

## ZOUTPANSBERG: SOME NOTES ON THE DYNAMICS OF A HUNTING FRONTIER

by

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The territory of the old Boer colony of Zoutpansberg stretched across the Transvaal highveld between two mountain ranges. The characteristically ample farms where the Boer immigrants congregated in 1848 are given away in the shape of modern white settlement. The imagination might fancy it as a long, fat nail, its head pressed hard against the underside of the northern range, the Zoutpansberg, its point and shaft thrust obliquely through the long southern crust of Waterberg-Strydpoortberg and deflected along the marshy groove of the Nyl through the southern foothills of Waterberg to its tip at Warmbad. Its focus, as in any nail, was at the point where the shaft met the head, where Hendrik Potgieter set his third and last dorp. By default of its founder, for a decade it bore no name other than its geographical location, Zoutpansberg, and a decade later it was already a ghost town, but, as a voortrekker shrine, it is remembered by the name of a usurper from the south, Schoemansdal.

For some twenty years Zoutpansberg-Schoemansdal dominated trade in ivory, the one great export item of Transvaal prior to the discovery of gold. A resident of Potchefstroom estimated the total export of ivory for the year 1864 at 1200 cwt. Of that, fully 930 cwt came from Zoutpansberg. If one counts the figure he gives for Pretoria as also originating among the hunters of Potgieter's old colony, the total is 1030 cwt, 85% of the annual export. (1) Figures are fallible, but the proportion does go some way toward explaining why the rest of Transvaal, and subsequent historians, called Zoutpansberg a *jagtersgemeenskap*, a hunters' community. Its hunters and traders ranged far into Rhodesia, westward to Lake Ngami, eastward to Sofala and Inhambane. They contributed substantially to the extermination of elephant and other game in southern Africa, and were the envy of their fellows. James Chapman, the explorer, who owned a store at Potchefstroom in the early 1850s, recorded the impression made on him by Zoutpansberg hunters in the boom days.

By far the greatest number of elephants are killed by the Boers of the Zoutpansberg. Amongst them are individuals who have slain their thousand elephants. One whom I knew had, in 1852, already killed more than he remembered; he kept count till he killed 200, and then took no more pride in counting, though he continued year after year to make successful hunts, killing sometimes upwards of 40 in a season. This man was but 25 years old ...

Another man, Valentyn Botha, was once very poor, owning nothing but the clothes on his back. He became so successful a hunter that when he died in 1852 he

left an estate richer than any in that country, all from the sale of ivory of his own shooting. This man had killed, it was asserted, upwards of a thousand elephants, so that some of the Transvaal Boers carry off the palm in elephant shooting, but with an advantage no Englishman ever had, as they lived in elephant country, Botha sometimes even shooting them on his own farm. (2)

Of course, hunting was a preferred occupation among the whole immigrant population on the highveld, and was not dependent on its commercial aspect for its attractions. One preferred to hunt for one's meat than cull carefully husbanded domestic stock, and the teeming game of mid-century Transvaal was welcomed as no more than a part of God's particular bounty to the settlers in the north. Relatively well watered and fertile, all manner of plant and tree flourished spontaneously, almost without human agency. So much so that an English amateur in the leathery splendour of the Royal Geographical Society, interpreting the account of the Vicar of Inhambane, Father Joachim de Santa Rita Montanha, of a visit made in 1855-6, would have Zoutpansberg as a luxuriant garden exporting wheat, barley, rye, French beans, broad beans, maize, manna, spirits, honey, dried fruits, butter, cheese, orchilla weed, and garden parsley. Father Joachim, directing his memorandum toward matters of Portuguese curiosity, was referring only to potential. (3) Some inhabitants later on experimented with cotton, coffee and sugar cane, with some success, but never with commercial results. (4) Nevertheless, the glory of Zoutpansberg from a subsistence viewpoint was amply summed up by one old hunter, Frans Lottring:

It was once a splendid region, a true land full of Milk and Honey. (5)

Ivory, however, was different. A certain quantity of hides, straps, whips, and so on, for trade and export, was a natural by-product of subsistence hunting. The annual trips into the bushveld, usually with the whole family and a large part of the neighbourhood, served a social function too. But the fellowship of the elephant hunt was circumscribed and exclusively made and its product was useful only as an article of commerce. Its particular value was not simply that it was exchangeable for other goods, but that, like gold, it was always saleable and of sufficient worth to warrant expensive transportation from remote areas. Thus, if a group of people moves to a remote area in order to exploit ivory, if an individual of that group describes himself as an elephant hunter by profession, another layer of motivation has been added to, and perhaps has eclipsed, that of the stereotype of the Boer as pastoralist.

This distinction was recognized by both sides of Boer society in Transvaal. In the settled areas beyond Waterberg, called by the northerners de voorste districten, the farthest districts, it led to a consistent reluctance to come to the aid of fellow burgers in their increasingly troublesome relations with the African polities of the north. The conditions of campaigning - the dangers of tsetse fly and malaria - a reluctance to believe things are as serious as the northerners make out, and if they are then they are of their own making, all are at various times advanced as rationalizations of this disinclination. But it received perhaps its most forceful articulation quite early on in a letter from Veldcornet Gerit van Rooyen of Roodekrans to Commandant Paul Kruger. He describes his men's extreme reluctance to go on commando to the north, and continues:

... and so I see no occasion for me to put my men to the expense of opening up the elephant hunters' way, from which I and all my men have nothing. And there are the kaffers and the flies and the unhealthiness too. And then the men must twist the dagger there and who pays the cost? (6)

Eventually, the attitude was to contribute materially to the abandonment of Zoutpansberg by the white settlers in 1867.

Among the hunters themselves the discrimination manifested itself in responses which ranged from the comic, such as Frans Lottring's wicked tale of the embarrassing first hunt of two lads fresh from the Cape, Jan and Piet Vercueil (7), to the much more serious "revolt" against Jan Vercueil's political master, Stephanus Schoeman. This affair is too complicated to go into in any detail here, and the strands too diffuse and haphazard in occurrence for it properly to be called a revolt, though not for want of a meaningful wink from the Portuguese Vice-Consul, one Joao Albasini. Albasini, a trader from Lourenço Marques and head of a Tsonga army which he placed at the disposal of the Transvaal administration (at least in theory), pushed one theme above all others in his letters to his Portuguese patrons, from the moment he took office in 1859. That theme was boundary delimitation. If only they could see it and act decisively Zoutpansberg and all its glittering resources could be Portugal's, because its population, or the majority of its population, was disaffected. He tried to make of this disaffection "O partido da parte dos Portuguezes que he esse que joi do Com<sup>e</sup>. Potgieter" - the party on the side of the Portuguese, which was the one of Commandant Potgieter (8) - to set against the similar collaborator with, or dupe of, the British, Martinus Pretorius, and his party. And, though we might doubt that the elements fit the mould that Albasini would like to impose on them, those elements are real and verifiable. (9) They had their origin before the Civil War, in a reaction against the intruder from the "farthest districts" who insinuated his way into the seat of the Potgieters in 1855. And an important component of this reaction was resentment at the blatant manner in which Stephanus Schoeman exercised his power to assure personal profit from the hunt. Once again Frans Lottring has a way of summing it up:

This Schoeman had trekked out of the Cape with his sons and had not settled among us till recently. They wished to copy us and likewise shoot elephants, but feared the fever which, prevailing half the year in the hunting country on the other side of the mountains, stopped nearly everybody, but particularly all newcomers. Now in order to prevent one anticipating another the Schoeman clan made the legal determination after which, in the interests of all, no hunter dare set foot on the other side of the range before the middle of June in every year.

And he showed his disgust at this curb on individual enterprise when prosecuted under the said law by training the dorp's cannon "Ou Grietje", on the Commandant General's bedroom window. (10)

But, then, a little over a decade before, Potgieter's Boers too had been intruders into someone else's hunting country. In the 1840s the African population of northern Transvaal consisted of a large but diffuse Sotho element dominated by three hubs of political interest of non-Sotho origin. These three groups occupied the mountain recesses so coveted during Difaqane and were the Venda clans in the Zoutpansberg itself, Mapela or the BaLanga section of Transvaal Ndebele in the Waterberg, and Mojaje or the VhaLobedu in the east where Strydpoortberg merges into the edge of the highveld. At least one of these groups, the Venda, had trade links in ivory with the east coast trading posts dating from the early eighteenth century. Venda traditions suggest that skill in elephant hunting brought social standing even before the influx of firearms gave free rein to such expressions of individuality. (11) The carriers of this trade were the Tsonga of the east coast, and four routes, two from Delagoa Bay and two from Inhambane, congregated at a point nearby the present Elim hospital. (12)

If one now looks at the lead up to Potgieter's settlement at Zoutpansberg, a certain correlation is apparent. Potgieter himself first visited Zoutpansberg in 1836, and it is clear that his first prospectus for settlement in Transvaal had the resources of Zoutpansberg as its centre. (13) When he decided to move to within reach of Delagoa Bay in 1845 he set his new settlement at Ohrigstad, at a point along one of the Tsonga trade routes to Zoutpansberg. And the first hunting party composed from his following at Ohrigstad struck out into the veld south of the Zoutpansberg, where it met resistance fomented by the Venda. (14) Not only can the movement into Zoutpansberg be seen as a logical process concerned with the capture of resources, but it demonstrates another aspect of the Boer hunter, his sensitivity to and

interest in trade with Africans.

This further extension of his commercial motivation is a natural adaptation to the exigencies of hunting elephant with a gun. It is not simply that, given the hunter was after a trade item, he would be willing to collect it from any source so long as it was profitable. Combining trade with elephant hunting had positive advantages. Barend Johannes Vorster's daughter remembered a typical instance when her father and Albert van Jaarsveld went on a hunt to the Limpopo.

They went through the river and shot 23 elephant, 2 rhinoceros, and many buffalo, eland, and kudu. There were so many kaffers, if Oupa shot the game in the evening the next morning there was nothing left. The kaffers had come and fetched it away. They never allowed the meat to go to waste.

When Oupa crossed Krokgedilrivier [the Limpopo] Oupa gave the kaffer-captain a white wool blanket and a little copper and beads: then the kaffer said Oupa could shoot just as much as he wanted. (15)

Sometimes the chief demanded more. While hunting with a party on the Rhodesian Sabi in 1862, Vorster sent the local potentate, "die opperhoof Ringaan", the customary sweetener, here called revealingly a "verweel pak", literally "a stay-parcel". "Ringaan", however, would only let them shoot in his territory if they gave him the ground-tusk of each elephant shot and exchanged their guns afterward. Including Vorster there were seven in the party, but "Ringaan" got his bargain. (16) Trade goods came in handy, quite apart from straight goods for ivory exchanges.

Nevertheless, to two African groups in northern Transvaal, the Venda hunters and the Tsonga traders, the intrusion of Boer hunter-traders might be thought to constitute a threat. To the extent that their monopoly of the horse and the gun brooked no opposition they did, but to both groups the newcomers offered real opportunities.

First of all, it is important to note that African trade routes to the east coast did not cease to operate through Tsonga intermediaries, despite the appearance of east coast merchants in the new colony. Tsetse fly assured the position of the Tsonga carrier, and the fact that he was now carrying some merchandise for the settler market gave him access to firearms and ammunition. (17) Moreover, at the beginning of hunting with firearms the resource, ivory, was not scarce. Trade through the Tsonga from the Portuguese ports co-existed reasonably happily alongside the Cape and Natal based traffic directed toward the Boer hunters, and to a great extent continued to develop according to its own dynamic. Thus while Tsonga traders from Lourenço Marques with guns (Tsonga hunter-traders) coincided with Boer hunter-traders in eastern Transvaal, they did not move into Zoutpansberg until five years after their Boer counterparts. (18) The reason was tsetse, which ensured the Tsonga hunter-traders a modicum of protected veld while there were still areas the Boers could exploit from the saddle.

The Tsonga traders continued their transformation into hunter-traders in circumstances of relative safety, owing to their fortuitous alliance with Joao Albasini. To a certain extent this probably meant the eclipse of the Inhambane trade route. The second trader to establish himself at Zoutpansberg after its foundation was Antonio Augusto de Carvalho from Inhambane (19), and his links with the area were probably long-standing. When Potgieter first met Gabriel and Doris Buys, who had arrived in this latitude from the Cape fifteen years previously, they were bartering for powder from Magwamba (Tsonga) traders. (20) The only trader whose name is anywhere linked with the Buys, besides Albasini, is de Carvalho. (21) Be that as it may, when the Vicar of Inhambane visited Zoutpansberg in 1855 he stopped with a Lourenço Marques trader, Albasini (22), and Albasini's letterbook, while he was Portuguese vice-consul, reveals minimal participation by Inhambane traders in the ivory boom of Zoutpansberg.

The scale on which Albasini organized the Tsonga hunter-traders in Zoutpansberg was described by a Natal trader in 1863:

He has not less than 100 guns thus in use, and as each gun is accompanied by twenty kaffers, who must carry the ivory, it rather suggests the extent of the business. While Mr M. was here two or three hunters came back with about 300 lb of ivory. They went in procession to the house and were visibly proud of their spoils, which they spread on show before the other kaffers. At New Year Mr A. assembled all his hunters, about 700 in number, and he that had shot the most ivory got an ox and was considered as the captain of the hunters for the following year by all the rest. This roused a spirit of envy which without doubt increased the yearly income. (23)

This private army was used for political ends, and, graced with the official title of gouvernementskaffers, acted as a local militia, collecting opgaaf (tribute), policing the other African groups on the eastern side of Zoutpansberg, and providing the "auxiliaries" who actually did the storming and hand-to-hand work on command. (24) Through collaboration, disparate groups of Tsonga began to cohere in their new highveld environment; through service, they attained a favoured position in frontier society.

But opportunities could be more particular. For instance, there was the Tsonga settlement in the dorp. So valued were the "Knob-noses" as collaborators that during the dark days of 1865, when the dorp was in laager for eight months or more, two Tsonga headmen were moved onto the land behind the government office to provide for its defence. This little encampment over time swelled to a total of thirty-five huts before the temporary passing of the danger and a new and tidy-minded Hollander landdrost found the affront to the dignity of his calling too much and had them dumped, not without some resistance from both the Tsonga themselves and the villagers, outside the limit. (25)

And then there was the example of the apprentice Manungu. Manungu is almost always referred to as "Albasini zyn apprentices Manungu", or even "de jongen Manungu", and yet his position in Zoutpansberg society belies his lowly designation. If Albasini truly did appoint the captain of his hunters according to annual productivity, then Manungu must have taken the prize every year, for he constantly appears at the head of Albasini's forces. (26) He acted as Albasini's amanuensis in the veld. (27) He acted as an intermediary with the Gaza kingdom on behalf of both Albasini and the government of the Republic. (28) And he had a kop named after him in the Kruger Park. Manungu was not a Tsonga, he was a Zulu, but his birth was not otherwise particularly exalted. He was preferred to Albasini's other "Zulu" general, Munene, who had been one of Manicusa's (Shoshangane's) zinduna and was head of the Maswanganyi clan. (29) So typical an apprentice is Manungu that Alex Struben, an ex-Natal civil servant at Albasini's laager, called him "the head chief". (30)

The kind of hunting practised by the Boer hunter-traders has parallels with that discussed above in relation to the Tsonga. Initially it was very different, in that hunters shot from the saddle and went out in large parties with waggons, oxen, drivers, and often appreciable numbers of African followers. (31) But although certain areas continued to harbour elephant outside tsetse areas, such as Blauwberg and Mojaj's veld, from much of the area the quarry retreated pretty rapidly into the relative sanctuary of the fly zone, which began on the other side of the Zoutpansberg and bent in an arc behind the Blauwberg and on up the Limpopo. (32) In view of their previous history, the Zoutpansberg Boers were remarkably quick to take to their feet. Indeed, great Potgieter's son, Andries, remembered encountering an orange orchard on the Rhodesian Sabi before the death of his father in 1852. (33) The Natal trader, Fleetwood Churchill, described them going "behind the berg" after ivory in 1856.

The Hunters all go out on foot with six, eight, or ten Kaffirs along with them carrying a kettle, small bag of coffee and biscuits and a couple of elephant guns from four to eight to the lb. Their hunts last from ten to thirty days at a time. It is certainly hard work for them especially if they are unfortunate and bring back nothing.

Some white hunters continued to go out year after year hunting elephant in country increasingly more remote from their home base. Perhaps most kept on making forays "behind the berg". But a steadily more important factor in the situation was the tendency for gun-bearers and camp-followers to become elephant hunters in lieu of their baases. In this case the mode tends more and more to resemble that of Albasini and his Tsonga. Of course, such lending of guns to Africans in the absence of white supervision in the veld was strictly illegal. Although Potgieter's hunt law is not extant, it is supposed to have provided for a limited arming of African companions as a protection against lions. (34) This was considerably tightened up by Stephanus Schoeman in 1857, when he stipulated that no black might be sent on the elephant hunt at all without the presence of a white, no black might participate in the hunt without being properly registered with the Landdrost, no black might wander so far in pursuit of the elephant that he was not back with his master or overseer the same evening, and no white might take more than two black marksmen with him. (35) There was an immediate outcry that the law was "disadvantageous" from petitioners in Rhenosterpoort, the southern part of the district before Makapanspoort. (36) And, though its essentials were embodied in the severe Republican Hunt Law of 22 October 1858 (37), by the end of 1865 it had been so ineffective in Zoutpansberg that petitioners for relief from fines incurred through its recent reimplementaion there could claim that it had never been applied and indeed they thought it had lapsed; moreover, its application now would ruin them. The number of these petitions would seem to indicate that non-compliance with the law was pretty general and involved some of the most prominent men of the district; one might even say especially the most prominent, a point noted by Frans Lottring. (38)

First of all, this particularly favoured the Venda, whose veld behind Zoutpansberg was being exploited, and they were not slow to realise it. At the time of the disputed succession among the Ramabulana section of the tribe in the mountains above Schoemansdal, the party which emerged victorious was closely linked with the frontier hunting economy. Makhado, who succeeded in overthrowing Davhana, his eldest brother, was himself a hunter and is traditionally the introducer of circumcision among the Venda, which he learned from the Sotho he came into contact with on the white farms. His allies in overthrowing Davhana were his old companions in his elephant hunting days, Michael Buys and Tromp and Stuurman. Makhado, too, is credited with encouraging the Venda to make use of the off season. Because of malaria and because of the hunt law, whites were limited to the winter season for coming to the hunting grounds. But the Venda were not limited. With the "borrowed" guns he could shoot all the year round, and need only give his winter spoils to his white patron. When the guns were eventually turned on those patrons, essentially because of attempts by rival factions of settlers to manipulate the succession dispute, they were used to wrest mastery of the resource. (39)

At the same time access to guns was creating an independent group of black marksmen, represented above by Tromp and Stuurman. Of diverse origin and by no means cohesive, they nevertheless represent a distinct strata of Zoutpansberg society, whose interests were not necessarily those of their masters. For instance, Tromp was to be found in the camp of the rebels Makhado and Madzhe, in 1865, and part of the seriousness of the situation at that time was a wholesale desertion of the white settlers by their black marksmen. (40) The suggestion is that rewards were not considered commensurate with deeds.

Whereas hunting itself tended to have its most direct implications for the Tsonga and Venda, the opportunities it brought in its wake were more widespread. And the principal of these was the opportunity to own or keep a gun, a desirable object for an African despite the legal sanctions against it. As we have seen, working for

the Boer as a hunter was one means of gaining semi-legitimate access. But away from the margins of elephant hunting, working for the white man brought only a long contract to serve and an aching back. Nevertheless, there was a continuous influx of contraband to African groups other than Venda and Tsonga in Zoutpansberg.

Partly it was a matter of trade. With such an influx of traders after ivory, any African who could lay his hands on a tusk might, with a little luck, run across a trader who would take the risk. Landdrost van Nispen was horrified to discover in 1866 that illegal arms traffic from the south came to his district with impunity by the simple expedient of using Strydpoort rather than Makapanspoort, where there was a government office, to pass through the southern range. (41) Moreover, a government inquiry during the summer had uncovered participation and profit from this trade among the good citizens adjacent to that government office at Pietpotgietersrust. (42) Quite separate from this was an irregular flow through African intermediaries. In 1853 Sekwati was thought to be receiving powder, lead and guns of Portuguese origin at the kraal of Makashula, a Kutswe headman on the Lowveld Sabi intimately connected with Albasini. (43) The Mapela and Makapane divisions of the Transvaal Ndebele were supposed to have arms sources both to the south with Moshweshwe and to the west with Sekgomo. At one stage ten Griqua waggons turned up at Mapela's kraal, by implication from Moshweshwe. (44)

But the most disturbing from the point of view of the authorities was that Africans were themselves travelling in order to obtain arms. In 1866 Commandant van Heerden of Waterberg took a brand new baviaanbout from one of his own servants, which the man said he bought openly at Reed's store in Potchefstroom. (45) In the early 1850s, the more frequent complaint was that Africans from the north were travelling across the Vaal to the then Orange River Sovereignty and Cape Colony to take advantage of "the free trade in ammunition and firearms" there. An attempt was made to control this movement in 1852, but a year later forty people from Maraba, north of Makapanspoort, were off to the Cape to fetch guns. (46)

But the clearest statement that something a little more complicated than surreptitious exchange might be taking place comes in a statement by Barend Johannes Vorster of Rhenosterpoort in 1861. Vorster was visiting Bloemfontein when he noticed some of Matlala's people from home working there. He had a trusted old servant go and investigate, and learned that they were working there in order to go to buy guns from Moshweshwe with their earnings. (47) Circumstantial confirmation that perhaps such a process was occurring is found in the letters of the NGK missionary in Zoutpansberg, Stephanus Hofmeyr. About 1870 Hofmeyr made the satisfying discovery that Zoutpansberg was peppered with individuals who had some grounding in NGK teachings from the Cape and Natal, who might provide a welcome entrée into diverse African societies for the mission. (48) The implication is that Africans exposed to the forces generated on a hunting frontier but denied the full benefit of those forces were very quick to recognize and exploit the resource of their own labour by injecting it into a situation over which they might still exert some control. This development may have predated the discovery of the Diamond Fields by as much as twenty years.

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#### Notes

- (1) F. J. Potgieter, AYB 1958, II, "Die Vestiging van die Blanke in Transvaal, 1837-1886", 87, 145.
- (2) J. Chapman, Travels, 1856-63, I (1867), from "Notes on the Elephant" (1856), 185-6.

- (3) Compare J. MacQueen, "Journey from Inhambane to Zoutpansberg", in J.R. Geog. Soc. 32 (1862), 67, with Tvl. A. 81 (Afrikaans Translation), "Account of Father J. de S. Rita Montanha", 94.
- (4) H. W. Struben, Recollections (1920), 68, 85; S. Hofmeyr, Twintig Jaren in Zoutpansberg (1840), 2-3; Tvl. W.126, "Herinneringsboek van B. J. Vorster, 39-90.
- (5) C. J. Moerschell, Der Wilde Lotrie (1912), 129.
- (6) Tvl. R 4514/61, G. van Rooyen, Veldct. Roodekrans, 22 July 1961 (to Comat. S. J. P. Kruger).
- (7) Moerschell, 66-7.
- (8) Tvl. COCP, 27-34, 4 Mar 1860 (to Govr. L. Marques), 34-42, 8 Mar 1860 (to Sec. Gen. Mozambique). Also particularly 92-4, 18 Apr 1861 (to Govr. Gen. Mozambique), 115-8, 9 Nov 1861 (to Govr. Gen. Mozambique), 139-40, 31 Jan 1862 (to Govr. L. Marques).
- (9) Particularly Tvl. R 2103/58, Verklaring, Michael de Buys, Zoutpansberg, 3 June 1858; R 2524/59. S. Schoeman, Comdt. Gen. Schoemansdal, 1 Jan 1859 (to Pres. M. W. Pretorius); R 2576/59, Byeekomst, Zoutpansberg, 4 Feb. 1859; R 2633/59, Burgers, Zoutpansberg, 2 Mar 1859 (to Pres. Pretorius); R 2876/59, S. Schoeman, Comdt. Gen. Schoemansdal, 2 June 1859 (to Pres. Pretorius); and SAA Tvl 4, 313-4, R 3148/59, Verslag. Pres. M. W. Pretorius, Sept 1859.
- (10) Moerschell, 49-51. Schoeman's restrictions on the hunt are: Tvl. R 765/55, Publieke Byeekomst, Zoutpansberg, 19 Feb 1855; R 1380/57, Publieke Byeekomst, Zoutpansberg, 11 Mar 1857. Their essence is embodied in the Republican Hunt Law published 22 Oct 1858. See SAA Tvl. 3, 599-602.
- (11) H. A. Stayt, The BaVenda (1931), 76-7.
- (12) J. B. de Vaal, AYB 1953, I, "Die Rol van Joao Albasini ...", 2.
- (13) The famous Bronkhorst memorandum from this trip for most of its length reads like a description of the settlement Potgieter eventually founded at Zoutpansberg. J. C. Chase (ed), Natal (1843), 73-4.
- (14) SAA Tvl. 1, 42-4. Commissieraad, Ohrigstad, 13 Apr 1846, 45-7. Ekstra Volksraad, Ohrigstad, 20 Apr 1846.
- (15) Tvl. W.126, "Herinneringsboek van B. J. Vorster", 103.
- (16) Op. cit., 80.
- (17) SAA Tvl. 2, 25. Volksraad, Lydenburg, 5 May 1851, art. 6.
- (18) de Vaal, 5-7, 19-20.
- (19) G. G. Munnik, Konieke van Noordelike Transvaal (1921), 11; G. S. Preller, "'n Vergane Voortrekkerdorp", Oorlogsoormag (1923), 208; A. H. and W. J. Potgieter in G. S. Preller, Voortrekkermense III (1922), 10.
- (20) Chase, 73-4.
- (21) COCP, 214, 27 Aug 1864 (to Michael de Buys); 232-3, 18 Oct 1864 (to District Procureur G. A. Roth); 245, 25 Nov 1864 (to Michael de Buys).
- (22) Tvl. A 81, "Account of Father J. de S. Rita Montanha", 33-58.
- (23) de Vaal, 35.
- (24) A graphic description of the work of "auxiliaries" on commando is provided by Alex Stuben, who left the Natal Civil Service for the hunter's life in Zoutpansberg in the mid-1860s. He served as artillery officer, in charge of the district's only cannon, during the wars with the Venda, but was eventually so sickened by "boer-fight", by which he meant the proportion of it done by people he regarded as savages, that he deserted and walked home to "civilization" at Pretoria. Ms in possession of Pretoria Municipality, Tvl. microfilm D/S 13, particularly 37-45.
- (25) Tvl. A 26, "D. S. Mare Versameling", D. S. Mare Lagercomdt, Schoemansdal, 2 Sept. 1865 (to J. Albasini); R 408/66, R. A. van Nispen, Comdt., 10 Apr 1866 (to Veldct. D. J. S. Herbst); R 409/66, Klagte J. J. Human, 10 Apr 1866; R 412/66, J. J. Human, 13 Apr 1866 (to Pres. Uitvoerenderaad); R 420/66. R. A. von Nispen, Comdt., 16 Apr 1866 (to Uitvoerenderaad).



- (26) For example, de Vaal, 21.
- (27) " " , R 183/64. Memorandum, J. Albasini, Supt. Goedewensch, 2 Apr - 25 May 1865.
- (28) For example, R 997/56. A. C. Duvenage, Landt. Zoutpansberg, 6 Mar 1856 (to Comdt. Gen. S. Schoeman); R 171/62, Extract "Journal van den Portuguesche Vice Consul", 15 Mar 1862.
- (29) de Vaal, 7-8; N. J. van Warmelo, The Copper Miners of Musina, 68. Munene and his clan were Tsonga but had served in the Gaza army.
- (30) Tvl. microfilm D/S 13, A. B. Stuben, 38.
- (31) Tvl. W.126, B. J. Vorster, 15-6, 36-7.
- (32) C. Fuller, "Tsetse in the Transvaal ..." in 9th-10th Reports of the Director of Veterinary Education and Research (Pretoria, 1924), appendix A, H. J. Grobler, 352-3 and passim.
- (33) Preller, Voortrekkermense, III (1922), 12.
- (34) Munnik, 10.
- (35) Tvl. R 1380/57, Publieke Byeenkomst, Zoutpansberg, 11 Mar 1857. Potgieter's law is here referred to under the date 20 Oct 1850.
- (36) Tvl. R 1814/57, Hof, Zoutpansberg, 7-8 Dec 1857, art 1.
- (37) SAA Tvl. 3, 599-602.
- (38) Moerschell, 128; Tvl. R 1374/65, H. R. Schnell and others, 28 Dec 1865; R 1355/65, No 22, L. M. Nunes, 4 Jan 1866; R 732/66, J. A. Weeber and others, 25 Jul 1866; SAA Tvl. 6, 101-2, A. H. Potgieter and others, 9 Jan 1866; 102, G. J. Snyman and others, 15 Jan 1866.
- (39) N. J. van Warmelo, Contributions towards Venda History ... (1932), 24-7, 30-3; Tvl. R 328/64, J. Albasini, Sup. Goedewensch, 9 June 1864; R 292/64, Memorandum 26 May-9 June 1864; R 1116/66, R. A. van Nispen, Landt. Schoemansdal, 9 Nov 1866 (to Uitvoerenderaad).
- (40) Tvl. R 918/67. Enclosure 1, "Memorandum van eene Overeenkomst met de Kaffers Magato en Tromp by de kraal van Katlagte", 5 June 1865; R 370/66, A. P. Duvenage, Supt. Kalkfontein, Mar 1866 (to Uitvoerenderaad); R 371/66, Inwoners wyk Rhenostrepoort Mar 1866 (to Uitvoerenderaad); Preller, Oorlogsoormag, 211.
- (41) Tvl. R390/66, R. A. van Nispen, Landt, Schoemansdal, 6 Apr 1866.
- (42) Tvl. R 1245/65, Verklaring, F. Jacks, Doorn Draaij dist. Waterberg, 5 Dec 1865.
- (43) SAA Tvl. 2, 474, VR 337/53, Verslag Comdt. Gen P. J. Potgieter, 19 Sept 1853, art 9.
- (44) Tvl. R 742/54, J. van Dyk, Veldot., 26 Dec 1854 (to Comdt Gen Pretorius); R 1168/56, S. Schoeman, Comdt. Gen. Zoutpansberg, 6 Aug 1856 (to Comdt. Gen. Pretorius); R 2620/59, Verklaring, Inkwahi, Pietpotgietersrust, 20-26 Feb 1859.
- (45) Tvl. R 1192/66, W. van Heerden, Comdt., Pietpotgietersrust, 3 Dec 1866 (to Pres. Pretorius).
- (46) SAA Tvl. 1, 369-71, A. W. J. Pretorius, Comdt. Gen. Magaliesberg, 26 Dec 1850 (to Volksraad); SAA Tvl. 2, 348-9, VR 226/52, Krygsraad, Olifants Rivier, 18 Sept 1852, 473-4; VR 337/53, Verslag, Comdt. Gen. P. J. Potgieter, 19 Sept 1853, art 4.
- (47) Tvl R 4448/61, B. J. Vorster, Comdt. Rynosterpoort, 30 June 1861 (to Comdt. Geysler).
- (48) S. Hofmeyr, Twintig Jaren in Zoutpansberg (1890), 104 (Bethesda n.d. between Apr and Sept 1870), 106 (Bethesda, Oct. 1870); NGK Sendingsargief 15/8/3, 137-42 (Bethesda, 22 July 1870).

Abbreviations used in Notes

- Tvl. RSA State Archives. Transvaal Depot.
- NGK Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Archive of the Cape Synode.
- COCP Correspondencia Official do Consulado Portuguez (Tvl. A.248).
- AYB Archives Year Book for South African History
- SAA. Tvl. Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Transvaal: Notule van die volksraad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek.