

1999

Frontier Transculturation and Transgression in the Early Eastern Cape

Malvern Van Wyk Smith

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Van Wyk Smith, Malvern, Frontier Transculturation and Transgression in the Early Eastern Cape, *Kunapipi*, 21(3), 1999.

Available at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol21/iss3/5>

Research Online is the open access institutional repository for the University of Wollongong. For further information contact the UOW Library: research-pubs@uow.edu.au

Frontier Transculturation and Transgression in the Early Eastern Cape

Abstract

The multicultural dynamics of the Eastern Cape frontier, and the story of the major actors in its drama of transculturation, conflict, and transgression, are foundational in South African history. It was here, after all, as Clifton Crais and Tim Keegan have reminded us, that the South African colonial and racial order came into being, and it was here, too, that major resistance to that order would in due course emerge.¹ In this paper, however, my focus will not be on the captains and kings, governors and chiefs, rulers and radicals who at various times decided the fate of the Eastern Cape, be they Xhosa or settlers, Boers or Bushmen, white or black. Rather, I am intrigued by the many shadowy characters in the margin of the story - liminal, unaffiliated, intermediary figures who move in and out of the shadows of the narrative. They are often enigmatic persons of unknown origin and barely known identity, but who equally often suggest that their role in frontier history could have been - and sometimes was - an important one ..

MALVERN VAN WYK SMITH

Frontier Transculturation and Transgression in the Early Eastern Cape

The multicultural dynamics of the Eastern Cape frontier, and the story of the major actors in its drama of transculturation, conflict, and transgression, are foundational in South African history. It was here, after all, as Clifton Crais and Tim Keegan have reminded us, that the South African colonial and racial order came into being, and it was here, too, that major resistance to that order would in due course emerge.¹ In this paper, however, my focus will not be on the captains and kings, governors and chiefs, rulers and radicals who at various times decided the fate of the Eastern Cape, be they Xhosa or settlers, Boers or Bushmen, white or black. Rather, I am intrigued by the many shadowy characters in the margin of the story – liminal, unaffiliated, intermediary figures who move in and out of the shadows of the narrative. They are often enigmatic persons of unknown origin and barely known identity, but who equally often suggest that their role in frontier history could have been – and sometimes was – an important one. More particularly they sometimes evoke the sense that the East Cape frontier was – certainly up to about 1850 – a much more fluid area of racial and cultural loyalty than we can perhaps now imagine. They often suggest that, had history moved at a slightly different pace or had it taken a slightly different direction, the Eastern Cape might have become an early laboratory of multiculturalism, a forging ground of interracial activity that might have resulted in a very different South Africa. This paper will explore some of the dynamics of frontier liminality and suggest, in conclusion, that had those dynamics been allowed more scope, the identity formation of one key group of the Eastern Cape frontier, the Boers, might have been far otherwise.

In 1816, on his way back to Cape Town after having visited the Eastern Cape to decide on the location for a new Moravian mission station, the Revd Christian Latrobe overnighted on a farm near Avontuur in what is today known as the Langkloof. Here, Latrobe tells us,

we found a dark-coloured man, who travels about as a schoolmaster, to teach the farmers' children their letters and a little cyphering, spending a few weeks at a time at one place, then going on to another, ... there being no schools in the country.²

We have no name for this man, and no other information, but Latrobe adds a fascinating afterthought: 'The schoolmaster was a very inquisitive man, and a shrewd politician' (p. 252). This last glimpse is surely the crucial one, and allows us suddenly to see Latrobe's 'dark-coloured man', half-educated but living by his wits, keeping politically alert and keeping on the move, as a paradigmatic figure of the frontier, representing a whole class of people, often of indeterminate race and inscrutable affiliation, who moved through the frontier for centuries before the social and racial power distinctions of the later nineteenth century began to solidify.

I say centuries, because Latrobe's 'dark-coloured man's' ancestors – if not biological, certainly symbolic – dart in and out of the frontier narrative from the very beginning. A substantial number of them emerge from early Portuguese shipwreck accounts, and I can here refer to only a few. So, for instance, the classic Portuguese accounts of the wreck of the *São João* near Port Edward in 1552, made famous by the heroic sufferings and appalling death of Don Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda and his wife Dona Leonor and all but a handful of their retainers, are largely silent about a significant number of survivors who, living among the Mpondo and the Zulus, re-emerge in accounts of subsequent shipwrecks.³ Just over two years after the *São João* wreck, the survivors of the *São Bento*, wrecked near the mouth of the Msikaba River in the Transkei in 1554, were met by

a naked man with a bundle of assegais upon his back, ... who was in no way different from the rest of [the natives], and we considered him as one of them until by his hair and speech we found him to be a Portuguese, named Rodrigo Tristao, who also survived from the other wreck. Having been for three years exposed to the cold and heat of those parts, he had so altered in colour and appearance that there was no difference between him and the natives.⁴

At least Rodrigo was willing to talk to them; elsewhere they met 'a young man from Bengal' who not only wanted to have nothing to do with them but persuaded two Portuguese and 30 slaves (presumably Indian or Malay) to stay behind with him among the Xhosa (p. 235). Some 40 years later, survivors of the *Santo Alberto* wreck of 1593 were still meeting survivors and their descendants from these earlier calamities.⁵

Indeed, for the next hundred years, every Portuguese shipwreck account would make mention of a variety of people, not only Portuguese, but Indians and other oriental people, too, who had become part of local communities all along the Transkei coast. There is, for instance, Francisco Vaz d'Almada's version of one such encounter, in his account of the wreck of the *São João Baptista* near the mouth of the Keiskamma in 1622.⁶ Somewhere near the Hole-in-the-Wall landmark the survivors met a Javanese 'who was already very old and spoke Portuguese badly' and who told them 'that after four days' journey we would find a Malabar [negro] who had likewise escaped from the same shipwreck [i.e. of the *Santo Alberto* in 1593], and another nine or ten days from there we would find a

Kaffir named Jorge, of the same party. And in the same kraal where this Kaffir lived there was a Portuguese ... called Diogo, who was married and had children' (p. 228). What intrigues here is not just the 'rainbow-nation' composition of this body of survivors, or the level of their integration into the local community, but that they evidently remained aware of and in touch with one another via the local social networks. Equally important is the fact that these survivors regularly acted as interpreters and mediators for subsequent parties of destitute shipwreck victims and, as we have seen, often seem to have persuaded others to stay. Thus Vaz d'Almada's own party left behind many of their number. Entries such as the following are common in his chronicle: 'Here remained behind a sailor named Motta, an Italian called Joseph Pedemassole, and a passenger who was crippled, and the son of Dona Ursula, the last a very grievous case' (p. 232); or, again: 'Here and further back many persons were left behind with dysentery and other diseases' (p. 240). Given decent food and care, such survivors often recovered and their genes must still be among the Xhosa.

Nor was this a case of one-way traffic only. It would appear that local people often joined parties of survivors, particularly in cases of an extended stay. Vaz d'Almada provides several instances, the most touching being this one: '[We] saw Beatriz Alvarez, a delicate and gently nurtured lady, with [her] little girl of two years on the breast of a Kaffir woman who remained with her and would never consent to abandon her' (p. 212). But the most spectacular example of this two-way process is that of the *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, which foundered at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River at Port St Johns in 1635. According to Jeronimo Lobo's extensive and seemingly accurate account of the wreck, there were some 180 survivors, who stayed among the Mpondo for more than seven months.⁷ During this time they built a whole village, including a church, where Lobo (who was a Jesuit) claims to have ministered to survivors and local converts alike. They set up as shoemakers, tailors, fishermen and other craftsmen, and by the time they left were running a herd of cattle. They had fetes, processions in the streets of the village, and at one point the Portuguese put on a play and organized a bull-fight (pp. 353-66). Nor, of course, were they the only survivors here. Once again their predecessors acted as interpreters and intermediaries, one of whom, Antonio, had been there for over 40 years, now with a Mpondo wife, children and grandchildren, very prosperous and with no intention to leave (p. 341). But the story becomes more intriguing. When the Portuguese do eventually leave, in two boats built during the seven months, Lobo tells us, one boat contained 135 people, the other 137, almost a hundred more than the original survivors (p. 380). Frustratingly, he does not tell us who these extra people were, but since he does indicate that a lot of survivors – particularly so-called 'cabra' or slaves – had stayed behind, we can only assume that the Portuguese left with a large number of presumably Mpondo wives and retainers, or Jesuit converts who didn't

want to be left behind. Unfortunately, one of the two boats itself foundered near Algoa Bay, all but 14 of its occupants perishing, but the other made it to Loanda.

As the seventeenth century wore on, the refugees of Portuguese shipwrecks along the Transkei coast were joined by survivors of Dutch and English shipwrecks. Dutch and English navigators in the 17th and 18th centuries seem, however, to have been rather better at their job than the Portuguese had been in the previous two centuries, for there were substantially fewer shipwrecks. But we do know of at least two: the *Good Hope* wrecked on the Natal coast in 1685, and the *Stavenisse*, which foundered close by about a year later, the survivors of which two wrecks met up and set off for the Cape overland.⁸ Some made it, but 'all along the way' many others stayed behind. When the *Natal Packet* set off from the Cape in 1687 to look for survivors, it found 19 as far south as Algoa Bay, living 'scattered in the neighbouring kraals'. A Dutch search vessel, the *Noord*, was sent out in 1688 and 1689, and found many more survivors. On the strength of this Dutch presence in Natal, the ship's captain notoriously claimed to have bought the land, 'from the King and chiefs of those parts' for the Dutch East Indian Company, a claim even more notoriously invoked by the Boer trekkers a century and a half later to support their occupation of Natal.⁹ It was at this time, too, in 1845, that Lieut.-Colonel John Sutherland, writing about his experiences on the East Cape frontier, expressed his view that

what became of the remaining men of the crew of the *Stavenisse* will never ... in all probability be known. Yet ... their lives and property were safe enough, amongst the natives of the Natal country, and amongst the Kaffers of the East Coast, where I hear that many of their descendants, as well as the descendants of the *Grosvenor* and *Dodington*, English East Indiamen which were wrecked on the same coast more than a hundred years after, are still to be found.¹⁰

Mention of the *Grosvenor* brings us to the most famous of shipwrecks in these parts. Stories of survivors of this event, which took place in 1782, have reverberated down two centuries to our own time. The shipwreck inspired the earliest work of fiction set in the Eastern Cape that I have come across, Charles Dibdin's *Hannah Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe*, published only ten years after the event, and many others.¹¹ Once again, the several published accounts of both survivors and of subsequent search parties are full of references to survivors left behind among the Xhosa.¹² Most tantalizing among these has been the persistent story that several white women either voluntarily or perforce became the wives of Xhosa chiefs – whether 'voluntarily' or 'perforce' has changed according to political shifts in South Africa. Typically, in earlier accounts descent from the *Grosvenor* women is mentioned as an honorific whereas in later accounts – from about 1850 onwards – it becomes a matter of shame.

One does not have to look far to discover why there was such a

persistent interest in the *Grosvenor* women. There was evidently something more than a vicariously racist prurience behind it, and I suspect that the most interesting explanation is that the *Grosvenor* women became symbolic of a developing frontier dynamic. It would appear that at least up to about 1850 they provided a trope for transcultural and transracial possibilities developing on the frontier. Typically, it was the writers of romance rather than the politicians, settler polemicists, and military authorities who recognized this. So, for instance, the anonymous novel *Makanna; or, The Land of the Savage*, published in 1834 and based on the historic events of the Xhosa attack on Grahamstown in 1819 under Makana, twists the events so that Makana's second-in-command, Dushani, who was commonly thought of as a *Grosvenor* descendant, is killed and his place is taken by a West Indian French creole, Paul Laroon, himself the survivor of a Transkei shipwreck.¹³ The deception can work because both men, being racially mixed, are the same colour. Laroon is put in command, by Makana, of 'a sort of mercenary troop, formed of adventurers, runaway slaves, and deserters' (vol. 3, p. 17), in other words, a whole body of shadowy, liminal frontier figures, who, nevertheless, are not treated as outlaws but as heroic desperadoes fighting under Makana and Laroon for an independent Eastern Cape republic.

This bizarre scenario, in which the shadow people of the frontier are not seen as outcasts and enemies but as romanticized albeit ambivalent prototypes of frontier independence, is recurrent in subsequent fiction of the Eastern Cape, perhaps nowhere more fascinatingly so than in two novels published in the same year, 1851: Thomas Forester's *Everard Tunstall: A Tale of the Kaffir Wars*, and Harriet Ward's *Jasper Lyle: A Tale of Kaffirland*.¹⁴ In the first of these, the English hero and a young Xhosa chief, Clu Clu, who is once again a *Grosvenor* descendant, are both suitors for the hand of a young Boer woman, Johanna. That's the first surprise, but others follow on rapidly from it. When Johanna is wounded in a Xhosa attack on her brother's farm, she dies in the arms of both Everard and Clu Clu, who thereupon change from rivals to sworn brothers and set off beyond the Great Fish River to Clu Clu's home. Here Clu Clu, who is of course illiterate, shows Everard a bible with some diary entries which Tunstall realizes are by Clu Clu's white grandmother, from the *Grosvenor*. It is also, incidentally, the first instance in the *Grosvenor* literature in which these women are depicted as being ashamed of their situation. Clu Clu's grandmother refers to her life among the Xhosa as 'loathsome', to herself as shuddering 'at the sight of my child', and to deliberately hiding from the various search parties sent out to locate survivors: 'Being what I am, I cannot submit to be a thing to be pointed at by the wives and daughters of Christian men. I will hide my shame and end my days in the desert' (vol. 2, pp. 248-51). Such views would harden in the course of the nineteenth century until in William Scully's blank verse drama, *The Wreck of the Grosvenor*, published in 1886, the women

speak with absolute horror of their situation:

Around our knees,
Cling savage babes, whose claim for loathly love,
Wraps, round our freedom, swathes of stiffling ties
That we must ay endure.¹⁵

But in 1851 such abhorrence is still specifically countermanded by the fact that Clu Clu is held up as the ideal product of frontier interracial contact. Furthermore, Johanna's brother, Conraad van Arneveld, with whom we are invited to sympathize, in due course marries a Malay woman from Cape Town and together they join the Boer trekkers heading across the Orange River.

Harriet Ward's novel, *Jasper Lyle*, is, if anything, even more tantalizing in its transcultural ambiguities than *Everard Tunstall*. Ward, who lived in Grahamstown from 1842 to 1847 as the wife of an English officer, and whose reportage on the Seventh Frontier War of 1846 makes her perhaps the first woman war-correspondent in British history, was overtly completely in sympathy with the colonialist, military assumptions of her time – this much is clear from her war correspondence,¹⁶ and from her authorial interventions in *Jasper Lyle*. But the novel is peopled with a significant cast of liminal, transgressive frontier figures, the most intriguing of whom is Jasper Lyle himself. The son of a former governor of the Cape, he has been banished from England for his Chartist principles and is now a gun-runner on the frontier, supporting both Boer and Xhosa insurrection against the British. At once a model frontiersman and an outlaw, he is also an exponent of a frontier radicalism that could hardly have endeared Ward to her Grahamstown compatriots. Here he is, addressing a gathering of Xhosa chiefs:

When I went back to my land ... I said you were under the feet of the English here; that you were not permitted to sit still in green places in your own territory ... [and] that we have suffered your cattle and your land to be taken from you.¹⁷

Eventually Lyle is crucified by the Xhosa, as much a victim as a martyr of his cause, and it is simply not possible to tell from Ward's narrative which he is meant to be. One is left pondering whether the inconclusiveness about transculturation on the frontier reflected in Thomas Forester and Harriet Ward is not so much a result of their own confusion or lack of narrative control, but rather a reflection of a pervasive cultural and racial fluidity and open-endedness which, at least on this frontier, still held out many options.

In my rapid survey of this fluid or porous frontier, I have had to leave out whole galleries of other fascinating characters. I have said nothing, for instance, about the many Khoi (Hottentot) figures who repeatedly emerged as important frontier intermediaries, antagonists or peacemakers. One could start with the person of Eve, the Khoi woman who quickly

became a key actor in Jan van Riebeeck's colonial diplomacy, married the Company's Danish doctor, Pieter van Meerhoff, and who was by all accounts shrewd, elusive, exploitive – and herself exploited.¹⁸ She was followed by many another. By the time John Philip wrote *Researches in South Africa* in the 1820s he could describe many figures of Khoi origin who played a challenging role in frontier politics.¹⁹ One, for instance, was David Stuurman, charismatic leader of the last independent group of Khoi in the Cape Colony. Leading raids on Boer stock, he was captured and imprisoned on Robben Island in 1810, from where he escaped and managed to make his way back to beyond the Kei River. Recaptured in 1819, he was eventually transported as a convict to New South Wales – such, in the words of Thomas Pringle, 'was the fate of the last Hottentot chief who attempted to stand up for the natural rights of his countrymen'.²⁰ But he was not the last, and Philip also tells us of Jan Africaner, half-Boer and half-Khoi, leader of one of the many bands of mixed outlaws that had over some two centuries taken refuge beyond the vague colonial boundaries, and from where they conducted raids on the *trekboers* as well as slave raids. Africaner, however, was converted to Christianity by John Campbell in 1812, and he became a key figure on Robert Moffat's mission and as a negotiator for the rights of the Khoi.²¹ Such conversions could have unexpected outcomes, once again illustrating the impact of the indeterminate processes of transculturation on the frontier. Philip tells of a converted Bushman who was puzzled by the story of John the Baptist:

'Why is it,' said he, 'that we are persecuted and oppressed by the Christians? ... Was not John the Baptist a Bushman? Was he not clothed with a leathern girdle, such as we wear? And did he not feed on locusts and wild honey? Was he not a Bushman?'²²

Then there was Andrew Stoffels, who became an important spokesman for the Khoi after the 1834 or Sixth Frontier War, or Hermanus Matroos, the powerful instigator of the Blinkwater Rebellion, when some Khoi of the Kat River Settlement decided to support the Xhosa against the colonial forces in the Eighth Frontier War of 1851-52.²³

Indeed, Matroos brings us to a paradigmatic moment in this story of frontier intermediaries. At one point in the hostilities, a meeting took place between Matroos and his lieutenants on the one hand, and the loyal Boers and Khoi on the other. The meeting was reported to the Revd James Read – who wrote it up – by Cobus Fourie, the Boer Field-Cornet, who stated that he was accompanied by, among others, 'my son-in-law, Andries Hatta', who, in turn, is later referred to as himself a 'Hottentot' and who reveals that the Boers had actually sought refuge with the Khoi: 'We who are still loyal to the Queen [he said] have undertaken to defend ... all our white fellow-colonists, who have taken shelter under our wing.'²⁴

I call this a paradigmatic moment because it finally raises perhaps the

most intriguing query that my ruminations have been leading to, namely, the extent to which the Boers themselves may be regarded as some of the most spectacular products and representatives of the transcultural and transracial processes of the frontier. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Dutch descendants at the Cape could be broadly divided into two groups, the sedentary farmers and townfolk of the Western Cape, and the itinerant pastoralists or *trekboers* of the interior. John Barrow referred to the latter as 'African peasants', a term which confirms the status and image of indigeneity they had by then acquired.²⁵ At the time of the British occupation of the Cape, the trekboers had a reputation for being so disaffected and seditious that the Dutch commander, Abraham Sluysken, regarded them as much less reliable than the local Khoi levies.²⁶ Jan Splinter Stavorus, who visited the Cape in the 1760s and 70s, wrote that 'the farthest settlers, who reside thirty or forty days' journey from Cape Town more resemble Hottentots than the posterity of Europeans'.²⁷ Barrow claimed to have found many Dutch Boers living 'entirely in the society of Hottentots' (vol. 1, p. 383), and his testimony may be confirmed over and over again in subsequent travelogues. By 1835, the *Quarterly Review*, writing about John Dunbar Moodie's book, *Ten Years in South Africa*, would refer to Boers as 'greasy barbarians', echoing Moodie's own description of them as 'even less refined than the Hottentots'.²⁸

But what did all this really mean? This ambivalent indigeneity of the Boer could just as readily be presented as a source of strength and resilience, a degree of African domicility unapproachable by other settlers, such as when the author of *Makanna* describes Boers as sharing the inscrutable and imperturbable qualities of the landscape, or when Thomas Pringle, on his very first night in the Eastern Cape, describes his party's Boer escort as 'men of almost gigantic size', sitting apart 'in aristocratic exclusiveness, smoking their huge pipes with self-satisfied complacency'.²⁹ On several occasions, the inherent advantages of encouraging, rather than lamenting or belittling the developing multiracialism and multiculturalism of the frontier, were actively promoted. John Thomas Bigge and William Colebrooke, Crown commissioners who visited the Cape in 1830, claimed that such integration had been the aim of Caledon's proclamation of 1809, and that the attempt to set up segregated establishments such as the Kat River Settlement for the Khoi was an error. Instead, they argued, the aim should be 'to promote assimilation in the most satisfactory manner', by encouraging English settlers and Boers to take up land among the Khoi.

In time [they argued] thriving and independent communities would thus be formed, where the recognition of equal rights in individuals of all classes would secure their equal protection, and a common participation in their internal administration.³⁰

One wonders what would have happened if Bigge's and Colebrooke's extraordinarily enlightened and far-sighted policy had actually been put

into practice. At the very least, their recommendation strengthens one's overall sense that round about 1830, before the British Settlers had really gained dominance, and before the mass emigration of Boer farmers known as the Great Trek had gained momentum, there was a moment in the history of this frontier when the Boers, particularly, could have merged into the transracial and transcultural dynamics developing in the Eastern Cape. But the moment soon passed, and by 1850 it was over. The 1820 British Settlers brought with them, and insisted on maintaining, a sense of racial and cultural identity which soon challenged the Boers into a corresponding response, a response which the nature and process of their extremely adversarial encounter with the African people of the interior after 1836 increasingly intensified. It could be that the flirtation with frontier liminality and racial indeterminacy in the novels of Harriet Ward and Thomas Forester in 1851 is ambivalent and confused precisely because the historical conditions for such possibilities had already passed. The contestational frontier paradigm developing from the Sixth Frontier War (1834-5) onwards, edged the Eastern Cape Boers out of the route towards racial and cultural assimilation on which they were seemingly well established by the late-eighteenth century, and put them on a course of aggressive self-determination.

The situation was well summed up in 1855 by the Revd Edward Solomon in two lectures delivered in Cape Town.³¹ Despite some quirky notions that there were cannibals in the far interior, Solomon gave a well-informed survey not only of the Khoi, the Xhosa, the Namaqua, the Sotho, the Tswana, and other clearly identified peoples, but also of the many mixed and intermediate groupings, such as the Coranna, Griquas, Bergenaars, and many others, which by then existed on or beyond the frontier. He revealed enlightened concepts of the indeterminacy of race, and was well aware of the actual intricacies of the drama of ethnic diversity and assimilation which he described. For these reasons he was profoundly concerned about the impact the Boers north of the Orange were about to have on all around them. The Sand River Convention of 1852 had acknowledged Transvaal independence, while the Orange Free State had just come into being in 1854. Solomon understood clearly that the Boers, in order to establish and maintain their political and cultural identity, would in future have to be ceaselessly at war with all around them and would thus destabilize the whole sub-continent. He foresaw 'a collision now [that] would convulse the whole of that region, and involve the Europeans there in deadly war with all the native tribes around them' (p. 60).

Frontier multiculturalism was effectively over. British military policy on the Eastern Cape frontier and Boer militancy beyond it, after 1850, ensured a pattern of frontier wars that would not cease till the Anglo-Boer War. As that war's name in Afrikaans indicates – 'Die Tweede Vryheids-oorlog' (The Second Freedom War) – it was for the Boers the last frontier war, fought by them precisely to assert and preserve Boer separateness and identity.

NOTES

1. Clifton Crais, *The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992); Tim Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (London: Cassell, 1997).
2. Christian Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816* (1818; Cape Town: Struik, 1969), p. 252.
3. Anon., 'Narrative of the Wreck of the Great Galleon *Saint John* on the Land of Natal, in the Year 1552', in *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, 9 vols, ed. and trans. G.M. Theal (London: Government of the Cape Colony, 1898-1903), vol. 1, pp. 128-49.
4. Manoel de Mesquita Perestrello, 'Narrative of the Wreck of the Ship *S^t Benedict*', in *Records*, ed. Theal, vol. 1, p. 238.
5. João Baptista Lavanha, 'Shipwreck of the Great Ship *Santo Alberto* and Itinerary of the People who were saved from it', in *The Tragic History of the Sea*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. C.R. Boxer (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1959-68), vol. 1, pp. 106-86.
6. Francisco Vaz d'Almada, 'Treatise of the Misfortune that Befell the Great Ship *São João Batista*', in *Tragic History*, ed. Boxer, vol. 1, pp. 187-271. All further references are to this edition and are included in the text.
7. Jeronimo Lobo, *The Itinerario of Jeronimo Lobo*, trans. D.M. Lockhart, ed. C.F. Beckingham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984).
8. Donald Moodie, *Lecture on the Early Visits of Europeans to Natal AD 1685-1690* (Pietermaritzburg: May and Davis, 1852), pp. 9-11.
9. Moodie, *Lecture*, pp. 12-15.
10. John Sutherland, *Memoir Respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of South Africa* (Cape Town: Pike and Philip, 1845), p. 333.
11. Charles Dibdin, *Hannah Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe*, 3 vols. (London: C. Dibdin, n.d. - B M Catalogue 1792).
12. See G. Graham Botha, ed., *The Wreck of the Grosvenor* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1927), and Percival R. Kirby, *The True Story of the Grosvenor East Indiaman* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1960).
13. Anon., *Makanna; or, The Land of the Savage*, 3 vols. (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1834), vol. 2, p. 295. All further references are to this edition and are included in the text.
14. Thomas Forester, *Everard Tunstall: A Tale of the Kaffir Wars*, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1851); Harriet Ward, *Jasper Lyle: A Tale of Kaffirland*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1851). All further references are to this edition and are included in the text.
15. William Scully, *The Wreck of the Grosvenor and Other South African Poems* (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution, 1886), p. 18.
16. Harriet Ward, *Five Years in Kaffirland*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn, 1848).
17. Ward, *Jasper Lyle*, p. 289.
18. See Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, 'Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks', in *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840*, eds. Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 187.
19. John Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, 2 vols. (London: James Duncan, 1828).
20. Cited in Philip, *Researches*, vol. 2, p. 373.
21. Philip, *Researches*, vol. 2, pp. 215-25.
22. Philip, *Researches*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13.
23. For Stoffels, see Justus (pseud.), *The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation* (London:

- James Duncan, 1837), p. 22; for Matroos, see James Read, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851* (Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, 1852), pp. 13-15.
24. Read, *Kat River*, pp. 32-3.
 25. John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798*, 2 vols. (London: Cadell and Davies, 1801-4), vol. 1, p. 77. All further references are to this edition and are included in the text.
 26. Abraham Josias Sluysken, *Verbaal gehouden bij den Commissaris van de Caap de Goede Hoop* (The Hague: Isaac van Cleef, 1797), pp. 203-5.
 27. Jan Splinter Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, 3 vols., trans. S.H. Wilcocke (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1798), vol. 3, p. 444.
 28. *Quarterly Review*, 55 (1835), p. 89.
 29. Thomas Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, new ed. (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), p. 9.
 30. John Thomas Bigge and William Colebrooke, *Report upon the State of the Hottentots and Bushmen of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: G. Greig, 1830), p. 60.
 31. Edward Solomon, *Two Lectures on the Native Tribes of the Interior* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1855).



From *The Times Atlas*, 1893