a likely origin of the word 'Matebele' as his followers). He then went north from the western Transvaal to settle in the bushveld and rule the Gananwa group of Pedi, who still today regard themselves as closely related to the Lete group of Tebele who settled across the Limpopo and conquered the iron-making people in the Tswapong hills. (Tradition relates that the Tswapong then turned from making instruments of peace to instruments of war.) This Hurutshe diaspora therefore obviously relates to my questions (a) and (b) above.[6]

(d) Related to all three questions above, and to questions raised by Cobbing, is the role of Europeans and Eurafricans from at least the end of the 18th century. Leaving aside questions of contact with the east coast at Delagoa Bay, there were contacts with the south coast (the Cape) and with the west coast (Angola and Namibia). The Angolan connection will be alluded to in the next section of this paper. The Cape connection must, as Chris Saunders has shown, have begun in some way very soon after 1652, when van Riebeeck received intelligence about what must have been the Rolong kingdom of Thibela/Tau north of the Orange River. (Though the Thibela/Tau kingdom itself was more intent on invading western Botswana and the Mbandu-Herero areas of Namibia, presumably in pursuit of cattle and minerals and furs.[7]) The subsequent history of Orlam-Kora-Tswana contact may be dealt with by other papers at this colloquium. The questions I now want to raise here are the role of the first Europeans/ Eurafricans north of the Molopo. Their mercenary role as soldiers as well as hunters with the Ngwaketse is well known. There are also the 'missing years' of Coenrad de Buys, the hunter and escapee from the Cape, between his crossing the Molopo and his arrival in the Soutpansberg. [8]

## 2. Trans-Kalahari Slave Trade

Carolyn Hamilton has asked me to squeeze in mention of the very valuable work of Barry Morton at Indiana University on the trans-Kalahari slave trade after the Difaqane. Morton has taken up the few hints of slave trade and old 'Mambari' trade connections between Ngamiland and Angola, somewhat glossed over in the standard accounts of Ngamiland

history. (Other historians had regarded stories of Arab slaving dhows sailing on the Chobe as too eccentric to be worth consideration.) Morton has also pursued leads on the developing trade in inboekseling - read 'slave' - trade between Ngamiland and the Transvaal between 1850 and 1877. As elsewhere this slave trade went hand in hand with the ivory trade, though in this case the slaves were not needed as porters but were indeed smuggled through hostile areas in waggons. Morton portrays the Tswana-Tswana new aristocracy of Ngamiland as selling Yei vassals to Boer traders, for firearms and horses, in much the same way as Swati aristocrats on the east of the Transvaal.

This continued, albeit on a scale which seems pretty small until proved otherwise, until 1877 when Khamas III as the new *kgosi* of the Ngwato, the state straddling the road from Ngamiland to the Transvaal, forbade the sale of people and blocked Boer expansion from the Transvaal - appealing to Christian and mercantile values of freedom which required the labourer to be worth his hire in cash. The slave trade, as Khama remarked, had been replaced by paid labour at Kimberley.

One might add that the kidnapping of potential farm labourers from the Kalahari to the Transvaal can be shown to have continued, with motor vehicles and using tobacco pouches as the equivalent of the King's Shilling, at least until the 1950s. The original hunt for a 'lost city' of the Kalahari in 1885 was part of an attempt to recruit 'Bushmen' entertainers from south-western Botswana to New York. The colonial government got used to requests for such 'research' being a cover for illegal hunting and 'black-birding', until the early 1960s when such requests became covers for South African security police operations. Such is part of the background to the 1967 Anthropological Research Act, originally 'Bushman Protection Bill', which still covers all research in Botswana.

### 3. The Need for Narrative History

Fourteen years ago I compiled an account of the so-called Mfecane and Difaqane wars, and their origins, which was subsequently published in a textbook of 1982 - *A New History of Southern Africa*. Though self-consciously revisionist at the time, no doubt the book is now responsible for helping to perpetuate historical orthodoxy.

My account of the Mfecane wars and their origins east of the Drakensberg was hardly novel. Taking my cue from Gray and Marks in the then new *Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 4*, I more or less followed Omer-Cooper's *Zulu Aftermath* with a bit of ecological stress, via J.B. McI Daniel and Colin Webb and a tincture of Jeff Guy and Phil Bonner. But I also, from Bonner, Matsebula and Alan Smith, emphasised the connections of the Ndwandwe and Ngwane back to the 'Ronga' kingdoms and Tembe civil war of the 1790s, referring back to an earlier chapter in the book. [9]

Since then I have further refined my account, without any radical revaluation, in a book produced for junior secondary schools on Zimbabwe (*Focus on History*, Book 1, p.77: Ivory Wars and migrations 1750-1820). Maybe it reads like parody or caricature of all the faults of the received version, but at least it sees the origins of Mfecane as part of the 'big picture' of the region. Here it is for purposes of possible discussion on Monday:

'Firstly the rise of Later Iron Age states meant a continuous growth of population from about the 11th century onwards. But by about 1700-1800 the population could not grow further because it was not producing enough food. People had to raid other people for cattle and grain, or move to new lands.'

'Secondly the gold trade was declining [p.76 Gold mines had been dug so deep that they filled with water] at a time when more Europeans were coming to Africa and offering more goods. So people hunted for more and more ivory and slaves to sell to the Portuguese prazeros and European traders on the coast.'

'The migrations and the many small wars we [may] call the Ivory Wars brought about many changes in Southern Africa. North of the Zambezi they saw the rise of the Luyana (Lozi), the Bemba, Lunda of Kazembe, and other new states. The Ivory Wars on the southern Mozambique coast among the Tsonga people saw the rise to power of the Tembe state, and then of the Maputo state, at Delagoa Bay. South of the Limpopo among the western Tswana there were continuous small migrations and small wars over cattle and ivory in the period after 1770. Among the northern Nguni, as we shall see in Chapter 8, new states were beginning to rise through making war. And in the

far south, Dutch hunters and raiders were migrating and fighting with the Khoisan and southern Nguni over cattle, ivory and farmland.

'On the Zimbabwe plateau the history of the 18th century is complicated by small migrations among the Shona. There were as many as sixty different migrations of Karanga people from the north of the Zimbabwe plateau into the centre and south.'

## NOTES

Notes raw and undigested (and not in menu order due to software fault)!

1. Anne Hilton, 'The Jaga reconsidered', *Journal of African History*, vol.22, no.2 (1981), pp.191-202; Malyn D.D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambezi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa* (London: Longman, 1973), pp.28-29

6a. For history of Khurutshe see I. Schapera, 'The early history of the Khurutshe', *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol. 2, 1970, pp.1-5; Chief Ramokate, 'Notes on the Khurutshe', *ibid*, p.14; Q.N. Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol.5, pp. 82-103; J. Mpokwane, 'A short history of the Bakhurutshe of King Motebele, senior son of King Mohurutshe', *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol.6, pp.37-45; D.W. Stirke, *Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse* London, 1922, p 7 re Khurutshe invasion of late 18th century. For the split between Motebele (Khurutshe) and Motebejane (Hurutshe), see Transvaal, Native Affairs Department, *Short History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal* Pretoria: Government Printer, 1905, chapter II; Paul-Lambert Breutz, *The Tribes of Marico District Pretoria: Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications No.30*, 1954, pp.19-20.]

Another variant on the name Tebele ('raider') is that it was first given to eldest son of Kgabo, eponymous founder of the Kgabo-Kwena, because raiders (probably Shona) spared the hut of his mother while she was confined giving birth, and even gave milk-goats to the newborn baby - John Tom Brown Among the Bantu Nomads, p.229-230.

7. BNA -S.3/1 'History of the Ghanzi tribes'. 25pp hand-written ms by Trooper Moses Malata, described as 'native views, some of which strike me as being somewhat disloyal' by Acting Resident Magistrate Ghanzi. Recounts account by own father, one of Makapane's people in the Transvaal, who settled and married among Rolong after 'going to Kimberley to work for guns'. Tells of Rolong of Chief Mothiba coming from south, through Lehututu, and chasing the Damara into Damaraland: 'this was on 1500 or 1600'. Correlates with John Tom Brown (Among the Bantu Nomads, p.218) of some Rratlou-Rolong migrating from Phitsane to Ghanzi. Also with Heinrich Vedder (transl. Cyril G. Hall), *South West Africa in Early Times, Being the story of South West Africa up to the date of Maherero's death in 1890* (Oxford; O.U.P., 1938/ London: Frank Cass, 1966) : some of the the Mbandu forebears of the Herero went 'into the land of the Bechuanas...At that time Bechuanaland was considerably larger than it is today. Its western boundary stretched right to Ovionbo (District Okahandja) in the present-day Hereroland.'(p.134); the Mbandu being those Mbandu (reed-land people) who 'remained with the Bechuanas' while the Herero were those who decided (okuhererera) otherwise (p.135). All this accounts for the Herero view portraying the Kololo invasion c.1830 as yet another dispute between the Herero and the Tswana, with the latter equipped with 'barbed assegais and large oxhide shields', raiding cattle and being defeated in a bloody battle at Etemba that lasted weeks. Significantly 'Matabele' are recorded as hastening to the assistance of the Tswana (p.141).

8a. BNA- S.132/5: 'The Lost City of the Kalahari' & 'Who built the Lost City of the Kalahari' by Peter M. Sebina (c1962): 'Legend tells of a white family (from where legend is silent) finding Kgari and his people at Serowe [sic]. They were the first white people that the Bamangwato had seen, and their white (red) skin was regarded as bare flesh with the skin peeled off with a knife.' Hence the red man was called Kgowe (peeled one) - and his people the MaKgowe or Makgowa - his wife being Mogatsa-Kgowe and his four sons Kadise, Toro, Toronyane [elsewhere Diphafa?], and Mmegale. The family trekked on but died of fever in the Tswapong hills: only one son, Mmegale being saved and brought back and initiated among the Bangwato into Sekgoma I's mophato.

8b. Machalie 'or something like that', i.e. Mmegale, is given by 'A British Official' ('In Khama's country, Bechuanaland Protectorate', *Monthly Review*, vol.7, June 1902, pp.115-116 as the name of the first white among the northern Tswana. Obviously referring to Coenrad de Buys, the account goes on that he married an African woman and went to

become a minor chief 'near a great mountain in the north of the Transvaal'. (The official wildly speculating that he must have been a Scotsman called McAllister giving his name to the Magaliesberg. In fact the Boers called the hills after the local Kgosi Mogale.)

8c. David Livingstone (reference lost) has it as a son of Coenrad Buys among the Ngwato; probably not the unknown white referred to as first bringing the idea of Jesus to the Ngwato in John Mackenzie's *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), p.407, which E.W. Smith thought could have even been Gordon Cumming in the 1840s. Andrew Smith (Diary, vol.II, p.162) recorded Buys as attacking the Malete of 'chief Poi'[Pooe]. The subsequent history of the Buys clan and the Albasini/Potgieter hunting/slaving-chiefdoms in the northern Transvaal is well known - see Wagner etc. For Cowen and Denovan on the Limpopo also see J.T. Brown *Among the Bantu Nomads*, p.233: claiming they were thrown into the river Limpopo as witches and their horses eaten. \*\* 5. Battle of the Skirts' - story told by John Tom Brown (introd. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown), *Among the Bantu Nomads*. A record of forty years spent among the Bechuana - a numerous and famous branch of the central south African Bantu, with the first full description of their ancient customs, manners and beliefs London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1926 [one longs for the discovery some day of JTB's original manuscript before he was 'got at' by Radcliffe-Brown], pp.230-38.

9a. Shula Marks & Richard Gray 'Southern Africa and Madagascar', chapter 6, pp.384-425, in Richard Gray (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Volume 4, From about c.1600 to c.1790 Cambridge; C.U.P., 1975, for most accessible results of research of Gray and Ralushai on Venda, N. Transvaal. See N.M.N. Ralushai & J.R. Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi among the Venda of the Northern Transvaal', *Rhodesian History, The Journal of the Central African Historical Ass'n*, vol.8, 1977, pp.1-11.

9b. Phil L. Bonner. 'Early state formation among the Nguni: the relevance of the Swazi case' (draft, early 1977) - emphasises 'Zwide as the real precursor of the Shakan state', and ref. 'Dingiswayo 'as he grappled with the 'general crisis' of the early nineteenth century' [cf. Trevor Ashton, introd. Christopher Hill, *Crisis in Europe 1560-1660* London: Routledge, 1965 ex. Past and Present, taken up by Basil Davidson etc. to refer to slave-ridden 18th-19th century Africa]

6a. J.D. Krige, 'Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal', *Bantu Studies*, vol.11, 1937, pp.321-56: marred by 18th century 'arrival' times of all tribes; Gananwa claim ancestry to Malete of Tshweneng, i.e. Tswapong west of Limpopo (p.345n), confused by Krige with Malete of Ramotswa on the Ngotwane south of the Limpopo.

4. Martin C. Legassick. 'The Sotho-Tswana peoples before 1800', chapter 5, pp.86-125 in Leonard Thompson (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa; Historical Studies* Berkeley: UCALPress & London: Heinemann, 1969.

9c. Stan Mudenge, 'The Rosvi empire and the feira of Zumbo - a survey of the history of an empire and a trade route (1680-1890) University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies/ School of Oriental and African Studies, African History Seminar, 29 April 1970, pp 4-5: Rozvi fought in crescent formation.

6b. Nicholas J. van Warmelo, *Die Tlokwa en Birwa van Noord Transvaal* Pretoria: Departement van Naturellesake, Ethnologiese Reeks No.29, 1953: Conrad Buys 'Sekgobokgobo'/elephant hunter.

6c. Hunt 'Account of the Bapedi' *BanStud* 5 (1931)

2. See for example Parsons New History, p. 40

3. See Thou & Campbell, p.97 & Parsons, 'On the origins of the bamaNgwato', *Botswana Notes and Records* (1971).

Y. Parsons, *History of Southern Africa*. p.50 -after Schapera & Breutz etc.