THE SAN OF THE CAPE THIRSTLAND AND L. ANTHING'S 'SPECIAL MISSION'

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Introduction.

The Cape Thirstland (comprising modern Namaqualand, Bushmanland, the Karoo, Gordonia and Griqualand West) became, from the beginning of the influx of herding and cultivating peoples into South Africa, an area of retreat - not only for San hunters and gatherers but later for disgruntled Khoi/Coloureds and Bantu-speakers. As population pressure grew, so the search for unoccupied land became more urgent, and even the most arid part of the country became coveted. What the first chapter of this essay attempts to show is how the San were caught up in the general competition for land, which seems to have shaped so much of South Africa's history, and how they dealt with the threat to their independence.

Because of the paucity of records for the north-western region of the Cape Colony (which is still the most poorly populated region of South Africa) it has received scant attention from historians, the only really comprehensive study being P.J. van der Merwe's Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek, (1770 - 1842) which was published in 1937. His emphasis was on the northward expansion of the trekboers and the questions he posed concerning the San were those which concerned his predecessors (such as Theal, Cory and Stow) - for instance: Who were the true aborigines of Southern Africa? Did they have any 'right' to the land? Were they 'improvable'?

With the wealth of anthropological data now being published, historians have been attempting to give the study of preliterate African societies a new face by applying this knowledge and avoiding judgements and interpretations based on extraneous criteria. In the light of these developments it is possible to ask new questions concerning the San of the Cape Thirstland such as : What was their relationship to the land and their resources, and how did they cope with its loss? How far and by what means did the traditional band structure sustain itself?

This essay takes the story of the hunter bands of the Cape Thirstland further than P.J. van der Merwe, tracing their exclusion from the more favourable areas of the Colony to the adjacent semi-desert regions,

then their loss of complementary resource zones such as the Orange River and the mountains of the Great Escarpment, and finally their restriction to the most arid part of the Colony, the area around the Hartebeeste River, the western part of which is still termed 'Bushmanland'.

Two major initial difficulties were encountered in this research. The first was, of course, the poor documentation. Exhaustive research through vast manuscript sources, which might, only here and there, yield scraps of information, was beyond the confines of a B.A. (Honours) year. The first chapter, therefore, only provides a background sketch which was pieced together from published sources; recent studies by archaeolgists and anthropologists, early travellers' records, and British Parliamentary Select Committee Reports, while the first part of the second chapter 'Bushmanland, 1830-1860', relies almost exclusively on the Cape of Good Hope Blue Books.

The second initial difficulty was the problem of terminology which has haunted all recent studies of the yellow skinned hunters and herders who once inhabited Southern Africa.[1] The argument is not simply a quibble over names. Such terms as 'Bushmen', 'Hottentot', 'San', 'Khoi', 'hunter' and 'herder' have, in the past, implied cultural, economic and ethnic boundaries which recent research has revealed to be, if not totally invalid, at least highly questionable.

The Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not distinguish the Khoi and San on physical grounds; the term 'Hottentot' was applied to all yellow-skinned natives who did not cultivate, although 'Bushman' ('Bosmanekens', 'Bosiesmans', 'Bosjesmans') was also used. In the nineteenth century, however, this was replaced by the belief that 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen' were discrete races distinguished by language, culture, economy and physical characteristics. Even so, the idea that there were only two peoples in Southern Africa, 'Hottentots' and 'Caffres'

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1. See, for instance, S. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch', Journal of African History, v.XIII (1972); R.M. Elphick, Kraal and Castle (Yale University Press, 1977), pp 23-28 ; J.B. Wright, Bushmen Raiders of the Drakensburg (Pietermaritzburg, 1974), Preface, pp. v - vi.

persisted, and sometimes 'Hottentots' were divided into two branches, the 'tame' or colonial Hottentots, and the 'wild Hottentots' or 'Bushmen'.[2] Sometimes 'Bushmen' were divided into 'tame' or 'makke Boschjesmans' and 'wild Bushmen'[3] and it was generally assumed that 'Bushmen' were once 'Hottentots', who, by the loss of their cattle and sheep, descended the ladder of civilization. The Khoi and Bantu-speakers also classified people in terms of their economy and skin-colour, the Khoi referring to the hunters and gatherers as 'San' while the Xhosa called them 'Thwa' and the Sotho 'Roa'.

In the nineteenth century it was thought that the 'Hottentots' were taller than the 'Bushmen'; yet P.V. Tobias has indicated that physical type is not an adequate means of differentiation, for he found that by giving the San a constant milk diet they increase in height.[4] Perhaps when the Dutch first arrived in the Cape, the difference in height had some validity, but by the nineteenth century the hunters and gatherers had become considerably inter-mixed with both the yellow-skinned herders and Bantu-speaking cultivators, and Collins on his journey in 1809 noted that the 'Bushmen' differ in size 'some being small and ugly as those living near the Zak River, others as tall as the colonial Hottentots.'[5]

Language too, cannot provide any hard and fast distictions. Khoi seems to have been widely diffused, relatively homogeneous language, whereas San languages were extremely diverse, and often two neighbouring bands would have difficulty understanding each other.[6] Many hunter groups on the Orange spoke Khoi fluently while others, such as those found in the Great Escarpment in the Central Cape, did not speak Khoi at all.[7]

It was assumed in the nineteenth century that the short-statured San-speakers were hunters and gatherers, while the tall Khoi-speakers lived by herding. Yet the two means of subsistence can also allow great

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2. British Parliamentary Papers, No. 425 of 1837 Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines, p.25.
3. W.J. Burchell, Travels in the Interior of South Africa (Reprint, London, 1953), v.I, p.162.
4. 'On the Increasing Stature of the Bushmen', Anthropos, v.57 (1962).
5. British Parliamentary Papers, No. 50 of 1835 Papers Relating to the .... Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa. p.35: 'Extract from "Journal of Tour to the North-East boundary, the Orange River and the Storm Mountains" by Col. Collins.'
6. Burchell, Op.cit., v.I, p. 283.
7. Elphick, Op.cit., p.29.

fluidity; for instance the 'herders' hunted game and gathered veldkos,[8] and it was not a great step for former herders to become hunters and gatherers when they became dispossessed of their stock. There is evidence that groups which, linguistically, would be classified as 'San', acquired stock on a permanent basis; Burchell came across a 'Bushman kraal' which possessed sheep, goats and cattle which had been obtained from plundering Bantu-speakers on the Orange.[9] In fact Campbell referred to 'Bootshuana Bushmen' living in subjection to the Thlaping, when they were actually Lala.[10]

We must not be awed by this confusion. The picture which is now emerging is becoming more and more complex because a great deal of interaction and integration took place between hunters, herders and cultivators. Various ecological zones acted as a melting pot for different peoples - for instance, the Orange River, as a source of water, 'veldkos', pasture and game was the meeting ground of Tswana, Namaqua, Korana, and San so that an admixture of blood and languages occurred. This process was also accompanied by cultural exchange; for example both the Korana and Thlaping used the bow and poisoned arrow,[11] and some Sotho were known to paint.

Indeed, S.Marks seems nearest the truth when she notes that 'On occasion, the divisions between the Khoi and the San resembled class divisions as much as ethnic or cultural ones!'[12] R.M. Elphick agrees with this since 'San' was used by Khoi to encompass impoverished Khoi-speakers as well as non-Khoi-speaking people, but was never applied to large, wealthy groups or to the great clusters of Khoi clans.[13] It was also applied to those hunting groups who had come to possess sheep and cattle but were still poor in comparison with the great Khoi clans.

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8. The literal meaning of 'San' is 'to gather veldkos.' A. Smith, Andrew Smith's Journal of his Expedition into the Interior of South Africa 1834-6 (Reprint, Cape Town, 1975), p.4.

9. Op.cit., v.I, p.302.

10. Travels in South Africa (London, 1822), v.I, p.146.

11. G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa (London, 1827), p.99.

12. Op.cit., p.58.

13. Op.cit., p.28.

S. Marks refers to both 'hunters' and 'herders' as 'Khoisan';[14] yet for the purposes of this study some differentiation must be made between the stock-keeping Korana and Namaquas in the Cape Thirstland and other groups living a purely hunting and gathering existence, since they were still distinguished, even as late as the 1860s. R.M. Elphick uses the simple designation 'hunter' (dropping the cumbersome 'and gatherer') to allow for 'possible overlap with the Khoikhoi, who, it must be remembered, were people who preferred pastoralism but could not always practice it.'[15] This study will largely follow his system, not simply because the terminology is appropriately flexible in connotation, but because the emphasis will be on the economic bonds of the hunter way of life, as well as utilize the term 'San' popularized by anthropologists. But both names will necessarily be used in a very broad, vague sense.

By the 1860s the process whereby the independent hunter bands had been decimated, become subordinate and incapsulated within other societies, or had withdrawn to adjacent semi-desert regions, had almost neared completion. What transpired in 'Bushmanland' would have been largely lost to history had not Louis Anthing, Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, been sent by the Government to enquire into reports of atrocities against the San in the area. His description of the extreme hardship they had been undergoing, their almost last, desperate stance in the Cape Colony (which is outlined here in Chapter III) is the most complete and comprehensive record we have. For this reason, no doubt, his word on the subject, which was condensed into his report of 1863,[16] has been accepted by historians without it ever having been put to the historical test. Yet Anthing, 'That gentleman [who] applied himself most diligently to the task,'[17] resigned his post under rather unusual and embarrassing circumstances. The final chapter of this essay describes the failure of Anthing's 'Special Mission' as he termed it, and attempts to reach some conclusion concerning the veracity of his Report. Perhaps

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14. Op.cit.

15. Op.cit, 'Note on Terminology', p.xx.

16. A39-'63 Message from His Excellency the Governor, with Enclosures, relative to Affairs in the North-Western Districts of the Colony.

17. Ibid., p.126.

the greatest point of interest that the failure of the Mission reveals is the attitude of both the Government and the general public to his expedition. The fate of the remaining San was hardly in their own hands - nor was it in Anthing's.

E.H. Carr maintained that, 'History is, by and large, a record of what people did, not of what they failed to do; to this extent it is inevitably a success story.'[18] If we were to accept his criteria, this story of the final disintegration of San independence in the Cape Colony would have no place in the historical corpus. Yet in a sense he is correct; this history would be incomplete if it were solely to describe where the San failed in their resistence to encroachment. By departing from the traditional historical (not anthropological) picture of the 'precarious existence' of the hunters who had no chance against the superior subsistence strategies of the herders and cultivators, this essay attempts to show how, in the face of the loss of the more favourable regions of South Africa and complementary ecological zones in the Cape Colony, and the assaults upon them from a number of fronts, their way of life showed remarkable resilience.

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18. E.H. Carr, What is History? (London, 1961), p.126.

PLATE I.

San Hunter.

(from A.M. Duggan - Cronin, Bushmen Tribes of Southern Africa (Kimberley, 1942), PLATE XVIII.)

CHAPTER I.

THE SAN RETREAT.

> Dr. Lichtenstein asks 'What had a people like the Bushmen to lose - they who are everywhere at home, who know not the value of any land.' To this I would reply, 'He loses the means of subsistence; and what more can the richest Monarch lose?'
>
> (R. Moffat)[1]

The greater part of the Cape Thirstland is arid in the extreme. Nowhere does rainfall exceed ten inches per annum, and the vegetation is dominated by semi-desert Karoo-shrub.[2] Moreover, since rain is discharged by high intensity thunder showers, its appearance is very erratic and irregular, and drought is a common occurance.[3] Nevertheless, the Thirstland once abounded at certain seasons with vast quantities of wild game; and to the familiar eye it offered also a secret but abundant variety of collectable foods, such as roots, tubers, tortoises, larvae, ants and caterpillars. Only a hunting and gathering existence could fully exploit the natural potential of such a tract of land. Obviously a region which could support herds of wild animals could also maintain domestic stock, subject to seasonal vicissitudes and the capacity of Karoo-shrub, which is extremely low, and rapidly declines with over-grazing. Therefore a herding nomadic existence was also possible, but only on a small scale. Whilst there was enough better land to provide subsistence for the stock-keeping peoples of the sub-continent, the Cape Thirstland was avoided. But by the first half of the nineteenth century even this region's meagre resources were being coveted by stock-keepers, and the aboriginal hunter-gatherers found the traditional means of their livelihood

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1. Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa (London, 1842), p.54.

2. See Maps I and II.

3. In a survey done between 1926 and 1939, the Cape Thirstland was declared drought-stricken for a total of sixty months and over. J.H. Wellington, Southern Africa: a geographical study (Cambridge 1955), v.I, p.268.

disappearing, as immigrant peoples gradually shot-out their game, and their flocks converted the country into a barren wasteland.

The Hunter-Gatherers.

'Late Stone Age' hunter-gatherers, the ancestors of the people known to us as 'Bushmen' or 'San', were once spread over the entire region of Southern Africa, and had probably been occupying the Cape Thirstland for many centuries before the arrival of the Dutch in the Cape. Although the area is extremely marginal, the anthropologist Richard Lee has shown that hunter-gatherers do not, by any manner of means, follow a precarious existence, nor is most of their time spent in food-getting.[4] He has estimated that the present day !Kung of Northern Botswana have only to work a modest two or three day week to provide the band with sufficient calories and protein per person per day, the main bulk of the diet being provided by plant-food collected by the women.[5]

The capacity of hunter-gatherers to live well in such desert-like conditions depends to a large extent on the variety of foodstuffs they are able to utilize and their ability to adapt to the constant fluctuations in water availability. Therefore extreme mobility is a factor of key importance in hunting and gathering subsistence strategy. As Lee writes 'a hunter-gatherer group may be able to satisfy subsistence requirements within 100 km^2 for four years out of five but will still go out of the business unless it has access to a much larger area during the fifth year.'[6] Even if there is resource abundancy throughout the year, the hunters and gatherers must frequently change habitats so that no one particular area is over-exploited.

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4. R.B. Lee, 'What Hunters Do for a Living', in R.B. Lee and I. De Vore (Ed), Man the Hunter (Chicago, 1969).

5. Ibid., p.33.

6. '!Kung Spatial Organisation', in R.B. Lee and I. De Vore (Ed), Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers. (Harvard University Press, 1976), p.95.

It has been plausibly suggested by the archaeologist John Parkington, that with particular reference to the Western Cape, hunters and gatherers may have scheduled areas for particular times of the year. He has hypothesised that the San moved to the coastline during the winter months when rich marine fauna was available, and there was not such a great danger of collecting poisonous red mussels which appear on the coastline mainly in summer, and thence to the mountains of the Cape Folded Belt in summer, when the fruits and berries had ripened, and the corms and tubers had reached their maximum size.[7] Alternatively, Parkington believes, it would have been possible for the hunter bands to move into the Karoo plains in winter to follow the larger gregarious wild herbivores, which perhaps (as the trekboer stock-farmers were later to do) utilized the pastures of the Karoo from May to September, thus conserving the veld of the mountain slopes.[8] It was a matter of 'being in the right place at the right time.'[9]

For the most part the Cape Thirstland consists of vast, flat plains unbroken by any tree coverage. G. Thompson wrote that the region 'is of so barren and arid a character that by far the greater portion of it is not permanently habitable by any class of beings.'[10] Yet certain geographical zones do relieve the monotony of the landscape - such are the mountains of the Great Escarpment [11] and the Orange River and its environs. For the San, these regions perhaps provided alternative subsistence when the rivers had dried up on the plains, and the baked

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7. J. Parkington, 'Seasonal Mobility in the Late Stone Age', African Studies, Quarterly Journal, v.31 (1972). See also by the same author, Follow the San (Unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Cambridge, 1976).

8. 'Seasonal Mobility...', p.231.

9. Follow the San, p.22.

10. Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, v. I, p.392.

11. The vegetation changes to mountain grassland and scrub, and the mean annual rainfall to between ten and twenty inches. See Maps I and II.

state of the soil made it difficult to dig for roots.[12] Then, when rain fell on the plains (usually beginning in January and reaching a peak in August[13]), and the bitterly cold winter rain and snow descended on the mountains, the San would have moved down into the milder regions, where the strings of their bows were less inclined to stretch and break in the dampness.[14] Similarly, hunters vacationing on the Orange (a perennial source of water) would probably have followed the game onto the plains once the rivers had begun to flow, and the water-holes had been replenished.

The necessity of the San to respond to the complex variability in the locations of food and water had direct bearing on the nature of their group organization, both in the relationship between individual members of each band, and between bands of adjacent territories. We know with regard to the !Kung, that in the dry months the entire population may cluster around a few water-holes, while in the summer months they disperse to newly formed summer pools, thereby conserving the permanent water with its surrounding vegetation.[15] It is likely that the San of the Thirstland followed a similar strategy, which was rendered possible by their very loose social and political organization. Although San bands recognised heredity headmen who had rights over water, veldkos and game in the territory, if a headman proved inept at hunting, effective authority would pass to the 'strong man' of the group.[16] No person had the right of jurisdiction, but because the poison the hunters used for killing game

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12. Campbell, Travels (1815), p. 139.

13. J.P.H. Acocks, 'Veld Types of South Africa', Botanical Survey Memoir, v.38 (1953), p. 147.

14. Campbell, Ibid., p. 147.

15. R. Lee 'What Hunters Do for a Living', p.31. Indeed, since the !Kung bands vary in size and composition from day to day, Lee prefers the looser term 'camp'.

16. Col. Collins in D. Moodie (Ed), The Record or a Series of Official Papers relating... to the Native Tribes of South Africa (Reprint, Cape Town, 1960), p. 39.

was so lethal, they avoided violent conflict as much as possible, often resolving their disagreements by the simple expedient of fission. Kinship bonds were also weak, and in times of hardship infanticide and senilicide[17] were common practices.

As for relations between bands, Lee has refuted the view previously held by anthropologists that San bands live as 'semi-isolated, male-centred groups, encapsulated within territories.'[18] Because of the fluctuations in resources, the organization of hunter and gatherer bands within a region must necessarily be relatively open, with overlapping shared territories between social groups. This more flexible system could allow fluctuations in group sizes and the resolving of conflict by fission.[19] Lee does not believe that this flexible land-use pattern is strictly the result of acculturation and the disintegration of the San bands.[20]

It is likely that a great deal of interaction took place between bands through marriage contracts, social visiting and trade in small items. Although the San of the Thirstland did move within defined territories and possessed exclusive rights to veldkos and game this did not preclude long distance travelling, for paintings of boats have been found in the Drakensburg, and shell middens fifty miles inland.[21] Moreover permission was often granted to outside San to utilize the territories' resources in times of hardship. But if permission was not asked first, the trespassers were fought bitterly, often with no trifling loss of blood.[22]

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17. Moffat came across an old woman who had been abondoned by her children to die. The reason she gave was: 'I am old, you see, and I am no longer able to serve them; when they kill game I am too feeble to help in carrying home the flesh; I am not able to gather wood to make fire.' Missionary Labours, p.134.

18. '!Kung Spatial Organisation', p.75.

19. Ibid., p.76.

20. Ibid., p.91.

21. M.Wilson and L.Thompson (Ed.), The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, 1969), v.I, p.50.

22. Col. Collins in Moodie, The Record, p.38. See also Smith's, Journal, p.180.

A hunter-gatherer's life is, of necessity, closely attuned to his environment. While he is able to lead a mobile existence, and exploit a side range of resources it is unlikely that his life will be particularly precarious or arduous; indeed, in the light of this it seems no accident that the only indigenous peoples of Southern Africa who found the leisure to paint were the hunter-gatherers. It is no wonder that the San cherished their 'freedom to follow over their boundless hunting grounds the swarming game which inhabited them',[23] and their freedom to gather its rich fruits and veldkos, for it was on this right that their very subsistence depended. With the arrival of herding and cultivating people in Southern Africa the first phase in the loss of this freedom had begun.

Hunters, Herders and Cultivators.

Stock-keeping is thought to have been introduced into Southern Africa around 2000-1500 years B.P.[24] Remains of domestic animals have been found in what was still essentially a 'Late Stone Age' context. This, together with evidence from linguistics and physical anthropology seems to indicate that the yellow-skinned herders met by early European visitors to the Cape were originally hunters and gatherers who had obtained their stock from neighbouring Proto-Bantu-speakers, perhaps in the area which is now northern Botswana. From there they spread south, most likely, as recently suggested by R.M. Elphick, by means of the Orange-Vaal hydrographic system rather than along the west coast as had previously been supposed.[25] Be that as it may, by the time the Dutch arrived in the Cape, Khoi-speaking people practising a herding economy were spread along the coast from the Swakop River on the Atlantic to the Buffalo River on the Indian Ocean, and some way inland if the coast was barren.[26]

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23. G.W. Stow (edited by G.M. Theal), The Native Races of South Africa (London, 1910), p.36.

24. J. Parkington, Follow the San, p.228.

25. R.M. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, Chpt. I.

26. M. Wilson and L. Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, 1969), vol. I, p.40.

In the meanwhile around 400 AD, other immigrant peoples had begun to move into the region south of the Limpopo.[27] These 'Early Iron Age' cultivators spread along the well-watered eastern regions, both along the coast and west of the Drakensberg. A natural frontier was imposed between these Proto-Bantu-speakers on the one hand, and the Khoisan-speakers on the other, since little cultivation could occur west of isohyet twenty inches. Thus in terms of human geography the settlement of Southern Africa was remarkably similar to the distribution of its rainfall and plant-life.

A great deal of interaction and acculturation took place between the hunters, herders and cultivators. A form of clientship evolved; the San were employed by both the Khoi and Bantu-speakers to hunt and herd for them, and probably received milk, meat and trade items in exchange. Independant trade in beads, beaten copper sheets, iron arrow heads and specularite also grew up. Extensive inter-marriage contacts were established, especially between the San and Sotho/Tswana groups in the north. Often one would find San and Khoi kraals existing quite amicably together in the same region. According to Campbell:

> Kraals of Bushmen come and take up their residence in Coranna country as long as they please, without being considered intruders; and the Coranna do the same in the Bushman country, or in any of the other countries. In this way there is both a mixture of blood and of languages among the inhabitants of these regions. 28.

This interaction with the herders and cultivators resulted in the adaptation of some San in the Orange-Vaal area to herding. Burchell refers to 'stock-keeping Bushmen' on the Riet who were wealth.r then those further west,[29] and Campbell records a similar group of 'rich

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27. Carbon 14 dating has pushed back the period of Proto-Bantu expansion. In Zululand the earliest Iron Age settlement has recently been dated to 300 AD, which accords with dates from the Transvaal. Argus, 7/7/1977.

28. Campbell, Travels... (1815), p.173.

29. W.J. Burchell (edited by I. Schapera), Travels in the Interior of South Africa (London, 1953), v.I, p. 302.

Bushmen.'[30] In this area archaeologists have since uncovered stone 'kraals', which they do not attribute to the Koranna since the earliest mention of the arrival of these people on the Riet was only in 1829.[31] Indeed the San probably turned to herding in this area as an equally efficient subsistence strategy because the mixture of grass and karoo-veld allowed for good all-the-year-round grazing and hence a more settled existence.[32] It was the pasture of this area which the trek-boers were later to covet from the Griquas.

But another characteristic of contact between these peoples of Southern Africa was conflict. The San soon established themselves as notorious cattle thieves and this almost became a racial characteristic. For their part the San made little differentiation between those herds provided by the bounty of nature and those placed in man's keeping. The depredations, according to Colonel Collins, afforded:

> them opportunities of distinguishing themselves by exploits that may obtain the applause of their little society; for it is said that on the death of a chief of a kraal the bravest generally obtains command of it; an honour, however, that confers but little authority on him, except on their expeditions, which he is therefore naturally inclined to multiply.33

The Khoi and Bantu-speakers met the challenge with fierce reprisals. It became a favourite occupation of the Thlaping to immitate attacks on the 'Roa',[34] those 'ox-eaters'.[35] And it was not always evident who had the upper hand, in spite of the diminutive stature of the San; apparently the Thlaping were once so intimidated by the hunters that on

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30. Campbell, Travels... (1822), v.II, p.287.

31. H.J.B. Humphreys, 'The Type R Settlements...of the Riet River Valley' (Unpub. M.A. Thesis, U.C.T., 1972), p.14.

32. Ibid., p.35.

33. Col. Collins in D. Moodie, The Record, p.34.

34. Campbell, Travels...(1822), v.I, p.100.

35. Thompson, Op. cit., p.100.

one occasion when the San had captured their cattle they asked for pots to boil them in.[36] Yet the San were not so much depised for being cattle-thieves as such, since cattle-raiding was a traditional pastime for all the indigenous peoples of South Africa; the real source of aversion seems to have been the fact that they made no attempt to raise the stock but instead consumed the animals straight away. Moreover, there was a widespread belief that when cattle and sheep were given out in the beginning of the world, the San were excluded from the privilege - all they were allotted were locusts and honeybees.[37]

While the San were only pitted against the Khoi they were unlikely to suffer great losses since their weaponry and technology did not differ to any large degree. Although the greater social cohe sion of the large Khoi clans probably enabled them to evict many San from the coastline, the Dutch, on their arrival in the Cape, still found pockets of hunters living amongst the Khoi. Generally, however, their access to the rich marine resources of the coast was restricted, and they were therefore forced to rely more on the barren inland regions. The same was true of the San occupying the middle and lower reaches of the Orange River, where Khoi who became known as 'Koranna' settled.

But the greatest threat came from the Bantu-speakers, whose superior physical strength and weaponry enabled them almost totally to evict the San from the more favourable eastern regions of Southern Africa. Many were forced to find subsistence in the Drakensberg Mountains; others were compelled to move further west into the Cape Thirstland.

Therefore, even at the time of the arrival of the Dutch, the Cape Thirstland had become an area of retreat; already the San were, to an

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36. Ibid., p.32.

37. Smith, Op.cit., p.178-9. Even today the San are looked upon by Bantu-speakers with disdain. In a recent article in The Argus (25/5/1977) it was reported from Windhoek that '... a Bushman child is likely to get a hiding on the playground if he is presumptuous enough to put his hand up before the Black pupils when teacher asks a question.'

extent 'boxed in'. But they still had a vast track of territory and a wide variety of resources to utilize. With the arrival of the Dutch, and the subsequent northward expansion of both the trekboers and independent groups of Khoi/Coloureds, the hunters watched both their land and its resources being steadily engulfed by this colonial onslaught. The destruction, incapsulation and withdrawal of the San quickened.

The Northward Expansion of White and Khoi/Coloured Colonists.

The Dutch who established farms in the environs of the Cape Peninsula in the seventeenth century, suffered as much from the San raids on their stock as the Khoi and Bantu-speakers had before them. Even as late as the 1770's robberies were still committed in the Stellenbosch area by the hunters.[38] But as population pressures grew and the quest for new farms became more urgent, the zones of the conflict between the Whites and the San shifted and a type of guerrilla warfare developed that was different in character from simple cattle-raids and reprisals. For in the 1750's the trekboers spread over the Cape Folded Belt into the Great Karoo as far north as the mountains of the Great Escarpment, and according to P.J. van der Merwe, this was the true hunter frontier.[39]

From their earliest arrival the trekboers exploited this southern area of the Thirstland on a seasonal basis.[40] The slopes of the mountains of the Great Escarpment, especially the eastern ranges such as the Camdeboo and Sneeuwberg, provide good grazing for stock, but only in summer; for in the late autumn, winter and early spring the phosporous and protein content of mountain grassland decreases, causing a sharp decline in the quality of the grazing. Karoo shrub on the other hand, although it has a low carrying capacity, can sustain stock all the year

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38. No.50 of 1835 p.19: Extracts from the Notes of Mr P.B. Bocherds;

39. Die Noordwaarste Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek (1770 - 1842) (The Hague, 1937), p. 10.

40. Burchell, Op.cit., Vol. I, p. 148; G. Thompson, Op.cit., p. 45.

round. Moreover, by removing to the plains in winter the trekboers could avoid the harsh winter weather in the mountains, whilst by returning to the mountains in summer they could escape the horse distemper which raged over the plains in the hot season. If, as seems likely, the hunters followed a similar pattern, if they relied on the mountains as a source of water and food in the spring and early summer, and then moved back onto the plains as the summer rains replenished water supplies and grazing for the herds of wild animals, they would have found themselves in more or less constant competition with the trekboers.

Yet even in the 1770's it was by no means clear that the trekboers would be able to evict the San. In 1774 the Company Government found it necessary to change the protection of the border districts by appointing thirteen veld corporals whose responsibility it was to protect the border farmers; since they themselves were farmers it was reasonable to assume they would hold the cause dear. Although the Government did not want any unnecessary bloodshed, from this period onwards they were determined to deal with the robbers with force. By 1777 the Government had given up all hope of peace, and Governor van Plettenberg's visit to the border districts in 1778 convinced him that systematic extermination was the only way to deal with them.[41] The figures tell their own story of what ensured: In August and September of 1787 five commandos went to the Graaff Reinet district and killed 300 San, taking 90 prisoner;[42] between December 1787 and February 1778 six commandos penetrated the Seekoerivier and Bamboesberg area, shooting 186 San and capturing 22;[43] in 1791 two commandos were sent out and one killed 300, taking 15 prisoner.[44] P.J. van der Merwe has estimated that in the last ten years of Company

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41. Van der Merwe, Op.cit., p.41.

42. Ibid., p.48.

43. Ibid., p.49.

44. Ibid., p.50.

rule an average of 250 San a year were shot by official commandos. As reports were not always recorded, the figure is probably too low.[45]

Total war was waged on the San not only because of the cattle-raiding problem. Khoi servants were hard to come by in these regions, and the San were found to make good herdsmen because of their intimate knowledge of the veld. The farmers also found it was better to capture the children, who were subsequently distributed amongst them, than the adults, who refused to stay with them all year round. On occasion the farmers attacked San kraals solely to capture the children, although sometimes the hunters offered their children to the trekboers themselves. Most members of a hunting and gathering band are required to contribute to the subsistence effort, and economic viability depends on a fine balance between the generations, with younger persons steadily replacing those who had become too old to work. The loss of so many children could only have meant the eventual disintegration of many bands.

By the time of the First British Occupation in 1795, the whites had effectively broken the back of San resistence. Even so, the raids continued, and in the middle of 1795 most of the northern border areas of Graaff-Reinet were stripped of white inhabitants.[46] The English Government realised that power had been given to those most likely to abuse it, and the hunters had only been rendered more hostile. The only way, it seemed, to settle the border, was to give the San stock and teach them to become herders. In July, 1978 Governor McCartney issued the necessary instructions for subscriptions of sheep to be collected from the farmers of the Hantam and Roggeveld; he also ordered that the hunters' children were not to be taken from them as slaves or servants, and that a sufficient district between the Zak River

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45. Ibid., p. 64.

46. Ibid., p. 67.

and Kareeberg should be set aside for them.[47]

However, no organized centre for the collection of cattle was made, and it was left largely to the initiative of individual farmers. A certain measure of peace was achieved in the Graaff-Reinet area in the period 1804-28 but only through the personal efforts of the Stockenstroms. They distributed stock, tightened controls over commandos and constantly brought atrocities committed against the San to the attention of the Government.

Attempts beyond the border to induce the San to give up their hunting life and adopt a Christian, settled existence were left largely to missionaries. However they met with little success: J.J. Kicherer opened a mission station on the Zak River but abondoned it in 1806 and the stations at Toverberg and Hephziban were closed in 1818. Although Toverberg was closed because the teacher 'misconducted himself',[48] the principal reason was because the San, in true hunter fashion, insisted on dispersing when food failed.[49]

Although Burchell, on his journey through 'Bushmanland', came across some 'Bushmen' herding a few oxen and goats just beyond the colonial boundary,[50] and although many San had turned to stock-keeping in the Riet River area, by and large they maintained their hunting and gathering existence. Undoubtedly many wished, as Stow maintained, to preserve the freedom of their wandering life,[51] and did not attach any value to stock-keeping; yet the superior value which the Bantu and Khoi-speakers attached to their own mode of existence did, to some extent, rub off on

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47. No. 50 of 1835, Plac. 14/8/1798, p. 22.

48. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa (London, 1908), Vol. I, p. 438.

49. Ibid.

50. Burchell saw no more than five or six oxen, as many sheep and at least a hundred goats. Op.cit., v.II, p. 41.

51. The Native Races. p.215.

the San. Apparently because they felt they were excluded from the distribution of animals when they were given out in the beginning of the world, they considered themselves an ill-used people, and therefore made up the injustice by stealing.[52] When Campbell asked one 'Bushmen' what he would like most in the world he replied 'cattle and sheep!'[53] But clearly a major reason whey they did not turn to herding was because herding in this part of the country was less reliable and harder work than hunting and gathering. Moreover, they would have become as vulnerable to San attack as any other herding folk.

Meanwhile the trekboer advance into hunter territory continued apace. Although in 1800 raids had become so bad that farmers were almost compelled to flee the Roggeveld,[54] by 1806 the Coup and Nieuwveld together had about 140 white inhabitatns, in 1812 412, and by 1815 the number had swollen to 699.[55] In 1808 a veldcornet was appointed to the district. The Boer invasion of the north-eastern area round the Seekoeirivier was now taking place on such a scale that in 1824 the colonial boundary was extended to the Orange River.

At the end of the eighteenth century other nomadic peoples were spreading north. Various Khoi/Coloureds ('Bastards'), to escape conscription and increasing racial discrimination, fled the Colony first to the excellent grazing of the Kamiesberg,[56] and thence to the Orange River. Some of these Khoi/Coloureds thereupon pursued a wandering, predatory existence as banditti. Such were Afrikander, father and son, who fell upon Namaquas, Damaras and San alike, robbing the herders of their stock, and the hunters of their children. But

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52. Smith, Op.cit., p. 178-9.

53. Travels (1815), p.144.

54. Van der Merwe, Op.cit., p. 84.

55. Ibid., p. 12.

56. See Map II.

some San, Korana and Tswana joined the banditti, and by 1823 Afrikander the Younger could muster three hundred men and two hundred muskets.[57]

Other Khoi/Coloureds, including the wealthy Kok and Barends families, spread east along the Orange to escape the depredations of the marauders. In 1800 Barend Barends invited the London Missionary Society to send missionaries to live amongst them, and in 1801 the Revs. Anderson and Kramer joined them at Klaarwater, which was named Griquatown in 1813. Because this area was transitional and mixed Karoo,[58] a more settled existence was possible, while limestone springs allowed for a certain amount of cultivation.

From the first the Griquas began to cultivate a sense of superiority over their Korana, Tswana and San neighbours. But soon familial, heredity and political tensions became manifest amongst the Griquas, which found expression over the question of the treatment of San. For Griqua commandos were systematically slaughtering the hunters living in the area, and Chief Waterboer, himself of San extraction, urged by the missionaries, attempted to put a stop to this. Partly because the Griquas resented these efforts, many seceded from the main body and became known as 'Bergenaars.' They were then able to prey on the San without any restraint.

Because the missionaries were so caught up in the political conflict amongst the Griquas, and most of our information comes from their records, it is difficult to know exactly what treatment the San received from the Khoi/Coloureds. Campbell reported in 1822 that the Koks and Barends were treating the San well; they were shooting game and ploughing land for them, giving them wheat and asking permission to graze cattle on their land.[59] Moffat stated that since Waterboer had been chief good feeling between the Griquas and the San had been cultivated, that

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57. G. Thompson, Op.cit., p.291

58. See Map II.

59. Travels (1822), Vol. II, p. 240 - 250.

the San in their service were being treated well, and although a slight distinction was still observed between the two peoples, the tendency was to assimilate.[60]

In spite of these reports, other testimonies give a contrary picture. When G. Thompson was in Griquatown in 1823, he was not aware that any conciliatory methods had been adopted, and during his stay a commando had only just returned having shot seven San and taken ninety prisoners.[61] Stockenstrom said he found few San living with the Koks, and he believed they ran as much risk of starving amongst the Griqua (in which case they would steal and almost certainly be killed) as in their own kraal.[62] Stockenstrom also wrote to the Colonial Office on May 14, 1827, reporting that the Griquas had declared all the country beyond the Orange to be theirs and that they would exterminate the hunter bands at the least provocation.[63]

Another threat to the San came from the east. Campbell mentions that about eight years previous to his journey, the cattle and sheep belonging to the 'rich Bushmen' living in the Riet River area was carried off by 'Caffres', and these San stock-keepers subsequently dispersed.[64] Then, in the upheavals caused by the Difiqane, many San in the 1820's and 1830's fell prey to various refugee Bantu-speakers, and the Riet River area was left depopulated for the Griquas to settle there and later the Boers.

Thus in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the San had to sustain bombardment from all sides. They met the challenge in a variety of ways. We have seen that by and large they did not take to independent

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60. No. 50 of 1835, p.126 - 129. 'Evidence of Mr. Moffat, a Missionary... at Latakoo', 20/4/1824.

61. Ibid., p. 134.

62. Ibid., p. 133, Stockenstrom's Report... upon the State of the Griqua, 13/9/1820.

63. Ibid.,

64. Cited in Humphreys, Op.cit., p. 64.

stock-keeping, even though their knowledge of their environment equipped them well. They do not appear to have willingly entered the service of the trekboers and Khoi/Coloureds, at least not on a permanent basis, although some did and became assimilated. The two main alternatives then were resistance and/or withdrawal.

When frequent and vehement attacks were launched against the San in the 1770's, they banded together in uncharacteristically large numbers to meet them.[65] But, to some extent, the relations between neighbouring bands appear to have become more inflexible.

In defending their territory they tended to become more isolationist than unified in their resistance. Andrew Smith was told that:

> In the early time of which he (the informer) spoke, it was not uncommon for the inhabitants to repair, with the permission of the owners of another [territory], in quest of support when the want of timely rains had rendered their own comparatively unproductive, but now sanction for such a proceeding was never to be obtained, and if it was otherwise attempted, it would be a certain source of war. 66

The San had no sense of national identity - those who became servants to the Khoi/Coloureds and Boers were often used to discover the whereabouts of hostile parties. Often if a robber was caught and a farmer would show him mercy, those San in his emply would implore his death.[67]

In spite of their resistance, the San were continually forced to withdraw further and further into the very heart of the Cape Thirstland, the area adjacent to the Hartebeest River, this most desert region in an arid world. Even so, because of the nature of their subsistence they were still able to eke out a meagre existence. The elasticity in the

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65. J. Barrow, An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798. (London, 1801), v. I, p. 307.

66. Smith, Op.cit., p.180.

67. Ibid.

bonds between the members in each band enabled constant re-grouping to take place, and in this manner many refugees must have been absorbed without conflict.

But their life was no longer easy. Encircled by the trekboers in the south and east, the Griquas, Karanas and banditti in the north, and the Namaquas and the Khoi/Coloured of the Kamiesberg to the west, the San were caught in a vice-grip. Now subjected to all the fluctuations of the weather, the hunters were not easily able to move to the mountain areas, or the Orange River to find alternative subsistence. Furthermore the game was fast disappearing and the veld ruined by over-grazing. Although the San always appeared to be in a 'miserable condition' to the early travellers there seems to have been ground for Stockenstrom's concern that the San were actually starving to death, and that depredations grew worse in times of drought because of actual need.[68] Barrow was also told that before the colonists arrived the hunters had plenty of food, but that now they had difficulty finding any.[69]

Yet the brief, uneasy sanctuary the San found in the Hartebeest River area was not to last. From the 1830's the Khoi/Coloureds, pushed from behind by the trekboers, began to move over the colonial boundary and to penetrate the 'Bushmanland'[70] region. And the further north they trekked, the more distant the sound of their guns grew to the Government in Cape Town.

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68. No. 50 of 1835, p.81 A. Stockenstrom → J. Baird, 7/2/1822.

69. Barrow, Op.cit., v. I, 398-9.

70. Although the early travellers used the term 'Bushmanland' indiscriminately, by the 1850's it was thought to occupy the region roughly described in Map 1.

CHAPTER II

BUSHMANLAND, 1830 - 1860, AND THE ARRIVAL OF LOUIS ANTHING.

> 'I may mention that when I explained to a Bushman what my function was, he said he had never known that there was so great a judge on earth, one who was a greater judge than his master.'
>
> (L. Anthing, Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand, 1862) 1

It was in the 1830's that colonists first started moving into the Trekveld and Zak River region in any great numbers. They were chiefly Khoi/Coloureds, who fled the Colony either to establish or preserve their independence from white domination and increasing racial discrimination. Here they trekked from fountain to fountain, returning to the Kareeberg and Rhenosterberg when the summer heat had dried up the pasturage. By the end of 1840 Rhenish missionaries had settled at Amandelboom to teach the Khoi/Coloureds of the Western Kareeberg , and in 1847 a missionary arrived to settle amongst those of the Eastern Kareeberg . Yet no adequate system of dividing the land was provided by the Government - the Khoi/Coloureds therefore advanced on the hunters' territory and their fountains without hindrance from officials in Cape Town.

The situation was exacerbated by Sir Harry Smith's annexation, in December 1847, of all the north-western regions as far as the

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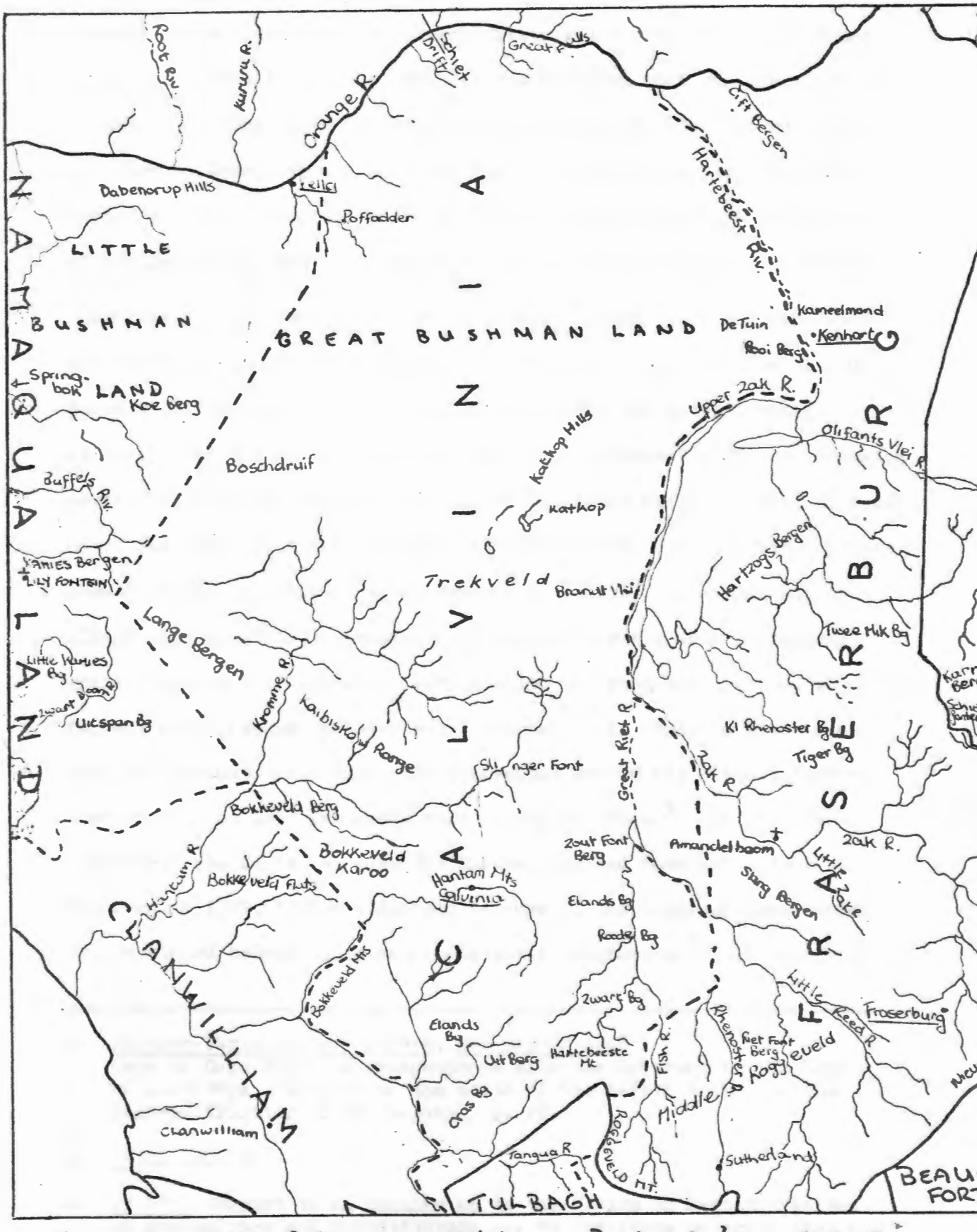
1. CO 444 Arrears Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates: Aborigines and Diamond Fields, 1962: L. Anthing — Colonial Office, 8/5/1862.

MAP 1:
'BUSHMANLAND'

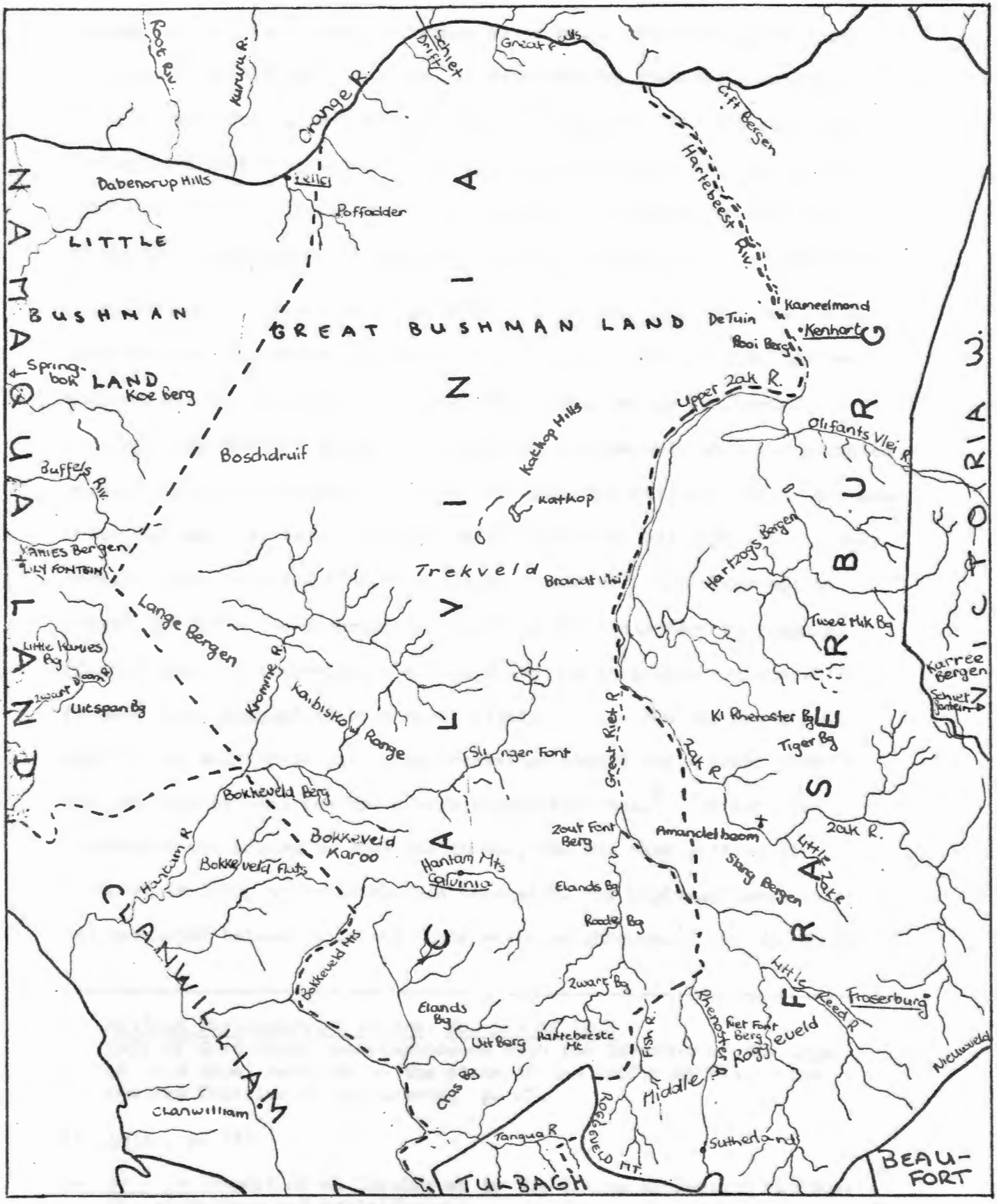


From 'The Cape Colony in Military Districts' in G56-'80 Report from the Commandant-General of the Colonial Forces for 1879.

MAP 1:
'BUSHMANLAND'

From 'The Cape Colony in Military Districts' in G56-'80 Report from the Commandant-General of the Colonial Forces for 1879.

MAP I:
'BUSHMANLAND'



From 'The Cape Colony in Military Districts' in G56-'80 Report from the Commandant-General of the Colonial Forces for 1879.

Orange.[2] The northern boundary was, at this time, completely vague and random; it was felt that the Orange River would give the Colony clear geographic definition. Besides, it was believed that the annexation of this territory, some 500 000 miles in extent and 'for the most part as barren a desert as can be found upon the earth's crust,' which only contained some 'Bastards' and 'pure Bushmen' who resided on the banks of the Zak River, would not involve the Government in extra expenditure.[3]

Ironically, the Government was to find that this 'useless' area would soon become a substantial drain on the Treasury. By the time of the annexation, the trekboer invasion of the region was in full swing, although they did not occupy the region on a permanent basis but migrated periodically to the Kareeberg when the rains had fallen. Most of these boers had farms in the Onder Roggeveld and Hantam, but some led a purely nomadic life, trekking from fountain to fountain.[4] In order not to offend the boers the Government recognised the whole area as communal grazing ground ('trekvelden') within which the Khoi/Coloured and white farmers were presumed to have equal rights.[5] In 1846 the Government had decided that those using the Trekvelden should pay a small licence fee but even by 1859 few boers were paying any fees.[6] In 1855 the Government was forced to move the Xhosas, who had been settled at Pramberg in 1839, to Schietfontein because of the unpleasantness which had developed between them and their white neighbours.[7] If the Khoi/

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2. British Parliamentary Papers, No. 969 of 1848
Cape of Good Hope: Correspondence with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes on the Eastern frontier of the Colony, p. 22.

3. Ibid., p. 23.

4. G7 -'59 Report of an Inquiry as to the Claims of Certain Natives... of Amandelboom and Schietfontein ... to the lands on which they are located: Report of Mr. Surveyor Auret, Dec. 1856, p.4.

5. J.S. Marais, Op.cit., p. 84.

6. Ibid., p. 86.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

Coloureds wanted to buy land they had to do so in competition with the white farmers, and they, like the Xhosa, gradually lost their land to the boers, and by 1863 the mission congregations consisted mainly of white farmers.[8]

The Government had little control over developments taking place in this remote region; nor did they expend the time or money to mete out the land on an equitable basis. If little attention was paid to the claims of the Khoi/Coloureds, none at all was given to those of the San. The annexation of the north-west sealed their fate. As one Coloured informer told the Government Surveyor Auret;

> 'In former years, we suffered much from the Bushmen, and were the bulwark of the country. This was before it was annexed to the Colony. The country has since been clear of Bushmen, with the exception of three or four thefts having occurred, when thirty or forty head of cattle were taken each time.' 9.

Further north-east on the northern banks of the Vaal, certain boers had been gradually extending their settlement westward, evicting both Korana and San after many fierce skirmishes.[10] In the Orange River area itself the San had become almost sub servient to the Korana because the latter had obtained guns, and it was feared by R. Moffat, a Government Land Surveyor, that if the Korana felt disposed to annoy travellers or settlers, they would employ the hunters to help them [11] - an accurate prediction, as it turned out, in view of the Korana wars which broke out in 1868 and 1878.

Further west, by the 1850's, the San had almost been completely subdued

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8. Ibid.

9. G7 - '59, p.12.

10. G1 - '58 Report of a survey of a Portion of the Orange River, Eastward of Little Namaqualand, p.6.

11. Ibid., p.7.

by the Namaquas. The land formerly occupied in the hilly country adjacent to the Orange River was now occupied by Khoi; in 1855 there was only a band of San numbering some forty-eight still living independently.[12] This small band was under the 'so-called Bushman chief T'Kamghaap,' who claimed descent from San 'chiefs', and he laid claim to an extensive tract of land running along the Orange River as country used by his forefathers.[13] But T'Kamghaap wore European clothing, kept and preserved a small flock of goats, and C.D. Bell, the Surveyor-General, came to the conclusion that:

> Long acquaintance with the minute, distinctive characteristics of aboriginal Southern African features, induces me to class him and his people, not with the Bushmen, but with the Hottentots...' [14].

By 1855 the Government had realised that this north-western region of the Cape had become so populated with Dutch and Khoi/Coloureds that new magistracies would have to be established. Previously, the area had fallen within the purview of the magistrates of Clanwilliam, Worcester and Beaufort West. The circle now set up at Calvinia included 12 256 Coloureds and 1 173 Dutch and at Kommagas in Namaqualand 3 767 Coloureds and 680 Dutch. This population was thinly spread, however, since the Calvinia division stretched over some 26 000 square miles, and the Namaqualand division over some 1 900 square miles.[15]

But it was in the decade after 1855 that the north-western region was to suffer its greatest population influx and growth. This is clearly evidenced in a comparison between the census of 1856 and 1865, both of

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12. G8 - '55 Reports of the Surveyor-General C.D. Bell Esq., on the Copper Fields of Little Namaqualand, p.8.

13. Ibid., p.4.

14. Ibid.

15. G12 - '55 Abstract of Returns Relating to Villages Recommended as the seats of New Magistracies from the CCs, in reply to Circular 2/11/1854. For fuller detail of the returns from the Beaufort and Clanwilliam divisions, see Appendix A, which also gives the number of law-enforcing officers, who, as we shall see, figured prominantly as perpetrators of crimes against the San.

which were considered to be fairly accurate for the Clanwilliam district (which for census purposes included Calvinia.)[16] The white population of Clanwilliam, Namaqualand and Calvinia more than doubled in nine years, while the Coloured population trebled; in Fraserburg, Victoria West and Beaufort the White population almost doubled and that of the Coloureds nearly quadrupled.[17] Even by April 1858 it was considered necessary to establish another magistracy at Fraserburg, formerly in the Beaufort division.

In the 1850's, in the hilly country in the bight of the Orange, and on the banks of the Hartebeest River, there were still independent San bands living a hunting and gathering existence. Here there still abounded kudu, gemsbok, hartebeest, ostrich and a few eland and zebra.[18] On 26 August, 1856, R. Moffat saw -

> a small horde of Bushmen hunting springboks, hundreds of which they contrived to surround on the edges of precipitous rocks, and thus secure a great number. 19

But already at this time about five or six Coloured families had moved into the region between Pella and the Hartebeest River.[20] Then, in 1859 the trekboers began to advance on the Hartebeest,[21] but only in times of drought, after which time they returned to Calvinia and Hantam. By 1863 there were a fair number of Khoi/Coloureds, Xhosa and San residing in the area and by 1866 there were more than two hundred families living

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16. G20 - '66 Parliament Legal Council Papers: Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1865, p.1.

17. Ibid., pp. 2-3. For a fuller account of these returns, both for people and stock, see Appendix B.

18. G1 - '58, p. 5.

19. Ibid., p. 2.

20. Ibid.

21. CO 444: Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/2/1863.

PLATE II.

Women Digging for Roots. When the ground was particularly hard, the San used weighted sticks.

(from A.M. Duggan-Cronin, Op. cit., PLATE XII.)

there.[22]

The magistrates of Calvinia, Fraserburg and Namaqualand were very far removed from Bushmanland; judging from their correspondence, they knew little of what was going on there. Not many cases involving the San were ever brought before them, for the distance to be travelled and the expenses to be met were too great.[23] Consequently the Government knew even less, and seemed to have less communication with the Rhenish Missionaries than those of the London Missionary Society. The land problem was only ever thought of in terms of the Khoi/Coloured and Dutch struggle; the aboriginal hunters had almost ceased to exist for the Cape Town Government.

It is likely that the Government would have been happier had the situation been left to resolve itself in obscurity. But a letter dated 13 September 1861[24] arrived at the Attorney-General's office from the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, Louis Anthing. It concerned a statement made by one Jacob Fluik, a 'Bushman' formerly in the employ of a Coloured farmer. At the preparatory examination, Fluik told Anthing that many of his countrymen, among them several of his relations, had, at different times, been killed by border farmers. He took the magistrate to the site where his wife, his child and his uncle had been killed, and Anthing found human bones.

Anthing had been in the Colonial Service since 1850, and Resident Magistrate at Springbokfontein since April, 1859.[25] It deeply disturbed him that such crimes had been committed against humanity:

> To assert as the Border Colonists do that the natives of the interior/ i.e. the Bushmen/ cannot be brought under civilizing influences is to pronounce their doom - But it is

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22. A8 - '66. Report of a Select Committee appointed to Consider and Report on a Petition from Bastards and others at a Rhenish Missionary Station p.2.

23. G48 - '60 Report of a Commission to Inquire whether New Magistracies are necessary.

24. 1/SKB 5/2/1 Papers despatched by Resident Magistrates, Namaqualand Oct. 1855 - Oct. 1862.

25. Cape of Good Hope Legislative Council, 1861. Q 64-65.

> a libel upon the human race. The habits of the Bushmen are no doubt very barbarous but though I have come in contact with full three or four altogether, it has so happened that I have witnessed traits of character which evinced a nobleness of soul that made me feel, unmixed with my own sense of superiority, that he and I are of the same race.,

especially under the Flag of England.[26] Consequently he decided to follow up the case and examine 'Ou Booi', a witness Fluik had recommended.[27]

According to Ou Booi, sometime after the extension of the Colony there was a large commando headed by Van Neel (a Khoi/Coloured and a personal friend of Anthing's), now Field-Cornet of Pella and at that time Corporal of Pella. It was this commando which killed Jacob Fluik's uncle. A smaller commando composed of 'Europeans', and 'Bastards' with Hottentot servants (the 'Europeans' being Dutch, the 'Bastards' those born within the Colony and the 'Hottentots' those without) had also gone out against 'tame Bushmen', servants who had appropriated sheep, while Van Neel's commando had gone out against the 'wild Bushmen' of the Hartebeest.

It would seem that Anthing had not been aware that such commandos were being sent out against the San. The real problem, as Anthing saw it, was the remoteness of the region from magisterial jurisdiction, and he recommended that an officer be sent out to enquire into the state of affairs in that part of the Colony, using these reports of atrocities as an excuse.

The Attorney-General, William Porter, like Anthing, felt that such crimes should not be allowed to be perpetuated in an area at least

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26. 1/SBK 5/2/1: Anthing - Colonial Office, 13/9/1861. When one remembers that many of Anthing's contemporaries regarded the San as little more than wild animals, the view expressed here is fairly 'enlightened'.

27. Unfortunately the original depositions could not be traced since the Criminal and Civil Proceedings for 1861 is missing from the Namaqualand Archives. However, Anthing himself describes them in fair detail in the letter cited above.

nominally under British rule, and he appointed Anthing in charge of an investigation to obtain evidence and make the accused ammenable. Porter had full confidence in Anthing; he decried it 'a fortunate thing for the ends of justice that it falls to the lot of a magistrate of your zeal, ability and thorough independence.'[28] Clearly, Porter did not lack enthusiasm for the cause:

> But if it happens that very many miserable Bushmen have been butchered, and this for acts, for which humane men would scarcely shoot their dogs, it behoves us, I conceive, to spare neither time nor money in discovering the facts and bringing the perpetrators to justice. 29

Yet, as will appear later, while Anthing regarded his 'Special Mission', as he termed it, as an attempt to establish some permanent order in the area, the Attorney-General seems to have viewed it solely as an expedition to round up the offenders. Further difficulties were to arise from the fact that Porter had given Anthing the go-ahead to 'spare neither time nor money' without having communicated these instructions to the Colonial Office. Only on 16 December was the plan of the projected trip communicated to the Colonial Secretary,[30] and even by January, 1862 Anthing had received no direct command from the Colonial office. On the 3 January he again asked, as he had on 6 December, whether he should undertake the duty and incur the necessary expenditure.

The Colonial Office in Cape Town was probably in some upheaval in January with the arrival of a new Governor, Sir Phillip Wodehouse, a man of limited colonial experience who unfortunately, arrived when self-

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28. A.G. 2164 Letter Book, General, May 1861 - Sept. 1864: Attorney General - Resident Magistrate, Namaqualand, 4/10/1861.

29. Ibid: Attorney General - Anthing, 218/10/1861.

30. Ibid: Attorney General - Anthing, 27/12/1861.

31. CO 4414: Anthing - Colonial Office.

government and separation for the Easterners were large issues, and who faced a growing deficit. Any extra spending, especially in an area so far removed from the main concerns of the day, was therefore to be avoided. Nevertheless, Mr. E.A. Judge was appointed as Acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand,[32] and on 12 February, Anthing started from Springbokfontein. He was never to be restored as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand again.

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32. AG 2164: Attorney General - Anthing, 27/12/1861.

CHAPTER III.

Anthing's First Sojourn in Bushmanland, Feb. 1862 - Jan. 1863.

> The past three years ... forms as it were a distinct epoch in the history of Bushman reverses. It is the period during which the Bastards and other farmers have been settled on the Hartebeest River. 1
>
> (L. Anthing, 1862).

Anthing set off with six European constables besides drivers and a boy to look after the horses, and travelled in the first instance beyond the boundary to Nisbet Bath to settle some matters with the chief of the Bondelswarts. He also did not wish to forewarn the persons he was to take proceedings against of his purpose. On 13 March he recrossed the Orange and proceeded to the Hartebeest River.[2]

On his way, Anthing met up with a White trader, J. Nicholson. It was his testimony that first made the magistrate aware that large scale massacres of the San had been perpetrated in the past decade, and still continued to the very present. Nicholson told him that when he first visited the western part of Bushmanland ten or twelve years previous, there were many San living there - now there were none. On his first journey to the Hartebeest River, he had travelled with 250 - 300 sheep and over 100 cattle and he had not been molested by San; on his next journey in 1859 he noticed that Khoi/Coloureds had moved into the area and there was only one kraal of San left there. Just in the last three years the San had been all but exterminated - those who were not killed became either servants of the Khoi/Coloureds or fled to 'a

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1. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 10/8/1862.
2. A 39 - '63, p. 2.

mountain near the Orange River.'[3]

Anthing, from questioning the farmers and the San in the area,[4] subsequently uncovered more detailed descriptions of the crimes which had been perpetrated against the San. Apparently, about seven years before, a party of hunters stole an ox; they were afterwards encouraged to visit a 'Bastards' wagon to barter feathers, whereupon they were shot, and only two women escaped. The next day this 'Bastard' went to the house of Anthing's informant and shot his mother, but he was allowed to go free when he was recognised to be in the employ of Dutch farmers. In the same month a large number of Dutch farmers from the Bokkeveld and Hantam, headed by Caspar Nieuwoudt, Fieldcornet of the Bokkeveld, and Elias Nel Abelievoe, a Justice of the Peace and a leading man of wealth from Hantam, came to a place called 'Boschdruif'[5] and attacked a kraal of San, killing all except one man and some children, who were afterwards distributed amongst the farmers.

In the southern portion of Western Bushmanland, at Namies, similar occurrences took place. According to one witness:

> They surrounded the place during the night, spying the Bushman's fires. At daybreak the firing commenced, and it lasted until the sun was up a little way. The commando party loaded and fired, and reloaded many times before they had finished. A great many people (women and children) were killed that day. The men were absent. Only a few children escaped, and were distributed amongst the people composing the commando. The women threw up their arms, crying for mercy, but no mercy was shown them. Great sin was perpetrated that day. I was taken by my master to hold his horses. I did not join in the shooting. I had no gun. 6

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3. CO 444: J. Nicholson's Deposition, Anthing - Colonial Office 1/4/1862 Nicholson, when he refers to 'a mountain' probably means the Asbestos mountains.

4. Ibid : Anthing - Colonial Office, 8/5/1862

5. A Mr. Steenkamp, who took part in this commando, was willing to testify to its actions in court. CO 444 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 29/5/1863.

6. A 39 - '63. p. 10

Anthing reports other murders which took place on a lesser scale; how a San in the employ of Whites and Khoi/Coloureds was killed along with his wife and children for eating a ram and not offering enough feathers in repayment; how the Roggeveld farmers used to shoot San 'for the fun of the thing'; how they had once met three quietly going about their business, and when their backs were turned had shot them.[7]

According to Nicholson Khoi/Coloureds, Khoi and Xhosa from Schietfontein, Namaqualand, the Bokkeveld, Hantam, Roggeveld, the districts of Calvinia, Fraserburg, and Hope Town had all shared in the San's destruction.[8] By the time of his visit to Bushmanland, Anthing estimated the San population to be about 'five hundred souls.'[9]

Anthing stressed that the San had not only suffered decimation from being shot, but that, in many cases the hunters were starving to death. He called the 'Colonists intruders and usurpers of the Native lands'[10] and because of their encroachment, wild game had become scarce, and almost inaccessible; so had honey, grass-seed, roots and ostrich eggs.[11] Acocks has demonstrated the devastating effect domestic stock can have on the veld; while wild game eat a wider range of plant food, and only graze at water-holes intermittently, the selective preferences of sheep, and their continued grazing in one spot can soon transform the habitat into a desert.[12] Moreover, this 'zonal selective grazing' as Acocks

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7. Ibid., p. 7.

8. 'Nicholson's Deposition', Op. cit.

9. A 39 - '63 Theal cites Anthing's estimation without question (History of S.A. V, p.31). On another occasion Anthing estimated 1 000 San. But he stressed that such figures were pure guesswork. In travelling through Bushmanland he took a list of names of farmers and they amounted to 320. Nicholson estimated there must have been, in 1862, one hundred farms if only the water-places were taken into consideration. CO 4414: Anthing - Colonial Office, 1/3/1862.

10. CO 4414: Anthing - Colonial Office, 1/4/1862.

11. A 39 - '63. p. 4.

12. Acocks, Op. cit., p. 9.

PLATE III.

Women Burying Water in Sand for Storage. This procedure enabled the San to travel light, and to preserve water when it was available. Their slings, which they wore under one shoulder (see PLATE II), were mainly used for carrying their ostrich egg shells.

(from A.M. Duggan-Cronin, Op.cit., PLATE XX)

called it, all took place around the permanent fountains, so that the San lost their water as well. Locusts, too, had not appeared in years - thus hunger compelled them to steal. As servants of the 'Bastards' they hardly got more to ear; therefore 'The answer was that it is a fight with death either way.'[13]

Anthing was apparently shocked and horrified at the way the San had been treated, firstly because the crimes had been committed against fellow mankind and secondly in an area under the sovereignty of the Queen of England:

> I know right will that human life cannot be trifled with; that there is a Divine Command that we shall not murder - And I know equally well that an enlightened Government cannot countenance or overlook these things,[14]

He had become emotionally and personally committed to alleviating the plight of the San, as revealed in his voluminous correspondence, which is punctuated with numerous philosophic asides on the harsh treatment of the Coloured races by the colonists. On one occasion, after a particularly lengthly diversion, he apologised to the Colonial Office for 'forgetting the recognised bounds of the official style of communication' but trusted they would excuse him, for the subject was of 'more than a formal character.'[15]

The first step, he believed, to help the San, was not so much to arrest the offenders (for they were far too many to make this practical), but to protect the survivors and obviate the causes for any other irregularities. The best way of doing this was to provide a new

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13. CO 4414: Anthing - Colonial Office, 8/5/1862.

14. Ibid.: 1/4/1862.

15. Ibid.

magistracy, as he had suggested even before he left Springbok. Moreover, the land system was open to abuse. The provisions made at Amandelboom, Schietfontein and Loriesfontein for Coloured farmers to purchase land was insufficient for depasturing their land and consequently they moved into Bushmanland.[16] The system of leasing lands in Calvinia and Fraserburg (whereby any person naming a piece of ground in the Divisions could have the lease put up to auction without any enquiry into native claims) had resulted in the wholesale removal of the San.[17] Anthing suggested instead the land be offered publicly on lease at a certain minimum rent which would bring in enough money for the establishment of a magistracy;

> But it is of the greatest importance that the land should not lie open for public use - The grass is being completely destroyed.
>
> Rains have now fallen and with some precautionary measures, there is some hope of retrieving the condition of the veld which by all accounts was magnificant some two or three years ago. 18

Some land should be set aside for the San, who should be placed in two or three different localities because there were different 'tribes' of 'Bushmen'.[19] Cattle and sheep must be given them to alleviate the shortage of game, and the money spent on them taken from the proceeds of the sale of the land.[20]

Meanwhile, while Anthing was in Bushmanland, events did not remain in abeyance. In May 1862 Anthing reported that the situation was worsening, and the San were becoming desperate. A mare and foal had been stolen,

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16. A39 - '63, p. 8.
17. CO 444 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/2/1863
18. Ibid: 10/8/1862.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid: 1/4/1862.

and a commando sent out by the farmer in reparation. Anthing told him that he would apprehend the thieves - the farmer was startled and quickly assured Anthing that there might have been some mistake in the report of the theft. In the meantime he sent to warn the commando to disperse, which they did, but they still intended to resume when Anthing had left, for it was known he had to return to Springbok for two weeks to collect instructions waiting there from the Colonial office. Thereupon Anthing issued a warning that anyone taking part in a commando would be made liable to the law, and he announced that he would leave six constables who would arrest anyone who proceeded against the San.[21]

At the head of this robber band was one Hercules. His parents, brothers and sisters, with the exception of one brother, had been killed at Boschdruif. After this he had worked for Khoi/Coloureds, but they had killed his son when it was discovered he had stolen a sheep.[22] Anthing arranged to meet Hercules at a rendezvous, but an accident prevented him from reaching it - just as well, for he later learned that Hercules had intended to kill him.[23] Anthing set out for Springbokfontein, but while he was on the road a message reached him that two head of cattle had been killed by arrows the night before. He realised he would have to return to the Hartebeest to restore order, and in the meantime requested from the Government a corps of about forty men to arrest the perpetrators of the injustices against the San.[24]

On the 22 June, after Anthing had returned to Bushmanland, he received a note from a Coloured farmer, who was squatting some fifteen miles away, that his two grandsons had been killed by San. He rode to the spot and found the bodies pierced with arrows; the cattle had been left untouched

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21. Ibid., 8/5/1862.

22. A39 - '63, p.11.

23. A39 - '63, p. 11.

24. Ibid., p. 5.

which seemed to indicate that the crime had a different intent than theft for food. Anthing gathered a commando together which, however, would not co-operate in inducing the San to surrender, but urged the magistrate to kill the offenders. Anthing disbanded the commando and engaged certain San to talk to the band and arrest the two who had been charged with the murders. This was effected and on Anthing's assurance that justice would be done, the band dispersed.[25] It was this same band which was under Hercules' leadership, and it was his second son, of eleven or twelve years old, who, in cahoots with another San, had been responsible for the murder.[26]

In the meanwhile San had killed a Damara in the same vicinity, but Anthing did not apprehend the murderers.

The thefts continued. A report reached Anthing that the cattle-post belonging to Jan Symon had been attacked, and all the cattle, sheep, and horses as well as a gun, shot-belt, and powder-horns were carried off. Having received no instructions from the Government, Anthing felt he could not act and advised the Colonist to return to a more protected part of the Colony. But a week later he received a report of an attack on another post, that of Mr. Berning's, a trader from Cape Town. A bullet, probably fired from a gun taken at Symon's, fatally injured one of the farmers. Before Anthing could reach the scene of this disturbance, the San had made another inroad on the cattle of another post and had carried off some forty head. A commando attacked them, wounding two San, while one of the commando party was wounded by an arrow.[27]

Anthing sent word that he was a magistrate come to administer justice, and he managed to induce the robbers to surrender. He took eighty prisoners, including women and children, and marched them to Kenhardt

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25. A39 - '63., pp. 3 - 4.

26. Ibid., p. 11.

27. A39 - '63, p. 6.

(his base) where he examined them and sent the depositions to the Attorney-General. There were now a hundred prisoners at Kenhardt, including a 'Bastard' and San responsible for the murder of a family called Lourens - they had nothing to do with the independent San living on the Hartebeest.[28]

While Anthing had been marching his prisoners to Kenhardt, another matter had arisen. A Korana captain had come to him and claimed the land either side of the Orange, insisting that the colonists had no right to be there, and that Anthing had no authority. He refused to recognise the 1847 extension. But he agreed to join the operations involved in the arrest of the offending San, but when the magistrate put up a guard at the first halting place, the Korana captain put up his own. Anthing threatened to use force in the execution of his duty, and the captain had to yield since the magistrate had the superior force. But the Koranas asked Anthing to submit their case as regards the land to his Government. In consequence of this episode the magistrate asked most of the Colonists to remove from the Orange, which they complied with, but he warned the Government that this question must be looked into if bloodshed was to be avoided.[29]

By the end of 1862, Anthing believed that his actions in these matters had established a certain amount of peace in the district. He had had to work amongst people hostile and suspicious of his presence, but -

> A settlement had been formed in the very heart of a country in which the darkest deeds and the foulest injustice were perpetuated that can disgrace humanity anywhere and this under the proclaimed and recognised protection of the Flag of England. 30

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28. Ibid, p. 5.

29. CO 444 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/2/1863.

30. Ibid., 27/2/1863.

The San, before his arrival, had hardly been conscious of the fact that they were even nominally under the British Government;[31] Anthing remarked that it was strange that the murders which had occurred should have been committed at a time when attention was being prominently directed to them, for during the past twenty-four years he had heard of no such murders having been committed by them.[32] But through Anthing's intermediacy the San had 'submitted themselves wholly and they look with the utmost confidence to us (the British Government)' and were grateful for his interference on their behalf.[33]

In the long run, though, Anthing could only act within the bounds dictated by instruction from the Colonial Office. In all the events which had occurred since his arrival in Bushmanland, Anthing had perforce to act independently, using his own discretion (indeed the Attorney-General had given him this directive) since the post from Cape Town took weeks to arrive in Kenhardt and, the Colonial Office was reticent about answering his letters. Already by April 1862 he had run into trouble in his attempts to get the Government to grant expenditure. The Colonial Secretary (Rawson W. Rawson) had refused to send Anthing saddles and guns so that he was forced to purchase them in Namaqualand at a much higher price and inferior quality, and the expenditure for the Mission had already been £500, running at £100 a month, excluding the magistrate's own salary.[34] Already the expedition was well over the 'month or two' first contemplated. It was only on 2 July that Anthing received approval of the measures he had taken and new instructions. He was told by the Colonial Office to abandon any idea of arresting all those implicated, but should rather protect the survivors. In the meanwhile the Colonial Secretary endorsed the establishment of a

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31. Ibid., 8/5/1862.

32. Ibid., 10/8/1862.

33. Ibid., 17/2/1863.

34. Ibid., 1/4/1862.

magistracy, and ordered Anthing to remain in charge, incurring any necessary expense until a magistrate could be appointed.[35]

Anthing regarded this 6 June letter as a 'go-ahead' for the implementation of all the improvements he had envisaged. He had decided that Kenhardt was to be the new seat, and he began to build a gaol, a house for the magistrate, a small store-house for goods, and to sink wells. He made plans to set up a school, a fortnightly post, and requested a good medicine chest. He suggested the new division be named after the Governor.[36]

The Government was appalled by the expenses the magistrate consequently incurred. In a letter dated 9 August the Governor forbade Anthing to make the Government liable for any more, and admonished him for exceeding his instructions.[37] On 6 September the Colonial Secretary repeated that they were immensely displeased at the expenditure and that the magistrate must retrieve his error. Then, on the 18 October, the Colonial office wrote to Judge, the Acting Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand ordering him to send goods ordered by Anthing to Hondeklip Bay to be sold without loss, or to Springbok to be sold by public auction.[38]

The day before this, Anthing composed his reply to the Colonial Secretary. He professed himself to be 'disappointed' that a successor had not been appointed and indicated that the way his actions were subject to the approval or disapproval of the Governor was 'exceedingly trying'. He insisted that the goods he had ordered were necessary and

> were it necessary I should not grudge almost any sacrifice for the poor Bushman race whom, I am thankful it has come to pass, that I should have become acquainted with.

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35. Ibid., Colonial office - Anthing, 6/6/1862.

36. Ibid., Anthing - Colonial Office, 10/8/1862.

37. CO 3042 Letters Received from Resident Magistrates N-P, 1862.

38. CO 5043 Letter Book, Civil Country, v.19, Jan-July, 1862.

He asked to be relieved of his post 'as I would certainly decline continuing to have this responsible charge with my present imperfect understanding of the views of the Government.'[39]

On the 31 October the Colonial Secretary wrote that although Anthing was not to be relieved of his post, he must return to Springbokfontein with his prisoners and leave a responsible person in charge of the property at Kenhardt.[40] Anthing let most of his prisoners go, only retaining the murderers of the Lourens family, those who had killed the two young men near the Hartebeest and the San responsible for the fatality at Berning's post. But instead of returning to Springbokfontein according to his instructions, on the 9 February he arrived in Cape Town. With him he brought Hercules, Hercules' son and his accomplice in killing the two young Khoi/Coloureds, as well as a San who had been wounded in the skirmish at Berning's post.[41]

Anthing had brought the San to Cape Town in the hope they would be tried before the Supreme Court before the February session of Parliament.[42] He no doubt believed that the attention of the Government and the General public would be excited by their presence, and that the now waning interest in his mission would be restored. For his own pa t, for the sake of his own career, Anthing had come to Cape Town to explain his conduct, in particular that with regard to the Colonial Office's 6 June letter, he had not over-exerted his instructions.[43]

But the Attorney-General waived the prosecution against the San.[44]

In spite of this setback, Anthing doggedly set about writing his report

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39. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/2/1863.

40. A39 - '63, p. 7.

41. Ibid., p. 11.

42. Ibid., p. 12.

43. CO 4414: Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/2/1863.

44. A39 - '63., p. 12.

to Parliament even though the Colonial Office had rendered his position extremely humiliating. However, he was to find that the Government was more concerned with paying off the debts he had incurred than implementing his suggestions to alleviate the plight of the remaining San.

CHAPTER IV.

The Outcome of the Anthing Mission.

> I cannot but feel that the duty upon which I was employed has been the occasion to me of the loss of such reputation as a public functionary as it would have been my ambition to deserve.
>
> (L. Anthing, November 1864) [1]

Failure and Resignation.

Governor Wodehouse's speech at the opening of Parliament in 1863 did not make for a very auspicious beginning to the financial year. Because of the depressed state of the economy, the Members were told, the Government had been forced to borrow £60 000:

> In anticipation of what has now come to pass, every effort has for some months been made to curtail expenditure for the public service - to a degree which has, I believe, in some quarters found little favour. [2]

On 16 June, Anthing's report was laid before the House of Assembly. It was a carefully constructed document, thorough in treatment, outlining the state of affairs the magistrate had encountered in Bushmanland, the events which occurred during his stay there, and remedial suggestions. The Governor hoped, that in presenting it to the House, Parliament would vote the expense necessary to establish a magistracy at a convenient spot.[3]

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1. CO 3079 Letters from Civil Commissioners, C, 1865: Anthing - Colonial Office, 8 /11/1864.
2. A1 - '63, p.1: Speech by the Governor at the opening of the Fifth Session of the Second Parliament, 16/4/1863.
3. A39 - 163, p.1.

In July an item of £250 for 'expenses connected with the establishment of a magistracy in Bushmanland' and £4,000 for what the Mission had already cost was put before a committee-session on 'Supplementary Estimates.'[4] Most of the members baulked at voting such an enormous sum. Mr. R.M. Bowker considered the suggestion 'positively preposterous' and 'warned the committee not to admit the thin edge of the wedge by voting this sum.' He suggested that a roving Commissioner would be far more effective than a fixed magistracy. While the whole committee agreed that the suppression of crime in Bushmanland was necessary, they rejected the necessity of establishing a magistracy; the description of the item was altered to 'expenses connected with the suppression of crime in Bushmanland' and was deferred until the Governor had received a full description of the accounts. In other words, the problem was shelved.

Apart from a biting attack on Anthing's handling of the expedition in the Cape Argus, which will be dealt with later, the Report and the affairs in Bushmanland raised little comment outside Parliament. The debate in the House was considered 'two hours.... wasted in dreary talk about Bushmanland.'[5]

Anthing did not remain in Cape Town to witness the failure of his attempt to establish a magistracy and therefore peace and order in the north-west. Although he had originally planned to take a year's leave to return to England, he gave notice that he would resume his duties as Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand straight away, for he felt he could best continue to help the 'Bushmen people' from Springbokfontein.[6] But the Colonial Office pointed out that in terms of Judge's contract, he was to be employed

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4. Cape Argus, 9/7/1863: Debates of the House in Committee, 8/7/1863.

5. Cape Argus, 9/7/1863.

6. CO 3061 Letters received from Resident Magistrates M - O, 1863: Anthing - Colonial Office, 23/2/1863.

as Acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate a year after the Mission was ended to allow Anthing to take leave.[7]

Anthing returned to Bushmanland in May 1863 to close the Mission. As he was proceeding to Kenhardt starving San flocked to his cart and begged him to employ them. Apparently moved by their condition, he decided to remain in Bushmanland for the duration of his leave. He procured sheep and goats for the hunters until the springboks arrived, after which time he discharged them.

Meanwhile, during his leave of absence, Anthing's activities in Bushmanland had not gone without criticism. On 21 June 1864 Mr. St. John Boyes, M.L.A. for Clanwilliam, laid before the House of Assembly accusations against Anthing for illicit trading.[9] Boyes was promised that the charges would be investigated, and they were forwarded to Anthing. The Magistrate, of course, refuted the claims and replied that although goats and cows were obtained through barter for the starving San, nothing had been exchanged for money but for goods which had been purchased from his own savings and the contributions of friends. Moreover, the trading was not carried on by himself, but by a Mr. Blumberg, who held an unexpired licence.[10]

In November the Government wrote to Boyes requesting more information; he returned statements made by two farmers from Rietfontein, J.G. Nel and E.A. Nel, and a Justice of the Peace, J.C. Strauss. They testified that Anthing had traded vast quantities of brandy, sometimes supplied in buckets, to 'Hottentots', who consequently became intoxicated and ill-behaved, and that he had given San guns and gunpowder to shoot ostriches,

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7. CO 5045 Letter Book, Civil Country, v.21, Mar - Dec, 1863: Colonial Office - Anthing, 4/3/1863.

8. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 8/12/1864.

9. CCP 1/1/11 Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1864.

10. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 8/12/1864.

in order to obtain the skins for trade.[11] Anthing replied that these 'witnesses' had freely partaken of his food and drink, that the same was served to 'Hottentots', who were actually rich Coloureds, nothing was charged for, and everyone behaved in a decorous manner. Two guns were actually given to faithful 'Bushmen' on the understanding that any skins they brought in would be fairly paid for, and goats were given them with the stipulation that Anthing would be given half their increase.[12]

Although Anthing's reply satisfied the Governor, Boyes was determined to pursue the matter; besides, he had been piqued by the Colonial Secretary's rebuff in Parliament that he inferred charges against Government Officers which could not be substantiated.[13] On May 19 he enquired whether an investigation had been carried out, and whether the Government had received information from the Civil Commissioner of Fraserburg to the effect that a party, concerned with taking a census in that division, had been attacked by armed San who were thought to have obtained their guns from Anthing. The Colonial Secretary replied that no such information had been received, but an investigation had been made which revealed there was not a great deal in these charges.[14]

Boyes, by now, was pursuing Anthing with something like 'vindictive animus.'[15] On June 9 1865 the Cradock and Tarkastad Register reported that Anthing had 'repudiated with scorn' the imputations cast on his character, and this statement was subsequently taken over by the Cape Argus. Boyes indignantly wrote to the Cape Argus that this gave the

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11. CO 4416 Arrears: Miscellaneous and Heads of Departments, 1863 - 1866: Boyes - Colonial Office, 25/11/1864.

12. Ibid : Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/3/1865.

13. Ibid: Boyes - Colonial Office, 13/2/1865.

14. CCP 1/1/12 Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1865: 19/5/1865.

15. Eastern Province Herald, 27/6/1865.

general public the idea that he had levelled false accusations against Anthing.[16] Far from wanting to blame the Magistrate, who was a personal friend of his, Boyes laid the blame entirely at the Government's door, for the proceeds from such illicit trading (which was a violation of the Stamp Act and Gunpowder Ordinance) was not pocketed by the Magistrate but went through the audit office in the usual manner. Anthing, then, was actually sent by the Government to trade - the Government was only trying to cover up the matter because the losses incurred in the trading expedition had been enormous.[17]

During this time whilst Boyes was attempting to stir up a public scandal, Anthing's leave had terminated. The Governor did not think it advisable that he return to his former position in Namaqualand, and he was appointed to a corresponding position in Cradock.[18] The reason given was that the Governor felt it unfair to remove Judge, who had been acting for two and a half years now. On September 30, 1864, Anthing arrived in Cradock to resume his duties.

But he was in trouble from another quarter. He had not yet settled the Bushmanland accounts, and several advances sent to him had not been explained.[19] He was repeatedly asked to send in the accounts, and on the 15 December 1864 the Colonial Secretary threatened to retain his salary unless he proffered explanations.[20] Anthing had returned to Cape Town in September 1864 before taking his post at Cradock, and it was assumed then that he would sort out the accounts, but he left the

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16. 20/6/1865. In actual fact, the Cradock and Tarkastad Register (16/6/1865) printed a statement to the effect that Anthing asked them to specify that he believed Boyes had acted from no other motive than his sense of duty.

17. Cape Argus, 20/6/1865.

18. CO 5457 Frontier Letter Book, 1864 : Colonial Office - Anthing - 30/6/1864.

19. CO 5202 Judicial Letter Book, 16 May - 30 September, 1865: Colonial Office - Anthing, 16/11/1864.

20. CO 5047 Letter Book, Civil Country, v.23, Oct. 1864 - April 1865 : Colonial Office - Anthing, 15/12/1864.

town against the express instructions of the Colonial Secretary. The Magistrate explained that he had only been informed of these instructions by the Auditor-General a few days before setting sail for Port Elizabeth, and as he had already arranged to visit Genadenthal to discuss the establishment of a mission in Bushmanland he had, had only one day available before leaving Cape Town. On his arrival at Cradock he suffered a severe attack of neuralgia, and the amount of work which attended him there had left him no opportunity to settle the matter.[21]

Soon after this the Colonial Secretary stopped his salary, and the circumstances became known both in Cape Town and Cradock.[22] On the 8 November, 1865, Anthing sent in his resignation, with the request that he be allowed to continue in his office for a few months since he did not want his retirement to be looked on as the result of misconduct. By now his health had suffered a severe decline.[23] On 9 March, 1866, Anthing was replaced as Civil Commissioner of Cradock, after sixteen years in the colonial service.

To the last Anthing maintained that he had carried out the mission competently and honestly. He believed his presence in Bushmanland had averted a final desperate struggle between the San and the Colonists, that he had established a measure of peace in a formerly embattled area, and that, had a magistracy been established as he suggested, the account (which now stood at some £5 000) would have figured as ordinary charges of a new division and not as a separate item for a special service.[24] He insisted, 'what I did I would do again under similar circumstances.'[25]

With the appointment of Anthing to the Cradock post, the Government ensured that no more time or money would be spent in Bushmanland. The

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21. CO 3079 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 19/10/1865.
22. Ibid : 24/11/1865.
23. Ibid : 8/11/1864.
24. Ibid : Anthing - Colonial Office, 24/11/1865
25. CO 3093: Anthing - Colonial Office, 6/1/1866.

Mission was a failure; the perpetrators of the crimes against the San had not been arrested, a magistracy had not been established, no land had been set aside for the San, no provision was made to give them food, or induce them to become pastoralists,[26] nothing was done to vouchsafe the lives of the remaining San, and public opinion remained indifferent or ignorant of their plight.

The Anthing Report : Fact or Fiction?

One positive result of the Mission for the history of the San, if not for the hunters themselves was, of course, the Anthing Report. Previous historians, in describing the final disintegration of the hunter bands in the Cape Colony, have always cited Anthing with perfect confidence, without indicating any awareness of the irregularities which attended the Mission. Thus J.S. Marais described it as the best documented official account of the clash between Bushman and Boer.[27] Yet there were unusual circumstances attending the Mission - the charges levelled against Anthing for illicit trading, and the Magistrate's reluctance to settle the accounts. Although he was never actually accused of using the expedition to line his own pockets, there is a possibility that he may have fabricated his report of the turmoil on the northern border because he saw a way to pecuniary advantage. The loss of his good reputation and his consequent resignation were pretty drastic alternatives to settling the accounts when he was required.

In the first place, Anthing himself did not ask to be sent on the Mission, and he had suggested that the Civil Commissioner be appointed

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26. Theal (History of South Africa, v. V, p. 31) states that Anthing failed because he was unable to induce the San to lead a settled existence. Anthing in fact wrote, 'It is a great mistake to think that they will under no circumstances follow a settled pursuit' and that those who had good masters had amassed some property. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 10/8/1862.

27. Cape Coloured People, p.27. In actual fact much of the report also deals with the clash with 'Bastards', who at this time inhabited Bushmanland in far greater numbers and more permanently than the Boers.

to the duty. His first letter to the Attorney-General reporting the atrocities, his decision to examine Ou Booi and go into the matter, seems to have been activated by a genuine concern over the treatment of the San at the hands of the colonists. He believed that those guilty of crimes against the San acted from a sense of their own racial superiority, as if 'that disposed finally of the question of our relations to them and our treatment of them.' Just because White civilization was encroaching on the black man's territory this did not mean that the black man should be doomed to fall.[28]

Originally the Mission was not calculated to last longer than a few months, but in the end Anthing had been absent from his post in Namaqualand for two and a half years. And his sojourn was a very expensive one at that. An editorial in the Cape Argus described the Anthing Report as:

> ... certainly a valuable production, not however for reasons advanced by a certain contemporary (the Governor), but that it probably cost the Colony about £15 for each of its five hundred lines.

The article goes on to add:

> Goods were ordered from Cape Town that the people might be taught the luxury of clothes, the use of the knife and fork, the advantage attending the use of soap; and going further in the desire to perfect these children of the wilderness, we are told a large

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28. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 1/4/1862.

29. 27/3/1863. On July 7, 1865, in the Cradock and Tarkastad Register, notice was given that Anthing had threatened action for libel-damages £2 000, against the Argus. Boyes, in a letter to the Eastern Province Herald (27/6/1865) mentioned Anthing's 'pending suit'. In spite of an exhaustive search through newspapers and court records, no other report of this matter came to light. The suit was perhaps brought forward because of this 27 March, 1863 article, but the charges must have been dropped. Yet it says something for Anthing's integrity in that he was willing to allow his activities in Bushmanland to be subjected to the scrutiny of the law courts. But why did he not then take this opportunity to vindicate his name?

> quantity of crockery was ordered
> of a description never before heard
> of so far from Cape Town, and that
> various other eccentricities too
> numerous to mention were indulged
> in to the tune of another £2 000. 29

The Governor himself stopped many of the goods Anthing ordered on the grounds they were 'unnecessary'.[30]

When it came to the expensive erection of buildings and the sinking of wells, there is no doubt that Anthing laboured under the 'impression (and not an entirely false one at that) that the Colonial Secretary's 6 June letter had given him the go-ahead to establish a magistracy, and he insisted that the expense should be counted as part of the normal cost in administering a division. Even so, he still delayed in settling the accounts. And in spite of the hardships Anthing associated with life in Bushmanland,[31] he still seems to have been able to 'give a good party' with liquor and food flowing freely (or at a price as Boyes' witnesses implied).

There are further tantalizing questions. Did Anthing stay at Kenhardt for the second time to help allegedly starving San, or was it perhaps to carry on a profitable trade established on his first trip, as Boyes would have maintained? That Anthing was set up by the Government does not seem credible. The Government would hardly have provided funds for such a risky enterprise. It was Anthing, Boyes was pursuing, not the Government. But like Boyes, Anthing had once been the M.L.A. of Clanwilliam, before he became the Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand, and perhaps there was some personal pique involved in the matter.[32]

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29. See page 53.

30. CO 3042: Anthing - Colonial Office, 17/10/1862.

31. CO 3079 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 12/11/1865.

32. Cradock and Tarkastad Register, 30/6/1865.

Moreover, the testimonies Boyes sent in from the Rietfontein area could have been motivated by resentment against Anthing's attempts to put an end to the commandos.

In spite of the fact that he possessed enough financial backing in June, 1865 to marry,[33] Anthing wrote to the Colonial Office on the 6 January, 1866 that he was in desperate financial straits, and requested an allowance of 10/- a day for the time he spent in Bushmanland, which was the same as other functionaries received when employed on special services.[34] If we take him at his own word, the Bushmanland expedition, the money he had spent out of his own funds to alleviate the plight of San, the stoppage of his salary, had caused him financial ruin.

We can only acknowledge that the motives on which Anthing acted remain obscure. Instead we must turn to the actual report and examine the foundations on which Anthing laid his testimony.

The same Cape Argus editorial cited above called the Report:

> Nothing more nor less than a mare's nest, not a single proof having been found of the truth of the iniquities practised by the Boers.

Apart from Nicholson's deposition, Anthing claimed to have obtained evidence from farmers in the area and from the San themselves.[35] But the magistrate also made sure he obtained witnesses who could be produced. For instance, on 29 May 1863 he reported that a Mr Floris Steenkamp, of Brakfontein, Onder Roggeveld, was willing to testify to the events which had taken place at Boschdruif, and since then.[36]

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33. CO 5203. Judicial Letter Book, Oct.1864 - Feb. 1866 : Colonial Office - Matrimonial Court, Cradock, 24/6/1865.

34. CO 3093 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 6/1/1866.

35. CO 4414 : Anthing - Colonial Office, 8/5/1862.

36. A39 - '63, p. 12

Also, although Anthing brought the few San to Cape Town to be tried, he was hoping they would be tried in the Supreme Court (as opposed to the circuit court) so that they could give evidence as to the treatment they had received at the hands of the commandos.

Anthing was also careful to write to the Resident Magistrates of Calvinia and Fraserburg for their opinion of the necessity for establishing a magistracy. The Resident Magistrate of Calvinia replied and confirmed all Anthing's revelation concerning the brutal treatment of the San.[37] Although the magistrates were usually too far removed from the scene of the crimes to receive reports, sometimes cases were brought before them. For instance, on the 29 October, 1866, the Resident Magistrate of Calvinia reported that four 'Bastards' had come across a family of 'Bushmen' at a water-hole. The Khoi/Coloureds asked the San to move, but 'he (the father) would not Trek as the water he was using was Government water and he had weak children.' As a result, eleven San were killed, three women, six children, one baby having had its head dashed against a stone.[38]

In terms of precedent, Anthing's Report is in keeping with what had become a time-honoured practice since the arrival of the Dutch in the Cape - that of systematic extermination. But one must be aware of the Magistrate's bias, his emotional involvement in the distress of the San. Like the reporter in the Cape Argus, we must be sceptical of such statements that the San would 'perish rather than steal.'[39] Although they were not, of course, 'almost born thieves,'[40] we have seen that

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37. CO 4414 : Resident Magistrate's Office, Calvinia - Anthing, 23/1/1863.

38. A6 88. Letters Received, Miscellaneous 1863 - 4 : RM, Calvinia - Attorney-General, 29/10/1866.

39. A39 - '63, p. 7.

40. Cape Argus, 27/3/1863.

stock raiding had been the practice for centuries, and was hardly recognised by the San as much different from the hunting of wild game. Murders were no doubt committed on both sides, but the San generally came off worse because of their lack of sophisticated weaponry.

In the light of what we know of the encroachment by Colonists on the hunters' territory adjacent to the Hartebeest River during the 1850's, it seems obvious that the situation had reached a pitch of violence and desperation. The urgency with which Anthing advocated a settlement with both the Koranas of the Orange and the San, the necessity of providing some land[41] and a means of subsistence, was borne out by the great Korana/San upheaval of 1868, when it became

> ... the boast of the Bushmen and Koranas that they will not leave their depredations until they have succeeded in retaking that part of the Colony which extends from the Bokkeveld to the Orange River. 42

Ironically, the Government was probably forced to spend much more money than they would have done had they set up a magistracy when Anthing had suggested it. In terms of the Northern Border Protection Act, they were forced to provide a special magistrate for Calvinia, Fraserburg, Namaqualand, Victoria West and Hopetown, and a police patrol (the 'Cape Watch') for the Northern Border.

While admitting that there are unusual and unexplained circumstances

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41. Anthing later withdrew his opinion that some land provision should be made for the Koranas. In a letter from Dragonders Pit, Victoria West dated 26 July, 1868 (HAV 80, House of Assembly Annexures No. 101 - 150, 1869) he stated that when he had come into contact with Korana captains before, he lacked sufficient evidence to judge their claims. He now believed that they had no claim to the southern bank, and he recommended annexing some land north of the river, some sixty or seventy miles, by a gradual buying of the land.

42. A54 - '68. Memorial from Divisional Council of Calvinia on the subject of Depasturing Licence Act and Korana Depredations, p 3 - 4: G.P. Steyn - J. Calder, 9/8/1868.

attending the Anthing mission, and that he was by no means an impartial witness, in the end one must rely upon his integrity as evidenced by the sincerity of his concern for the San, which emerges from his letters, the trouble he obviously went to to help them, and his willingness to produce witnesses. The veracity of the Anthing Report is supported by our knowledge of events preceding it, and those that followed. It therefore must be, in the main, accepted as a responsible document.

Conclusion.

In dealing with the encroachment on their land by immigrant peoples the San had three choices open to them. They could band together and resist, as they did in the 1770s when the struggle erupted into a large scale war of attrition, they could become clients of the colonists, which ultimately meant subordination and assimilation, or they could withdraw to the temporary sanctity of the arid regions to the north of the region of colonial settlement.

This essay has attempted to trace the fortunes of the San who had retreated into the area adjacent to the Hartebeest River. Here, by the 1830s, they were surrounded on all sides by hostile peoples. The hunters' mobility, their ability to answer to an environment of fluctuating annual and seasonal resource availability was consequently severely restricted. No longer were they easily able to seek respite from the harsh dictates of desert life by moving to more favourable ecological zones.

As population pressures increased in the south, in the 1850s first Khoi/Coloureds, then white trekboers began to move into the Bushmanland region. The consequent strain on the precarious resources resulted in a rapid destruction of the San's subsistence. By the early 1860s the struggle had reached a new pitch of desperation.

When Anthing first heard of the fierce and protracted struggles which had been taking place in Bushmanland, the Cape San were facing the prospect of complete extermination. That they had any recourse to any other power but their own strength and endurance was something of which they seem to have been hardly aware. But when the magistrate was sent by the Cape Government

to investigate the upheavals in that part of the Colony, there was some hope that the hunters' plight might be alleviated. They appear to have placed their confidence in Anthing.

Although there were some decidedly unusual and strange circumstances attending the expedition, the magistrate, like the San, became a victum of the Government's lukewarm and indecisive attitude to improvements in this remote part of the Colony. In the end the Government's prime concern was the expense accounts, and even the reports that Anthing had been trading illegally did not interest them much. The general public were hardly more active in sympathy. Thus the magistrate's attempt to improve the condition of the San became a lonely quest.

Anthing failed to stem the tide, the inevitable process. By 1866, according to a Rhenish missionary who had settled amongst the Khoi/Coloureds at De Tuin, in the area west of Kenhardt there were now only 'makke Bushmen' - some 'wild Bushmen', however, did still live in the mountains east of the Hartebees But the tendency was for the San to become 'uitebasterd'.[2] Many who did not settle with the Khoi/Coloures and white farmers joined the Korana, and played an important role in the Korana upheavals of 1868 and 1878. Other San probably crossed the Orange, and were absorbed into the ranks of the hunter-gatherers of the Kalihari.

Although it was estimated in 1955 that there were only some twenty survivors of the Cape San still living in the north-western districts, there are today

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1. A8-'66 Report of the Select Committee appointed to Consider and Report on a Petition from Bastards and others at a Rhenish Missionary Station, p. 13.

2. Ibid., p.15.

some 50 000 San living in Botswana, Namibia, and Angola, and scattered remnants in Zambia and Rhodesia.[3] That they still survive in such numbers testifies eloquently to the tenacity of their way of life. But today only some 5 per cent still practise a purely hunting and gathering economy, and if present trends continue, they too will become assimilated into Tswana groups.[4] Soon only history or tradition will remain to show that they ever existed.

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3. P.V. Tobias, 'On the survival of the Bushmen' in Africa, vol. 26 (1956), p.183.

4. R. Lee, 'Introduction' in Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers, p.8.

APPENDIX A.

G12-'55 Abstracts of Returns relating to Villages recommended as the Seats of New Magistracies received from the Civil Commissioners, in reply to Circular of 2 November, 1854.

District	Place Recommended.	By whom recommended	Proposed Circel comprising the Field-Cornetcies of:	Extent Circle		Population. Proportion				Occupation in Circle.	Public Institutions.	Public Officers & Professional men	Distances adjourning magistracies in miles.	Resident Field-Cornets.	Resident J.P.s
Beaufort	Victoria	Civil Comissioner. House of Assembly 2.	Parish as defined in Gazette 22/11/1844, & covering thence to Orange River.	190 N to S. 180 E to W.	250	3000	1500 or $\frac{1}{2}$	1470 or $\frac{49}{100}$	30 or $\frac{1}{100}$	Pastoral.	1 Dutch Reformed Church, 1 School.	1 Clergyman.	Richmond, 60. Beaufort, 90.	1 (9 ml. distant.	1
	Prince Albert	C.C. Legislative Council 11, House of Assembly 1.	Parish as defined in Gazette of 25/11/1842.	224 E to W. 50 N to S.	200	2000	1000 or $\frac{1}{2}$	980 $\frac{49}{100}$	20 or $\frac{1}{100}$	Agricultural and Pastoral	1 Dutch Reformed Church, 1 School.	1 Clergyman.	Beaufort, 90. George 150. Worcestor, 220.	1	no ne
	Frazerburg	C.C. House of Assembly 1.	Parish as defined in Gazette of 25/12/1853.	270 N to S 90 E to W.	400	2500	1250 or $\frac{1}{2}$	12 or $\frac{49}{100}$	20 or $\frac{1}{100}$	Pastoral	1 Dutch Reformed Church.	1 Clergyman.	Beaufort, 114. Worcestor, 240. Clanwilliam, 300.	none	1 (20 ml. distant)
Clanwilliam	Calvinia	C.C. Legislative Council 1. House of Asembly 4.	Hantam, Onder Bokkeveld, Onder Roggeveld.	26000 sq. ml.	60	2429	1256	1173	-	Agricultural	1 Dutch Reformed Church, 1 Medical Prac.				
	Kammagas, Nieuwplats, Kookfontein.	Legislative Council 1. House of Assembly 4.	Hardeveld, Camiesberg, Namaqualand.	19000 sq. ml.	-	4447	3767	680	few	Agricultural & mining	Rh. Mission Institution.	1 Rh. Miss.	Clanwilliam, 270.	-	4

62.

APPENDIX B.

G20-'66 Legal Council Papers: Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1865.

WESTERN DIVISIONS. (p. viii)	WHITES.		COLOUREDS.	
	1856	1865	1856	1865
Clanwilliam... Namaqualand... Calvinia.....	2 948	6 345	5 265	19 288
Frazerburg.... Victoria West.. Beaufort..... Prince Albert.	5 133	12 295	4 430	16 465

(p. x)	STOCK.			
	HORSES,		CATTLE - DRAUGHT OXEN.	
	1856	1865	1856	1865
Clanwilliam... Namaqualand... Calvinia.....	11 253	18 332	8 672	20 129
Frazerburg.... Victoria West. Beaufort..... Prince Albert.	11 363	27 464	6 460	16 577

(p. xi)	SHEEP - WOOLED.		SHEEP - CAPE.	
	1856	1865	1856	1865
Clanwilliam.... Namaqualand... Calvinia.....	10 599	47 263	219 730	373 394
Victoria West.. Beaufort..... Prince Albert.. Frazerburg.....	199 708	899 599	478 933	715 117

Critical Note on Sources.

For background reading on the San, it is necessay to be very selective. There is a large body of primary and secondary sources to draw on, all varying in quality and relevence. In the category of travellers' records, the two volumes of Burchell's Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa are a particularly valuable source of ethnographic data. He was a particulary acute observer, and his apparent knack for befriending the San resulted in the recording of some invlauable oral testimaony. The same could be said of Andrew Smith, whose journal is now available in a beautifully illustrated volume edited by W.F. Lye. G. Thompson and J. Campbell's Travels also contain a fund of information. However, the journals of Barrow and Moffat should be consulted with caution, due allowance being made for their bias against the Colonists.

In the last two decades, a great many anthrópological studies of the San have appeared. L. Marshall's articles in Africa are still some of the most authoritive, although now somewhat overshadowed by the detailed work of Richard Lee and a team of Arvard University specialists amongst the !Kung of Botswana. An up to date compilation of their results has been published in a work edited by R. Lee and I. De Vore under the title of Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers. In spite of these more recent studies, I Schapera's The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa is still a good introduction to the subject.

G.W. Stow pioneered the study of the pattern of relationships which existed between the various indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. Although his Native Races of South Africa contains a wealth of ethnographic material, his historical accounts must be regarded with caution. More recent and accurate studies can be found in M. Wilson's chapters in the Oxford History S. Marks' 'Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries', and of late Elphick's Kraal and Castle. J.B. Wright's Cahapters 1-3 of Bushmen Raiders of the Drakensburg provides a useful summaru of the present state of historical knowledge concerning these relationships.

For background reading of the contact between the San and the white colonists, the manuscipt sources are extremely bulky. Moodeie's The Record and Theals Records of the Cape Colony are invaluable collections of official documents and letters. So too are the British Parliamentary Select Committee reports, especially No. 50 of 1835 entitled 'Papers relating to the ...Native Tribes of Southern Africa.' For the only detailed historical account of the San/white conflict in the north-western regions of the Colony, P.J. van der Merwe's careful but somewhat one-sided account should be consulted. To take the expansion of the colonists into the north-west further than van der Merwe, J.S. Marais, in his Cape Coloured People has a useful chapter entitled 'The Bastards and the Colonisation of the North-West', which is compiled from the Cape Blue Books, and missionary reports. For direct information on the San, reports by various Government surveyors (G8-'55, G1-'58, G7-'59) are the most useful.

For the Anthing mission, his own report (A39-'63)is, of course, central. But in the past, historians have relied on it too exclusively and too uncritically. All Anthing's correspondence, as well as some correspondence emanating form the Colonial Office, and other sundry letters relating to the mission have been very usefully bound together in the Cape Archives in a single volume, CO 4414. But some searching through Colonial Office letter books and letter files is also necessary to trace the full story of the steps leading to Anthin's resignation.

Because the region and the people were so far removed from Cape Town and the interests of the day, newspapers were not very useful for contemporary

comment. Nevertheless, the biting attack on Anthing contained in the Cape Argus (27/7/1863) provides insight into some of the attitudes of mid-nineteenth century Cape colonists.

From another angle, the newspaper reports are extremely important. Cape Hansard had been stopped at this time for financial reasons, and the task of recording parliamentary debates and proceedings was taken over by the Cape Argus. Invaluable as these reports are, they are not a wholly satisfactory source, for it was clearly the policy of the paper to abridge and condense its record of the business of the House, leaving gaps where the researcher would most like information. For instance, in a report of 8 July, 1863 it was stated that 'two hours were wasted in dreary talk about Bushmanland' - yet the actual coverage of the debate in the same issue gives the impression that it lasted hardly longer than fifteen minutes!

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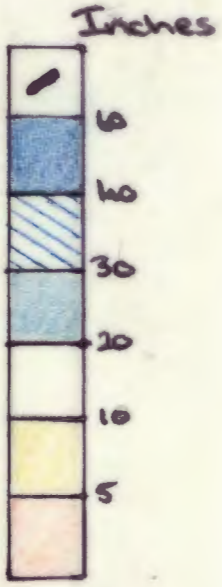
MAP I.

MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL

Based on J.H. Wellington's Map III in Southern Africa; a geographical study, v. 1.



Base Map

CAPE COLONY
(1800-1860)