To Grahamstown and back: towards a socio-cultural history of Southern Africa

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Citation

Gewald, J. B. (2014). *To Grahamstown and back: towards a socio-cultural history of Southern Africa*. Leiden: Leiden University. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/25846

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

To Grahamstown and Back:

Towards a Socio-Cultural History of Southern Africa

Inaugural Lecture

Jan-Bart Gewald

Leiden University, 6 June 2014

Mijnheer de Rector Magnificus,

Members of the diplomatic community,

Leden van het bestuur van het Afrika-Studiecentrum,

Leden van het Curatorium van deze leerstoel,

Zeer gewaardeerde toehoorders:

> "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."
>
> Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*
>
> "Father, do you see this gentleman? This gentleman is visiting us from the capital. He visits all the forts along the frontier. His work is to find out the truth. That is all he does. He finds out the truth. If you do not speak to me you will have to speak to him. Do you understand?"
>
> J.M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians*

On Wednesday 21st June 1848 at quarter past ten in the morning, the young British artist, Thomas Baines, who was travelling along the recently constructed Queen's Road from Fort Beaufort to Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape of South Africa sat down on a rock "near the thirtieth milestone". He sketched a party of Xhosa men and women who passed by as they were "returning from the Colony with the property they had acquired, of which the guns only were carried by the men, while the iron pots and heavier articles were borne by the women and the pack oxen … on their way to their native country".[1] Shortly thereafter he crossed the Koonap River just above its confluence with the Great Fish River where he saw and sketched "another company ... returning like the former party to their own country … wading through the drift; the women, as before, bearing heavy piles of goods ... while the men passed on unburdened save by the musket or the kerrie".[2]

In this lecture I will describe and expand upon the scene that resulted from these sketches and came to be depicted in the painting entitled *Kaffirs having made their fortunes leaving the Colony*.[3] It is my belief that what is depicted in this painting is representative of what happened in Southern Africa as a whole between 1650 and the present. I will use the painting as a lens through which to look and think about the sub-continent's past and present.

I will do this by investigating the painting in terms of what it tells us about the movement of people, goods and ideas in Southern Africa. Underlying this movement are the persistent attempts by those with power to control, constrain and regulate this movement. Not surprisingly this has led to conflict. Conflict that, as far too much of my earlier work has demonstrated, characterizes so much of the history of Southern Africa.[4] I believe that investigating the manner in which people have sought to acquire what they desire, often in the face of constraints - be they environmental, geographical or political - coupled with their ideas with regard to the manner in which the world functions, will throw light on fundamental processes that determine Southern Africa's human history.[5] What happened in the Eastern Cape was a precursor to events further afield where settler colonies came to be established.[6] Focussing on the painting by Baines, the body of this lecture is divided into three parts that consider the movement and control of people, goods and ideas in Southern Africa's historical past. But first a little more detail about the artist, the painting, and the context in which it was produced.

John Thomas Baines (1820 - 1875) was born in England and travelled to Cape Town in 1842 where he found employment as a coach painter before becoming an artist and trusting "entirely to my pencil for support".[7] In early 1848, he travelled by ship to Port Elizabeth and then overland to Grahamstown, which had been established in 1812 as the base for British military operations in the Eastern Cape. In Grahamstown, Baines joined a hunting expedition to the Orange River. It was on the return journey that he sat down and sketched the Amaxhosa parties and their newly acquired belongings as they returned from working in the Cape Colony. At the outbreak of the 8th Frontier War (Mlanjeni's War) in 1850, Baines was appointed as an official war artist in the British Army. And in the 1850s, he travelled through parts of Australia before joining David Livingstone on his ill-fated expedition along the Zambezi River.[8] Following his dismissal by Livingstone, Baines then travelled extensively throughout Southern Africa in Damaraland, Ngamiland and Mashonaland.[9] He died in Durban in 1875.

The painting that is the subject of this presentation is one of two by Baines that depict Amaxhosa returning from Cape Colony laden with goods acquired through their labour there and is based on sketches completed on 21st June 1848.[10] Under a clear sky with cirrus and cumulus clouds in the background, a party of six women, three men, a boy, a girl and a baby make their way, accompanied by two oxen, from right to left in the foreground. Behind the figures, a ridge of hills (the Koonap Heights) bisects the painting horizontally and adds depth to the painting. One of the women is carrying a three-legged cast-iron cooking pot on her head, four of the women have bundles of goods on their heads and the sixth has a baby on her back. All the figures are dressed in clothing and blankets made of manufactured cloth. The two men flanking the oxen are carrying muskets. The man in the foreground has a manufactured blanket draped over his left arm. The two long-horned oxen plod along with the party; one of the oxen bearing blankets on its horns, while the other is accompanied by a boy bearing a herding stick and displaying a serrated dewlap that has been cut for aesthetic purposes and to denote ownership. Bringing up the rear is a man dressed in manufactured clothes whose face is obscured by a broad-brimmed hat. This man is carrying a sleeping mat or blanket roll as well as calabashes or cooking utensils on his back. At the very centre of the party, the focal point of the picture is a splash of cobalt blue that detonates with the muted browns and earth colours that dominate the rest of the painting.[11] This is a small satin pouch/purse that is being carried by the young woman wearing the gauntlet of brass bands.

In this beautifully crafted and carefully planned painting, it is clear that Baines positioned the figures so that their clothing and accoutrements could be displayed to their best advantage. But in addition, the painting is a text-book example of composition, with the satin pouch at the very centre of the painting. The lines of sight formed by the muskets, the shadows of the women as well as their clothing all serve to draw the eye to the centre of the picture. Immediately to the right of the splash of colour, which is the young woman's satin purse, is a milestone engraved with the letters, GT XXX (Grahamstown 30 miles). Slightly to the right and above the milestone, in the background one can make out a semaphore tower on the Koonap Heights, which was built by the Royal Engineers as part of a line of communication between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort prior to the 7th Frontier War.

The tranquil scene portrayed by Baines belies the savagery of the 100 years of intermittent warfare that was waged on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony.[12] These were wars in which thousands upon thousands of people died, either in battle or of starvation, and hundreds of thousands more were left destitute and at the mercy of those more fortunate than themselves. The fighting wrought havoc in the lives of people, commoners or royals alike. When Baines made his early morning sketches of Xhosa migrant labourers in June 1848, he did so two years after the outbreak of the 7th Frontier War (The War of the Axe), and two years before the outbreak of the 8th Frontier War (Mlanjeni's War).[13] Indeed, the Queen's Road, which he was travelling along from Fort Beaufort to Grahamstown, had been expressly built for the purposes of war and the rapid transport and deployment of British forces along the frontier.

Movement of People

> At the Cape of Good Hope there are many exquisitely beautiful farm houses built in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. ... They were built by slaves and with the proceeds of the exploitation of slave labour. … Beautiful they may be, but neither they nor the society that built them can be the objects of romanticism. … The class that had these houses built had human beings plucked away from their homes and shipped from all the ports of the Indian Ocean to the Cape. Then they were worked in the fields, until they died. … The life of the slaves was harsh, short and frustrated.[14]

The movement of people has been the norm in Southern Africa. No matter what their economic base, be they hunter-gatherers, pastoralists or agriculturalists, environmental conditions determined that people had to move to live.[15] In that sense, Thomas Baines's scene of people moving is not particularly interesting; people moved all the time. [16] What makes the Xhosa men and women returning from the Cape Colony interesting is that they did this as migrant labourers.[17] Migrant labour has had a pervasive and enduring impact on human society in Southern Africa; it is perhaps the most important theme in the last 350 years of Southern African history.[18] The establishment of a settler society at the Cape in 1652 led to the development of an economy that, at least until 1973, was structurally short of labour and consistently hungered for and consumed millions upon millions of labourers.[19] Contemporary South Africa has been built and developed by migrant labour and large parts of the economy continue to depend on the employment of migrant labour, much of which comes from far beyond its borders.[20]

The continual movement and employment of people from far away has a dark slave history that cannot be ignored when looking at Southern Africa's past. Far from being isolated from the world, the Cape was "integrated into the wider structures of the VOC's mercantilist empire, with a level of capitalist farming which responded closely to market forces".[21] As the Cape expanded, so too did its demand for labour and, from the very beginning, this was provided by slaves. By 1713 the number of slaves at the Cape exceeded the number of European settlers (*burghers*). A traveller to the Cape in 1730 noted that, "Every farmer requires many more slaves than members of his own household to grow his crops and develop his land".[22] These slaves were drawn almost exclusively from the Indian Ocean trading system that had been wrested from Portuguese dominance by the Dutch in the early 1600s.[23] The surnames of numerous people across Southern Africa continue to indicate the slave status of their ancestors, with the Januarys, Februarys, Appolus' and Junius' being obvious examples, and the names Malgaas (Madagascar) and Mazbieker (Mozambique) continuing to indicate the geographical slave origins of contemporary Southern Africans.[24] A number of these slaves escaped bondage and found sanctuary - or betrayal and death - among communities beyond the colony, and still others established maroon communities.[25] Thus the waggon-driver Abram Malagasse (his name indicates that he was descended from slaves), who transported Thomas Baines from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown in 1848, asserted a Sotho identity and acknowledged the great Chief Moshoeshoe as his paramount.[26] Today, the descendants of slaves are to be found throughout Southern Africa living their lives as full members of a wide variety of communities, ranging from Nama through to Herero and Sotho.[27]

The consistent shortage of labour at the Cape during Dutch occupation led to the continual importation of slaves from overseas, as well as an ever-increasing incorporation of local African labourers into the economy: "They entered into a social structure already conditioned by the slave system and, although nominally free, became subject to similar means of coercion and control".[28] Such means of coercion and control increasingly came to be based on ascribed race and, effectively, remained in place until the laws restricting movement and settlement based on race and ethnicity were finally abolished in the early 1990s. The shortage of labour that characterized the Cape during Dutch occupation did not end with the establishment of British rule in 1806. Instead, it was exacerbated by the formal abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the mass settlement of British settlers in 1820. Although the abolition of the slave trade limited the legal importation of slaves into the colony, it would not be until 1834 that chattel slavery ended. And it was another four years before "free slaves" could officially leave their former masters. In the absence of slave imports, the British administration introduced legislation aimed at forcing free people of colour to work within the settler economy on the basis of their ascribed race.[29]

The arrival of English settlers, who soon adapted to the mind-set and forms of exploitation in the colony, led to an even greater demand for labour.[30] It was reported that by 1828, Albany district, where the settlers had been settled, suffered from "more acute shortage of labour, than any other district" and that "free labourers cannot be procured in the country".[31] In the 1980s, Julian Cobbing started a historiographical revolution that showed that the drive to acquire labour for the colony contributed significantly to the destabilization of Southern Africa as a whole and the movement of people far beyond the colony's borders.[32] Ordinance 49 of 1828 finally allowed for the legal recruitment and employment of labour from beyond the colony. But, in keeping with the earlier Caledon Code of 1809, the movement of people of colour was to be regulated by means of passes whereby "those found without a pass could be pressganged for up to twelve months".[33] It was on the basis of this legislation that the Xhosa party painted by Baines arrived in the colony as migrant labourers.

The shortage of labour that had characterized the pre-industrial economy of Southern Africa prior to 1870 was exacerbated by the discovery of diamonds and the subsequent development of an industrial economy based on mining.[34] The development of industrial mining and its associated industries led to a dramatic increase in the movement of people in Southern Africa. In 1874, two years after the diamond rush in Kimberly in the Cape Colony started, British Naval Officer Vernon Lovett Cameron travelled across central Africa from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean and described Balozi traders from the Zambesi Valley in what is today's western Zambia buying slaves from Garanganze in southern Congo.[35] Cameron speculated that some of these men would end up as labourers in the diamond mines in South Africa. Sixteen years later, hunter George Westbeech, who operated in what is present-day western Zimbabwe and north-eastern Botswana, exported "a large contingent of Africans to work in the newly opened gold mines at Klerksdorp" in the Transvaal.[36]

The defeat of the Boer republics in the South African War (1899-1902) heralded an enormous programme of economic and political reconstruction in what would become the Union of South Africa under High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner. His plans, which emphasized the reconstruction and development of South Africa's mines and agriculture, led to an unprecedented demand for labour throughout Southern Africa.[37] When the South African War began in 1899, the gold mines employed approximately 90,000 African labourers and by 1910 this had doubled to 183,793 men drawn from all over Southern Africa.[38] Indeed, so desperate was the demand for labour that, to overcome the shortfall in labour, the Transvaal Chamber of Mines imported no fewer than 60,000 indentured Chinese labourers between 1904 and 1906 at salaries lower than those paid to African labourers.[39] None-the-less, the demand for labour remained high and in the seventy years that followed, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association ('Wenela'), which was founded in 1900 by the Chamber of Mines, actively recruited labour across Southern Africa until its demise in 1978.[40]

Predominantly male migrants, from all over Southern Africa travelled to the mines in South Africa in search of profit, status and manhood.[41] Over the years, historians and others have developed a burgeoning literature that has sought to deal with the social, cultural, economic and political history of migrant labour to the mines of South Africa.[42] This move to South Africa continues today. The world's deepest gold mines and richest platinum mines were dug by and continue to be dependent on migrant labour from the Eastern Cape, Lesotho and as far afield as Southern Congo, Tanzania and Angola. The bulk of the 34 miners shot dead at Marikana in August 2012 were migrant labourers from the Eastern Cape.[43] The wine and apple farms of the Western Cape, which undercut the minimum wage levels instituted by the South African government, employ paperless migrants[44] and the hunting and wildlife farms of the Eastern Cape depend on Zimbabwean labourers.[45] As in the United States of America and the European Union, large sectors of the South African economy are dependent on expendable migrant labour, labour that has no formal legal standing, is usually not unionized and generally has no recourse to the law. The wave of xenophobic violence that swept across South Africa in 2008 targeted the most vulnerable in society, people who in terms of appearance, speech and behaviour were considered not to be South African. Yet amid all the killing, it was not European, American, Australian, Chinese, or Indian, economic migrants that were targeted. Instead it was those at the very bottom of the economic ladder, with no fewer than a third of those killed being South Africans who were mistakenly killed as foreigners.[46] It was, in the words of one commentator, "not simply xenophobia, but specifically negrophobic in character. No one is attacking wealthy German, British or French foreigners in Camps Bay or anywhere else in South Africa".[47]

Movement of Goods

> These days everyone is looking for a quality lifestyle that's easy to afford. At Morkels we strive to bring you the quality, value and style you deserve at affordable prices and convenient payment options.[48]

In conversation, Robert Ross has often commented that one of the driving forces in Southern African history has been the bourgeois aspirations of its people. It is the consistent drive by people to acquire the goods and ideas associated with a respectable middle-class life that unites the sub-continent's people and runs throughout its history.[49] This hunger, particularly for manufactured goods, has thoroughly transformed Southern Africa and continues to do so today. The monumental growth of South African retail companies, such as Shoprite, Morkels, Bradlows, Mr. Price, Pick n Pay, Woolworths and numerous others throughout Southern Africa and beyond in the years since 1994 is a direct outcome of this demand.[50] Young people in Kolwezi, Congo DRC, Katima Mulilo, Namibia and Cabinda, Angola, all aspire to the good life and the attributes associated with such a lifestyle, be it motor vehicles, bottled beer, or clothing.[51]

As with millions of later migrants to Southern Africa, those painted by Baines in 1848 were, to paraphrase Michael Barrett, "striding home majestically", bearing their hard-earned goods and the promise of improved standing in their home kraals and villages.[52] In terms of the material goods they bore with them oxen, beads, calabashes, three-legged cooking pots, manufactured clothing and blankets, firearms and undoubtedly a whole host of goodies that I have not been able to pick up in the painting such as tinderboxes, needles, paper and so forth.[53] What we see taking place on the frontier of the Eastern Cape Colony is a revolution in consumption, which led ultimately to permanent changes in the material culture of people.[54] Within less than a hundred years, people went from a material culture, in which objects could largely be made by craftsmen with locally sourced materials, to a material culture whose objects were industrially produced in factories half way around the world.

As the industrial revolution got underway in Great Britain, it did so hand in hand with the export and trade of industrially manufactured goods to Southern Africa.[55] On the eastern Cape frontier from 1824 onwards, the colonial government oversaw a regular trade fair at Fort Wiltshire that was circumscribed by strict regulations: "Naturally, liquor and firearms were forbidden, … [and] each transaction … had to contain a 'useful' item … iron pots, tinder boxes, blankets and cloth".[56] From 1830 onwards, traders were formally permitted to cross the frontier where they traded "consumption goods – blankets, cotton rugs, soldiers' greatcoats, hats, handkerchiefs and so on".[57] Writing of the frontier trade, and Grahamstown in particular, Clifton Crais noted that the frontier trade "became the single most important avenue by which settlers accumulated the capital upon which commercial agriculture would develop".[58] Although it seems hardly credible today, there was a time when Grahamstown was at the centre of the universe. Entering Grahamstown in 1848, Thomas Baines provided a description of New Street and, more particularly, the town's dependence on trade that extended beyond the colony:

> … we entered the town by New Street which seemed, by far, more prolific of canteens and negotie winkels, or retail stores, than of private dwellings. Whipsticks of bamboo fifteen feet or more in length, ropes of hide from the ox, the buffalo, or eland, and other wagon gear, cheap guns, tiger skins, pumpkins, beads, brass rings, camp kettles, and pots of tin or iron, were displayed at every door.[59]

The clothing, blankets, pots and firearms carried by the migrants painted by Baines were undoubtedly acquired in Grahamstown.[60]

From Kaffir Pot to Boere Potjie

Keeping pace with the industrial revolution in Great Britain, the three-legged cast-iron cooking pot came to be imported into Southern Africa in enormous quantities from the early 1800s onwards. [61] The exquisite and highly detailed paintings by Samuel Daniell (1775 – 1811), who was appointed by the acting governor of the Cape in 1801 to act as draughtsman and secretary for a British expedition to the "Booshuana", do not depict cast-iron three-legged cooking pots. Yet by the 1840s, they are ubiquitous in depictions of daily life. The three-legged pot spread around the world in keeping with the expansion of industrial imperialism in the nineteenth century. A fragment of a cast-iron three-legged cooking pot has even been found at the Reno-Benteen Defense Site at the Battle of Little Bighorn in the US where General Custer was killed by Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors in 1876.[62] Runaway slaves, who established Maroon communities in Jamaica, used three-legged cast-iron pots.[63] Fragments of these, blown to bits by artillery shells, have been found at *Orunahi rwozonyungu,* "Pot Flats" near the site of the Battle of Hamakari in Namibia where the OvaHerero were massacred by the forces of Imperial Germany in 1904.[64]

Industrially produced three-legged cast-iron pots arrived in Southern Africa in the early 1800s and soon spread far beyond the sites of European settlement and deep into the seemingly inaccessible areas of the Kalahari and beyond.[65] The remains of cast-iron pots have turned up in archaeological digs of residential sites from the 1850s onwards.[66] On the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, the three-legged cast-iron pot can be seen in sketches of war scenes.[67] As with the returning migrants on Baines's painting, migrants to the mines that were developed at Kimberley in the 1870s and Johannesburg in the 1880s, returned carrying three-legged cast-iron pots and firearms.[68] *Potjies* as they are called in Southern Africa feature in a myriad of sketches and paintings produced by European artists who travelled into the interior. Frank Oates, an English adventurer who made it as far as Victoria Falls before dying of fever, produced a painting of his hunter's camp in Matabeleland that shows a *potjie*.[69] By the 1880s three legged cast-iron pots were everywhere in southern African communities. The defeat of these communities in the face of European imperialism has been documented photographically. By its very nature, cast-iron does not burn easily and, all too often, scenes of burnt-down and devastated African settlements display cast-iron three-legged pots.[70]

Over the years *potjies* have become standardized and come in a range of sizes starting at ¼, which is sufficient for one person, through to 25, which is large enough to feed sixty.

The *potjie* has become an integral part of Southern African identity today and no Afrikaner or Herero/Nama/Tswana/Sotho/Zulu/Pedi/Xhosa wedding would be complete without at least some form of *potjikos* being served. Enormous *potjiekos* festivals and cooking competitions are held in Southern Africa, and in the Southern African diaspora, with a variety of cookery books and a stunning number of garish websites specifically dedicated to *potjie*-recipes.[71] Not surprisingly, *potjies* can be hired by the hour from catering companies in South Africa.[72] Normally placed on a bed of coals the *potjie* has evolved in keeping with the urbanisation of Southern Africans. As such the CADAC gas company, whose slogan is "Live the Braai Life", has developed the "potjiecooker" attachment that can be fitted to its gas canisters, and is designed to fit a no. 2 or 3 *potjie*.[73]

In keeping with the *potjie's* role as the marker of industrialization today, the largest supplier of *potjies* is the People's Republic of China. Numerous Chinese companies compete for clients and the Internet is awash with small companies seeking contracts and promising the best of wares.[74] As to the quality of the materials being delivered, the pride of British industrialism Sheffield steel has been overshadowed and the Qingdao Xinghe Machinery Co. Ltd. now supplies *potjies* with the text "Best Quality: Made in South Africa" emblazoned on them.[75] Be that as it may, *potjies* unite people throughout the sub-continent, irrespective of ethnicity or race. No public function from weddings to the inauguration or funeral of a highly respected elder statesman would be complete without some form of meat stew cooked in a *potjie*. In this Southern Africans are united.

Firearms

"Guns brought labourers" wrote the historian De Kiewiet. This was as true of the Diamond fields of the 1870s, of which he was writing, as of the Cape Colony from which the migrants were returning with their muskets in 1848 in the painting by Baines.[76] Firearms are important because they enabled, not only the subjugation of African polities but also the maintenance of independent African polities.[77] They allowed the acquisition of commodities that had hitherto usually lain beyond the reach of people. Firearms made it possible to hunt elephants, rhinos, buffaloes and lions in a manner that did not immediately endanger the life of the hunter. In addition, they made it possible to harvest the wildlife of Southern Africa on a scale hitherto unseen, and to transform it into the ivory, hides, pelts, feathers and dried meat, some of which Baines described as being on sale in Grahamstown in 1848.[78] Ownership of guns and horses, of "the means of destruction" as Jack Goody famously quipped, enabled Southern African communities to devastate other communities, while maintaining the independence of their own.[79] The hunting and raiding by commando based societies from the late 1700s onwards is a case in point.[80] It is supremely telling that a IKung man, when asked in 1952 if he had an image of God, replied "God is a man on a horse with a gun".[81]

Guns have been associated with the arrival of European mariners to the coast of Southern Africa from the late fifteenth century onwards. A year prior to the Siege of Leiden, the Portuguese actively deployed 600 *arquebusier* musketeers in a set-piece battle that lasted three days in the Zambezi valley as early as 1572.[82] Marks and Atmore have noted that "a 'gun society' existed at the Cape from the beginning of white settlement there in 1652".[83] Dutch musketeers ran afoul of the damp mists on the Namibian coast in 1670 and were killed when their muskets failed to fire on account of wet powder.[84] Raiders and refugees from the Cape, Xhosa communities were aware of firearms from at least the early 1700s onwards and began actively acquiring firearms in the late 1700s.[85] By 1839, it was noted that "large numbers of muskets, [had been acquired by Xhosa] first by smuggling and indeed now openly by traders" and that they were "becoming more bold and expert in the use of them".[86] During the War of the Axe in 1846, firearms were common and used to great effect by the Xhosa, who avoided set-piece battles and engaged in guerrilla warfare where they, "keep to the bush and take advantage of our men being in the open to fire at them: when we return their fire, we do so with scarcely any effect, having nothing but the bush to fire at".[87] From 1867 onwards, Kimberley became the centre for the gun trade in Southern Africa. Succinct as always, De Kiewiet wrote, "The diamond fields needed native labourers and the virtual free trade [in firearms] that was permitted at the diggings was excellent bait".[88]

Of late, after a lull of nearly 50 years, there has been a resurgence in the study of firearms in the history of Africa.[89] The global conflicts, be they the Napoleonic wars, the World Wars, the Cold War, or the so-called Global War on Terror (GWOT), have all to some extent been fought in Africa and have all had unintended and lasting consequences in the continent, particularly with regard to the firearms that remained as surplus after the fighting ended.[90] The transition in Western Europe of armies from muskets to rifled firearms during and after the Napoleonic wars, meant that the world market came to be flooded with muskets that were no longer being used by the enormous standing armies that had been established.[91] The muskets, as with the rifles that replaced them, were hand-made and were thus comparatively easy to repair.[92] The military surplus "Brown Bess" or "Tower Musket" (so called because its barrel had been proofed at the Tower of London) was the standard exported to Southern Africa until the 1870s. Although as with the *potjies* currently produced in China but alleged to have been made in South Africa, White has described how "Birmingham gunmakers stamped their guns 'London', while Belgians used Birmingham trade names, slightly misspelt".[93] The enormous rearmament - from muskets to rifles - in Europe's armies was repeated fifty years later when, "between 1867 and 1875 nearly all the European countries rearmed with metallic-cartridge breech-loaders, thus making vast quantities of military weapons obsolete".[94] This change did not go unnoticed in Southern Africa. From the 1870s onwards, all wars in Southern Africa were fought with breech-loader rifles, albeit that African forces were outnumbered more often than not in terms of firearms. It was in an effort to redress this imbalance that thousands of men took the 'bait' and joined the migrant labour system to acquire firearms. [95] On the diamond fields, working time and wages were measured in terms of multiples of firearms. "The guns [were] in the hands of furtive knots of Basuto who scurried [them] through the Free State to Basutoland on their way from the diamond fields".[96] They ensured the victory of Basuto forces against the Boers of the Orange Free State as well as Imperial Britain, and thus the maintenance of the independence of the state founded by Mosheshoe, namely contemporary Lesotho. Although not as fortunate as the followers of Moshoeshoe, Peter Delius has described in detail how the Bapedi were able to maintain their independence in the face of Boer aggression from the South African Republic before being finally defeated by Imperial Britain.[97]

Firearms are not just objects for killing but also have a symbolic purpose. The work of Macola in Central Africa, van Beek and others in contemporary West Africa as well as my own ongoing research on the *Kaleloze* gun in Western Zambia are examples of this. [98] However it is important not to over emphasize the symbolic, for it was precisely in Southern Africa that the ability of firearms to kill and maim came to the fore. The extermination of wildlife, be it the Quagga or the Cape Lion, both of which became extinct in the 1870s, and the multitude of bloody wars that afflicted the region between 1850 and 2000 were made possible by firearms carried by individuals.[99]

Clothing

Thomas Baines was an astute observer who did not only paint and sketch but also kept a detailed journal for part of the time that he was in Southern Africa. His first description of Xhosa women encountered on the road from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown near Howieson's Poort, bears quoting:

> … [the Xhosa women] with their erect stately carriage and easy motion, their muscular but well formed arms hanging carelessly by their sides, while a heavy burden was supported upon their heads. Around the waist or over the full breast was tied *the*

> *garment required within the authority of the Magistrate, a petticoat of some civilised manufacture*, while the rest of the figure was adorned with large beads of brilliant colours or rings and chains of brass and copper.[100]

The stipulation that clothing of "civilised manufacture" be worn was in line with the proclamations dealing with trade fairs that had been established by the colonial administration at Grahamstown and Fort Wiltshire where strict regulations emphasized that each transaction had to include a "useful item" that was of industrial manufacture and included blankets and cloth.[101] Monica Wilson, (née Hunter) who had grown up on a mission station in the Eastern Cape, drew attention to the fact that, "it was characteristic … that Xhosa women, as well as men, sought employment" in the Colony and that, "from the very beginning, [missionary wives] taught sewing classes, that the women might make clothes for themselves".[102] However it was expected, and at times legislated, that clothing had to fulfil certain criteria, that maintained or reinforced social distinction and distance. Thus in a letter to *The Star* newspaper in Johannesburg in 1911, a reader wrote: "No native should be allowed to wear ordinary European dress during working hours, and employers should combine to this end. European dress gives him an inflated sense of importance and equality".[103] Robert Ross has written extensively and eloquently on how specific ways of dressing came to be globalized and used to define and categorize status in society.[104] The acquisition of clothing was not a one-way process in which missionaries or authorities enforced clothing and styles on people.[105] Far from it, in keeping with the saying "clothes make the man", clothing allowed people to present and make themselves in ways that they believed were in line with their own identity and status. Godfrey Wilson, the husband of Monica Wilson referred to above, worked in Zambia and noted the following about the people amongst whom he worked in Kabwe in the late 1930s:

> The Africans of Broken Hill are not a cattle people, nor a goat people, nor a fishing people, nor a tree cutting people, they are a dressed people.[106]

The dancing and clothing competitions described by Wilson continue amongst migrants in contemporary South Africa.[107] These men bring to mind the *Sappeur* of Congo DRC as well as the *Mapantsula* of South Africa, men who made a competition out of being dressed in the most stylish, resplendent and expensive clothing possible; clothing that in the normal course of events would lie completely beyond their level of income and social standing.[108]

Clothing can be used as a uniform, or to signal allegiance to a particular set of beliefs and ideas. This can be in the form of a sash tied around the arm, such as in the third force attacks by *Witdoeke* in the late 1980s.[109] Or, the dress styles of gang members in the Cape

Flats in the early 1980s of which it was noted that:

> Gang dress includes a ‘tiger’ jacket (a standard lumber-jacket turned inside out, showing the tartan lining and a ‘Tiger’ trade-label), *hang-gat* (baggy-seated) trousers, a cloth cap, and ‘tackies’ (tennis shoes) laced in an elaborate weave.[110]

In the twentieth century and even today, domestic servants in Southern Africa are often expected to wear uniforms that denote their status as houseboys, garden boys, cook boys, housemaids, house girls, and nannies.[111] In keeping with the racist stereotypes on the sub-continent, black workers were infantilized as boys and girls, and in keeping with this, the uniforms assigned to them emphasized this social position. Gardeners were issued khaki uniforms with coloured piping that consisted of draw string shorts and smocks.[112] In the early 1980s, these clothes were used against the powers that be when students active in the struggle against apartheid consciously transgressed clothing norms by wearing overalls, skirts and khaki uniforms, which were normally worn by domestic servants, thereby subverting the sensibilities of apartheid supporters.[113] Similarly at the recent opening of parliament in South Africa, Members of Parliament representing the Economic Freedom Fighters attended dressed in the uniforms of domestic workers and miners.[114]

The term Blanket Xhosa came to be used to denote backwardness or rural connotations and affiliation with “traditional” belief systems.[115] It is interesting to see that blankets of industrial manufacture should come to be associated with timeless “tradition”. When young middle-class men are circumcised in the Eastern Cape today, they overcome boredom during their seclusion by listening to music on their mobile phones and then re-emerge dressed in traditional blankets.[116] When broken down into its separate constituents, such a picture seems to be an amalgam of contradictions, yet in the eyes of the people participating in the rituals that transform children into adults, there is no contradiction; in the realm of ideas and thoughts, industrially manufactured blankets fold seamlessly into tradition and this is the clothing that needs to be worn in the face of “tradition”.

Movement of Ideas

It is intriguing to think about what the young woman at the very centre of Baines’s painting is carrying in her purse. Could it be that she is carrying money, medicines and pieces of paper or little knick-knacks that appeal to her fancy? For the purpose of this presentation, let us hazard a guess and claim that she is carrying money, written papers and some form of medicine or amulet that ensured metaphysical protection. To be allowed to enter the Colony, she would have had to have been issued with a written pass and she would have worked there and been paid in kind and coin.[117] In so doing, she and her companions were introduced to the idea of working for money. Or rather, the idea of the commodification of everything and the sale of commodities, the sale of land, the effective commodification of things that had hitherto not been commodified. In addition, as the pass in her purse would have made abundantly clear, what was written upon a piece of paper could have more value and worth than individual personality. What you may or may not have been as a person was irrelevant in the face of bureaucracy in which your paper status was paramount. Having crossed the frontier and entered into Cape Colony, it is more than likely that she and her companions would have prepared themselves and sought to protect themselves from harm of both a physical as well as metaphysical nature. In the Colony the woman and her companions would have come into contact with Christian ideas, moralities and ways of being to a far greater extent than had hitherto been the case.[118]

The Ideas Associated with Money

Unknown to Baines and his subjects, ideas associated with the money in the purse carried by the young woman heralded a radical transformation of social life, which would come to be seen as "a dark satanic force tearing at the very fabric of society".[119] Little more than a generation later when the baby and child in the painting would have become adults with children of their own, a "community of affliction", of needing to work for money to survive, drew Africans into the maw of colonial society.[120]

The exchange and circulation of goods, commodities and services existed within the economies of Southern Africa prior to the arrival of European ships and sailors off the Cape of Good Hope. The first Portuguese sailors who went ashore at the Cape traded iron hoops and nails for cattle, sheep and other goods at rates of exchange that initially appeared incomprehensible. It was the beginning of the disruption of the "human economies" that had existed in Southern Africa.[121] Beginning with Bronislaw Malinowski and Marcel Mauss in the 1920s through to Maurice Bloch and David Graeber in the present, anthropologists have outlined and discussed economies that have radically different conceptions of values, debt and social relations to those of the market economy. The work of Jane Guyer (who popularized the concept of "Wealth in People" in African History[122]) and others brought to the fore how the economies of Africa were conceived of in terms of interpersonal relationships, in contrast to an "Atlantic economy of material wealth". As Joe Miller put it, "What ambitious men struggled to was … not direct supervision over others, and still less stocks of the physical products of their labour beyond immediate needs, since both people and their fabrications were all too perishable, but rather a general claim to unspecified future labour and its product at whatever moment need for them might arise".[123] In other words, "real wealth resided in dependents abstract collective obligation to provide future material goods upon demand" and not in warehouses full of perishable commodities.[124] These economies, in which the interpersonal relationship was central and consistently re-established and re-enforced through gifts, marriage alliances and general sociability[125] came to be disrupted with the coming of the market economy and the introduction of money, which, in the words of Bloch and Parry, "acts as a kind of acid which inexorably dissolves cherished cultural discriminations, [and] eats away at qualitative differences and reduces personal relations to impersonality".[126]

The introduction of money brought about the commodification of the world and broke down everything into quantifiable and allegedly mutually exchangeable units that were assigned monetary value. This led to the development of an ideology and economic system that argued that it allowed the exchange of things without any residual debt or social obligation remaining.[127] In this manner, land, water and even the lives of individual human beings could be assigned monetary value. The economic system, in which everything could be bought or sold for money, spread rapidly from the Cape into the interior of Southern Africa. This economic system also allowed for, enabled and facilitated the selling and trading in money of metaphysical dreams and promises of riches to be acquired in the future, in the form of shares in all manner of undertakings that were traded on the world's stock exchanges. In this manner, from one day to the next, whole swathes of territory and the people living there, could find themselves the subjects of financial undertakings, such as the South West African Corporation (SWACO) or the British South Africa Company (BSAC), which existed at the whim and fancy of shareholders in London or Berlin. The invasion of Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), the brutal and bloody subjugation of its people and the theft of the country's natural resources were all justified in terms of the profit motives of the shareholders of the BSAC. Similarly the perpetration of genocide in Namibia by the forces of Imperial Germany between 1904 and 1908 was ultimately carried out in the interests of the shareholders of SWACO, yet another of the many cats paws initially controlled by Cecil John Rhodes.[128] The same is true in the present where, in the interests of the repayment of debt incurred by others, millions upon millions of people have been forced to forego education, health care and adequate housing. The enormous structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s through to the present that have brought untold misery to millions of people in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe were carried out in the interests of profit motive that unjustly places profit before human lives.[129]

Many have covered the role of migrants in the economic development of South Africa, but it was Monica Wilson, who explained that, although individual migrants may have developed the industries of South Africa, it was in fact the rural African families that had subsidized the economy. She noted that "South Africa has lived on the capital of a very strong African family system, and that capital has been squandered".[130] In the interests of capital, social life was destroyed as "The old family system [was] … deeply undermined by the separation of husband and wife, the lack of supervision of children, the high illegitimacy rate, all of which are immediately and directly linked with migrant labour".[131] Rural families in rural Southern Africa subsidized urban growth and business interests to the detriment of their own well-being. Writing of the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the 1870s, De Kiewiet elegantly stated that "Within South Africa there was not to be found a single tribe that was sufficient unto itself. The natives bought, they sold, they worked".[132] Unable to produce sufficient to support themselves, Africans were forced into the labour market to survive. De Kiewiet determined that, by 1877, "the bulk of the able-bodied men of Basutoland and the native districts of the Cape Eastern Province depended upon wages in money or kind as an important source of income, without which indeed they could not expect to uphold even the low level on which they existed. On this the evidence is emphatic and will not brook any denial".[133] This dependence on money to survive has not diminished and has spread from the Cape throughout Southern Africa as a whole. What Audrey Richards and Godfrey Wilson wrote of Bemba families in what is today's north-eastern Zambia as "earning clothes through hunger" remains as poignantly true in the present as it did in the 1930s.[134]

Ideas on Paper and the Importance of the Written Word

Entering the Colony, the migrants painted by Baines arrived in a world that was governed by paper and the written word. Through the power ascribed to the written word, the administration of the Cape determined the extent of its jurisdiction and sought to govern and control the territory and people under its command. This extended down to the most intimate. As noted earlier, the written word determined what people would be allowed to wear within the colony; in keeping with sentiments and moralities inspired by the written word of the Bible.[135] Topographical maps drawn up and pored over by officers of the British army determined boundaries, fields of fire, the placing of fortifications, lines of communication and the limits of jurisdiction and, on the basis of maps, people were expelled from territory and others offered land for lease and purchase. During the VOC administration, people's movement, residence and sites of employment had been constrained by written passes. The same held true for the British administration; to be allowed to enter the Colony, the migrants depicted by Baines would have been issued with passes that entitled them to work and reside in Albany District.

Passes and pass laws have a long and ignoble history in the history of Southern Africa. In Southern Africa, issues of life or death were decided merely on the basis of words and symbols written on pieces of paper or embossed on metal tokens. In the aftermath of the Herero-German War in Namibia, all Africans over the age of eight were required by law to wear brass tokens around their necks, which were embossed with the crown of the German Emperor, the magisterial district in which they were legally permitted to reside and a number that corresponded with those listed in bureaucratic files that determined labour allocations. Through to the 1980s, the South African government deported thousands of people from the urban areas to rural areas to which people had been assigned on the basis of their assigned race and ethnicity that were listed in passes.

Within the Colony, the written words in newspapers voiced the concerns and beliefs of its settlers, as well as market prices, shipping news and visceral editorials. The pernicious effects of the written word, as exemplified by Robert Godlonton and the *Grahamstown Journal*, cannot be overstated. Social Darwinism, coupled with a belief in the divine destiny of British settlers, fuelled the relentless propaganda drive to expand into the territory of the Amaxhosa that was carried by the *Grahamstown Journal* and its editor who famously stated, that "the British race was selected by God himself to colonise Kaffraria".[136] The callous sentiments of this *Schreibtischtäter*[137] were shared by another equally murderous man, Sir George Grey, who saw a divine hand at work in the aftermath of the Xhosa *Cattle-Killing* too. When in the midst of mass starvation and the death of innocents, he merely saw benefit for the settler colony and stated: "The Natives are to become useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth to this Colony, such as Providence designed them to be."[138]

Thankfully, the power of the written word could also be used to subvert the powers that be, and nowhere was this clearer than in the redeployment of the Bible to bring to the fore the contradictions and hypocrisy of colonial administrations.[139] As Landau noted, "Christianity cheerfully embraced profound contradictions, variant ideas and implausible stories, as truth".[140] In Southern Africa, Christianity, with its weird ideas of life after death, divine power that brokered no opposition and the inevitable resurrection of the dead, found traction as one possible explanation for tumultuous events in societies that struggled to comprehend what was happening. Christianity became important because it provided its believers with an explanation for what was taking place and a way of being. Conversion or, for the more cynical amongst us, close association with missionaries, allowed for the maintenance of independence.[141] Christianity consistently and unambiguously asserted the fundamental equality of all mortals in the eyes of the Lord; important in colonial societies within which racial inequality increasingly came to be enforced through everyday experience and legislation.[142] Within the hypocrisy that was colonial settler society, this fundamental equality was consistently downplayed or simply denied as theologians engaged in all manner of doctrinal gymnastics in futile attempts to justify the unjustifiable.[143] Yet in the end, Christianity is at its core a fundamentally revolutionary creed that denies the ultimate authority of any secular worldly power and consistently calls into question all those who seek to assert and control this power on earth.[144] Consistently, the scriptures and doctrines of Christianity have provided the people of Southern Africa over time with all manner of ideas and concepts with which they could seek to "smite and chastise their enemies". When Herero survivors asserted their independence and unity at the funeral of Samuel Maharero in 1923 in the face of South African colonial rule and German genocidal violence, they did so on the basis of their own interpretation and understanding of the Scriptures that inevitably ran counter to that of their missionaries. The horrors described in the Book of Isaiah spoke directly to their own lived experience yet held within it the promise of their own inevitable redemption.[145]

Christianity gave people a voice with which to deal with new concepts, yet it was at its most powerful in its symbiotic relationship with beliefs and ideas of the meta-physical that already existed.[146] Jeff Peires has illustrated in detail the power of Christian beliefs in combination with Amaxhosa ideas dealing with life, morality and independence. In varying ways, the tragedy that befell the Amaxhosa in the Cattle-Killing of 1856-7 had been preceded and was repeated in millenarian movements in other communities across the sub-continent. All too often, these divinely inspired movements ended in bloodshed as the powers that be deployed the full might of the colonial and post-colonial state to destroy the heralds of Zion and the New Jerusalem.[147] The combination of theologies did and does not only occur in the most fundamental issues of life and death but also in the everyday. The Oswenka who inhale *muti* (medicines) which will "make them glow when they appear before the judges" in their swanky clothes combine clothing and style that originated from beyond the borders of Southern Africa with beliefs and ideas about the manner in which the world works that originate within the sub-continent.[148]

It is unthinkable that the migrants sketched by Baines would have arrived in the colony without protecting themselves in a metaphysical sense. To this end, the prepared bracelets, anklets or the unseen application and ingestion of *muti* would have provided protection in a dangerous world. The distinction between the metaphysical and the physical world did not, and still does not, exist for the bulk of people in Southern Africa and only a fool would fail to take cognisance of this and take adequate measures. Zanla guerrillas, officially engaged in fighting for the establishment of a socialist society in Zimbabwe, did not rely solely on the power that came out of the barrels of their AKs but also made extensive use of the powers of spirit mediums and *Nganga* in their war against the settler state.[149] Southern African footballers and their supporters do not only rely on the sporting prowess of their star players but actively engage in all manner of activities that seek to harness metaphysical powers that will ensure victory on the field.[150] The same holds true for business people and politicians.[151] Ways of dealing with the metaphysical have generally been glossed in terms of witchcraft and sorcery, and there are complete libraries that deal with this issue in Southern Africa, much of which concentrates on the spectacular and exotic.[152] Seeking to understand Southern Africa's past, historians need to recognize the importance of the metaphysical in the everyday and to take account of this in their analyses.

Conclusion

> "History is natural selection. Mutant versions of the past struggle for dominance; new species of fact arise, and old, saurian truths go to the wall, blindfolded and smoking last cigarettes. Only the mutations of the strong survive. The weak, the anonymous, the defeated leave few marks: field-patterns, axe-heads, folk-tales, broken pitchers, burial mounds, the fading memory of their youthful beauty. History loves only those who dominate her: it is a relationship of mutual enslavement."
> Salman Rushdie, *Shame*

There is so much more that I wanted to say and there is so much that I have said that has been said by others. How then is what I say different, let alone important, from what others have said before? Perhaps it is the belief that history is to be found in the material objects of everyday life. In history we attempt to describe the never-ending struggle by and between people to determine what should happen in any given situation. The manner in which objects are deployed or used depends on people's ideas and what they think is appropriate in any given situation. In this way, people make history within the constraints placed upon them of both a physical as well as a metaphysical nature.[153]

One way of describing this is by attempting to track and follow the movement of people, goods and ideas over time. However if there is one thing that we have learnt from anthropology, it is that people and things mean different things to different people in different times and different places. Academics at Leiden University would have difficulty in ascribing life force to tea-spoons or any other material object, yet the same cannot be said for the rest of humanity.[154] For the bulk of humanity, the distinction between animate and inanimate or for that matter physical and metaphysical, simply does not exist; all things, be they humans or rocks and stones, can be imbued with force that may or may not be visible. It is this that needs to be borne in mind when dealing with the history of Southern Africa. Things, are never just things. They, as with people, are what they are because they exist in a socio-cultural context that is dynamic and consistently changes though time.

The movement of people is a central theme in the history of Southern Africa and forms part of the triptych, the movement of people, goods and ideas.[155] It is in the struggle to control this movement that the history of human societies in the sub-continent has come to be formed.[156] Studying the movement of people one soon realizes that the movement of people has been the norm. Throughout time, people have moved to and around Southern Africa and, in so doing, they have been linked within the sub-continent as well as the wider world beyond. In moving, people have transported goods and ideas and come into contact with and acquired hitherto unknown goods and ideas.

Bearing in mind the admonition not to be antiquarian, in the pursuit of historical meaning, I seek to begin with the material objects of everyday life and then place them in a socio-cultural setting and study them through time. The rusted remains of a musket barrel unearthed in an archaeological dig in the Eastern Cape only attains full meaning when it is placed in its socio-cultural context as a weapon forged in industrial Europe, transported and traded for wage labour on the diamond fields of the Highveld and used to defend the independence of a polity beyond the frontier of the Cape Colony. In keeping with this approach, it will be clear that I will continue to shy away from a belief in the number-crunching capacities of our computers for although they may well throw up interesting anomalies with regard to firearm imports, they cannot tell us what the symbolic value and social or cultural context of these guns was, let alone the wide variety of meanings in terms of age, seniority, gender and race that people attached to such guns.

The acquisition of material goods, be they cooking pots, firearms or clothing, transformed the material cultures of the societies involved. Over time there has been a convergence of desires, consumption and the use of material objects within Southern Africa. Today young men in Southern Africa aspire to the same cars, same fast-food, same clothing and same armaments, irrespective of race but respective of class. These material objects gain meaning when placed within the socio-cultural context in which they are used. A Toyota Hi-Ace mini-bus with white-walled tyres and a snazzy paint-job is totally out of place as the means of transport for a white-collar bank employee resident in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg but thoroughly acceptable for a blue-collar municipal worker in downtown Johannesburg. Similarly, a three-legged cooking pot only gets meaning when it is placed within the socio-cultural context within which it is used; as a nostalgic artefact signalling affiliation within the South African diaspora or as a symbol of prosperity and union at a wedding feast.

In all of this, it is clear that ideas determine human action. Ideas determine that *hanggat* jeans are worn to denote gang membership in the Western Cape. This is not to deny the material conditions that have engendered the massive social deprivation brought about by apartheid's forced removals that contributed to the continued culture of criminality and brutal violence. Yet ideas, in this instance images and symbols of gangs and membership, serve to make intelligible what has happened and how people could seek to deal with these events. For every gang member, there is a religious zealot and often one can become the other.[157] In other words, gang membership is a way of dealing with a material reality, even if it is a socially unacceptable one. Another course could have been religious fundamentalism.

In contemporary South Africa, it is not strange to meet petrol attendants, road workers, newspaper salesmen or waiters in Scarborough in the Cape Peninsula who have travelled overland from Malawi in search of a better life. Talking to these people makes one realize that Southern Africa is a single whole, albeit with different accents. It is true that the Cape is not the Transvaal, Zimbabwe is not Botswana, and historical processes in Namibia are not necessarily the same as those in Zambia, but they are part of a single articulated whole. What ties Southern Africa together besides culturally informed deep structure is labour, economic institutions and the consumptive practises of its population. The economic institutions established in the past two centuries, be they mining companies, labour recruiting agencies, retail chains or trade and border agreements bind Southern Africa together. With slight regional variations and dependent on their class position, Southern Africans eat the same foods and aspire to the same material goods. In these terms, there is more that binds a Malawian peasant to a South African peasant than divides them. Similarly, Southern African workers, be they in Tsumeb Namibia, Johannesburg South Africa or Ndola Zambia, all aspire to the same material goods bought from the same stores at the same exorbitant interest rate.

Whilst steering clear of horror for horror's sake when dealing with Southern African history, I will teach a history that does not forget or obfuscate the horror of colonial rule, let alone the economic institutions that enabled and maintained the continuing exploitation of people. In addition, I sincerely hope that I will continue to speak to petrol pump attendants and peasants for many years to come and that my students will do the same. For it is only in this manner that we can maintain the human measure (*menselijke maat*) that is so necessary, yet so often missing from history.

Acknowledgements

> "History, Stephen said, is a nightmare from which I am trying to wake."
> James Joyce, *Ulysses*
>
> "Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties, it is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence."
> Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*

Aan het einde van mijn rede gekomen, wil ik het bestuur van het Afrika-Studiecentrum bedanken voor het vertrouwen dat het in mij heeft gesteld, en het College van Bestuur en de Faculteit Geesteswetenschappen voor de aan de leerstoel geboden mogelijkheden. Ik neem dit ambt graag in ontvangst en zal van hieruit mijn best blijven doen om de kennis van Afrika en de wereld te blijven vergroten.

In a sense, I have come full circle. It was as a first-year student at Rhodes University in Grahamstown that I first caught a glimpse of the full implications of apartheid and its racist legislation. For the first time in my life, whilst attending extra-curricular lectures given by Jeff Peires on the Bantustan homelands of South Africa, I heard about the 1913 Land Act, the ongoing forced removals of people and the structural dispossession of land. My eyes were opened to the racism, legislated structural injustice, full inequity and evil of apartheid. In the same department, Julian Cobbing taught me to question all that I had hitherto been given to read, and to realize that history is, in the end, struggle. These two very different men formed and inspired me as a historian, and gave context to what I saw happening around me.

I wish to thank Robert Ross, not only for his brilliant mind and incredible teaching, but more importantly, for taking me under his wing when I first came to the Netherlands nearly 30 years ago. Robert transformed me from a sloganeering activist into something approaching an academic. In researching and writing this lecture, I have stumbled upon many traces of Robert's work and seen that he has already covered much of what I was looking at. His wit, insight, productivity and friendship have inspired me and spurred me on to attempt to scale the heights that he has scaled. Although I will never succeed in my quest, I could not have wished for a better mentor.

Ella Verkaik van de bibliotheek van het Afrika-Studiecentrum heeft me volwassen zien worden. Zonder haar werk was mijn studie en onderzoek niet mogelijk geweest. Samen met haar collega’s heeft zij mij door de vele jaren heen geholpen, daarvoor mijn dank.

Ik wil mijn vele zeer gewaardeerde collegae van de opleiding Talen en Culturen van Afrika, het Afrika-Studiecentrum, Instituut voor Geschiedenis, en Instituut Culturele Antropologie en Ontwikkelingssociologie bedanken voor hun steun en vertrouwen door de jaren heen. Maarten Mous, Jan Jansen, Jos Gommans, Anna Tijselling, Sabine Luning, Mirjam de Bruijn, Klaas van Walraven, Rijk van Dijk, Harry Wels, Dennis Bos en ongenoemde anderen, jullie kennen mij, en ik jullie. Ik heb met velen van jullie in de collegebanken gezeten, en zelfs memorabele colleges bij een paar van jullie gevolgd, zonder die colleges en blijvende collegialiteit zou een nog groter deel van Afrika voor mij gesloten zijn gebleven. Ik zie uit naar onze verdere samenwerking.

Het lijkt me toepasselijk dat ik hier mijn diep-geliefde vriend Stefan Elders in herinnering breng. Stefan was mijn Enkidu in de wildernis van de wetenschap. Vanaf mijn komst in Leiden, tot aan zijn nodeloze dood eenentwintig jaar later in Mali in 2007, deed Stefan mij altijd versteld staan met zijn intelligentie, doorzettingsvermogen en liefde voor zijn vak en de academie. Zijn dood is een blijvende blamage voor een economisch systeem dat geldwinst boven mensenlevens en kennis in de wetenschap plaatst.

Beyond Leiden, a number of colleagues need to be named and thanked; Neil Parsons is a true historian, a deeply inspiring man, a font of wisdom, a friend and a grandfather to my children and was a true comrade to Gertie and I in Botswana and beyond. Nancy Jacobs, Marja Hinfelaar, Rita Kesselring and Marja Spierenburg. You are all deep and close friends and I hope that I do not insult you when I say that you have been muses to my work. And, if that is so, Giacomo Macola, Baz Lecocq and Paul Nugent, have been my Dionysus, Perseus and Hercules; your work and your ways of being have always been a source of constant amazement and inspiration to me.

Sehr geehrte Professoren Bollig und Widlok; Michael und Thomas, klassificatorisch sind wir jetzt wiederum Brüder. Wir waren bereits die Väter von gemeinsamen Töchtern. Es ist ironisch dass ich von euch, zwei Deutschen Gelehrten, soviel über die Britische Antropologie gelernt habe. Michael, ich danke dir für deine Freundschaft und die einführung in das Rhodes Livingstone Institute. Thomas, ich danke auch dir für deine Freundschaft, und in erinnerung an deine Antrittsvorlesung hoffe ich noch immer bei dir einmal in Antropologie promovieren zu koennen.

Als Afrikaan, ben ik een kind van vele families en vele ouders, ik wil hun allen bedanken voor hun liefde, vertrouwen en vriendschap. Ria Knook en Wim Janssen, Rikki Holtmaat en Arnout van Schelven, al was ik maar al te vaak jullie verloren zoon uit het evangelie van Lucas.

I wish to thank my parents, Henk and Christina Gewald, who by immigrating to Southern Africa effectively, if unintentionally, robbed me of a classical education. Yet by so doing they gave me the opportunity to grow up as an enthusiastic participant in settler society. This background, as someone who grew up and spent his youth and early adulthood in Southern Africa, has allowed me to look and think about Southern Africa in ways that can never be taught, but can only be acquired through lived experience; the irritating and somewhat uncomfortable feeling in one's hands caused by the remnants of *Sadza ne nyama* (maize-meal porridge and meat) on a Land Rover steering wheel after lunch is a case in point. It makes me proud that my family continue to live in South Africa.

Het is bijzonder wrang dat Gertie Janssen, die Nederland en de Nederlandse samenleving voor mij vertaalde, moest sterven. Gertie was mijn kameraad, vriend, geliefde en moeder van onze kinderen. Gelukkig zijn onze dochters Sieme Mariama en Meta Liesbeth nog bij mij. Samen vormen wij een hecht en sterk team. Lieve meiden, zonder jullie had ik hier vandaag niet gestaan. Zonder jullie was ik al lang uit de bocht gevlogen, en zonder jullie was ik niet in Nederland gebleven. Moge jullie blijven groeien als de vrouwen die jullie al zijn, sterk en zelfstandig, vrouwen waar jullie ouders ongelooflijk trots op zijn.

Dames en heren studenten, ik heb het geluk gehad dat ik mocht studeren, en ik heb geluk gehad dat ik goede leermeesters had. Zij hebben de enorme verplichting op mij gelegd die ik over moet brengen op jullie, geschiedenis is een strijd tegen het vergeten. Het is een taak die we alleen samen kunnen doen, ik hoop van harte dat jullie mij en ik jullie blijf inspireren en dat wij als gelijken in de wetenschap deze taak ook zullen volbrengen.

Ik heb gezegd.

I wish to express my gratitude to Ann Reeves and Mieke Zwart for assistance with language editing and layout during the writing of this lecture.

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[1] Thomas Baines, *Journal of Residence in Africa: 1842 – 1853,* Edited, with introduction, notes and map, by R.F. Kennedy, Volume One 1842 – 1849 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1961), 108 – 109. In all, Baines had an extremely productive day making numerous sketches that would result in no fewer than five oil paintings, 228 – 229.

[2] Baines, *Journal of Residence,* 109.

[3] Jane Carruthers and Marion Arnold, *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines* (Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 1995), 135.

[4] Jan-Bart Gewald, *Herero Heroes:A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia, 1890 - 1923* (Oxford: James Currey,1999) & Jan-Bart Gewald, *We ThoughtWe Would Be Free: Socio-Cultural Aspects of Herero History in Namibia, 1915 - 1940* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2000).

[5] As regards human history, together with Harry Wels, Janine Jannsen and colleagues in Southern Africa, I am currently in the process of drawing up a research project that would seek to write histories of the sub-continent and place animals other than humans at the centre of the analysis. A stunning example of this is the work of Sandra Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010).

[6] Clifton Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape. 1770 – 1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.

[7] Baines, *Journal of Residence*, 8.

[8] On the disastrous results of the expedition led by Livingstone, see Lawrence Dritsas, 'From Lake Nyassa to Philadelphia: A Geography of the Zambezi Expedition, 1858-64', *British Journal for the History of Science,* 38:1 (2005), 35-52.; J. R. Wallis (ed.), *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863*, 2 vols (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956) & Landeg White, *Magomero: A Portrait of an African Village* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[9] Thomas Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa : Being an Account of a Journey in the Years 1861 and 1862 from Walvisch Bay, on the the Western Coast to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls* (London: Longman, Roberts & Green, 1864).

[10] The paintings, and their related sketches and notebooks, are held by the pretentiously styled MuseuMAfricA (formerly Africana Museum) in Johannesburg. Baines, *Journal of Residence*, 228 – 229. The painting that forms the basis of this discussion bears the catalogue number AM 6332 and was completed in oils on a canvas that is 18½ in x 25¾ in. The second painting bears the typed label on the back "Koonap River by Thomas Baines Grahamstown 1850. A fine scene depicting Trader and Kaffirs with Goods crossing the River at the Ford", Oil 17 7/8 in x 24 ¾ in. Catalogue number AM 1035. Copies of both paintings are to be found in Carruthers and Arnold, *Thomas Baines,* 91 & 134.

[11] For some reason, Baines chose not to correctly display the vegetation. Had he done so, it might have dominated the painting. His diary explicitly notes the vegetation: "from the thick and matted jungle on either side of the road rose the tall grey stems and prickly succulent leaves of the euphorbia [*Euphorbia Triangularis*, River Euphorbia/Chandelier Tree], looking like gigantic candelabra and festooned with numberless creeping plants; and to the brilliant flower of the aloe was now added that of the magnificent *Strelitzia Regina*, rising, in form almost like the head of the tufted crane, and in colour of the brightest orange and the richest purple, from a cluster of cool green leaves". Baines, *Journal of Residence*, 109.

[12] Jeff Peires, "Nxele, Ntsikana and the origins of the Xhosa religious reaction", *Journal of African History,* 20:1 (1979), 51- 61.

[13] War of the Axe, 7th March 1846 and Mlanjeni's War, 8th December 1850.

[14] Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Kegan Paul, 1983), 1 – 2. In a similar vein, the introduction to Wayne Dooling, *Slavery Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2007) contains a thoroughly devastating albeit correct critique of the luxury wine farms of the Western Cape.

[15] Seasonal change as well as environmental degradation dictated the continual movement of people in the sub-continent. This only ceased with the introduction of new inputs crops (wheat and grapes in the western cape), guano and artificial fertilizer, pumps and mechanization all of which allowed for the intensification of the exploitation of already existing agricultural resources, as well as the exploitation of closed agricultural resources.

[16] Mirjam de Bruijn, Han van Dijk & Rijk van Dijk, "Cultures of Travel: Fulbe Pastoralists in Central Mali and Pentecostalism in Ghana", in Mirjam de Bruijn, Rijk van Dijk and Dick Foeken (eds), *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 64.

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[17] In the words of the South African historian, Jeff Peires, the returning Amaxhosa labour migrants, sketched and painted by Thomas Baines in 1848, showed "the enthusiastic response of the Xhosa to the trade opportunities afforded by the arrival of the British [1820] settlers". Jeff Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981).

[18] Over time there has been a constant toing and froing of migrants within the region. For example, Herero and Damara Labourers travelled to the Cape and the Transvaal in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whilst migrants from the Transkei travelled in the opposite direction to Namibia in the early twentieth century. Mfengu from the Cape accompanied the pioneer columns into Mashona and Matabeleland in the 1890s and migrants from Malawi have been travelling to South Africa since at least the early 1880s.

[19] I consciously employ the metaphor of labour being eaten, for this is something that has come through in the countless interviews that I conducted with labourers throughout Southern Africa and is something that also comes through in much of the literature dealing with the working experiences of labourers across the region.

[20] On the continued importance of migrant labour in contemporary South Africa, see Aurelia Segatti and Loren B. Landau (eds), *Contemporary Migration in South Africa: A Regional Development Issue* (Washington: World Bank, 2011). For a brief introduction to the conflicts that have arisen from this continued migration, see J.Crush, D. MacDonald, V. Williams, K. Lefko-Everett, D. Dorey, R. Taylor and R. la Sablonnière, *The Perfect Storm: The Reality of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*. SAMP Migration Policy Series 50, 2008, Southern African Migration Programme, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, and IDASA (Institute for Democracy in South Africa), Cape Town, South Africa.

[21] Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.

[22] Cited in Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 10.

[23] The Indonesian archipelago, Bengal, Southern India and Sri Lanka, Madagascar, and the East African coast. Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 89. Incidentally slaves from West Africa were landed at the Cape but this was the exception rather than the rule. The VOC merchant ship *Amersfoort* landed 174 slaves from Angola who had been captured from the Portuguese off Brazil. Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 11. After two failed attempts by the VOC to acquire slaves from the coast of what is today Namibia, the VOC concentrated on the east. Jan-Bart Gewald, "Untapped Sources: Slave Exports from Southern and Central Namibia up to c. 1850", in Carolyn Hamilton (ed.), *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 420.

[24] Vernie February, *Mind your Colour. The 'Coloured' Stereotype in South African Literature* (London: Kegan Paul, 1991). Namibian politicians Emil Appolus, Neville Cupido and Piet Junius are examples of people of slave descent. In contemporary South Africa, the issue of slave descent, particularly in the so-called "coloured" community, continues to be explored by people in search of their ancestry. See http://camissapeople.wordpress.com/ Accessed 24 February 2014.

[25] Ross, *Cape of Torments*, Ch. 7. For further detailed work on Cape Slavery and the Dutch, see Laura Mitchell, *Belongings: Property, Family and Identity in Colonial South Africa, An Exploration of Frontiers 1725 - c. 1830* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cape Town: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Rob Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of The Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1813* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1994).

[26] "a Bechuana, … [who] I believe, acknowledged Moshesh as his chief". Baines, *Journal of Residence*, 24.

[27] The "incorporative" character of Southern Africa's people has been well documented by Isaac Schapera and others. Most notably and importantly in what heralds a long-overdue paradigm shift, Paul Landau argued persuasively that "Hybridity lay at the core of … subcontinental traditions" where skin colour and language were deprecated as barriers. Paul S. Landau, *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400 – 1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), xi.

[28] Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 4.

[29] The Caledon Code of 1809 attempted to end the free movement of Khoikhoi within the colony without a pass, and to compel a whole class of people to work for the settler colonists on the basis of their ascribed race. Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation*, Ch. 2.

[30] Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750 – 1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Ch. 3. On the development of Grahamstown and settler ideas, see Richard Marshall, *A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812, to c1845* (MA Thesis: Rhodes University, 2008).

[31] Susan Newton-King, "The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807 – 1828", in Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (London: Longman, 1980), 172 & 182.

[32] Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", *Journal of African History*, 29:3 (1988), 487 – 519; Carolyn Hamilton, *Mfecane Aftermath* & Neil Parsons, "Kicking the Hornets' Nest: A

Third View of the Cobbing Controversy on the Mfecane/Difaqane", http://www.thuto.org/ubh/ac/mfec.htm Accessed 16 March 2014.

[33] Susan Newton-King, "The Labour Market of the Cape Colony", 196.

[34] There is a burgeoning and ever expanding literature dealing with migrant labour in Southern Africa. For a brief introduction to it see Francis Wilson, *Labour Migration to the South African Gold Mines, 1911 – 1969* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972); Frederick Johnstone, *Class, Race and Gold* (London, 1976); Alan Jeeves, *Migrant Labour in South Africa's Mining Economy* (Montreal, 1985); Jonathan Crush, A. Jeeves and D. Yudelman, *South Africa's Labour Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991); Wilmot James, *Our Precious Metal: African Labour in South Africa's Gold Industry, 1970-1990* (Cape Town, David Philip: 1992); Jonathan Crush, *Contract Migration to South Africa: Past, Present and Future* (Ontario: SAMP, 2003) & J.S. Harington, N.D. McGlashan, and E.Z. Chelkowska, "A Century of Migrant Labour in the Gold Mines of South Africa", *The Journal of The South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy,* March 2004: 65-71. M.E. Wentzel, *Historical and Contemporary Dimensions of Migration between South Africa and its Neighbouring Countries,* Unpublished paper presented at HSRC migration workshop, Pretoria, 17 – 20 March 2003. Papers presented at the IALHI 2008 annual conference and open session on "The Heritage of Migrant Labour in Southern Africa" hosted by Khanya College History Programme in at the Workers' Museum in Johannesburg, Newtown, South Africa 9th to 13th September 2008, in particular the paper by Martin Legassick. Admittedly the bulk of the material listed above deals specifically with migrant labour in the mines and industries of South Africa. For an introduction to migrant labour with a partial focus on the agricultural sector, see Marian Lacey, *Working for Boroko: The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981) and Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924 – 1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

[35] Vernon Lovett Cameron, *Across Africa* (London,1885), 390. "Only a small proportion of the slaves taken by the caravans from Bihé and the West Coast reach Benguella, the greater part, more especially the women, being forwarded to Sekélétu's country in exchange for ivory. And it is not improbable that some of these eventually find their way to the diamond-fields amongst the gangs of labourers taken there by the Kaffirs".

[36] Eugenia W. Herbert, *Twilight on the Zambezi: Late Colonialism in Central Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 68. As regards Cameron and Westbeech's role in slaving, see Cameron, *Across Africa*, 449. The development of colonial rule in western Zambia, led to the development of an economy that was largely based, from at least the early 1900s onwards, on thousands of young men who made their way southwards from Bulozi to the farms and mines of Southern Rhodesia and ultimately the mines of the Witwatersrand. G. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland 1878 – 1969* (London: Hurst & Co.:, 1970), 145.

[37] T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History,* Second Edition (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1978), 148 – 150.

[38] Davenport, *South Africa*, 358.

[39] Peter Richardson, "Mobilizing Labour for the South African Gold Mines: The Recruiting Operations of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines in South China, 1903 – 1905", (London: SOAS, c. 1976) & Davenport, *South Africa*, 357.

[40] Crush, Jeeves and Yudelman, *South Africa's Labour Empire*.

[41] This is not to deny that significant numbers of women also migrated to the mines. See in this regard the classic by Ellen Hellmann, *Rooiyard: A Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard* (Oxford: Rhodes Livingstone Institute, 1948). On successful migrant men returning home, see Michael Barrett, "'Walking Home Majestically': Consumption and the Enactment of Social Status among Labour Migrants from Barotseland, 1935 – 1965" in Marja Hinfelaar, Iva Pesa and Robert Ross (eds), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: The History of Consumption and Social Change, 1840 – 1960* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). The exception being Warwick's descriptions of impoverished migrants who walked home following the outbreak of the South African War in 1899, Peter Warwick, "African Labour during the South African War, 1899 – 1902", *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Collected Seminar Papers No. 7, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1977, 106.

[42] Ruth First, "The Gold of Migrant Labour", *Africa South in Exile,* 5:3 (April – June 1961), 7 – 31; Peter Warwick, "African Labour during the South African War, 1899 – 1902"; Richard M. Levin, "Class Formation, Ideology and Transition in Swaziland", *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Collected Seminar Papers No. 37, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1988; G.E. Stent, "Some Reflections on Migratory Labour in South Africa", *Theoria, A Journal of Studies* (1947), 22 – 27; Baruch Hirson, "Rural Revolt in South Africa: 1937 – 1951", *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* Collected Seminar Papers No. 21, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1977; David Massey, "Black Workers' Struggles in the Mines of South Africa, and the Response of Management", *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies,* 9:3 (1980), 5 – 22; Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860 – 1910* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1994); Charles van

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Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900 – 1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976); Peter Alexander, “Culture and Conflicts: Witbank Colliery Life, 1900 – 1950”, University of Johannesburg Sociology and Anthropology Seminar, 2008/15. Although not to the mines of South Africa, what is important is that it shows the extent to which people moved within Southern Africa, William Beinart, “Cape Workers in German South-West Africa, 1904 – 1912: Patterns of Migrancy and the Closing of Options on the Southern African Labour Market”, http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4106/1/William_Beinart_-_Cape_workers_in_German_South-West_Africa,_1904-1912.pdf. Accessed 23 May 2014 & William Beinart, “Transkeian Migrant Workers and Youth Labour on the Natal Sugar Estates, 1918 – 1940”, Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 42 . (1992) 119-136.

[43] Riaan de Villiers (ed.), *We Are Going to Kill Each Other Today: The Marikana Story* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2013).

[44] Jan Theron, *Changing Employment Trends on Farms in the Hex and Breede River Valleys*, A draft discussion document for the Cape Winelands District Municipality Roundtable Dialogue on trends in the rural economy, 10th May 2012, http://www.phuhlisani.com/oid%5Cdownloads%5C20120504Changing%20employmentPaperCWDMRoundtable.pdf. Accessed 18 February 2014. For a counter, but perceptive view, regarding the exploitative practices of farm owners, see Helen Zille, *The Real Story Behind Western Capes Farm Violence* 17th March 2013, http://www.da.org.za/newsroom.htm?action=view-news-item&id=11970. Accessed 18th February 2014. Bear in mind that Zille recognises the central role of “Thousands of poverty stricken people [who] come to the Western Cape from across Southern Africa (particularly Zimbabwe, Lesotho and the Eastern Cape) for the fruit-picking season, desperately seeking work in one of the few remaining sectors that employ unskilled labour”.

[45] Femke Brandt, *Tracking an Invisible Great Trek* PhD Thesis, Free University Amsterdam, 2013.

[46] Shireen Hassim, Tawana Kupe and Eric Worby, *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008).

[47] Pumla Dineo Gqola, “Brutal Inheritances: Echoes, Negrophobia and Masculinist Violence”, in Hassim, Kupe and Worby, *Go Home or Die*, 213.

[48] http://www.morkels.co.za/mork/cmlinks/cmaboutusPage.xhtml?wec-appid=Morkels&page=082E734A147D460DA9E4667B590CC12B&wec-locale=en Accessed 2 March 2014.

[49] For a coherent overview of these ideas, see Robert Ross, *Prison Sentences, to Run Consecutively or Concurrently: The Meta-narratives of South African History*, paper presented in the ASC seminar series, 24 November 2011. Available at, http://www.ascleiden.nl/sites/default/files/PaperRobertRoss.pdf . Accessed 2 March 2014.

[50] Hire, purchase companies make an absolute killing in the sub-continent, see, for instance, the Morkels catalogue for 19th February to 9th March 2014 that proudly proclaims, “Buy now, only pay 10% interest”. More often than not, these companies will not allow you to make cash purchases and insist instead on hire purchase. http://www.morkels.co.za/mork/weeklycatpdf/weeklyCatPage.jsf?wec-appid=Morkels&page=D7F47940BC334EF095723173B3D8A3CB&wec-locale=en. Accessed 2 march 2014.

[51] For a detailed overview of the power of dreams and shattered hopes see James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Building on the earlier work of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, Giacoma Macola, Robert Ross and I have developed the research programme entitled *From Muskets to Nokias: Technology, Consumption and Social Change in Central Africa from Pre-Colonial Times to the Present* (full text of the proposal can be accessed at http://www.ascleiden.nl/Pdf/MusketstoNokias.pdf). The programme followed the drive for commodities in central Africa. For earlier fascinating insights into the drive for commodities displayed by white miners on the Zambian Copperbelt, see J. F. Holleman in collaboration with S. Biesheuvel, *White Mine Workers in Northern Rhodesia 1959-60* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1973).

[52] Barrett, “Walking Home Majestically”.

[53] Although not dealt with in this lecture, beads as trade goods are of great importance throughout Southern Africa. See, in the context of the painting, Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 107 – 116. Elsewhere in the region and further reference to beads in the archaeological record, see Jill Kinahan, *Cattle for Beads: The Archaeology of Historical Contact and Trade on the Namib Coast* (Uppsala: Studies in African Archaeology, 2000).

[54] See Ross, Hinfelaar and Pesa, *The Objects of Life.*

[55] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789 – 1898* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962).

[56] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 113.

[57] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 116.

[58] Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance*, 106.

[59] Baines, *Journal of Residence*, 30.

[60] Although not dealt with in this presentation, the presence of cattle amongst the goods being taken home indicates that participation in migrant labour throughout Southern Africa was often for the purposes of

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restocking and is not to be under-estimated. A classic in this context is the work of William Beinart, *The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860 to 1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982).

[61] "The Falkirk pot is a traditional three-legged cooking pot manufactured in cast iron from the 1760s. Pots such as this, along with cannon balls, were among the early products manufactured by Carron Ironworks. Pots to this exact design, are still produced in Africa today and bear the name 'Falkirk Pots'". http://www.forthstimeline.net/downloads/Forths_Timeline_Leaflet.pdf. Accessed 1 February 2014.

[62] D.Scott, R. Fox, M. Connor *et al*, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1989), 96.

[63] J.A. Delle, M.W. Hauser, D. Armstrong *et al*, *Out of Many, One People: The Historical Archaeology of Colonial Jamaica* (Tucaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 150.

[64] Larissa Förster, "Zwischen Waterberg und Okakarara: Namibische Erinnerungslandschaften", in Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen and Michael Bollig (eds.), *Namibia-Deutschland: Eine Geteilte Geschichte, Widerstand – Gewalt – Erinnerung* (Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Völkerkunde der Stadt Köln, 2004), 164. Tourists are currently being taken on guided tours of the various battle sites where they then scavenge for remnants of the war, usually shells, cartridge cases, bullets, buttons, horse-shoes, tins and the remnants of pots.

[65] Patricia Maungo Lepekoane, "Bakgalagadi Settlements in Historical and Ethnoarchaeological Perspective", *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies,* 15:1 (1983), 3 – 22.

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http://www.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/heritagereports/AIA_Nelspruit_Ext_35_evren_3613_%26_3614_B_Celliers_JP_Jul05.pdf . Accessed 1 February 2014. http://www.repository.uac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/27115/dissertation.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed 1 February 2014.

[67] Plate 12 entitled "Kaffir Women and Children Seek Refuge from the War in a Blacksmith's Forge near Fort Beaumont (sic)", A.J. Smithers, *The Kaffir Wars 1779 1877* (London: Leo Cooper, 1973), 240.

[68] Kevin Shillington, *Luka Jantjie: Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier* (London: Aldredge Press, 2011), 181 & 171.

[69] http://www.sil.si.edu/Exhibitions/ArtofAfricanExploration/details.cfm?id=10896. Accessed 2 February 2014.

[70] Plate entitled "The Burnt Out Stadt, Phokwani", in Kevin Shillington, *The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870 – 1900* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 238 - 239. See also Shillington, *Luka Jantjie*, 204.

[71] Sannie Smit, "former chief Home Economist for the South African Meat Board", wrote the *Bible* for *potjiekos, Potjiekos Favourites* (Cape Town: Struik, 1988/2000). See also: http://www.potjiekosworld.com/ the slogan of which is, "The home of potjiekos on the Web". Accessed 3 March 2014 or, http://texaspotjie.com/, which is touted as the "Texas Potjie Festival – An Annual Cultural Celebration". Accessed 3 March 2014. South African in the Middle East can get hold of their potjies in the UAE via, http://southafricansintheuae.blogspot.nl/2011/12/potjie-cast-iron-pots.html. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[72] http://castironpots.co.za/. Accessed 1 February 2014.

[73] http://www.cadac.co.za/products/product.php?pid=113. Accessed 1 February 2014.

[74] Thus the Xinle Yuanyang Iron Products Co. Ltd. boasts on its website that it is, "… an entirely and professionally managed factory engaged in manufacturing and exporting cast iron pot for outdoor use. In order to meet customers' requirements, we insist on the best quality of the products, give a competitive cost and guarantee timely shipment. … Our foundry is located in "township of the casting" of China - Hebei Province. Now we have more than 100 staff members with the annual capacity of more than 2,000 tons of cast iron pots. Our company is willing to supply high quality outdoor products and make you enjoy a high quality life". http://xlyuanyang.en.alibaba.com/company_profile.html#top-nav-bar. Accessed 1 February 2014.

[75] http://www.alibaba.com/product-gs/1103676979/three_legged_cast_iron_pots.html accessed 1 February 2014.

[76] C.W. De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor in South Africa: A Study in Politics and Economics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 18.

[77] Examples would include the Kingdom of Lesotho (which on account of the Gun War came to be administered directly from London in 1880), the Bakwena polity under Sechele (that defeated Boer attempts to subjugate it), and, perhaps most famously, the Pedi for many years managed to fight off the South African Republic prior to their demise at the hands of the British army in 1879.

[78] Hunting and hunting produce, coupled with Grahamstown's strategic position as a military base, served to transform it into the principal town in the Eastern Cape Colony, second only to Cape Town.

[79] Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), Ch. 3; Swart, *Riding High* & Wilson and Thompson, *South Africa*, 242, provides reference to the acquisition of horses by Amaxhosa in the early 1800s.

[80] On the power of the Commando, see Brigitte Lau, *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time* (Windhoek: Archeia, 1987). Cases include Boer, Griqua, Nama, Sotho, Tswana and Herero communities.

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[81] Toby Alice Volkman, cited in, Sonja Speeter-Blaudszun, *Die Expeditionen der Familie Marshall: eine Untersuchung zur ethnologischen Erforschung der Nyae Nyae !Kung* (Mainz: Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung, 2004), 121.
[82] Richard Gray, "Portuguese Musketeers on the Zambezi", *The Journal of African History*, 12:4 (1971), 531.
[83] Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, "Firearms in Southern Africa: A Survey", *The Journal of African History*, 12:4 (1971), 517.
[84] Gewald, "Untapped Sources", 420.
[85] Wilson & Thompson, *South Africa*, 238.
[86] Despatches from the Lieutenant Governor, cited in Wilson & Thompson, *South Africa*, 242.
[87] Captain H.C. Owen, cited in Marks and Atmore, "Firearms in Southern Africa", 523.
[88] C.W. De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 18.
[89] Karen Jones, Giacomo Macola and David Welch (eds.), *A Cultural History of Firearms in the Age of Empire* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); William Kelleher Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa* (Cambridge: CUP 2012) & Giacomo Macola, "Reassessing the Significance of Firearms in Central Africa: The Case of North-western Zambia to the 1920", *Journal of African History*, 51:3 (2010), 301 – 321. Between 1967 and 1970, firearms were the subject of study in African History seminars at the University of London, which led to articles being published in the *Journal of African History*. Gavin White, "Firearms in Africa: An introduction", *Journal of African History*, 12:2 (1971), 173 – 184.
[90] Michael Bollig, *Die Krieger der Gelben Gewehre: Intra- und Interethnische Konfliktaustragung bei den Pokot Nordwestkenias* (Münster, Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1992) deals with Pokot in Northern Kenya who are armed with a wide variety of weapons: NATO G3s, Warsaw Pact AK 47s, Italian Army Carbines and British 303s. What is seen today where Southern African veterans and armaments of the apartheid wars are deployed and used in West Africa, Congo, Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, Fiji and a host of other wars has a long and ongoing history. The British government settled veterans from its wars, from Napoleon to Word War II in Southern Africa. The spate of Warsaw Pact surplus armament powered wars that engulfed central and West Africa after 1990 are another example. See the activities of Viktor Bout, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor_Bout. Accessed 7 March 2014.
[91] The transition from "Brown Bess" muskets to "Baker" rifles in the British Army being the most obvious example. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baker_rifle & http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brown_Bess. Accessed 5 March 2014.
[92] The standardized machine produced metallic cartridge breech loaders that were a different matter altogether. See the muskets photographed by Achim von Oppen in northwestern Zambia in the 1980's, that were still being maintained and repaired by local craftsmen. Achim von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster, Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1993).
[93] White, "Firearms in Africa", 176.
[94] J.J. Guy, "A Note on Firearms in the Zulu Kingdom with Special Reference to the Anglo-Zulu War, 1879", *Journal of African History*, 12:4 (1971), 559. See also, White, "Firearms in Africa", 175 – 176. Not surprisingly Breech-loading rifles immediately overshadowed muzzle-loaders which, elsewhere in Africa, allegedly only served to make dogs jump, Wouter van Beek, "Intensive Slave Raiding in the Colonial Interstice: Hamman Yaji and the Mandara Mountains (North Cameroon and North-eastern Nigeria)", *Journal of African History*, 53:3 (2012), 319.
[95] De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 18.
[96] De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 155.
[97] Peter Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth-century Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983).
[98] A point eloquently argued by Macola, "Firearms in North-Western Zambia", 301 – 321 & Giacomo Macola, "'They Disdain Firearms': The Relationship between Guns and the Ngoni of Eastern Zambia to the Early Twentieth Century", in Jones, Macola, and Welch, *Cultural History of Firearms*, 101 – 128.

[99] Peter Heywood, "The Quagga and Science: What Does the Future Hold for This Extinct Zebra?" in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 56:1 (2013), 53-64.
[100] Thomas Baines, *Journal of Residence in Africa: 1842 – 1853*, Edited, with introduction, notes and map, by R.F. Kennedy, Volume One 1842 – 1849 (Cape Town, 1961), 29. Italics added by JBG.
[101] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 113.
[102] Wilson & Thompson, *History of South Africa*, 241. On women as domestic servants on the Eastern Cape frontier, see Jacklyn Cock, *Maids & Madams: A Study in the politics of Exploitation* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980), 197 – 228.
[103] Luli Callinicos, *Working Life, 1886 – 1940: Factories, Townships, and Popular Culture on the Rand* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 43.

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[104] Robert Ross, *Clothing a Global History: Or The Imperialists' New Clothes* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), describes missionaries burning dresses as they are considered too frivolous, or missionaries enforcing the wearing of dresses, thereby unintentionally heightening the seductive nature within the cultural setting of the women involved.

[105] As Ross put it, "the establishment and marking of status [through clothing] gave opportunities and goals for those who wished to take on a better position, as well as for those who wished to deny them the possibility of social mobility. In this sense, the history of most, though not all, hitherto existing sartorial regimes has been the history of struggle – class, gender-based, ethnic or national". Ross, *Clothing*, 8.

[106] Cited in Ross, *Clothing*, 120.

[107] See in this regard the stunning photographs by T.J. Lemon of "Swankers" *Oswenka*, who wear white dust coats over their suits prior to competition, in the migrant labour hostels of the Witwatersrand, http://www.lightstalkers.org/images/show/447254. Accessed 13 March 2014.

[108] Regarding the Sapeur, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sapeur. Accessed 13 March 2014. The style of Mapantsula can be seen in the film *Mapantsula* that was made in 1988, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mapantsula. Accessed 13 March 2014.

[109] Or the Geuzen from Leiden during the Spanish Siege of 1573 1574, who were only distinguishable from the enemy by virtue of white bands tied around their upper left arms. Painting in Museum *De Lakenhal*, Leiden.

[110] Don Pinnock (with photographs by Paul Konings), *The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984), 102.

[111] The classic with regard to domestic workers in apartheid South Africa is, Jacklyn Cock's *Maids & Madams*. See also, Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900 - 1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). Today migrants from outside South Africa are still recruited as garden boys or house boys and even though in contemporary South Africa the naming of any person over the age of 16 as a boy or girl is frowned upon, it is still common, if not acceptable. See: http://www.joblife.co.za/jobs/garden_boy-south_africa.html. Accessed 11 March 2014. http://www.gumtree.co.za/s-housekeeping-cleaning-jobs/garden+boy/v1c9085q0p1. Accessed 13 March 2014. At times, the true nature of exploitation beggars belief, as in the case of Elias Tshililo who, although paralysed from the waist down, had to crawl and work as a gardener on a farm in South Africa for less than €30 a month until his case was exposed by the *Sowetan* newspaper in 2012. http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/04/11/i-am-tired-of-living-like-a-dog-says-garden-boy and http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/04/13/decent-home-for-garden-boy-at-last. Accessed 13 March 2014. Similarly, although tongue in cheek, the *Youtube* film "South African Garden Boy" indicates the true nature of working relations in Southern Africa for gardeners and domestic workers, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-1FuBzmRp8. Accessed 13 March 2014.

[112] See Callinicos, *Working Life*, 43

[113] The most striking of these students was undoubtedly the President of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Kate Philip, in the early 1980s.

[114] BBC World Service report entitled "South Africa's EFF MPs dress as maids and miners", 21 May 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27504666. Accessed 22 May 2014.

[115] J. B. Peires;"The Central Beliefs of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing", *Journal of African History*, 28:1 (1987), 43-63; Peires; "Nxele Ntsikana" & Sheila Boniface Davies, *History in the Literary Imagination: The Telling of Nongqawuse and the Xhosa Cattle-Killing in South African Literature and Culture (1891–1937)* St John's College, Thesis submitted to the University of Cambridge in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 2010.

[116] See the case of Brandon De Wet of East London, South Africa, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-23284898 and http://www.dispatch.co.za/news/teenage-white-initiate-and-his-friends-back-from-the-bush/. Accessed 31 March 2014. As regards listening to music on his mobile phone, http://www.dispatch.co.za/news/white-initiate-transcends-culture-gap/. Accessed 31 March 2014.

[117] Paper money was used in the Cape Colony during the Dutch and subsequent administrations, although it is unlikely that this would have been used to pay domestic workers. Full text of "Records of the Cape Colony 1793-1831 copied for the Cape government, from the manuscript documents in the Public Record Office, London" http://www.archive.org/stream/recordsofcapecol20theauoft/recordsofcapecol20theauoft_djvu.txt. Accessed 31 March 2014.

[118] As the work of Peires and others has made abundantly clear, Christian inspired ideas extended ahead of the actual expanse of the Colony.

[119] Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch (eds.), *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6.

[120] De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 148.

[121] David Graeber, *On social currencies and human economies: some thoughts on the violence of equivalence.* Social Anthropology, (2012), 20 (4). 411-428. Graeber uses the category of 'human economies' "to refer to

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those where the primary focus of economic life is on reconfiguring relations between people, rather than the allocation of commodities". See also David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5000 Years* (New York: Melville House, 2011), Chapter 2.

[122] Jane I. Guyer and Samuel M. Eno Belinga, "Wealth in People as Wealth in Knowledge: Accumulation and Composition in Equatorial Africa". *The Journal of African History* , 36:1 (1995), 91–120 .

[123] J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 47.

[124] Miller, *Way of Death*, 53.

[125] Indeed, as Miller indicates, "People did not think in terms of the potential worth of an object in the context of exchange but, rather, saw its immediate value in terms of concrete use. Objects of a person's fabrication could be loaned, entrusted to the possession and utilisation of another, *but not parted with*. *It was the indissoluble association of a person with the things he or she had created, even after they might have passed into the hands of another, that produced the bond that always united givers and receivers*, a reciprocal connection in personal terms of the association in material terms that arose out of possessing some material extension of another's labour". Miller, *Way of Death*, 47 Italics added by JBG.

[126] Parry and Bloch, *Money and Morality*, 6.

[127] See in this regard the shameful practices of mining companies in southern Africa, where social responsibility has been reduced to a useful tax-write off that has very little bearing to the actual welfare of employees and their dependents. See Dinah Rajak, "Platinum City and the New South African Dream", *Africa* 82:2 (2012), 252 271; Dinah Rajak, *In good company: an anatomy of corporate social responsibility.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) & J.B Gewald and Seb Soeters, "African miners and shape shifting flight capital: the case of Baluba Luanshya", in A. Fraser and M. Larmer (eds.), *Zambia, Mining, and Neoliberalism Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 155 – 184.

[128] Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: Die grossen Land- und Minengesellschaften* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996).

[129] See the thoroughly reprehensible and unjustifiable actions of corporate mining interests in Zambia. Alistair Fraser and John Lungu, *For whom the windfalls? Winners & losers in the privatisation of Zambia's copper mines* (Lusaka: Civil Society Trade Network of Zambia / Catholic Centre for Justice, Development and Peace, 2009). Full text available at http://www.banktrack.org/manage/ems_files/download/for_whom_the_windfalls_/report_for_whom_the_wind_falls.pdf as well as http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0002403/1-Zambia_copper-mines_Lungu_Fraser.pdf. Accessed 31 March 2014.

[130] Wilson, *So Truth be in the Field*, Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé memorial lecture (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1975), 18.

[131] Wilson, *Truth in the Field*, 18.

[132] De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 149.

[133] De Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor*, 154.

[134] Conducting research in central colonial Zambia in the 1930s, Godfrey Wilson, director of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, drew attention to the "hungry, manless areas", which "bought their clothes with hunger". In this Wilson followed up on the work of Audrey Richards, who had "described the general impoverishment of Bemba nutrition and of their social life because of the absence of able-bodied men". Sharon Stichter, *Migrant Laborers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 30. See also, William Watson, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy: A Study of the Mambwe People of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), v.

[135] Although of course the great missionary Van Der Kemp, had his own ideas with regard to the gospel and clothing. R.J. Ross, *Hoe God Zuid-Afrika Zegende*, Inaugurale rede aan de Universiteit Leiden, uitgesproken op 29 oktober 2004, 5 & Ross, *Clothing*, 85.

[136] Robert Godlonton addressing a meeting in Bathurst, 21 August 1847, cited in Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750 – 1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 63.

[137] For a discussion on the word's meaning see, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schreibtischt%C3%A4ter , accessed 21 March 2014.

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[138] http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/chapter-viii-christianity-and-civilization, Nosipho Majeke (Dora Taylor), *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest.* Accessed 10 February 2014.

[139] Unfortunately, due to the limitations of time and space, I have not been able to deal with African newspapers and other forms of media. Examples would include the many translations of Shakespeare and newspapers edited by Sol Plaatje, Tengo Jabavu, Julius Nyerere and others.

[140] Landau, *Popular Politics*, 404.

[141] Most famously so, the Tswana chiefs who travelled to Britain and thereby maintained a form of independence. Neil Parsons, *King Hama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

[142] Ross, *Hoe God Zuid-Afrika Zegende*.

[143] In this regard see the stand taken by Johannes van der Kemp and Beyers Naude.

[144] Cedric Mayson, *A Certain Sound: The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa* (London: Epworth Press, 1984); Marja Hinfelaar, *Respectable and Responsible Women: Methodist and Roman Catholic Women's Organisations in Harare Zimbabwe (1919-1985)* PhD Thesis University of Utrecht, 2001 & Jeff Guy, *The View Across the River: Harriett Colenso and the Zulu Struggle against Imperialism* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001).

[145] Thus Isaiah 1,7 states, "Your country *is* desolate, your cities *are* burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and *it is* desolate, as overthrown by strangers". Yet Isaiah 1,27 promises redemption, "Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness". Jan-Bart Gewald, *Towards Redemption: A Socio-Political History of the Herero Speaking People of South Western Africa, 1890 – 1920* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 1996).

[146] Matthew Schoffeleers, *River Of Blood: The Genesis Of A Martyr Cult In Southern Malawi, C. A.D. 1600* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

[147] Russell Viljoen, *Jan Paerl, a Khoikhoi in Cape Colonial Society 1761-1851* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Theo Sundermeier, *Wir aber Suchten Gemeinschaft* (Erlangen: Luther Verlag, 1973); Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998); John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A Personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999); Clive M. Dillon-Malone, S.J., *The Korsten Basketmakers: A Study of the Masowe Apostles an indigenous African Religious Movement* (Lusaka: Institute for African Studies, 1978); The Bulhoek massacre of 1921, R. Edgar, *Because they chose the plan of God* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2010).

[148] http://www.lightstalkers.org/images/show/447248. Accessed 13 March 2014. "Dalton Manqele inhales muti (potion) as it burns on a match stick. "It makes me glow in front of the judge" explains Sithole".

[149] Marja Spierenburg, *Strangers, Spirits and Land Reforms: Conflicts about Land in Dande, Northern Zimbabwe* PhD Thesis University of Amsterdam 2003; David Lan, *Guns & Rain: Guerillas & Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (London: James Currey, 1985) & Terence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerilla War in Zimbabwe* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985). For a fictionalised account of the war, based on extensive fieldwork, see Mafuran Hunzi Gumbo, *Guerilla Snuff* (Harare: Baobab Press, 1995). For a counter perspective that does much to demystify the romanticism of guerrilla war see, Norma J. Krieger, *Zimbabwe's Guerilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[150] Attempts by opposing sides to plant *muti* lead to arrests, court cases and even murder. Thus the *Facebook* "Orlando Pirates - Kaizer Chiefs - Mamelodi Sundowns Banter Page" Has a posting, which includes photographs of "Muti men caught red handed" and reports that "two men were arrested after attempting to plant muti at the soccer stadium" to influence the outcome of a soccer match. https://www.facebook.com/PSLBanters/photos/a.447821785260428.104740.447655151943758/701316266577644/?type=1&comment_id=2195180&offset=0&total_comments=328 Accessed 2 April 2014. Soccer players involved in succession disputes allege that their opponents resort to witchcraft. http://www.iol.co.za/sport/soccer/psl/witchcraft-behind-sangweni-family-feud-1.1627196#.Uzu-DFF4CFA Accessed 2 April 2014.

[151] Isak Niehaus, *Witchcraft and a Life in the New South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Adam Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) & Colin Murray, Peter Sanders. *Medicine Murder in Colonial Lesotho: The Anatomy of a Moral Crisis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

[152] For an approach that does not descend into spectacular exoticism or unintelligible theorisation see, David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in A Central African History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012) & Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[153] Though nowhere near as competent or analytical, the influence of Braudel and Marx is apparent in my thinking. It may appear to be a facetious truism, but it needs to be consistently reiterated, particularly in the light

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of well-meaning Dutch initiatives vis-a-vis Africa and the world as a whole, “Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past”. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. 1852, full text available at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm. Accessed 18 February 2014. All too often the “circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past”, are overlooked or dismissed as being irrelevant.

[154] Although many of the Leiden academics would participate in Catholic Mass and ascribe power to material depictions of the cross, Virgin Mary or saints.

[155] Work that sums this up perfectly is that of Karim Sadr dealing with the establishment and development of wall-structures on the Transvaal Highveld. Karim Sadr, “The Origins and Spread of Dry Laid, Stone-Walled Architecture in Pre-Colonial Southern Africa” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38:2 (2012), 257-263.

[156] It is my intention to extend this work beyond human society, and to seriously include animals other than humans in history. In this regard I am thinking particularly of the current pioneering work by Sandra Swart and Nancy Jacobs, as well as my ongoing cooperation with Harry Wels. Lance van Sittert and Sandra Swart (eds.), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Nancy Jacobs, “The Intimate Politics of Ornithology in Colonial Africa.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006), 564-603 & Nancy Jacobs, “The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and Politics of Class and Grass” *American Historical Review* 108 (2001), 485-507.

[157] See the work of Erik Bähre, *Money and Violence; financial self-help groups in a South African township* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).