

LABOUR MIGRATION FROM THE DELAGOA BAY
HINTERLAND TO SOUTH AFRICA: 1852-1895*

by

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Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, while giving evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission, commented that "the Portuguese East Coast has been the salvation of the Rand". (1) With African labour costs estimated at just over 25% of total average costs, and as much as 60% to 70% in the more labour intensive mines of the eastern Transvaal, the profitability of the South African goldmines was believed to be dependent on cheap, regular sources of labour. (2)

This paper seeks to outline the origins and growth of migrating labour from the Delagoa Bay hinterland to the labour markets of South Africa in the period before the Portuguese conquest. It examines the causes of labour migration in terms of a social and economic adjustment to new pressures operating on and from within Tsonga society.

The origins of migratory labour movements from the Delagoa Bay hinterland (3) to the labour markets of South Africa can be traced back to the suggestions in the 1852-3 Natal Native Affairs Commission which related to the importation of Tsonga (4) labour.

In the 1850s numerous Tsonga accompanied Zulu "refugees" into Natal, and there is evidence of Tsonga families being indentured for three-year periods. (5) According to Mpumo tradition, in 1858 a number of Zulu ivory hunter-recruiters appeared in the vicinity of the Bay and several men went to Pietermaritzburg where they earned wages of 5s-7s per month. (6) In the same year a memorial was placed before the Lt.-General of Natal calling for the withdrawal of restrictions limiting the free flow of Tsonga migrants into Natal and for the state to intercede with the "Zulu authorities" in order to facilitate the flow of Tsonga labour through their territory. It was considered that "the amaTonga tribe from their natural disposition and habits are a people well suited" to sugar cultivation. (7) To this end a commission was appointed, and law 13 of 1859 attempted to centralize and regulate the flow of Tsonga migrants into Natal.

In the 1860s the Tsonga question was largely overshadowed by the importation of indentured Indian labour. However, the continued harassment of Tsonga passing

*This paper was prepared at an early stage of research, and is presented here in a slightly modified form.

through Zululand limited the number of migrants entering Natal and elicited appeals for government intervention. (8) This the government refused to do, ostensibly in order not to become embroiled in Zulu politics. (9)

This attitude changed radically with the approaching completion of Indian indentures in 1872 and the fluid political situation in southern Mozambique.

In southern Mozambique, the Ngoni king, Mawewe, had been deposed by his brother, Umzila, during the civil war of 1858-1862. Fleeing with three Ngoni regiments, Mawewe settled on the northern border of his Swazi allies and sent expeditionary forces deep into the Gaza marches of Khosen and Bilene. Owing to the threat posed by Mawewe, and seeking to benefit from more lucrative ivory areas, Umzila moved his capital north of the Save River, 15 days' march from the Limpopo.

The Maputo, securing their western flank through a marriage alliance with the Swazi, attempted to fill the power vacuum south of the Nkomati by defeating Umzila's allies in the Delagoa Bay hinterland on several occasions in the late 1860s and early 1870s.

The overland labour route was effectively blockaded or, alternatively, made unsafe to the peoples living north of Maputo by the endemic warfare constantly flaring up between the different "Tsonga" polities of the area, by Maputo expansion and by the instability of the post-civil war period. In 1868 Umzila offered to facilitate the importation of Gaza labour into Natal if the British would neutralize the Swazi-Mawewe impediment to the southward flow of Ngoni migrants. With the prospect of tapping what the Lt.-Governor of Natal considered "the large mass of unemployed labour at present sealed up in the territory [of Gaza]", a diplomatic mission was sent to Umzila under the command of St Vincent Erskine, the son of the Natal colonial secretary. Although the mission failed to produce any cogent results, further correspondence was entered into (11), and in 1872 the first migrants from Bilene were noticed in Natal. (12) While most of those migrants, blocked for political reasons from passing through the Delagoa Bay area, were obliged to travel through the Transvaal to Natal, the sea route from Delagoa Bay was, according to Keate in 1870, "beginning to grow into some importance". The following year the Portuguese clamped down on this "clandestine" recruitment and proceeded to levy a 15s passport fee per contracted migrant shipped from Delagoa Bay. (13)

There is much evidence to suggest that the attempted annexation of southern Delagoa Bay and Nyaka Island to Natal in the early 1870s was largely motivated by a desire to secure a safe station for shipping migrant labour from north of Maputo and Zululand to Durban and thence to the Natal sugar plantations and Kimberley. (14) However, after the MacMahon award of 1875 went in favour of the Portuguese, a treaty was signed between the governors of Mozambique and Natal which marked the beginning of a regulated trade in contract labour from Mozambique to South Africa. By monopolizing the sea route, the Natal government envisaged that labour contracted at Delagoa Bay would cost 50% to 70% less than indentured Indian labour and would undercut the existing wage rate in Natal by 17% to 37%. The treaty drew accusations of neo-slavery as contracts were not dated and there were no stipulations as to the hours of work or fixing of salary. Much of the labour came from press-ganged slaves repatriated at Lourenço Marques by the British anti-slavery squadron operating in the Mozambique Channel. Much of the expense involved in this "Voluntary Emigration Scheme" went into "guarding and superintending" prospective migrants at the Lourenço Marques depôt and in preventing their "running away". Contracts were officially for 2-3 years, and a passport fee of 11s per migrant was paid by the recruits.

Maputoland, because of its geopolitical position, supplied most of the Mozambican labour working in Natal. "Large numbers were constantly passing through Zululand singly and in pairs." Zulu vassals until 1879, the Maputo were allowed to pass through Zululand, although this did not stop the Zulus from considering them "objects of legitimate plunder". (16) In order to create a free flow of labour, Shepstone concluded an agreement with Cetshwayo in 1873 whereby "no obstacle to

reaching Natal through Zululand would be placed in the way of tribes beyond ... and that on their return to their own country these labourers would be protected from being robbed of the wages they had thus earned". (17) To this end, John Dunn was appointed amaTonga agent at an annual salary of £300 and shelters were built along the coastal route.

The 1859 law had failed to place Tsonga migrants under government control, and in 1871 a new law was promulgated whereby Tsonga migrants were to register with magistrates on entering Natal. Applicants for labour were then to pay a 10s "recruitment fee" to the magistrate. Neither the 1859 nor the 1871 laws had much success. In 1877, despite the raising of Voluntary Emigration labour wages to a par with existing wage rates in Natal, Shepstone complained that, of the 1,345 Tsonga contracted to work on the Natal railways, 1,232 had been recruited by hunter-recruiters working either directly in Maputo or on the coastal route. (18) Thus the Tsonga migrants effectively rejected centralized recruiting in favour of the open labour market.

By 1879 the Tsonga were considered the "most regular labour supply of Natal", averaging periods of up to 2 to 3 years in the colony. (19) The "reliability" of Tsonga labour was determined by the length and harshness of the route and the restrictions placed on summer travel; in the wet summer season swollen streams had to be crossed and the potential migrant preferred to work on his fields. Although considered the best route through Zululand, the coastal route was plagued by malaria and black water fever and was considered dangerous during the wet summer months. (20) Thus the migrants were obliged to travel in winter, and this necessitated a minimum residence of six months in Natal. Of the 11,442 Tsonga migrants entering and leaving through the southern Tugela magistracy in 1881 and 1882, over 70% travelled in the winter months. (21) As yet, it is difficult to determine what effect the opening up of new labour markets in South Africa had on potential Tsonga labour supplies. The Natal planters felt that sources of Tsonga labour were drying up by the late 1880s, which might indicate that it was being diverted to other markets within South Africa. (22)

The Maputo continued to make up the majority of migrants travelling to Natal as, for those living north of Maputo, the use of the sea route meant contracting to unknown employers for long periods at uncompetitive wages and was not without dangers; under the illusion of being shipped to Natal, migrants were habitually sent to Madagascar as indentured labour. (23) In the early 1890s, in order to stimulate the sea route and discourage what the Portuguese considered overland "clandestine" labour, shipping capacity limits were raised from two migrants to four per ton and the stipulation that a doctor should accompany each boatload was abolished. (24) Labour movements between Mozambique and Natal continued into the beginning of the twentieth century. (25)

1870 is known as the year of diaman amongst the Nkuna Tsonga, and is considered by the Tsonga to be synonymous with mines. As guns were freely available in the Delagoa Bay area, most of the Mozambican labour attracted to Kimberley came from Gaza. (26) However, many Tsonga from the Delagoa Bay hinterland were attracted by the high, although fluctuating, monthly wages of £3 to £5 on the diamond fields of Griqualand West. Diamond thefts also provided an incentive, and Delagoa Bay became known as a place "where a vast number of stolen diamonds are planted about the different kraals". (27) In 1884, about 1,120 "Shangaan" and 735 "Portuguese Zulus" were working on the Kimberley fields. (28)

There is evidence of Tsonga labour being officially shipped from Lourenço Marques to Cape Town as early as 1875 (29), but it was only after the 1879 Cape Select Committee on Labour, which noted the successes of Natal and recommended the importation of Tsonga field and railway labour, that Tsonga labour was systematically recruited. At this stage of research it is difficult to quantify the amount of labour leaving Delagoa Bay for South Africa, but one Cape recruiter, using Natal recruiting links and the "aid" of Portuguese officials, claimed to have imported 3,000 Tsonga as farm labour on three-year contracts at 15s to 25s per month. (30) Another 1,000 were imported by

the railways and harbours in 1881-2 under the aided immigration scheme. Tsonga labour proved satisfactory to the farmers, although there were desertions by men returning in "large bodies" to Mozambique, possibly via Kimberley. Shipping continued on a much reduced scale into the 1890s, and in 1895 1,858 Mozambicans were estimated to be domiciled in the Cape Colony. (31)

There was a rapid response in the Delagoa Bay area to the labour demands of the Transvaal alluvial goldfields in the early 1870s. Owing to low wages of 20s to 25s per month, labour tended to be seasonal and "large gangs brought from Delagoa Bay" were important in ending labour shortages during the planting season. (32) Porterage to the goldfields in the winter added another source of income; 10s per 50lbs to Lydenburg and 15s to Pilgrim's Rest. There was also a demand for labour on the farms supplying the goldfields with agricultural produce; farmers "generally had no difficulty" in securing labour at 20s per month. (33)

A new demand for labour arose, both in numbers and skills, with the opening of the reef mines at Barberton in 1884. The eastern Transvaal mines were dependent on Tsonga migrants, who constituted the majority of the work force; but, with the opening up of the Rand mines, the mines of the eastern Transvaal became "half-way houses" for Tsonga migrants attracted by the higher wages offered on the Rand (63s in October 1890). In the early 1890s the more labour intensive and less profitable Barberton mines could only afford to pay wages of 33s per month, Pilgrim's Rest 27s, and the smaller Swaziland diggings 20s. (34) The wages earned on these mines provided the capital needed for the long and expensive journey to the Rand. Another source of competition for labour came from the NZASM, constructing the railway from Komanti Poort to Pretoria. The NZASM placed several contracts with recruiters for 3,000 Tsonga. (35) It is difficult at this stage of research to estimate what percentage of Mozambican labour on the Rand came from the Delagoa Bay hinterland. Whereas, before 1885 the Inhambane hinterland had been concerned with supplying the French Islands of the Indian Ocean with indentured labour, the Delagoa Bay hinterland had a long tradition of labour migrancy to South Africa and consequently it constituted the easiest area of labour recruitment south of the Save River. Proximity to the goldfields also favoured Delagoa Bay.

Suffice it to say that in 1887, in the Maputo area alone, more than half the able-bodied male population was estimated to be working at any given period in the Transvaal, Natal or Kimberley. (36) By 1904 it was considered that the labour potential of the Delagoa Bay hinterland had been exhausted. (37)

In 1890 there were about 8,750 Mozambicans working on the Rand. (38) When the newly consolidated Chamber of Mines reduced wages from 63s to 44s in 1890, the Mozambican response was to withhold labour, and the following year the Mozambican labour force dropped to 7,000. (39) When the 1890 wage determinations were abandoned and wages rose, Mozambican workers returned to the Rand and, according to one source, by 1893 they totalled between 19,500 and 22,100. (40)

In the same year (1893) the Chamber of Mines created a Native Labour Department, with a mandate "to systematically organize the native labour supply" and to "tackle the native problem, and endeavour, while lowering the rate of native wages, to secure an ample supply of labour". (41) The NLD was undercapitalized from the start. Members paid 3d per African worker and 6d from 1895, but it was estimated that Mozambican labour cost from £4 to £5.10s to bring one migrant to the Rand. As desertions were high, individual mines could lose up to 75% of labour premiums; in 1895, six companies lost £7,317 from desertions. (42) It was more profitable to recruit migrants on the Rand, either new arrivals or men drawn away from other mines by offers of higher wages.

Recruiters built shelters and provided food along the already established labour routes into the Transvaal. Runners were sent out from the main camp, and after sufficient numbers had been collected they were despatched under an induna to the Rand and there disposed of the the highest bidder. Many Mozambicans travelled individually so as to sell their labour to the highest bidder. To travel without the aid of a

recruiting agent entailed great hardships. As one recruiter, angling for a Chamber of Mines contract, stated: "the skeletons of those who have died are frequently seen, and at almost every store and dwelling near the road can be found those whom sickness and fatigue have compelled to give up the road." (43)

The Kruger government procrastinated over the passing of a new Pass law which would, theoretically, restrict desertions, and the Volksraad blocked the building of rest stations along the eastern routes as they feared it would give the Chamber of Mines a monopoly of labour. Native commissioners earned an unofficial capitation fee of 10s to £1 per migrant, and many Veldkornets were in the pay of farmers and recruiters. Migrants would be arrested for not carrying travel passes and would be released only when the farmer or recruiter paid the 1s travel pass fee. In 1891 the Chamber complained that "it is impossible for East Coast Kaffirs to get through to Johannesburg unless they contrive to break through without being detected by the police. (44) Robberies and press-gangings were frequent, and forced most migrants to travel away from the main routes in small groups at night; by so doing the migrants risked being made subject to forced labour for trespass. As the Volksraad opposed the importation of Cape labour, the Chamber of Mines were dependent on Volksraad-controlled labour sources within the ZAR: perhaps a deliberate strategy on the part of the Volksraad. These actions by the Kruger government led the mines to create private police forces and establish their own "veldkornets" along the labour routes.

Before the completion of the LM-Rand railway in 1894, the Chamber was prevented from lowering wages by environmental limitations on mid-winter travel on the cold Highveld and by the nature of the agricultural cycle. Owing to the severe labour shortages in winter it was feared that a reduction in wages would halt winter work on the mines. In this respect, "Shangaan" migrants were highly valued as they spent long periods on the Rand. This can be gauged from the relatively large pay packets taken home by returning Mozambican migrants - roughly £26.10 in 1895. (45) Because of the long periods spent on the mines, Mozambicans were able to acquire specialized skills and they came to dominate underground work. (46)

Probably the greatest obstacle to an NLD recruiting monopsony was the absence of any dominant political authority in the Delagoa Bay hinterland with which they could deal.

Following the death of Mawewe in 1873, hostilities between the Swazi and the Ngoni ceased. Maputo, threatened in the south by an expanding Swazi group and by the secession of vassal areas which had previously provided lebensraum for excess Maputo population, was defeated in 1876 by the combined armies of Mpfumo and Nondwane allied to the Portuguese. Following the defeat of Zululand in 1879, and with Umzila living north of the Save, the Portuguese were partially able to fill the political vacuum and military customs posts were placed on the Nkomati and Tembe rivers. In 1888 a magistracy was founded 10 miles north of Lourenço Marques, and the following year a decree was issued prohibiting "clandestine" recruitment. When Umzila's son, Gungunyana, returned to Bilene in 1889-90 with 60,000 followers, the Portuguese, attempting to add substance to their claims to the area south of the Nkomati, placed military posts on the labour routes passing through Nwambo, Khosen and Bilene - although the last was withdrawn when Gungunyana threatened to go to war with the Portuguese because of their encroachment on the Gaza state and their attempt to levy "passport fees" on Gaza migrant workers going to South Africa.

Although the Portuguese made armed tax raids beyond the Lourenço Marques area, it was estimated that in 1892 they were only able to tax a twenty mile area, surrounding the town. In this area an annual hut tax of 1/6d to 4s, payable in kind, was levied. Migrants passing along the labour routes were assembled at Portuguese military posts and handed over to "accredited" labour agents, who paid their 15s passport fee, a contract fee, and various "sundries" which generally totalled a further 15s to 25s. (47) Most migrants avoided the military posts as they did not wish to sign contracts or become registered for taxes (48), nor did recruiters wish to increase their overheads. When the Portuguese supply camps were used, recruiters made a habit of taking out one

passport and using it several times.

The Portuguese attempt in 1895 to monopolize labour exportation by prohibiting foreign labour recruiters and by giving a recruiting concession to a local resident - possibly because the ZAR was harbouring refugees from the Portuguese-Rouga War, but more probably because of the support given by certain free-lance recruiters to the Gaza cause - had little effect until after the defeat of Gungunyana. In marked contrast, when Gungunyana recalled his men for military service in the war of 1895, more than 150 Mozambicans left the Rand each day. With Gaza impis patrolling the border, the flow of Mozambican labour to the Rand stopped completely in September 1895, causing a "disastrous labour shortage", especially of underground workers. (49)

Labour migration was actively encouraged by many of the leaders of the various polities of the Delagoa Bay hinterland. In 1871 an English hunter-trader-recruiter paid the Maputo chief, Nozingili, a "contracting fee" in guns and liquor for an unspecified number of migrants and reported that Cetshwayo had sent 300 to 400 Tsonga vassals to Natal and personally had earned £600 to £800 by so doing. (50) This policy was continued after 1879 by Zibhebhu. Both Zambili (1877-1891) and Ngwanazi (1891-1895) of Maputo levied a £1 tax on all returning migrants, Ngwanazi demanding a £5-£10 indemnity of all migrants leaving before completing their military service. (51) Migrants from Bilene and Khosen paid Umzila an unspecified tax in coins. (52) Recruiters working in Mozambique claimed that they paid a recruiting fee of £1 per migrant or gave unspecified "presents" to the chiefs. (53) By 1896 the British vice-consul at Lourenço Marques considered the levying of "labour taxes" on migrants by the traditional leaders of the Delagoa Bay polities to be a "common practice". The export of migrant labour by the rulers of the south and central Tsonga must be seen in terms of a change in the mode of subsistence of the area, the undermining of centralized pre-conquest commodity production and exchange, and the formation of dependency linkages.

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The soil of the Delagoa Bay hinterland is very sandy and porous and rainfall in the wet season is highly unreliable, especially in the south. (54) Water holes are scarce and tend to dry up during periods of drought. According to an English missionary,

on account of the poverty and dryness of the soil, which in appearance is just like sand, the natives in the least drought are often in a starving condition, through failure of their crops. The appearance of the soil to an ordinary European would lead him to believe that nothing would possibly grow in it. Yet it is very surprising how the natives do produce from it ... if they get the rain in its season. The uncertainty of the food crops is, of course, a great incentive to the natives to offer themselves for work, and the rate of wages offered in the labour market is a great attraction. (55)

Patches of black "Inyaka" soil, rich in humus content, are, however, found in the Nondwane and other areas, and patches of fertile red soil are situated along the coast and in Khosen. But the highest premium was placed on the three minor alluvium-depositing rivers, the Maputo, Tembe and Mfoloti, and especially the Nkomati and Limpopo rivers which meander through broad alluvial plains. Flood and tidal irrigation was practised on the Limpopo and Nkomati, and to a lesser extent on the other three rivers. These rivers provided valuable water for human and, where tsetse had been driven away by bush clearance, stock consumption.

The south and central Tsonga were cultivators and cattle keepers who supplemented this basic mode of subsistence with hunting, gathering and fishing. Although an excellent cattle grazing area with an estimated ability to support one

beast per 12 acres (56), the 19th century Tsonga lost most of their cattle through the incursions of various displaced Nguni groups in the 1820s, Zulu military expeditions in the late 1820s and early 1830s, the Ngoni volkerwanderung and the decade of raiding which followed the Ngoni civil war of 1858-1862. But cattle keeping was also restricted by the tsetse belt, which extended 30 miles east of the Lebombo mountains, and by large fly patches throughout the area. It seems possible that tsetse was expanding in the mid-19th century as there is much evidence of deserted cattle kraals and it is believed that animal trypanosomiasis spread into Zululand from the Tsonga areas. There are a number of possible non-ecological reasons for this: political disturbances would have restricted anti-tsetse activities such as bush clearance and grass burning, and the early Tsonga migrants would have acted as hosts to both the infectious sporozoites of the tsetse and to the fly itself. Tsonga cattle also suffered from lung sickness and redwater fever. There is evidence of a major epidemic in the Bilene area in the late 1860s.

It is a curious circumstance that most of this country once abounded in cattle, and that since the original has been destroyed it has been so infested by an insidious disease that they are mostly confined to the coast and the mountains of the interior.

This is probably a reference to lung sickness brought by cattle imported from Zululand in the early 1860s.

The loss of Tsonga cattle brought about a major social and economic crisis in the area. Perhaps influenced by the Venda, amongst whom cattle were scarce and who consequently used hoes as a means of brideprice, the Tsonga adopted the same mode of brideprice exchange. From 1840 to 1855, 80-100 hoes constituted a brideprice valued at from 8 to 10 cattle. But, as traders settled in the interior in order to benefit from the wage earnings of labour migrants, vast numbers of hoes were imported from England and Germany and hoes came to be used as a common means of exchange. (58) The overissue of hoes caused a deflation in value against cattle; this depreciation in the value of hoes was more marked around Lourenço Marques, where, by 1870, up to 50 hoes were needed to buy one beast.

As the Tsonga lost confidence in hoes, they were replaced by English sovereigns earned in British South Africa. Junod dates this transformation to 1865-1870. From 1870, Mpfumo marriage transactions were concluded with English gold sovereigns. In 1886 it was reported that the coinage of Lourenço Marques was dependent on migrants' earnings. (59) European traders exchanged goods for migrants' sovereigns in Maputo in the early 1870s and in Bilene in the 1880s. (60) In 1879 a British official reported of the Maputo that "English money is their currency, Portuguese money not being understood". Eight years later, the British consul was able to remark that "English money has become the currency of the country ... when the [Lourenço Marques] PWD attempted to pay the Kaffirs employed on the railway works in Portuguese silver, they refused in a body to accept it, saying 'This is no money' and would not work until they had received the British shilling".

The decline of cattle keeping and the increasing use of labour saving hoes meant that labour was released from the local economy and made available to the mining and agricultural enterprises of South Africa. Concomitantly, as increasing numbers of migrants left the area to earn brideprices valued in English sovereigns, and as the latter became the common means of exchange in the Delagoa Bay area, the amount of English money in circulation spiralled. Inflation set in and the chiefs were unable to control lobola prices, which, by the end of the century, had more than doubled. (61) Although originally set at £8, during the reign of Maphunga (1870?-1890), Nondwane brideprices were fixed at £15.10. (62) In 1887 a Maputo was advised by missionaries to work in Natal or the Transvaal for one year in order to earn a brideprice of £20. (63) On his accession in 1890, an Mpfumo chief produced a lobola of £30 and 20 cattle for his principal wife and two attendants, sub-chiefs contributing £1, headmen 10s, and villages 1s each. (64) The need for British currency was accompanied by a desire for South African consumer goods unobtainable in the Delagoa Bay area. This explains why the Tsonga were unwilling to work for Portuguese employers and why the latter, from an early date, came to employ forced labour. (66)

Cattle losses allowed a more concentrated form of agricultural production as the pressures to expand winter pastures owing to sweetveld overgrazing in the summer tsetse season were removed. Initial evidence points to millet being replaced by more productive and less land intensive maize in non-riverine areas, following the end of the Mawewe-Swazi raids. Although maize had long been the staple in the fertile riverine areas (67), millet was considered the Tsonga staple (68); European hunters in the Maputo area in the 1850s were fed on a staple diet of black inyoti millet, and the latter formed the basic diet of Tsonga traders in the eastern Transvaal. (69) But maize production needs to be concentrated in fertile areas, and during periods of insecurity these would have attracted unwelcome raiding parties. Thus, whereas the Tsonga today keep maize in granaries, during the Ngoni civil war "stinking maize" had to be hidden in "pits in the ground". (70) The spread of maize out of the river valleys probably occasioned Junod's belief that maize entered the area only after 1820. (71) It seems, however, that maize was adopted as a staple only in the 1870s, for in the late 1880s millet was grown largely as a ferment for maize beer, although it remained the principal famine breaker. (72) At the same time, sorghum was gradually replaced by cassava, "tasting highly of prussic acid". (73) The harvesting of sorghum by women in Tsonga society is prohibited, and its replacement by cassava, which is less dependent on land and labour factors, indicates an adjustment to both more concentrated agricultural production and settlement and to male labour losses to South Africa.

The adoption of maize as a staple increased the premiums attached to fertile, especially alluvial, land, and settlement patterns became more concentrated. There is much evidence of an increase in demographic pressure in fertile areas in the 1880s and 1890s. Population movements into the fertile areas resulted in clans no longer being regarded as exclusive territorial or political units based on isibongo clan relations. Birth control was practised through sexual abstention during post-natal lactation periods and by limiting births to one every third harvest. The adoption of calorie-rich maize and cassava indicates an adjustment to overpopulation, and the disinclination of the Tsonga to use ploughs suggests a high degree of population pressure on fertile land. Erskine remarked of Bilene in 1871: "I did not think a Kaffir country could be so thickly inhabited as this valley; although I have of course seen the Zulu and Swazi countries." (74) Junod estimated that the numbers of Nondwane settled on the Nyaka soil areas before the 1894 war averaged 350 per square mile. (75) This placed new pressures on the Tsonga social system, which were then reflected in the economy.

The great ambition of a Tsonga homestead head was to encircle the village kraal with huts, but the Tsonga system of political and material inheritance always mitigated against this. Although theoretically a joint family system, inheritance within the patrilineal village passed through the father's brother and a strict hierarchical pattern of land distribution and political authority was followed. The shrinking of non-agricultural economic options (see later in the paper) resulted in standards of living become increasingly dependent on the productive value of land, and as land allocation was controlled by elders an increasing gap appeared between the real and desired standards of living of junior homestead members. Wage labour facilitated the segmentation from the homestead of younger members dissatisfied with their subordinate role. The breakdown of Tsonga patrilineal settlement patterns, much remarked on by social anthropologists today (76), was noticed by Junod as early as 1898. But segmentation meant settling on less fertile ground and heightening susceptibility to drought and disease. Drought and disease were intimately linked as the greatest loss of life during times of famine was not through starvation caused by lack of calories but by diseases caused by vitamin, and especially protein, deficiencies. Thus, while the adoption of calorie rich but protein deficient maize and cassava in the overpopulated fertile areas would have raised subsistence levels and standards of living, it would not appreciably have lowered mortality rates during famine periods. The role of famine as an agent of proletarianization needs much investigation as, even in times of famine, in moving to the mining compounds of South Africa, migrants were not moving from high to low mortality areas - probably just the reverse - and the periods spent enduring the discomforts and dangers of the mines should be seen as an economic investment aimed at an increased standard of living rather than as an escape from famine. Wages were used to supplement local agricultural production and to counteract the effects of drought and disease. By 1895 it was noticed that the people living around Delagoa Bay "apparently prefer buying imported food to growing sufficient for their own use. This is doubtless due to the high rate of wages obtainable in the labour market".

Another result of the breakdown of the patrilineage was that Tsonga settlement patterns became more dependent on ecological factors and political patronage than on kinship links. "In-migration" preceded, accompanied, and probably facilitated "out-migration". Villages moved and became segmented owing to contamination by death, witchcraft, soil exhaustion, floods, political disturbances, and epidemics of dysentery, black water fever and smallpox. Unhealthy migrant labour depôts provided breeding grounds for diseases like bubonic plague and smallpox, and migrants acted as hosts for disease-carrying vectors and sporozoites. As well as spreading local diseases (malaria, bilharzia, tickbite fever, trypanosomiasis), migrants imported bronchial and venereal diseases from the compounds. The rise in witchcraft practice, noted by numerous sources in the 1880s and 1890s, was probably an adjustment to both social and political dislocation and increased mortality brought about by disease. An increase in debilitating and fatal diseases would have raised minimum required subsistence levels of nutrition and, consequently, real and desired standards of living. Epidemics forced "in" and "out" migration and restricted any firm attachments to one area or kin group, thereby facilitating further migration. The social system was only partially able to adapt to these new pressures. There was a tendency for younger marriages to be contracted. Whereas "formerly" youths were married at 25, by the late 1880s girls were married at 12 to 15 and boys from 14 to 15 years old. This was probably both an attempt to anchor young migrants to the socio-economic life of the homestead through lobola debts and sexual-familial needs and a means of labour replacement for migrating youths. Concomitantly, the recognition of labour migration as a rite de passage, first noticed in the early 1890s, was probably an attempt to secure the social acceptability of migrants and migrant labour.

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During the 1820s and 1830s, Portuguese trade with the interior was dependent on Tsonga middlemen. (77) Iron, copper, gold and tin were imported along two trade routes leading from Delagoa Bay to the eastern Transvaal. Tsonga traders travelled as far west as the Tswana areas of the upper Limpopo and the edges of the Kalahari desert. Ivory, civet and leopard skins, ostrich, marabou and crane feathers traded in the Transvaal were exchanged at Delagoa Bay for beads and cloth with which hoes were obtained in the Eastern Transvaal. Rain-making and other medicines were imported from the Lovedu and Karanga. Navigable rivers linked the hinterland with the coast, and trade goods carried in canoes passed from the Nkomati to the Limpopo for two months during the wet season. Alan Smith has noted the importance of Tsonga trade with the Zulu in the early 19th century. Much work, however, still needs to be done on changing Tsonga trade systems and the shifting terms of trade in the 19th century.

Trade patterns were adjusted in the 19th century to supplement and coincide with forced emigration to the eastern Transvaal and, later, with the demands of the South African labour market. In many cases migrant labour was integrated with more extended patterns of exchange. The coastal labour route to Natal was favoured because it was "well-watered ... and provided grazing". (78) Another advantage was that the route was "thickly populated" and presumably offered an outlet for Zulu agricultural and cattle surpluses. (79) There is evidence of a cattle trade from Swaziland and Zululand to Bilene. (80) In the 1870s a 300% profit was made on civet exported along the coast route to Natal. During the "gun boom" of 1875-1878 Maputo migrants transferred their investment of wage earnings from consumer goods bought in Natal to guns bought at Lourenço Marques for £2-£3 and resold to the Zulu, Pedi and Swazi. (81) A £3 gun could be exchanged for a £10 ivory tusk in the Transvaal. (82)

Yet, in 1898, Junod referred to Tsonga trade as "a thing of the past". This decline can be attributed largely to the collapse of the ivory trade and the monopolistic practices of Banyan (Hindu) traders. The *raison d'être* for Lourenço Marques had been the ivory trade, supplemented by hippo ivory and animal skins, and it had occasioned the growth of a "superior caste" of professional hunters, the Tsonga *amapisi*, who were bound by various rituals and taboos. They were largely financed by Banyan Indian capital, and traditionally gave half their ivory haul to the chief in whose territory the elephant was killed or paid a hunting "licence" to the chief. Tsonga ivory hunters did not compete with European hunters, as they operated with inferior firearms in malarial and tsetse infested areas which restricted the mobility of

mounted European hunters. While the amapisi, through their Banyan creditors, supplied the less profitable Indian ivory market, the European hunters operating from the Transvaal sold their ivory on the more competitively priced European market. But, by the 1860s the ivory frontier had moved from the Olifants-Nkomati area to the Olifants-Limpopo, and by the 1870s the best ivory hunting was to be found north of the Save. The amapisi adjusted to the declining ivory trade by combining Banyan-financed trade with ivory hunting, and the political rulers adapted by monopolizing the ivory in their areas. The hunter-traders rapidly responded to the Transvaal demand for goods imported through Lourenço Marques by turning to portage. Porters were supplied by the chiefs "for a subsidy" and supplemented their wages by working on the goldfields of the eastern Transvaal. Portage fees remained high as long as the tsetse belt prevented the use of wagon transport, but this source of income was badly affected by the completion of the railway to Komati Poort in the late 1880s and by the bridging of the tsetse belt by the extension of the railway to the Rand and Barberton in the early 1890s. Porter-migrants came to depend more heavily on wage labour, and by the beginning of the 20th century even local portage duties were performed by women.

As the ivory trade through Lourenço Marques declined, Banyan merchants, hoping to benefit from the sterling imported by migrant workers, transferred their capital to retail trade with the interior. From 1857 to 1871 the long dormant Lourenço Marques customs revenues almost quadrupled and Banyan taxes provided most of the revenue for the struggling Portuguese administration. The Banyans, who had entered Lourenço Marques as independent merchants after the opening of the port to foreigners in 1853, totalled some 39 in 1859. By 1890 there were 250 operating in the town and another 500 in the interior. By 1895 this figure had risen to 1,000. (83)

Hardy traders, they were prepared to spend 5 to 10 years in an insalubrious climate before returning home. The Banyans formed temporary marriage alliances by paying lobola in sterling and, by paying trading fees to the chiefs in liquor, guns and cloth, exerted a political influence on the politics of the hinterland. By the early 1870s, trade was considered to be "in the hands of Banyans". (84) "Lourenço Marques lives by grog and by natives in search of work, and the money they earn when they come back. One can get little in the stores besides goods for the native trade." (85) In 1887 the British consul considered that "the natural produce of the district is nil; its wealth consists in the savings of the natives from their earnings in our South African colonies ... a comparatively large trade exists ... paid for in hard cash; English gold". (86) In 1892, credit supplied by Banyans in Lourenço Marques to retailers in Gaza alone was valued at £100,000, and in 1893 an estimated £84,000 to £96,000 net cash profit was remitted to India by Banyans working in Lourenço Marques. Profits from the retail trade were also partly reinvested in cashew and ivory exports to India and in local salaries.

By monopolizing the retail trade, the Banyans controlled the circulation of currency at Lourenço Marques. Portuguese bank notes were not considered legal tender even in government institutions and overvalued Portuguese coins were seldom used. Any Portuguese colonists wishing to trade with the interior, unless representing foreign firms, were thus dependent on Banyan credit. Banyan knowledge of localized market conditions and monopolization of river transport effectively excluded competition.

From the early 1870s, German potato spirits were imported by European wholesalers and distributed in the interior by Banyan retailers. There was no tax on imported Portuguese wine, and it needed no retailing licence to sell. There is evidence of wine being absorbed into Tsonga social rituals as a libation and as sororate fines and rewards.

In 1891 an estimated 80,000 demijohns of liquor were imported and diluted (generally 1:2) before being retailed in the interior. (88) One of the fifteen Banyan liquor merchants in Khosen in 1891 handled from 3,500 to 5,000 gallons of wine per month. Liquor was a great proletarianizing agent, both indirectly through increased consumer demands and more directly by labour recruiters building their camps near to the canteens. Banyan canteens were dotted all along the labour routes and clustered around river drifts; they were recognized by labour recruiters as a vital force in

determining the flow and direction of Mozambican migrant labour.

In addition to stimulating the demand for liquor, the Banyans also stimulated the demand for other imported commodities. With cattle at a premium, it seems that it was more profitable for the Tsonga to buy blankets costing 3s to 7s and imported cotton goods. Local manufacture of cotton and bark cloth was undercut by cheap imports from Britain and India; in 1890, 25% of the £121,000 of cotton goods imported through Lourenço Marques came from India. As a British official travelling in Maputo succinctly put it:

I was informed that formerly they weaved garments out of the wild cotton found in the thorn country ... now, however, they can obtain all the clothing they require by purchasing it wherever they go to work, and at Delagoa Bay, they seldom or never go to the trouble of making their own, which is, of course, inferior to that made by Europeans. (89)

Locally produced salt, both vegetable and evaporated from tidal lagoons and rivers, made excessive demands on labour and was replaced by imported salt. "We saw some people getting salt, digging up clods of mud, which is covered at spring tides with salt. The salt is dissolved out of the mud and then dried out of the water. A sufficiently tedious process." (90) This in turn had a deleterious effect on local trade as salt was an important exchange commodity. However, this was partially offset by the new demand for smoking tobacco, a habit introduced by migrants returning from South Africa; tobacco was formerly taken only as snuff. Its cultivation was a Tsonga male preserve and it was important in local exchange.

Migratory labour in the pre-conquest period should thus be seen as an adjustment to pressures stemming both from within and from without the societies of the Delagoa Bay hinterland. Although in many cases Tsonga society was able to adapt to labour losses, migratory labour induced an unhealthy dependence on imported consumer, capital and exchange goods. Junod recounts an anecdote: "'Without this', said [a Tsonga] to me, pulling the flap of my coat, 'the whites would never have conquered us! In our wars with them there have always been some of us who would not give up these stuffs, and so made alliance with the Europeans. We were divided and thus our power of resistance was broken.'"

The pattern of migratory labour was to change radically after 1895.

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Notes

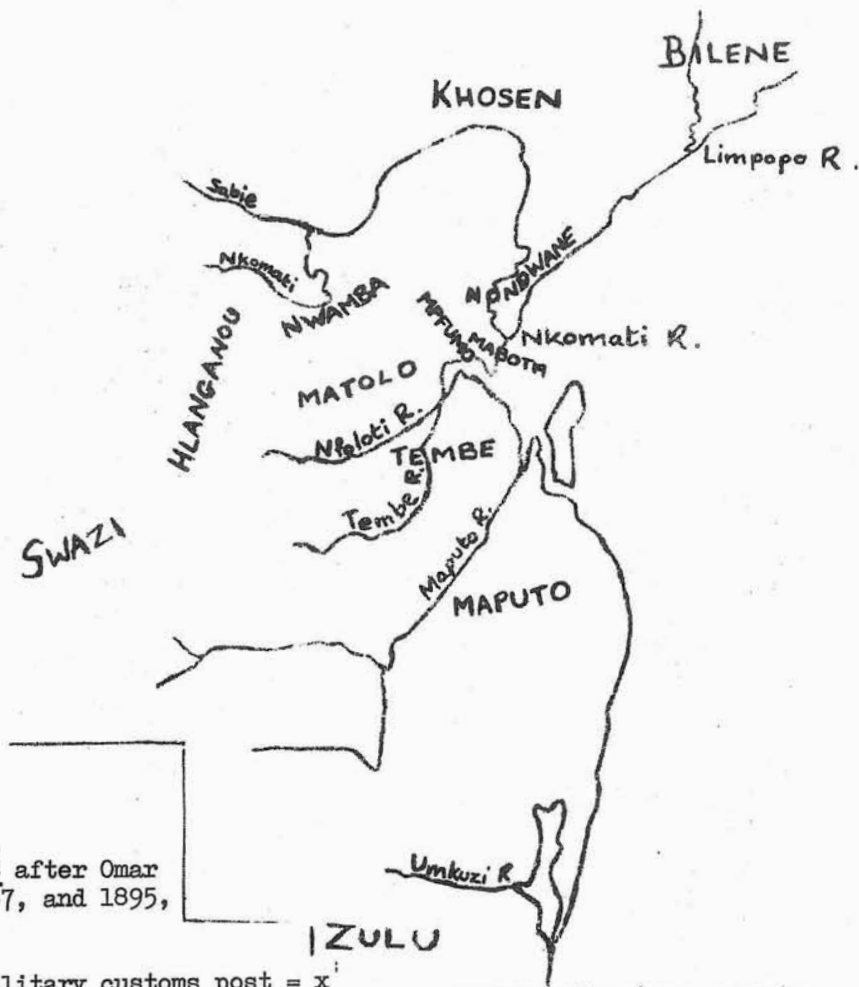
- (1) Transvaal Labour Commission (TLC), 1904, ed. 1896, p. 119.
- (2) Chamber of Mines. Industrial Commission of Enquiry (ICE) of 1897, evidence of Chairman of Chamber of Mines, p. 25, and the manager of Barberton Consolidated Mines, p. 366.
- (3) The 19th century Delagoa Bay hinterland has been defined by Liesegang (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Reiches der Gaza Nguni (Thesis, Univ. of Cologne), pp. 14-18. It covers an area of approx. 13,500 square miles, bordered in the west by the Lebombo and a thick tsetse belt, in the south by the Umkuzi River and an elongation eastwards of the Lebombo tsetse belt. To the north it is bounded by the navigable Limpopo river. The area is drained by a number of navigable rivers and for two months of the year the Limpopo may be reached from the Nkomati by

- canoe (Grandjean, "Le Bassin du Nkomati et sa communication avec le Limpopo", Bull. Soc. Neuchat. Geog. XII, 1900). Ethnically, it is composed of peoples classified by van Warmelo as southern and central Tsonga. N. J. van Warmelo, "The Classification of Cultural Groups" in W. Hammond-Tooke [ed], The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa (BSPSA) (London, 1974), pp. 68-71.
- (4) The generic term Thonga or Tsonga is terminologically confusing. The Tsonga did not regard themselves as one cultural or political unit. The name Tsonga is an invention of the 19th century Nguni "invaders" and was applied to all conquered peoples north of the Umkuzi. The term Tsonga was adopted by missionaries, perhaps because the different Hlengwe groups referred to themselves as Tsonga. The Portuguese differentiated between the southern Mozambican peoples (Landins) and displaced Nguni (Vatuas). The term "Ngoni" is equally confusing. The Ronga Tsonga referred to all their neighbours as VaNgoni; this name being given to all in-migrating groups. The "pure" displaced Nguni/Ngoni consisted only of a few hundred people.
 - (5) SNA 1/3/F No. 88, Durban magistrate to SNA 17.6.1858 re bond held by A. Forbes for the import of 20 amaTonga families. My thanks to Henry Slater for this reference.
 - (6) H. Junod, "Les Baronga", Bull. Soc. Neuchat. Geog. X, 1898, p. 80.
 - (7) Records of the Natal Exec. Council SNA 1/1/8 No. 5, 3 Feb. 1858, SA Archival Records, Natal No. 5, p. 138.
 - (8) Natal Archives & Yearly Register, 1862, p. 35; Natal Legislative Council, Votes and Proceedings 1st session, 1873, p. 42.
 - (9) Natal Legis. Council Debates, Votes & Proceedings, 1869, 1st session, pp. 39 & 74.
 - (10) British Parl. Papers 1890-91 L II, Statements from Umzunglu & Dubule, 6 Aug. 1870, p. 198.
 - (11) Ibid., SNA to Umzila, 4 Feb. 1878.
 - (12) Ibid., Erskine to Shepstone, 30 Nov. 1872.
 - (13) P. Hope, "Journey from Natal ...", JRGS 44, 1874, p. 210. A. Rita-Ferreira, O Movimento Migratorio de Trabalhadores entre Mozambique e a Africa do Sul (Lisbon, 1963), p. 12.
 - (14) Leslie, Among the Zulu and AmaTongas (Glasgow, 1875), p. 294. BPP 1890-91, L 11, Erskine to Shepstone, 8 July 1871, p. 202. Editorial, Diamond News and Griqualand West Government Gazette No. 13, May 1873.
 - (15) V. Schoelcher, Restauration de la Traite des Noirs a Natal (Paris 1877); Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1 April 1876.
 - (16) DCF Moodie, The History of the Battles and Adventures ... (London, 1888), from "John Dunn's notes", p. 477.
 - (17) Cetywayo to Shepstone, BPP 1874, LIII. Shepstone's "Report of the Expedition ..." August 1873.
 - (18) Natal Legislative Council Sessional Papers 1877, pp. 1-3.
 - (19) Natal Mercury. Newspaper cutting in the Legh Papers, Royal Geographical Society (RGS). In 1871 Shepstone had estimated that there were 15,000-20,000 foreign Africans in Natal.
 - (20) BPP 1890 LII. Zambili to Shepstone, 1st March 1889.
 - (21) Natal Blue Books 1881 FF115 and 1882 FF48. However, these figures must be qualified as they only relate to registered, fee paying migrants who reported to the Lower Tugela magistracy. They also do not refer to migrants from the Northern Transvaal passing along the coastal route who would be counted as "AmaTongas", i.e. migrants from north of Zululand (see F. Elton, "Journal of an exploration of the Limpopo River", JRGS 42, 1872, pp. 31-32).
 - (22) Natal Coast Industrial Planters Conference, Durban, 13 July 1888, p. 10.
 - (23) A. Aylward, The Transvaal Today (London 1877), p. 359. This was a great fear of all migrants travelling by sea.
 - (24) Foreign Office, Annual Series 1890, p. 9; Rita-Ferreira, O Movimento ..., op. cit.
 - (25) Transvaal Labour Commission (TLC), 1904, cd. 1896, evidence of Lionel Cohen, p.163.

- (26) Morton, "The SA Diamond Fields", Pro. Amer. Geog. Soc. 1877, p. 15, quoted in van der Horst, Native Labour in South Africa (London, 1942), p. 77.
- (27) E. P. Mathers, The Goldfields Revisited (Durban, 1887), p. 7.
- (28) Shangaan labour = 12.4% of the labour on the de Beers and Kimberley mines. The figure 1,120 is taken as a rough average of the total work force of 9,000, v.d. Horst, op. cit., pp. 84-5. "Shangaans" were so called after Soshangane, the "Tsongaized" name for Manukosi. He was probably named after a late 18th century Tsonga chief in Bilene, Ntshangane.
- (29) C. Warren, On the Veld in the Seventies (London, 1902), p. 197. Warren travelled to Cape Town with 60 Tsonga migrants. FO 63/1026, Elton to FO, 29 December 1875. FO 63/1039, Elton to FO, 9 May 1876. FO 84/1539, O'Neill to FO, 2 December 1879.
- (30) Cape of Good Hope, Labour Commission 1893 (G.3993), Minutes, p. 61.
- (31) Statistical Register of the Cape Colony, 1895, p. 28.
- (32) Thomas Baines, The Gold Fields of South East Africa (London, 1877), p. 50.
- (33) D. M. Dunbar, The Transvaal in 1876 (London, 1881), p. 10.
- (34) H. W. D. Longden, Red Buffalo: the story of Will Longden (Cape Town, 1950), p. 46; Indus. Comm. Enquiry 1897, ev. of E. Way, p. 38; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Reports 1892, Rev. L. Marvis, The Usutu Mission, 26 July 1892.
- (35) TLC, p. 107; Chamber of Mines, Annual Report (CMAR), 1894, p. 29.
- (36) BPP 1890, L11, Saunders to Shepstone, 17 November 1887.
- (37) Transvaal Labour Commission, 1904, evidence of Lionel Cohen, p. 163.
- (38) Of the returns of 44 companies, Mozambicans = 4,657 or 58.1% of 8,013. Taking 58.1% as a rough average, this would equal 8,715 of total 15,000 recorded in August 1890. CMAR 1890, pp. 65 & 76. The Chamber of Mines figures can only be regarded as rough estimates, as no uniform method of compiling labour statistics existed. The figures do not account for Mozambican labour recruited after crossing the Transvaal border, nor do they include the mines of the Eastern Transvaal.
- (39) Of total force of about 12,500, CMAR 1891, p. 50.
- (40) Best & Williams, i.e. 2/3 to 3/4 of 29,000, CMAR 1893, p. 182; CMAR 1894, p. 34.
- (41) CMAR 1893, p. 43; CMAR 1899, p. 57.
- (42) ICE (1897), evidence of C. S. Goldman, p. 112.
- (43) CMAR 1893, p. 38.
- (44) CMAR 1891, p. 50. The first stations were erected in 1895.
- (45) This figure is gauged from two robberies of groups of four and six migrants reported in CMAR 1895, pp. 69-70. The Portuguese Curator at Johannesburg in 1898 estimated that of the 37,000 to 40,000 Mozambicans registered at his office over an 18-month period, only 5,000 to 6,000 returned home (TLC, p. 346). Another informant stated that before the Anglo-Boer War, 50% of Mozambican migrants renewed their contracts after one year (TLC, Perry, p. 47). From 1901 to 1903 some 10,867 contracted Mozambican workers "disappeared" (TLC, Mello, p. 112) and from 1905 to 1912 87,081 (British Naval Intelligence, Manual for PEA 1D 1189, p. 177), i.e. over 20% of Mozambican contracted migrants "disappeared". In 1904 it was stated that "some" Mozambicans spent 8 to 10 years on the Rand, many going into more lucrative railway and domestic (£4 to £5 per month) service. In 1915, it was estimated that migrants brought back an average of £15 each. This relatively low figure is attributable to the replacement of customs duties on migrants' imported consumer goods by a fixed tariff paid to the Portuguese government by WNLIA. This move was aimed at undermining Banyan profits and was agreed to in the SA-Mozambique Convention of 1909.
- (46) CMAR 1893, p. 30; CMAR 1894, p. 34; CMAR 1895, p. 27.
- (47) TLC, I. Ferraz, p. 244.
- (48) CMAR 1894, pp. 29 to 31; CMAR 1898, p. 459.
- (49) CMAR 1895, pp. 42 to 54.
- (50) D. Leslie, op. cit., pp. 288 and 392.

- (51) H. Junod, Baronga, p. 141; BPP III, 1890, Saunders to Shepstone, 17 November 1887.
- (52) A. M. Cardoso, "Especiacao as terras de Muzilla em 1882", Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa (BSGL) VII, 1887, p. 53. In 1912 Junod recounts that chiefs received a tax of £1.10 from returning migrants and a recruiting fee of £1 to £1.10 per migrant. He adds that this was "rooted in the past" (H. Junod, Life of a South African Tribe [1912], Vol. I, p. 407).
- (53) Best & Williams, OWAR 1894, p. 35; Longden, op. cit., p. 46.
- (54) S. Gregory "Annual, seasonal and monthly rainfall over Mogambique", in R. W. Steele and R. W. Prothero (eds), Geographers and the Tropics (London, 1964).
- (55) J. Bovill, Natives Under the Transvaal Flag (London, 1900), p. 64.
- (56) Br. Naval Intel., op. cit.
- (57) Erskine, Original Ms in Royal Geographical Society (RGS), Second Journey 1871-2, Chapter 8, p. 7.
- (58) A. Grandjean, La Mission Suisse en Afrique du Sud (Lausanne, 1927), pp. 56-57; Junod, Baronga, pp. 79 and 99.
- (59) Bull. Off. 1866, pp. 167-8, Report 11.4.1866. Quoted in Isesegang, op. cit., p. 91.
- (60) D. Leslie, op. cit., p. 392, 1871 trip; P. Berthoud, "Lourenco Marques", BSNG, 1895, p. 106.
- (61) H. Junod, Life of ..., Vol. 1, p. 276.
- (62) Ibid., p. 343.
- (63)
- (64) H. Junod, Baronga, p. 134.
- (65) e.g. Nondwane in 1891 (Junod, "Correspondence", BSNG, 1893) and Maputo (BPP, 1890, III, Saunders to Shepstone, 17 Nov. 1887).
- (66) For evolution of early Portuguese system of forced labour, see FO 63/1050, Musgrove to Kimberley, 18 March 1873, and especially FO 84/2224, De la Cour to FO, 4 April 1892.
- (67) See Erskine, 1st and 2nd Journeys, Ms in RGS (1868 & 1871-2); F. Elton, "Journal of an Exploration of the Limpopo River", JRGS 42, 1872.
- (68) Ibid., p. 32.
- (69) W. C. Baldwin, African Hunting from Natal to the Zambezi (London, 1863), pp. 75 & 77. B. H. Dicks, "The Northern Transvaal Voortrekkers", Archives Yearbook, I, 1941, p. 170.
- (70) Erskine, 1st Journey (1868), original Ms, p. 96. Not in typewritten Ms.
- (71) Junod, Life of ..., Vol. II, p. 626.
- (72) SPG, Records, Zululand. Charles Johnson, 1895 expedition into Amatongaland.
- (73) Ibid.; BPP 1890, III, Saunders to Shepstone, 17 Nov. 1887, p. 45.
- (74) Erskine, 2nd Journey, 1871-2, Chapter 6, p. 5.
- (75) H. Junod, Life of ..., Vol. II, p. 316.
- (76) E. J. Krige, "Report of an ecological study of the Thembe-Tsonga of Natal and Mozambique", unpub. Ms, Univ. of Natal, in Hammond-Tooke, BSPSA, pp. 184 & 196. Martha Morris (nee Binford), "Ronga Settlement Patterns: meanings and implications", Anthropology Quarterly 45, 1972.
- (77) J. B. de Waal, "Die Rol van Joao Albasini ...", SA Archives Yearbook, 1953, Vol. I, p. 1.
- (78) BPP 1890, III, Zambili to Shepstone, 1 March 1889.
- (79) Cetywayo to Shepstone, BPP 1875, IIII, Shepstone, August 1873.
- (80) Junod, Baronga, p. 242.
- (81) FO 63/1026, Elton to FO, 25 October 1875. FO 84/1539, O'Neill to FO, 10 October 1879.

- (82) D. Leslie, op. cit., pp. 289-290.
- (83) G. Theal, RSEA IX (1903), pp. 105-8; P. Berthoud, "Lourenco Marques", BSCN, 1895; Foreign Office, Annual Series, 1891, p. 12.
- (84) P. Hope, "Journey from Natal ...", JRGS 44, 1874, p. 203.
- (85) Bishop MacKenzie of Zululand in The Net, December 1881.
- (86) O'Neill, op. cit.
- (87) FO Annual Series, 1894, p. 47. FO 84/2224, De la Cour to FO, 1 June 1892.
- (88) H. Junod, "Rikatla", BSNG, 1891, p. 324.
- (89) BPP 1890, L11, Saunders to Shepstone, 17 Nov. 1887. As late as the 1870s "local cloths" were important exchange commodities (Theal, RSEA IX, 1903, p.107).
- (90) Bishop MacKenzie of Zululand, Journal for June-July 1881 in anon., The Missionary Life of Douglas MacKenzie (n.d., SPG?).



LABOUR ROUTES after Omar 1894, pp. 36-7, and 1895, pp. 34-35.

Portuguese military customs post = x

- Komati Poort to Rand, 260 miles = 16 days
- " " " Delagoa Bay, 50 miles = 2 days
- " " " Marakwene, 65 miles = 3 days
- " " " Pessine, 36 miles = 2 days
- " " " Khosen, 110 miles = 5 days
- " " " Kilo 68 = 35 miles = 2 days
- " " " Inhambane, 320 miles = 18 days

