A new light on the pre-colonial history of South-East Africa, where the 'Other' is the European and the 'Silence' has a voice, based on evidence from shipwreck survivor narratives: 1552-1782

by

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Nomenclature, Orthography and Abbreviations

Nomenclature:

Authors of the narratives noted the lifestyles of the indigenous people whom they encountered. In this dissertation references to the different cultural groups will be in accordance with their observations. The term **'hunter-gatherer'** is used to describe the people where no cultivation or livestock were evident. The term **'pastoralist'** is used to describe the people who had livestock but did no cultivation. The term **'agriculturalist'** is used to describe the people who had livestock and cultivated crops.

Orthography:

There have been many changes in recent years in the spelling of geographical place names. While some have been incorporated into the more recent maps, many still have the outdated spellings. Work on correcting spellings of indigenous names has been done by the South African Geographical Place Names Committee, but to date they have not published an up dated list. The correct spellings of the names of rivers have been incorporated as far as possible on the advice of Jim Feely, who served on this committee until 2007.

Abbreviations:

Km for kilometres

When referring to the work of archaeologists, the following abbreviations are used::

Early Stone Age – ESA; Later Stone Age – LSA; Early Iron Age – EIA;

Later Iron Age - LIA

The names of three if the ships have been shortened in the text:

Nossa Senhora da Atalaia do Pinhero to *'Atalaia'.*

Santissimo Sacramento to *'Sacramento'.*

Nossa Senhora da Belem to *'Belém'.*

PREFACE

My interest in the shipwreck narratives was generated when working as the Historian at the East London Museum while Graham Bell-Cross was the Deputy Director. His interest at the time was in identifying the sites of the early shipwrecks along our shores and I had the privilege of working with him and participating in his research. I became familiar with the Portuguese narratives and could appreciate what a wealth of information was contained in them about the pre-colonial historical record of South-east Africa. I also appreciated the difficulties experienced by previous researchers into this aspect of history and anthropology, who did not know the exact locations of the wreck sites, so were at a disadvantage when interpreting the information.

There are 12 extant narratives of wrecks on the shores of south-eastern Africa, and all are found in published sources. They comprise nine Portuguese ships (two wrecked in the same storm were combined) wrecked between the years 1552 and 1647, two Dutch wrecks of 1668 and 1713 and two English ships of 1755 and 1782.

The site of the Portuguese wreck at Plettenberg Bay has been known since 1860 with the discovery of an engraved stone (now in the South African Museum) made by the survivors.

The site of the English wreck of 1755 was suspected to have been on Bird Island for many years, but only ratified by the Port Elizabeth Museum (now Bayworld), after a salvage effort in 1978.[1]

The actual site of the English East-Indiaman, the *Grosvenor*, was only finally ratified in 2001 by maritime archaeologists, working with a salvage consortium and under the aegis of the South African Heritage Resources Agency.

[1] Allen, D. and G., *Clive's Lost Treasure*, (London, Robin Garton, 1978), p. 92.

The site of the Dutch shipwreck, the *Stavenisse*, is only known to be situated between the Mzimkulu River and Durban, with the survivors making their way along the coast. This narrative describes their journey through the Transkei and their experiences in the area around present-day East London, where they lived for some 22 months until they were rescued from there. This evidence has been utilized by historians and anthropologists.

The wreck sites of the other Portuguese wrecks have not been known until recently. Between the years 1979 and 1980, salvors retrieved artifacts from one of the wrecks and further investigation by archaeologist, Dr Tim Maggs, enabled two other sites to be identified. Subsequently Graham Bell-Cross, of the East London Museum, embarked on a detailed analysis of the records combined with site visits, and, with the assistance of Professors Axelson and Boxer and Dr Maggs, was able to identify the sites of four of the remaining Portuguese wrecks.[2] Working with salvor, Peter Sachs, Bell-Cross was able to identify the site of the Dutch *Bennebroek* wreck.[3]

[2] Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988).
[3] Bell-Cross, G. and Vernon, G., "The Bennebroeck Story", in *The Coelacanth*, Vol. 32 [2] 1994).

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to extract information from shipwreck survivor narratives, which will add to the known body of knowledge of the pre-colonial history of Southern Africa during the years 1552 to 1782. The discourse analysis focuses on the voice of the African peoples where the Europeans are the 'Strangers', the 'Other', reversing the view that the people of non-European cultures were termed as the 'Other'.

Indigenous inhabitants of south-east Africa, south of Kosi Bay, first encountered Europeans in 1552 when a Portuguese ship was wrecked at present-day Port Edward. Subsequently, eight more Portuguese ships were wrecked between Plettenberg Bay and Kosi Bay between the years 1554 to 1647. Two Dutch ships landed on the shore, one south of the Bay of Natal in 1686, and the other being wrecked near the mouth of the Keiskamma River in 1713. There were also two English ships, with one striking the rocks on Bird Island in Algoa Bay in 1755 and the other, the more famous *Grosvenor* of 1782, coming aground at Lambazi Bay, north of the Mzimvubu River.

The survivor groups were large, varying in size from 72 to 500, and most included a large complements of slaves. The survivors of the Portuguese ships made their way to present-day Mozambique where the Portuguese had trading outposts. The survivors of the Dutch ships, as well as those of the *Grosvenor* tried, with limited success, to make their way to Cape Town. The survivors from two of the Portuguese wrecks and the English group on Bird Island, constructed small ships and managed to sail away.

The survivors of these ships left accounts of their experiences and, in some cases, of their long sojourn with the indigenous peoples. There are 12 extant narratives and all are found in published sources. The Portuguese and Dutch

narratives were written in their respective languages and this dissertation has been constructed from English translations.

Research on the exact locations of the wreck sites was only completed and published in 1988, so researchers working prior to this date, who have wanted to utilise the information on pre-colonial history, have been at a disadvantage when trying to situate relevant comments in the correct locations.

Professor Hair has commented on

> "the unsatisfactory state of knowledge regarding the over-all history of the shipwreck journeys. For instance, the locations of the wrecks are much less certain than the comments of Theal and those who followed him might suggest, and the geographical courses of the journeys will be clarified in detail, if at all, only by more extensive field inquiries than have to date been pursued."[4]

The foundation on which this dissertation rests is the identification of the itineraries and routes of the survivor journeys. The process has involved the identification of landmarks to establish the routes and time scale for each journey and then to locate the cultural groups in a temporal and spatial framework. The first section of the body of the work is focused on this.

The first problem has been to evaluate the accuracy of the narratives, especially when dealing with the time factor. The narratives vary in quality and detail. In situations where the survivors were struggling with the difficulties of day-to-day travel and often lacking writing materials, the keeping of records must have been very difficult. Most of the accounts were probably recorded from memory so it is not surprising that dates were often inaccurate and misleading. Some texts do have day-by-day commentaries, together with dates, but these also are not altogether reliable. The texts are densely packed with distracting comments and

[4] Hair, P.E.H., "Portuguese contacts with the Bantu languages of the Transkei, Natal and southern Mozambique 1497-1650", *African Studies*, Vol. 39 (1), 1980, p. 7.

observations that serve to make the tracking of the actual journeys very difficult. The authors were among the survivors in only two of the Portuguese narratives, so transcribers could, and often did, add their own interpretations. The most accurate account is one which was based on the pilot's notebook.

In outlining the routes, use has been made of modern technology, field trips have been undertaken and experts, who know the terrain under consideration, have been consulted. While the exact routes and itineraries can never be known, the suggested routes and revised time scales have been established within reasonable parameters.

Once the routes were established, the reliability of the available evidence was evaluated. Events in the historical past are difficult to construct as they are biased by the perspective of the interpreter. In constructing the discourse, it has been taken into consideration that the narratives were structured with the interests of the survivors being paramount and the recording of their African hosts and their journeys a secondary consideration and then only in relation to their own needs.

Information on the mode of livelihood of the indigenous people has been extracted, some indications of the settlement patterns have been identified and the movements of the different cultural groups during the period 1552 to 1782 have been tracked. These findings are placed within wider knowledge and debates in the pre-colonial record.

The authors were all of a different culture from the indigenous people and the texts reflect the Eurocentric attitudes and prejudices of the time. The passengers and crew on the ships were microcosms of European society of the period and added to this was the fact that all the Portuguese ships and one Dutch ship had cargoes of slaves. The deep social divides adversely affected their internal relationships. The resultant interaction between peoples of divergent cultures

and belief systems was a complex one and has been analysed. This has led to an interpretation of the 'voice' of the indigenous people as revealed in their responses to the strangers who landed on their shores.

Aspects of the Indian Ocean slave trade are represented in the texts. The slaves on board were drawn from Africa, India, Indonesia, China and Japan, so they also did not form single homogeneous groups. The social dynamics of their experiences and the resultant contact with the indigenous people and, in some cases, acculturation, is explored.

In attempting to justify the actions of the survivors to their respective audiences, the authors have often exaggerated their suffering with blame being apportioned to the indigenous people, when it was certainly not deserved. As a result, when the shipwreck accounts were published at the time, stereotypes were created which have been significant in shaping attitudes. For the Europeans, they created a scenario of poor castaways who were shipwrecked on an unknown and savage coast. In deconstructing the original narratives, the actual historical evidence can be analysed which question the origins of the myths and stereotypes.

Delineations and Limitations:

This study is confined to the published narratives of ships that were wrecked along the coast of south-east Africa during the period 1552 to 1782. The wreck sites are located between Plettenberg Bay and Kosi Bay with the area through which the survivors moved extending to Vilanculo in Mozambique. The account of the *Hercules*, alleged to have been wrecked at the Mtana River in 1796 is not included (See Historiography). Accounts by travellers who explored the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are not included.

Motivation, Significance and Contribution:

In research into the peoples of the Marquesa Islands in which shipwreck narratives have been used, Dening states that "it was the silence of those who for one reason or another had no voice, or whose voice was not their own, but always someone else's."[5] The situation has been the same in Africa, where written narratives of experiences in south-east Africa in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do exist. While they are written in the voice of 'someone else', they do provide records which have never been adequately analysed and through which previously silent voices can be heard.

There is a perceived gap in the history of the pre-colonial period in Southern Africa.

In a comment on the testimonies of the *Grosvenor* (1782) and the *Stavenisse* (1686), Penn has noted that there has been insufficient discussion concerning South African shipwreck stories and they have not yet been fully utilised.[6] Bundy has also commented that in recent years the focus of historical research has moved to earlier periods.[7]

Early European travellers and explorers described indigenous people as having a culture, 'other' than their own, and this has led to the indigenous people being referred to as the 'Other', i.e. non-European. In this dissertation, the interests and voices of the indigenous people are fore-grounded. They are the hosts and the survivors become the 'Other'.

The responses of the indigenous people to the actions of the survivors give clear indications of their feelings and attitudes and, with poetic licence, their voices can be heard.

Brief Chapter Summary:

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[5] Dening, P., "Writing, Rewriting History', *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent land: Marquesa 1774-1880*, (Chicago, University of Hawaii Press, 1980), p. 145.

[6] Penn, N., "Wild Coast shipwrecks and captivity narratives from the Eastern Cape", *Kronos*, Vol. 30, 2004.

[7] Bundy, C.J., "Lessons of the Frontier aspects of Eastern Cape History", *Kronos*, Vol. 30, 2004, p. 12.

Chapter 1- Introduction

Chapter 2 – Historiography and Method

Chapters 3 to 14 – These are concerned with extracting the evidence from the shipwreck narratives, identifying the landmarks and extracting relevant information from each of the shipwreck narratives.

Chapter 15 – This is an overview of the 'Modes of Livelihood' of the people encountered.

Chapter 16 – This chapter deals with the distribution of cultural groups during the period under review, including the historical context, and the debate concerning the early settlement patterns and the 'Moving Frontier'.

Chapter 17 - Entitled 'The Slaves and Others as Settlers', this chapter traces the Asian and African slaves, as well as the Europeans, who settled among the indigenous people and adapted their culture. Numerical estimates are included.

Chapter 18 - This chapter analyses the attitudes and actions of the European survivors.

Chapter 19 – In this chapter, the responses of the indigenous peoples give voices to the so-called 'Silence'.

Chapter 20 - Conclusion

Chapter 2

HISTORIOGRAPHY: LITERATURE SURVEY AND METHOD

The scope of this dissertation is to extract and analyse evidence obtained from shipwreck narratives. The literature survey indicates where the original source records can be found, where and when they were published and indicates the translations which have been used. The works which have made use of the narratives are included and the problems which faced the authors are indicated. The misidentification of the wreck sites has been noted, not to criticize these authors, but to point out that they have been hampered by the lack of scholarly and reasoned work on the identification with the result that many of the deductions are flawed. It was only with the publication of *Dias and his Successors* in 1988, that it has been possible to make a start in locating the evidence contained in the narratives, both spatially and temporally. The major works which have assisted in placing these accounts in context and which have influenced the structure and analysis are also listed.

The information to elucidate ethnological and cultural aspects of the culture of the Southern Nguni and Zulu peoples has been utilised to some extent by anthropologists, Hunter (Wilson),[8] Hammond-Tooke,[9] Krige[10] and Shaw and van Warmelo[11], but they have been hampered by the uncertainty of the exact situation of the wreck sites and so the location of the observations made by the survivors have been incorrect.

Original Source Records:

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[8] Hunter, M., *Reaction to Conquest*,, (London, Oxford University Press, 1936).

[9] Hammond-Tooke, W.D., "Descent and Scatter in an Mpondomise Ward" in *African Studies*, Vol. 27, 1968.

[10] Krige, E.J., *The Social Systems of the Zulu*, (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1950).

[11] Shaw, E.M., and van Warmelo, N.J., 'The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni', *Annals of the South African Museum*, Vol. 58, Parts 1-4, 1972, 1974, 1981, 1988.

The source records for the Portuguese shipwrecks were published in Portugal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Five of the Portuguese shipwreck narratives are contained in *História Trágico-Marítima*. These were collected and edited by Gomes Bernardo de Brito and published in Lisbon in 1735/1736. These were first made available to South African historians when Theal undertook the translations, which were published in *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vols. I-VIII, in 1898-1903.

The record of the wreck of the *São Gonçalo* was not included in *História Trágico-Marítima*. The earliest account is in *Asia Portuguesa*, by Faria de Sousa, in Vol. III, published in Lisbon in 1675. An English translation was done by Captain John Stevens and published in London in 1695. Theal gives the Stevens translation in Vol. I of the *Records* and in Vol. VI, quotes from the original and gives his own translation. Facsimiles of *Records* were published in 1964.

Professor Boxer translated the narratives of the *São Thomé*, the *Santo Alberto* and the *São João Baptista*, and these were published in his *Tragic History of the Sea* in 1959. The work included chapters on 'The Carreira da India' and 'The Writers and their Narratives'. *The Tragic History of the Sea* was republished in 2001 with the addition of a Foreword, 'A Shipwrecks Legacy' and a translation of the *São João*, by Professor Josiah Blackmore, as well as three other narratives of wrecks not on the African coast. Boxer's translations have been the preferred accounts for the study as he researched the background and added footnotes, which have been of great assistance. It is noted that in the republished version, the original pagination of the 1959 edition has been retained, so there are duplicate numbers for pages 1-26.

There are two narratives for *Nossa Senhora da Belém,* one by the captain, Joseph de Cabreira, and the other by the priest, Jerónimo Lobo. Theal translated the de Cabreira account, but the Lobo record was only found in 1947. Miguel da Costa edited *The Itinerararaio of Jerónimo Lobo,* and this was translated into

English by Donald Lockhart. C.F. Beckingham added extra notes and included observations by de Cabreira, where they added information. This was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1984, and has been the preferred text.

C.D. Ley also translated some of the narratives in his work, *Portuguese Voyages, 1498 -1663* (1947), which has been reprinted in 2000.[12]

The Dutch records for the *Stavenisse* and the *Bennebroeck* are held in the Cape Archives. In his *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope,* Chief Archivist, H.C.V. Leibrandt, edited and translated the accounts in the *Chronicle of Cape Commanders; 1699-1732,* which was published in Cape Town by Warichouds and Sons in 1896.

The records of the *Stavenisse* and the *Bennebroeck* were also translated from the Dutch by Donald Moodie and found in *The Record*. Originally printed in 1838-1841, Balkema published a reprint in1960.

Randolph Vigne gathered information from an account by a young French boy, who was a castaway from a Dutch ship. This boy, Guillaume de Chalezac, linked up with the *Stavenisse* survivors and was rescued with them. In his book *Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac*, *the 'French Boy',* published by the van Riebeeck Society in 1993, Vigne includes a translation of de Chalezac's account of his life in Africa, where he was cared for by African people for a period of two years. This gives further information about his hosts which is not found in the *Stavenisse* survivor records. Vigne also included all the available records of the *Stavenisse* survivors as well as the relevant logbooks of the rescue ships. The footnotes which include background information made this one of the preferred sources for the *Stavenisse* narrative.

[12] Ley, C.D., *Portuguese Voyages,1498-1663,* (London, Phoenix Press, 2000),

Two accounts the *Doddington* wreck have been published. One was the journal of Evan Jones, the Chief Mate, which became the official record. This was published in about 1775. It was obtained by R.C. Temple and edited and published in a journal, *The Indian Reliquary*, as 'The Wreck of the Doddington, 1755' in a series of volumes from 1900-1902. These survivors built a ship in which they managed to reach Maputo Bay. The other account is by William Webb, the Third Mate. He wrote his version of the events and gave fuller descriptions of the local people. His journal was published in 1763. Both accounts were printed and sold for the author by J. Jacob, Winchester, in 1826.

Unlike all the other narratives, the *Doddington* records are not available in modern reprints. In her research on shipwrecks in the Port Elizabeth area, the Historian at Bayworld, Ms Jenny Bennie, obtained copies of the *Doddington* accounts from archives in London. She kindly made her copies available for use in this dissertation.

The *Grosvenor* is the best known of the shipwrecks, and, as it was reputed to be a treasure ship, many salvage attempts have been undertaken. In the same way that the *São João* story entered Portuguese literature, the *Grosvenor* captured the imagination of the public and has spawned a plethora of books, articles, fiction, poetry, art and even a play.

The original report by the survivors of the *Grosvenor* was made to Alexander Dalrymple, Hydrographer of the East India Company, by four survivors and published in 1783. Another survivor, William Hubberly, who arrived later, gave his report separately to Dalrymple, who published it as an appendix to the first edition in 1786. A report by Abraham Chiron, bookkeeper for the Dutch East India Company, included the accounts of the nine European survivors. Yet another account was published in London in 1791, entitled *A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman* by George Carter. This record, together with an English translation of the Van Reenen expedition, was published in 1927.

A hand written account, entitled 'The Journal and Evidence of William Hubberly', in the form of a bound manuscript, was at some time lodged in the Durban Museum, but has since not been traced.

Kirby compiled and edited transcripts of all the records of the *Grosvenor* and these were published as *The Source Book of the Grosvenor* in 1953. Included are: a transcript of Hubberly's journal; the evidence of the other survivors; relevant British and Dutch correspondence and the report of the Muller and Holtshausen's expedition. This has been the source reference for the *Grosvenor* for this dissertation.

The Identification of the Portuguese wreck sites:

Work on serious identification of the Portuguese shipwrecks began with the salvage of artefacts, which included cannons, in Sardinia Bay, Port Elizabeth, in 1977. The recovery of a so-called 'miracle cannon' preserved in an almost pristine state, bearing a date of 1640, enabled the identification to be made that this was from the *Sacramento* of 1647.[13]

In 1977, archaeologist Dr Tim Maggs of the Natal Museum, became interested in trying to identify the shipwreck sites at Port Edward and the Msikaba River. When working with Chris Auret in 1982, they were able to identify the site at Msikaba as being that of the *São Bento.*[14] Leading from this work, Maggs then identified the *São João* as being the one at Port Edward.[15]

Graham Bell-Cross, then Deputy Director of the East London Museum, undertook the identification of the other early wreck sites where Oriental porcelain could be found. He visited the sites and tried to match the descriptions

[13] Allen, D. and G., *The Guns of the Sacramento*, (London, Robin Garton, 1978).
[14] Auret, C., and Maggs, T., "The Great Ship São Bento: remains from a mid-sixteenth century Portuguese wreck on the Pondoland coast" *Annals of the Natal Musuem*, Vol. 25, (1), 1982.
[15] Maggs, T., "The Great Galleon São João: remains from a mid-sixteenth century wreck on the Natal South Coast",*Annals of the Natal Museum*, Vol. 26 (1), Pietermaritzburg, 1984.

in the texts, even having an astrolabe made to compare on-site readings. He obtained porcelain dates and consulted extensively with Dr Maggs and Professors Axelson and Boxer. The reasoned results were published in 1988.[16] These identifications have been accepted as correct in this dissertation.

Misidentification of the Portuguese wreck sites in the literature:

The first reasoned work on identifying the Portuguese wreck sites was only accomplished and published in full in 1988.[17] Prior to that time, historians, archaeologists and anthropologists who wanted to use the evidence contained in these narratives, were hampered by the lack of informed knowledge of where the wrecks had come ashore. An exception was the account of the *São Gonçalo* which was known to have been wrecked at Plettenberg Bay in 1630.

Theal was the first to appreciate that there was information pertaining to pre-colonial history of Southern Africa contained in these narratives. In a section entitled "Digest – Shipwrecks", he gave the sub-title 'Knowledge of the South African coast and the native tribes along it acquired by the Portuguese during the seventeenth century.'[18] He not only obtained and translated the Portuguese records, but also paraphrased each account and suggested identifications for the wreck sites. The *São João*, he placed "a little to the eastward of the 'Umzimvubu' [Mzimvubu River] near Port Grosvenor,"[19] he thought the *São Bento* was "on the western side of the Umtata [Mthatha] River" [20] and, rather vaguely, placed the *São Thomé* "on the coast of Tongaland".[21] The *Santo Alberto* was thought to be about ten miles west of the mouth of the Umtata [Mthatha River].[22] The *São João Baptista* was presumed to be a little east of the Fish River and the *Belém* was

[16] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of their sites", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*,(Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988).
[17] Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988).
[18] Theal, G.M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. II, Facs., (Cape Town, Struik, 1964).
[19] Ibid, p. viii.
[20] Ibid., p. xii.
[21] Theal, Vol. II, op. cit., p. xxiii.
[22] Ibid., p. xxvi.

between Umtata [Mthatha][23] and the Bashee [Mbhashe] Rivers.[24] Theal did not try to identify the sites of the *Nossa Senhora da Atalaia* and the *Santissimo Sacramento.*

Mackeurtan included all the Portuguese narratives in his early history of Natal. He gave summaries of the narratives and attempted to localize where some of the observations were made. Mackeurtan did not follow Theal's identifications of the wreck sites, but gave no reasons for his choices. He placed the *São João* just north of Port St Johns [100 km SW].[25] He thought that the *São Bento* was near the Mthatha River [50 km SW][26]and that the Sant*o Alberto* was also situated near the Mthatha River [150 NE].[27] He located the *Belém* at the Mzimkulu River [140 NE],[28] and the *Atalaia* at the Mthatha River [150 NE], with the *Sacramento* being vaguely 'some distance further south'.[29] He placed the *São João Baptista* east of the Fish, possibly at the Kowie River.[30] This was relatively close to the identified site at Cannon Rocks, only 20 km to the west. His location of Durban Bay is accurate, but the others are questionable.

In *Pioneers in Pondoland* (n.d.), Callaway refers briefly to the 'San Goao' [sic], the 'San Bento', 'San Thome' and 'Santo Alberto', basing his sources on Mackeurten.[31] He assumed Port St Johns was the site of the *São João.*[32] From this he places the first traces of the 'Bantu' people over the Mzimvubu in 1552.[33] It is argues that this is incorrect.

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[23] Ibid., p. xxviii.
[24] Ibid., p. xxx.
[25] Mackeurtan, G., *The Cradle Days of Nat*al, (London/New York, Longmans Green, 1930), p. 17.
[26] Ibid., p. 20.
[27] Ibid., p. 29.
[28] Ibid., p. 42.
[29] Ibid., p. 50.
[30] Ibid., p. 36.
[31] Callaway, G., *Pioneers in Pondoland,* (Alice, Lovedale Press, n.d.), p. 17.
[32] Ibid., p. 12.
[33] Callaway, op. cit., p. 15.

In her work "Early History of the Transkei and Ciskei", anthropologist, Monica Wilson, used the shipwreck accounts and accepted Theal's identifications of the wreck sites.[34] This placed her observations for the *São João, São Bento*, 50 and 105 km respectively, south west of the sites. Those of the *Santo Alberto*, *São João Baptista* and *Belém* were placed 150, 60 and 60 km respectively to the north east of the sites. This means that her locations for the abaThembu, amaXhosa and Mpondomise in the 16th and 17th centuries need to be re-examined.

Bryant utilised the Portuguese shipwreck narratives of the *São João*, *Santo Alberto* and *São Thomé for* his early history of the Zulus.[35] He had his own ideas about the location of the wreck sites, which were not shared by other writers. He situated the *São João* at the Mzimkulu River [50 km NE], and made the deduction that by 1552 the black men seen at the site were 'Bantu'.[36] He thought that the *Santo Alberto* site was near the Mzimvubu River [220 km NE] and claimed that the 'Bantu' there were part of a Tekela-speaking section of Nguni, either Embos or Lalas. He further suggested that by 1552, the 'Bantu' were already in Pondoland, therefore they must have moved there at least as early as 1500.[37] He then claimed that the Xhosa moved south via Griqualand East, avoiding Zululand, over the 'Ingeli Hills' into Kaffraria reaching their furthest point in about 1670.[38] His incorrect locations of the wreck sites, especially the *Santo Alberto*, make his deductions and dates questionable.

R.F. Kennedy, Chief Librarian at the Johannesburg Public Library (1921-1935), took an interest in the South African shipwreck records and compiled a list, which was published in *Africana Repository*. .He followed Theal for the *São João* and the *São Bento* but had his own ideas about the others. The *Santo Alberto* was

[34] Wilson. M., *African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1959, pp. 167-173.
[35] Bryant, A. T., *The Zulu People*, 2nd ed., (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1967),
[36] Ibid., p. 18.
[37] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[38] Ibid., p. 20.

'some miles south' of the Mthatha River,[39] the *São João Baptista* was at the Keiskamma River and the *Belém* was between the Mzimvubu and Mzimkulu Rivers.[40] Ley used Kennedy for the location of the shipwreck sites.[41]

In his record of the Transkei, Basil Holt uses the shipwreck accounts and follows Theal's identification of the sites, with the exception of the *São João*, which he assumed was at Port St Johns [100 km SW].[42]

Archaeologist, Robin Derricourt, used some of the records to summarise patterns of economy, material culture and trade of the indigenous people. He did not follow Theal in identifying the wreck sites and his identifications are wildly inaccurate. He placed the site of the *São João* between Mbholompo and Hole in the Wall in the Transkei [150 km SW].[43] He situated the *São Bento*, west of the Kei River [215 SW], the *Santo Alberto* west of the Keiskamma River [70 km SW], the *São João Baptista* at Cape Agulhas [540 km WSW] (giving the date as 1552 [1622]), the *Belém* was west of the Qora River [60 km NE]and the *Atalaia* at the Storms River [320 km WSW].[44] The *Sacramento* was at the Sundays River mouth.[45] Derricourt's deductions based on these identifications cannot be accepted.

In his work, *The Peopling of Southern Africa*, published in 1978, archaeologist, Professor Inskeep, gives a comprehensive overview of the distribution and movement of the first inhabitants, based mainly on archaeological work and summarizing linguistic evidence. He gives an extensive quote of the description of the African people, taken from the *Santo Alberto* narrative, but follows Theal

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[39] Kennedy, R.F., *Africana Repository*, (Cape Town, Juta, 1965), p. 26.
[40] Ibid., p. 27.
[41] Ley, op. cit., pp. 21, 23, 25, 26, 27.
[42] Holt, B., *Where Rainbirds Call*, (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1972), pp. 10-16.
[43] Derricourt, R., "Early European Travellers in the Ciskei and Pondoland", *African Studies*, Vol. 35,
Nos. 3-4, 1976, p. 279.
[44] Ibid., p. 288.
[45] Ibid., p. 287.

and misidentifies the site and also gives an incorrect date of 1622 [1593] for the wreck.[46]

In their work on the Southern African coast, Kench and Keu refer to the *São João* and *São Bento*, but state that "The visitors of both strandings left fragmentary descriptions of the people among whom they had fallen and with whom they had bartered copper and iron for cattle."[47] They assume that the *São João* was wrecked at Port St Johns, and place the *São Bento* near the mouth of the Mthatha River. An incorrect date of 1572 [1552] was given for the *São João*.

Saunders accepted Theal's identifications for the *São João* and *São Bento*, which led to the misleading statements that the Nguni were present in Pondoland in the 1550s and that the country around the Mthatha River was 'thickly populated' at that time.[48]

In their seminal work on the material culture of the Cape Nguni, Shaw and van Warmelo include survivor narratives from all the Portuguese wrecks as part of their sources. It is not stated where the wreck sites are situated, but from an examination of the texts, it can be assumed that they followed Theal. In the 'Historical Introduction', the statement is made that "people who were evidently Bantu were encountered by survivors of Portuguese wrecks east of the Mzimvubu River in 1552 and west of it and as far south as the 'Infante' (Keiskamma) river in 1554. These could have been abaThembu, who, according to Bryant, lived on the Natal coast and moved into the Cape along the sea."[49] The references are to *São João* and the *São Bento,* with Theal as the source. Later in the work, the *São Bento* and the *Santo Alberto* are incorrectly sited at the Mbhashe River, some 150 km to the south-west, and at the Mthatha River, which

[46] Inskeep, R.R., *The Peopling of Southern Africa*, (Cape Town/London, David Philip, 1978), p. 118.
[47] Kench, J. and Keu, G., The Coast of Southern Africa, (Cape Town, Struik, 1984), p. 127.
[48] Saunders, C., An Illustrated History of South Africa, (Cape Town, Readers Digest, 1974), p. 35.
[49] Shaw, E.M. and van Warmelo, N.J., "The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni", *Annals of the South African Museum*, Cape Town, Vol. 58, Part 1, 1972, p. 16.

is 150 km to the north-east. [50] It is argued in this dissertation that these authors' comments about early Nguni history need to be re-examined.

In *The Tragic History of the Sea,* Boxer includes Theal's identifications of the sites of the *Santo Alberto* and the *São João Baptista.* [51]

In his record of the Transkei, Basil Holt (1972) was familiar with the narratives and describes the journeys. He follows Theal in the location of the Portuguese shipwreck sites, with the exception of the *São João* which he locates at Port St Johns. He also misidentifies the *Bennebroeck* site, which he places on the KwaZulu-Natal coast.

Juta criticised Boxer for identifying the *Santo Alberto* wreck site at Hole–in-the-Wall, and, with great confidence but no stated reason, claims that this ship went aground four or five miles from Mazeppa Bay.[52]

In 1982, a journal published a colourful map/chart, which is used widely in museums and schools. On it 'Marine Casualties 1552-1913' were listed. All the Portuguese shipwreck sites are incorrect, except those of the *São Gonçalo* and *Sacramento*. [53]

Willcox, in *Shipwreck and Survival on the South-East Coast of Africa* (1984), summarised the accounts of all the wrecks dealt with in this dissertation. As the *São João, São Bento, Sacramento* and *Atalaia* wreck sites had been identified at that time, he used those, but made his own suggestions for the *Santo Alberto*, *São João Baptista* and the *Belém*. Most of his locations of the local people are questionable, but he does point out that it in trying to identify the itineraries of the

[50] Shaw and van Warmelo, op. cit., Vol. 58, Part 2, 1974, p. 105.
[51] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 115 and Note 1, p. 197
[52] Juta, C.J., "Wreck of the Santo Alberto", *Africana Notes and News*, Vol. 18 [1], 1968, p. 40.
[53] *South African Shipping News and Fishing Industry Review*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 12, December 1982,
pp. 18-19.

journeys of the survivors, it is important to calculate the daily rate of travel for each of the groups.

Table 1 features the misidentifications of the Portuguese shipwreck sites, together with the variations in distance and direction.

The Dutch shipwreck sites:

The wreck of the *Stavenisse* has been widely utilised for evidence of the pre-colonial inhabitants of Southern Africa. Although the exact site of the wreck has yet to be identified, it is clear from the text that it lies some distance south of Durban and the rescue site of the survivors has been recognized as near Cove Rock, just south of the Buffalo River, East London.[54]

J.H. Soga (1930) thought that the *Stavenisse* was wrecked at the Mtamvuna River and used the records to suggest that at that time [1686], the Thembu had moved there from northern KwaZulu-Natal and that the Aba Mbo occupied Natal.[55]

Bryant used the *Stavenisse* record to place the 'Temboes' [abaThembu] in Natal and that the 'Embos' were probably the Mpondo.[56]

A Town Clerk of East London, Hylton Driffield, used the *Stavenisse* record as the starting point for his local history of the city.[57]

Kench and Keu claim that the first detailed account of the Xhosa and their society came from the crew of the Dutch ship the *Stavenisse*, and that "Survivors from the

[54] Theal, G.M.,*Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, (Cape Town, W.A. Richards, 1882, p. 251.
[55] Soga, J.H., *The South-Eastern Bantu*, (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1930), p.467.
[56] Bryant, op. cit., p. 24.
[57] Driffield, H.H., “A History of East London, The Coelacanth, Vol. 8 (2), 1970.

Table 1

MISIDENTIFICATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SHIPWRECK SITES[58]

Year	Ship	Authors Pre 1988	Suggested sites Pre 1980	Sites identified[59]	Variation Km/Lat.
1552	***São João***	Theal Wilson Kennedy	Near Port Grosvenor NE Pondoland.	**Port Edward KwaZulu-Natal**	50 SW
		Derricourt	Near Hole in the Wall, Transkei		150 SW
		Mackeurtan Kench Holt	Port St Johns		100 SW
		Bryant	Mzimkhulu River		50 NE
		Saunders	Pondoland		VagueSW
1554	***São Bento***	Theal Holt Wilson Kench Calloway Kennedy	Near Mthatha River	**Msikaba River**	105 SW
		Mackeurtan	S. Mzimvubu R.		50 SW
		Shaw & van Warmelo	Mbhashe River		150 SW
		Derricourt	West of the Kei River		215 SW
1593	***Santo Alberto***	Theal Holt Wilson Boxer	Hole-in-the Wall	**Sunrise-on-Sea S. Kwelera R.**	150 NE
		Derricourt	W. of Keiskamma R.		70 SW
		Bryant	Mzimvubu R.		220 NE
		Shaw &van Warmelo Mackeurtan Kennedy Inskeep Berman	Near Mthatha R.		150 NE
		Juta Willcox	Mazeppa Bay		70 NE
		Welch Shephard	Mbhashe R. Between Kei and Mbhashe R.		100 NE
1622	***São João Baptista***	Theal Wilson Holt Mackeurtan	E. of the Fish R.	**Cannon Rocks near Cape Padrone**	60 NE
		Derricourt	Cape Agulhas		540 WSW
		Kennedy	Keiskamma R.		90 NE

Table 1 continued

[58] Feely, J., *Early Farmers of the Transkei, Southern Africa*, (Oxford, Cambridge Monograph, 1987), p. 19. Adapted with permission of the author and with additions.
[59] Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988).

MISIDENTIFICATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE WRECK SITES

Year	Ship	Authors Pre 1988	Suggested sites pre 1980	Sites identified	Variation Km / Lat.
1635	***N.Senhora de Belém***	Theal Wilson	Between Mbhashe & Mthatha Rs	**Mzimvubu R. Port St Johns**	60 / SW
		Derricourt	W. of Qhora R.		120 / SW
		Mackeurtan	Near Mzimkhulu R.		140 / NE
		Holt Kennedy	Between Mzimvubu & Mzimkhulu Rs		NE
1647	***N.Senhora da Atalaia***	Holt	Mthatha R.	**Chintsa Bay**	150 / NE
		Derricourt	Storms R.		320 / WSW
		Axelson	Near Fish R.		115 / SW
1647	***Santissimo Sacra-mento***	Derricourt	Sundays R.	**Sardinia Bay, Port Elizabeth**	50 / SW

Stavenisse were found near the mouth of the Kei River."[60] Both statements are inaccurate.

Where Wilson used the *Stavenisse* text for her work, the location was correct. Shaw and van Warmelo also used the *Stavenisse* records as one of their sources for their work on material culture of the Cape Nguni, also citing accepted locations.

Graham Bell-Cross did research on the *Bennebroeck* (1713) and placed the wreck site where a quantity of Oriental porcelain had been washed up near the mouth of the Mtana River, about two kilometres west of the Keiskamma River. This was proved when a salvage operation in 1984 recovered one cannon with the VOC insignia and a worn date of '170-'.

The English shipwreck sites:

The wreckage of an early ship on Bird Island had been long known from artefacts washed up on the island. In 1977 two divers made a determined effort to salvage material as it was suspected that it was the *Doddington.* The identification was confirmed when coins and other material confirmed the date. Their findings were published in 1978.[61] The survivors built a small ship and were able to sail to Maputo Bay. The reason for including this wreck for the dissertation is that the survivors made three stops *en route*, and made many observations about the people whom they met and forms a continuity link between the *Bennebroeck* (1713) and the *Grosvenor* (1782).

The many salvage attempts on the *Grosvenor* have concentrated on a site close to Lambazi Bay, north of the Mzimvubu River. It has, however, only been confirmed in 2001, when a salvage operation found confirmation in recovered artefacts.[62]

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[60] Kench and Keu, op. cit., p. 127.
[61] Allen, D. and G., *Clive's Lost Treasure*, (London, Robin Garton, 1978.).
[62] Information from the East London Museum.

An American Shipwreck?

The so-called wreck of the *Hercules* has been excluded from this dissertation. This ship was alleged to have been wrecked at the Mtana River in 1796, according to an account written by 'Captain Stout'.[63] The narrative starts with a very long letter to John Adams, President of the United States[64], and is followed by a description of their journey. This was quoted by Theal (*History of South Africa* 1891). Tabler, in (*Africana Notes and News*, Vol. 17, 1966) dismissed the claim and said that there were too many inconsistencies for the account to be authentic. Porter was commissioned to investigate the authenticity of the account for the Port Elizabeth Historical Society. He surveyed the existing literature, obtained help from Mr Chapman to do research in the Cape Archives and corresponded with the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, where the ship was allegedly registered. The only facts elucidated were that: Benjamin Carpenter was the master of a Boston registered ship named *Hercules*, which was trading between India and Rangoon during the years 1792-1794 and the only record in the Cape Archives was a letter from the landdrost of Swellendam to the British General, J.H. Craig, dated 23 July 1796, announcing the arrival of a Mr. Benjamin Stout [alone] from an American ship *Hercules*. He was given a horse to get to Cape Town and left that town in the *Cecilia* on 3 September 1796. It was also commented that Stout was illiterate. Porter does assume that the wreck and Stout existed, but his confidence in the existence of the wreck is not shared. "The book seems to be propaganda aimed at ensuring that the British keep the Cape of Good Hope and extend the settled area as a safety measure … it may have been a way of disguising the origin of the book by involving a new English-speaking country. The model for the fictitious shipwreck was the wreck of the Grosvenor, and it is doubtful if the author was ever closer to South Africa than Grub Street".[65]

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[63] Stout, Benjamin, *Narrative of the loss of the ship Hercules*, (London, J. Johnson, 1798).
[64] Ibid., pp. 7-19.
[65] Porter, A., *The Loss of the Ship Hercules*, (Port Elizabeth, Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, 1975.), p. 1.

Shipwreck Drama Stories:

Much of the popular literature about shipwrecks to date has been concentrated on the dramatic effects of the shipwreck itself, the suffering of the survivors, and with a heavy emphasis on the 'treasure'. Lawrence Green embroidered the treasure theme: the Grosvenor was a 'treasure ship'; there was a so-called 'treasure chest' located at Robberg and 'beads and gems' were to be found at Haga Haga.[66] Jose Berman summarised the journeys of the *São Bento* and the *Santo Alberto*, using Theal to situate the wreck sites, and with the emphasis on the suffering of the survivors.[67] He followed up with the story of the wreck and survivors .in 'The boats of the Sao Goncalo' in another book.[68] Bulpin also used the dramatic stories of various wrecks in his work, *To the Shores of Natal*.

In a book published in 1916, Ian Colvin quotes from a selection of writings of early travellers in the Cape, with a sub-title 'Being strange and notable discoveries, perils, shipwrecks, battles upon sea and land, with pleasant and interesting observations upon the country and the natives of the Cape of Good Hope'.[69] He quotes directly from Theal the narratives of the 'Saint John', the 'Saint Benedict', the 'Saint Thomas', the 'Saint John the Baptist', and 'Nossa Senhora da Belem'.[70]

Other writers have dealt with pre-colonial history. Phillipson lists 150 ships which left accounts of visits before 1652, but confines himself to the Western Cape and does not mention any of the Portuguese wreck narratives.[71]

Hamilton presented a subjective account of the early history of South Africa and uses some of the survivor experiences. She cites no records, acknowledges

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[66] Green., L., *South African Beachcombers*, (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1958, pp. 64-68.
[67] Berman, J., *Great Shipwrecks off the Coast of Southern Africa*, (Cape Town, C.Struik, 1968).
[68] Berman, J., *Strange Shipwrecks of the Southern Seas*, (Cape Town, 1968), pp. 16-19.
[69] Colvin, I.D., *The Cape of Adventure*, (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1916).
[70] Ibid, pp.53-109, 110-137, 152-170.
[71] Phillipson, D.W., *Before van Riebeeck*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1964).

Professor Boxer, but admits that she only used the versions which appealed to her.[72]

Modern studies based on shipwreck survivor narratives:

In Australia it has been recognised that shipwreck survivor testimonies are an untapped source for historians. The wreck of the *Stirling Castle* in 1836 off Queensland became famous, as one of the survivors, a white woman, was held captive by aboriginal people for a while. She returned to England and told her story. Later stories of her experiences were analysed by M. Alexander in *Mrs Fraser and the Fatal Shore* and *In the Wake of the First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories*, by K. Schaffer, were published in 1971 and 1995 respectively. Penn points out that "Where Australian academics have scrutinised the Eliza Fraser stories for evidence of race, class and gender attitudes in the era of first contacts; their South African colleagues have, very largely, ignored the wealth of material buried in the Grosvenor narrative".[73]

In *The Caliban Shore*, published in 2004, Stephen Taylor has done in depth research on the survivors of the *Grosvenor*, placing them in the context of the times.[74] He did trace the route to the Cape in some detail and walked the Transkei section himself. This has been useful for comparative purposes when tracking the journey. He also tried to identify the survivors who could have made their homes with the local people, with special reference to the children. Although his interest was essentially with the Europeans (the subtitle of the book is 'The Fate of the Castaways'), Taylor has been careful to note the prejudices and interests of William Hubberly, whose journal was one of the main sources of the events. In his work, Taylor did not parrot the attitude of the white survivors towards the local people and attempted to give an unbiased view. He did not, however, comment that the responses of these people could have been in reaction to the (possibly unrecorded) actions of the Europeans, and this is

[72] Hamilton, G., *In the wake of da Gama*, (Johannesburg, Skeffington and Son, 1951).
[73] Penn, N., Wild Coast: Shipwreck and Captivity narratives from the Eastern Cape", *Kronos*, Vol. 30, p. 204.
[74] Taylor, S., *The Caliban Shore*, (London, Faber and Faber, 2004).

reflected in his title, where Caliban was an evil sprite in Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale*.

There has been speculation over the years on assertions that some Xhosa-speakers have white antecedents. In her work, *The Sunburnt Queen*, published in 2005, Crampton has investigated the stories of Bessie, an undoubted shipwreck survivor, and her descendants.

Historical Context:

Africa:

In order to set this research into the wider African contest, modern works on African history have been used. These include the works of Curtin et al, (1978), Shillington (1989), Garlake (1990), Ki-Zerbo, under the auspices of UNESCO (1990 1997), and Reader (1998). Giliomee and Bengu have edited a *New History of Africa* (2007), in which they fore-ground pre-colonial history.

For work on African prehistory, the following authors have been studied: Clarke (1970); Fage and Oliver (1974); Oppenheimer (2003) and Soodyall (2006). References to discussions and ideas relating to pre-colonial Africa have been found in the work of Gray and Birmingham (1970), Hammond and Jablow (1970), Grinker and Steiner (1997) and Collins (2001).

South Africa:

This dissertation is located within the historical record of Southern Africa and the major reference works have been consulted. Professor Walker's *History of Southern Africa (*first published in 1928, 3rd edition in 1968) includes a short section on the occupation and movement of the indigenous peoples, but the work essentially starts with the Dutch occupation of the Cape.

The *Oxford History of South Africa*, (1968), was the first work to combine the expertise of an historian and an anthropologist, Professors Thompson and Wilson. The pre-colonial period formed an essential part of this history of South

Africa. The chapters by Wilson on 'The Hunters and Herders', 'The Nguni People' and 'The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga' formed a valuable baseline from which to develop the analysis of the indigenous peoples.

Professor Davenport's *South Africa: A Modern History (*1977) and an updated version in combination with Professor Saunders (five editions with the latest in 2000), was also used as a general reference.

African Societies in Southern Africa:

In depth work on African societies from an historical perspective followed the *Oxford History* and historians have included the history of the indigenous people and examined the processes of change. Anthropologists have made major contributions, as have linguists and social scientists.

In *African Societies in Southern Africa* (1969), Professor Thompson raised questions about what influenced the processes of change among the early African societies. In a chapter entitled 'Changes in Social Structure in Southern Africa', Wilson postulates that polygynous patrilineal cattle keepers were able to increase progeny and expand rapidly at the expense of others and that the increase in population may have occurred as Bantu speakers moved south out of the area where malaria and trypansomiasis were endemic, into the Transvaal highveld and south of St Lucia bay on the Natal coast.[75]

In his seminal work, *The House of Phalo*, published in 1981, Professor Peires started his history of the Xhosa people in the early 1700s. He used evidence from the *Stavenisse*, but notes that Theal identified a minor chief as being the Xhosa king at the time. This dissertation will provide a link with an earlier period of Xhosa history.

[75] Wilson, M., "Changes in Social Strictures in Southern Africa", in Thompson, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, edited by Elphick and Giliomee (1989), includes aspects of the many societies by experts in these fields.

Information on the hunter-gatherers and herders has been obtained from Schapera"s *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (1930), Elphick's *Kraal and Castle* (1977) and *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa* (1985), Smith's 'On becoming Herders: Khoikhoi and San Ethnicity in Southern Africa', in *African Studies* (1990), *Pastoralism in Africa* (1992), with Pheiffer *The Khoikhoi at the Cape of Good Hope* (1993), Barnard's *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa* (1992) and Boonzaier's *The Cape Herders* (1996).

The main reference for the Bantu-speakers has been *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa* (1974), edited by Hammond-Tooke, which includes contributions from nine anthropologists, (Hammond Tooke, van Warmelo, Shaw, Sansom, Preston-Whyte, van der Vliet, Myburgh, Pauw and Dubb). Other contributors are Hobart Houghton, a social scientist, Tobias, a doctor, Jessop a botanist and an historian, J.A. Benyon. This work was followed by *The Roots of Black South Africa* (1993).

The most important references on the KwaZulu-Natal Nguni have been *Natal and Zululand* (1989) edited by Duminy and Guest, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom* (1979) by Guy and Daniel's 'A Geographical Study of Pre-Shakan Zululand' in the *South African Geographical Journal* (1973). *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu country* (1857) by Shooter, contains relevant illustrations.

Feely's *The Early Farmers of the Transkei Southern Africa before AD 1870* (1987) has been used for geographic, archaeological and ethnographic information. Saunders and Derricourt cover early history of the Transkei in *Beyond the Cape Frontier* (1974).

Information on the Thonga peoples of Mozambique has been found in Junod's *The Life of a South African Tribe,* Vol. I, originally written in 1912, revised in 1927 and reprinted in 1962.

In order to interpret the observations of the survivors, an understanding of the material culture and the modes of livelihood of the indigenous people has been essential. *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni* (1972-1988) by Shaw and van Warmelo has been the basis for an understanding of material culture and the organisation of the information.

Archaeology:

The work of archaeologists on a national, as well as a regional level, has been essential in placing the observations of the survivors in context and within present knowledge. Mitchell's *The Archaeology of Southern Africa* (2002) is the most recently published overview of work to date. Professor Martin Hall's work, *The Changing Past, Farmers Kings and Traders in Southern Africa 200-1860* (1987) and *Archaeology Africa* (1996) have been essential reading as he traced streams of movement of the early peoples.

Parkinson and Hall have used radio-carbon dating to reflect pre-historic settlements and interactions in an article in the *Journal of African History* (1987).

Work on the hunter-gatherers by Klein in *The Pre-history of Stone-age herders in Southern Africa* (1976) and *South African Prehistory and Paleoenvironments* (1984) have been studied. Dr Aron Mazel has investigated the hunter-gatherer groups in the Drakensberg and the upper Thukela valley. His work is published in articles and included in Duminy and Guest (1980).

Parkington has worked along the coast showing how the inter-tidal shorelines have been exploited by hunter-gatherers for the rich food source in shellfish, published *Shorelines, Strandlopers and Shell Middens* (2006).

Maggs has done extensive work on the Iron-age people south of the Zambesi, with valuable work in KwaZulu-Natal. In these he has established the dating of livestock and the types of plants being cultivated. His findings have been published in *The Annals of the Natal Museum* (1976), the *Journal of African History* (1980) and included in Klein (1984). A review of recent archaeological investigations on food production by Maggs and Whitelaw was published in the *Journal of African History* (1991). This work has been extremely valuable in outlining present debates around nomenclature and movement of pre-colonial societies.

Denbow discusses the social dynamics of pastoralism in an article in the *Journal of African History* (1986). Bundy's work 'Lessons of the frontier: aspects of Eastern Cape History' in *Kronos* 2004, has been used to examine the frontier concept.

Derricourt has investigated sites in Queenstown, Middledrift, Chalumna and caves along the Wild Coast, with his findings published in *Prehistoric Man in the Ciskei and Transkei* (1977). He is one of the few archaeologists to have excavated sites in the Eastern Cape, east of the Fish River.

The Portuguese/African Connection:

Professor Eric Axelson was the first historian to undertake scholarly research on the Portuguese and their actions and influence on south and eastern Africa. He visited Portugal, could understand Portuguese, and was conversant with the known shipwreck records. Professor Axelson has been recognised as an international authority on the Portuguese in south and east Africa with his two major (and many other) publications.[76] Prior to 1980 he was at a disadvantage

[76] Axelson, E., *The Portuguese in South East Africa: 1600-1700*, (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1960, and the same title, but from *1488-1600*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1973).

and misidentified the shipwreck sites. His focus was on the Portuguese and their influence and did not take into account an African historical point of view.

In addition to Professor Boxer's translations and research on the shipwreck narratives, his *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* 1415-1825 (1969) has been the authority on the background for the Portuguese survivors.

In an early article in *The Geographical Journal* (1900), Ravenstein described "The Voyages of Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias 1482-1488". This provides information about observations made about the indigenous people at Mossel Bay at an earlier date.

In *Shipwrecks and Empire* (1955) and *Portuguese Africa* (1959), Professor James Duffy used the many Portuguese maritime disasters to illustrate the decline of the Portuguese empire. He covered all the shipwrecks narratives in *História Trágico-Marítima* and provided useful evaluations of the authors' perspectives, as well as background information on the ship's complements.

European Background:

The European cultural background has been obtained from Kamen's *European Society: 1500-1700* (1989) and Maland's *Europe in the Seventeenth Century (*1966). Information on Portuguese history has come from Beirao Caetano (1960) and Nowell (1952). A more critical approach was found in 'An Africa Eldorado? The Portuguese quest for wealth and power in Mozambique and the Rios De Cuama: 1661-1663' by Ames, in the *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (1988).

Slavery:

An important element of the study has been to gather the information about the slaves who were on board all the Portuguese ships and the one Dutch ship. The fact that these were slave ships has been little recognised by scholars of pre-

colonial history. The slave contingents have been analysed in terms of places of origin, African and Asian, and numerical estimates made for those who remained in Africa. A number of references have been used to obtain background information on the Indian Ocean slave trade and to try and identify the origin of these slaves.

Davidson's *The African Slave Trade* (1980) was a starting point with Coupland's *Africa and its Invaders: the exploitation of East Africa 1856-1890* (1938) and *The Slave Trade and the Scramble* (1939), localizing the investigation. Early publications by Harris, with *Portuguese Slavery* (1913) and Elton's *The East African Coast Slave Trade* (1952) also being consulted. *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (1968) by Bovill examined Muslim traders in North and East Africa. Coupland's (1939) *The Exploitation of East Africa* gives an outline of the early history of slavery in Africa.

Alpers and Duffy have been the sources for trying to establish where the African slave survivors had their origin. In *The East African Slave Trade* (1978) and *Portuguese Africa* (1939) these authors note early and later slave routes to the interior

A large number of slaves were Asians and for this background Richard Hall's *Empires of the Monsoon* (1996} has proved useful. He noted that not all slaves were African, many were Indians and some were brought from Japan and China. Also useful in giving background to the Indian Ocean slave trade have been Taylor's *The Social Worlds of Batavia* (1985) and *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in eighteenth century Mauritius (* 2005) by Vaughan.

References for slavery under the Dutch East India Company have been found in Boëseken's *Slaves and Free Blacks* (1977), *The Slave Question* (1990), by Watson, and Shell's *Children of Bondage* (1997). Articles by Hall and Mack 'An Outline of an Eighteenth-Century Economic System in South-East Africa' in

Annals of the South African Museum (1973) and Harries, 'Slavery, social incorporation and surplus extraction: the nature of free and unfree labour in south-eastern Africa' in the *Journal of African History* (1981) have also been consulted. Vink's article 'Work of compassion: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century', in Worden's *Contingent Lives* (2007), is a critical examination of the way that slavery has been portrayed at the Cape in the past.

Robert Shell has prepared a feasibility study for UNESCO on "African Slave Trade Routes and Southern Africa'. He has also written a section on 'The global context of slavery in Africa 632 AD to c. 1900', which includes a chapter on 'Wrecks of slavers along the coast of South Africa', by Odile Braga, which deals with all the Portuguese wrecks (2000).

Plant identification:

The survivors describe the food that they were able to obtain, often in some detail, so the identification of both the grains and the fruit has been necessary. The *Lost Crops of Africa* (1996), produced by the National Research Council in the U.S., with clear illustrations, proved very informative about the origin and use of the millets and sorghum. Burtt-Davy discusses the introduction of maize into South Africa by the Portuguese, in *Maize* (1914). *Peoples' Plants* (2000), by Van Wyk and Gerike, with coloured photographs, has been the most useful reference for grains, cultivated beans and fruits. Pooley's *Trees of Natal* (1993) contains information of the wild fruit bearing tress of KwaZulu-Natal. References to when plants were domesticated has come from *Domestication and Export of Plants and Animals* (1969), by Ucko and Dimbleby, *The Origins of Plant Domestication* (1976) by Harlan et al and Uphof's *Dictionary of Economic Plants* (1968). Other general references have been Bailey's *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture* (1937) and *Tropical Planting and Gardening* (1949) by Macmillan.

Livestock:

The livestock observed by the survivors included cattle, sheep, goats, dogs and fowls. This has necessitated finding references to these animals and to evaluate if there is new information to be added to present knowledge. In *The Abundant Herds*, (2003), Poland and Hammond-Tooke include an overview of the introduction of cattle into Southern Africa. A.R. Willcox examines the evidence from early records and rock art on the introduction of sheep into Southern Africa in 'Sheep and sheep-herders in South Africa', in the journal *Africa* (1966). He uses observances by the survivors of the *São Bento* and *Santo Alberto*, but as he uses Theal's wreck site identification, his locations are questionable,

The articles which refer to livestock are: Badenhorst, 'The ethnography, archaeology, rock art and history of goats (*Capra hircus*)', in *Anthropology Southern Africa* (2002). 'The Origin of the Iron Age Dog in South Africa' in *Beyond Belief* (1996), by Hall and Marsh has information on dogs. Mitchell has evaluated the connection between hunter-gatherers and dogs in his article, 'The Canine Connection'.

Linguistics:

Articles on linguistics have been consulted as these throw light on the movements of the early peoples of Southern Africa. These include Hair's 'Portuguese contacts with the Bantu languages of the Transkei, Natal and southern Mozambique 1497-1650' in *African Studies* (1980) and Denbow's 'Kalahari, on close relationship between the Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, the principle language groups in Southern Africa today', in the *Journal of African History* (1986 and1991). Finlayson in Soodyall's *Prehistory of Africa* (2006), describes the four families of African languages and uses linguistics to describe the dispersion of African peoples.

Webb and Kembo-Sure in *African Voices* (2000), deal with the four language families of Africa and the common features of the Bantu languages. This is relevant when identifying the locations where the African slaves among the

survivors can serve as translators as they could understand the local people and make themselves understood.

Route identification:

The recognition of landmarks along the coast as described in the narratives has been difficult as over the centuries the rate of flow of the rivers has changed and modern development has modified the coast in many places.. An early edition of *Africa Pilot (*1939) where it deals with the southern and eastern coasts of Africa, together with illustrations, has been useful. *South African Sailing Directions* (1982) published by the South African Navy, also has illustrations and descriptions of conspicuous features along the south-eastern Cape coast.

Forests and woodlands were often landmarks and their identification has been assisted by the reference work by Lawes et al, *Indigenous forests and woodlands: policy people and practice* (2004).

Other relevant literature:

New theoretical models, methodologies and attitudes to historical writing have proliferated in recent years. The difficulties of representing ‘other' cultures are highlighted in many thought-provoking works.

Barry’s *Beginning Theory* (1995), defines modern theoretical models, including Liberal Humanism, Structuralism, Deconstruction, Historicism and Post-Modernism, which has given a greater understanding of these concepts.

In *The Changing Past: Farmers, kings and traders in southern Africa. 200-1860* (1987), Martin Hall draws on a model of 'Moving Frontiers' where farming societies are still spreading into new areas and 'static frontiers' where the process of advance has ceased and long-term relationships develop between farmers and hunter gatherer communities. This concept has been applied to the movement of cultural groups as recorded in the narratives.

Writing from a literary point of view, Andre Brink, puts forward the idea that assumptions underlying statements can be clarified, in 'Interrogating silence: new possibilities faced by South African Literature', in *Writing South Africa*, (1998) edited by Attridge and Jolly.

Nugent and Shore, bring together a number of authors to discuss 'Cultural Studies' as a comparatively new field of academic enquiry in exploring relationships between diverse disciplinary perspectives including literary theory, sociology, history and anthropology in *Anthropology and Cultural Studies* (1997).

Of importance in defining an approach to this dissertation has been found in Schwartz's *Implicit Understandings*: *Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (1994). He notes that in the observations of another culture, the traveller, historian and ethnographer share the problem of understanding, and representing the epistemological problems and the barrier between the observer and the observed.

Professor Dening, in his study of the Marquesa Islands, employs the powerful metaphor of islands and beaches as a way of understanding cultural encounters, so that each culture forms an island that must be approached across a beach separating it from others.

In *Interpretations of Culture* (1993), Geertz warns that data obtained from 'original sources' is obscured as we tend to place our own constructions on other people's constructions without understanding their culture.

In his analysis of chronicles of exploration of the New World, in *Marvellous Possessions* (1991), Greenblatt articulates many of the issues which are found in the shipwreck narratives. In spite of the claim of the Portuguese that they were

carrying Christianity to the heathen he notes that "their strength lies not in the vision of the Holy Spirit's gradual expansion through the world but in the shock of the unfamiliar, the provocation of an intense curiosity, the local excitement of discontinuous wonders."[77] His comments about Europeans travelling through the Americas with a sense of superiority over the indigenous people could have applied to the authors of the shipwreck narratives.

Davis, analysing pardon texts in France during the sixteenth century, "noted the fictional qualities of narrative in archival texts and the extent to which authors shape events of a crime into a story."[78] As a scientific historian she had to "peel away the fictive elements in documents so we could get at the real facts."[79]

In *Mimesis and Alterity*, (1993), Taussig explores how culture can copy, imitate, make models, explore differences and even become the 'Other'.

Jared Diamond, in *Guns, Germs and Steel* 1994), has an explanation of how differing societies on different continents developed at different paces, depending on environmental conditions. He raises awareness of the ecological constraints which affected the movement and livelihoods of the indigenous people of Africa.

Banton points out that only in the last two centuries have physical and cultural differences been conceptualized as racism in *Racial Consciousness* (1988). This is relevant in that present notions of racism are not necessarily the same as the perceptions of race as experienced by the indigenous people and the Europeans.

In referring to their study of the Southern Tswana and the non-conformist missions in nineteenth century South Africa, *Of Revolution and Revelation* (1997), Comaroff, and Comaroff noted that the different cultures defined

[77] Greenblatt, S., *Marvellous Possessions*, (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1991), p. 2.
[78] Davis, N.Z., *Fiction in the Archives*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 2.
[79] Ibid., p. 3.

themselves as people situated in a variety of social predicaments, each with their own resources, and trying to act effectively in a changing world.

In *Writing African History* (2006), Phillips makes some salient points about how an author should strive to understand the world view of the Africans and provide new ways of representing the past.

Thomas's *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (2003), chronicles the responses of the indigenous peoples of the Polynesian Islands, New Zealand and Australia, to Europeans. These can be compared with the very different responses of indigenous peoples of South-Eastern Africa to the European shipwreck survivors.

Professor Hair, historian and linguist, gives an overview of the literature pertaining to the Portuguese shipwreck narratives to date:

> "The Portuguese context of the shipwreck accounts has in recent decades been admirably analysed by Duffy and Boxer, and Axelson has sought out and listed the manuscript sources in the course of recounting the general history of the coast. But these latter writings aim to illustrate Portuguese rather than African history, and their Africanist references are inadequate. In general, all recent references to the shipwreck accounts rely for information about the African physical and social background to an alarming extent on the somewhat antediluvian comments of Theal, Junod and Bryant. To date there has been no comprehensive examination of the accounts in their African context, and hence it has been justly stated that, if the study of the earlier ethno-history of south-east Africa is to progress, further study of the Portuguese sources is clearly essential."[80]

Method:

[80] Hair, P.E.H., "Portuguese contacts with the Bantu languages of the Transkei, Natal and southern Mozambique 1497-1650", *African Studies*, Vol. 39 (1), 1980, p. 6.

A method has been developed to identify the itineraries of the survivors. The techniques have involved the utilization of maps, construction of tables, research field trips undertaken and consultation with experts in the relevant disciplines.

The first step has been to establish as far as possible the distance travelled per day, which is essential in identifying the landmarks, usually rivers, described in the accounts. This gives an idea of the distance between landmarks.

Maps have then been consulted. These have been the Ordnance Survey sheets, with scales of 1:500 000, 1:250 000 and 1:50 000. A refinement was added when the computer programmes, ArcView GIS, Planet GIS and Google Earth were obtained. With the facilities offered by these programmes the scales can be altered, problem areas enlarged and distances along the routes measured accurately. Andrew Tucker, GIS specialist, has produced the illustrated maps for each of the journeys. With his expertise, text boxes have been added to indicate where cultivation and livestock were present and where fishing took place. Where known, chief's names have been added.

Tables have been drawn up for each trip. One records the observations in the texts allied to the dates, where recorded, together with the page references. Another shows adjusted dates where necessary, land marks, distances, rest periods and rates of actual travel per day. This table includes the overall average rate of travel. Distances have been measured using the ArcView GIS programme

Other tables have also been drawn up to summarise various aspects of the study. These include: the misidentifications of the wreck sites; a shipwreck overview, survivors of wrecks and journeys, African slave survivors and European and African slave survivors who remained in Africa.

Field trips to Mozambique and KwaZulu-Natal have been undertaken to view the terrain through which the survivors travelled and to correlate them to the text descriptions. The latter is recorded in an Appendix.

The complete knowledge of the physical landscape is impossible for one person so assistance has been sought from experts who are cognizant with the terrain of the study areas. A major informant has been Jim Feely, who has a Masters degree focused on the early farmers of the Transkei. He has a working knowledge of the terrain of KwaZulu-Natal through his many years of service in the Natal Parks Board, Wildlife Society Game Ranch management. He also worked as a Research Associate at the University of Transkei (now Oliver Tambo) and the Nature Conservation Department in the Transkei. In addition he was involved with Graham Bell-Cross when he was working on the identification of the wreck sites and is familiar with all the wreck accounts. His assistance has been invaluable.

With the assistance of modern technology, field trips and the help of experts, the routes and itineraries described are presented with some confidence. The evidence from the different narratives has required a systematic approach so comparisons could be drawn and syntheses made. An anthropological model, as utilised by Shaw and van Warmelo, has been selected. The quality of the narratives varies considerably and the systematic format shows very clearly which contain substantial evidence and where there is a paucity of information. Once the basic evidence has been obtained, it has been analysed in terms of the knowledge to date through the work of archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists. Table 2 is an overview of the wrecks and journeys of the survivors. Map I shows the positions of the wreck sites.

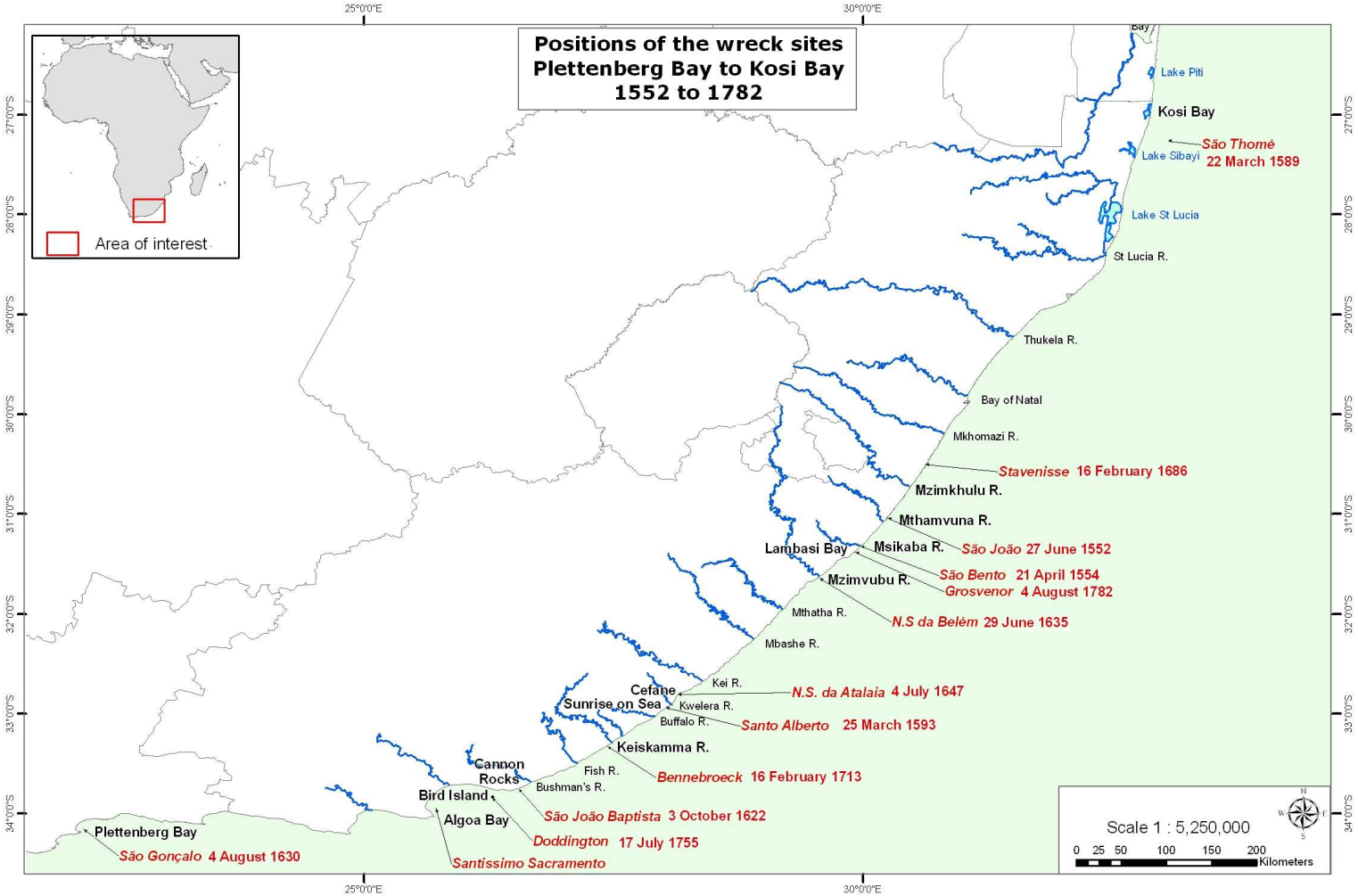
Table 2

SHIPWRECK OVERVIEW

Ship	Wreck site	Date	Depart	End	Date	Distance	Rate

						Km	**km/ Day**
São João	Port Edward	8.6 1552	7.7. 1552	Inhambane	15.1 1553	1060	6.3
São Bento	Msikaba R.	21.4 1554	27.4. 1554	Inhaca Is.	9.7 1554	631	8.8
São Thomé	S. Kosi Bay	22.3 1589	23.3. 1589	Bazaruto Is.	9.4 1598	722	6.2
Santo Alberto	Sunrise-on-Sea	25.3 1593	3.4. 1593	Inhaca Is.	1.7 1593	1017	12.1
São João Baptista	Cannon Rocks	3.10 1622	6.11. 1622	Inhambane	19.5 1623	1152 to Kosi Bay	8.1
N.S. da Atalaia *S.Sacramento*	Cefane Port Elizabeth	3.7. 1647 3.7. 1647	15.7 1647	Xefina Is. Incomati R.	8.1 1648	846 to Kosi Bay	7.6
Stavenisse	N. Mzimkhulu R.	16.2 1686	19.2. 1686	Cove Rock Buffalo R.	26.4 1686	380	5.9
Bennebroeck	Mtana R.	16.2 1713		Keiskamma R.	17.8 1713		
São Gonçalo	Plettenberg Bay	c.4.8 1630	4.4. 1631	Sail off			
N.S. da Belém	Mzimvubu R.	29.6 1635	8.1. 1636	Sail off			
Doddington	Bird Island Algoa Bay	17.7 1755	17.2. 1756	Sail to Maputo Bay	21.4. 1756	1174	32.6
Grosvenor	Lambazi Bay	4.8. 1782	7.8. 1782	Fish R.	31.10. 1782	405	6

Map 1- Positions of the wreck sites



Chapter 3

SÃO JOÃO 1552

3.1 Author, translators and publications:

The account was published in Lisbon in *História Trágico-Maritima* (1735-36) as one of the narratives collected by Bernado Gomes de Brito. The author is unknown. The informant was a member of the crew, the boatswain's mate, one Alvaro Fernandes, whom the author 'happened across' in Moçambique in 1554.[81]

The story became one of the favourite disaster stories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Portugal.[82] The circumstances of the death of captain, Manuel De Sousa Sepulveda, his wife, Dona Leonor, and their children entered the folk literature of the Portuguese, mainly through the publication of an epic poem, *Lusiadas*, by Camoes, who was himself a survivor of the *São Bento* wreck in 1554.[83]

Translations have been done by Theal,[84] Ley[85] and Blackmore.[86] They all used the de Brito publication with Blackmore doing further research reflected in footnotes. The 2001 publication by Blackmore has been used for this dissertation.

The fact that the name of the author is not recorded is unusual as the circumstances of the loss of the *São João* would have been a loss of great magnitude:

> "They say that all of the merchandise on board- the king's, and that belonging in the ship, belonging to others-was worth a thousand pieces of gold. Since the discovery of India no ship had left its ports so richly burdened."[87]

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[81] Duffy, J., *Shipwreck and Empire*, (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 3 – 4.
[82] Ibid., p. .24.
[83] Blackmore, J., Foreword, in Boxer, C.R., Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/ London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. ix-x.
[84] Theal, G.M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. 1, 1898, (Facs. Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964).
[85] Ley, C., Ed., *Portuguese Voyages 1458-1663*, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons,).
[86] Blackmore, J. Translator, "Account of the very remarkable loss of the Great Galleon S. João", in Boxer, C.R., Ed. *The Tragic History of the Sea*, op. cit.
[87] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 10.

CAPITULO

PARTIO neſte galeaõ Manoel de Souſa, que Deos perdoe para fazer eſta deſavẽtutada viagem de Cochim a tres de Fevereyro o anno de ſinco-enta & dous. E partio taõ tarde por hir carregar a Coulaõ, & lá haver pouca pimenta onde

Figure 1

***São João* 1552 Woodcut illustration from the title page,**

***Historia Tragico-Maritima* 1736**

The veracity of this narrative is often questionable. It is accepted that many of the experiences of the survivors were exaggerated in order to impress the audience:

> "Not one day passed without one or two being left on the beaches or in the jungle from fatigue. These people were immediately eaten by tigers and snakes."[88]

No other survivors experienced problems with wild animals, much less man-eating snakes. The claim was also made that:

> "Beset by the greatest misfortunes … now by climbing steep mountains, now by descending other, terrifically dangerous ones. As if these travails were not enough, the Kaffirs created many others."[89]

There are no steep mountains along the coast between Port Edward and Imhambane. The account fails to mention that the captain shot and killed an African in the region of Mkhomaze River, as was reported to the *São Bento* survivors some two years later.[90]

The claim that they had only rice, fruit and fish to eat is also questionable:

> "They walked in this manner for a month, experiencing many hardships and much hunger and thirst, for in all that time they had nothing to eat but the rice they had rescued from the galleon and some fruit from the jungle."[91]

A large number of survivors, 120 in all, reached present-day Mozambique,[92] which they could not have done without obtaining food from the local people.

Of all the wrecks in this study, this is the only one which appears to be unofficial and with an unnamed author. The question must be asked why the anonymity, especially as this was such a richly laden vessel?

The account of Pantaleão de Sá's experiences has little credibility. It was reported that he claimed to have cured an infection on a chief's leg by applying mud on which he had urinated. It is also claimed that de Sá was rewarded by the chief with "gold and many

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[88] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 14.
[89] Ibid., p. 14.
[90] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op cit., p. 237.
[91] Anon, Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p.13.
[92] Ibid., p. 20.

gems".[93] This sounds suspiciously like an invented explanation for de Sá, who ended the journey with this treasure in his possession. African chiefs did not value gold and gems in the way that Europeans did. De Sá was a nobleman, the brother of Dona Leonor, wife of the captain, De Sousa Sepulveda. Why when the captain who "was known to be sick and had lost his judgment"[94], did de Sá not protect his sister? It is possible that the official report was never made public and was suppressed by someone with powerful contacts and who had a vested interest in not revealing the truth. This could have been de Sá himself, who was later given the captaincy of Sofala.[95]

The problem has been how to evaluate the account and identify observations which could be accurate. The description of the circumstances of the wreck and the detailed comments on the damage to the hull are consistent with the informant being a knowledgeable member of the crew. The observations, which covered the period until the departure from the wreck site, show no signs of exaggeration. The subsequent observations in the narrative are, however, regarded with great caution.

3.2 Narrative of the shipwreck:

A Portuguese '*galleon',* the *São João*, en route from India to Lisbon, was caught in a storm, lost the mast, sails and rudder, could not be steered and was driven aground.[96] The date on which the ship actually went aground is not given. Translators, Theal, Ley and Blackmore, record that land was sighted on 8 June. [97]

> "A boat was immediately got out with some men to search the shore for the best place to disembark … they drifted on with the wind and sea, now to one side and then the other, with a useless rudder … A long time afterwards the boat returned with the intelligence that there was part of the shore close by where they might disembark"[98]

[93] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit. p. 26.
[94] Ibid., p. 20.
[95] Axelson, E., *The Portuguese in South-East Africa*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1973), p. 144.
[96] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op-. cit., pp. 6-10.
[97] Anon., Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 132, Ley, op. cit., p. 244, Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 8.
[98] Anon., Tr. Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p., 132.

It is not clear how long this took, but it was stated that the captain and 30 others were landed on the same day.[99] On the third day the ship went aground when the rest of the crew and passengers attempted to get ashore.[100] This would bring the date to 11 June. The longboat took 40 people ashore and was then wrecked on the beach.

All the translations record that the survivors remained at the site for 12 days and a further five days,[101] which would have brought the date of departure from the wreck site to about 28 June. There is, however, a discrepancy in the translations of the date given for this departure. Theal translates it as "From this shore where they were wrecked in 31 degrees they set out on the 7 th of July 1552 in the following order".[102] Blackmore's translation reads that "From this beach, where they were wrecked at thirty-one degrees on the seventh of June in fifty-two, the company began to march…"[103] Ley's translation agrees with Blackmore as "They began to move off from the beach (which was at thirty-one degrees where they had been wrecked, on 7th June '53."[104].

This is confusing. Blackmore and Ley assume that the date quoted at this point in the text was that of the actual wreck and therefore assume that there has been a transcription error so transpose it from July to June, without giving a date for the departure. As the account records at least 20 days were spent at the site, Theal's record of 7 July as the departure date is accepted.

At that time it was claimed that there were still 500 people on board the ship. They struggled to get to shore and it was said that 40 Portuguese and 70 slaves were drowned.[105]

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[99] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 9.
[100] Anon., Tr. Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 134.
[101] Anon., Tr. Theal, Vol. I, p. 135, Ley, pp. 246-247, Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p.11.
[102] Anon., Tr. Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 136.
[103] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 12.
[104] Anon., Tr. Ley, op. cit., p. 248.
[105] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Some 120 survivors reached the residence of a chief, probably on the Incomati River.[106] They were separated into villages, but claimed they were badly treated. About 90 of the survivors apparently dispersed. [107] The captain's party, including his wife, Dona Leonor, and their children, consisting of about 20 people, continued on the journey, but were robbed of their clothes. Dona Leonor and the children died and the captain disappeared.[108] Only 25, comprising 8 Portuguese and 17 slaves, finally arrived at place where a Portuguese ship was at anchor.[109] It was stated that the whole journey had taken five and a half months.[110] These survivors would then have arrived there in about mid January 1553. From there the remaining survivors were taken by ship to Moçambique Island, reaching there on 25 May 1553.[111]

Figure 2 - Wreck site of the *São João*, Port Edward

3.3 Identification of the landmarks:

The *São João* was wrecked in a sandy bay in present day Port Edward, five km north-east of the estuary of the Mtamvuna River.[112] No descriptions of locations were noted for the journey, the wreck site and Maputo Bay.

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[106] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[107] Ibid., pp. 21-22..
[108] Ibid., pp. 21-24..
[109] Ibid., p. 25.
[110] Ibid., p. 12.
[111] Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[112] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of their sires", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias*

The survivors finally arrived at 'a river', where they found a Portuguese ship whose captain was trading ivory.[113] This was most probably the Inhambane estuary. If they had taken five and a half months, they would have arrived there sometime in January 1553. The distance from the wreck site [Port Edward] to Inhambane is 1060 km. and if they had taken about 192 days, excluding 25 days when they had stops, they would have covered the distance at an average rate of about 6.3 km a day.

Table 3 lists the dates and landmarks cited in the text and Table 4 shows an identification of landmarks, with estimated dates of progress and the rate at which the survivors travelled.

The text states that after leaving the wreck site, the survivors journeyed along the coast for one month and estimated that they had advanced about 30 leagues.[114] This would be 144 km [1 league - 4.8 km]. It is feasible that they had reached the Bay of Natal at this time as the Bay is 150 km from Port Edward and they would have covered the distance at a rate of about 5 km a day. After another two months the survivors were met by a chief of two villages, who said he had been visited by Lourenço Marques and António Caldeira, and had been given a Portuguese name.[115] This chief would have been Chief Inhaca who was identified by name by the *São Bento* (1554)[116] and *São Thomé* (1589) survivors.[117]

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and his Successors, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), pp. 50-52.

[113] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 25.

[114] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[115],Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[116] Theal, Tr. Vol. I, op. cit., p 269.

[117] Anon, Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 80.

Table 3

SÃO JOÃO

Dates and landmarks cited in text.[118]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1552	June	8	Sight land *[Port Edward]*	8
	July	**7**	**Wrecked**	12
			Remain 12 days	11
			Depart wreck site	
	After 1 month		Advance 30 leagues [144 km]	13
	After three months	Stay 6 days	Encounter 'king 'of two villages	15
			De Sá assists king, turns back 6 leagues	16
		5 or 6 days	Fights another chief, seize cattle	
			Had already reached 'the river of Lourenço Marques which supplies the water for Boa Paz in three tributaries' *[Maputo Bay]*	17
			Cross 'first river' in canoes *[Maputo R.]*	
			Travel 20 leagues to 'middle river', *Espiritu Santo*	18
		5 days		19
		On 2nd day	Local people assist with crossing in 4 canoes	20
			Guided to king's residence (120 survivors)	22
			Divided among villages to receive food	
			Ninety survivors regroup and march on	
			Da Sousa, Leonor and 20 survivors follow	23
			Others (90) continue	24
		After 2 days	Attacked and stripped of clothes	
			Leonor and children die, Da Sousa disappears	25
	After 5½ months		Others continue	
			Some arrive at 'that river'	
			Had reached the sea	
1553			A Portuguese ship arrives to trade Ivory. *[Inhambane]*	**25**
	May		Send a search party.	
		25	**Survivors reach Moçambique Island.**	

[118] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, C.R., Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Table 4

SÃO JOÃO

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, estimated dates and rate of travel.

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate Km/day
1552	**June**	**8**	N. Mtamvuna R.				
	July	**7**	Depart				
	August	c.7	Durban Bay	150	30		5
	October	c.5	. Kosi Bay	395	60		6.6
		c.6	Remain with chief	15		6	
	November	c.1	Cross Maputo R.	35			
		c.7	Espiritu Santo R.	65			
			Incomati R.				
		c.22	Chief Manhica's residence	65		5	
		c.27	Divided into villages			3	
	December	c.5	90 leave			5	
		c.8	Da Sousa's group (20) leave				
		c.10	S Limpopo R.				
			D. Leonor and children die				
			DaSousa disappears				
			Some continue				
1553	January	c.15	Arrive Inhambane Find ship	335			
	Feb.		Others collected				
	March/April		Wait for suitable winds				
1553	**May**	**25**	Arrive Moçambique Island				
	Total			**1060**	**192**	**25**	**6.3**

Distance: Port Edward to Inhambane – 1060 km
Time taken (5½ months): 7 July to 15 January 1553 (est.) - 192 days
Exclude stops of 25 days , Actual travel – 167 days
Estimated average rate per day – 6.3 km

The survivors

> "resolved to march in search of the Lourenço Marques river, not knowing that they had already reached it. This river supplies water for Boa Paz in three estuaries - they were on the first - and all into the same estuary."[119]

Three rivers do flow into Maputo Bay, referred to as 'Boa Paz', and today they are named the Maputo, the Santo Espiritu and the Incomati. The Tembe and Umbeluzi Rivers feed into the Santo Espiritu estuary, on which present-day Maputo is situated.

After leaving Chief Inhaca, the survivors moved around the Bay and first had to cross a sizeable river as they needed rafts to get over. This would have been the Maputo River, which they named 'Lourenço Marques'[120].

The location of the residence of Chief Inhaca at that time is difficult to pinpoint. According to the text, the survivors had arrived at two villages and had spent five or six days there.[121] After the survivors left the village there is no mention of travelling any distance to get to the next river, so it could be assumed that the site was close to the Maputo River. Information from subsequent survivor accounts, does, however, throw doubts on this assumption as the text indicates that the chief did not live there:

> "The king went in person with them to the river. …As the little black king harboured no malice but instead wanted to do all he could to help, it was easy to persuade him to return. He left right away, which allowed them to do as they pleased."[122]

All that can be deduced is that the chief's residence would have been situated east of the Maputo River, probably near a fresh-water lake, as a fresh water source would have been a necessity.

It was claimed that after leaving the river, taking about five days, the survivors had covered 20 leagues [96 km], reaching what was described as the "middle river".[123] The

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[119] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 16.
[120] Ibid., p. 16.
[121] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[122] Ibid., p. 17.
[123] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, In Boxer, op. cit., p. 17.

distance between the Maputo and the Santo Espiritu Rivers is 65 km. It is unlikely that the survivors took only 5 days to cover the distance so it is probable that the survivors took longer as they did not travel fast. They also crossed this river in canoes provided by the local people. [124]

The survivors were then guided to a place near a king's residence and they asked if they could stay there until the next Portuguese ship arrived.[125] The king stated that the group had to be divided among the villages of the people as there were too many for them to be supported together. The text states they were on a river, but there was no mention of crossing it.[126] They had probably walked along the Incomati River on the north bank, with the king's residence being near the present settlement of Manhica, which is situated at a bridging point of that river.

A number of the survivors moved north and some were eventually collected by a Portuguese ship which had come into 'that river' to trade.[127] The Limpopo River would have been the next large river, but it does not provide an anchorage at the mouth. It is more likely that this ship would have anchored at the site of present day Inhambane, one of the oldest of the Portuguese settlements.

There would have been a period while the various survivors were collected, and trading took place. They then had to wait for favourable monsoon winds in order to sail north. The remaining survivors finally reached Moçambique Island on 25 May 1553.[128]

[124] Ibid., p. 18.
[125] Ibid., p. 19.
[126].Ibid., p. 20.
[127] Ibid., p. 25.
[128] Ibid., p. 25.

Map 2 - *SÃO JOÃO*

3.4 Location of the people:

Mtamvuna River area:

The survivors remained at the wreck site, some five km north of the Mtamvuna River mouth, for 12 days. After three days a group of nine local people appeared who viewed the survivors from a distance, but then "left as if frightened".[129] Two men were sent to explore inland to see if there were any local inhabitants with whom they could trade. In two days they could have ranged for at least 20 kilometres but found no one, only "some uninhabited straw huts … some dwellings shot through with arrows".[130] Three days later seven or eight people appeared leading a cow. An attempt was made to trade it for nails, but being summoned by some of their own people, the local people withdrew, taking the cow with them.[131]

The local people did not cultivate land. The presence of a cow indicates that they were pastoralists. While they appeared interested in the offer of nails in exchange for the cow, they were not sufficiently persuaded that the exchange was a good one.[132]

The text stated that during their journey north, the survivors did not meet anyone from whom they could obtain food: There was "no food in the land or anyone to sell them some".[133] It was claimed that they subsisted on provisions from the wreck, some "fruit from the jungle" and "fish or other creatures surrendered from the sea."[134] This implies that the coastal area was thinly populated, but this observation was not supported by the experiences of subsequent groups. Although there were undoubtedly many deaths *en route*, with many of the people and almost certainly the African slaves, remaining

[129] Anon., Blackmore, Tr., in Boxer, op cit., p. 11.
[130] Ibid,, p. 11.
[131] Ibid., p. 11.
[132] Ibid., p. 11.
[133] Ibid., p. 13.
[134] Ibid., pp. 13, 15

behind,[135] a relatively large group did survive. One hundred and twenty were recorded as arriving in the Incomati area.[136]

These people must have had more food than they claim as such a large number survived the long and exhausting journey and it is quite possible that provisions were taken by force. It was admitted that the survivors often fought with the local people.[137] The *São Bento* survivors were told that the captain of the *São João* had killed a man.[138]

Maputo Bay to Inhambane:

The chief, who lived north of Kosi Bay and who was familiar with the Portuguese traders, was not named, but was undoubtedly Chief Inhaca who was also encountered by the *São Bento* survivors in 1554.[139] The *São Thomé* survivors of 1589 reported that they had been met by the son of Chief Inhaca, also known as Chief Inhaca. He had assisted the *São João* survivors and had warned them about the hostile nature of the people living further north.[140]

Canoes were made by the local people at the Maputo, Santo Espiritu and Incomati Rivers.[141] Iron was valued in these areas where it was used to trade for food as payment for the use of the canoes to cross the rivers.[142] Cloth and beads were also valued by the inhabitants of this region.[143]

The survivors were warned that if they moved north they would be robbed by another chief.[144] The claim that Pantaleão de Sá went south to attack an enemy of the chief and

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[135] D'Almada, Boxer, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 235–238.
[136] Anon., Blackmore, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p. 19.
[137] Ibid., p. 13.
[138] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol.1, op. cit., p. 237.
[139] Ibid., p. 266.
[140] De Couto, Boxer, Tr. In Boxer, op. cit., pp. 80, 82.
[141] Anon, Blackmore, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit.,pp. 17-18.
[142] Ibid., pp. 17-20.
[143] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[144] Anon., Blackmore, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p. 15,

returned with "all his livestock"[145] is one which is treated with great circumspection. There is nothing in subsequent survivor records that support the idea that Chief Inhaca was on bad terms with a southerly neighbour. It is more likely that the cattle had been stolen.

North of Maputo Bay is the Incomati River which flows parallel to the coast and was navigable for small ships for a distance of about 20 km. The estuary is broad and deep and today a ferry transports vehicles to the other side. The present inland bridging point is at the village of Manhica and it is a possibility that this was where the chief had his residence. It was here that the survivors were separated as the chief said that the survivors should be divided among the villages as it would be difficult to feed such large numbers. He did not allow them to keep their weapons.[146] These were very reasonable conditions. The account claims that once separated, the survivors were stripped and robbed and were thrown out of the villages.[147] This chief was probably Chief Manhisa (or his son) who had assisted the *São Thomé* survivors in 1589.[148] The claimed actions of the people of this chief do not accord with the accounts of the *São Thomé* survivors, who were very well treated and as were the *São João Baptista* survivors in 1622. The attitudes and actions of the survivors could well have incurred the enmity of the local people and they were indeed driven from the villages.

De Sousa, his wife and 20 others left the chief of their own accord and then probably encountered the hostile people, about whom they had been warned, in the Limpopo river area. It must have been between the Incomati and Limpopo Rivers that da Sousa Sepulveda and his wife died.

3.5 The Indigenous People in 1552 – an overview:

3.5.1 Linguistics:

[145] Ibid., p. 16.
[146] Ibid., p. 20.
[147] Ibid., p. 21.
[148] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, p. 267.

At the wreck site the local people communicated with each other in "their language", which was not understood by any of the survivors.[149] In the Incomati River area, they were able to establish some communication with the people there as there was "a black woman in the camp who was already beginning to understand a little of their language".[150] From a later description, it is inferred that she was from the north, possibly Sofala. [151]

3.5.2 Physical Appearance: There were no comments.

3.5.3 Political organisation:

There were no comments on this in the wreck site area, but around Maputo Bay, they met 'kings' who lived north of Kosi Bay and near the Incomati River.[152]

3.5.3 Settlements:

There were no settlements in the coastal area, but when exploring inland it was noted that the people lived in straw huts.[153].

3.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories: No mention was made of these.

3.5.6 Customs and ritual: No mention was made of these.

3.5.7 Belief systems: No mention was made of these.

3.5.8 Mode of livelihood:

3.5.8.1 Livestock:

[149] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 11.
[150] Ibid., p. 17.
[151] Ibid., p. 19.
[152] Ibid., pp. 15, 19.
[153] Ibid., p. 11.

The people who lived in the area around the wreck site, kept cattle, but only one was offered for trade.[154]

3.5.8.2 Cultivation:

There was no evidence of cultivation around the wreck site within a radius of about 20 kilometres. In the Maputo Bay area, the survivors were provided with food by the chiefs, some of which must have been grain.[155]

3.5.8.3 Plant gathering::

No mention was made of this other than the survivors' own collecting of "fruit they found by chance".[156]

3.5.8.4 Hunting and fishing:

In the area north of Kosi Bay, it was said that wild animals were killed to eat.[157]

3.5.8.5 Food preparation: There was no mention of this.

3.5.8.6 Technology:

The people who lived around Maputo Bay made canoes.[158] The weapons of the people, who lived near the Mtamvuna River, were arrows.[159]

3.5.8.7 Trade:

Iron was a valued commodity. At the wreck site the local people "said (through gestures) that they wanted iron. So the captain ordered half a dozen nails to be brought

[154] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 11.
[155] Ibid., pp. 19-21.
[156] Ibid., p. 15.
[157] Ibid., p. 15
[158] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[159] Ibid., p. 11.

and showed them to the blacks who were delighted in seeing them."[160] In the Maputo Bay area, the survivors were ferried over the rivers "for the price of a few nails".[161] Around the Incomati River the survivors were able to receive food in exchange for nails.[162] The local people in the Inhambane area were paid in beads for caring for the remaining survivors.[163]

3.5.9 Cultural group distribution:

The description of arrows found in the Mtamvuna area is significant. Theal translated *'flechas'* as "assegais" in his work.[164] *'Flechas'* are arrows in Portuguese.[165] The Portuguese at the time were familiar with the difference between an arrow and a lance, which is similar to an assegai, so would not have misidentified the weapons. Theal's assumption that the weapons were assegais could be misleading and suggest that these were Nguni [agriculturalists]. The Nguni, however, did not use arrows.[166] The people would have been pastoralists, who were known to use assegais and arrows.[167]

The descriptions of the peoples in the Maputo Bay area were confined to their interactions with the survivors and are not accepted. What is clear is that a kindly chief (probably Chief Inhaca) lived in the south of the bay and another powerful chief lived in the Incomati area.

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[160] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 11.
[161] Ibid., p. 18.
[162] Ibid., p. 19.
[163] Ibid., p. 25.
[164] Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 135.
[165] Whitlam, J., and Raitt, L.C., *Oxford Paperback Portuguese Dictionary*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p.81.
[166] Shaw, E. and van Warmelo, N.J., "The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni, Part 3 Subsistence", *Annals of the South African Museum*, Vol. 58, 1981, p. 321.
[167] Hammond-Tooke, W.D., Ed., (*The Bantu-speaking People of Southern Africa)*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 113

Chapter 4

SÃO BENTO 1554

4.1 Author, translator and publications of the account:

Manuel le Mesquita Perestrello, a passenger, was the author of the narrative. He had lost his father at sea and his brother on the march. In 1575–76 Perestrello made a survey of the southeast African coast, which was published in 1681. Camôes, author of the *Lucidias* was a passenger.[168]

The account was first published in Lisbon in 1564 by Joao de Barreira, and later in *História Trágico-Maritima* by Gomes da Brita in 1735.[169] The translation into English was done by George McCall Theal and published in 1898.[170] This is the text used for the dissertation.

Duffy states that this account "is the most effective in all the *História Trágico-Maritima.* A strong undercurrent of emotion, proceeding from the author's melancholy sensitivity, gives the story a more human significance than its more famous predecessor in the anthology."[171]

The descriptions of the indigenous people are less sympathetic. Perestrello's narrative was coloured by his preconceived belief that the indigenous people were evil and untrustworthy as they had killed De Almeida.[172]. The information about the indigenous people is affected by this attitude, but there are descriptions of those encountered by the survivors.

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[168] Duffy, J., *Shipwreck and Empire*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 27-28.
[169] Ibid., p. 28.
[170] Perestrello, M. de M., "Narrative of the wreck of the ship *St. Benedict*", Tr. Theal, in Theal, G.M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol 1, Facs., (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964/1898).
[171] Duffy, J., op. cit., pp. 27-28.
[172] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 226.

4.2 Narrative of the shipwreck:

The *São Bento* en route from India to Lisbon was wrecked on Msikaba Island, at the mouth of the Msikaba River, on 21 April 1554.[173] Of the 470 on board, 322 survived of whom 98 were Portuguese and 224 were slaves.[174]

Figure 3- Wreck site of the *São Bento*, Msikaba River and island.

The survivors remained at a campsite on the west bank of the mouth of the Msikaba River for six days. During this time they were visited by the local people who offered no violence. On 27 April they crossed the river on makeshift rafts and chose to follow the coast to get to one of the Portuguese trading posts in the Maputo Bay area.[175]

[173] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of their sites", in Axelson, E., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), p. 52.
[174] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 227.
[175] Ibid., p. 227.

They found difficulty in crossing rivers and often moved inland to find fords. According to the text, 56 Portuguese and six slaves reached the residence of Chief Inhaca on 7 July 1554.[176]

A Portuguese trading ship arrived at Inhaca Island on 3 November, but only left on 20 March 1555. By that time many had died, presumably of malaria or tropical diseases, and the numbers were down to 20 Portuguese and 3 slaves. These few reached Moçambique Island on 2 April 1555.[177]

4.3 Identification of landmarks:

The text appears to have been taken from a notebook kept fairly regularly. From the dates given for the wreck and the departure entries subsequently refer to the 'next day'. From these it is possible to draw up a date sequence. From this record, together with the known distances, the rate of travel can be extrapolated. This assists in identifying some of the less obvious rivers. Distances have been calculated using a computer ARC GIS system based on the National Ordnance Survey maps, with scales of !:250 000 and 1:50 000 and have been measured along the suggested route of the survivors.

Table 5 shows the dates and description of places cited in the text. Table 6 shows the identification of the landmarks, based on the descriptions, distances, adjusted dates and estimated rate of travel.

The survivors left their campsite on the Msikaba River on 27 April 1554, having spent six days gathering supplies salvaged from the wreckage.[178] After crossing the river they first took an inland route and crossed a river with great difficulty.[179] This would have been the Mthenthu River. Moving towards the coast, they then experienced more

[176] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 270.
[177] Ibid., pp. 280-284.
[178] Ibid., pp. 226-227.
[179] Ibid., p. 228-229.

problems in getting across the 'St Christopher' river.[180] This would have been the Mtamvuna River, which has the steep-sided and thickly wooded banks as described. Once over the Mthamvuna, the survivors

> "slept in a deserted village, where we found pieces of china and many other things in use among us, which we felt certain had remained from the shipwreck of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda. The next day, which was the thirteenth of our journey, we reached the sea at the very spot where the galleon came ashore, where we found the capstan and other pieces of timber thrown upon a rocky reef which stretches for many leagues along the coast."[181]

This would have been the wreck site of the *São João,* in the bay where Port Edward is situated. The date would have been 10 May. They had travelled the 44 kilometres in 13 days at an average rate of only about 4 km a day.

The survivors then took five days to get to "one of the largest rivers on the coast", which they crossed by making rafts[182]. This would have been the Mzimkhulu which they would have reached on 15 May. They would have covered the 37 km at a rate of about 7 km a day.

The next identifiable landmark is the Bay of Natal. The survivors arrived at a 'river', which they named '*Pescaria'*, and described it as being two leagues wide and two leagues [9·8 km] deep.[183] Although the size is exaggerated, it was clearly a large bay. The survivors had taken 10 days to travel the distance of 112 km, from the Mzimkhulu River. Again using the number of days recorded, this would bring the date to 25 May, so the survivors would have been travelling at about a rate of 12 km per day.

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[180] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 231-232..
[181] Ibid., p. 233-234.
[182] Ibid., p. 234
[183] Ibid., p. 237.

Table 5
SÃO BENTO

Dates and landmarks cited in the text. [184]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1554	April	21	Wrecked on island Infante River *[Msikaba]*	218
		27	Depart	227
		3rd day	Move inland to river, steep banks *[Mthenthu]*	229
			St Christopher River *[Mtamvuna]*	231
		13th day	*São João* wrecksite *[Port Edward]*	234
		5 days	Large river *[Mzimkhulu]*	234
			"rested on bank of river" *[Mtwalume]*	
		22nd day	"river not very wide but deep*" [Mkhomazi]*	235
			Bay called Pescaria *[Durban Bay]*	237
			River Santa Lucia ,wide inland rapid *[Thukela]*	238
	June	2	Try to cross . Capt Cabral drowns	242
			Cross on a raft	243
			Cross a river *[Mhlatuzi]*	244
			Medaos do Ouro	249
			Cross inland on rafts *[Mfolosi R]*	250
			Ford a river *[Nyalazi]*	
			Cross a river, move along the bay *[Nyalazi]*	251
			Shown a shallow muddy crossing over the bay	255
			Use rafts *[Holt's Gate}*	
			Through marsh and a river (hippos) [*Mkuze]*	258
			Camp near a lake *[Lake Sibayi]*	260
	St John B	24	Move on through marsh	
			Move to coast	262
			A steep rock…a very unusual thing in these parts where everything is sand" *[Black Rock]*	265
			"Slept by a fresh water lake" *[Kosi Bay]*	266
			Move along the shore for 2 days	
			The following day arrive at "the shore of the bay of the River Santo Espirito .. called Rio de Lagoa"*[Maputo Bay, was Delagoa]*	267
			Move along the shore of the bay	268
		3 days	Guided to Chief Inhaca's residence	269
	July	(72) 7	At Chief Inhaca's residence	270
			Move to Inhaca Island	279
	Nov.	3	A ship arrives	280
1555	March	20	Depart in ship	283

[184] Theal, G.M., *Records from South-East Africa*, Vol. I, (Cape Town, Struik, 1964).

Table 6 - *SÃO BENTO*

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, adjusted dates and estimated rate of travel.

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate Km/day
1554	April	27	Cross Msikaba River				
		30	Mthenthu River				
	May	9	Over Mtamvuna River 'St Christopher'				
		10	*São João* wreck site [Port Edward]	44	13		4
		15	Mzimkhulu River	37	5		7
		19	Mtwalume River				
		22	Mkomazi River				
		25	Durban Bay	112	10		12
	June	2	Thukela River	99	8		12
		7	Mhlatuzi R.	56	5		11
		12	Cross Mfolozi R. inland	58	5		12
			Cross Nyalazi R moving towards the coast				
			Re-cross the Nyalazi R.				
			Move between False Bay and St Lucia Bay				
		17	Over by raft at Hell's Gate	56	5		11
		20	Over Mkhuze R. marshy	34	3		11
		24	Lake Sibayi move to shore	40	4		10
	July	3	Black Rock				
		4	Kosi Bay	55	10		6
			Walk along the shore				
		8	Chief Inhaca's residence	40	4		10
	Nov.	**3**	Ship arrives				
	March	20	Sail				
	April	2	Moçambique Island				
			TOTAL	**631**	**72**		**8.8**

Distance: Msikaba River to Chief Inhaca's residence – 631 km
Time taken: 27 April to 8 November – 72 days
Average rate of travel per day – 8.8 km.

Between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal, two rivers are mentioned where significant interactions between the survivors and the local people took place.

According to the text, the survivors reached the second river which, "though not wide was very deep."[185] This was likely to have been the Mkhomazi River, as it is the only sizeable river between the Bay of Natal and the Mzimkulu River. It was then claimed that they took only two days to get to the Bay of 'Pescaria'.[186] This would have been the Bay of Natal. As it is 48 km from the Mkhomazi, the rate of 24 km a day is highly unlikely. There must have been a mistake so the average rate of travel between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal has been accepted and they probably arrived at the Bay of Natal on 25 May.

After crossing the Mzimkhulu River, the survivors "rested on the bank of another river" and were able to trade with the local people.[187] This was likely to have been the Mtwalume River.[188]

The survivors were then conducted around the Bay of Natal by two ex-slaves from the *São João,* who had settled down with the people of that area[189].

The next major river reached would have been the Thukela, which the author incorrectly identified as St Lucia.[190] This river was described as being wide, running strongly and with marshy banks. It was here that the captain, Fernão d'Alvares Cabral was drowned and Antonio Pires, the boatswain, named the new leader. It was crossed using rafts, but with difficulty .[191] The Thukela is about 100 km from the Bay of Natal and as the survivors had taken eight days, their rate of progress was then about 12 km a day. They would have been there on 2 June.[192]

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[185] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 235.
[186] Ibid., p. 236-237.
[187] Ibid., pp. 234-235.
[188] These deductions were done independently, but an unpublished record showed that Graham Bell-Cross had arrived at the same identifications of the rivers and the bay.
[189] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., 237-238
[190] Ibid., p. 238
[191] Ibid., p. 243-244
[192] This date and identification of the river was noted by Graham Bell-Cross.

On a date estimated as 7 June, the survivors moved inland and were shown a ford where they could cross the next river,[193] which was in all possibility the Mhlatuzi. This is 56 km from the Thukela, it had taken them five days and their rate was 11 km a day.

The next landmark was reached after another five days. The description of 'Medaos do Ouro' as Lake St Lucia is unmistakable:

> "one of the largest estuaries on the coast, receiving as it does the waters of four large rivers from the interior, and which enter the bay about half a league [2·4 km] from the shore. In some parts it is more than two leagues [9·6 km] in width during [sic] [and] nearly twenty leagues [96 km] in length."[194]

The author could not have known these measurements at the time, and it is suggested that they were inserted subsequently. What was described as the mouth of the river 'Medaos do Ouro', was probably that of the Mfolozi River. The distance from the Mhlatuzi is 58 km which they had done in 5 days at a rate of 11 km a day. They travelled inland to find a better place to cross and managed to do so by constructing rafts.[195]

The next day, the survivors crossed another river, which they assumed was the 'other branch of the river.[196] This was probably the Nyalazi. On the following day, they crossed another river with the water up to their necks.[197] As the survivors moved towards the shore, they had probably re-crossed the Nyalazi.

The survivors then

[193] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 245.
[194] Ibid., p. 249
[195] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 250.
[196] Ibid., p. 250.
[197] Ibid., p. 250.

> "travelled for two days along the bay, at the end of which time we came upon ariver, and as we were all expecting to reach the sea, according to the hopes our guide held out to us, on encountering this obstacle, many were enraged against him".[198]

Rafts were made and they crossed slowly. The route here seems to show that they had travelled between the False Bay and Lake St Lucia and had crossed at Hell's Gate. They had taken 5 days to travel the 56 km so were still walking at a rate of 11 km a day.

The country through which the survivors then passed was "uninhabited and extremely barren of trees and herbs."[199] The lack of food was a problem and about 20 of their number, including Perestrello's brother, died during this time.[200]

After another three days, the survivors reached a marsh, through which flowed a river, which they crossed with difficulty as there were many "sea-horses" [hippopotomi].[201] This would have been the Mkhuze River. They had covered the 34 km at a rate of 11 km a day.

The survivors then reached "a lake by the sea" where they camped. On the following day the date was recorded as being the feast of St John the Baptist,[202] which was on 24 June.[203] The lake must have been Lake Sibayi, which puts the date of their arrival at the lake as 23 June and they would have taken 4 days to cover the distance of 40 km, again at a rate of 10 km a day.

After a skirmish with the local people, the survivors moved towards and along the shore, which was named the "*Land of Fumos"*.[204]

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[198] Perestrello, Theal, Tr., in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 251.
[199] Ibid., p. 251.
[200] Ibid., pp. 252-257.
[201] Ibid., p. 258.
[202] Ibid., p. 260.
[203] Calendar of Saints, Wikipedia, p. 5.
[204] Perestrello, Theal, Tr., in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p.261.

The next identifiable landmark was "a steep rock, upon which the sea was beating, a very unusual thing in those parts, where everything is sand."[205] This was almost undoubtedly Black Rock, a very distinctive feature along that coast.[206] It is 25 km south of Kosi Bay.

The survivors then reached a fresh water lake.[207] This would have been Kosi Bay and they would have reached there on about 4 June, taking 10 days to walk the 55 km from Lake Sibayi at a slower rate of 6 km a day.

For the next three days the survivors continued walking along the shore and then claimed that "we came to the shore of the bay of the river Santo Espirito … called by its ancient name of Rio de Lagoa".[208] This would have been Delagoa, now Maputo Bay.

This part of the survivors' journey is difficult to understand. To get to the shore of the Bay, the survivors would have had to leave the shore, change direction and travel overland, without any idea where they were heading and without any guides from local people. After three days they could only have covered about 30-40 kilometres. The nearest point of Maputo Bay from Kosi Bay is 70 km and this distance is too great for the survivors to have covered in three days as it would have meant travelling at 22 km a day, which they had never done up to that time.

It is possible that the survivors had not actually reached the Bay at that time and this was the author's later knowledge of the area, which he inserted at this section of the account.

According to the text, the survivors then met a local man who conducted them to Chief Inhaca's residence, taking a further three days and arriving there on 7 July, having

[205] Ibid., p. 265.
[206] Graham Bell-Cross noted that he had obtained this information from Dr Ken Tinley, who was familiar with that area.
[207] Perestrello, Theal, Tr., in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 266.
[208] Ibid., pp. 267-277.

taken 72 days for the whole of their journey.[209] The date would actually have been 8 July.

If the survivors were travelling at their usual rate of about 10 km a day, after 6 days they would have covered about 60 km which would have taken them to about 30 km south of Cape St Maria., which is 90 km from Kosi Bay. When the survivors crossed to Inhaca Island from this point, there was mention of a distance of 12 to 15 leagues [50-70 km] to get to the point nearest the island.[210]

The indications are that in 1554, Chief Inhaca's residence was situated some 30 km south of Cape St Maria and must have been situated near a fresh-water lake.

The survivors were distributed among a number of villages, first on the mainland and then on Inhaca Island, where they lived under the protection of Chief Inhaca. During this time it was claimed that they were attacked by lions and tigers.[211] On 3 November 1554, after a wait of four months, a Portuguese ship arrived at Inhaca Island.[212] The survivors then, however, had to wait a further five months until the trade had been accomplished and sailing conditions were suitable. Twenty Portuguese and three slaves finally left Inhaca Island on 20 March 1555 and arrived at Moçambique Island on 2 April 1555.[213]

The *São Bento* survivors had walked from the Msikaba River to Chief Inhaca's residence 653 km in 72 days, covering the distance of 641 km at an average rate of 9·km a day.

In the text, Perestrello interrupted his description of the journey and gave a description of the land around Maputo Bay. He named three rivers which flowed into the bay: the

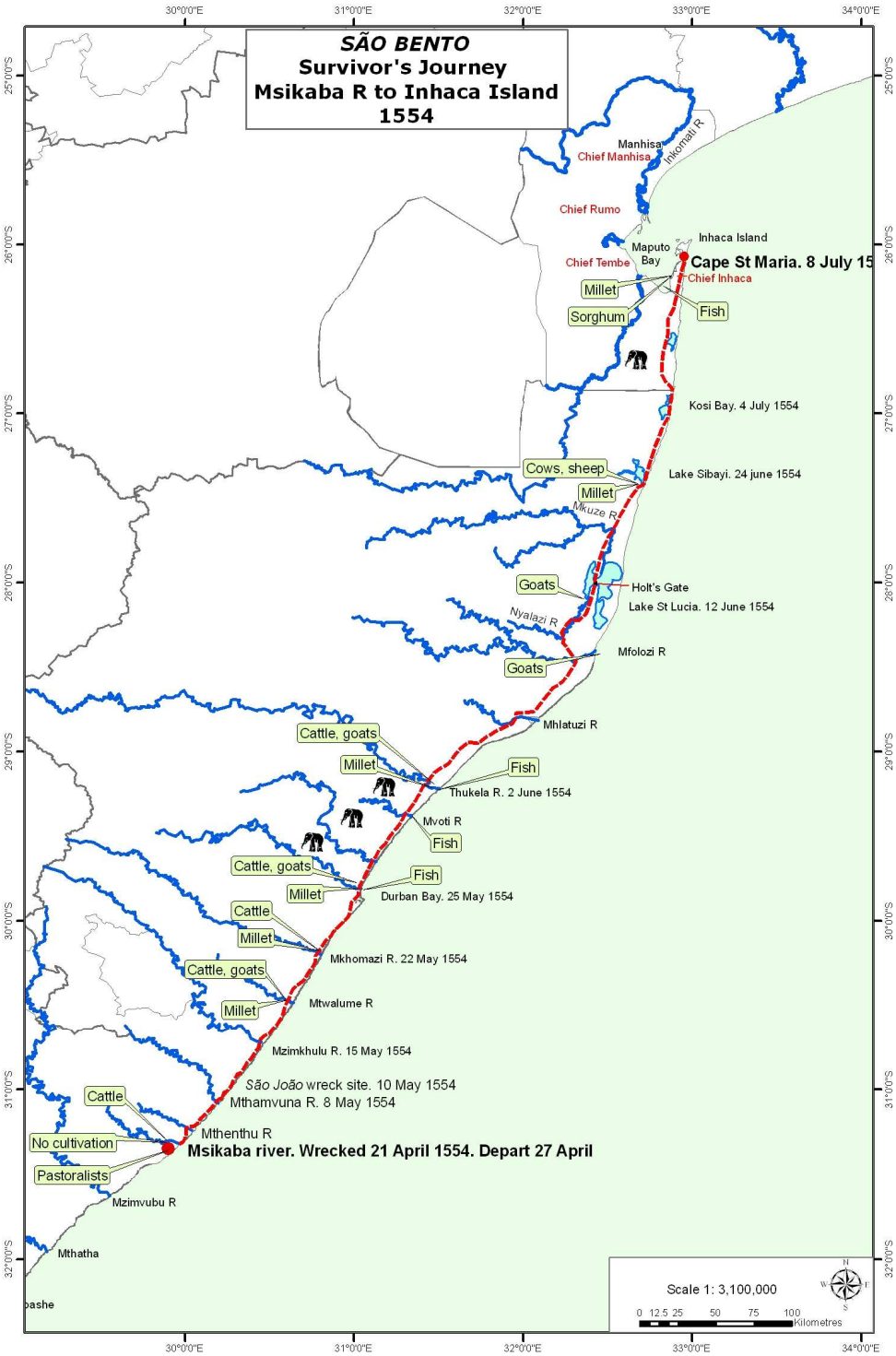
[209] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 270.
[210] Ibid., p. 278.
[211] Ibid., pp. 274-275.
[212] Ibid., p. 280.
[213] Ibid., pp. 281, 283 – 284.

Tembe was in the south and divided the lands of kings Tembe and Inhaca; the Santo Espirito River (named by Lourenço Marques, the man who had opened up the ivory trade there) divided the territory of Tembe from two other chiefs, Rumo and Mana Lobombo; the third river to the north was called Manisa and was named for the ruler. [214] The Tembe is today the Maputo, the Santo Espiritu retains the name and the Manisa is the Incomati River.

Map 3 shows the '*São Bento* journey: Msikaba River to Inhaca Island: 1554'

[214] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 267.

Map 3- *São Bento* journey: Msikaba River to Inhaca Island 1554



4.4 Location of the people:

Msikaba to Mzimkhulu Rivers:

There were very few people living along the coastal area between the Msikaba and the Mtamvuna Rivers. Scouts who spent a day exploring up river for about two leagues [10 km] found no signs of habitation or cultivation.[215] A group of about seven or eight men appeared at the wreck site but ran away. They were described as being "very black in colour, with woolly hair and went naked".[216] On the following day, another group of men arrived on the opposite side of the river and burnt some pieces of the ship to get out the nails. They swam over the river to the camp site but their language proved to be unintelligible "they said many things in a language not so badly pronounced as we always heard and was customary on that coast, there being none among us who could understand them".[217] About a hundred men then appeared carrying wooden pikes with fire-hardened points and assegais with iron tips. They proved to be peaceable but no communication was possible. The survivors were able to distinguish a leader "though there was no pomp or dignity about his person, being naked like the rest, yet he was distinguished from them by wearing a few beads red in colour".[218] These beads were recognized by the survivors as being from Cambay in India and were used for trade in Africa.[219] These were cornelian beads and were being carried as part of the cargo in the *São João*.[220] It is likely that they had been obtained from this shipwreck.

The survivors observed the people collecting and eating certain roots but otherwise

> "learnt nothing from them except that from their peaceable and assured demeanour they were men who had come to see us as a novelty to which they were unaccustomed, showing their surprise at our colour, arms, dress, and disposition."[221]

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[215] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 223.
[216] Ibid., p. 223.
[217] Ibid., p. 224.
[218] Ibid., p. 225.
[219] Ibid., p. 225.
[220] Bell-Cross, G., "The Occurrence of Cornelian and Agate Beads at Shipwreck Sites on the Southern African Coast", in *The Coelacanth*, Vol. 25 [1], 1987, pp. 20 – 32.
[221] Perestrello, Theal, Tr., in Theal, Vol I, op. cit., p. 225.

There was no sign of cultivation between the Msikaba and Mtamvuna Rivers. [222] A village was observed situated on the Mtenthu River about 10 km inland. It consisted of about 20 huts built with poles and thatched with dry grass "in form and shape like a baker's oven".[223] There was a deserted village on the north bank of the Mtamvuna, but as it showed signs of recent occupation, the inhabitants had probably fled before they arrived.[224] It was commented on that they lived on "wild fruit".[225]

Mzimkhulu to Thukela Rivers:

The first sign of well-populated country where the people cultivated the soil and herded cattle was to the north of the Mzimkhulu River, probably around the Mtwalume River.[226] Here they were given "cakes made from a seed called *nacharre*, which resembles mustard".[227] The people proved to be friendly and very willing to trade provisions for iron: "every soul in them came out to meet us, singing and clapping their hands with many joyful demonstrations, bringing cakes, roots and other things upon which they live to sell us".[228] They met a survivor from the *São João*, originally from Bengal, who told them that the area was thickly populated and well provided with cattle. They were able to trade an astrolabe and some iron for cakes made of millet, a cow and some goats.[229]

At the Mkhomazi River the survivors stole a basket of millet and a fight ensued. Gaspar, another *São João* survivor, joined them and was able to act as an interpreter.[230] He told them that it was here that Manuel Da Sousa, captain of the *São João*, had killed a local man.[231]

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[222] Ibid., pp. 223, 224.
[223] Ibid., p. 225
[224] Ibid., p. 233
[225] Ibid., p. 230.
[226] This identification was also suggested by Bell-Cross.
[227] Perestrello, Theal, Tr., in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 235.
[228] Ibid., p. 234.
[229] Ibid., p. 235.
[230] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 236.
[231] Ibid., p. 237.

Figure 4 - Grain basket
The theft of such a large basket of grain could easily cause conflict.

Courtesy East London Museum

At the Bay of Natal, the survivors met two more survivors from the *São João* who assisted them in obtaining fish and millet from the local people.[232] A Portuguese man who had become thoroughly acculturated was observed when

> "a group of kaffirs emerged from a wood, and among them a naked man with a bundle of assegais on his back, (according to their custom) who was in no way different from the rest of them, and we considered him as one of them until by his hair and speech we found him to be a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristaõ, who had survived from the other wreck. Having been for three years exposed to the cold and heat of those parts, he had so altered in colour and appearance that there was no difference between him and the natives."[233]

Further on yet another *São João* survivor, originally from Malabar, was encountered. He assisted the survivors obtain goats, millet, milk and fish for iron. It was commented that provisions were very plentiful at that place.[234] The survivors were able to obtain a cow, probably near the Mvoti River.[235]

Thukela River to Maputo Bay:

North of the Thukela River resources were scarcer. The survivors managed to obtain two goats at one village about 10 km north of the river, but it was commented that the inhabitants were very poor.[236] Before Lake St Lucia and near an inland lake, a large group of armed men were encountered who refused to let the survivors pass unless they acted as guides. These people were accounted rebels by later indigenous people who informed them that

> "they lived as rebels in that village, recognizing no king or superior except such as they appointed themselves, subsisting by robbing those of the country who were less powerful. Their calling was easily perceived by the advantage they had over other kaffirs

[232] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 237.
[233] Ibid., p. 238.
[234] Ibid., p. 238.
[235] Ibid., p. 238.
[236] Ibid., p. 244

> of that district in arms, bracelets, and various ornaments, and by the shameless manner in which they began to lay hands on the iron of some among us."[237]

There was a village situated near the estuary of the Mfolozi River where goats were obtained, but the area around the St Lucia area was described as being marshy, barren of trees and herbs and uninhabited.[238] North of Lake St Lucia there was a village but the inhabitants were not friendly. The land became more fertile around Lake Sibayi and millet was obtained.[239] Near Lake Sibayi the survivors were attacked by men who "throw their assegais with incredible force and dexterity".[240] In that area they obtained "some buffalo meat and other products of the chase, which is very plentiful in all that country".[241] In the Lake Sibayi area the survivors passed through several villages and observed about 20 to 30 cows and some sheep.[242]

Maputo Bay area:

Chief Inhaca's residence was described as a town which showed

> "a certain policy and order of government, sufficient for its limited traffic. It was large and with many inhabitants, with its courtyards and paths in a not very disorderly state, and was as surrounded by prickly pine trees which grow in that country, thickly set, with three or four entrances where necessary."[243]

The people were "well adorned with beads".[244] The survivors lived under the protection of Chief Inhaca. No cattle were observed but grain like a canary seed was available.[245] A paste made of fruit was served to the survivors.[246] Hunting and fishing supplemented subsistence of the local people. A 'sea-horse' [hippopotamus] and an elephant were

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[237] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 247.
[238] Ibid., pp. 250 - 251
[239] Ibid., p. 260.
[240] Ibid., p. 261-262.
[241] Ibid., p. 257.
[242] Ibid., p. 262.
[243] Ibid., p. 270.
[244] Ibid., p. 269.
[245] Ibid., p. 271.
[246] Ibid., p. 269.

killed in the Maputo Bay area. [247] Fish were trapped in a *gamboa* in Maputo Bay.[248] Chief Inhaca sold ivory in exchange for beads.[249] When a Portuguese ship arrived in Maputo Bay looking for ivory, quantities of beads were given to the chief as payment for supporting the survivors.[250] It was stated that there was no cultivation in that area and that the people lived on fruit, roots and herbs and products of hunting, especially elephants and "sea-horses" (hippopotamus). It was also claimed that the people had no law or custom.[251] The statement that there was no cultivation is negated in that they had already received some grain. They also claimed that they had been attacked by lions and tigers and that 50 of the indigenous people had been killed and several of their numbers injured.[252]

The land in the south and east of Maputo Bay was controlled by Chief Inhaca..?[253] West of the Tembe [Maputo] River was Chief Tembe and north was Chief Rumo and Mena Lebombo and further north was Chief Manisa. [254] It was noted that each village had a headman who was given the charge of governing and settling dissension.[255]

4.5 The Indigenous People in 1554 – an overview:

4.5.1 Linguistics:

In the region of the Msikaba River estuary, the survivors could not find an African slave among the group who could understand the language spoken by the local people. If the language had been part of the Bantu suite of languages, African people, probably from central or east Africa, would have been able to make themselves understood. This suggests that the local people spoke a Khoisan language. A survivor from the *São João* assisted them in communicating with the local people in the Mkhomazi area and

[247] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 269, 271 & 273.
[248] Ibid., p. 269.
[249] Ibid., p. 269.
[250] Ibid., p. 281.
[251] Ibid., p. 272.
[252] Ibid., p. 275.
[253] Ibid., p. 270.
[254] Ibid., p. 267.
[255] Ibid., p. 278.

thereafter they were accompanied by a survivor from the *São João,* named Gaspar, who acted as their interpreter.

4.5.2 Physical Appearance:

These survivors had little to say about the appearance of the indigenous people, other than they were black and had a peaceable and assured demeanour.

4.5.3 Political Organisation:

At the camp site the survivors noted a man whom they thought was the leader, as he took the lead in trying to communicate with them. He was also distinguished as he was the only one wearing red beads. Thereafter they made no effort to meet any of the local chiefs on their journey until they reached the residence of Chief Inhaca. There it was commented that political organization was well regulated with villages having headmen under chiefs, who were responsible for law and order in their villages.

The important chief in the Maputo Bay area was Chief Inhaca whose land extended east from the Maputo River to the coast and including Inhaca Island. From the Maputo River to Rio Espiritu Santo the land was ruled by Chief Rumo and Chief Manisa controlled the land around the Incomati River.

4.5.4 Settlements:

Around the Mtenthu River, a settlement was described as consisting of about 20 huts which were made of poles and grass and were round in form. Chief Inhaca's residence was described as a '*cidade*' in the Portuguese text. Theal correctly translates as a 'town', and the text also refers to it as a 'rustic palace'.[256] This indicates a settlement much larger than any seen before and which was comparable in size to a town known to the Portuguese, so it would have been the estate of a wealthy man.

[256] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 270.

The area from Msikaba to the Mtamvuna Rivers forms part of the Msikaba Formation, which is known to be infertile and have poor pasturage. This is the reason that livestock was not abundant and indications are that the area was thinly populated. The most fertile and well populated area along the coast was between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal and then around the Thukela River. The area around the lakes of St Lucia was thinly populated, but around Lake Sibayi there were several villages.

4.5.5 Clothing, Ornament and Accessories:

The people who lived in the Lake Sibayi area wore bracelets and 'various ornaments' and those who lived in the Maputo Bay area adorned themselves with beads. It was noted that the chiefs wore red beads

4.5.6 Customs and ritual:

It was said that the people had no laws or customs, which merely indicated the lack of meaningful contact between the survivors and the indigenous people.

4.5.7 Belief systems: There were no comments.

4.5.8 Mode of Subsistence:

4.5.8.1 Livestock:

The first cattle observed were between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal where large numbers were found as well as sheep and goats. North of this cattle were scarcer and only one cow was obtainable at the Thukela River. [257] No cattle were observed until Lake Sibayi, where sheep were also found. Goats were found in the Mfolozi River and Lake St Lucia area.

4.5.8.2 Cultivation:

Millet was first observed growing in the Mtwalume River region. It was commented that the seeds, called nacharre, were similar to mustard seeds, which are very small. This

[257] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 238.

was likely to have been finger millet, Eleusine coracana.258 Millet was found from there to the St Lucia area, where it was scarce, but was found again around Lake Sibayi. A grain 'like a canary seed', probably sorghum, Sorghum bicolor, was grown in the land of Chief Inhaca.[259]

4.5.8.3 Plant gathering:

The indigenous people collected roots, herbs and wild fruits.

4.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

Hunting was observed around Maputo Bay where a hippopotamus and an elephant had been trapped. It was said that buffalo meat was available in the Lake Sibayi area. Fish were trapped in the Bay of Natal and traps called '*gamboas'* were set in Maputo Bay.

4.5.8.5 Food Preparation:

Cakes were made from grain.

4.5.8.6 Technology:

The local people all valued iron.[260] Weapons were wooden pikes with fire-hardened points, some tipped with iron.[261]

4.5.8.7 Trade:

The local inhabitants at the Msikaba River valued iron and obtained some from the hull of the wreck. In the areas around the Mtwalume River, north of the Bay of Natal and in the Lake St Lucia area, the people appreciated the value of iron. They must have been successful farmers as they had enough resources to be able to part with livestock, which was highly valued.[262] North of the Thukela River, the Portuguese were shown an ivory tusk which was to be taken to sell at a river where they were told that there were

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[258] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, Vol. 1 Grains*, (Washington DC, National Academy Press, 1996), p. 55.
[259] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 138.
[260] Ibid., p. 224
[261] Ibid., p. 225.
[262] Perestrello, Tr.Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 224, 235, 238, 247.

white men, like the survivors.[263] This indicates that the indigenous people were conversant with the trading activities around Maputo Bay and participated in the trade. Chief Inhaca appreciated the advantages of contact with the Portuguese, trading ivory for beads. He was paid in beads for his care of the survivors.[264]

4.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

In the area around the Msikaba River, the language, together with the lack of cultivation and the fact that the leader did not have the bearing of a chief, noted by later survivors among the agriculturalists, suggests that the people were pastoralists. This agrees with the observations of the *São João* survivors of two years earlier that the people, who lived near the Mtamvuna River only some 30 km to the north, were herders. The first signs of a farming people who cultivated the soil and kept livestock were observed north of the Mzimkhulu River. Thereafter the indigenous people were agriculturalists.

There was one group who robbed the survivors near Lake St Lucia. They were described as 'rebels' by other local people encountered by the survivors and could have been a band of people who for some reason had been outlawed.

[263] Ibid., p. 245
[264] Ibid., pp. 245, 281.

Chapter 5

SÃO THOMÈ 1589

5.1 Author, translator and publication of the account:

The account of the wreck of the *São Thomé* was written as part of a biography of Dom Paulo de Lima by Diogo do Couto in 1611, at the request of Dona Anna de Lima, his sister. Gomes de Brita extracted the narrative from the unpublished biography and included it in the second volume of *História Trágico-Maritima* in 1736.[265]

Diogo do Couto was the Chief Custodian of the Portuguese archives at Goa and came to be regarded as a pioneer historian of the Portuguese Empire in the East.[266] Diogo do Couto was listed as a survivor and this has led to some confusion, but it has been established that there was a sailor of the same name on board and he was not the author.[267]

At the time of writing the narrative, only three of the survivors were still alive, so the account contains little detail. Duffy comments that this "is more than compensated for by do Couto's accidious interpolations on the questionable behavior of the Portuguese during the voyage and on the march."[268]

The author of the narrative devoted a considerable portion of the text giving the names of tribes and the land they occupied.[269] This information was taken from do Couto's own history of the Portuguese in the East, *Decade*, published in 12 volumes in Lisbon between 1602 and 1736.[270] The account is further complicated by many digressions and detail about the deaths of some of the noble survivors, especially that of Dom Paulo de Lima.

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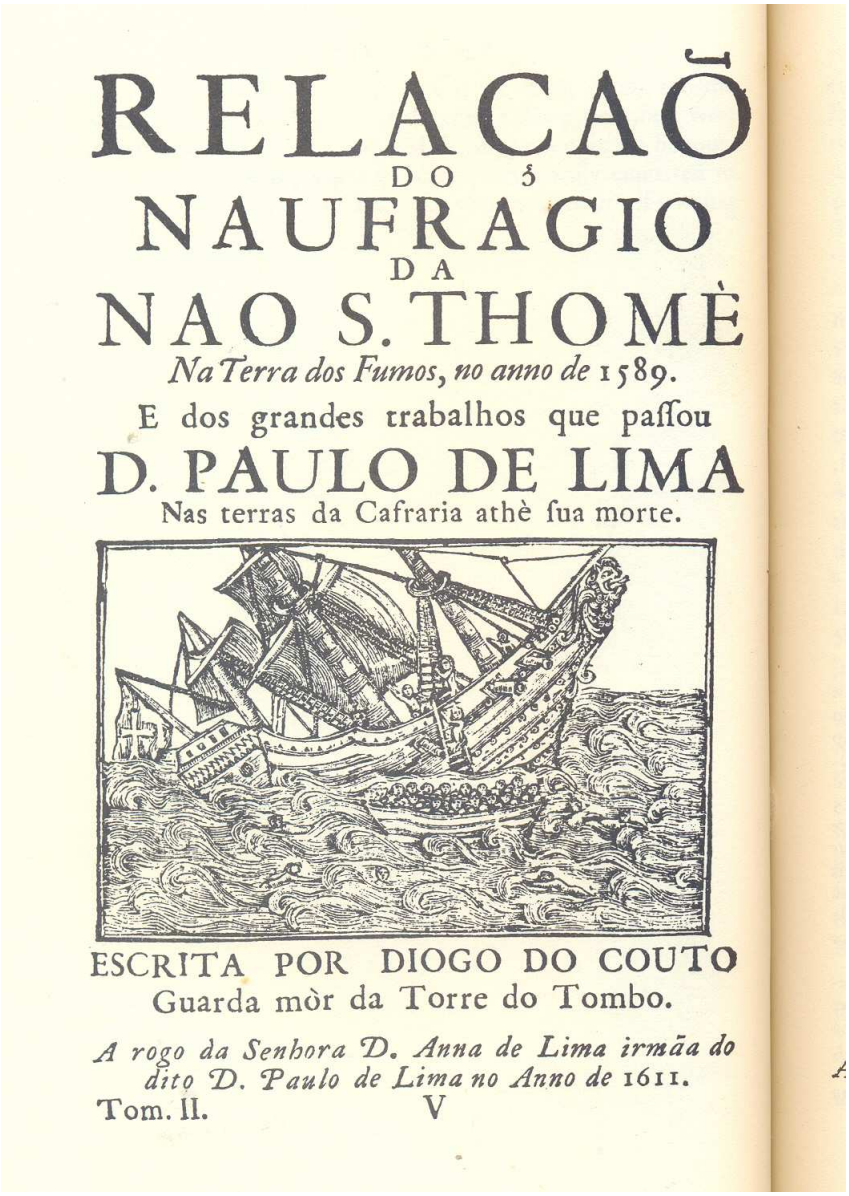
[265] Boxer, C.R., "The Writers and their Narratives", in Boxer, C.R., *The Tragic History of the Sea,* (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p.37.
[266] Ibid., pp. 33-34
[267] Ibid., p. 39.
[268] Duffy, P., Shipwreck and Empire, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 34.
[269] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 69-77.
[270] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 68 and Boxer, Note 2, p. 34 and note 3, p. 68.



RELAÇAÕ
DO
NAUFRAGIO
DA
NAO S. THOMÈ
Na Terra dos Fumos, no anno de 1589.
E dos grandes trabalhos que paſſou
D. PAULO DE LIMA
Nas terras da Cafraria athè ſua morte.

ESCRITA POR DIOGO DO COUTO
Guarda mòr da Torre do Tombo.

A rogo da Senhora D. Anna de Lima irmãa do dito D. Paulo de Lima no Anno de 1611.
Tom. II. V

Figure 5 - *São Thomé* 1589 Woodcut illustration from the title page,

História Trágico-Maritima 1736

5.2 Narrative of the Shipwreck:

The *São Thomé,* while en route from India to Lisbon, sank off the coast of KwaZulu-Natal on 22 March 1589. The only survivors were those who commandeered a lifeboat and 98 managed to reach the shore.[271] No slaves were recorded as having survived.

The survivors left the landing site on 23 March 1589 and were taken in canoes to [Inhaca] Island. They then waded over to another [Portuguese] island, where they found two boats and decided to try to reach Sofala. Thirty six remained on the island and had to wait, hoping to be rescued.[272]

The boat with 15 on board did not prove seaworthy and landed near the 'Manhiça'. [Incomati] River.[273] These survivors rowed upstream to the village of a king where they had heard a Portuguese trader was staying.[274]

The other boat, with 45 on board, went aground south of the "river of Gold" [Limpopo]. By the time this group reached Inhambane on 21 May, only 30 out of the original 45 had survived.[275] Three who were ill (and subsequently died) remained at Inhambane but a few of the fittest members reached Bazaruto Island where they managed to obtain a vessel and sail to Sofala.[276]

Rescue attempts were made for the remainder of the survivors, many of whom had died of fever.[277] There is no reference in the text as to when the remaining survivors were

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[271] Do Couto, D., "Narrative of the shipwreck of the Great Ship Sao Thome", Boxer, Translator, in Boxer, C.R., Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota, 2001), pp. 67-86.
[272] Ibid., pp. 86-87.
[273] Ibid., p. 86, and Note 1, p. 86.
[274] Ibid., p. 87.
[275] Ibid., p. 97.
[276] Ibid., pp. 98-99.
[277] Ibid., pp.99-103.

finally fetched, but one source states that they had to wait a year before being collected.[278]

5.3 Identification of the landmarks:

Before describing the actual journey of the survivors, Do Couto described the land and its inhabitants as was known to the Portuguese at that time. He stated that the place where the survivors landed was named the "Land of the Fumos", so called by mariners who had seen smoking fires on the land as they sailed past. It was said to be inhabited by the "Macomates". He reported that the lifeboat from the *São Thomé* had run ashore at a latitude of '27 1/3º', near a river at a latitude of '27 ½º'. He claimed that the Portuguese bartered for ivory near there at another river named 'Simão Dote', which was situated about 50 leagues south of the bay of Lourenço Marques.[279] This land of 'Fumos' was said to belong to a king named 'Viragune'.[280] The land to the south was said to be inhabited by another king named 'Mocalapapa', and south of that was the kingdom of 'Vambe'.[281] The land of Natal was even further south. In that region there were no kings, "only *Ancores*, who were heads of three, four or five villages."[282]

The kingdom of Chief Inhaca was described as extending north-east of the Land of Fumos to the point of the Bay of Lourenço Marques and included the two islands; 'Chambone', which was inhabited, and 'Setimuro' which was uninhabited but was where the Portuguese anchored, when they came to trade.[283]

Do Couto then used the form of a butterfly to locate the areas and people who lived around and to the north of Maputo Bay, mentioning the kingdoms of Belingane, Manhiça, Rumo, Anzete, Angomane, Inhàpula, Manuça, Inhaboze, Panda, Javara, Gamba and Mocumba.[284] These descriptions had no reference to observations made

[278] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 103.
[279] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 69.
[280] Ibid., pp. 70-71
[281] Ibid., p. 70.
[282] Ibid., p. 71.
[283] Ibid., p. 71.
[284] Ibid., pp. 72-77.

by the survivors during the journey. Boxer tried to identify the situations of the kingdoms. He noted that the metaphor of the butterfly was incomprehensible and was "confusing and inept".[285]

The account of the journey was given subsequent to Do Couto's description of the country and the people. He stated that the survivors left the landing place on 23 March 1589, travelling very slowly with frequent stops as the three noble ladies could not walk fast and their feet were "blistered and wounded".[286]

On the fifth day [28 March] they were guided to a village on the edge of a lake.[287] Said to be at 26½ º south, this was

> "a freshwater lake, but the tide enters it by a little river which can be forded knee-deep at low water. The sea breaks violently at the mouth, and therefore the water of the lake is rather brackish, but there are many wells in that locality from which they drink." [288]

The survivors named the river "Plenty" as they were given hospitality by the local people. They remained there for a day which was said to be Palm Sunday [29 March]. The next day [30 March] the survivors returned to the shore and on the following day [31 March] they crossed a small stream that flowed into another large lake.[289]

From there the survivors were taken to the village of King Inhaca. The text reads "Manhiça", but Boxer, Theal, Junod and Welch agree that this was a mistake and Inhaca and Manhiça somehow became transposed.[290]

It was stated that the survivors rested there on Maundy Thursday, which would have been 1 April and departed on 2 April, Easter Day.[291]

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[285] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 73.
[286] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 78.
[287] Ibid., p. 79.
[288] Ibid., p. 80.
[289] Ibid., p. 80.
[290] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 80.
[291] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 83.

On "the second day of the octave" [Tuesday 4 April], they came in sight of the sea. On the following day the survivors arrived at a place where their guides "made signals to those of the islands, which was nearby." [292]

The identification of the actual landing point has not been done by previous authors with any degree of confidence and does not take into consideration the rate of travel, as described in the account.

The text states that the boat came ashore at latitude 27 1/3° (27°20'), near a river which was 27½° [27°30'] and was 50 leagues south of the bay of Lourenço Marques.[293] If Do Couto's estimate that the landing place was 50 leagues [240 km] south of Maputo Bay is correct, this would locate the landing place near the southern end of Lake St Lucia. Taking the distance as indicating the site, Welch identified the river as the Mkhuze [which does not enter the sea]. Junod thought it might be the "Umfolosi" [Mfolozi], which is even further south.[294] Do Couto claimed that the survivors took 15 days of actual travel to reach Maputo Bay, so if the landing place was in the St Lucia area, this would make the rate of travel around 19 to 20 kilometres a day, which would not have been possible.

Boxer points out that as an astrolabe was used, the latitude reading would have been more correct and that distance measurements on the part of the survivors could only have been guesses. He accepts that the Sordwana [Sodwana] river, latitude 27° 33' S., is where the survivors landed.[295] Do Couto stated that the survivors took five days to reach Kosi Bay, which is some 70 km from Sodwana Bay. This would make the travelling time as 14 km a day.

[292] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 83.
[293] Ibid., p. 69.
[294] Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, pp. 69-70.
[295] Ibid., Note 4, p. 70.

The first place which is identifiable is Kosi Bay, described as "a freshwater lake more than a league in length [5·8 km] and which was open to the sea through a little river."[296] Kosi Bay is the only lake open to the sea between St Lucia and Cape St Maria.

The other place that is clearly identifiable is Cape St Maria, the northern tip of the Inhaca peninsula. Inhaca Island is a short distance from this cape with a shallow channel connecting the bay with the Indian Ocean. It was at this point that the local people were able to make signals to those on the island. There is no other place that fits this description.

After leaving the wreck site on 23 March, the survivors travelled very slowly, as the noble ladies were unused to walking and had blistered feet. On the fifth day (28 March) they were led to a village of a chief on the edge of a lake (Kosi Bay). They could then only have covered about five km a day. This would make the landing site some 25 km south of Kosi Bay, which indicates that it could have been in the Black Rock area. This is, however, a very rugged stretch of coast and as this notable terrain is not mentioned, the likely landing place for the survivors of the *São Thomé* would have been just north of this outcrop, in the area of Dog Point.

The survivors left Kosi Bay on 30 March and on the following day they were guided to the residence of Chief Inhaca. This part of the journey had taken two days and as they were still travelling slowly, this could have been the lake near Zitundo, which is 20 km from Kosi Bay. There they rested for one day (Maundy Thursday, 1April).

The survivors then continued on 2 April and Do Couto claimed that they arrived at Cape St Maria on 5 April, i.e. three days later. See Table 7.

Table 7- *SÃO THOMÉ*

Dates and landmarks cited in the text.[297]

[296] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1589	March	15	Ship starts to sink, boat launched	57
		20	Ship sinks. Survivors in boat sight land	65
		22	Land among sand hills, near small river 'Simão Dote'	67
		23	Start walk 'Land of Fumos'	68
		5 days	Led to a village near freshwater lake	78
			Open to the sea 'Bay of Plenty' *[Kosi Bay]*	80
			Guided to the village of Chief Inhaca	81
	April	Easter 2	Resume journey	83
		2nd day	In sight of bay of 'Espiritu Santo' *[Maputo Bay]*	
		Octave		
			Reach the shore *[Cape St Maria]*	
			Taken to Island 'Choambone' *[Inhaca Island]*	
			Cross to 'Setimo Island' *[Portuguese Island]*	
			Repair existing boats	84
		18	Divide into 3 parties. 2 on boats, I remains	86
			Boat with Master:	
			Sail over bay, land near 'Inhaca' *sic* River	86
			Reach Manhiça R. *Incomati R.]*	
		2 days	Row to King's [Manhiça] village, 12 leagues up stream	
			With Port. Trader's help, fetch 14 from Inhaca	89
			Boat with Captain:	
			Boat damaged, land on sandy beach *[possibly Bilene]*	91
			To village of King Inhàpula, S bank R. of 'Gold' *[Limpopo]*	92
		3 days	Some ill, left behind	
			Continue to village of Inhatembe (sheik)	
			Recalled to Inhàpula's village to collect sick and bury one	93
			Cross River of Gold *[Limpopo]*	
		3 days	Reach Kingdom of Mamuça	94
		5 days	Kingdom of Panda, near Cape Correntes, called Imbane	
	May	11	Cross another large river *[Inharrime]*	95
			Kingdom of Gamba	
		21	Reach river of Inhambane	97
		4 days	River of Boene	
			River of Morambele	
			Village of Sane on Point São Sebãstao	98
	June		Reach Inbaxe, find Portuguese ship *[Vilanculo]*	
			Cross to Bazaruto Island	
			Arrive at Sofala by ship	99
	Oct.		Ship sent to collect remaining survivors	100

[297] Boxer, C.R., Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Table 8

SÃO THOMÉ

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distance, adjusted dates and estimated rate of travel.

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate Km/day
1589	March	22	Dog Point area				
		23	Depart				
		28	Kosi Bay *[of Plenty]*	25	5		5
	April	1	Chief Inhaca's Residence – Zitundo	20	4	1	6.6
		9	Cape St Maria	70	8	1	10
			TOTAL	**115**	**17**	**2**	**7.6**

Distance: Dog Point to Cape St Maria – 115 km
Time Taken: 23 March to 9 April 1589 – 17 days
Exclude stop - 2 days
Actual travel time – 15 days
Average rate of travel per day – 7.6 km

			To Portuguese Island				
		19	**Master's group** (15) sail off				
		20	Grounded, Incomati R.				
		22	Row upstream to King Manhica's village. Collect remainder from Inhaca Island. Wait				
		19	**Captain's group** (45) sail off				
			Land north of Incomati R. Bilene ?				
			Limpopo R. King Inhàpula,			3	
			To village of Inhatembe				
			Return to Limpopo to collect sick				
			Cross the Limpopo R.	30			
			Reach kingdom of Mamuça			3	
			Arrive at Kingdom of Panda			5	
	May	11	Depart Imbane, cross Inharrime R.	135	22	[11]	12.2
			Reach King of Gamba.				
		21	Inhambane.- survivors remain	85	10	3	8.5
			Some continued.				
			Arrive Point San Sebastão, Sane.				
	June		Reach Vilanculo [Imbaxe]				
			To Bazaruto Island, board a Portuguese ship				
			Arrive at Sofala Remainder of survivors collected by ship				

The total travelling time from Kosi Bay to Cape St Maria was given as six days. The distance from Kosi Bay to Cape St Maria is 90 km. Even if they had travelled at a slightly faster speed after Kosi Bay, possibly about 8-10 km a day, they would have taken at least 10 or 11 days to get there, not six. The survivors would have reached Cape St Maria probably only on 9 April. This would have made them cover the 115 km from Dog Point to Cape St Maria in 17 days. If the two rest days are excluded, their actual travelling time would have been 15 days and their average rate of travel would have been 7.6 km a day.

The survivors on the Master's boat, who reached the Incomati River, claimed that it had only taken two days to reach King Manhica's residence, which, according to the text, was about 12 leagues [58 km] from the mouth.[298] This means that they had rowed at a rate of 29 km a day, which is unlikely. The present town of Manhica is situated at the inland bridging point of the Incomati and is 35 km upstream. It is possible that the town developed where the original residence of King Manhica was situated. The survivors could then have covered 17 km a day, which is credible.

The Captain's boat was damaged by the waves and the survivors grounded the boat. After one day, during which they had their caps and wallets snatched from them, they reached the "River of Gold".[299] This was the Limpopo River. [300] They met a man called 'Inhatembe', who guided them to the village of King Inhàpula, where they rested for three days. There they left some of their people who were ill and moved on to a village of Inhatembe, who was described as a sheik.[301] He would have been a Muslim.[302]

[298] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 87,
[299] Ibid., pp. 91-92.
[300] Boxer, Note 3, p. 91.
[301] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 92.
[302] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 92.

The survivors were then summoned back to King Inhàpula's village to bury one of their members, who had died, and to remove those who were ill.[303] Only then did they cross the Limpopo and move into the kingdom of Mamuça, where they "were very well received" and remained for another three days.[304] They left there accompanied by two sons of the king who protected them from being robbed. During this time five or six people died. They then took shelter with a headman named Inhabuze and from there moved into the kingdom of Panda, near Cape Correntes. When they set out again, they were accompanied by a son of this king and on 11 May they crossed a large river, described as being 'as large as that of Gold', which separated the kingdom of Panda from that of Gamba.[305] This would have been the Inharrime River.

According to the text, the survivors then arrived at the "river of Inhambane" on 21 May with only 30 persons left out of the original 45.[306] This sounds as if they had reached the site of the present-day town of Inhambane. If, however, they had walked along the shore after crossing the Inharrime, they would have reached the spit of land which encloses the bay at Inhambane, and to continue walking north, they would have either had to cross the bay by boat, or they would have had to retrace their steps to be able to continue up the coast. It is more likely that they had moved inland before entering the spit as there is no mention of crossing the bay.

They had probably reached present-day Maxixe, the site of "one of the world's last major Arab dhow staging posts."[307] The distance between Inharrime River and Maxixe is about 180 km and, as they had taken 10 days, this would make their rate of travel at about 18 km a day. This is possible as at that time they were a small group comprising only the fittest members of the original party.

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[303] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 92-93
[304] Ibid., p. 94.
[305] Ibid., p. 95.
[306] Ibid., p. 95.
[307] Slater, M., *Mozambique*, (London, Cape Town, New Holland Publishers, 2002), p. 70.

The survivors then crossed two rivers, the 'Boene' and the 'Morambele'. [308] The only rivers of any size between Maxixe and Vilanculo are the Furvelo and the Inchanti.

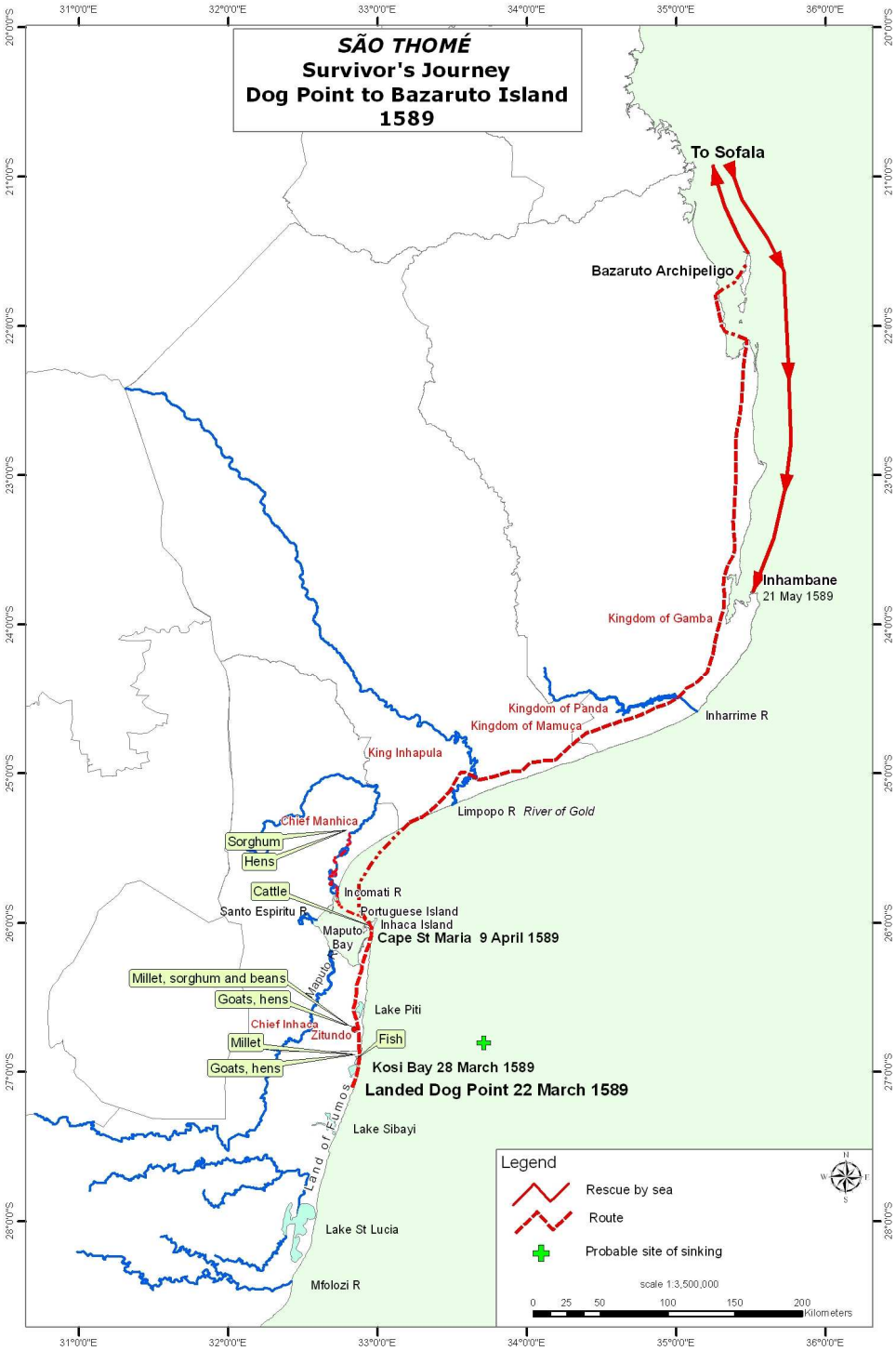
The survivors then reached a village named 'Sane' which was on the point of land which they named 'São Sebastião'. This point is still known by that name. The survivors had to cross the gulf of Sane, which they managed to do at low tide, in order to get back to the mainland.[309]

The next village was 'Inbaxe', where they found a Portuguese trader who had a small boat.[310] Welch has identified Inbaxe with Vilanculo.[311] At the trader's direction the survivors crossed to the island of 'Bazaruta', inhabited by Muslims.[312] Bazaruto Island is still known by that name. Map 4 shows the *São Thome* survivors'journey: Dog Point to Bazaruto Island.

Figure 6 - Limpopo River estuary

[308] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 97.
[309] Ibid., p. 98.
[310] Ibid., p. 98.
[311] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 98.
[312] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 98.

Map 4 - São Thome journey: Dog Point to Bazaruto Island.



5.4 Location of the Indigenous People:

South of Kosi Bay area:

With reference to the origin of name 'Fumos' for the area south of Kosi Bay, Boxer stated that while there had been a suggestion that it could have been derived from a word *'Mfumo'*, said to be the name of a chief, he quoted Junod who accepted Do Couto's derivation. Junod also noted that the 'Land of Fumos' coincided with that part of the country known as 'Amatongaland' or 'Tongaland' (in his day), and in turn quoted Soga who maintained that at some time the area was occupied by offshoots of the Makalanga tribes.[313] Junod could not identify Viragune, but Welch placed the tribe as being situated in a bend of the Mfolozi River.[314] Neither he nor any of the authorities Boxer consulted could identify the Mocalapapa.[315] Boxer commented that although the Vambe (Bambe), were identified by Theal as being the 'Abambo' or 'Embo', Junod, Welch and Soga, disagreed. They felt that even if the name was accurate and although the population of sixteenth century Amatongaland and Zululand was similar to the present, the community that may have been known by that name has ceased to exist.[316] In explaining the use of the term 'Ancores', Boxer noted that this could possibly be a misprint for the term 'Ancoses'', which is a Zulu/Xhosa word for a 'Chief'.[317]

From the survivor narrative it was commented that the people at the landing site, near Black Rock, lived in straw huts.[318] They were willing to trade, "a few small things to barter".[319] As they moved north the survivors met people who were hostile and threatened them with weapons called '*perembars'* and '*fimbos'*, which were fire-

[313] Boxer, op. cit., Note, 2, p. 69.
[314] Ibid., Note 1, p. 70.
[315] Ibid., Note 2, p. 70.
[316] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 70.
[317] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 71.
[318] Ibid., p. 66.
[319] Ibid., p. 78

hardened sticks.[320] Do Couto named these people as the 'Macomates' but Soga identified them as clans of the Makalanga.[321]

The survivors assumed that the man, who was wearing a 'tiger' [leopard] skin, was a petty chief under Chief Inhaca. He led them to a village near Kosi Bay.[322] The local women "gathered to see the white women, as something marvellous, and all night they gave them any entertainments and dances".[323] These people kept goats and hens, cultivated millet and made cakes of the millet flour. Fish were on offer. The provisions were exchanged for nails and shirts.[324]

The Maputo Bay area:

The survivors were then guided to Chief Inhaca's residence, probably near Zitundo. Goats were kept and the survivors were presented with two baskets of "a kind of pulse which they call *Ameixoeira"*.[325] They also obtained hens, grains, cakes and beans.[326] Chief Inhaca was wearing a "cloth which covered his lower parts, and a hooded green cloak which had been presented to him by the captain of Moçambique."[327] A copper bowl "a thing highly esteemed" and rough iron were presented to the chief.[328] Boxer identified the king as Inhaca, with the tribe still in existence and known as Nyaka.[329]

The survivors were taken to Inhaca Island in canoes. They found it was inhabited and it was said that the king's cattle were grazed there.[330] At low tide, the survivors then waded over to the island called 'Setimuro', where the Portuguese traders had built some

[320] Ibid., pp. 78-79.
[321] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 69.
[322] Ibid., p. 79.
[323] Ibid., p. 79.
[324] Ibid., p. 80.
[325] Ibid., p. 82.
[326] Ibid., p. 83.
[327] Ibid., p. 81.
[328] Ibid., p. 82.
[329] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 71.
[330] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 83.

fifty thatched huts.[331] Boxer commented that 'Chambone' is the present-day Nyaka (Inhaca) Island; and Setimuro is the present-day Island of the Portuguese, once called the Island of the Elephants.[332]

These survivors did not walk around Maputo Bay, but Boxer attempted to make further identifications of the area described by Do Couto. He quoted Junod who linked the kingdom of Belingane with the Maputo River, and associated the name with that of a chief, Buyingane, whose clan still exists.

A kingdom, described as that of the 'Rumo', was north of Maputo Bay and Do Couto believed that this was where the ill-fated captain of the *São João*, de Sousa Sepulveda, his wife and children had died.[333]

Rumo was once the important kingdom of Mpfumo, but ceased to be independent after 1894.[334] Anzete is the Tembe clan.[335] Junod stated that the king called Angomane would have been Ngomana, a chief of the Mazwaya clan who formerly lived in the Lebombo hills. Welch however claims that they would have been the Amagwane, one of the Swazi clans.[336]

Incomati River to Inhambane:

The survivors from the Master's boat landed east of the river of Manhiça, identified by Boxer as the Incomati River.[337] He quoted Junod who stated that the river Manhiça (Manyisa) is the Incomati (Nkomati), and the Manhiça clan still exists today as part of the Ba-Ronga.[338]

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[331] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 83.
[332] Boxer, op. cit., Notes 4 & 5, p. 71.
[333] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 73.
[334] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 73.
[335] Ibid., Note 1, p. 74.
[336] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, p. 74.
[337] Ibid., Note 1, p. 86.
[338] Boxer, op. cit., Notes 4 & 5, p. 72.

In 1589, the Manhiça kingdom was situated around the Incomati River, with the residence of King Manhica village lying some distance upstream. It was possibly on the site of the present town of Manhica, as this is a bridging point.[339] The trader who the survivors met there had been trading for ivory.[340] '*Ameixoeira'* [sorghum] gruel was available and hens were kept in this area.[341]

The survivors of the Captain's boat found that the residence of King Inhàpula was situated on the south bank of the Limpopo River, a few kilometres inland. Nails were used as a trade item with King Inhàpula. A sheik, Inhatembe, who acted as a guide for part of the time, was the head of a Muslim village, being situated closer to the mouth of the river. As it was stated that he was a part of King Inhàpula's household,[342] it would indicate that Inhatembe was subordinate to King Inhàpula. Junod surmises that 'Inhàpula', also written as Inhapule or Inhampura, could be the Nyapura clan which was still in existence in his time. [343]

Once the survivors had crossed the Limpopo they entered the kingdom of the Mamuça.[344] Junod noted that a clan bearing the name Manuça, were still in existence living on the eastern side of the Limpopo River in his day.[345]

The survivors then entered the kingdom of the Panda where they were received by the king. He valued the trade with the Portuguese so entertained the survivors well with what were described as 'banquets and rejoicings.[346]. The 'Panda', today the Pande, clan is found west of Inhambane.[347]

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[339] Ibid., p. 87.
[340] Ibid., p. 87.
[341] Ibid., p. 90.
[342] Ibid., p. 92.
[343] Boxer, op. cit., Notes 3 & 4, p. 75.
[344] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 73, 94.
[345] Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, p. 75.
[346] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 95.
[347] Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, p. 76.

The Inharrime River separated the kingdoms of Panda and Gamba. Do Couto named this river the Inharingue. Although not mentioned in the text describing the journey, Do Couto states that the kingdom of Inhaboze was in this area.[348] In Junod's day, the Inhaboze or Inyabuse, still occupied land around the Inharrime River.[349]

Junod noted that Gamba is the Gwembe clan, and the Mocumba is the Nkumbi clan and both clans still inhabit the same lands that they did at that time.[350]

Although not mentioned in the text describing the journey, Do Couto stated that a kingdom called Javara, was situated inland from Inhambane. Junod notes that clans called either Zavalla or Zavora, were still situated in the district of Inhambane.[351]

Maxixe to Vilanculo:

The people first encountered were not friendly and robbed the survivors.[352] These were the Mocrangas, designated as 'great thieves' by Do Couto.[353] They were identified by Junod as the Makalangas, who had emigrated from Rhodesia [Zimbabwe].[354]

Once they reached the Cape of São Sebastão, the people there assisted the survivors to cross to Bazaruto Island then inhabited by Muslim traders, who treated them very well.[355] With their assistance the survivors who had reached this point were taken by boat to Sofala. From there a ship was sent to collect the remaining survivors with cloth and beads to pay for their 'ransom'.[356] This term was not accurate as the survivors were not being held as hostages by the local people, but it was appreciated that some payment was needed in return for having provided for large numbers of castaways.

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[348] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 76.
[349] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 76.
[350] Ibid., Note 1, p. 77.
[351] Ibid., Note 6, p. 76.
[352] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 97
[353] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
[354] Ibid., p. 75 and Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 76.
[355] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 98.
[356] Ibid., p. 99.

5.5 The Indigenous People in 1589 - an overview:

5.5.1 Linguistics:

There were no African slaves with this party to act as interpreters, but the survivors managed to make themselves understood to a certain extent. In the author's somewhat vague description of the various tribes who lived in the present-day southern Mozambique, he does refer to a group of people, met by a Portuguese trader, who spoke a language different from those of other kingdoms. Junod and Welch suggest that these were the 'Amangwane' people who lived in the west along the foothills of mountains.[357]

5.5.2 Physical Appearance:

No comments were made on the physical appearance of the local people.

5.5.3 Political Organisation:

The names of three of the chiefs living around Maputo Bay were similar to those described by the *São Bento* survivors, but this record has more information. There is agreement that Chief Inhaca's land was in the east and included the islands. Also that Chief Manhica, spelt 'Manisa' in the *São Bento* record, was living in the Incomati River area. Both records mention Chief Rumo, and situate his chiefdom north of the Santo Espiritu River. Chief Inhàpula and a Moslem member of his household, Inhatembe, had residences on the south bank of the Limpopo River. It has been noted that Chief Inhàpula's land, is still designated Nyapura and that members of the clan Nyaka were still living there in 1959.[358]

The kingdoms of Mamuca and Panda lay north of the Limpopo, with that of Panda being closer to the coast near Cape Correntes. The kingdom of Gamba was situated between the Inharrime River and Inhambane. Do Couto also named several chiefdoms which lay

[357] Boxer, Note 4, pp. 74-75.
[358] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 75.

to the south of Kosi Bay, but these have not been identified. They were the Macomates, who lived in the Land of Fumos, Viragune, Mocalapa, and Vambe. It was also said that the people were ruled by 'ancores', probably misspelling and mispronouncing 'inkosi', which means 'chief'.

5.5.4 Settlements:

The people at the landing site lived in straw huts, but no other settlements were described.

5.5.5 Clothing, Ornament and Accessories:

The men generally wore little covering. Chief Inhaca wore a type of apron and a green-hooded cloak, both made of cloth. A man, probably a headman living near Kosi Bay, wore what was referred to as a 'tiger' skin cloak. The survivors all called leopards 'tigers' in Africa, probably as they knew about the big cats in India. As there are no tigers in Africa, this would have been a leopard skin.

5.5.6 Mode of Subsistence:

5.5.6.1 Livestock:

Domestic livestock for the people living around Kosi Bay, in the Inhaca Peninsula and around the Incomati River, consisted of goats and hens.[359] It was stated that the chief's cattle grazed on Inhaca Island., but this was not mentioned in the description of the journey. The general lack of cattle is understandable as the whole area falls within the tsetse fly belt, but the presence of cattle on an island suggests that either this was a window period when the tsetse fly was temporally absent, or their presence was an assumption by the author when writing the narrative at a later date.

[359] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

5.5.6.2 Cultivation:

The people living around Kosi Bay cultivated the soil, growing millet, which they ground and made into cakes.[360] This was either finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*,[361] or pearl millet, *Pennisetum, glaucum*. In the Inhaca Peninsula and around the Incomati River, a type of pulse, called '*ameixoeira'* was grown. The name '*ameixoiera'* with a variation in the spelling was used by later survivor groups and was not used to refer to millet. *Ameixoeira* would have been *Sorghum bicolor,. S. vulgare or S. caffrorum.* The common name in South Africa has been 'Kaffir corn'.[362] Like millet, it is another grain crop native to Africa Beans, probably Jugo beans, were grown n the Inhaca Peninsula. Chief Panda, who lived near Inhambane was able to provide a 'banquet', so presumably this was an area where successful cultivation was carried out.

5.5.5.4 Hunting and Fishing:

Elephants were hunted using pitfalls. Fish were mentioned in the Kosi Bay area.

5.5.5.5 Food preparation:

Cakes were made from the millet flour. Sorghum was made into porridge.

5.5.5.6 Technology:

Weapons were *'perembars'*, probably iron-tipped assegais, and fire-hardened sticks, called *'fimbos'*. Boxer noted that these names could not be identified.[363] Canoes were used in the Inhaca Island area and on the Incomati River.

5.5.5.7 Trade:

Trade with the Portuguese was a significant part of the economy throughout the area travelled. Sofala was the only permanently occupied Portuguese trading post at the

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[360] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 80, 83.
[361] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, Vol I, Grains*, (Washington D.C., National Academy Press, 1996), p. 39.
[362] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 138.
[363] Boxer, op. cit., Notes 1 and 2, p. 79.

time, but ships regularly visited Maputo Bay and had constructed huts for their use on Ilhos dos Portugueses. Traders were also found at Vilanculo. Muslims, presumably also traders, were living among the Inhàpula and on Bazaruto Island.[364] Ivory was the most important product and cloth from India was particularly valued. Iron was a valued commodity.

5.5.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

All the people living in around Kosi Bay, along the Incomati River and around Inhambane were agriculturalists. Livestock in the form of goats and hens were kept. Muslims were established on the south side of the Limpopo River and on Bazaruto Island and they appeared to be on good terms with their neighbours.

[364] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 92, 98.

Chapter 6

SANTO ALBERTO 1593

6.1 Author and publication of the account:

The author of the *Santo Alberto* account was João Baptista Lavanha, the Grand Cosmographer in Portugal, who was not one of the survivors.[365] It was based on the "voluminous notebook which the pilot of the said ship made of this journey, which I have corrected and verified with the information was subsequently given me by Nuno Velho Pereira, who was the Captain-major of the Portuguese during this trip." [366]

The pilot was Rodrigo Migueis.[367]

The original edition was published in 1597 and reprinted by Gomes de Brito in *História Trágico-Maritíma* in 1736. Boxer used a copy of the original edition in his translation.[368] Theal also translated this record.[369] Further research by Gloria de Santana Paula has uncovered an anonymous manuscript of the journey. A transcript of the account which includes an analysis of the background and content has been published in Portugal.[370] It has not yet been translated into English, but in discussion with the author, she says that the account does not differ materially from the Lavanha account and suggests that the author of the manuscript was a passenger on the ship. Boxer's translation has been used for this dissertation.

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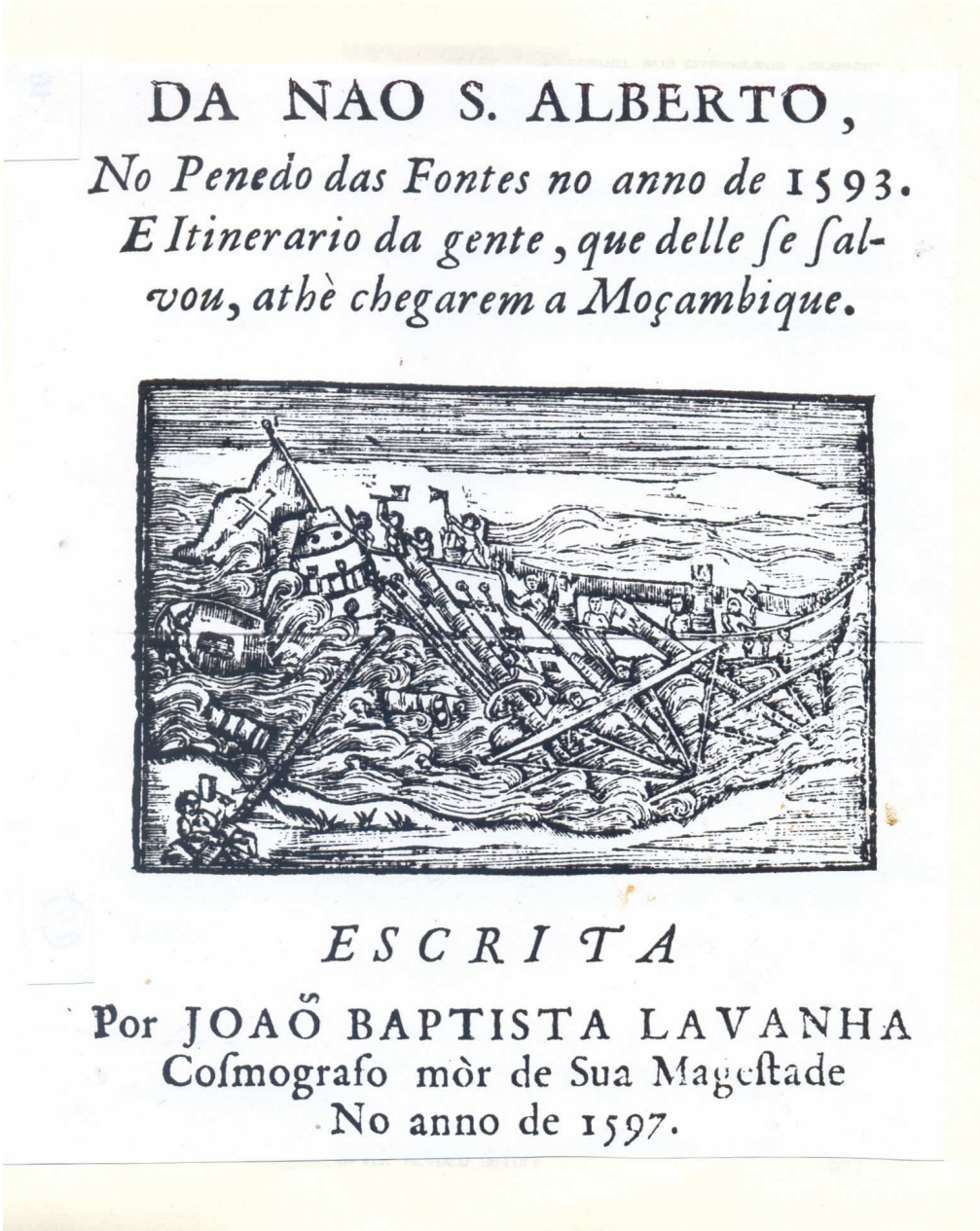
[365] Boxer, C.R., "The Writers and their Narratives" in Boxer, C.R., Editor and translator, *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 42.
[366] Lavanha, J. B., "Shipwreck of the Great Ship *Santo Alberto*", Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 108-109.
[367] Boxer, C.R., "The Writers and their Narratives" in Boxer, op. cit., p. 46.
[368] Ibid., p. 45.
[369] Lavanha, J.B., "The Wreck of the Ship Saint Albert", Theal, Tr., in Theal, G.M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol II, Facs, 1898, (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964).
[370] de Santana Paulo, G., *O Naufrágio da Nau Santo Alberto*, (Lisbon, Caleidoscópio, Casal de Cambra, 2007),



DA NAO S. ALBERTO,

No Penedo das Fontes no anno de 1593.
E Itinerario da gente, que delle ſe ſalvou, athè chegarem a Moçambique.

ESCRITA

Por JOAÕ BAPTISTA LAVANHA
Coſmografo mòr de Sua Mageſtade
No anno de 1597.

Figure 7 - *Santo Alberto* 1593 - Woodcut illustration from the title page, *Historia Tragico-Maritima* 1736

This is the earliest written record of the people who lived inland along the coastal plateau from just west of the Kei River to the Lubombo Mountains. There is a day-by-day account of the trip and it contains many clear descriptions of the people. With a fine leader who treated the indigenous people with respect and dignity, the survivors were

able to gain their confidence and so learnt much more than their compatriots from other wrecks. It is the most informative narrative of all the accounts and must stand as one of the most significant records of pre-colonial history.

6.2 The narrative of the shipwreck:

The great ship, *Santo Alberto,* was wrecked on 25 March 1593. The site has been identified as at Sunrise-on-Sea, some 30 kilometres north of East London, South Africa.[371] There were 285 survivors, of whom 125 were Portuguese and 160 were slaves.[372] The survivors spent 8 days at the wreck site and left on 3 April.[373] They arrived at Cape St Maria on 30 June 1593 after a journey of 88 days. 117 Portuguese and 65 slaves reached Inhaca Island.[374] There was a Portuguese trading ship anchored at Ilha dos Portugueses but the survivors had to wait for the favourable monsoon wind before they could sail. Some 28 Portuguese became impatient and decided to walk to Sofala, but only two ever reached there. The ship finally left Inhaca Island on 22 July and arrived at Moçambique Island on 6 August 1593. A total of 156 survivors, comprising 91 Portuguese and 65 slaves finally reached India. [375]

The places of origin of the slaves mentioned in the text are India,[376] Malabar,[377] Japan and Java. [378] The survivors encountered a Portuguese survivor from the *São João* of 1552.[379]

6.3 Identifying the landmarks:

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[371] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of their sites", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), pp. 56-60.
[372] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 115.
[373] Ibid., p. 127.
[374] Ibid., p. 183.
[375] Ibid., pp. 184-186.
[376] Ibid., p. 129.
[377] Ibid., p. 130.
[378] Ibid., p. 152.
[379] Ibid., p. 178.

This inland route has been the most challenging of all the routes in identifying where the survivors were when they made their observations. As with the other routes, main rivers are key indicators, but they are not so easily identified as their upper reaches can differ considerably from the lower courses. The account is a detailed one in which the day by day experiences are noted, sometimes with an actual date, but often referring to the 'next day'. Boxer used this information and inserted each day's date in square brackets at the relevant places. There can be no fault found with his dating, but in a few places there are problems with the original text as will be noted.

The latitude readings in the text are all inaccurate and misleading. This was appreciated subsequently by the survivors themselves when they were given readings several times, which placed them much closer to Maputo Bay than they were.[380] The inaccuracies were noted by Theal.[381]

The leader of the *Santo Alberto* group established good relations with the local people and guides, drawn from local communities, were used for most of the way. The local people were familiar with the terrain so the survivors were guided along established paths and tracks and through known drifts over the rivers. The paths and tracks created by the indigenous people would have followed natural contours, along watersheds and through valleys. The most convenient drifts over the rivers would have been known as many of them would originally been elephant paths.[382] As the first roads to be laid out followed these paths and the 1:50 000 maps show old paths, roads and drifts, these have been considered in trying to identify the actual route.

The key has been to try to work out where the major rivers were crossed. They are the Kei, Mbhashe, Mthatha, Mzimvubu, Mzimkhulu and Thukela. As the *Santo Alberto* people moved inland, the river crossings were relatively easy as it was winter when the

[380] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 138.
[381] Boxer, Note 3, p. 114.
[382] Feely, J. Pers. Comm.

river flow was low and were not the major barriers experienced by other survivors who walked along the coastal route. An important consideration has been the fact that at three stages of the journey, the survivors passed through uninhabited ground. Although the demographics of the Eastern Cape have changed considerably in four hundred years, it can be accepted that the area north of the Mthatha River and up to the Flagstaff area is high ground, very cold in winter and infertile and even today does not support a dense population.

The inland route was longer than that along the coast, but thanks to their guides and the fact that the they passed through less rugged terrain, the *Santo Alberto* survivors moved much faster than their compatriots and covered the longer distance in a much shorter time.

Distances have been calculated using a computer ARC GIS system based on the National Ordnance Survey maps, with scales of !:250 000 and 1:50 000 and have been measured along the suggested route of the survivors. The date of the shipwreck and the arrival of the survivors at Portuguese Island, where they met a Portuguese trading ship, can be accepted as accurate. Leaving the wreck site [at Sunrise-on-Sea] on 3 April 1593, the survivors reached Cape St Maria on 30 June 1593. They had travelled a distance of some 1017 kilometres in 88 days, with 4 rest days. They actually travelled on only 84 days at an average rate of 12 kilometres a day. This figure has been used together with the descriptions of the country in the text to identify the landmarks.

Table 9 shows the dates and descriptions of the places cited in the text. Table 10 shows the identification of the landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel.

Table 9 - *SANTO ALBERTO*

Dates and landmarks cited in the text.[383]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1593	March	25	Penedo das Fontes, 'Tizombe' *[Sunrise-on-Sea]*	114
	April	3	Depart	127
		4	Cross a river *[Kwelera]*	
		13	Large river, 'São Christavão', deep strong current *[Kei]*	135
			Cross at ford *[Mgwali]*	139
			A stream and caves *[Xuka]*	142
		25	Great stream, 'wound twisting and turning' *[Mbhashe]*	143
		26	Go east to skirt a mountain, 'Moxangala' *[Baziya]*	
		27	A river which flowed very swiftly *[Mthatha]*	144
	May	2	Observe high mountain range covered in snow to N & NE	146
		4	Largest and deepest river with islet *[Mzimvubu]*	147
		8	End uninhabited region (14 days) *[Flagstaff]*	149
		12	Beautiful and freshest river, 'Mutangalo' *[Mtamvuna]*	143
		14	Camped in a valley between great rocks	153
		16	Over a plain to a small river *[Bisi]*	155
		17	Guided to a stream	
		19	Crossed a large stream by means of stones *[Mzimkhulu]*	156
		21	Uninhabited country (cold)	159
		22	Cross mountain range	
		25	Large rapidly flowing river. *[Mkhomazi]*	160
		26	Assisted to cross	
		27	Widest with strongest current (rain) 'Vehugel' *[Mngeni]*	
		28	Assisted to cross	162
		31	Through rugged hills and crags	163
	June	1	Terrain better, path less stony	
		2	Over mountain pass *[Karkloof]* to level and pleasant land	
		4	A great river, *[Thukela]* assisted to cross *[Jameson's Drift]*	164
			Thickly populated plateau *[Nkhandla]*	
		5	Halt by a stream *[White Mfolozi]*	166
		11	Turn east	169
		15	Rested	172
		17	Down from *[coastal plateau]* to wide marshy *[Mkhuze plain]*	
		18	Through *[Lubombo]* Mountains, following stream *[Msunduzi]*	173
		19-21	Through marshes Sandy country with palms	174
		22	In a wood *[Mbazwana Fores]* Led astray. Marshes	175
		24	Village of Chief Inhaca's sister, see sea and 'Dunes of Gold'	176
		25	Cross river at low tide at the mouth	177
		26	Over wide plain to fresh-water lake (1 league) *[Kosi Bay]*	
		27	To Chief Inhaca's village	179
		28	Depart	181
	July	1	Taken by boat to island *[Inhaca Island]*	183
		2	Cross to smaller island *[Portuguese]*	
		9	Embark Portuguese trading shi, wait for wind	184
			28 impatient, decide to walk, taken by boat to Manhiça river	185
			Only 2 reached Sofala.	186
		22	Set sail to Moçambique (Island)	
	August	6	Reach Moçambique Is.	189

[383] Boxer, C. R., Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001)

Table 10 - *SANTO ALBERTO*

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel in km per day

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate
1593	March	**25**	Sunrise-on-Sea, Kwelera R.				
	April	3	Depart				
		4	Cross Kwelera R. 'Round the Bend'				
		13	Cross Great Kei R. at Glen Kei	50	10		5.0
		16-18	Uninhabited				
		19	Mgwali R.				
		23	Xuka R.				
		25	Cross Mbhashe R. at R 61 bridge	118	12	1	10.7
		27	Cross Mthatha R. near Langeni	28	2		14.0
			Uninhabited region				
	May	**4**	Cross Mzimvubu R. near Tembukazi	77	7		11.0
		8	End uninhabited area Flagstaff area				
		13	Cross Mtamvuna R. at Gun Drift	70	9	2	10.0
		16	Bisi R.				
		19	Cross Mzimkhulu R. at Mzimkhulu	57	6	1	11.4
			Uninhabited grassland				
			North-west to cross mountains				
		24	Mkhomazi R.	51	5		10.2
		28	Mngeni R. in flood	46	4		11.5
		29	Cross at Midmar Dam				
	June	2	Karkloof Mountains				
		4	Cross Thukela R. at Jameson's Drift	111	7		15.9
			Populated plateau, Nkhandla				
		5	White Mfolosi R.				
		12	Turn east at Nongoma	137	8		17.1
		17	Down off escarpment, over Mkhuze Plain				
		18	Bayala	67	6		11.2
		19	Msinduzi R. valley through Lubombo Mts.				
		21-23	Through marshes and palm veld				
		24	Village of Chief Inhaca's sister				
		25	Shore, cross at Kosi Bay estuary	115	7		16.4
		26	Over plain to freshwater lake Zitundo				
		28	Chief Inhaca's village				
		30	Cape St Maria	90	5		18.0
	July	1	Canoe to Inhaca Island				
		2	Cross to Portuguese Island				
			TOTAL	**1017**	**88**	**4**	**12.1**

Distance: Sunrise-on-Sea to Cape St Maria – 1017 km
Time taken: 3 April -30 June – 88 days
Exclude stops 4 – 84 days
Average rate of travel - 12.1 km per day.

The survivors left the wreck site, which is two kilometres from the mouth of the Kwelera River, and moved first in a northerly direction. They were given guides by the local chief so would have followed known paths. On the first day they crossed a river,[384] the Kwelera, probably at a drift further downstream than Hill's Drift, near 'Round the Bend'. On the third day they crossed a small stream,[385] probably the Chintsa at Chintsa Drift. Part of the route was north-north-east on a good level way and on a good track.[386] It is suggested that they passed through or near the present villages of Ngingxolo and Mooiplaas. The Tytyaba River cuts through steep gorges and so they would have had to ford this upstream near Mpetu and then turn east to cross the next river.

On 13 April they reached a large river with hippopotami, "very deep, with a very strong current" which they called the 'São Christavão'.[387] This would have been the Great Kei River and, following paths and present roads, the crossing is likely to have been at Glen Kei. The survivors had taken 10 days to cover 50 km at a rate of about 5 km a day. The relatively slow speed is explained as much of the time was spent getting organized, interacting with the local people and trading.

Once over the Kei River, new guides were obtained and the group left the Kei on 14 April. The country was described as level with beautiful fields and abundant pastures until they came to a marsh with a broad, swiftly running river,[388] possibly the Qhora. They then passed through the marshy land around Teke. The route then was probably along the present N2 between Ibeka and Dutywa. The record states that from 16-18 April they traversed "an unpopulated wasteland" where guides were not provided.[389] It is likely that the area north of Ibeka through to the Mgwali River would have been the unpopulated area at this time, as it is grassland. The survivors probably turned north just before Dutywa and they travelled to the present site of Munya. From here the

[384] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 127.
[385] Ibid., p. 129.
[386] Ibid., pp. 129-134.
[387] Ibid., p. 135.
[388] Ibid., pp. 135-137.
[389] Ibid., p. 136.

probable route would have been along the present Idutywa/Engobo road but they would have departed from this at Mpeshawa and moved along the path of an existing secondary road.

On the 19 April the survivors forded a river and found villages.[390] This is likely to have been the Mgwali River, a tributary of the Mbhashe. The local people then provided guides who took the survivors north heading for a fordable drift over the Mbhashe River. En route they then crossed another river[391] probably the Xuka, also a tributary of the Mbhashe.

One of the site descriptions which has been considered in establishing the crossing point of the Mbhashe was that on the day before they reached the drift, the survivors took shelter from the midday sun in what were described as 'caves',[392] but were possibly overhanging rocks above the river. These types o caves do exist not far downstream of the bridge.[393]

On 25 April the survivors reached "a great stream containing numerous hippopotami. This river wound twisting and turning through that region".[394] This is an apt description of the Mbhashe River, which is characterized by entrenched meanders and deep gorges. A comment was made that this was the same river that they had passed earlier.[395] This has been taken into consideration when suggesting that the route leading to the drift would have been close to the course of the Mbhashe. They had taken 12 days with one rest day to cover 118 km at a speed of about 10.7 km a day.

The survivors were advised by the local people not to continue on the path which they had been taking, running north-north-east, since it was "very old and fallen into disuse,

[390] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 139.
[391] Ibid., p. 142.
[392] Ibid., p. 142.
[393] Feely, Pers. Comm.
[394] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 143.
[395] Ibid., p. 143.

and ran for a long way through many uninhabited mountains."[396] The local people directed them to travel east to skirt a mountain, which they named '*Moxangala'*. This could have been the Baziya Mountain that lies just north of the Encobo/Mthatha road [R61]. No guides would agree to accompany them as the local people feared "the barren region which lay ahead."[397]

The survivors accordingly set out from the Mbhashe River on 26 April travelling first east to avoid the mountains, probably along the line of the R61. They then turned east-north-east,[398] possibly at the site of Baziya Mission. The route would have been along paths and present-day secondary roads into high ground. The survivors descended from a hill down to "a swiftly flowing river".[399] The next river of any size was the Mthatha River and they probably crossed it south of Langeni Forest Station. The Mthatha is not of any size at this point, but rain in the mountains could have made it flow swiftly. Nevertheless it presented no difficulty in the crossing.

This was on 27 April and they had taken 2 days to travel 28 km at a speed of 14 km a day. It was this short time that the survivors took to reach the Mthatha River, which led to the suggestion that the crossing took place near Langeni. The subsequent route would then be through very high ground that, even today, is relatively unpopulated.

The country through which the survivors then passed was described as being well watered by numerous streams, often thickly wooded, but was hilly and cold. On 1 May they emerged from a dense wood and it was observed that they were higher there than they had been.[400] On the following day they observed "great and high mountain ranges covered with snow." [401] These would have been the Drakensberg Mountains in the distance. The survivors must have been fairly far north at this time and probably

[396] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 143.
[397] Ibid., p. 142.
[398] Ibid., p. 143.
[399] Ibid., p. 144.
[400] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 144-145.
[401] Ibid., p. 146.

passed the site where the Forest Rangers' huts are situated today. They could then have moved along paths through the present site of the village of Ntombe. On 4 May they reached "the largest and deepest river which they had hitherto encountered, which ran from north to south. It was crossed with some difficulty where they found an islet."[402] This would have been the Mzimvubu, one of the major river systems of the Eastern Cape, and was probably crossed near Tembukazi. They had taken 7 days to travel 77 km at a rate of 11 km a day.

The text states that the survivors reached habitation on 8 May, having taken 14 days to pass through the uninhabited country.[403] This would have been in the Flagstaff area, where they rested for two days and managed to obtain guides.[404] They then moved north-east and east over rivulets and hills and on 12 May they "encamped on the bank of the most beautiful and freshest river which they had yet seen in all their journey".[405] This would have been the Mtamvuna River named '*Mutangalo'* by the local people and they probably crossed at Gun Drift. They had taken 9 days (7 travelling) to cover 70 km at a rate of 10 km a day.

The survivors stayed next to the Mtamvuna for a day and moved off on 14 May. They were given guides who led them over a good track in a north-east direction, south of the Ngele Mountains and probably passing through present day Harding. At first they travelled through a valley between rocks and then over a level plain, camping beside a small river.[406]

The survivors crossed a small river, possibly the Bisi, and on 19 May, another river was reached.[407] This would have been the Mzimkhulu, which they crossed at a drift. This was probably where the present bridge is situated at the small town of Mzimkhulu, as

[402] Ibid., p. 147.
[403] Ibid., p. 149.
[404] Ibid., p. 152.
[405] Ibid., p. 153.
[406] Ibid., p. 154.
[407] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 155.

the description of the landscape is in accordance with the text. They had covered 57 km in 5 days at a rate of 11.4 km a day.

The route between the Mzimkhulu and the Mngeni Rivers has been the most difficult to identify as the distances between the major rivers and the dates given in the text cannot be reconciled.

Leaving the Mzimkhulu and still with guides, the survivors followed good paths, crossed two streams and camped near settlements.[408] They were probably following a path which leads along the present road to Ixopo. For three days they then moved through uninhabited country, still with guides, turning north-west to cross a mountain range.[409] They would have been moving along the watershed between the Mzimkhulu and Mkhomazi Rivers, which is upland grassland. They turned north-west near the upper reaches of the Mkhomazi River and they then moved through hills and valleys until they reached a "very large river". [410] This would have been the Mkhomazi. It is not clear where exactly the crossing point was, but it was likely to have been either at the present rail bridge or at a drift near Winters Valley. These are, however, only 10 km apart, so this is not critical. They were assisted by the local people to get across and had to get new guides.[411] The survivors had left the Mzimkhulu River on 19 May.[412] The distance between there and the Mkhomazi River is about 50 km and, according to the record, they were assisted to cross on 26 May.[413] This was too slow a rate of travel at only 7 km a day.

The text states that only after one day, the next river, known by the locals as '*Vechugel*', was "the widest and had the strongest current of any that they had yet seen on their journey".[414] The survivors had to wait for a day until the water level dropped before they

[408] Ibid., pp. 156-158.
[409] Ibid., p. 159.
[410] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[411] Ibid., p. 160.
[412] Ibid., p. 156.
[413] Ibid., p. 160.
[414] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 160.

could cross.[415] The identification of this river was a difficult problem as there is no major river between the Mkhomazi and the Thukela. When the distances and rate of travel are considered this would have taken them to the Mngeni River. The text, however, stated heavy rain had been experienced so the river would have been abnormally swollen with a very strong current. Thesurvivors probably crossed the river where Midmar Dam is now situated.

If the time frame between the rivers is ignored but the order of their observations is followed, their route follows the description in the text. The survivors probably crossed the Mkhomazi on 24 May and arrived at the Mngeni River on 28 May, giving them a rate of travel of around 11 km a day.

Thereafter the way was described as stony and rugged with hills and crags. Once over a mountain, they descended to 'a level and pleasant land'.[416] They were moving north-west, probably along a route similar to the present R33 and would have crossed the Karkloof Mountains.

Moving north, the survivors passed through mountainous country and on 4 June came to a 'great river' where they were assisted in the crossing by the local people.[417] This must have been the Thukela as it is the last important river that the account describes before reaching Maputo Bay. They would have crossed at Jameson's Drift. They had covered 111 km in 7 days at a speed of about 15.9 km a day.

The survivors left the Thukela on 5 June, crossing a small tributary winding through the marshy valley of the Manyane, where they observed people irrigating their lands from streams flowing down from the mountains.[418]

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[415] Ibid., p. 161-162.
[416] Ibid., pp. 162-163.
[417] Ibid., p. 164.
[418] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 164.

From there, climbing out of the valley, they came to a "densely populated plateau".[419] This would have been in the area in the Nkhandla district, probably near Msukane. The next day moving over level ground, they camped by a stream.[420] This was probably the White Mfolozi and they crossed it near Ulundi. Continuing in a north-east direction, they moved through a wood, then through uninhabited country and came to a range of thickly forested hills. Here they met people who were unfriendly and who were described as 'bandits'.[421] This could have been in the area north of Mahlabatini, near a village, Ivuna. They then moved through hilly country and met another group of people.[422]

On 12 June the survivors obtained guides and turned due east, heading for the shore, initially going "over good level ground".[423] It is suggested that they turned east in the region of the present village of Nongoma. This is 137 km from the Thukela River which they had covered in 8 days, so would have had to have travelled at a fast rate of about 17 km a day.

On 13 June they passed through villages and met the chief the following day.[424] Resuming their journey on 16 June they moved through "thorny trees and uninhabited country in which there were many aloe shrubs".[425]

On 17 June, the survivors came down to

> "a very wide marshy plain, where there were good pastures and trees, and many more wild cattle, buffaloes, deer, hares, pigs and elephants, which were grazing in large herds. These were the first animals of this kind which they had met in the long march."[426]

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[419] Ibid., p. 165.
[420] Ibid., p. 166.
[421] Ibid., p. 166.
[422] Ibid., p. 167.
[423] Ibid., p. 169.
[424] Ibid., p. 170
[425] Ibid., p. 172
[426] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 171.

The text states that they came down to this plain "from a great range which crosses them from north to south. Our people entered it by a valley, along which ran a stream, which they crossed many times".[427]

The reference to "a great range" suggests that these were Lubombo Mountains, but the text then states that they entered 'it' by a river valley. Following a field trip to that area, it is suggested that the survivors descended from the coastal plateau onto the Mkhuze Plain. They would only then have had to cross the southern end of the Lubombo Mountains before reaching the coastal plain. The stream was probably the Msunduzi River, which does wind through the mountains and is a tributary of the Mkhuze River. They would have entered the Msunduzi valley where Bayala is now situated. Nongoma to Bayala is 67 km and as it had taken them 6 days they would have been travelling at about 11 km a day.

Moving through the mountains, the survivors moved "along the same valley and stream, … and then followed an extensive plain watered by the said stream."[428] There, besides the game which they had seen the day before, were

> "geese, ducks, thrushes, cranes, wild fowl and monkeys. In a large pool which the river formed at the place where our people spent the night, they saw many hippopotami, whose bellowing prevented them from sleeping quietly". [429]

They would have reached the coastal plain and the Ntsumo Pan was the "large pool".

The land was flat and sandy land and they had difficulty moving through marshes. At the next settlement they believed that they had been led astray into some woods by the local people and retraced their steps.[430] This was possibly at the Mabaso Forest.

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[427] Ibid., pp. 172-173
[428] Ibid., p. 173.
[429] Ibid., p. 173.
[430] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 173-175.

On 23 June the survivors journeyed over more marshland which was crossed with difficulty.[431] At some point of this part of the trip, when looking south-west, they believed they could see the mouth of a river they had crossed earlier and believed this was the river of Santa Lucia.[432] This could have been where the Mkhuze River enters Lake St Lucia.[433]

The survivors then reached a village, from which the sea was visible. The huts were describd as being square, unlike the circular ones they had seen before. The head of the village was a sister of Chief Inhaca.[434] New guides became available and they moved along the coast which they called "Dunes of Gold" and camped beside a river that could only be crossed at low tide on 25 June.[435] This would have been the estuary of Kosi Bay. Kosi Bay is 115 km from Bayala and they had taken 7 days at a rate of 16 km a day.

Crossing marshes, the survivors travelled over "wide and extensive plains until they reached a large and beautiful lake of fresh water about a league in length".[436] The survivors were taken to Chief Inhaca's village.[437] At that time this was probably situated near the present settlement of Zitundo.

From there the survivors were taken to the village of the son of Chief Inhaca, arriving on 29 June.[438] On the last day of June, the survivors arrived at a point "where the boats would come the next day to carry the people to the island." [439] This would have been Cape St. Maria and they were taken by canoe to Inhaca Island.

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[431] Ibid., p. 175.
[432] Ibid., p. 176.
[433] Feely. Pers. comm..
[434] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p, 176.
[435] Ibid., p. 177.
[436] Ibid., p. 177.
[437] Ibid., p. 179.
[438] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 181.
[439] Ibid., p. 183.

The last part of the overland journey from Kosi Bay to Cape St Maria had taken only 5 days. The distance is 90 km, so their rate of travel would have been 18 km a day. The chief's son's village would have been about 20 to 30 km (2 days travel) south of Cape St Maria.

They then moved to the smaller island where a Portuguese trading ship was anchored.[440] It was noted that "the separate islet ....is called nowadays the island of the Portuguese, because of the many who lie buried there out of those who escaped from the loss of the great ship *São Thomé*."[441]

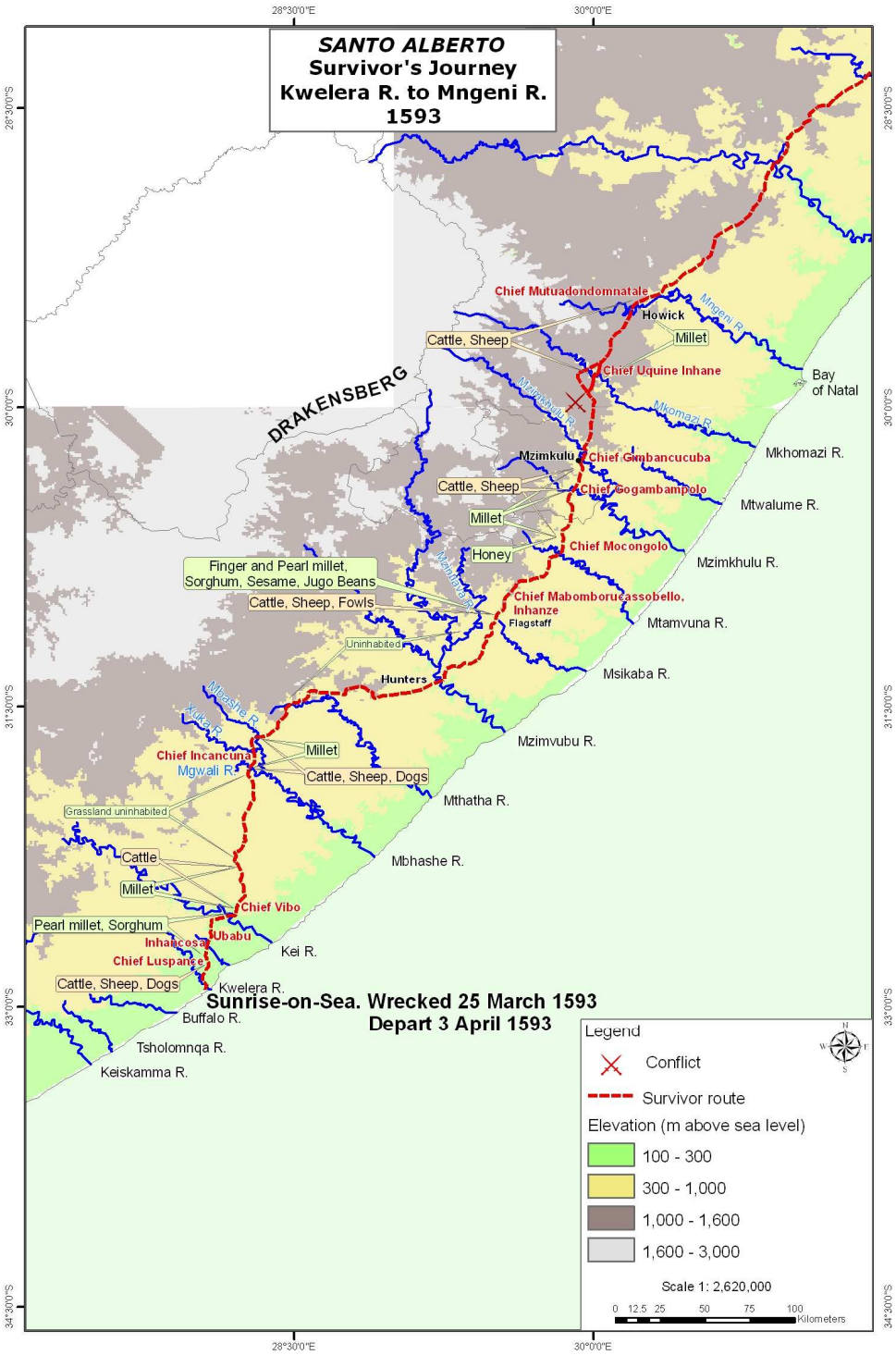
Maps 5 (a) and (b) illustrate the *Santo Alberto* Journey.

The identification of the route from the Mzimkhulu River to Kosi Bay is based on a field trip to that area. The Appendix, with maps and illustrations, describes the reasons for this in more detail.

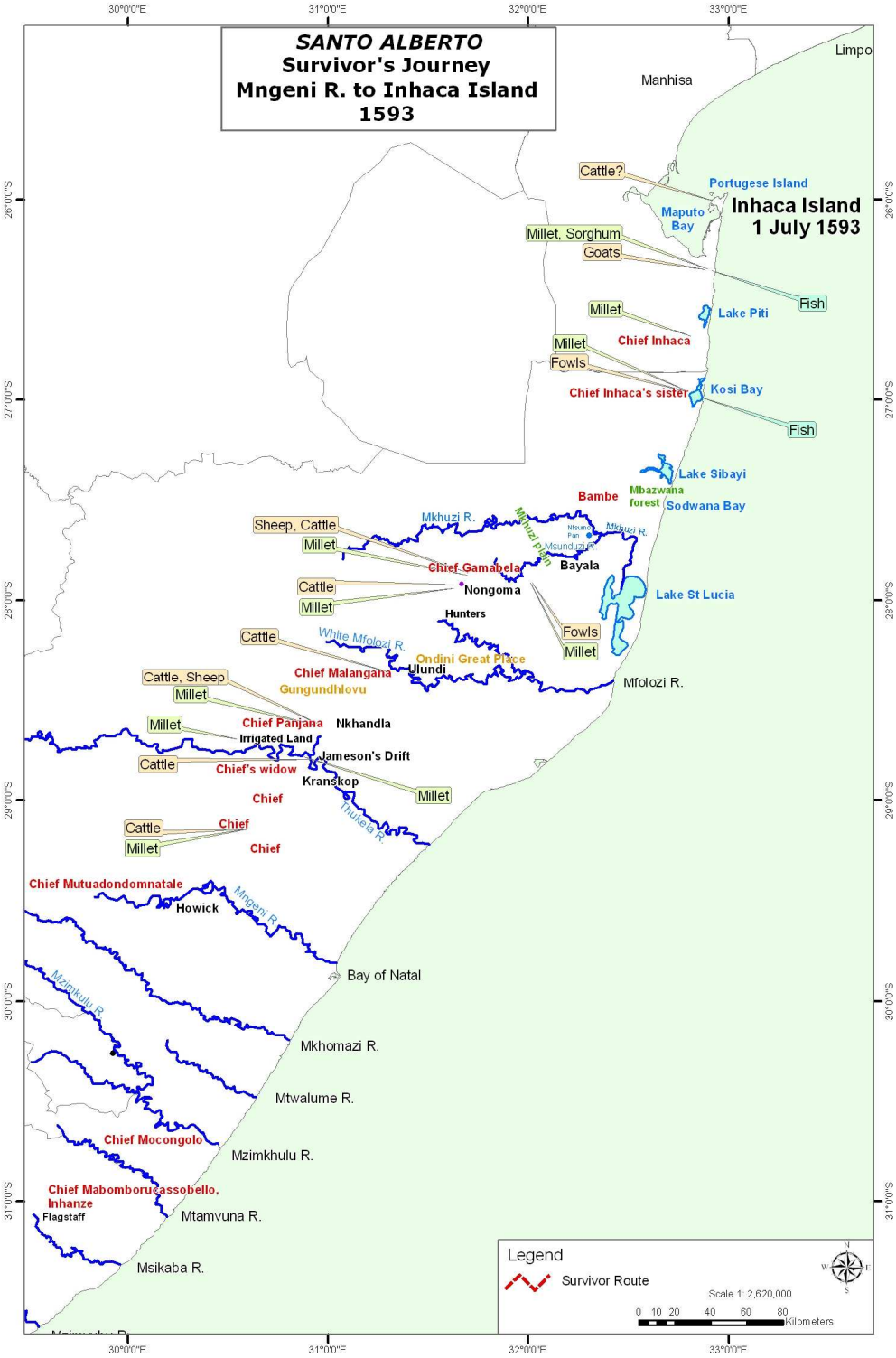
Figure 8 Wreck site of the *Santo Alberto*.
The bay at Sunrise-on Sea, just south of the Kwelera River.

[440] Ibid., pp. 183-186.
[441] Ibid., p. 182.

Map 5 - The *Santo Alberto* journey: Kwelera River to the Mngeni River 1593



Map 6 - The *Santo Alberto* Journey: Mngeni River to Inhaca Island 1593



6.4 Location of the indigenous people:

Sunrise-on-Sea to the Kei River:

The observations were made along an inland route extending from near the Kwelera River mouth to Mayfield and then to the Great Kei River and through the drift at Glen Kei. These survivors managed to find translators so they were able to communicate with the indigenous people. One slave could understand the language and "spoke that of Mozambique", and the other "understood this latter language and spoke Portuguese". At the shipwreck site, the people used the words inscribed as "*Nanhatá, Nunhatá"*, which the survivors assumed was a greeting.[442]

The chief, 'Luspance', was "fairly tall, well made, of a cheerful countenance, not very black, with a short beard and long moustaches".[443] The local people noticed that the beards of the European visitors were different and a chief "laying his hand on the former's beard, finding it soft and smooth, and his own rough and woolly, laughed heartily thereat".[444]

Descriptions in the text of the subsistence, dress, settlements and beliefs were given early in the text but said to apply more widely, "These and all the other Kaffirs".[445]

The dress of the men was

> "a mantle of calf-skins, with the hair on the outside, which they rub with grease to make it soft. They are shod with two or three soles of raw hide fastened together in a round shape, secured to the foot with thongs and with this they run at great speed. They carry in their hand a thin stick to which is fastened the tail of an ape or a fox, with which they clean themselves and shade their eyes when observing. This dress is used by nearly all the Negroes of this Kaffraria and the kings and chiefs wear hanging from their left ear, a little copper bell, without a clapper, which they make after their fashion."[446]

[442] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 120.
[443] Ibid., p. 120.
[444] Ibid., p. 130.
[445] Ibid., p. 122.
[446] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.

The survivors understood that the people worshipped nothing but believed that "the sky is another world like this one in which we live, inhabited by another kind of people, who cause the thunder by running and the rain by urinating."[447] It was stated that most of the inhabitants of the land living south of 29º latitude, were circumcised. The people obeyed chiefs whom they called "*Ancosses*"."[448]

The people lived in small villages in round, low huts made of reed mats, but which did not keep out the rain. They were surrounded by fences, within which their cattle were kept.[449] Their homesteads were situated some distance inland. [450] At the initial part of their journey, when the survivors were interacting with the local people, they travelled slowly, probably only at 5 km a day, so the first settlement reached was probably situated about 20 km inland. The "village of the king" was situated even further inland. The survivors then passed through six homestead settlements under headmen who were linked in lineage. Each homestead had a headman or chief, variously described as 'Inkosi', 'king', and 'patriarch',[451] who handled the interactions between the survivor groups and the local community. Open grasslands with good pasturage and thickly wooded ridges separated the homesteads, which were situated on plains near rivers.[452]

When Chief Luspance visited the wreck-site, presents were exchanged. The Captain-major gave the chief a "brass bowl full of nails, and a gilded Chinese writing box, with which the Negro was greatly pleased."[453] The chief's present of two sheep were killed and divided up among the survivors. The chief then saved the

[447] Ibid., pp. 122,123.
[448] Ibid., p. 123.
[449] Ibid., p. 122.
[450] Ibid., pp. 127, 128, 129.
[451] Ibid., pp. 126, 129, 130.
[452] Ibid., pp. 128-131.
[453] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.

"entrails, which he threw into the sea with his own hands, with some ceremonies and words of gratitude for bringing the Portuguese to his country, from whose loss he hoped to get great gain, wherefore he offered the sea this present, as to a friend."[454]

On his initial visit, the chief was accompanied by 60 men.[455] If this number is doubled it indicates that his village encompassed at least 120 people, probably more, if some of the men had more than one wife. About 5 km further there was another homestead where the head was described as a 'patriarch'.[456] A separate but close homestead had a headman whose name was Ubabu. He was the brother of Inhancosa, one of the guides who had been accompanying them and who had been allocated by Luspance.[457] Theal suggests that 'Inhancosa' is similar to the term 'Nyana wenkosi', which means the son of a chief.[458] This implies that Ubabu and Inhancosa were the sons of Luspance, who would appear to have been the dominant chief in that region at that time. The two could have been half brothers, by different wives. It was noted "they have as many wives as they can maintain, of whom they are jealous."[459] Ubabu was a wealthy man with seven wives, three daughters and several sons. At his homestead 60 people appeared for the entertainment, including women.[460]

The next homestead was about 15 km to the north.[461] Ten km further on an emissary appeared and invited them to visit his homestead but, as it was not on the route, they did not go there.[462]
The comment was made that the people slept in skins of animals, on the earth, in a narrow pit measuring six or seven spans long and one or two deep.[463] This is a strange observation and does not seem to be accurate.

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[454] Ibid., pp. 120-121.
[455] Ibid., p. 119.
[456] Ibid., p. 130.
[457] Ibid., p. 130.
[458] Ibid., p. 132 and Note 1.
[459] Ibid., p. 123.
[460] Ibid., p. 131.
[461] Ibid., p. 132.
[462] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 134.
[463] Ibid., p. 122.

The people were herders with cattle and sheep being plentiful.[464] Cattle were said to be their "treasure".[465] Millet was cultivated, "which is white, about the size of peppercorn and forms the ear of a plant which resembles a reed in shape and size."[466] The grains were ground between stones or in wooden mortars and cakes, made from the flour, were baked in the embers of fires. A drink was made from the fermented grains.[467]

Vessels were made of clay and dried in the sun, wood was carved, hoes were made with a wedge shaped piece of iron set in a wooden handle and used for clearing the bush.[468] In trading, iron and copper were exchanged for cattle and provisions, with gold and silver having no value.[469]

The text records plants which the survivors saw on the whole journey and thought they recognized, such as fig, olive and jujube trees, also marjoram, wormwood, ferns, watercress, penny-royal, mallows, rue, myrtle, brambles, rosemary and mint.[470]

Kei to Mbhashe Rivers:

The area between the Kei and the Qhora rivers and the marshy area near Teke, had fertile soil and supported many villages. The "tall and very black" chief of this region was named Vibo, and "seemed by his bearing and following to be of a higher rank than any of the chiefs we had previously met". The survivors did not go to his homestead which possibly situated at KwaMdange. These people kept cattle and cultivated the soil.[471]

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[464] Ibid., p. 131.
[465] Ibid., p. 123.
[466] Ibid., p. 122.
[467] Ibid., p. 122.
[468] Ibid., p. 122.
[469] Ibid., pp. 121,123, 126, 130.
[470] Ibid., pp. 123-124.
[471] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 135-136.

There was an uninhabited area from the marshy land and through hilly country extending from Ibeka, to the Mgwali River. This is grassland and was probably used for pasturage but not settled.[472]

The area from the Mgwali River north to the drift over the Mbhashe River supported many villages. The residence of the chief of that region was found near the Mgwali River. He was named 'Incancunha'.[473] The people were described as "sallow black, handsome and healthy looking"[474] It was noted "they do not place the hand on the beard so often as those [seen before] do."[475]

The villages were situated in valleys and close to the rivers, with the chiefs' residences being on top of hills, one just south of the Xuka, and another, closer to the drift. The soil was described as being rich and fertile. There the people kept cattle and sheep and cultivated millet. Iron nails, some brass, crystal beads and pieces of copper were exchanged for provisions, the survivors obtaining 14 cows in all.[476]

Sweet roots, the size of turnips, and carrot-like roots, were gathered between Ibeka and the Mgwali River. In the same area a sour fruit was gathered from a bush.[477]

In the level country around the Xuka River there were heavily laden trees bearing yellow fruits "about the size of white plums and rather bitter in taste."[478]

Mbhashe to Mtamvuna Rivers:

Between the Mbhashe and Mthatha Rivers, there were fewer settlements, but the survivors were visited by a group of people and had some trade negotiated with a man

[472] Feely, Pers. comm,
[473] Lavanha, Boxer, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p. 140.
[474] Ibid., p. 142.
[475] Ibid., p. 142.
[476] Ibid., p. 140-142.
[477] Ibid., p. 138
[478] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 141.

called Catine. The local people refused to give guides "fearing the barren region which lay ahead".[479]

Most of the country in the next part of the journey, as far as the Flagstaff area, was largely uninhabited. It was high ground along the coastal plateau and was often very rugged and stony with thick woods with no settlements.[480]

Only one small group of 11 people was encountered east of the Mzimvubu River, probably near the present Ntombe village, in country described as a 'wilderness'. These people lived in a "deep valley covered with thorny bush", their group of six huts being situated next to a stream between high rocks. The survivors noted that these people used a different greeting from those first encountered, "*Alala, Alala"* and they again assumed it to be a greeting. They thought that they had managed to make themselves understood.[481]

The interaction was distrustful on both sides and the survivors commented that "robbery and hunting being their livelihood in the wilderness".[482] They thought that it was the intention of these people to steal their cattle. On their side, the inhabitants did not trust the strangers and fled during the night, taking their wives and leaving their huts. Traps and snares for birds were found in their huts.[483]

So-called 'myrtle berries', and 'jujubes' were gathered in the region of Tembukazi[484] In the vicinity of Flagstaff, which marked the end of the unpopulated region, the survivors first encountered a group of about 50 men. In contrast with their earlier reception, they were escorted to two villages with singing and dancing. It was commented that the local

[479] Ibid., p. 143.
[480] Ibid., pp. 144-150.
[481] Ibid., p. 148.
[482] Ibid., p. 148.
[483] Ibid., p. 148.
[484] Ibid., p. 148.

people were blacker than those whom they had encountered earlier. They kept no dogs, unlike the people whom they had met previously.[485]

The survivors observed young men "dressed in reed mats, which is the attire of young nobles before they bear arms or copulate with women, which activities they do not indulge in until the age of twenty-two and upwards".[486]

The region was described as being very fertile. Millet was grown and another grain, the seeds of which were similar to millet, and which the local people named 'a*meixoera'*. From this cakes were made from the ground flour. Jugo beans were also cultivated.[487] Another cultivated grain was described as being similar to canary seed, which the local people called *'nechinim',* which was also ground. Sesame was also noted as being cultivated.[488]

Cattle, hens and sheep were kept by these people who were successful pastoralists. They had enough cattle to be able to provide the survivors with 24 cows, bartered for copper and nails.[489] Further on from the Flagstaff area, more cows were traded from the local people who resided in three villages situated in a valley.[490]

The 'king' of this land was 'Mabomborucassobelo' and his son was 'Inhanze'.[491] A stream was said to mark the end of his territory and a new chief, 'Mocongolo', greeted the survivors.[492] The stream was possibly a tributary of the Mtamvuna, but it is suggested that the Mtamvuna was actually the boundary of Chief Mabomborucassobelo's land as it would have been a more clearly demarcated border

[485] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 150.
[486] Ibid., p. 150.
[487] Ibid., p. 150.
[488] Ibid., p. 151.
[489] Ibid., pp. 150-151.
[490] Ibid., p. 152.
[491] Ibid., p. 151-152.
[492] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 153.

than a stream and it was there that the guides provided by Chief Mabomborucassobelo left the survivors.[493]

Mtamvuna to Mzimkhulu Rivers:

Chief Mocongolo, described as "lord of the land", probably lived north of the Mtamvuna River and had crossed the river to meet the survivors having heard of their coming. Once over the Mtamvuna, the survivors rested for a day and traded for 'provisions', presumably millet as well as some honey for copper and crystal beads. This chief provided new guides for the next stage of the journey.[494]

Trees bearing a bitter fruit, described as resembling *'ferrobas*' were found in the Mtamvuna area.[495]

After two days the survivors arrived at a place where 15 villages were situated in a valley between great rocks, the home of the next important chief, Gogambampolo.[496] About 20 km separated the two important chiefs. From the latter a cow, many millet cakes, milk, butter and honey were obtained for copper. The survivors gave gifts to the women of crystal beads.[497] Some 11 km further on both sides of a small river, probably the Bisi, were 30 hamlets where 150 men and women came to trade with the survivors. Their chief was not named.[498] These could have been the sites of the present-day villages of Bisi and Mfundisi. Millet was grown in quantity throughout this region and millet cakes were available around the Mzimkhulu.[499]

At the Mzimkhulu River the survivors met an unnamed chief who was accompanied by 100 of his men, all carrying assegais, saying "*Alala Alala",* which was assumed to be a

[493] Ibid., p.. 153.
[494] Ibid., p. 153.
[495] Ibid., p. 153.
[496] Ibid., p. 154.
[497] Ibid., p. 154.
[498] Ibid., p. 155.
[499] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 154-157.

greeting.[500] At this village, one of the new guides said that he had been to the land of the Inhaca where he had seen Portuguese and their ship, which was disbelieved by the survivors.[501] There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the claim as there was no need for the man to invent his visit. Boxer also commented that this was "a gratuitous supposition".[502]

This area was well populated and four chiefs are mentioned. Judging on the times taken and the rate of travel, it would seem that the two major chiefs were the ones who were named and who lived about 20 km apart. Chief Mocongolo had authority from the Mtamvuna River to just north of Harding. The rest of the country was probably controlled by chief Gogambampolo and the unnamed chiefs who lived only about 12 km apart, were headmen under this chief.

Mzimkhulu to Thukela Rivers:

The first indication of conflict is found once the survivors had crossed the Mzimkhulu River. The survivors passed through many villages and the residence of the local chief was reached. This was probably situated between Mzimkhulu and Ixopo on a farm named 'The Watershed'. Described as 'king Gimbacucubaba', this chief told the survivors that he had been displaced from his land in a war by one of Inhaca's captains, and had been forced to take refuge in this country with his relative.[503] He had three wives and many followers. When he first met the survivors this king was accompanied by 120 men, so the number of people in his residence could have been more than double that. He said that his people were too poor to trade cattle.[504] Millet and millet cakes were available.[505] Some 52 km of uninhabited country separated this chief from

[500] Ibid., p. 155.
[501] Ibid., p. 156.
[502] Ibid., p. 156, Note 2.
[503] Ibid., p. 157.
[504] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 157-158.
[505] Ibid., p. 159.

the next.[506] This was probably along the watershed between the Mzimkhulu and the Mkhomazi Rivers.

The next chief encountered lived in the Mkhomazi area and was named Uquine Inhana. The survivors possibly jumped to an incorrect conclusion about the aggressor being a captain of Chief Inhaca (who lived near Maputo Bay), as this chief said that he was at war with his neighbour and also would not allow cows to be bartered.[507] The names 'Inhaca' and 'Inhana' are very similar and claims of conflict by Gimbacucubaba with his neighbour chief suggest that there was a misunderstanding on the part of the survivors. Milk, butter and millet-cakes were obtained.[508]

The region around the Mngeni River was the land of chief Mutuadondommatale, who was accompanied by 30 men when the survivors met him. He would not allow Uquine Inhana's guides to pass through their lands,[509] indicating a separate autonomy from another chief. The indigenous people, possibly only the men, wore copper bracelets on their arms. They also valued cloth as a trading commodity and it was commented that it was the first time this had happened. The local people also demanded more copper for the cattle than the survivors had paid before.[510] Millet was not mentioned but as trade in cloth took place, there must have been some as cattle were valued only in copper.
Once over the Mngeni, the land became rugged and stony, not very fertile and was thinly populated. The first people the survivors encountered were living about 33 kilometres further north, probably around the Mvoti River. Their chief, who was not named, came to see the survivors accompanied by 40 men armed with assegais and shields. He was possibly a headman of Mutuadondommatale as the guides continued with the survivors. Although this group came armed, they proved to be friendly.[511] They were able to obtain one cow, but here provisions were scarce as it was

[506] Ibid., p. 159.
[507] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[508] Ibid., p. 159.
[509] Ibid., p. 160.
[510] Ibid., p. 161.
[511] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 162.

commented that there had not been enough rain that year and the land was not fertile, being very rugged.[512]

Near the Thukela River the survivors met the widow of a chief, and she was presented with a cow.[513] This courtesy implies that the survivors perceived that it was a woman who was in authority there.

Thukela River to the Lubombo Mountains

Once over the Thukela River, the survivors passed though a field of ripe millet and were able to obtain millet, already harvested, and millet cakes. 'Myrtle' berries, described as being sweet, were gathered from trees growing near the river. They were again found in the Thukela River area and again described as very sweet.[514] North of the Thukela there was "a marshy plain covered with crops of millet, and irrigated with water from a mountain range opposite." [515] This would have been the Manyane River, a small tributary set in a steeply sided valley.

Chief Panjana, with 30 men in his train, greeted the survivors when they reached "a large and thickly populated plateau."[516] This was probably in the Nkhandla district, possibly at Msukane. A total of three large oxen, four sheep and a gourd of milk were bartered for six pieces of copper, a cauldron handle (iron), a bunch of coral and a Turkish silver coin. In return he was presented with a Chinese curtain, some crystal beads, a 'bloodstone' and some balsam. The survivors were given a gourd of "*pombe"* to drink, made from millet.[517] Another exchange took place involving an ox, a calf and two sheep for a flask of "Ormuz glass".[518]

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[512] Ibid., p. 163.
[513] Ibid., p. 163.
[514] Ibid., p. 164.
[515] Ibid., pp. 164-165.
[516] Ibid., p. 165.
[517] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 165.
[518] Ibid., p. 166.

The next chief, Malangana, and his people lived in the vicinity of the Mfolozi River near Ulundi. These people refused to give guides as they informed the survivors that the next stretch of land was a wilderness. They did agree to trade a cow for copper.[519]

Moving into a valley between densely wooded hills, described as a 'wilderness', probably in the region of Mhlabatini, eight people who had been burning grass were encountered. They fetched their chief who arrived with 20 men. They were armed with assegais and arrows and were described as "bandits who lived in this range upon the proceeds of their robberies and thus they were armed with assegais and arrows".[520] These people were unfriendly and apparently tried to steal a cow. The survivors were unable to communicate with them effectively.[521] They were probably hunter-gatherers as there was no evidence of cultivation or cattle herding, they carried arrows among their arms and they were unfriendly.

About 12 km further to the north-east, a group of about 60 people were met, "in battle formation", and who asked who the survivors were and what they were doing in their country. The chief was fetched, explanations given and the people were reassured.[522] The hostile approach was not directed at the survivors, but their attitude does suggest that there was enmity between this group and the previous band.
A little further on another group of about 60 people became interested in observing "the children of the sun".[523] Millet was obtained from these people in exchange for crystal beads and coloured cloth.[524] At the next village the survivors were guided through ranges of hills and were paid with two pieces of copper.

[519] Ibid., p. 166.
[520] Ibid., pp. 166-167.
[521] Ibid., p. 167.
[522] Ibid., p. 167.
[523] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 167.
[524] Ibid., p. 168.

The land was still rocky and the people of the next group were poor, but the survivors were given a little millet and some milk.[525] On the advice of their (unnamed) chief and, having been given guides, they turned due east, probably at the present small town of Nongoma. They were told that this route led to the place where red beads were sold.[526]

After travelling for about 12 km, the survivors reached a settlement comprising many villages. They first met the headman and were greeted by the people saying "*Nanhatá, Nanhatá*".[527] The son of the chief then visited the survivors and was followed by the chief himself named Gamabela, who lived some distance away. He arrived escorted by 100 unarmed men and proved to be friendly.[528] Millet, milk and butter and sheep were bartered. Two cows were provided for some mother-of-pearl beads, a piece of silver, seven pieces of copper and a 'bloodstone'.[529]

The next group of villages was situated near the edge of the coastal plateau, but was deserted. When fetched, the inhabitants explained that they feared their neighbours who had recently robbed them of their cattle. There were many hens and provisions, presumably millet, available.[530]

The Lubombo Mountains to Maputo Bay:

The survivors descended from the coastal plateau onto the wide and marshy Mkhuze Plain. There they observed buffalo, "wild cattle" (probably wildebeest), deer, hares, pigs and elephants in large herds. It was commented that these were the first animals of this kind that the survivors had seen in the whole of the journey.[531] Guided through the Lubombo Mountains along the valley of the Msunduzi River, the survivors met a group

[525] Ibid., p. 168.
[526] Ibid., p. 169
[527] Ibid., p. 169.
[528] Ibid., pp. 169-170.
[529] Ibid., p. 170.
[530] Ibid., p. 172.
[531] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 172.

of men hunting.[532] A small village was situated near a marsh on the seaward side of the mountains where the survivors were visited by two headmen. Two kids and two hens were obtained. When the chief arrived, two cows were traded for four pieces of copper and some silver. He said he was one of Chief Inhaca's captains. Guides were provided to lead them to this chief's village, some distance away. This was along a sandy path where there were palm trees, bearing dates, and other trees bearing a fruit like a grey pear, which was called *Macomas*.[533] The survivors then had some problems with the chief, known as Bambe, who then left them. He led them astray in a forested area which was probably near Masingwena. At the next village the local people said he was known to be a great thief.[534]

In a marshy land and within sight of the sea, probably around Kosi Bay, a village with a population of about 200 was the home of Chief Inhaca's sister and her husband. There they noted that the huts were similar to the vineyard shacks found in Portugal and not circular as those previously observed.[535]

The survivors camped beside the estuary of Kosi Bay, described as being 'a large freshwater lake'. They believed that it had been named the Bay of Plenty by the survivors of the *São Thomé.* There they traded millet, hens and. large and tasty fish, called *'Tainhas',* for cloth.[536] A survivor of the *São João* [1552] was encountered there.[537]

The survivors then moved to the residence of Chief Inhaca which was situated north of Kosi Bay, probably in the region of present-day Zitundo. The chief himself was described as "of gigantic stature, well built, with a cheerful and pleasant

[532] Ibid., p. 173.
[533] Ibid., p. 174.
[534] Ibid., p. 175.
[535] Ibid., p. 176.
[536] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p, 177.
[537] Ibid., p. 178.

countenance."[538] He was wearing cloth garments and some of the people greeted the survivors calling them '*matalotes'*, a Portuguese word for sailors, shipmates or comrades.[539] This indicates trade relationships with the Portuguese were well established.

From there the survivors then were taken to the residence of Chief Inhaca's son, which was situated near another freshwater lake. This was possibly between Lakes Mangalidge and Macumbe. He told the survivors that he was out of favour with his father as he had been involved in a plot to kill him. From him they were able to obtain a goat and 'a*meixoeira'* [sorghum].[540] At Cape St Maria, millet, *ameixoeira*, hens and fish were available.[541] Supplies taken on board ship were quantities of millet, *ameixoeira*, beans and honey.[542]
Lavanha claimed that on Inhaca Island Chief Inhaca kept "a quantity of cattle there, because of the abundant pasture", [543] although cattle were not mentioned in the record of the journey.

6.5 The indigenous people in 1593 – an overview:

6.5.1 Linguistics:

The *Santo Alberto* people were fortunate be able to find translators within the slave group and so were able to communicate with most of the local people throughout the journey. That they had to have two translators suggests that one man spoke one of the Bantu languages, which enabled him to understand the southern variation, one spoke

[538] Ibid., p. 179.
[539] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 179.
[540] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 181.
[541] Ibid., p. 183.
[542] Ibid., p. 184.
[543] Ibid., p. 182.

Portuguese and both men probably spoke some form of Swahili that Bantu speakers found difficult to follow.[544]

Dialectical differences were noted in that "The language is almost the same in the whole of Kaffraria, the difference between them resembling that between the languages of Italy, or the ordinary ones of Spain".[545] No reference was made to the presence of clicks in the language, which survivors from other wrecks noticed. The survivors identified words that they assumed to be greetings on four occasions, "*Nanhatá, Nanhata"* and *"Alala Alala",* but these might have been expressions of astonishment. The Khoisan term *'aitsa'*, has a similar sound and, loosely translated, means 'well-I-never'.[546]

6.5.2 Physical Appearance:

The people living south of the Kei, Mgwali and Mbhashe Rivers were described as being lighter in colour than those who lived north of the Flagstaff area. These people were surprised and amused by the bushy beards of the survivors, indicating a difference from their own. The survivors thought that the indigenous people were good-looking, healthy and were impressed with their speed in running.

6.5.3 Political Organisation:

With the exception of tracts of uninhabited ground, the country through which the survivors passed was divided into contiguous chiefdoms, usually separated by major rivers. It was noted that leaders in each community carried some authority. The term '*Ancosse'* was probably the Portuguese variation of *Inkhosi*, meaning a chief or headman.

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[544] Hair, P.E.H., "Portuguese contacts with the Bantu Languages of the Transkei, Natal and Southern Mozambique 1497-1650", *African Studies*, Vol. 39 (1), 1980, p. 13.
[545] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 123.
[546] Boonzaier, et al, *The Cape Herders*, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1996), p. 11.

The leader of the *Santo Alberto* survivors made it a priority to communicate with the chiefs when first encountering each group. It was recognized that the chiefs carried varying degrees of authority, referring to some as kings, some as chiefs and others as headmen.

Three chiefs were mentioned by name in the area between the wreck site and the coast, Luspance, Inhancosa and Ubabu. The most senior chief appears to have been Luspance who was described as being a man of about 45, fairly tall and well built. He was not very dark skinned and had a short beard and a moustache. He had a following of 60 men when he visited the survivors. With his several wives and children, his village would have consisted of at least 150 people.[547] Chief Luspance provided guides for the survivors, one being his son, Inhancosa, indicating that he was of lower rank. Inhancosa's brother, Ubabu, was also a wealthy man owning some 200 cows and 200 sheep. The inhabitants of his village must have totalled at least 60, including seven wives. Another man of some wealth and importance was termed a 'patriarch'.

A chief named Vibo was in control over the land between the Kei and the Qhora rivers, possibly situated at KwaMdange. In the area around the Mgwali River, the chief's name was Inhancunha.[548] Between the crossing point of the Mbashe River and the Mthatha River near Langeni, the leader of a group who approached the survivors was named Cantine.[549] In the area north-east of Flagstaff and extending to the Mtamvuna River a man, termed a 'king', was Mabomborucassobelo, who met the survivors with a following of about 50 men. His son was named Inhanze.[550] On the other side of the Mtamvuna, south of the Ngele Mountains, the chief was named Mocongolo.[551] In the present

[547] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
[548] Ibid., p. 140.
[549] Ibid., p. 143.
[550] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
[551] Ibid., p. 153.

Harding area the chief was 'Inkosi' Gogambampolo.[552] There were about thirty hamlets on both sides of the Bisi River.[553] The chief there was not named and could have been a headman. On the north side of the Mzimkhulu River the chief was Gimbacucubaba, who said that he was in exile having been ousted from his lands and was now living on land controlled by a relative.[554] An uninhabited region separated his group from the next chief. At the Mkhomazi River, the chief, Uquine Inhana, said he was at war with his neighbour.[555] This was the first evidence of conflict between chiefs over land that was noted by these survivors.

North of the Mngeni River, the chief, Mutuadondommatale, was called "the lord of the land"[556] indicating that the survivors perceived him to be an important man. Between the Mngeni and the Thukela Rivers, there were two unnamed chiefs.[557] They were likely to have been headmen under Chief Mutuadondommatale as they allowed his guides to continue through their land. Just south of the Thukela, two men presented a cow to the survivors on behalf of a widow, who had been the wife of a chief.[558] This courtesy indicates that a woman had retained the status of her husband was held in respect by the people.

The chief who lived north of the Thukela River in the Nkhandla area was named Panjana.[559] Further north, the chief was named Malangana, who lived in area, probably close to where the present Ulundi is situated.

In the 'wilderness' area, north of Mhlabatini, the people were likely to have been hunter-gatherers. They were armed with arrows and assegais and there was no evidence of livestock or cultivation. The survivors were unable to communicate with these people

[552] Ibid., p. 154.
[553] Ibid., p. 155.
[554] Ibid., p. 157.
[555] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[556] Ibid., p. 160.
[557] Ibid., pp. 162-163.
[558] Ibid., p. 163.
[559] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 165.

effectively. The presence of Rock Art at sites near Nongoma and in the Hluhluwe and Mfolozi Parks is an indication of the existence of hunter-gatherers in this area. [560]

The next group of people approached the survivors armed with assegais. These people, however, offered no aggression towards the survivors as soon as the interpreter explained their presence to their [unnamed] chief. They were on bad terms with the earlier group and described them as 'bandits'.

In the region of Nongoma, there was a headman under Chief Gamabela. This chief was obviously a man of importance as he paid a ceremonial visit to the survivors accompanied by 100 men.[561]

On the coast of northern KwaZulu-Natal south of Kosi Bay, there was a chief named Bambe who claimed to be a headman of Chief Inhaca, but later the survivors were informed that he was a thief.[562]

On the southern shore of Kosi Bay, Chef Inhaca's sister and her husband had their residence.[563] Chief Inhaca was "of gigantic stature, well built, with a cheerful and pleasant countenance".[564] His land extended from Kosi Bay to and included Inhaca Island. His residence was probably in the area near Zitundo.

6.5.4 Settlements:

The indigenous people usually lived in what were described as 'villages' surrounded by fences, within which the cattle were kept. In some cases there were 15 villages which were grouped in valleys. The huts were round and low and covered with reed mats. Rectangular huts were first seen near Kosi Bay.

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[560] Feely, Pers. comm.
[561] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 170.
[562] Ibid., pp. 174-175.
[563] Ibid., p. 176.
[564] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 179.

Most of the villages as far as Kosi Bay were situated on plains or in valleys. It was noted that the living sites of some chiefs were situated on the top of hills such as those between the Mgwali River and the drift over the Mbhashe, and just north of the Thukela River. Maggs has noted that archaeological evidence indicates that Early Iron Age settlements were situated in valley bottoms and next to water, while the Later Iron Age sites showed a preference for higher ground, on slopes or hill-tops.[565] These preferences may have changed by this period or there may be some connection, as it was commented that the chiefs occupied the high ground in certain localities.

At this period the most of the indigenous people avoided the cooler upland areas north of the Mthatha River and as far as the Flagstaff area and favoured the lower-lying areas where the soil was more fertile, wood was available and the climate less extreme. The uninhabited area north of Ibeka is grassland with few trees and was probably used for seasonal grazing. The areas that were most densely populated were in the Flagstaff area, between the Mtamvuna and Mzimkhulu areas and around the Thukela River. Bands of Bushmen were living in the high ground where the present village of Ntombe is situated and in the range of hills in the Mhlabatini area in KwaZulu-Natal.

6.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories:

Perestrello stated that the dress of the people was similar throughout the area through which they travelled. This consisted of a well-dressed soft hide cloak and sandals with round soles in which they ran very fast. This description accords with an illustration, Figure 20, of a 'Khoikhoi' family believed to be the earliest known depiction of the 'Khoikhoi'. It shows a man and woman wearing the round-soled sandals and a cloak.

The reference to men carrying sticks with an animal tail attached was not a knobkerrie, as suggested by Theal,[566] but a whisk to which the tail of a jackal was usually

[565] Maggs, T., "The Iron Age south of the Zambezi", in Klein, R.G., *Southern Africa Prehistory and Paleoenvironments*", (Rotterdam, Balkema, 1984), p. 348.
[566] Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, p. 121.

attached.[567] Seventeenth century illustrations of pastoralists at the Cape show men holding short sticks with a bushy tails attached. See Figures 21 and 22.

It has been recorded that for the last two hundred years only 'doctors' men used this type of whisk.[568] It is possible that the early pastoralist men commonly carried whisks, but as the pastoralists were absorbed into another culture, their divining skills were appreciated over the years, and the use of the whisks became a symbol of their skill.

The claim that all the chiefs wore a copper bell in their ears is not credible, but does suggest that the chiefs had ornaments not worn by the other men.

6.5.6 Customs and ritual:

It was commented that most of the inhabitants of the land south of latitude 29ºS were circumcised.[569] In order to ascertain where this was meant, the following list is given:
The pilot took latitude measurements as follows:

Site	Pilot's Latitude	Actual Latitude
Sunrise-on Sea	32º 30' S[570]	32º 56'
Near the Mzimvubu	29º 53' S[571]	31º 24'
Flagstaff	29º 45' S[572]	31º 05'
Opp, Sodwana Bay	27º 27' S[573]	27º 30'

[567] Shaw , E. M. & van Warmelo, N.J., *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni*, Part 4, (Cape Town, Annals of the South African Museum, 1988), p. 713.
[568] Ibid., p. 713.
[569] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 123.
[570] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 114.
[571] Ibid., p. 146.
[572] Ibid., p. 152.
[573] Ibid., p. 169.

It can be seen that the further north that the pilot's readings were taken, the more accurate they were. This would place the observation that men living south of the Lake St Lucia area were circumscised.

Between the Mthatha and Mzimvubu rivers, probably on the Flagstaff area, there were "some youths dressed in reed mats, which is the attire of young nobles before they bear arms or copulate with women".[574] They would have been participating in the *Abakweta* ceremony of initiation into manhood.[575] This is the earliest description of the '*khwetha'* dress and ceremony in the historical record of southern Africa.

It was noted that wealthy men could have a number of wives whom they guarded carefully.
When Chief Luspance met the survivors at the wreck site he presented them with a sheep. After it was killed he performed a ritual with some ceremony and threw the entrails into the sea. [576] The so-called words of gratitude for bringing the Portuguese to his country were possibly wishful thinking on the part of the survivors. Figure 23 shows early pastoralists with entrails.

Junod commented that this is almost the same ritual as practised by the Thonga-Shangaan people.[577]

6.5.7 Belief Systems:

The survivors had no understanding of the belief systems of the indigenous people and their comments illustrated the major difference which the Portuguese believed separated them from the indigenous people. As non-Christians

"They are very brutish and worship nothing, and thus they would receive our holy Christian

[574] Ibid., p. 150.
[575] Shaw and van Warmelo, op. cit., p. 558.
[576] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.
[577] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 123.

faith very easily. They believe that the sky is another world like this one in which we live, inhabited by another kind of people, who cause thunder by running and the rain by urinating."[578]

6.5.8 Mode of Subsistence:

6.5.8.1 Livestock:

The people living south of the Kei were described as herdsmen and husbandmen with numerous cattle and sheep and were successful herdsmen. The cattle were described as being large, fat and tasty and most were polled. At one village 110 cows and 120 sheep were observed, with 200 cows and 200 sheep at another. By the time the survivors reached the Mbhashe, they had been able to obtain 22 cows and milk was freely available. Cattle were not found in the uninhabited high ground beyond the Mbhashe River as far as the area around Flagstaff, but there cattle and sheep were plentiful.

Cattle were again present between the Mzimvubu and Mzimkhulu Rivers, with the exception of the higher areas. The survivors described the pastures as good, so these were possibly summer grazing areas. Thereafter cattle were common until the high ground between the Mzimkhulu and Mkhomazi Rivers. The people, who lived in the area around the Mngeni River, were thought to be 'covetous' of the cattle that the survivors had accumulated. Provisions were scarce as there had been no rain for some time previously, so cattle must have been in short supply there at this time. Cows were common around the Thukela River, but only found again in the wooded hills near Mhlabatini. The people were poor south of Nongoma but eastwards cattle were found on the escarpment. No cattle were recorded on the Mkhuze Plain and along the coast into southern Mozambique.

Fat-tailed sheep, described as being like those of Ormuz, were recorded inland of Sunrise-on-Sea. The Portuguese were familiar with this breed of sheep, Ormuz being

[578] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 123.

an island in the Persian Gulf. This is the earliest written record of sheep in the Eastern Cape; the other earlier observation of sheep was by Vasco da Gama at Mossel Bay.[579] An illustration of 'Khoikhoi' people at the Cape dated 1617 shows fat-tailed sheep among the livestock. See Figure 23. Sheep were found in the Flagstaff area, around the Thukela River and in the region of Nongoma.

Goats were mentioned near Harding, south of Kosi Bay and near Cape St Maria.

Hens were recorded in the Flagstaff area for the first time. Thereafter they were noted in the Lubombo Mountains, around Kosi Bay and near Cape St Maria.
Dogs were kept by the people living in the area south of the Kei, where they were described as 'gelded whelps', and as far as the Mzimvubu, but no more were observed for the rest of their journey.

6.5.8.2 Cultivation:

Millet was cultivated from the Kwelegha area through to the Ibeka district. There was no evidence of cultivation in the uninhabited area between Ibeka and the Mgwali River, but it was again grown along the course of the Mbhashe River through to the drift.

No cultivation was done in the high ground until the Flagstaff area. There four types of grain were cultivated. The description of millet seeds as being white, about the size of peppercorn and forming the 'ear' of a plant which had a reed-like growth, indicates that this was bulrush or pearl millet *Pennisetum glaucum*.[580] The small- grained millet called '*Nechinim'* by the local people would have been finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*.[581] (The survivors from the *São Bento* termed a small-seed grain being grown in the Mtwalume area *'nacharre'*, similar in sound.) '*Ameixoeira'* was almost certainly sorghum,

[579] Willcox, A.R., "Sheep and Sheepherders in South Africa", *Africa*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, Oct. 1966, p. 433.
[580] Van Wyk, E. & Gerike, N., *People's Plants*, (Pretoria, Briza Publications, 2000), p. 12.
[581] Ibid., p. 10.

Sorghum bicolor.[582] The other grain called sesame, was *Sesamum indicum*, described as being an ancient African crop.[583]

Thereafter millet was cultivated all along the route, apart from a rugged wooded area, until the Lubombo Mountains were reached. It was in short supply between the Mgeni and the Thukela, but this was where there had been a drought. Millet was grown under irrigation in a valley just north of the Thukela crossing at Jameson's drift. None was grown along the coast in the dry sandy soil or in the marshes north of Lake Sibayi, until Kosi Bay, where millet was found. Further north both millet and a*meixoeira*, (sorghum), were obtainable.

The African, or Bambara, ground-nut, *Jugo* bean, V*igna subterranea,* was cultivated in the Flagstaff region. [584]

Beans were part of the supplies taken on the Portuguese vessel anchored off Inhaca Island.[585] Gourds, *Lagenaria siceria*, were only mentioned as being grown north of the Thukela but were probably more widespread, serving as containers for milk, butter and honey when supplied to the survivors.

6.5.8.3 Plant gathering:

The indigenous people, probably the guides, must have shown the survivors which plants had edible roots as they would not have known what plant to dig up. They might have experimented with the fruits on trees, but it is more likely that these had been shown to them as well otherwise they could have become seriously ill if eating poisonous fruit, as happened to other survivors.

These roots and berries must therefore have formed a part of the diet of the people in the areas recorded. The turnip-sized roots collected between Ibeka and the Mgwali

[582] Ibid., p. 14.
[583] Ibid., p. 24.
[584] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 150.
[585] Ibid., p. 184.

River se could have been *uintjies, Cyperus fulgens*, (*boesmanseuintjie* in Afrikaans). The edible corms have been an important dietary addition in many parts of southern Africa, especially among the hunter-gatherers.[586]

The carrot-like plant found south of the Mgwali River could have been either *Annesorhiza macrocarpa,* which has been used as a vegetable by pastoralists and hunter-gatherers since earliest times,[587] or *Chamarea capensis*, (Afrikaans - Vinkelwortel). This also has feathery leaves and a pencil-like root and was well known to the 'Khoi'.[588]
The sour fruit found south of the Mgwali River was possibly the sour plum, *Ximenia caffra*, a sour-sweet fruit which grows on spiny bushes,[589] or 'Governor's plum', *Flacourtia indica*, which has a sour fruit and also grows on bushes.[590]

The yellow rather bitter fruit growing on trees growing in abundance in the Xuka River area was probably *Dovyalis caffra,* the Kei apple, which occurs widely in the Eastern Cape.[591]
What were called "Jujube trees", were found in the Tembukazi and Mzimkhulu areas. *Ziziphus jujuba* has been cultivated in Portugal since the first millennium[592] and so the name would have been given to a tree familiar to the survivors with a similar growth type and fruit. They were on the right lines as the trees were very possibly buffalo-thorn, *Ziziphus mucronata*, which has edible berries.[593]

The sweet myrtle berries gathered at Tembukazi and in the Thukela River area could have been the water berry, *Syzygium cordatum* (Myrtaceae) or *Eugenia albanensis*.[594]

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[586] van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 86.
[587] Ibid., p. 81.
[588] Ibid., p 82.
[589] Ibid., p. 60.
[590] Ibid., p. 42.
[591] Ibid., p. 42.
[592] Bailey, L.H., *The Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture,* Vol. III, (New York, Macmillan, 1937), p. 3548.
[593] Van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 15.
[594] Ibid., p. 58..

The trees bearing very bitter fruit 'resembling *ferrobas'* were noted in the Mtamvuna area. Boxer suggests that this could be the (alferroba [sic]).[595] The 'algerroba', a *Ceratonia sp.* or carob, was well known in the drier regions of the Mediterranean and characterized by having a long pod and edible but bitter seeds.[596] A similar type of tree found in that area with long pods with bitter tasting seeds is the Bush Boer-bean, *Schotia latifolia*. The indigenous people do not eat these seeds as they are bitter, but are used to make a drink.[597]

Once on the coast in sandy country a little south of Kosi Bay, growing among wild palm trees bearing dates, were trees bearing a fruit like grey pears which the local people called "Macomas". These were possibly *Monodora junodii*, which grows in sandy areas and has a large edible fruit, which is mottled grey-green in colour or *Strychnos spinosa,* also found in that area..[598]

Watermelons, called *'mabure'*, were found near the Kei and Mzimvubu Rivers. These would have been tsamma melons, *citrillus lanatus.* The term 'tsamma' is from the Khoisan language and the fruit has been utilized as an important source of water among the BushmIbid.,en in the Kalahari. This is a wild plant but, according to van Wyk & Gerike, the makataan, a type of *Citrillus lanatus*, was cultivated in pre-colonial times. The evidence from this record is that they were collected in the wild.[599]

Honey was collected south of the Ngele Mountains and 15 jars of honey were emptied to make place for water on the Portuguese trading vessel at Inhaca Island.[600]

6.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

[595] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 153.
[596] Bailey, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 717.
[597] Pooley, op. cit., p. 148.
[598] Ibid., p. 94, 107.
[599] Van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 38.
[600] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 154, 184.

Hunting was noted in foothills of the Drakensberg, where snares and traps were found in the huts, and in the Lubombo Mountains.

Fish were only found at the village of Inhaca's sister, and were described as being large and tasty, called *tainhas*.[601]

6.5.8.5 Food Preparation:

Flour was made from cereal grains by grinding the seeds between stones or in wooden mortars to make flour from which the women made cakes which were then baked in the embers of a fire. The seeds were also fermented in clay jars and made what was said to be wine. Cakes were made from both millet and sorghum and baked in the embers of the fire. The cooked millet cakes were known as *sincoá* (isinkwa).[602] This is a term still used in isiXhosa and isiZulu. Drinks were made from the fermented seeds of millet. Butter was also made.

7.5.8.6 Technology:

Clay vessels, which were dried in the sun, were recorded as were iron hatchets, which had wedges of iron set in wood and were used for clearing the bush and carving wood.

7.5.8.7 Trade:

The indigenous people considered cattle to be their most valuable treasure and were used to barter throughout the country. Cattle, milk and millet were traded for copper, iron nails and crystal beads. Metals were valued, particularly iron and copper, but not gold. Silver was acceptable north of the Thukela River, as were beads and coral. Cloth was consistently valued by the people from the Mngeni River north. In the region of Nongoma, the people were aware that red beads were available in the north. The

[601] Ibid., p. 177.
[602] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 142.

knowledge of trade goods other than iron and copper indicate that a network of trade links, which included the Portuguese, had been established as far south as the Mngeni River by 1593.

The people living east of the Kei River wore red beads in their ears. It was understood by the survivors that these were from the land of the 'Unhaca' [Inhaca], who lived by the river of Lourenço Marques [Maputo Bay]. The beads were described as being made of clay, in all colours and were the size of coriander seeds. It was added that they were made in India at Neputam and from there were brought to Moçambique where they were bartered for ivory. Boxer suggests that these were 'trade-wind beads' and implies that they indicated a trade relationship with the Portuguese in Maputo Bay.[603] It is, however, doubtful whether the local people knew that the beads had been obtained from Chief Inhaca, and it is suggested that this was an assumption on the part of the author. It is far more likely that they were possibly red carnelian beads which were part of the cargoes carried on the *São João* (1552, Port Edward) and/or the *São Bento* (1554, Msikaba River) and had been collected from the wreck sites.[604]

[603] Boxer, op. cit., Note 4, p. 133.
[604] From the collections in the East London Museum.

Figure 9 - A bracelet made of cornelian beads.

Collected at Msikaba, the wreck site of the *São Bento*

(Courtesy Cynthia Murray)

7.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

The people living south of the Kei River and between the Mgwali and Mbhashe Rivers were possibly of mixed pastoralist and agriculturalists descent. They were cultivators, indicating that they were agriculturalists, but their appearance and clothing had strong pastoralist links. Schapera described the skin of the 'Khoisan' to be "a light brownish-yellow".[605] The local people were surprised and amused at the thickness and texture

[605] Schapera. I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*", (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 60.

beards of the survivors, which can be explained as pastoralists had sparse facial hair.[606] Their lighter skin colour and relatively sparse facial hair, when compared with the people living further north, could suggest that the intermixture was relatively recent.

Chief Vibo, who lived north of the Kei, and who was taller and darker than the people previously encountered, possibly indicates closer links with the Bantu-speakers. In the area between the Mgwali River and the drift over the Mbhashe River, the people were also light in colour but had more facial hair as indicated by their response to the beards of the survivors, "as they do not place the hand on the beard as often as those do."[607]. The people of Chief Mabomborocassobelo were darker than the before, possibly indicating stronger links with the Bantu-speakers.

The people encountered near the present Ntombe village were living in inhospitable country. They kept no cattle and no cultivation was observed. The fact that they lived by hunting and the trapping of birds and game, indicates that they were probably hunter-gatherers. It is possible that the survivors thought that they had made themselves understood but it may not have been the case. Conversely the indigenous people may have understood a little of the language as they had had some contact with the Bantu-speakers, but it may not have been their own language. The way in which the people fled could suggest that they feared both the strangers and other indigenous groups.

[606] Schapera., op. cit., p. 60.
[607] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p.142,

Chapter 7

SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA 1622

7.1 Author and publication of the account:

The author was Francisco Vaz d'Almada who was a survivor. Little is known of him, but that he was a soldier, who served in India and made a trip back to Portugal at some time. d'Almada described himself as a servant of another passenger, Lopo de Sousa, a noble, but he was himself a man of property and wealth.[608] He took over the leadership of the band of survivors after the captain resigned.[609] In a letter sent to Soares, probably in 1624, d'Almada says that the account was written in haste. Boxer maintains that this is obvious and that it does not seem to have been revised for publication.[610]

The original edition was published in Lisbon in 1625 by Pedro Craesbeeck, the King's printer. It was dedicated to Diogo Soares, Secretary of His Majesty's Council of the Exchequer. A counterfeit was published in the eighteenth century and was included in the third volume of *História Trágico-Marítima*. Theal translated this account published in *História Trágico-Maríitima*[611] The 1625 edition is the one Boxer preferred and translated.[612] This is the translation used for this dissertation.

This record was written by a passenger and is relatively detailed, unlike some of the other narratives. In addition, it covers an area extending from Cannon Rocks, west of the Fish River, to Vilanculo in Mozambique and as such, in spite of many anomalies in the times given, the narrative is a valuable historical record.

7.2 Narrative of the Shipwreck:

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[608] d'Almada, Francisco Vaz, "Treatise of the Misfortune that befell the Great Ship Sao Joao Baptista", translated by Boxer, in Boxer, C.R., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 213.
[609] Ibid., p. 253.
[610] Boxer, "The Writers and their Narratives", in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 46-50.
[611] Theal, G.M., "An Account of the Misfortune that befell the Ship Sao Joao Baptista", *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. III, Facs., (Cape Town, 1898/1964).
[612] Boxer, op. cit., p. 48.

The *São João Baptista* was *en route* from Goa to Lisbon when it was attacked by two Dutch vessels, holed and dismasted. On 30 October 1622 the ship anchored in a bay and the survivors made their way to the shore in a small boat.[613] This has been identified as at the present resort of Cannon Rocks.[614] There were 279 survivors.[615] The number of slaves on board was not recorded. The name of the resort derives from one cannon and two anchors which were washed ashore and are mounted on stone plinths next to Marine Drive. See Figure 11.

The survivors remained at the wreck site until 6 November 1622 and chose to walk along the coast.[616] By the time they reached Kosi Bay, many had died or remained with the local inhabitants. When the group moved from Inhaca Island to the mainland, they had to make two trips in the small boats left by the Portuguese.[617] If each boat held about 10 people, the number of survivors to that point would have been about 80. After a very long journey, with many dying and some staying with the local inhabitants, the remaining survivors reached the Inhambane area. d'Almada., then the leader and author of the narrative, continued the journey with one companion to Sofala, reaching there on 28 July 1623.[618] He obtained a ship and provisions and returned to rescue the last of the group. Only 31 Portuguese survived to the end but four elected to remain with the local people at Inhambane.[619]

This was the longest journey made by any of the survivors, extending from Cannon Rocks, some two km west of Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape, to Vilanculo, in Mozambique.

7.3 Identification of the landmarks:

[613] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit.., pp. 191-197.
[614] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and the identification of sites", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), p. 63.
[615] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 199.
[616] Ibid., p. 199.
[617] Ibid., p. 250.
[618] Ibid., pp. 263- 267.
[619] Ibid., p. 270.

This narrative provides information on the people whom the survivors encountered during their very long journey. Unlike the other groups who chose the coastal route and only moved a little inland to cross rivers, these survivors moved inland from the Mzimvubu River and travelled for some distance about 20 to 30 km from the shore, only moving to the coast when they reached the Bay of Natal.

Challenging problems arise as the dates given in the text do not tally with the number of days recorded in the day-to-day account and do not accord with the description of landmarks and rate of travel. The author, who was one of the survivors, and who took over the leadership at a later date, must have found it difficult to keep a record of the actual dates when travelling and he admitted that it was written in haste.

In order to track this journey and identify the places in the text so that the people encountered can be identified, the day-to-day record has been preferred over the dates given, but even this record is not accurate. The rate of travel has only been calculated for the distance between the wreck site and Cape St Maria, as the rate is not necessary for the Mozambique section of the journey as the landmarks can be more easily identified.

Distances have been calculated using a computer ARC GIS system based on the National Ordnance Survey maps, with scales of !:250 000 and 1:50 000 and have been measured along the suggested route of the survivors.

The actual text references, reflecting the dates, descriptions of locations and page references are shown in Table 11. The identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, adjusted dates and estimated rates of travel as far as Kosi Bay are shown in Table 12.

Figure 10 - Wreck site of the *São João Baptista* at Cannon Rocks

Figure 11 - The cannons and an anchor at Cannon Rocks

Table 11
SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA

Dates and descriptions of places cited in the text[620]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1622	**Sept**.	**29**	Two leagues from land	195
	Oct.	**3**	Land *[Cannon Rocks]*	197
	Nov.	**6**	Depart camp site	199
		7	Continue close to shore	200
		21	Cross Musk River on rafts *[Fish]*	201
			Cross the Shrimp River on a raft *[Keiskamma]*	202
	Dec.	**15**	A river winding through a plain *[Kobonqaba]*	207
			A few days to a river with fisher folk *[Mbhashe]*	210
			Get to a river, remain 5 days *[Mthatha]*	214
			To the biggest river we had yet seen *[Mzimvubu]*	218
		25	After 6 days, on Christmas day looked for a crossing	220
			Waited for 25 days to cross the River of Famine	221
			Crossed on a raft taking 2 days	226
			Reach a beautiful river *[Msikaba]*	228
			Take 4 days through a country with a lack of provisions	230
			River of Ants, crossed on a raft. *[Mzimkhulu]*	232
1623	**Feb**	**1**	Camped near some kraals	
		2	Dined in a wood	
			A stream, kraals of plenty *[Mtwalume]*	233
		12	A large river, remain 2 days *[Mkhomazi]*	236
			To a river that looked like a lagoon *[Durban Bay]*	238
			A river with rocks at the mouth *[Mngeni]*	
			To a great river *[Thukela]*	239
			River narrow at mouth 'Crocodile' *[Mlakazi]*	240
			River of the Islands, crossed inland *[Mhlatuzi]*	
			A river a league in width *[Mfolozi]*	
			Led up a river – astray *[Nyalazi]*	241
			A river, narrow mouth, 3 leagues broad inland *[St Lucia]*	242
			Along Dunes of Gold	244
			River of Santa Luzia *[Kosi Bay]*	
	Apri	6	River of Lourenço Marques *[Maputo Bay C.St Maria]*	247
			Cross to island in 3 small vessels *[Inhaca Island]*	248
			Cross to small island *[Ilha do Portugueses]*	250
		18	Repair boats	
			Sail to island, other side of the bay *[Xefina Grande]*	
	May	7	To another island *[Xefina Pequena or Macaneta]*	251
			Cross to mainland to land of King Manhisa	
		13	Visited by the king	
		16	Reach Adoengres River *[Incomati]*	252
			River of Gold deep *[Limpopo]*	255
			Crossed a cold river *[Inharrime]*	261
		19	Led to Inhambane, Chamba side *[Inhambane]*	262
			Crossed to other side, good anchorage	263
			D'Almada leaves *[Maxixe]*	265
			King Osanha lives near islands of Bazanito *[Bazaruto]*	266
	Eve St James		Molomone	
			By boat – land Qeluame	
	July	**28**	**D'Almada reaches Sofala**	267

[620] Boxer, C.R.,Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Table 12

SÃO JOÃO BAPTISTA

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel.

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	km/day	Stops	Rate
1622	November	6	Cannon Rocks					
		21	Fish R. *[Musk]*	66	15	15		4.4
		27	Keiskamma R.	41	6	6		6.8
	December	15	Kobonqaba R.	124	18	18		6.9
		28	Mbhashe R.	57	13	11	2	6.3
1623	January	5	Mthatha R.	43	8	7	1	7.2
		18	Mzimvubu R.	53	13	8	5	8
	February	17	Cross inland		30		30	
		22	Msikaba R.	47	5	5		9.4
			Mtamvuna R.					
	March	3	Mzimkhulu R. *[Ants]*	90	9	9		10
		8	Mtwalume R.	28	5	3	2	5.6
		14	Mkhomazi R. *[Blood]*	37	6	4	2	9.3
		21	Bay of Natal	50	7	5	2	10
		30	Thukela R.	88	9	9		9.8
			Matikhulu R. *[Crocodile]*					
			Mhlatuzi R.					
			Mfolozi R. *[Islands]*					
	April	18	Lake St Lucia – Brodie's Crossing *[R.of the Fishery]*	180	19	19		9.4
		28	Lake Sibayi	90	10	8	2	11.3
	May	5	Kosi Bay	68	7	6	1	11.3
		14	Cape St Maria	90	9	8	1	11.3
			TOTALS	**1152**	**189**	**141**	**48**	**8.1**

Distance: Cannon Rocks to Cape St Maria – 1152 km
Time taken: 6 November 1622 to 14 May 1623 – 189 days
Excluding stops – 48 days
Actual travelling time – 141 days
Average rate of travel per day – 8.1 km

The survivors left the wreck site [Cannon Rocks] on 6 November 1622[621] and it is stated that the group arrived at a point close to Inhaca Island [Cape St Maria] on 6 April 1623.[622] The total distance is 1153 km, and if this was the correct date they would have taken 151 days to get there. They spent 48 days either, resting, trading, fighting, or trying to cross rivers, during this part of the journey, so the actual travelling time would have been 113 days. The rate of travel would have been 10.2 km a day. From an examination of the text and taking into account the description of the landmarks and their own estimate of how far they had travelled in a day, this average rate is too fast. Working more closely with the distances between the more obvious landmarks and the day to day account, the rate of travel would have been slower and they were more likely to have arrived at Cape St Maria on 14 May 1623. They would then have covered the distance of 1152 km in 189 days. If 48 days are excluded for stops when they rested, traded or skirmished, they would only have had 141 days of actual travel. The average overall rate of travel would have been 8.1 km per day. This speed has been used when trying to identify landmarks where the given dates are misleading. The revised dates, the landmarks, the distances, the number of stops and the rate of travel per day are shown in Table 11.

The departure date of 6 November 1622 is accepted as accurate. It is recorded that on 21 November the survivors crossed a river, which they named 'Musk', on rafts taking two days.[623] The Fish River is 66 km from Cannon Rocks. As this is a wide and fast flowing river, rafts would have been needed to get across for non-swimmers. The survivors covered the distance in 15 days giving a rate of 4.4 km a day which is slow but understandable, as they were still working out a routine and accords with the comment that they travelled only one league [5 km] on the first day.[624]

[621] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 199.
[622] Ibid., p. 247.
[623] Ibid., p. 201.
[624] Ibid., p. 200.

The text states that after another two days they reached a river and took two days to make the crossing, again using rafts.[625] The Keiskamma is the largest river between the Fish and the Kei and is one where rafts could be needed. This is 41 km from the Fish and they probably made better progress. They probably took 6 days and travelled at a rate of 6.8 km per day, and arrived there on about 27 November.

The account from there is vague "We continued our journey through these wastes, climbing and descending some very rugged ranges, and crossing many rivers which were full of hippopotami and other remarkable animals."[626] On 15 December, it is recorded that the survivors reached "a river winding through a plain".[627] The description of a river 'winding through a plain' does not accord with the terrain around the estuary of the Kei, the next large river, but some 13 km on is the Kobonqaba River, which does. They had taken 18 days to cover the 124 km from the Keiskamma River and would have been travelling at a rate of 6.9 km a day

The survivors stayed at the Kobonqaba River for at least two days as they were suffering from hunger and this was the first place where there were settlements, fish-traps, cattle and cultivated fields.[628] A messenger was sent inland to obtain provisions and the party waited for his return hoping to get some cows.[629]

They probably left this river on about 17 December and journeying on for “a few days” came to a river where there was "a village of fisher-folk".[630] This is likely to have been the Mbhashe River, 57 km from the Kobonqaba. They probably arrived there on the 28 December after 11 days travelling at a rate of 6.3 km a day. They remained there a day arranging to leave some of the slower members with the local people. The group then crossed two small rivers (probably the Xhora and the Mpako), scavenging for

[625] d’Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 202.
[626] Ibid., p. 206.
[627] Ibid., p. 207.
[628] Ibid., pp. 207-208.
[629] Ibid., pp. 209 - 210.
[630] Ibid., p. 210.

shellfish.[631] They were then guided inland (for a day) to a river where "many valleys lay before us intersected by rivers and smaller hills, in which were an infinite number of villages with herds of cattle and garden plots." [632] This would have been the Mthatha River, about five km from the mouth, which they probably reached on about 5 January 1623. They had taken about eight days, but excluding the one day at the Mbhashe, only seven days of actual travelling time. The distance between the Mbhashe and the Mthatha Rivers is 43 km, so the rate of travel would have been 6.1 km a day. They remained there for another five days.[633]

The survivors would have left the Mthatha River on 10 January. Once over the Mthatha River, the survivors then

> "travelled along a high and very long range of hills … and we camped in the middle of this range surrounded by villages and with abundance of cattle and garden plots, and with a river at the foot."[634]

They then "climbed to the top of that range, which was very high, in quest of the king of that whole district."[635] Three days travel is mentioned in the text, but it is vague and interspersed with comments on cultural practices. After meeting the king the text states "Thence we continued the journey next day till we came to the biggest river which we had yet seen, above which we slept."[636] This must have been the Mzimvubu River. The distance from the Mthatha is 53 km. They probably took about eight days and would have arrived at the Mzimvubu on 18 January 1663, travelling at a rate of 8 km a day.

They then moved inland searching for a place to cross.

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[631] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 213-214.
[632] Ibid., pp. 214-215.
[633] Ibid., p. 216.
[634] Ibid., p. 216.
[635] Ibid., p. 217.
[636] Ibid., p. 218.

> "the river being very broad, we marched for two days along a range of hills by very dangerous and precipitous paths overhanging the stream, until we reached a water-meadow above which were some villages".[637]

The description of precipitous paths also accords with the terrain around the estuary of the Mzimvubu River which is flanked by Mounts Thesiger and Sullivan.

After arriving at the Mzimvubu River and stating that after six days walking up river looking for a ford, the claim was made that the date was then Christmas Day, 25 December.[638] This was clearly impossible. The distance from the Kobonqaba to the Mzimvubu is 153 km and the dates were recorded as being 15 to 25 December, i.e. 10 days. At that point, at least 14 days for stops were noted, so the dates given in the text from 15 December are questionable.

It has not been possible to identify the river near which the villages were situated or the upland area where the king lived. It is likely that they were moving inland along paths between the settlements, which cannot be identified closer to the coast. The possibilities are that the first villages could have been near the Mthkatye River and that the king's village would have been near the Mngazana River.

The survivors called the Mzimvubu the 'river of Famine'.[639] It was said that the current only abated after 25 days. Even then, they did not manage to cross and another five days are mentioned in terms of 'the next day'. They finally managed to cross using a raft which they had constructed.[640] This would have been 30 days since reaching the Mzimvubu. Davis Ford is situated 15 km upriver and is the first place from the mouth where the crossing would be possible. They would then have crossed the Mzimvubu River on 17 February.

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[637] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 218.
[638] Ibid., p. 220.
[639] Ibid., p. 221.
[640] Ibid., pp. 222, 225-226.

From this point the survivors moved along an inland route. They went through mountainous country and, after two days, camped above a river.[641] This was probably the Mzintlava. They moved towards the shore and after crossing low ranges of hills about 3 or 4 leagues [about 15 km] from the shore they then reached "'beautiful river", where they met a Javanese from the *Santo Alberto*.[642] This would have been the Msikaba, a distance of 47 km from the Mzimvubu. They had probably taken about 5 days and travelled at a rate of 9.4 km a day and reached there on 22 February.

The survivors then passed through an uninhabited region, where there was a lack of provisions.[643] This would have been the area between the Msikaba River and the Mtamvuna River. The geology of this country comprises quartzite sandstone, known as the Msikaba Formation, which has a weak structure and low moisture capacity. The poor pasturage and inadequate subsurface conditions for digging grain pits have made it unattractive for cultivators and pastoralists. Unlike the rest of the former Transkei, it has had a low settlement density for the past 2000 years.[644] According to the text it took them four days,[645] but it was probably five as the distance between the rivers is about 45 km.

Although the Mtamvuna River is not mentioned, probably as it would not have been difficult to cross, it would have been around that river that the survivors came across many villages.

The next large river mentioned which needed a raft to cross, would have been the Mzimkhulu, which the survivors called the 'River of the Ants'. The distance to the Mzimkhulu from the Msikaba is 90 km. According to days mentioned in the text, they

[641] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 227.
[642] Ibid., p. 228.
[643] Ibid., p. 230.
[644] De Villiers, D. & Costello, J., *Mkambati and the Wild Coast*, (Sandton, 2006.), pp. 29–30.
[645] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 230.

had taken nine days.[646] They were probably travelling faster, possibly at 10 km a day, and arrived at the Mzimkhulu River on 3 March. There they remained for two days, crossing on the third on a raft.[647] The text states that they left this river on 1 February, and on the following day, 2 February, they arrived at 'beautiful wood next to a stream'.[648] This was probably the Mzumbe River and these dates would have been the 5 and 6 March. After crossing this river, the survivors reached 'the kraals of the longed-for plenty'[649] and after another day they reached a 'fresh river'.[650] This was probably the Mtwalume River, a distance of 28 km from the Mzimkhulu, and they would have arrived there on about 8 March, at a slower rate of 5.6 km, as there were provisions available. They then spent two days bartering with the local people for provisions.

Two days later the survivors then reached a large river, which they had to make a raft to get across.[651] This must have been the Mkhomazi. There they had a fight with the local people and remained for two days, naming the river 'Blood'.[652] The distance between the rivers is 37 km and they would have taken at least 4 days, and would have arrived there on about 14 March, invigorated by extra food, travelling at a faster rate of 9.3 km a day.

> "Thence we marched onwards for two days, keeping two leagues [10 km] from the shore, and at the end of that time we came to a river which looked like a lagoon and debouched onto the beach".[653]

This must have been the Bay of Natal, which is 50 km from the Mkhomazi, so it is more likely that they took five days moving at a rate of 10 km per day. This together with the two-day delay at Mkhomazi would bring the arrival date to around 21 March. They crossed the river with "the water up to our necks." [654]

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[646] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 230-321.
[647] Ibid., p. 232.
[648] Ibid., pp.232-233.
[649] Ibid., p. 233.
[650] Ibid., p. 234.
[651] Ibid., p. 236-237.
[652] Ibid., pp. 236 - 238.
[653] Ibid., p. 238.
[654] Ibid., p. 238

Continuing along the shore, with no time given, the survivors came to "another river with many large rocks at the mouth and we could not cross it because the water was too deep."[655] This could have been the Mngeni, which is some 10 km from the Bay, so it probably took them a day. The local people assisted them in crossing this river.[656]

The text states that after only three more days travelling along the coast, the survivors arrived at a 'great river', where the local people assisted them to cross.[657] The Thukela is a 'great river' and a recognizable landmark. It is 88 km from the Bay of Natal, so this could not have been done in five days (17.6 km a day). They probably took nine days, travelling at the reasonable speed of 9.8 km a day and they would have been there on 30 March.

After leaving the Thukela and travelling for three days, the survivors arrived at a river which was 'narrow at the mouth, but wide further up'. They named this the 'Crocodile' after a crocodile observed there.[658] This was probably the Matikhulu, 17 km from the Thukela. They were then about a league (5 km) from the shore. Some distance further on hostilities arose over alleged cattle thefts but the account is not clear in detailing movements. This was probably near the Mlalazi, 26 km from the Matikhulu. The survivors then moved inshore and after travelling for a stated five days they came to a river where they observed many elephants, calling it the 'River of the Islands'.[659] This was probably the Mhlatuze, which they would have crossed inland at the present road bridging point near Richard's Bay. The distance from the Mlalazi is 33 km. Boxer identifies this river as the Thukela,[660] but this does not seem possible if distances and rate of travel are considered.

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[655] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 238.
[656] Ibid., p. 239.
[657] Ibid., p. 239.
[658] Ibid., p. 240
[659] Ibid., p. 240.
[660] Boxer, Note 1, p. 241.

After four or five days another river was reached, described as being a league in width, with thick reeds along the bank. There was an island in the middle of the river on which there were hippopotami.[661] This was probably the Mfolozi which is 57 km from the Mlalazi.

After crossing this river the survivors met a man who offered to guide them to a place where there 'were plenty of provisions'. They were led inland, wading through a river with water to their knees and then into a thick wood.[662] This was probably the Nyalazi River and today patches of forest are found at Dukuduku and Matubatuba. The survivors decided they had been 'lured' off their route to satisfy the curiosity of the people living inland and moved towards the coast.[663] The survivors were possibly mistaken in thinking that they had been led astray as the route indicates that they were being guided along an inland route around Lake St Lucia.

After a total of five days, the survivors reached a river described as being narrow at the mouth but three leagues (15 km) broad inland. This is a good description of the St Lucia lake system. It was named the 'River of the Fishery' as there were so many fish traps.[664] They probably crossed Lake St Lucia at Brodie's (Makakatana) Crossing. The distance between the Thukela and the Crossing is 180 km and the total of the days recorded is 17, with two stops. In view of the fact that the survivors had retraced their steps along the Nyalazi River, it would have taken the survivors more than 17 days, probably at least 19. The rate of travel would have been 9.4 km a day and they would have arrived there on 18 April. There was a delay of two days.

The survivors named the coast north of St Lucia, the 'Dunes of Gold'.[665] After another four days the survivors then reached a river which they named 'Santa Luzia'. It was two

[661] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 241.
[662] Ibid., p. 241.
[663] Ibid., p. 241.
[664] Ibid., p. 242.
[665] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 242.

leagues (10 km) wide, but they crossed at the mouth where the water was only chest high.[666] There must have been a confusion of memory as the lake must have been Sibayi, but as it is not open to the sea, the 'river' could have been a small stream near Sodwana which has silted up in recent years.[667] The distance from Lake St Lucia is 90 km. and they probably took 8 days, travelling at around 11.3 km a day and getting there on 28 April.

After resting for a day, the survivors continued their journey

> "along the shore of the Dunes of Gold, and this name is bestowed on it with good reason, for they look exactly like dunes, their earth being of a golden colour and as fine as flour, but hard … These dunes run parallel to the shore and near to it, and they are about 40 leagues (192 km) long."[668]

This is an accurate description of the coast between St Lucia and Kosi Bay, but the distance is over estimated. The survivors crossed a small river with water up to their knees and met some local people who told them that the 'Inhaca' lived on an island and could be reached after a journey of four days.[669] As the 'Dunes of Gold' are not mentioned again, the river referred to must have been the estuary at Kosi Bay, although the inland lake was not mentioned.

The distance from Lake Sibayi is 68 km and in six days (excluding one rest day), they would have travelled at 11.3 km a day and arrived there on about 30 April.

The march was continued and after four days the survivors were met by the son of 'King Inhaca Sangane', who postponed guiding them to his father by a day.[670] The survivors were then taken to this king's residence, about a league [4.8 km] further on, situated on the edge of a marsh on a height between two small hills.[671] The text states that after a

[666] Ibid., p. 244.
[667] Feely, Pers. Comm.
[668] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 244.
[669] Ibid., p. 245.
[670] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 245-246.
[671] Ibid., p. 247.

two-day march, the survivors reached what they termed the 'River of Lourenço Marques' and were at the point where they could be easily ferried to an Inhaca Island in canoes.[672] This must have been Cape St Maria, 90 km from Kosi Bay. They had taken eight days moving again at 11.3 km a day. It is suggested that it was probably around 14 May 1623. The date given in the text as 6 April must have been incorrect. King Inhaca Sangane's residence must have been about 20-30 km south of Cape St Maria.

The survivors were taken by canoe to Inhaca Island, but as no ship was due there for another year they decided to continue on to Sofala.[673] They crossed at low tide to the smaller island, Ilha dos Portugueses, where they spent another ten days repairing the boats which the Portuguese traders had left.

The survivors then sailed over Maputo Bay to the Xefina group of islands where they waited for six days as many of their company became sick and died.[674]

The record of the next part of the journey is difficult to trace as the text states that the survivors crossed to the mainland and 'continued along the shore' to the land of King Manhisa, who came to meet them.[675] Still 'continuing along the shore' they reached what they termed the 'Adoengres' River.[676] They must have reached the mainland on the south bank of the Incomati River and walked beside the river, not 'along the shore', as there is no sizeable river between the Incomati and the Limpopo and they had not yet reached the latter river. Boxer also noted this problem.[677] It is suggested that King Manhisa's residence was at the inland bridging point on the Incomati River, possibly at the site of the present-day town of Manhica, and it was there that they met the king and crossed the river.

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[672] Ibid., p. 247.
[673] Ibid., p. 249.
[674] Ibid., p. 251.
[675] Ibid., p. 251.
[676] Ibid., p. 252.
[677] Boxer, op. cit., Note 3, p. 252.

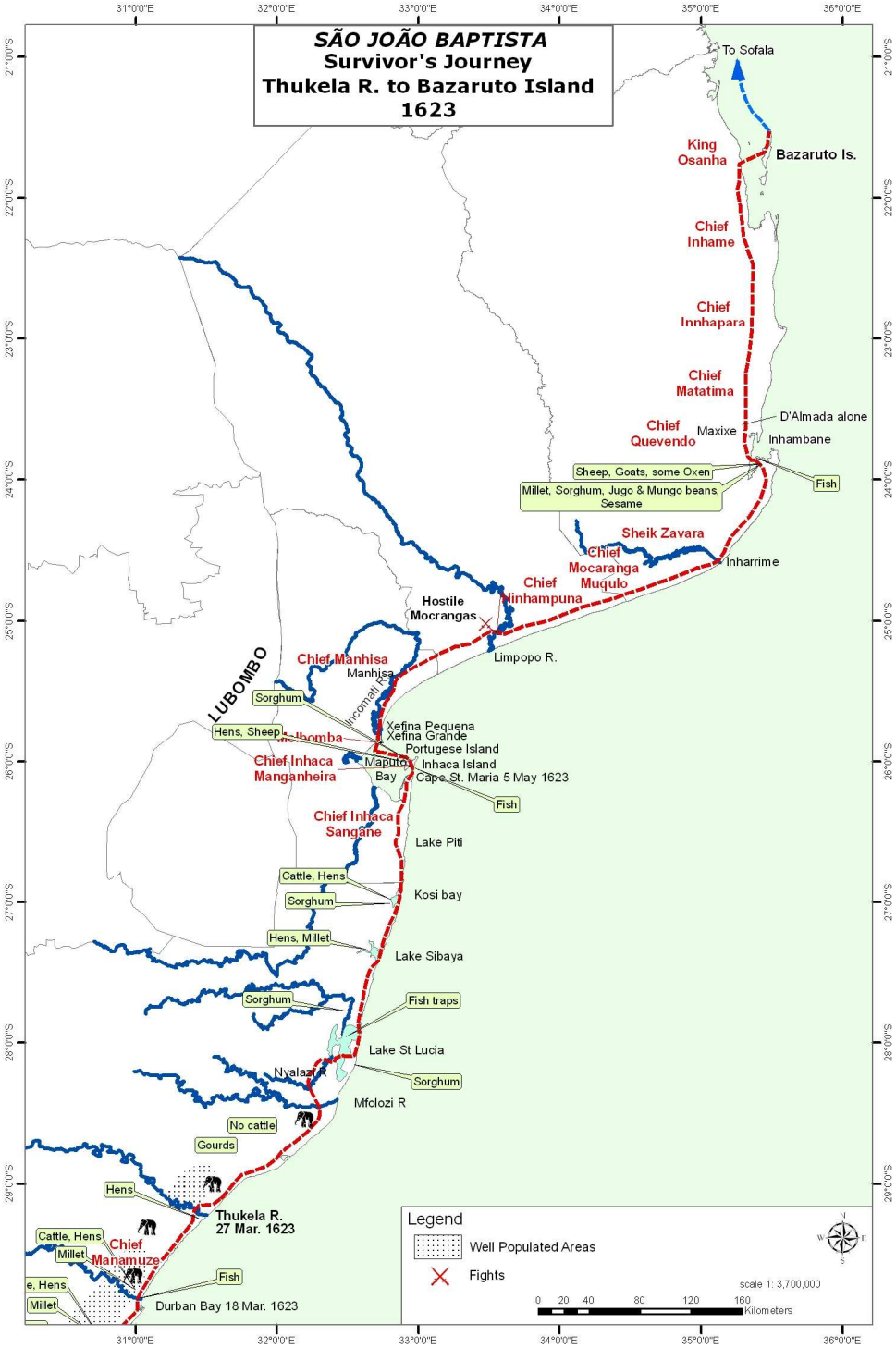
Here the captain became ill and the author, d'Almada, was appointed captain.[678] No daily record was noted until they reached the 'River of Gold'.[679] This was undoubtedly the Limpopo River mouth. After crossing the Limpopo, the survivors were attacked and harassed so they marched by night and after four days crossed a river with the water up to their necks.[680] This would have been the Inharrime River. After another four days, the survivors arrived at what was termed 'the river of Inhambane', where it was commented that there was good anchorage for ships.[681] This would have been the bay on which the present day towns of Inhambane and Maxixe are situated. As the last of the survivors were well treated here, it was decided that d'Almada should travel to Sofala with a companion to obtain a boat and trade goods to pay their hosts. He reached the kraal of a chief, probably at the site of Vilanculo. Two days later he reached another chief who lived opposite the island of 'Bazanito'.[682] This would be on the mainland opposite the Bazaruto archipelago and could have been Inhassoro, 30 km to the north. From here D'Almada found traders who took him by boat to Sofala, with the date given as 28 July 1623.[683] This is probably correct as the residents of Sofala would have known the date.

The route of the survivors' journey, the relevant dates and the presence of livestock and cultivation are shown in Maps 7 and 8..

[678] d'Almada, Boxer, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p. 253.
[679] Ibid., p. 255.
[680] Ibid., p. 261.
[681] Ibid., p. 263.
[682] Ibid., p. 266.
[683] Ibid., p. 267.

Map 7 - *São João Baptista* Journey; Cannon Rocks to Thukela river

Map 8 - *São João Baptista* Journey; Thukela River to Bazaruto Island



7.4 Location of the Indigenous People:

The campsite at Cannon Rocks:

The group of local people who visited the survivors at the campsite only arrived after three days,[684] which indicates that they did not live on the coast. There were men, women and children in the group and they were probably on a foraging expedition to the coast to collect shellfish. They kept cattle and it was said that they had no knowledge of seed planting, that they lived on shellfish, some roots and the 'products of the chase'.[685] Some of the roots 'looked like truffles'.[686] The people kept dogs with their cattle and were described as being "great hunters, they always have their hunting dogs with them, and these cows are reared with the dogs who guard them from lions and tigers on this coast".[687]

The unusual quality of their [Khoisan] language was noted and they also identified the three click types. They "make clicks with the mouth, one at the beginning, one in the middle and another at the end."[688] The slightly paler skin colour was commented on, as they were "whiter than Mulattoes; they are stoutly built men… and are really quite good looking." [689] The people were further described in that they painted their faces with red ochre, charcoal and ashes.[690] Their physical prowess was admired as they were "vigorous and courageous, capable of performing remarkable feats of strength and agility."[691]

The survivors were given a friendly reception with song and dance. They

[684] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 197.
[685] Ibid., pp. 198, 200.
[686] Ibid., p. 200.
[687] Ibid., p. 200.
[688] Ibid., p. 198.
[689] Ibid., p. 197.
[690] Ibid., p. 197.
[691] Ibid., p. 200.

> "squatted down on their haunches, clapping their hands and whistling softly, in such a way that they all kept in tune together, and many women who were with them began to dance."[692]

In what was understood to be a ceremony of welcome the survivors were presented with an ox. The entrails were removed and kept and the meat given to the survivors.[693]

Pieces of iron were traded for cows and some were eaten immediately.[694] When they left the campsite with 17 cows, the original owners had second thoughts and took steps to retrieve them.[695] The close relationship which the people had with their cattle was well demonstrated. The cows did not want to leave and

> "lowed continually, as if in longing", the dogs were let loose among the cattle, which were summoned by their owners with "low whistling and shouts, and the cows when they heard them jumped through the tents and fled with the dogs behind them".[696]

Cannon Rocks to the Kei River:

From Cannon Rocks to the Kei River there were no permanent settlements along the coast and the only people encountered were hunters. At the Keiskamma River there were two hunters who had killed a hippopotamus.[697] In the vicinity of the Tsholomnqa River the survivors encountered a few men who were armed with fire-hardened sticks but who did not prove to be friendly.[698]

Kei to Mbhashe Rivers:

The first settlements observed near the coast were beyond the Kei River, situated near the Kobonqaba River. There they found an enclosed hamlet of 15 straw huts.[699] The

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[692] Ibid., p. 197.
[693] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 198.
[694] Ibid., p. 198.
[695] Ibid., pp. 200 – 201.
[696] Ibid., p. 200.
[697] Ibid., p. 202.
[698] Ibid., p. 204.
[699] Ibid., pp. 207 – 208.

people herded cattle and kept dogs.[700] They cultivated the soil in garden plots, growing green water-melons and calabashes.[701] They were also fishermen, with large fish traps in the Kobonqaba River.[702] The survivors met 100 warriors well armed with iron-tipped assegais.[703] It was there that it was found that the local people could understand some of the slaves,[704] so they were able to communicate better than before.

The people living near the Mbhashe River were cultivators and also described as 'fisher folk'. They made cakes from "dough made from seeds smaller than mustard, which came from a herb which sticks to one's clothes". [705] It was noted that "Many pieces of copper and brass which are more valuable than anything else in these parts."[706] At another river, probably the Mpako, the survivors found a few settlements, situated some distance up-river, where cows were traded for copper.[707]

Mthatha to Mzimvubu Rivers:

The country around the Mthatha River was described as being very pleasant. From the top of a range of hills, the survivors observed

> "the most beautiful view our eyes could desire, for many valleys lay intersected by rivers and smaller hills, in which were an infinite number of villages with herds of cattle and garden plots".[708]

As has been noted, it has not been possible to locate the next group of settlements situated on a range of hills, with a river at the foot, where the survivors found "villages with abundance of cattle and garden plots … and we bought ten or eleven head."[709] It

[700] Ibid., p. 210.
[701] Ibid., p. 209.
[702] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 208.
[703] Ibid., p. 209.
[704] Ibid., p. 208.
[705] Ibid., p. 210.
[706] Ibid., p. 213.
[707] Ibid., p. 214.
[708] Ibid., pp. 214 – 215.
[709] Ibid., p. 216.

was possibly near the Mthakatye River. It was noted that the king's village was "the largest we had yet seen."[710]

It has also not been possible to identify this place, but as it seemed to be relatively close to the Mzimvubu, it could have been inland of the Mngazana River. It was commented that this king was blind, but held in great respect by his subjects.

> "It is worthy of note that though they are savages without any knowledge of the truth, they have such a serious mien and are so respected by their subjects, that I cannot exaggerate it."[711]

It was in this area that initiation ceremonies were described with the comment that these were practiced as far as Maputo Bay.[712] The ceremony was described in some detail with the survivors understanding that this was for boys at the age of ten, but circumcision was not mentioned.

> "They clothe themselves from the waist downwards with the leaves of trees like the palm, and rub themselves with ashes till they look as if they were whitewashed. They all keep together in a body, but do not come to the village, their mothers taking food to them in the bush."[713]

The king chose wives for the young men and a dowry had to be paid to the father-in-law. Adultery could be punished by death.[714]

The inhabitants were prepared to part with 26 cows for copper. This was the place where they were able to obtain a greater number of cattle than any other place on their journey.[715] Grain was grown in garden plots and a calabash containing millet was given as a present to the survivors.[716] Fruits were available in some quantity, "the colour and taste of cherries but longer".[717]

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[710] Ibid., p. 217.
[711] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 217.
[712] Ibid., p. 218.
[713] Ibid., p. 217.
[714] Ibid., p. 217.
[715] Ibid., p. 216.
[716] Ibid., pp. 216-217.
[717] Ibid., p. 216.

The Mzimvubu River area:

The survivors could not cross at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River, so they moved about 16 km inland (for two days).[718] There they were only able to obtain two cows, but were offered stalks of sweet millet. Moving about another 24 km up-river (for three days), they went through pleasant hills where there were many villages. The inhabitants of a village 'on a height' offered to trade a large quantity of the cherry-like fruits.[719] In this area the survivors entered a village and killed all the inhabitants and took 14 steers in retaliation for the theft of two guns from two stragglers. [720]

The people wore

> "cloaks of very well-dressed skins, which hang below their hips. The skins are those of small animals with beautiful fur, and these furs vary according to the quality of the Kaffir who wears them, and they are very punctilious about this. They wear nothing but these capes and a small skin apron. The men carried little sticks of wood to which was fastened a monkey's tail."

It was commented that they "emphasize all their talk by gesticulating with this stick in their hand". [721]

Mzimvubu to Mzimkhulu Rivers:

Once over the Mzimvubu, the survivors walked over rugged country, keeping about 15-20 km inland (four to five leagues). They passed several villages that were situated on slopes but only a few cattle were available for trade.[722] Arriving at a 'beautiful' river, probably the Msikaba, they met a Javanese survivor from the *Santo Alberto* who was settled there. He told them there were other survivors further on.[723] Some fruit, like

[718] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 218.
[719] Ibid., p. 219.
[720] Ibid., p. 219.
[721] Ibid., pp. 221 –222.
[722] Ibid., p. 227.
[723] Ibid., p.. 228.

cherries with no pips, were brought in large quantities to sell to the survivors.[724] The king paid a visit and offered them a sheep, the first that the survivors had seen.[725] Here and thereafter, the millet was still green [in February].[726]

The survivors then travelled for about 40 km [four days] without seeing people or settlements.[727] This is likely to have been the infertile Msikaba Formation area. More cultivation of millet was observed around the Mtamvuna River, where the people kept cattle and sheep.

About 20 km south of the Mzimkhulu River, there were a number of villages in rugged country and the survivors reached two large villages where there were cattle, sheep and garden plots of millet and gourds and they were able to obtain some millet. Hens were seen here for the first time.[728] Thereafter there were many villages in valleys. The survivors reached one and were told that it was the village of the chief, although they did not meet him. There the people kept hens and cattle and had garden plots of millet. The local people named the king '*Anguose'*, translated by Boxer as *Inkosi*.[729]

Mzimkhulu to the Bay of Natal:

About ten kilometres north of the Mzimkhulu, probably at the Mzombe River, there were two villages but only gourds and a few hens were available. The survivors were informed that provisions would be plentiful a little way ahead.[730] At the next village goats were found and a little millet was traded.[731] About 10 km from there, probably between the Mzumbe and Mtwalume Rivers, the survivors reached the

[724] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 228.
[725] Ibid., p. 229.
[726] Ibid., p. 229.
[727] Ibid., p. 230.
[728] Ibid., p. 231.
[729] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 231.
[730] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 232.
[731] Ibid., p. 233.

> "kraals of the longed-for plenty, where the local people at once brought for sale many goats, cows, cakes as big as Flemish cheeses, and so much millet that afterwards we could not carry it all".[732]

They also bought so many hens that each person had one, and it was here that they met the *'Manamuze'* of the area.[733] Further on there were fine-looking kraals situated on the slopes of hills. There were great numbers of cattle and the survivors were able to obtain 15 cows. They noted that the milk was sour as that was how the people drank it.[734]

At the next river they met a survivor from the *Santo Alberto.* He was termed a 'Kaffir'[735] which suggests that he was an African ex-slave. He assisted them with trade and the survivors obtained hens, cakes, milk, fresh butter and 'sugar-canes'. He informed them that further on there lived another survivor, a Portuguese named Diogo, who was married with children and had the reputation of being a rainmaker. Diogo's house proved to be

> "a thatched hut with a four-sided roof, something we had not seen on our journey, for all the others were smaller and round."[736]

Diogo himself was not to be seen as he refused to come out.[737]

At the next river, the Mkhomazi, there was an aggressive action from the local people with a strong, well-armed and organized force.[738] It was commented that they fought in

> "a better way than those previously met, for they use their shields like targets of wild buffalo hide, which are very strong, and covering themselves therewith they hurl countless assegais, with which the camp was covered. We found so many of them the next day, that there were 530 tipped with iron, besides many others from which the iron

[732] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 233.
[733] Ibid., p. 233.
[734] Ibid., p. 234.
[735] Ibid., p. 235.
[736] Ibid., p. 235.
[737] Ibid., p. 235.
[738] Ibid., p. 236.

> tips had been extracted … Those of fire-hardened wood were so numerous that they could not be counted and they did as much damage as the others".[739]

They were able to trade with another group, from whom the survivors obtained hens, cakes and a wine made from millet called '*pombe'*. Some of the local people crossed the river on wooden rafts, carrying their goods in pitchforks, so they would not get wet.[740]

Bay of Natal to Thukela River:

In an area, probably near the Mdloti River, the survivors met a young king, whom they also called 'Manamuze' who wore brass collars around his neck and who bore himself in a very dignified manner. It was commented

> "It is a remarkable thing how these brutes are respected in their way; and in their different generations and families they are so united that the sons never lose their places and kraals which are left to them by their fathers. The eldest son inherits everything, the others call him father and respecting him as such. Thieves are cruelly punished".[741]

These people were friendly and greeted the survivors, saying '*Naunetas',* which the survivors understood to mean 'welcome'. To this greeting the reply was '*Alaba*' which they understood to mean 'and you also.'[742] Some men helped the survivors to ford the river, in return for copper. Fish were obtainable there and elephants were common. [743]

Thukela River to Kosi Bay:

The survivors were assisted to cross the Thukela River by friendly people.[744] For about seven days they continued on, keeping about one league [5 km] from the coast. They would have covered about 35 km during this time and found the area well populated

[739] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 336-337.
[740] Ibid., p. 237.
[741] Ibid., p. 239.
[742] Ibid., pp. 238-239.
[743] Ibid., pp. 238-239.
[744] Ibid., p. 239.

and the people well disposed. They were offered quantities of hens but no livestock. There were numerous elephants. [745]

On the north side of the Mlalazi, the 'River of the Islands', there were a few 'miserable kraals' and only gourds growing. The land around the next river, the Mfolozi, was described as being barren.[746] The survivors were guided inland moving next to a river in a forest, probably the Nyalazi, until they reached some kraals where they were able to get some grain. This was noted as being different from the millet and similar to the seeds given to canaries in Lisbon called '*alpiste'*, but '*amechueira'* by the local people.[747] From here to the coast, the land was flat and was inhabited by poor people. At the shore they met kindly people who harvested fish.[748]

Going inland again, the country was low and sandy with few people eking a precarious living, "poorly supplied with provisions."[749] They then reached Lake St Lucia where there were "countless fish-garths, called *gamboas*, made of wattles joined together, which the fish enter at high tide, and when it ebbs they are left dry."[750]

Moving along the shore, the 'Dunes of Gold', some 20 km further on they were guided to many kraals where hens and millet were obtained. There they were met by men whom they assumed to be important people because they wore "a novel sort of dress, consisting of large skin capes which came down to the tips of their toes. They were of grave and dignified mien".[751]

Kosi Bay to Inhaca Island:

[745] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 240.
[746] Ibid., pp. 240-241.
[747] Ibid., p. 241.
[748] Ibid., p. 241.
[749] Ibid., p. 242.
[750] Ibid., p. 242.
[751] Ibid., p. 243.

At Kosi Bay the survivors were able to obtain two cows, hens, millet, cakes and dough made of *ameichueira*.[752] Further north along the coast, possibly at Zitundo, they met an important person, "well adorned with a chain going many times around his neck, a fine piece of cloth round his waist and both hands full of assegais."[753] He was the son of the Inhaca Sangane who the survivors understood to be the legitimate king and lord of the island [Inhaca] in the river of Lourenço Marques [Maputo Bay]. There they were able to obtain goats and honey. It was noted that all the men who lived there, including those who lived as far north as Sofala, had been circumcised.[754]

In this area the survivors observed "a large straw house, and before we reached it we could discern many figures without faces, fashioned like dogs, crocodiles and men, all made of straw."[755] It was said that this was the house of a rainmaker.[756]

The survivors were then taken to the residence of Chief Inhaca Sangane situated on a height between two small hills about 20 to 30 km south of Cape St Maria. He was a man who was a 'great personage' and friendly towards the Portuguese. This chief's son had told the survivors that his father lived on the mainland as he had been evicted from Inhaca Island by Chief Manganheira.[757] The survivors were supplied with goats, sheep, hens, bananas and *'amechueira'*.[758]

Two days later they arrived at Cape St Maria.[759] They were ferried over to the island in canoes and taken to the village of Inhaca Manganheira. This consisted of a number of large houses with 'palisaded courtyards'. This chief was wearing a cinnamon-coloured serge cape and with a hat on his head.[760] It was commented that most of the people

[752] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 244.
[753] Ibid., p. 245.
[754] Ibid., p. 246.
[755] Ibid., p. 246.
[756] Ibid., p. 246.
[757] Ibid., p. 246.
[758] Ibid., p. 247.
[759] Ibid., p. 247.
[760] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 248.

whom they had seen before were "upstanding and lean", unlike Chief Manganheira who was old and fat.[761] Here they bought fish, hens, a few sheep and sorghum [*amechueira*].[762] This chief had a stockpile of ivory and amber, which he had collected to sell to the Portuguese.[763]

Incomati River to Inhambane:

The survivors took the Portuguese boats and landed on the Xefina islands, one of which was owned by a chief called 'Melbomba'. Here many of the survivors died.[764]

Once on the mainland inland of the Incomati estuary, the survivors were visited by Chief Manhisa, described as being the most powerful chief in those parts.[765] Between the Incomati and the Limpopo Rivers, the people were hostile and the survivors were constantly attacked. Known as 'Mocrangas', they were armed with assegais and arrows, "the first we had seen with these arms".[766] Chiefs Manganheira and Manhisa had warned the survivors that the Mocrangas were robbers and that they would be killed as had happened to the *Santo Alberto* survivors who had tried to walk to Sofala.[767]

At the Limpopo River, the survivors negotiated with a chief named 'Hinhampuna' [Inhampula] to use his canoes to cross the river, paid for in cloth. This chief was dressed in the Portuguese fashion wearing baggy trousers, a doublet and a hat.[768]
North of the Limpopo the king was named 'Mocaranga Muqulo'.[769] This suggests that he was the 'big' chief of the Mocrangas. The people there were still hostile and a force of

[761] Ibid., p. 249.
[762] Ibid., p. 249.
[763] Ibid., p. 250.
[764] Ibid., p. 251.
[765] Ibid., p. 251.
[766] Ibid., p. 256.
[767] Ibid., pp. 250, 252.
[768] Ibid., p. 255.
[769] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 258.

1000 men attacked the rearguard of the survivor group. They were stripped of their clothes and sustained arrow wounds.[770]

Near the Inharrime River, the attacks ceased. North of this river, the land was named Zavala and it was ruled by a sheik.[771]

Inhambane to Vilanculo:

The chief at Imhambane was named 'Aquetudo'.[772] Later the name was spelt 'Quevendo'.[773] The Inhambane area was described as being healthy and abounding in provisions, such as millet, *ameichueira*, *jugos*, *mungo*, sesame, honey and butter. There were sheep and goats and even some fine oxen. Fish were caught and shellfish collected by the local people. Orange and apple trees had been planted. Ivory and amber were traded for cloth and beads.[774]

On the other side of the bay, probably the present site of Maxixe, the chiefs named were 'Innhapara' and 'Matatima'.[775]

North of Inhambane, many people were travelling to Sofala carrying ivory and amber to sell there.[776] A great chief with 20 wives, 'Inhame', lived about midway between Inhambane and Vilanculos. These people had never seen Portuguese before.[777] King 'Osanha' had land opposite the islands of Bazanto (Bazaruto).[778]

Vilanculo to Sofala:

[770] Ibid., p. 259.
[771] Ibid., p. 261.
[772] Ibid., p. 261.
[773] Ibid., p. 269.
[774] Ibid., p. 263.
[775] Ibid., p. 262.
[776] Ibid., p. 265.
[777] Ibid., pp. 265 - 266.
[778] Ibid., p. 266.

This land was described as being fetid and swampy and fewer people were encountered. North of the river Save, the land belonged to a Mulatto, Lúis Pereira, who was a trader.[779]

The Indigenous People in 1622 – an overview:

7.5.1 Linguistics:

The language of the people living near Cannon Rocks incorporated clicks which none of the African slaves among the survivors could understand. This indicates that these people spoke a Khoisan language. The Africans were able to communicate with the local people north of the Kei River, suggesting that the dialect they spoke was within the suite of Bantu languages. Near the Thukela River, the indigenous people greeted the survivors with the words '*Naunetas'* which they understood to mean 'you are welcome', and that the reply to the greeting was '*Alaba'*, which they understood to mean 'and you also'.

7.5.2 Physical Appearance:

The people living in the Cannon Rocks area were light skinned, well built, very strong and agile. They painted their faces with ochre, charcoal and ashes and were thought to be very good looking. All the people encountered as far as Kosi Bay were described as being 'upstanding and lean', the fat chief, Manganheira, being unusual.

7.5.3 Political Organisation:

There was no recognized headman or chief noted at Cannon Rocks, but from the Mthatha area the survivors found most of the communities that they encountered to be well organised, under leaders who were termed chiefs or kings. These leaders were identified by their dignified bearing and the respect in which they were held by their subjects. The societies were governed by strict rules and punishments.

[779] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 266.

The first person whom the survivors recognized as a chief was blind but highly respected by his subjects. In the Mtwalume area the survivors met a man who they called the 'Manumuze'. Theal translated this to mean a chief, but Boxer points out that although it is correct in the context, the meaning is not clear.[780] There is a similarity in sound with the name of the next large river, the Mkhomazi. It is possible that with the translator's limited understanding, this was the chief's name and the river has taken the name of the chief of that area, as has happened in Mozambique. Some 20 km north of the Bay of Natal, another chief or king was encountered who the survivors also called 'Manumuze'. It is suggested that this was an assumption on the part of the survivors that this was the generic name for a chief.

In 1623 there were three chiefs who occupied land along the east coast of Maputo Bay and the associated islands. In 1593 the *Santo Alberto* survivors met Chief Inhaca who was the only ruler at that time. Some 30 years later, the same Chief Inhaca could still have been alive, but it was unlikely. The *Baptista* survivors met the chief's son first, then his father, Chief Inhaca Sangane, who was probably the original chief's son. Chief Inhaca Manganheira, who lived on Inhaca Island, was possibly a relation. While there was no overt fighting, there seemed to be an uneasy peace between them.

On the Xefina islands the chief was named Melbomba. The land along the Incomati River was held by Chief Manhisa, described as being the most powerful ruler in those parts. There is the possibility that Melbomba was only a headman under Manhisa, as the islands are small and sandy and would not have been very productive. The siting of a headman on the island might have been an effort to control the Portuguese trade as they had made Xefina Grande one of their anchorage sites.

In the region of the Limpopo River the people, known as Mocarangas, were hostile and, until the Inharrime River was reached, the survivors were attacked and harassed. These people used arrows as well as assegais. Chiefs Inhaca and Manhisa were well

[780] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 233.

aware that aggressive and unfriendly people lived in this area and had warned the survivors of them. As this was the only area in Mozambique where the survivors were met with hostility, it suggests that the Mocarangas were a different group from the others and were possibly intruders. A chief north of the Limpopo was called 'Mocaranga Muqulo', which could be translated as the 'Big Mocaranga', which could signify that he was the most important chief of that area. Another chief within the Mocaranga group, called 'Hinhampuna' was prepared to assist the survivors and be paid in cloth. North of the Inharrime River, the land was called Zavala and was controlled by a Muslim sheik. Boxer noted that the area is still called by the same name.[781] Aquetudo was the chief who controlled the Inhambane area. Boxer suggested that this is possibly a corruption of 'Nacutô', the name of a later chief and district of this region.[782] At the present site of Maxixe, there were two chiefs, Innhapara and Matatima. They were possibly the ancestors of modern petty chiefs, Nhampata and Nhatitima.[783] Between Maxixe and Vilanculo a great chief, Inhame, had his residence. His wealth was demonstrated in that he had 20 wives. Chief Osanya had land opposite Bazaruto Island.

7.5.4 Settlements:

There were no coastal settlements between Cannon Rocks and the Kobonqaba River, with herders and hunters living inland. Thereafter there was evidence of closer settlements especially around the Mbhashe river where people kept livestock and cultivated the soil. A well-populated area was situated about 20 km inland along the Mthatha River where there were "an infinite number of villages with herds of cattle and garden plots".[784] The area around the Mzimvubu River also had many settlements. Some were also found between there and the Msikaba River. A section of country where no settlements were found was between the Msikaba and the Mtamvuna Rivers. There were more settlements north of the Mtamvuna. Agriculturalists were established about 20 km south of the Mzimkhulu River. Between there and Kosi Bay, the most

[781] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 261.
[782] Ibid., Note 3, p. 261.
[783] Ibid., Note 1, p. 262.
[784] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 214-215.

densely populated area was the land between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal and around the Thukela River. North of the Thukela around the Mfolozi River, the area was described as being thinly populated by poor people with 'miserable kraals'. The flat and sandy land around the St Lucia lakes and along the coast to Kosi Bay was also thinly populated. At Kosi Bay some provisions were available. In Mozambique, the Inhambane area was the most productive with people living on both sides of the bay. People were distributed more thinly along the coastal regions.

The first observation of huts was made in the Kobonqaba River area, where there were 15 grouped in an enclosure. They were described as being round and made of straw. Villages were described as being situated in valleys around the Mthatha, Mzimvubu and Mtamvuna Rivers, but were on slopes near the Msikaba River and in the region of the Mtwalume River. Maggs suggests that Early Iron Age sites were usually situated on valley floors near water and Later Iron Age sites were found on higher ground and on slopes.[785] With the valley floor sites being situated south of the Msikaba River and those on slopes to the north, this could suggest a later southward movement of an Iron Age people from the north.

7.5.5 Clothing, ornaments and accessories:

In the Mzimvubu area the men wore hip-length cloaks of dressed hide and a small skin apron. The skins were of beautiful fur from small animals. The young king who lived around the Bay of Natal wore brass collars around his neck. Headmen in the Kosi Bay area wore ankle-length hide cloaks. Cloth was valued throughout the area around Maputo Bay to Vilanculo. The chiefs wore garments of fabric, the result of the Portuguese trade.

7.5.6 Customs and ritual:

[785] Maggs, T., "Iron Age south of the Zambesi" in Klein, R.G., *Southern African Prehistory and Paleoenvironments*, (Rotterdam, Balkema, 1984), p. 348.

At the wreck site, survivors were presented with an ox. The entrails were removed and kept and the meat given to the survivors.[786] This was thought to be a ceremony of welcome, but it was probably an important cultural rite.

When in the Mthatha area, it was observed that the people held initiation rites for young boys. There was a description of the boys wearing palm leaves in the form of a skirt that they rubbed themselves with white ash. The initiates were separated from the villages and had to live in huts in the bush. This is similar to the garb of young men undergoing the '*khwetha*' ceremonies today, but the survivors were not informed if circumcision had taken place.

It was noted that there was a bride price for men when they married, which had to be given to the woman's father. Adultery and theft could be punished by death. The survivors understood that the king selected the brides for the young men. It was said that these customs were true for all the people as far as Maputo Bay. It was later learnt that all the men from Chief Inhaca's residence to the north were circumcised.

7.5.8 Mode of Subsistence:

7.5.8.1 Livestock:

Cattle were present at Cannon Rocks and although they were not observed along the coast between there and Kobonqaba River. Cattle herds were found from there to the Msikaba River, and then again at the Mtamvuna River. There was no further mention until just south of the Mzimkhulu River. The area between the Mtwalume and the Bay of Natal had plenty of cows. No cattle were then mentioned until Kosi Bay was reached. The survivors did have a number of head with them, so were not desperate, but they would have taken every opportunity to obtain them, should they have been available. Thereafter none were seen until Inhambane. The indication is that cattle were scarce or non-existent in these areas.

[786] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 198.

Dogs were found in association with cattle at Cannon Rocks and around the Kobonqaba River, but none were observed thereafter.

Sheep were first seen at the Mbotyi River and then just south of the Mzimkhulu River but not again until north of Kosi Bay. They were then found on Inhaca Island and in the Inhambane area.

Goats were not common. The first observed were at the Mtwalume, then only in the Lake St Lucia area, on the Inhaca Peninsula and at Inhambane.

The first hens were seen near the Mzimkhulu River and then were found in quantity at the Mtwalume, such that each survivor could have one. There would have been at least 100 survivors at this place. Thereafter hens were common.

7.5.8.2 Cultivation:

There was no cultivation done near Cannon Rocks and none observed along the coast as far as the Kei River. People living between the Kei and the Mbhashe Rivers grew millet that resembled mustard seeds.[787] This description indicates that this was finger millet, *eleusine coracana*, as, like mustard seeds, the grains are very small. Millet was cultivated from the Kei to the Msikaba, but was still green as it was February when they were there. [788] Cultivation was also observed around the Mtamvuna River and south of the Mzimkhulu River.

Millet was successfully cultivated in the Mtwalume area and cakes "as big as Flemish cheeses" were baked.[789] It is possible that in this region pearl millet, *pennisetum glaucum*, was cultivated, as the larger grains would have been used to make large cakes.

[787] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 209.
[788] Ibid., p. 229.
[789] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 233.

A grain other than millet was grown near the Nyalazi River, around Kosi Bay and on Inhaca Island. It was described as being similar to the seeds given to canaries in Lisbon and was called '*amechueira'* by the local people.[790] This was probably *Sorghum bicolour*.[791] In the *São Thomé* account a grain other than millet was also referred to as *ameixoiera*.[792] Boxer thought that this was sorghum. He cited Junod who related the name to '*mexoeira*, which was a small grey 'kaffir corn'.[793]

Stalks of so-called 'sweet millet' were found at the Mzimvubu and the survivors obtained 'sugar canes' in the area around the Mtwalume River.[794] Both pearl millet and sorghum have stems filled with sugar.[795] It is possible that, as the appearance of the plants are different, both types were being grown at the time. Sesame, *Sesamum indicum*, was grown in the Inhambane area.[796]

Green water-melons were grown at Kobonqaba and gourds were grown wherever there was cultivation. The Tsamma melon, *cirrullus lanatis*, and the bottle gourd, *lagenaria siceria,* were being grown in Southern Africa in the eighth century AD.[797]

Bananas were grown north of Kosi Bay.[798] Jugo and mungo beans were grown in the Inhambane region. The Jugo bean, *Vigna subterranea*, also called the African groundnut or the Bambara groundnut, is indigenous to Africa.[799] The Mung bean,

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[790] Ibid., p. 241.
[791] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, , Vol. 1, Grains*, (Washington DC, National Academy Press, 1996), p.138.
[792] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 82.
[793] Boxer, op. cit., Note 2, p. 241.
[794] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 235.
[795] National Research Council, op. cit., p. 125.
[796] Van Wyk, E. and Gerike, N., *Peoples's Plants*, (Pretoria, Briza Publications, 2000), p. 24.
[797] Maggs, T., "The Iron Age sequence of the Vaal and Pongola Rivers: some historical implications", in *Journal of African History*, 20[1], 1980, p. 5.
[798] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 247.
[799] Van Wyk, and Gerike, p. 28.

Vigna radiata, has been an important food plant in southern Africa over a long period.[800] Oranges and lemons were also grown in the Inhambane area.[801]

7.5.8.3 Plant Gathering:

The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks collected roots that looked like truffles. In the Mthatha and Mzimvubu areas the fruits gathered by the local people were red and tasted like cherries, but were longer. These were almost certainly the Wild Plum, *Harpephyllum caffrum*, which are edible fruits, red in colour, and found mainly in the coastal forests of the south-east Africa.[802] At Msikaba, cherry-like fruits, but with no pips, were collected. These were possibly the Natal Plum, *Carissa macrocarpa* also called a*mathungulu*, a large bright red edible fruit.[803] The local people collected honey in the Inhaca Peninsula and around Inhambane.

7.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks were great hunters, using dogs to assist them. At the Keiskamma River some hunters had killed a hippopotamus. Elephants were common around the Bay of Natal and north of the Thukela, although no traps were seen.

Groups of people came to Cannon Rocks to collect shellfish. Fish traps were seen in the estuaries of the Kobonqaba and Mbhashe Rivers and in the Bay of Natal. Wilson's report that the Mpondo people living along the coast in the early 1930s gathered shellfish and speared fish in pools and lagoons, but there was no tradition for making nets or traps for fish,[804] needs to be re-examined.

In Lake St Lucia there were numerous tidal fish traps made of wattles, called '*gamboas'*. Fish were also an important food source north of Kosi Bay and Inhambane.

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[800] D'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 30
[801] Ibid., p. 263.
[802] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 44.
[803] Ibid., p. 36.
[804] Wilson, M., *Reaction to Conquest*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 96.

7.5.8.5 Food Preparation:

Cakes were made from the dough from all the grains. A 'wine', indicating an alcoholic drink, said to be made from millet, and named '*pombe'* was found in the Mkhomazi area. Milk was soured and butter was made.

7.5.8.6 Technology:

Weapons consisted of fire-hardened sticks and iron-tipped assegais as well as stones. In the Limpopo River area, the people used arrows. The shields, first seen in the Mkhomazi area were made of buffalo hide and were very strong. Baskets were made in the Mtwalume area. Canoes were in use in the Maputo Bay area.

7.5.8.7 Trade:

The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks valued iron as trade goods but not as much as their cattle. All the people south of Kosi Bay valued iron and copper as trade goods and were not familiar with cloth. Most of the chiefs from Mozambique were participators in trade with the Portuguese, offering ivory and amber in exchange for cloth and beads. At Inhambane, two lengths of Indian cotton fabric, *'bertangils'*, could purchase one ox and many goats and sheep. [805]

7.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

The people who lived in the vicinity of Cannon Rocks were pastoralists as they kept cattle but did no cultivation. Their language included clicks. They showed no signs of aggression and welcomed or propitiated the strangers with singing and dancing.

North of the Kei River, settlements of agriculturalists were concentrated around rivers, the Kobonqaba, Mpuko, Mthatha, Mthakatye and Mngazana. They kept cattle, grew

[805] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 263.

millet and in some areas fishing was important. The people in the Mzimvubu area were concentrated inland, where they cultivated the soil and kept cattle. North of the Mzimvubu there were isolated settlements where cattle were found. Inland of the Msikaba River, the people kept cattle and sheep and cultivated grain. The area between the Msikaba and Mtamvuna Rivers was uninhabited, but agriculturalists were established just north of that river. Agriculturalists occupied land south of the Mzimkhulu River and from there to Vilanculo, the people were agriculturalists, cultivating crops and keeping livestock, with the possible exception of an area around the Limpopo River. The people who lived in that area were hostile and aggressive. They used both assegais and arrows as their weapons, which was unlike the agriculturalists further south. All the survivors who passed through this area were warned of the nature of the people and it that they were 'enemies' of the people both to the north and south. The *São João Baptista* survivors called them the 'Mocarangas'. There is the possibility that these people, who used arrows, unlike other groups in the area, could have been intruders from the north or west and as such, were not on good terms with their neighbours.

Muslim people lived in the area of the Inharrime River, on good terms with the local chief, but subordinate to him.

Chapter 8

SÃO GONÇALO 1630

8.1 Authors, translators and publications of the account:

The narrative of the wreck of *São Gonçalo* and the experiences of the survivors is found in *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. III, Part IV, Chapter VIII. It was written by Manuel Faria y Sousa and published in Lisbon in 1675.[806] In the text it is stated that Friar Francisco des Santos, who was one of the survivors, kept a diary,[807] so it is likely that the record is based on this.

There is a manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, written in the seventeenth century, entitled 'Relação das Naós e Armadas da India com os successos dellas q se puderam saber', but author's name was not given.[808] It is a short summary of the wreck with dates and numbers of those who died and the survivors.

Theal translated the Sousa account from *Asia Portuguesa* and the manuscript in the British Museum.[809] Raven-Hart also translated the Sousa account from *Asia Portuguesa*.[810] Both translations have been used.

8.2 The narrative of the shipwreck:

The *São Gonçalo* left India on 4 March 1630 and anchored in 'Baia Fermosa' when the ship began leaking badly. One hundred people went ashore while the remainder tried to repair the leaks. A storm blew up and the ship sank with 130 crew-members and slaves being drowned. The people on shore built two pinnaces. One sailed for Moçambique

[806] Theal, G.M., *Records of the Cape Colony*, Vol. VI, "Wreck of the ship São Gonçalo at Plettemberg's Bay",
(Cape Town, 1900), p. 412.
[807] Ibid., p. 419. .
[808] Ibid., p. 411.
[809] Ibid., pp. 411, 412.
[810] Raven-Hart, R., *Before van Riebeeck,* (Cape Town, Struik, 1967), p. 132.

and arrived there. The other sailed west and met another Portuguese ship, *St Ignatius Loyola,* and the occupants were taken on board.[811]

No dates other than the departure from India are given, but estimates can be made. The *São Gonçalo* anchored in Plettenberg Bay in the middle of June, 1630. The storm took place about 50 days later,[812] probably about 4 August. Bees appeared in their little church on the feast of S. Lourenço that would have been 10 August.[813] The survivors were able to capture the swarm and obtain honey from the hives and it was commented that no one was stung during the eight months that they were there.[814] This would mean that they left Plettenberg Bay in about April 1631.

8.3 Identification of the site:

Plettenberg Bay has been known as the site of this wreck since the time of Governor van Plettenberg but previously was known by the Portuguese name of 'Baia Fermosa'.[815]

The Portuguese left an engraved stone at the mouth of the Piesang River at the base of the Robberg Peninsula which indicated the site where their ships were constructed. The stone was sent to the South African Museum in about 1860, on instructions from Governor, Sir George Grey.[816]

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[811] Sousa, Tr., Theal, in Theal. Vol. VI, op. cit., pp. 411-412.
[812] Ibid., p. 417.
[813] *Calendar of Saints*, wikipedia.org, p. 6.
[814] Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 419.
[815] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of sites", in Axelson, E., Ed. *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), pp. 63-69.
[816] Ibid., op. cit., p. 63.

Figure 12 - Wreck site of the São Gonçalo, Plettenberg Bay

Figure 13 - The wreck site and the Robberg peninsula

View from the survivor's camp site.

8.4.1 Linguistics:

The local people made "curious noises with their tongues and mouths when they talk"[817] Another translation states that "they speak with clicks of their tongues and mouths."[818]

8.4.2 Physical Appearance:

They were light in colour "not quite black".[819]

8.4.3 Political Organisation: No mention was made of this.

8.4.4 Settlements:

The survivors described the indigenous people as nomads with no settled villages. "They have no towns, but wander about in bands with their flocks, after the manner of Arabs. Some, but not all, carry portable tents made of stakes and mats."[820]

8.4.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories:

Clothing consisted of a small piece of skin worn round their loins and in winter a cape added. Copper armbands were worn and sinews of oxen were tied around their necks. They carried "ox's tails with which they made signs." These were whisks which were noted by other survivors. It was said that they smeared their bodies with dung.[821]

8.4.6 Customs and ritual: No mention was made of these.

8.4.7 Belief systems: No mention was made of these.

8.4.8 Mode of livelihood:

[817] Sousa, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[818] Sousa, Tr., Raven Hart, in Raven-Hart, op. cit., p. 133.
[819] Sousa, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[820] Ibid., p. 418.
[821] Sousa, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol VI., op. cit., p. 418.

8.4.8.1 Livestock: Livestock consisted of cattle and sheep.[822]

8.4.8.2 Cultivation: The people undertook no cultivation.[823]

8.4.8.3 Plant gathering: Roots were collected.

8.4.8.4 Hunting and Fishing: This was not mentioned.

8.4.8.5 Food preparation: The people ate meat but preferred the intestines. Fire was made by rubbing two sticks together and the meat cooked very lightly. It was said that they "made a cake which appeared to be made of the flour of roots and oxen dung kneaded together."[824]

8.4.8.6 Technology: Iron and copper were used.[825] Weapons were bows, arrows and assegais.[826]

8.4.8.7 Trade: The survivors were able to exchange pieces of iron for cows and sheep.[827] The wearing of copper ornaments indicates that the local people must have obtained them by trade from distant places.

8.4.9 Cultural group: The indigenous people were nomadic pastoralists, keeping cattle and sheep, and who spoke with clicks - a Khoisan language.

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[822] Sousa, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol VI., op. cit., p. 417.
[823] Ibid., p. 418.
[824] Ibid., p. 418.
[825] Ibid., p. 417.
[826] Ibid., p. 418.
[827] Ibid., p. 417.

Chapter 9

NOSSA SENHORA DA BELÉM 1635

9.1 The authors, translations and publication of accounts:

There are two extant narratives of this shipwreck. One was by Jerónimo Lobo, a priest who was a passenger. The Portuguese text was edited by M.G. Da Costa. The English translation by Donald Lockhart, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1984.[828] The captain, Joseph de Cabreira also wrote an account of the loss. This was printed in the third volume of *História Trágico-Marítima*, published in Lisbon in 1636 [829] Duffy states that this narrative "is prolix, frequently diffuse, and poorly organized. It is partly a defense of questionable decisions and actions taken by Cabreira during the days leading up to the wreck".[830]

The account by Jerónimo Lobo published by the Hakluyt society is the preferred narrative for this analysis as any extra information from the Cabreira version has been incorporated in footnotes by C.F. Beckingham.

9.2 Narrative of the shipwreck:

Nossa Senhora da Belém set sail for Lisbon from Goa on 23 February 1635. She ran into heavy storms and began leaking, so it was decided to beach the ship between two rocky promontories. They weighed anchor in the estuary of a river and the crew got ashore in small boats with difficulty on 29 June 1635.[831] There were 252 survivors, men, women and children.[832]

The survivors spent seven months building two small ships using material salvaged from the wreck and local wood but according to the text, some 272 survivors set sail on

[828] Da Costa, M.G., Ed., Translated by Lockhart, D.M., Notes by Beckingham, C.F., *The Itineraria of Jerónimo Lobo*, (London, Hakluyt Society, 1984).
[829] Cabreira, Joseph, "Naufragio da Nau Nossa Senhora de Belem feyto na Terra do Natal no Cabo de Boa Esperanca,", in *História Trágico-Maritima*, (Craesbeek, Lisbon, 1636).
[830] Duffy, J., *Shipwreck and Empire*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955), p. 42.
[831] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit. p. 318-319.
[832] Ibid., p. 337.

28 January 1636.[833] This is a larger number than that given for the original survivors, so it is not clear which is correct. It was recorded than many of the slaves remained behind, so an assumption is made that the two numbers were transposed in either the initial writing or in the transcription.

Only one ship arrived at their destination of Loanda.[834] The other was wrecked after only a few days, and only 14 survived the long walk.[835]

9.3 Identification of the site:

The camp site has been identified as on the banks of the Mzimvubu River estuary, present day Port St Johns.[836] The description of the people covers the area around the Mzimvubu River estuary and some distance inland. The survivors lived there for six months while building the boats.

See Figures 14 and 15

[833] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit., p. 369.
[834] Ibid., p. 372, 383.
[835] Ibid., p. 369.
[836] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of their sites", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988)., pp. 69-72.

Figure 14 - Wreck site of the *Belém* at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River View from Mount Thesiger

Figure 15 - Sand bar at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River Cape Hermes in the background

9.4 The Indigenous People in 1635:

9.4.1 Linguistics:

It is not clear what language was spoken. There is no mention of clicks, but no translators could be found among the African slaves. The survivors first communicated by signs[837] and later found survivors from the *São João Baptista* who assisted with translations.[838] Words used by the local people to describe the heads of villages were transcribed as 'Masingo' and 'Maculo'.

9.4.2 Physical Appearance:

Cabreira described the people as being

> "lean, erect, tall, handsome in appearance, well able to endure toil, hunger and cold. They live for two hundred years in good health, keeping all their teeth, and are so light-footed that they run along crags like deer."[839]

The ascribed two hundred year life cycle was either a misprint or a deliberate exaggeration to indicate good health, as it is unlikely that the survivors believed that this was a normal life span.

9.4.3 Political organization:

Each village had a leader who was called 'king', in their own language he was 'Lord *Masingo'* or 'Great *Maculo'.* [840]

9.4.4 Settlements:

The settlements were not located close to the shore.[841] Villages in the interior had houses of straw, timber and clay.[842]

9.4.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories:

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[837] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[838] Ibid., p. 341.
[839] Beckingham,. quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, Note 3, p, 331.
[840] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit., p.332.
[841] Ibid., p. 325.
[842] Ibid., p.332.

Clothing was made of a worked hide made very soft by watering, in the form of ankle-length cloaks and aprons suspended in front and at the back from a wide belt. Some wore small pointed half-hoods, also of hide.[843] They wore sandals which were oval in shape, almost as wide as they were long and it was said that they were made of buffalo hide.[844] Cabreira stated that they were made from elephant hide.[845] These are the same type of sandals as described by the *Santo Alberto* survivors. See Figure 20.

Faces were ornamented with charcoal and/or red clay. Where no hoods were worn, hair was worn loose and greased with butter. Strands were decorated with objects such as shells, birds, feathers, wings and heads, and pieces of iron, brass and copper. They had copper rings around their necks and on their arms. In their ears they had copper rings with strings of small red beads. The king wore the same type of ornament but more and larger.[846] Arm bands could also be of bone. Jewelry was worn by men but not women.[847] The beads would have been collected from wreck sites at the Msikaba and Mtamvuna Rivers.

The men carried sticks about the width of a finger with

> "the shaggy tail of a dog or some other country animal set in both ends, which serves them as an elegance, amusement, fly swatter and handkerchief with which they clean their eyes and anything else they wish."[848]

Cabreira described these whisks as "sticks two spans long end of which is like a fox's brush, which they use as a handkerchief and a fan."[849] It is noted that they were carried by many of the men and were the same type of whisks as described by the survivors of the *Santo Alberto* and the *São Gonçalo*. See Figure 21.

9.4.6 Customs and ritual:

[843] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit., p. 324.
[844] Ibid., p. 342.
[845] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[846] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[847] Beckingham, quotes Cabreira in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[848] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[849] Beckingham, quotes Cabreira in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.

It was noted that the women did not have dowries, but the husband had to pay cows to his father-in-law.[850]

9.4.7 Belief Systems:

The author of the narrative was a Catholic priest so was interested in the belief systems of the indigenous people, although his views were coloured by his own faith. He said that the people did not have any idols, temples or prayer houses, but that there was a belief in some kind of guiding principle, "something up there in Heaven which governs the world".[851] He claimed that they were unconcerned about, and were ignorant of, the existence of "the other life".[852]

He stated that the people believed that 'sorcerers' could be asked for rain for their crops and that they had 'some tricks of witchcraft' and described the removing of the intestines of a cow and making offerings.[853]

9.5.8 Mode of livelihood:

9.4.8.1 Livestock:

All the people kept cattle, but it was noted that those who lived at the coast had fewer and that they were poor and wretched. The people who lived inland had an abundance of cattle and other livestock.[854] Wealth was counted in cattle. Cabreira noted that the cows were the "handsomest and most docile" he had ever seen.[855]

Fowls were numerous, but small.[856] Dogs were kept for hunting and had their tails cut off.[857]

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[850] Beckingham, quotes Cabreira in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[851] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 331.
[852] Ibid., p. 331.
[853] Ibid., p. 333.
[854] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit., pp. 323, 332, 353.
[855] Beckingham quotes Cabreira in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332, Note 1.
[856] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 335, 353.
[857] Ibid., p. 328.

9.4.8.2 Cultivation:

Women did the tilling of the soil and sowing seeds.[858] Millet was cultivated. As the size of the grain was bigger than linseed, it would suggest that this was pearl or bulrush millet, *pennisetum glaucum*.[859] Small quantities of 'sugar cane' were grown. This was probably sweet stalk sorghum.[860] There were several varieties of gourds, called 'calabashes'. The bottle or calabash gourd is *Lagenaria siceraria* and the others are probably *Cucurbitaceae sp*.[861] It was also reported that the cultivated water- melons were described as being large, red and sweet. [862] The Tsamma melon, *Citrillus lanatus*, is known to have been widely grown, but there is no mention of a 'red' melon.[863] Beans were grown and also seeds growing underground were collected. [864] The only seed found underground indigenous to Africa is the Jugo bean, *Vigna subterranea*. The ground nut, *Arachis hypogea*, is an exotic.[865] It is possible that the 'beans and seeds' referred to were Mung and Jugo Beans.

9.4.8.3 Food Gathering:

Roots, resembling spurge flax, and tiny seeds growing underground were collected and eaten. Tree resin and fruits of the forest were also gathered.[866] Shellfish were collected along the shore.[867]

9.4.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

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[858] Beckingham quotes Cabreira in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[859] Van Wyk, E. and Gerike, N., *People's Plants*, (Pretoria, Briza Publications, 2000), p. 12.
[860] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, Vol. 1, Grains*, (Washington DC, Academy Press, 1996), p. 125.
[861] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 46.
[862] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 335.
[863] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 38.
[864] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., pp. 335, 353.
[865] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 28.
[866] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1. p. 332
[867] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332.

This was done with the aid of dogs and it was reported that the people hunted wild pig, deer, buffalo, elephant, tigers, lions and hippopotami.[868]

9.4.8.5 Food preparation:

Milk was curdled to make it sour and stored in leather containers.[869]

9.4.8.6 Technology:

The people manufactured clay cauldrons.[870] Weapons were assegais.[871] Cabreira noted that they had broad, well-made iron tips and small shield of elephant hide.[872]

9.4.8.7 Trade:

Iron and copper were trade items and keys made of worked iron were much valued.[873]

9.4.9 Cultural Group:

These people were all agriculturalists, herding the cattle and cultivating the soil. The account suggests that there were different clans who lived within the vicinity of the Mzimvubu River. It was commented that those people who lived near the coast had few cattle and "scratched the earth" when sowing crops and that they hunted.[874] The people who lived further inland were wealthier with an abundance of cattle and crops.[875]

The people whom the survivors first encountered when they came ashore were at first apprehensive but later seated themselves "in a squatting position, somewhat as if they

[868] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 3, p. 328.
[869] Da Costa., op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[870] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 353.
[871] Ibid., p. 329.
[872] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in da Costa, Note 1, p. 332.
[873] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 329.
[874] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa., op. cit., p. 332.
[875] Ibid., p. 332.

were holding a council on what to do".[876] When fairly close they clapped their hands and danced in time with the sound and singing.[877]

[876] Ibid., p. 323.
[877] Ibid., p. 323.

Chapter 10

NOSSA SENHORA DA ATALAIA and *SANTISSIMO SACRAMENTO* 1647

10.1 Author and publication of the account:

The author of the account, which included the experiences of the survivors from both the *Senhora da Atalaia* and the *Santissimo Sacramento*, was Bento Teyxeyra Feio, a passenger. The narrative was first told to king, John IV of Portugal and Feio was requested to write it down. It was printed by Paulo Craesbeeck in Lisbon in 1650. Duffy makes the point, that with the account being dedicated to the king, Feio "felt obliged to adopt a nationalistic posture and to adorn his tale".[878]

The Feio (written as Feyo) narrative was included in *História-Trágico-Marítima* and Theal translated this account.[879] This is the text which has been used for the dissertation.

10.2 The Narrative of the Shipwrecks:

The *Nossa Senhora da Atalaia* and the *Santissimo Sacramento* were wrecked in the same storm. The wreck site of *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya (Atalaia* hereafter*)* has been identified as being between the present-day Chintsa East and Chefane, some 30 km north of East London. The *Santissimo Sacramento (Sacramento* hereafter) ran aground in Sardinia Bay near present-day Port Elizabeth.[880]

Feyo did not record the number of people who survived the *Atalaia*. After the ship ran aground on some rocks, it was still some distance from the shore. On 4 July some of the crew first went ashore in their longboat to fix a surf line from the boat to the shore.

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[878] Duffy, J., (Cambridge. Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 43.

[879] Feio, B.T., "Wreck of the two ships of India, the Sacramento and Nossa Senhora da Atalaya at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1647", in Theal, G.M., *Records of South East Afric*a, Vol VIII, Facs. (Cape Town, Struik, 1964/1902),

[880] Bell-Cross, G., "Portuguese shipwrecks and identification of sites", in Axelson, E., Ed., *Dias and his Successors*, (Cape Town, Saayman and Weber, 1988), pp. 72-79.

They then returned to the ship and took the first group, which included the Portuguese and slave women, as well as the captain and some nobles.[881] It was stated that there were four trips in all on that day and that the longboat carried 70 people. On 5 July the longboat made two more trips, with the last one capsizing and 50 being drowned.[882] At this point there must have been about 300 survivors on shore.

There were still people on board, but the boat was broken so they could not be rescued. On the following day, however, 'some of our negroes' managed to get ashore.[883] This would have added about 10 to the total, making it in the region of 310.

Bell-Cross states that there were 200 survivors out of a complement of 270, possibly getting extra information from Professor Boxer.[884] In the light of the numbers ferried ashore in the longboat, this figure is too low, so has not been used.

Among the survivors were four unfortunate men who were survivors from the *São João Baptista* (one) [1622], and the *Madre de Deus* (three) [1643].[885]

The *Atalaia* survivors left the campsite on 15 July 1647, heading for Sofala.[886] Nine survivors from the *Sacramento* joined them near St Lucia.[887] The group reached the residence of Chief 'Inhaca Sangoan' on about the 14 December 1647.[888] They remained with the chief for 15 days then moved round Maputo Bay to the mouth of the Incomati River, reaching there on 5 January 1648. Some of the survivors were accommodated at temporary Portuguese posts up river and others taken to Xefina Island where a Portuguese trading vessel was anchored. 124 Portuguese and 30

[881] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 304.
[882] Ibid., p. 305.
[883] Ibid., pp. 306.
[884] Bell-Cross in Axelson, op. cit., p. 74.
[885] Feyo, Tr. Theal. in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 307.
[886] Ibid., p. 308.
[887] Ibid., p. 349.
[888] Ibid., p. 353.

slaves had survived to this point.[889] They had to wait for six months until the monsoon winds enabled the ship to sail north. During this time several became ill and died.[890] The remainder, number not recorded, finally reached Moçambique Island on 9 July 1648.[891]

10.3 Identification of the landmarks:

In order to identify the landmarks it has been important to obtain an average rate of travel for these survivors. For this purpose, only the distance as far as Kosi Bay has been considered.

The total distance from Chefane to Kosi Bay is 843 km. The survivors left on 15 July and arrived at Kosi Bay on about the 12 December 1647, having taken 150 days. Excluding the 36 stops, taken for rest, crossing rivers or trade, the average rate at which the survivors moved per day was only 7.4 km.

Many of the dates in the text of this narrative were recorded as feast days of saints. These dates were checked and most proved consistent, but there were some problems with the day-to-day record.[892] Adjustments to the dates have been made where distances and rates of travel were inconsistent.

Table 13 shows the dates, descriptions of the places and page references cited in the text.

Table 14 shows the identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel as far as Kosi Bay.

[889] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 357.
[890] Ibid., p. 358.
[891] Ibid., p. 359.
[892] Wikipedia Calendar of Saints, http://wikipedia.org/wiki/calendar.

Table 13 - *NOSSA SENHORA DA ATALAIA SANTISSIMO SACRAMENTO*

Dates and descriptions of places cited in the text.[893]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1647	July	3	First survivors reach shore	304
		15	Depart camp *site* *[between Chintsa East and Cefane]*	308
		18	River São Christavo – need rafts *[Kei]*	311
		20	River, water to waists (3 leagues) *[Qolora]*	312
			River, water to breasts *[Kobonqaba]*	
		23	River needing rafts, thick woods *[Qhora, R. Manubi For.]*	313
	St Anne	26	River with 'impetuous water' – need a raft *[Mbhashe]*	
			Rugged country, river with water to waists *[Xhora]*	314
	Aug.	4	River São Domingos, wide, strong current *[Mthatha]*	315
		16	To river where *Belem* wrecked *[Mzimvubu]*	320
			Cross	322
			In a wood, dissension *[Mtambalala Forest]*	324
			Divide into two groups *[Mntafufu R.]*	
	Sept.	3	**Group I Master** (with author, Feyo) set off	325
			On a plain	236
	St Nic.	10	To the shore, find ship's lantern, wreck timber *[São Bento]*	
			Cross deep river, current rapid 'Rio da Cruz' *[Msikaba]*	327
			Join Captain's group	328
	Sept.	3	**Group 2 Captain** set off, move further inland	
			Rest then cross a river, trees *[Msikaba* upper reaches]	331
			Cross rapid river at dangerous ford *[Mtenthu*]	333
			Groups meet and rejoin *[just south of Mzambo]*	
			Cross river, water to knees, shoal *[Mtamvuna]*	334
		23	Over river at a ford, water to necks *[Mzimkhulu]*	
	Oct.	3	In sight of a river, remained 9 days *[Mtwalume]*	337
		16	Banana River, fresh water to breasts *[Mkhomazi]*	339
		24	Difficult marshes and a bay *[Durban Bay]*	341
	Nov.	2	Cross a wide river 'Pescarias', on a raft *[Thukela]*	342
		8	Cross river, water to necks *[Mhlalazi]*	345
	St Mart.	11	River of 'Santa Lucia' *[Mhlatuzi]*	
		21	Go inland to cross, water to necks *[Mfolozi]*	348
			Cross river water to knees *[Nyalazi]*	349
		27	**Joined by survivors from *Sacramento***	
		28	'Golden Downs'	
			To the shore over shallow water *[Brodies Crossing]*	352
	Dec.	2	Over a level plain	353
		12	Cross at low tide, trees, fresh water *[Kosi Bay]*	
		13	Guided inland to the Chief Unyaca Sangoan	354
		28	Leave, go beside a great lake, *[Maputo Bay]*	355
		30	River 'Machavane' cross in canoes *[Santo Espiritu]*	
			Cross river 'Lebumbo' to Chief Tembe (Younger) *[Incomati]*	356
1648	Jan.	5	Ferried to Shefina island *[Xefina]*	357
		8	Some move to 'factories' on Lebumbo River	358
	June	27	Set sail for Moçambique [Island]	

[893] Theal, G.M., *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. VIII, 1902, Facs., (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964).

Table 14
NOSSA SENHORA DA ATALAIA

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel, km/day

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate
1647	July	3	Chintsa bay				
		15	Depart				
		18	Kei R. [Sao Christavo]	30	3		10
		20	Kobonqaba R.	13	2		6.5
		23	Quora R. [Manubi Forest]				
		26	Mbhashe R.	57	6		9.5
		30	Xhora R.				
	August	4	Mthatha R. [San Domingos]	43	7	2	8.6
		12	Mzimvubu R. [*Belém* wrack]	53	8		6.6
		30	Cross Mzimvubu				
		31	Dissension				
	September	3	Depart Mntafufu R. (Master)				
		12	Rejoin S. Mzambo				
		14	Mtamvuna R.	96	32	18	6.8
		23	Mzimkhulu R.	46	9	2	6.5
	October	3	Mtwalume R.	28	10	7	
		16	Mkhomazi R. [Banana]	38	13	9	5.7
		24	Bay of Natal, Durban	44	8	3	8.8
	November	2	Thukela R. [Pescarias]	88	9		9.7
			Mlalazi R.				
			Mhlauzi R.				
			Mfolozi R.				
		27	Joined by *Sacramento* survivors				
		28	Lake St Lucia [Golden Downs R.]	150	26	3	6.5
			Over at Brodie's Crossing				
	December	12	Kosi Bay	158	14		11.2
			Total	**846**	**149**	**39**	**7.6**

Distance: Cintsa Bay to Kosi Bay – 846 km
Time taken: 3 July to 12 December 1647 – 149 days
Exclude stops – 39 Actual travel time – 110 days
Rate of travel – 7.6 km per day

The journey followed the shore for the most part, but after crossing the Mzimvubu River, dissension arose and the groups divided, both moving inland, with one quite far inland. The groups rejoined south of the Mtamvuna River. For the calculation of the overall distance and the rate of travel, the route of the Master's Group has been used.

The position of the camp site established by the *Atalaia* survivors was identified by Graham Bell-Cross and Simon Hall in 1984.[894] It was situated in the dunes about halfway between the resorts of Chintsa East and Chefane, but slightly closer to Chefane and this is the name by which the site has been identified. The survivors spent 11 days at the wreck site and left on 15 July 1647.

Figure 16 - View of Chintsa Bay from the Chefane River.
The wreck of the *Atalaia* was about mid-way between the river and the curve of the bay. The camp site was in the dunes opposite the wreck site**.**

[894] Axelson, op. cit., p. 78.

The survivors moved along the shore, over one river which flowed rapidly and was crossed with difficulty, the water reaching only to their knees.[895] This was probably the Quko River. On the 18 July they reached the River of "São Christãvo" where they needed two rafts to get across and took two days.[896] This would have been the Kei River. They had taken three days to cover the distance of 30 km and had moved at a rate of 10 km a day.

Once over the Kei River the survivors crossed another river with water to their waists, which they estimated to be three leagues away.[897] The Qolora River is about 10 km from the Kei so their estimate of the distance was slightly exaggerated. At the next river, the Kobonqaba, 13 km from the Kei, they saw huts, the first they had seen.[898] The survivors camped beside a river, where one (overweight) noble, a Chinese and African slave remained. [899] This was probably the Nxaxo River. They then crossed several streams, but had to make rafts to cross a river which was flowing strongly. There some of the local people sold them four fish.[900] This was probably the Qhora River.

The survivors then walked close to the shore and entered a "thick wood" where they found "snares and pitfalls for elephants" and, "upon a height, five round straw huts like ovens".[901] This is the area where the Manubi Forest is still in existence.

After passing more dry stream beds, the survivors came to a large river with water so 'impetuous', that they needed a raft to get across. The date was given as the 'Feast of St Anne' [26 July].[902] This would have been the Mbhashe River which is 56 km from the Kobonqaba River. The survivors had taken 6 days [20-26 July], travelling at a rate of 9.5 km a day to cover the distance. They rested there for 2 days.

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[895] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol VIII, op. cit., p. 310.
[896] Ibid., p. 311-312.
[897] Ibid., p. 312.
[898] Ibid., p. 312.
[899] Ibid., p. 312.
[900] Ibid., p. 313.
[901] Ibid., p. 313.
[902] Ibid., p. 313.

The next major landmark, which the survivors named '*São Domingos'*, was "a very wide river with a strong current, the passage of which delayed us three days, waiting for low water, and when this water was still we crossed with it to our armpits."[903] This would have been the Mthatha River and they had covered 43 km in 7 days, and, excluding a stop of 2 days, they had travelled at a rate of 8.6 km per day.

The terrain between the Mthatha and the Mzimvubu Rivers was more rugged than before and in parts they could not move along the shore, as there were steep cliffs and rough terrain along the coast.[904] They had to cross a mountain to reach the river where it was commented, that the *Belém* had been wrecked [in 1635].[905] This is a clear identification of the Mzimvubu River. The survivors had covered the distance of 53 km in 8 days, giving a rate of 6.6 km a day. The survivors had to build rafts to cross the river and it is stated that they spent about 14 to 15 days there.[906] This is too long as the distance that they had to cover to get to the next river would have made the rate of travel as being too fast. They probably spent about 10 days getting to this river.

Once beyond the Mzimvubu, internal problems surfaced over leadership. The survivors moved inland and divided into two parties at what was probably the Mntafufu River.[907]
One party, headed by the Captain moved inland through very mountainous country.[908]
The suggested route is that they would have passed near the present village of Lingeni and crossed the upper reaches of the Msikaba River near Mpolweni.
The survivors encountered hostility from the local people, but made contact with a survivor from a previous shipwreck.[909] They then moved closer to the coast and crossed

[903] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 315.
[904] Ibid., p. 314.
[905] Ibid., p. 319.
[906] Ibid., p. 319, 322.
[907] Ibid., p. 324.
[908] Ibid., pp. 328- 331.
[909] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 331.

the Mthenthu River over a "dangerous ford",[910] and joined the other group just south of Mzamba. They had travelled a distance of 86 km in 9 days so moved fairly fast at a rate of 9.6 km a day.

The other party, headed by the Master, also kept inland, but the route was closer to the coast. They probably passed through the present sites of Magwa, Nlavukazi and Ndindini and then moved to the shore where they came to a fast flowing river. They found "a ship's lantern and a quantity of timber, which we judged to be the wreckage of some ship which had been driven ashore along the coast."[911] The river, described as being deep and with a rapid current was termed the "*Rio da Cruz*."[912] This must have been the wrack from the *São Bento* [1554] at the Msikaba River. The Captain's group did not refer to this which is explained as the groups rejoined north of the Msikaba River.

The two groups would have met on about 12 September and moving together again, they then reached the Mtamvuna River on about 14 September, which they crossed with water to their knees.[913] The Master's group had travelled the 96 km from the Mzimvubu River in 33 days and, with stops of 10 days, had a slow rate of travel at about 4.2 km a day.

On 23 September the survivors anticipated having to use a raft to cross the next large river, but they found a ford where they managed get through with water up to their necks.[914] This is likely to have been the Mzimkhulu. They had taken 7 days (excluding 2 to trade) to travel 46 km at a rate of 6.6 km a day.
The survivors then spent time arguing amongst themselves but presumably kept walking, although the text is not clear. They did spend one day holding a council to

[910] Ibid., p. 333.
[911] Ibid., p. 326.
[912] Ibid., p. 327.
[913] Ibid., p. 334.
[914] Ibid., p. 334.

resolve differences. The text states that on the "Feast of St Jerome",[915] [30 September][916] they moved two leagues along the shore [about 10 km] and then half a league [2 km] inland and there they halted for two days and obtained fish from the local people.[917] Moving inland, scouts were sent to explore the country and they made their camp next to a river where quantities of provisions were available.[918] This was probably the Mtwalume River and they would have been there on 3 October. It had taken the survivors 10 days, but they had had 7 stoppages so their actual rate of travel was 9.3 km a day.

The survivors then rested and traded for nine days, and left that place on 13 October.[919] The next river was crossed on 16 October. It was named the 'Banana' River as there they were able to obtain bunches of bananas for the first time.[920] This was most probably the Mkhomazi River, 38 km from the Mtwalume. They had taken 4 days so, all refreshed, they were moving at a rate of 9.5 km a day.

The survivors then reached a plain "traversed by rivers of fresh water" and were carried over three arms of one with water to their necks.[921] The plain became marshy and they report crossing the same river twice.[922] At this point they observed the sea at the mouth and "a large high sandy point, covered with a thicket, which formed a convenient bay for small vessels to lie in."[923] This is a good description of the Bay of Natal, which they had reached on about 24 October. It is 44 km from the Mkomazi River and they had covered the distance in 5 days, (excluding 3 stops, at a rate of 8.8 km a day.

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[915] Wikipedia, The Calendar of Saints, http://en,wikipedia.org, p. 7.
[916] Feyo, Tr. Theal.in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 336.
[917] Ibid., p. 336.
[918] Ibid., p. 337.
[919] Ibid., p. 338.
[920] Ibid., pp. 339-340.
[921] Ibid., p. 340.
[922] Ibid., p. 341.
[923] Ibid., p. 342.

The country then proved to be marshy and the many pits dug to trap elephants and 'sea horses' were hazardous. More rivers were crossed with relative ease as they were shown fords by the local people.[924]

The survivors reached the mouth of a wide river on about 2 November where it was anticipated that they would have to make a raft to get across.[925] They moved inland to avoid this and found a ford which they crossed with difficulty, the water coming up to their necks. They named this river "*das Pescarias*". [926] This is likely to have been the Thukela River and they probably crossed at the site of the present road bridge. They had covered the 88 km from the Bay of Natal in 9 days at a rate of 9.8 km a day.

Once over the Thukela the survivors came to a river of fresh water, taking two days, but stating that they had covered seven leagues.[927] This would have been the Matikhulu which is 17 km away. At the next river, which they crossed at low tide, the survivors found the local people fishing.[928] This could have been the Mlalazi, 26 km from the Matikhulu River. Some of their cattle were stolen. The survivors retaliated and time was spent fighting.

Thereafter the shore became rugged and water came out of clefts in the rocks.[929] This is a characteristic of the coast south of Richard's Bay. Moving over high sand hills the survivors came to a river that they named 'Santa Lucia'. It proved to be "very wide and impetuous, ebbing and flowing without ceasing."[930] Crossing at the mouth proved impossible so the survivors moved inland trying to find a ford where they crossed.[931] This is likely to have been the Mhlatuzi River which drains into the present Richard's

[924] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 342.
[925] Ibid., p. 342.
[926] Ibid., p. 343.
[927] Ibid., p. 343.
[928] Ibid., p. 345.
[929] Ibid., p. 345.
[930] Ibid., p. 345.
[931] Ibid., pp. 346 - 347.

Bay and the most likely crossing point would have been inland at the nearest bridging point of an old road.

Moving towards the coast again, the survivors continued over "pleasant plains" and grasslands where there were many elephants. They crossed two rivers and were guided over "a mountain".[932] This could have been a high sand dune as there are no mountains anywhere near the coast in this region. They then came to a great plain through which a river flowed with many marshes and bogs. It was named "an arm of the Golden Downs River".[933] This describes the lower reaches of the Mfolozi River. They had to move inland to cross, possibly at a bridging point of an old road near the present Shire Estate. According to the text this was done on 21 November and they rested for 3 days afterwards.[934]

On 27 November the survivors from the *Sacramento* caught up with the *Atalaia* party and joined them.[935] The combined group then reached the river of the "Golden Downs". All "marveled at its great width, for land was hardly visible on the other side, as more than three leagues of water lay between."[936] This must have been the estuary of Lake St Lucia. In all likelihood, the local people had guided the survivors to their traditional crossing point where the river which feeds into the lake is wide, but shallow. This was at Makhakhatana Point, known as Brodie's Crossing, and is a little up-river of the estuary.[937] The survivors had covered the 150 km from the Thukela River in 14 days at a rate of 11.2 km a day.

The survivors then travelled within sight of the shore, but inland of 'great sandhills'. The survivors suffered as it was said that it was very dry with no fresh water.[938] On 2

[932] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 347.
[933] Ibid., p. 348.
[934] Ibid., p. 348.
[935] Ibid., p. 349.
[936] Ibid., p. 352.
[937] Feely, Pers. comm.
[938] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 352- 353.

December the survivors skirted a swamp and found pools of water and crossed a river at low tide. [939] At present there is a small stream which drains from Lake Ngobateleni which reaches the sea at Sodwana Bay, but is dry at the coast. Fifty years ago this stream was often too deep to drive a vehicle across.[940] The distance is 83 km and the recorded time was 4 days. An average rate of travel of around 21 km a day is most unlikely, so this date is not used.

The survivors then came to a place where there was fresh water, trees and provisions on about 12 December.[941] This must have been Kosi Bay. They had travelled 158 km from St Lucia in 14 days at a rate of 11.2 km a day.

The survivors left Kosi Bay on 13 December, moving along the shore. On the 14 December they were met by some local people and guided to the court of 'King Unhaca Sangoan', where they remained for 15 days.[942]

It had been 25 years since the *São João Baptista* survivors had met Chief Inhaca 'Sangane'.[943] This man could have been the same chief, then probably in his 70s. As these survivors had taken only two days to get to his residence, it was probably near the present village of Zitundo. In 1622 the chief's residence had been situated closer to Cape St Maria.

News had reached the survivors that there was a Portuguese trading ship anchored on "Shefina Island" [Xefina],[944] so they decided to move on. The text states that they went across the country beside a 'great lake', forded a river and arrived at the kingdom of

[939] Ibid., p. 353.
[940] Feely, Pers. comm., quotes Dr Ken Tinley.
[941] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 353.
[942] Ibid., p. 354-355.
[943] d'Almada, Boxer, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p.246.
[944] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 353.

another chief, Machavane.[945] The 'great lake' was undoubtedly Maputo Bay and they had walked around the coast, crossing the Maputo River en route.

The river, which was 'impetuous and deep', was named the river of 'Machavane' which the survivors crossed in canoes.[946] This was likely to have been the Espirito Santo River, which forms the harbour of present-day city of Maputo.

The survivors then spent time with two chiefs, 'King Tembe the elder' and 'Tembe the younger' and from there they reached the shore at the 'Lebumbo River'.[947] This would have been the Incomati. There they met the sailors from a Portuguese trading ship which was anchored at the Xefina Islands.[948] Some of the survivors were placed on the island while the others were divided among five temporary trading posts that had been established along the Incomati River where the river was navigable. They then had to wait for six months until the monsoon winds were suitable to sail north and many died during this time. They reached Moçambique Island on 9 July 1648.[949]

The route of the survivors, the relevant dates, the presence of livestock and cultivation of plants are indicated on Map 9.

[945] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 355..
[946] Ibid., p. 355.
[947] Ibid., p. 356.
[948] Ibid., p. 356.
[949] Ibid., pp. 357-358.

Map 9 – *Atalaia* survivors' Journey: Chintsa Bay to Xefina Island

10.4 Locating the indigenous people:

West of the Kei River:

It was five days before the survivors were visited by a band of people at the wreck site, indicating that this group would have lived inland and were probably going to the coast to collect shellfish. None of the African slaves, who would have understood a dialect of the Bantu language, could understand these people

> "because they spoke with clicks. They go naked, and only wear a few skins. They sow no grain and live on roots, the products of the chase, and some shellfish when they come down to the shore. Their arms are fire-hardened wood and a few assegais".[950]

Cattle were not mentioned and as the survivors spent 11 days at the site and had time to observe the countryside inland, it can be assumed that there was no livestock. These people would have been hunter-gathers. The coastal area between the wreck site at Chefane and the Kei River was uninhabited and no people were seen.

Kei to Mbhashe Rivers:

At the Kobonqaba River the people were fearful of the survivors and fled. The survivors raided the straw huts and found millet and fish, which they stole.[951] At the Nxaxo River, for no apparent reason, the survivors set fire to some huts.[952] Not surprisingly, although the survivors observed more people, they were not inclined to be friendly. After crossing small and dry rivers and going through a "thicket" they reached another river where they had to make a raft to get across. This was probably the Qhora River. There they were able to obtain fish from a fisherman. The survivors were told that there would be provisions to barter close by, but they did not follow this up. Further on the survivors observed snares set in forested areas and 'pitfalls for elephants'. Straw huts, described as 'round, like ovens', were seen on a height, but the people were nowhere to be seen.[953]

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[950] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 307.
[951] Ibid., p. 312.
[952] Ibid., p. 312.
[953] Ibid., p. 313.

Mbhashe to Mthatha Rivers:

Near the Mbhashe River a "great number of Kaffirs came down, and among them was one who spoke Portuguese. He was called João, and had remained from the company of the ship *Belém.*"[954] The people, with whom João was living, dug snares and pits to trap large animals. They wore skin cloaks and the women had caps. Some of the weapons used were described as darts and they spoke with clicks "by smacking their lips."[955] As there is no mention of cultivation, the description is possibly that of pastoralists. With João's assistance, the survivors were able to obtain ten cows.[956] Further along the shore fish were obtained from the local people, but between the rivers no settlements were observed.[957]

At what was probably the Xhora River, the survivors were able to obtain some fish from the local people.

Mthatha to Mzimvubu Rivers:

There were no settlements observed when near the Mthatha River, in spite of sending some

> "men to explore the country, to see if there was any kraal or cattle, and after going some considerable distance up the mountain, those who went returned to the camp, weary and famished, with no information whatever."[958]

They were possibly looking in the wrong place as the 1622 survivors reported that this was a very well populated area. Once over the Mthatha, they must have moved close to the shore as they moved through ravines, thickets and mountains and saw no people.[959]

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[954] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 313.
[955] Ibid., p. 314.
[956] Ibid., p. 312-314
[957] Ibid., p. 314.
[958] Ibid., p. 315.
[959] Ibid., p. 315.

There were settlements near the rivers, a little inland from the coast, but no people were observed.[960] The people whom the survivors encountered were fearful of them and fled. They found and ate some "wild, bitter, mad- apples".[961] Just before they reached the Mzimvubu River, they found some huts and managed to obtain some millet. They then met another survivor from the *Belém*, one "Benamusa", who led them to the river, where they were able to obtain millet.[962] The survivors found a dog belonging to the local people and ate it.[963]

Mzimvubu to Mtamvuna Rivers:

The local people who lived north of the Mzimvubu River had enough resources to be able to part with millet, baked bread, gourds of milk and many cows.[964] Near the Mntafufu River, there were settlements where many cows were seen and millet was available.[965] At this point the survivors divided into two parties, headed by the Captain and the Master respectively.

The Master's party moved along an inland route, but closer to the coast than the Captain's group. In well-populated country they were able carry on "all kinds of barter, and [obtain] a few hens and quantities of locusts."[966] It was claimed that two of the local people, who had offered to act as guides, tried to steal a cow and a 'wallet'. They were chased off but a little further on the survivors "found themselves on a plain surrounded by Kaffirs as thick as starlings on the wing, uttering warcries and brandishing assegais, an infinite number to each Portuguese."[967] The survivors fired on them, killing three. Later a group came to barter provisions for copper.[968] Moving over wide plains, many

[960] Ibid., pp. 316-317.
[961] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 316.
[962] Ibid., p. 318-319.
[963] Ibid., p. 319.
[964] Ibid., pp. 320 - 321.
[965] Ibid., p. 324.
[966] Ibid., p. 325.
[967] Ibid., p. 326.
[968] Ibid., p. 326.

people came who bartered cattle and millet for copper.[969] They then moved to the shore and at the mouth of the Msikaba River, the survivors observed men who were fishing but were not prepared to trade.[970] Once over the river, a group of about 200 armed men approached them. The survivors fired on them, killing the leader, and the attackers withdrew.[971]

The route of the Captain's group took those survivors further inland. Once over a mountain and through a wood, they found level country where food was easily obtainable in the form of cattle, milk, millet and baked bread. This was probably in the region of Lingeni and Mpolweni. They met a good-looking man who was wealthy and wore many copper bracelets. They understood him to say that he wanted "silver like the moon and gold like the sun" as trade goods.[972] It was thought that he could have been shipwrecked as a child as he spoke some Portuguese. Later the survivors encountered others who said he was from the *São João Baptista* of 1622, 25 years before, which would have made him in his early thirties.

Moving into mountainous country, the local people became very hostile and followed the survivors, throwing stones at them.[973] At a kraal, situated on high ground, the survivors met Benamusa again. It was commented that he "seemed to be a person of authority", and he gave them guides.[974] The local people continued to throw stones and the guides tried to run away. The survivors fired on them and killed one. Not surprisingly the hostility intensified and the survivors took shelter in caves. [975] They then moved towards the coast and joined the Master's party, probably at the Mzamba River.[976]

Mtamvuna to the Mzimkhulu Rivers:

[969] Ibid., pp. 325-326.
[970] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 327.
[971] Ibid., p. 327.
[972] Ibid., p. 328.
[973] Ibid., p. 330.
[974] Ibid., p. 331.
[975] Ibid., p. 332.
[976] Ibid., p. 333.

Hens and millet were available for trade at the Mtamvuna River. There the survivors noted that the men dressed their hair like "the turbans of the Banyans of India, and they had red beads about their necks".[977] Some two leagues [10km] further on, the local people kept cattle, goats and hens. Around the Mzimkhulu River, there was an "an abundance of food".[978]

Mzimkhulu River to the Bay of Natal:

From the Mzimkhulu to about the Mtwalume River provisions were abundant. Millet and baked bread was found in quantity, such as had not been seen before. At the Mtwalume, they obtained a thousand loaves of bread of crushed millet. The survivors also found seeds that they identified as sesame. They also found 'sugar cane' and sheltered under 'purslane'. They noted that fig trees were cultivated. Fish were again found. Cattle and goats were also present. The survivors remained there, probably around the Mtwalume, for nine days.[979] At the next river, probably the Mkhomazi, they met a man named Alexander, who, it was understood, had been left as a child from the *São João Baptista.* He was married with five children and resolutely refused to accompany them but assisted them with trade. The people in that area, and who were eager to barter their goods, were "the best people we had met, good-looking, affable and trustworthy in barter."[980] Food was readily available and goats were obtained. They also found bananas being grown.[981] A little further on, they managed to obtain five hens per person. [982] As there were at least 160 survivors at this point, the local people must have been extremely successful farmers. Between the Mkhomazi and the Bay of Natal, millet was in short supply as it was planting time (October) but goats and cattle were plentiful.[983] Near the Bay of Natal, honey was obtainable.[984]

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[977] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 334.
[978] Ibid., p. 334 - 335.
[979] Ibid., pp. 336-337.
[980] Ibid., p. 338.
[981] Ibid., p. 339.
[982] Ibid., p. 340.
[983] Ibid., p. 340.
[984] Ibid., p. 341.

Bay of Natal to Thukela River:

At the Bay of Natal the survivors noted weirs had been constructed for catching fish. Food was still available and elephant and hippopotamus traps were observed. The people north of the bay were eager to trade and proved to be very helpful, providing them with wood and water, and showing them a ford over a river. On one occasion, a group of men approached the survivors carrying assegais and shields, but their only aim was to trade.[985]

Thukela River to St Lucia:

At the Thukela River, the survivors obtained many "*bolànjas"*, described as a fruit resembling a yellow orange, but with a hard rind and fleshy pulp.[986] Sheep were obtainable.[987] While crossing the river, the survivors saw that there were a large number of people on the other side. Assuming that they were being threatened, the captain "was obliged to kill one with his gun". [988] Armed and hostile men then followed them for some distance.[989]

In the region of the Matikhulu River hostilities arose, when 15 cows belonging to the survivors were stolen. In retaliation, the survivors retrieved 9 head of cattle, adding 9 calves, 9 sheep and 9 goats. Further hostilities broke out when the survivors looted and set fire to a kraal.[990] After this, another attempt was made to steal cattle which "are so trained to obey their whistling that they can make them run and stop at will."[991] At what was probably the Mlalazi River, there were people fishing who fled leaving a quantity of fish on the shore, which the survivors ate.[992] Two men arrived and guided the survivors inland to a ford over the Mhlatuzi River. In that region there were gardens of gourds

[985] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 342.
[986] Ibid., p. 342.
[987] Ibid., p. 343.
[988] Ibid., p. 343.
[989] Ibid., p. 343.
[990] Ibid., p. 343-344.
[991] Ibid., p. 345.
[992] Ibid., p. 345.

and green water-melons and they were sold green 'tobacco'.[993] Between this and the next river, probably the Mfolozi, there were 'countless' elephants. At the Mfolozi, also at an inland ford, the survivors managed to obtain 140 head of cattle, hens, gourds, water-melons and 'tobacco in the leaf' in exchange for copper.[994] Further on local people had ivory for sale, but the survivors thought the price was too high.[995]

St Lucia to Kosi Bay:

Once the survivors had reached the southern end of the Lake St Lucia lake system, they found the land thickly populated. Gourds, water-melons, sesame, *bolànjas* and tobacco as well as quantities of fish were traded.[996] North of the St Lucia lake system the country along the coast had great sand-hills and was very thinly populated. The survivors could not find water.[997] Once Kosi Bay was reached food was plentiful with fish, sesame, millet, honey, butter, eggs, goats and sheep being available. Salt was mentioned for the first time.[998]

Kosi Bay to Incomati River:

'King Unyaca Sangoan' was seated at the entrance of his residence when the survivors arrived at his 'court'. On a tree

> "his insignia of royalty were hung according to the Kaffir custom. These were a cow's head with horns, and a very long pole tied to the top of the same tree, with a bow at the end and an arrow fitted to it."[999]

The chief wore a red cloak. Here sesame, sweet potatoes, butter, hens and fish were traded for cloth. It was noted that the local people were great merchants "interested and distrustful".[1000] It was stated that 'King Machavane' lived in the region of the Espiritu Santo River, and around the Incomati River the chiefs 'Tembe', father and son, had their

[993] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 346-347.
[994] Ibid., p. 348.
[995] Ibid., p. 349.
[996] Ibid., pp. 352.
[997] Ibid., pp. 352-353.
[998] Ibid., p. 353.
[999] Ibid., p. 354.
[1000] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 354.

territory. Chief Tembe the younger was said to have cattle.[1001] Melons were grown there.[1002]

10.5 The Indigenous people in 1647 – an Overview:

10.5.1 Linguistics:

The people in the Chefane area and around the Mbhashe River spoke with clicks.

10.5.2 Physical Appearance:

No comments were made on skin colour. The people living between Mzimkhulu and the Bay of Natal were good looking and affable.

10.5.3 Political Organisation:

Unlike the survivors from the *Santa Alberto*, these survivors did not try to establish contact with the chiefs, so were unaware of them until north of Kosi Bay where Chief 'Unyaca Sangoan' had his territory. In the Maputo Bay area there was a clear division of tribes with very strong trade links to the Portuguese. King Machavane had control of the area around present-day Maputo. He was described as being richer and more powerful than Sangoan.[1003] King Tembe the elder probably controlled the area inland of the present Tembe River and his son, Tembe the younger, described as being rich in 'cattle and subjects', lived south of the Incomati River.[1004]

10.5.4 Settlements:

[1001] Ibid., p. 355-357.
[1002] Ibid., p. 356.
[1003] Ibid., pp. 355.
[1004] Ibid., p. 356.

A group of straw huts near the Kobonqaba River was the first settlement observed by the survivors after leaving Chefane.[1005] There were few settlements along the coast as far as the Mzimvubu River, but inland, between the Mzimvubu and the Mtamvuna Rivers, the area was well populated. The land between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal was more densely populated, even along the coast, with very successful farmers. The people were more thinly scattered along the coastal area between the Bay of Natal and the Thukela River. Further north there were numerous settlements, usually located slightly inland, especially between the Mfolozi River and St Lucia. There were no people mentioned living along the coastal area north of St Lucia until Kosi Bay was reached. There the people were successful farmers, as were those living to the north in Chief Unyaca Sangoan's territory. No mention was made of people living along the south coast of Maputo Bay, but once north of the Espiritu Santo River and in the Incomati area, the population was again dense.

Huts were described as being made of straw. There were five situated on a height west of the Mbashe River which were said to be "round like ovens".[1006]

10.5.5 Clothing, Ornament and Accessories:

The people living around the Mbhashe River wore skin cloaks and the women wore caps. In the Mtamvuna area it was said that the men dressed their hair like the 'Banyans' of India. This could possibly indicate a built-up style that resembled a turban, or an Indian survivor of a previous ship, the *São João Baptista* (1622) or the *Belém* (1635), could have influenced the people. In that area necklaces of red beads were also worn. These could have been collected from the wreck sites of the *São João* (Mtamvuna River 1552) or the Sao Bento (Msikaba River 1554). Chief 'Unhaca Sangoan' wore a cloak that had been dyed red, probably with ochre.

10.5.6 Customs and Ritual:

[1005] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 312.
[1006] Ibid., p. 313.

A cow's horned skull was hung on a tree together with a bow and arrow which were attached to a long pole. These were said to be the insignia of royalty for Chief Inhaca Sangoan.

10.5.7 Belief Systems: These were not mentioned.

10.5.8 Mode of Subsistence:

10.5.8.1 Livestock:

The first cattle observed were near the Mbhashe River.[1007] None were found along the coast until the Mzimvubu was reached. From there they were plentiful as far as the Msikaba River, and then none found until the Mzimkhulu River. From there to the St Lucia, area cattle were present. Unlike the earlier records, cattle were found in large numbers around the Mfolozi River and farmers were wealthy enough to be able to part with 140 head. Cattle were not mentioned north of St Lucia and as far as the Incomati River. There a chief was said to have had cattle, although these were not seen.

The first goats mentioned were found at the Mzimkhulu River and thereafter were common as far as the Mfolozi River. They were not observed again until Kosi Bay and then were seen again around the Incomati River.

Sheep were not common, found only just north of the Thukela River and then at Kosi Bay.

Hens were first seen near the Mzimvubu and then in large numbers from the Mzimkhulu to the Mfolozi Rivers, at Kosi Bay and around the Incomati River.

Dogs were only seen in the Mzimvubu River area.

10.5.8.2 Cultivation:

[1007] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 314.

The first cultivation observed was just north of the Kei River. Grain was not available for trade along the coast until the Mzimvubu River area, where it was easily obtained, together with baked cakes. Along the Captain's inland route beyond the Mzimvubu, millet was found along the plains but not in the rugged mountainous region. It was not mentioned again until the Mtamvuna River was reached. Millet was grown along the route taken by the Master's party between the Mzimvubu and the Msikaba estuary. 'Native bread' made from the millet was also obtainable for that group. Once beyond the Mtamvuna River, grain was found only in small quantities as far as the Mzimkhulu River, but from there to the Bay of Natal, millet was found in large quantities. At one point the survivors reported that they were able to get "more than a thousand loaves of crushed millet".[1008] Millet was not mentioned between the Bay of Natal and Kosi Bay, but this was possibly because this was in November and the crops would not yet have been harvested. Millet was found at Kosi Bay, but not mentioned thereafter. Two types of grains were noticed, millet and sesame. It is possible that what is simply described as 'millet' in association with 'cakes' or 'bread', was pearl millet, *Pennisetum glaucum*.

The survivors identified another type of grain as 'sesame' found around the Mtwalume area and at Kosi Bay. *Sesamum indicum* is an ancient crop which is thought to be indigenous to East Africa or India. It has small egg-shaped and highly nutritious seeds and is still grown on a small scale in rural areas in southern Africa.[1009]

Sugar cane was mentioned as being traded on three occasions between the Mzimkhulu and Mkhomazi Rivers especially in the Mtwalume area.[1010] Sweet stalk sorghum, a type of *Sorghum bicolor*, has been widely grown in southern Africa and was chewed like sugar cane.[1011] This was possibly *S.vulgare* [1012]

[1008] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit.., p. 337.
[1009] Van Wyk, B. and Gerike, N, *People's Plants*, (Pretoria, Briza Press, 2000), p. 24.
[1010] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 336-337.
[1011] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 14.
[1012] Upthof, J.C.T., *The Dictionary of Economic Plants*, (New York, Stechert-Hafner, 1968), p. 493.

At about the Mkhomazi River, bananas, *Musa sapienta*, were cultivated.[1013] Water-melons were found around the Mhlatuzi, Mfolozi and Incomati areas. These would have been the Tsamma melon, *Citrillus lanatus* (Cucurbitaceae). A creeping annual herb, it is widely distributed in Asia and Africa. This species is indigenous to Africa and has been cultivated in rural areas since pre-colonial times.[1014]

Sweet potatoes were recorded at the residence of Chief Unyaca Sangoan. There are two possibilities. The most likely is that these were *Ipomoea batatas*, which have fleshy tubers that grow underground. They are grown in Southern Africa and form a major part of the diet of the Thonga people.[1015] Another possibility is that they were 'amadumbe' or *Colocasia esculenta*. Van Wyk and Gerike state that it has been widely cultivated in southern Africa and that the plant was probably introduced by Portuguese traders before 1500.[1016]

Gourds were found around the Mzimvubu, Thukela and Mhlatuzi Rivers.[1017] The calabash or bottle gourd, *Lagenaria siceraria* (Cucurbitaceae), (*iselwa* in isiZulu and isiXhosa), has been cultivated in Africa for at least 2000 years. The thick epidermis of gourds, have been and are still used as containers in rural southern Africa.[1018]
The survivors reported that they were able to obtain 'tobacco' at Mhlatuzi and St Lucia.[1019] As tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum,* had reached Portugal in 1558,[1020] the habit of smoking leaves would have been recognized by Portuguese survivors, hence the description of the plant as 'tobacco'. Another type of tobacco, *Nicotiana rùstica*, also from North America, was the first to be introduced to Europe.[1021] It was soon grown

[1013] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 340.
[1014] Van Wyk and Gerike op. cit., p. 38.
[1015] Ibid., p. 90.
[1016] Ibid., p. 82.
[1017] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 343.
[1018] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 46.
[1019] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 348, 352.
[1020] Brogan, H., *The Pelican History of the United States,* (London, Pekican Books, 1986), p. 26.
[1021] Bailey, H., *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, (New York, Macmillan, 1937), p. 2143.

successfully in Turkey and India,[1022] so there is a possibility that it was this variety, but there is no record of it being grown in southern Africa until the colonial period. It is more likely that what the survivors referred to as tobacco at this time was dagga, *Cannabis sativa*, which is thought to have been introduced into southern Africa by Arab traders.[1023]

10.5.8.3 Plant Gathering:

The survivors reported that fig trees were cultivated in the Mtwalume area. These were possibly the common wild fig, *Ficus thonningii*, which has a tasty fruit.[1024] They were probably mistaken in claiming that the trees were 'cultivated' as this is not substantiated by other records. There was possibly a grove of the trees that were utilized for their fruit.

It was reported that the hunter-gatherers at Chefane ate roots, but no description was given. Fruits that the Portuguese named '*bolånjas'* were bartered at the Thukela River and Lake St Lucia.[1025] The monkey orange*, Strychnos spinosa*, (isiXhosa, *umHlala* and isiZulu, *umHlalakolontsche),* grows in bushveld areas in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. The fruit has a hard woody shell, green to yellowish brown in colour, about the size of an orange and with edible pulp.[1026] The "wild, bitter, mad-apples" were eaten near the Mzimvubu River.[1027] These were probably collected from a fruit-bearing tree, with fruits about the size of an apple which are edible but sour. These could have been the Wild Medlar, *Vangueria infausta*, which is small tree widely distributed in southern Africa, with a pale brown fruit and a sweet-sour taste.[1028]

[1022] Uphof, J.C.T., *Dictionary of Economic Plants*, (New York, Steichert_Hafner, 1968), p. 430.
[1023] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 158.
[1024] Pooley, E., *Trees of Natal,* Durban, Natal Flora Publications Trust, Durban, 1993), p. 70.
[1025] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 342.
[1026] Pooley, E., op. cit., p. 420.
[1027] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol VIII, op. cit., p. 316.
[1028] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 58.

Locusts were found between the Mzimvubu and Mzimkhulu Rivers. Described there being found in 'quantities' and in 'clouds',[1029] they were present probably at Magwa and Ntindini, and as 'plagues' at the upper reaches of the Msikaba River[1030] The survivors were offered the locusts to eat,[1031] indicating that when available, these would be eaten by the local people. Locusts were again seen near the Mzimkhulu River and around St Lucia.[1032]

Honey was traded around the Bay of Natal, Kosi Bay and Zitundo. Salt was available near Kosi Bay.[1033]

10.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

Snares and what were described as 'pitfalls' for elephants were seen in thick woods[1034] between the Qhora and Mbhashe Rivers. This was possibly the Manubi Forest. Pits to catch elephants and hippopotami were common between the Bay of Natal and the Thukela River.[1035]

The record of this narrative indicates that the people living near the coast from the Kobonqaba River through to Mozambique utilized the protein resources offered by the sea and caught fish wherever suitable tidal estuaries or lakes were found. The people at Chefani collected shell fish.

The rivers where the survivors found fishing being practised can be identified as the Kobonqaba, Mbhashe, Xhora, Mthatha and Mlalazi. The bays and lakes are the Bay of Natal, Lake St Lucia, Kosi Bay and Maputo Bay with weirs being noted in the Bay of

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[1029] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 326.
[1030] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 32.
[1031] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 325.
[1032] Ibid., pp. 336 & 352.
[1033] Ibid., p. 353.
[1034] Ibid., p. 313.
[1035] Ibid., p.342.

Natal. The catch at the mouth of the Mlalazi River must have been considerable as it provided enough to feed all the survivors, numbering at least 150 at this point.

10.5.8.5 Food preparation:

Baked cakes made from millet were found north of the Mzimvubu area. Butter was made.

10.5.8.6 Technology:

Clay pots were observed near the Kei River. The weapons at Chefane were lances of fire-hardened wood and assegais. What were termed 'darts' were observed in the Mbhashe area. The first shields mentioned were found near the Bay of Natal.

10.5.8.7 Trade:

No bartering was done with the people at the wreck site. Bartering for provisions only started once the survivors had crossed the Kei.[1036] From then on the survivors traded copper and iron for provisions. Beyond the Mzimvubu, the comment was made that copper and brass were prized above everything else.[1037] North of present-day Richards Bay, ivory was offered. The survivors refused to barter as they said the price was too high.[1038] This suggests that the local people were fully aware of the value of ivory but that the survivors were not prepared to carry an extra load which was not food. Trade was easy in the Maputo Bay area with cloth being especially valued.[1039]

People living between the Mtamvuna and the Mzimkhulu Rivers were observed wearing red beads around their necks.[1040] All the Portuguese ships that had been wrecked near

[1036] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 314.
[1037] Ibid., pp. 325, 348.
[1038] Ibid., p. 349.
[1039] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 354 – 357.
[1040] Ibid., p. 334.

the Mtamvuna and south carried quantities of cornelian beads.[1041] These would have been the sources and not trade links to the north.

10.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

The indigenous people at Chefane, spoke a language that included clicks. They did no cultivation and lived by hunting, gathering roots and collecting shellfish.[1042] The survivors remained at the site for 11 days so there would have been opportunity for them to see cattle had they been owned by the local people. The conclusion is that they were hunter-gatherers, probably on a foray to collect shellfish. North of the Kei River the people were aggregated around rivers especially the Kobonqaba, Mbashe, Qhora, Mthatha and Mzimvubu. They were agriculturalists with fishing being carried out at some of the rivers. Elephant traps were also present.

There were agriculturalists living near the coast as well as inland and there were many settlements between there and the Msikaba River. Agriculturalists were established near the Mtamvuna River and settlements were situated some kilometres south of the Mzimkhulu River and to the north.

[1041] Bell-Cross, G., "The Occurrence of Cornelian and Agate Beads at Shipwreck Sites on the Southern African Coast", in *The Coelacanth*, Vol.25, No.1, 1988 , pp. 20 – 32.
[1042] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 307.

Chapter 11

STAVENISSE 1686

11.1 Authors, translators and publication of accounts:

The accounts of the experiences of the *Stavenisse* survivors were given verbally by William Knyff, Master, and Isbrand Hoogsaad, Senior Pilot, with other survivors and recorded in the Journal of the Council of the Cape of Good Hope. Some of the *Stavenisse* survivors joined up with other survivors from the English ships, *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura* and the evidence of crew of the latter ships was also recorded in the Journal of the Council. Evidence given by Adrian Jansz, Jan Pieters and Izac Jansz was recorded in 'Dispatches' sent by Governor Simon van der Stel, to the Lords XVII. The *Centaurus* and the *Noord* were two small ships sent to rescue the survivors and further depositions were made by the survivors and crew when on board the two vessels and recorded in their logbooks.

These accounts were recorded in Dutch and English by J.W. de Grevenbroek, secretary of the Council of Policy, and are held in the Cape Archives. Grevenbroek wrote his version of the accounts in Latin, *Gentis Hottentotten Nuncatae Descriptio*, which was not published until 1886. Pieter Kolb used this for his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* published in 1719.

Donald Moodie extracted the accounts relating to the *Stavenisse,* translated them and incorporated the English translations in *The Record*.[1043] These were published in sections between the years 1838-1841. A facsimile was published in 1960. [1044]

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac, a French boy, who joined the *Stavenisse* survivors, was a castaway from another ship, the Bauden. His memoir, which added substantial information about the local people, was written in French but only published in 1921. Two German translations were published earlier in 1748 and 1900. Randolph Vigne

[1043] Moodie, D., *The Record,* Facs., (Amsterdam and Cape Town, A.A. Balkema, 1960).
[1044] Smith,A.H., Introduction, Moodie, op. cit., n.p.

obtained the German edition and Mrs C. Claxton-Vatthauer did the translation. Vigne edited de Chalezac's account and added extra information which was not included in the official reports to the Dutch East India Company. Vigne's book was published by the van Riebeeck Society in 1993.[1045] He worked directly from archival records which included all the reports of the *Stavenisse* survivors, the records from the *Centaurus* and the *Noord*, as well as extracts from the Journal and *Dispatches* by Governor Simon van der Stel. Vigne added footnotes that elucidate the text based on his further research and points out that Grevenbroek and Kolb contained distortions and are misleading in places.[1046]

In his work, *Chronicles of Cape Commanders,* Theal included sections on "The Wreck of the Stavenisse", "The Voyage of the Centaurus" and "The First Voyage of the Noord".[1047] He does not quote verbatim so this work has not been used as a source reference.

The *Stavenisse* records are much better known than the Portuguese shipwreck narratives and the situation of the amaXhosa (*Magose*) in the region of the Buffalo River has long been correctly identified.[1048]

Vigne's translation of the de Chalezac narrative was only published in 1993, and the extra information which it contains was not therefore included in the earlier seminal works of anthropologists, Wilson, Shaw and van Warmelo. Moodie and Vigne are the main source references used in this dissertation, with the Vigne record being preferred in some instances.

[1045] Vigne, *Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac, the 'French Boy'*, (Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1993),
[1046] Introduction, in Vigne, op. cit., n.p.
[1047] Theal, G.M., *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, (Cape Town, W.A. Richards, 188), pp. 247-257.
[1048] Shaw and van Warmelo, *The Material Culture of the Nguni*, op. cit., pp.16-18,95,124, 135, 534, 744, 821.

It needs to be noted that the pagination in Moodie is divided into three sections, each numbered separately. The numbers used in this dissertation are from Part 1 1649-1720.

11.2 Narrative of the shipwreck:

The *Stavenisse* was a homeward bound Dutch East Indiaman, which was wrecked on 16 February 1686. There were 60 survivors.[1049] This wreck site has not been identified but Turner suggests that it was near the mouth of the Mzimkhulu River, just north of Port Shepstone.[1050]

The survivors decided to walk to Cape Town but the way was steep and rugged and 13 turned back. Forty seven decided to make the trip overland.[1051] Those who returned met two survivors from the *Good Hope*, a British ketch, which had been wrecked in the Bay of Natal [Durban] on 17 May 1685.[1052] They were joined by survivors from the *Bonaventura,* a small British ketch that had been wrecked at St Lucia Bay estuary (Piscada) on 25 December 1686.[1053]

The *Stavenisse* survivors moved their goods from the wreck site to the *Good Hope* wreck site at the Bay of Natal and the group of 27 built a small ship which they named the *Centaurus.* Nineteen finally boarded the ship, leaving four Englishmen and one Frenchman who preferred to stay. The *Centaurus* left the [Durban] bay on 17 February 1687 and arrived in Cape Town 29 February 1687.[1054]

The survivors who walked overland towards Cape Town were cared for by a group of people known as the 'Magoses'. By April 1686 these survivors were living in scattered homesteads in the vicinity of the Buffalo River.[1055] They made three attempts to resume

[1049] Knyff, William, Journal of the Commander, in Moodie ,op. cit., pp. 415-416.
[1050] Turner, M., *Shipwreck and Salvage*, (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1988), p. 16.
[1051] Declaration of ten Officers and Sailors, in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 417-419.
[1052] Turner, op. cit., p. 218
[1053] Ibid., p. 221.
[1054] Declaration of Officers and Sailors, 'Despatch', in Moodie, pp. 417-420.
[1055] Jansz and others, 'Dispatch', in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.

the journey to the Cape but both the terrain and the hostility of the people encountered, prevented them from continuing. These survivors lived among the '*Magoses'* [amaXhosa] for twenty-two months before they were rescued.

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac:

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac was a castaway on the coast of south-east Africa in 1687. He was born in Bordeaux in 1672 to a Protestant family. In France the repeal of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 meant that all non-Catholics were persecuted. He fled the country and at the age of 14 (1686), joined a ship, the *Bauden* in Madeira which was on its way to the east. The ship was attacked by pirates and the captain and pilot were killed. The crew nevertheless continued and lost their way. Running short of water and provisions, they decided to put a boat ashore to get help. Eight crewmen, including de Chalezac, were launched. The mother ship sailed on without them as it could not find a place to land. De Chalezac was cared for by local people and met up with the *Stavenisse* survivors and was later rescued with them. He accompanied the *Noord* on one of the trips. From Cape Town he was sent to Holland where he met his brother and they went to Brandenburg where he was given a commission in the Army in 1690. He wrote his account of his experiences shortly after his return to Europe. He died in 1731.[1056]

Rescue attempts by the *Centaurus* and the *Noord*:

The Commander of the Cape, Simon van der Stel, had been impressed by the stories of ivory and gold which the *Centaurus* survivors recounted. He decided that the *Centaurus* should be sent to to survey the coast, find any other survivors and investigate the possibility of trading with the local people. The ship left Table Bay on 10 November 1687 and found the survivors living in the vicinity of Cove Rock near the Buffalo River on 8 February 1688. Some nineteen of the walking party, including a castaway,

[1056] Vigne, Introduction, op. cit., n.p.

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac, were taken on board and they finally arrived in Cape Town on 19 February 1688.[1057]

In January 1689 a small ship, the *Noord*, was sent to investigate the coast as far as Rio de la Goa [Delagoa - now Maputo Bay] and attempt to rescue the remaining people. On 4 January 1689 they entered the Bay of Natal and found two more *Stavenisse* survivors. They then collected one more from the Cove Rock area. [1058] In October 1689 the *Noord* made a second voyage along the coast, landing at the Bay of Natal but finding no more *Stavenisse* survivors. The ship anchored in Maputo Bay and brief comments were made about the people.[1059]

11.3 Identification of the Landmarks:

The remains of the *Stavenisse* wreck have not been found. The evidence was that it was 20 "*mylen"* from the Bay of Natal.[1060] This is 78.4 km and, as the survivors made several journeys to collect material from the wreck,[1061] it could not have been too far away. If the distance of about 80 km is accepted, this would place the site near the Mtwalume River.

Cove Rock, near East London, has been identified as the place where some of the *Stavenisse* survivors and Chenu de Chelezac were rescued. The location of Cove Rock was known to the Dutch seamen. It was "generally called by us the Coffin and showing itself like an island, and past which we had sailed three times."[1062] Cove Rock, four kilometres south of the Buffalo River is a long, fairly high rocky promontory that appears to be an island, but is contiguous with the shore. It could be said to resemble a sarcophagus. There is no other similar landmark along the Eastern Cape coast so it

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[1057] *Centaurus* Log-book , and 'Dispatches', in Moodie, op cit., pp. 424-425, 428.
[1058] *Noord* Log-book, in Moodie, pp. 441-442.
[1059] 'Dispatches' 24 May 1690, in Moodie, pp. 445-446.
[1060] Declaration of ten Officers and Sailors, in Moodie, p. 417.
[1061] Ibid., p. 417.
[1062] *Centaurus* Log-book , 7 February, 1688, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 424.

can be accepted that the *Stavenisse* survivors were living in this vicinity when they were rescued.

Table 15 shows the dates and description of places cited in the text. Table 16 shows the identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, dates and rates of travel.

Table 15

STAVENISSE

Walking party and rescue

Dates and landmarks cited in the text.[1063]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1686	Feb.	16	Wrecked 80 km south of Bay of Natal	82
		19	Depart for the Cape of Good Hope	83
			Steep and rugged way	
		22	47 continue, others turn back *[Mzimkhulu R.]*	85
	March	29	15 separate and take another route	
			Attacked by 'Makriggas' stripped	
	April	9	Taken in by 'Magoses', charity, hospitality	
		26	In getting there had passed 4 great rivers	
	Dec.	17	Attempt to go to the Cape	86
		24	Some return to hosts	
1687	Jan.	12	Others return through mountains and forests	
	March	21	Try again, along the shore	
			Attacked by 'Caauws' after 30 miles [48 km]	87
1688	Feb.	7	*Centaurus* arrives at 'Coffin' *[Cove]* Rock	104
		8	Anchor there	105
		9	19 taken on board	
		10	Look for others, anchor at 'Eerste River' *[Buffalo]*	106
		11	Depart	109
		19	Arrive in Cape Town	114

Table 16

[1063] Vigne, R., Ed., *Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac*, *The 'French Boy'*, (Cape Town, van Riebeeck Sociaty, 1993).

STAVENISSE

Walking party and rescue

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, dates and rates of travel in km per day.

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate
1686	February	16	Vicinity Mtwalume R.				
		19	Depart, walk south-west				
		22	Mzimkhulu R. some return	4	37		9.2
			Over great rivers Mzimvubu, Mthatha				
	March	29	Mbhashe R.	240	36		6.6
			Divide into two groups				
			Attacked by 'Makriggas'				
			Assisted by 'Magoses' [amaXhosa]				3.8
	April	9	Kei R.	74	11		6.7
		26	Buffalo R. area	64	17		3.8
			Divided among different homesteads				
	December	17	Depart Buffalo R.				
		24	Keiskamma R.	50	7		7
			Return				
1687	March	21	Depart Tsholomnqa R.				
			Cross Keiskamma R, with difficulty				
			Cross 5 rivers				
		26	Meet 'Caaws' before Fish R.	40	5		8
			Return				
	April ?		Depart Keiskamma R.				
			Into Amathole Mountans				
			Return				
1688	February	9	*Centaurus* rescues survivors from Cove Rock area [Buffalo R.]				
		19	Arrive Cape Town				

Distance: Mzimkhulu River to Buffalo River - 380 km
Time taken : 22 February to 26 April 1686 - 64 days
Average rate of travel per day – 5.9 km

***Stavenisse* walking party:**

On 19 March 1686, the survivors left the wreck site, moving south-west in an effort to reach Cape Town. On the fourth morning a number turned back as the way had become too steep and rugged.[1064] This would have made the date 22 March. The coast is undulating but not rugged except where many of the rivers enter the sea. There are many rivers where there are steep-sided banks and gorges, so it can be assumed that they turned back at one of them. As some of the members of this group were not fit, they probably only travelled at about six km a day so after four days they would have covered about 30 km. This would have brought them to the Mzimkhulu River.

The subsequent dates given in the text are confusing. The date of 22 February 1686 is given for the first separation of the group, possibly at the Mzimkhulu River. The text then states that

> "they set out to the south-west intending to proceed overland to the Cape of Good Hope; and that during that interval between that date and 26 April, having wandered over hill and dale and passed four great rivers, they left behind them the carpenter and a seaman, who were drowned in one of the rivers; that the trumpeter and quartermaster lay down exhausted, in addition to whom there were some too weak to follow, who were left in the homesteads of the Africans, because of their injured limbs and other complaints."[1065]

The four great rivers then would have been the Mzimvubu, Mbhashe Mthatha and Great Kei. The distance between the Mzimkhulu and the Buffalo Rivers is 380 km, and the time taken was 66 days, so the rate of travel would have been 5.7 km a day.

The account gives the date of 29 March when the 47 men who had continued the journey divided into two parties, with 15 going one way, probably inland, and the remainder continuing along the coast.[1066] This was therefore 36 days from the time of

[1064] Declaration by ten Officers, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 417.
[1065] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.
[1066] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.

the first separation, probably at the Mzimkhulu River. It is likely that they had reached the Mbhashe River about 240 km from the Mzimkhulu, which would give them a travelling time of 6.6 km a day. It was noted that they had been troubled with ill health so this is a reasonable speed.

After the separation one of the groups was attacked, stripped and plundered by a band of indigenous people whom they called the '*Makriggas'*.

> "They were then obliged for some days to beg their food in the homesteads of the '*Magoses'*, until 9 April, when at length they were distributed in twos, threes and fours in the surrounding homesteads, each of which was willing to house the '*Melonque'* (as they called the white people) even if they were already filled."[1067]

This would have been 11 days later and they would probably have reached and passed the Great Kei River by the time that they were given hospitality. It is recorded that they had been begging from the '*Magoses'* before this point.

The Great Kei River is 74 km from the Mbhashe, so they would have been moving at about 6.7 km a day. It is probable that the '*Makriggas'* attacked the survivors somewhere between the Mbhashe and Great Kei Rivers.

The date given for the survivors when they were given shelter by the *Magoses,* was 9 April, but 26 April is the date given earlier in the text for the end of the journey. As they were rescued from the Cove Rock/Buffalo River area, it is not clear how the difference in time and distance can be accounted for. The distance between the Great Kei and the Buffalo Rivers is about 60 km, it is assumed that the survivors met the *Magoses* in the vicinity of the Great Kei River on 6 April and over time the survivors were passed to other members of the *Magoses* who lived closer to the Buffalo River, reaching there on 24 April.

Three attempts were made to walk to the Cape:

Attempt 1:

[1067] Ibid., p. 85.

On 17 December the survivors tried to resume their journey from the Buffalo River and/or the Tsholomnqa River area, but said that there were too many mountains and forests so on 24 December they decided to return to their previous hosts.[1068] They had travelled for seven days, so were probably stopped by the deeply incised valley of the Keiskamma River. The distance between the Buffalo and Keiskamma Rivers is 50 km, so they would have travelled at about 7 km a day. The account then states that after 19 days [12 January 1687] nine companions returned to them, also being unable to continue.[1069] It is not clear whether these were part of the group who had parted at the Mbhashe River, or some who had tried to continue travelling westward.

Attempt 2:

Another effort was made to get to the Cape in spite of being warned by their hosts that there were hostile people who would attack them. On 21 March a group of 24 tried to take a coastal route to the west but as predicted, they were attacked by the '*Caauws'* on 26 March and again turned back.[1070] The distance given was '20 mylen',[1071] [Dutch miles], and as one is equivalent to 3 920 metres, this would be 49 km.[1072] If they did this in five days they would only have reached the Keiskamma River, which is 50 km from the Buffalo. According to de Chalezac on the first day they came to a 'great river' that they crossed with difficulty.[1073] Vigne suggested that this was the Gonubie,[1074] but this is a small river not a 'great' one. After a further five days travelling through uninhabited land and having crossed five more rivers, they were attacked by more than a hundred men who hit them with sticks and stones. They found they were unable to communicate with their assailants as their language was unintelligible. One of the group was killed. They then returned to their former hosts.[1075]

[1068] Jansz and others, in Vigne op. cit., p. 86.
[1069] Ibid., p. 86.
[1070] Ibid., p. 86.
[1071] Ibid., p. 84.
[1072] Vigne, op. cit., Note 7, p. 95.
[1073] De Chelezac, “Voyage to the coast of the Caffres” in Vigne, op. cit., p. 32.
[1074] Vigne, op. cit., Note 31, p. 55.
[1075] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

The evidence is that the survivors were living in the vicinity of Cove Rock, which is west of the Buffalo River, when they were rescued. They were probably spread over a fairly wide area, which could have been east of the Buffalo and near the Gonubie, as suggested by Vigne. The reference to a 'great river', which they had great difficulty in crossing, does however, point to the Keiskamma. None of the rivers between the Gonubie and the Keiskamma, including the Buffalo, would pose such problems. It is suggested that the most logical place to leave from would be from the westernmost place where the '*Magoses'* were located, and this would probably be in the region of the Tsholomnqa River. The times and distances are then logical.

The survivors would then have left the Tsholomnqa on 21 March and would have had to first cross the difficult Keiskamma River. The five rivers, which they state they crossed subsequently, would have been the Mthana, Gqutywa, Begha, Mgwalana and Mpekweni. The next large river is the Fish, even larger than the Keiskamma, but there is no mention of crossing it. They were attacked on 26 March, some five days later. The distance between the Keiskamma and the Fish is about 42 km so they would have been travelling at about 8.4 km a day. As they do not comment on seeing the Fish River, so they were probably attacked somewhere between the Mpekweni and the Fish Rivers, where the '*Caauws'* were living at the time.

Information given by the survivors when on the *Centaurus*, was that they were prevented from continuing west by people who had bows and arrows.[1076]

The survivors then resigned themselves to living among the indigenous people, sowing and reaping 'corn'. While they were living there

> "it became clear to them that every year at a known time and place, a day's journey from where they were, between 50 and 100 Hottentots, with their wives and children, would come to trade coral and copper rings for *dagha*, which is similar to leaves of hemp and is

[1076] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 427.

used like opium or the *affioen* chewed by Indians, without actually making them sleepy and as if drunk."[1077]

The meeting place probably would have been near a river and this would have been either the Keiskamma or the Tsholomnqa River.

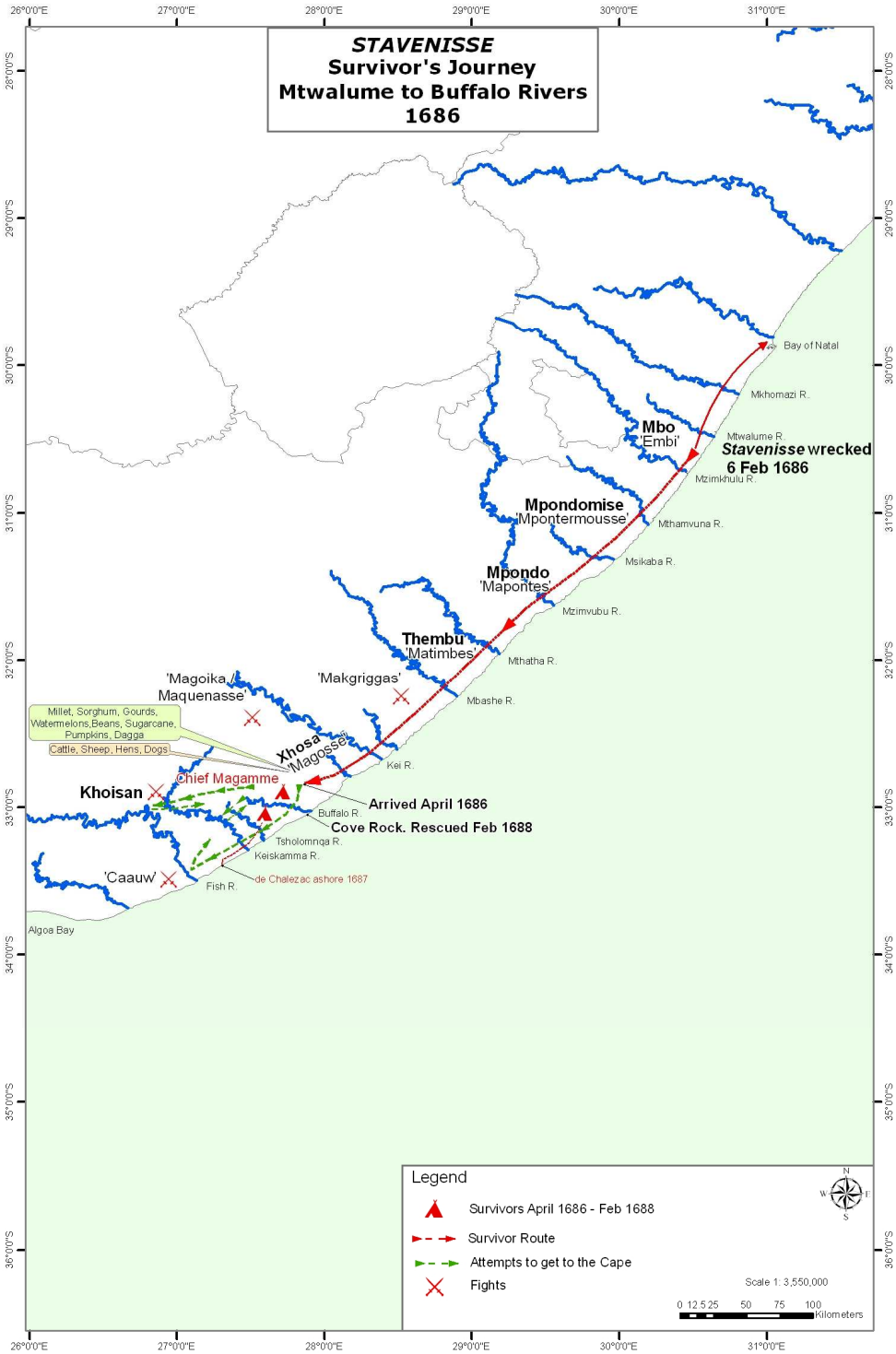
Attempt 3:

The survivors then made a further effort to walk to the Cape, hoping for assistance of the 'Hottentots', whom they had made contact with at the 'trade fair' and were returning to their homes in the west. This was not granted as the wives "would not allow their fellow wayfarers into their company".[1078] It was said that the survivors would have to travel to the country of the '*Maghanan'*, whose king was called '*Gamma'*, and then through a region occupied by the '*Inquase* Hottentots'.[1079] They tried to go inland but after 'several days' were defeated by the mountainous country and as the area was uninhabited they suffered from hunger. [1080] They must have moved north into the Amathole Mountains and into the Hogsback area.

Map 10 shows the walking party's journey, relevant dates, the positions of the groups encountered and the three attempts to reach the Cape.

[1077] Jansz. and others, in Vigne, p. 86.
[1078] Ibid., p. 86.
[1079] Ibid., p. 86.
[1080] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 33.

Map 10 *Stavenisse* survivors' journey



The Journey of De Chalezac:

In 1687 the ship, on which de Chalezac was a ship's boy, had been attacked, the captain and pilot killed, leaving the crew with no idea of their position. De Chelezac and seven of the crew embarked on a small boat, having been given the task of going ashore to try to ascertain where they were. The small boat was then caught in a storm and it was said that after five days they landed on a rocky island. "The rock was arid and dry, and we found nothing but a certain species of bird, which could scarcely fly, if at all."[1081] This must have been Bird Island in Algoa Bay and the birds were penguins. Vigne suggests that the rocky island was in the region of the Kei or Mzimvubu Rivers.[1082] This would be impossible as the only 'islands' off the Wild Coast are Snag Rock off the mouth of the Kei and the islet off Msikaba River mouth. They are regularly awash and have no breeding birds.[1083] Bird Island is the eastern limit of the penguin.[1084]

Some days later the crew on the boat put themselves ashore. The people they encountered kept cattle and sheep.[1085] De Chalezac was hit on the head and left for dead. His other companions were killed.[1086] He was rescued by two black men who took him to their hut, dressed his wounds and gave him food. Four days later, he met a man who said he had been on a ship that had been wrecked about a year before. [1087] This man was a survivor from the *Stavenisse*, one of a group who were trying to get to the Cape, and de Chalezac was invited to join them.[1088] He must have arrived in '*Magose'* country.

The recorded times and distances are difficult to reconcile. De Chalezac stated that ten days after leaving the ship the crew in the boat made landfall on a sandy beach. It was

[1081] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
[1082] Vigne, Note 23, p. 54.
[1083] Jim Feely, Pers. Comm..
[1084] Carl Vernon, .Pers. Comm.
[1085] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 29.
[1086] Ibid., p. 30.
[1087] Ibid., p. 31.
[1088] Ibid., p. 32.

said that land had been sighted on 8 February and they had embarked on the boat on the same day.[1089] He said that on the sixth day they landed on the island, so it would have been four days before they finally landed on the shore. This suggests that the times given by de Chalezac must have been confused as it is would have taken much longer than four days to sail in a small boat from Bird Island to the Buffalo River area, a distance of about 280 km, where he met the *Stavenisse* survivors.

On his return from the attempts to walk to the Cape, de Chalezac separated from the *Stavenisse* people and joined a cousin of the king. He was treated with great care and kindness by this man, who became a father to him.[1090] The place where he was living was four leagues from the Cove Rock area.[1091] This would have been about 20 km to the west, probably in the vicinity of present-day Needs Camp.

11.4 Location of the Indigenous People:

Maputo Bay Area:

The people lived in huts that were both square and round, wattled and thatched with reeds. They cultivated "*annanas*, *piesang*, watermelons, pumpkins, calabashes, *pattatas*, a kind of peas and beans, two kinds of corn, of the same kind that grows in Natal, of which they make bread and beer."[1092]

Bay of Natal:

These observations were made over a period of 20 months with the survivors exploring the country for a distance of about 50 miles [80.5 km] inland. The *Stavenisse* survivors stated that the country was fruitful and well populated. The people kept cattle, goats and fowls cultivated corn, pumpkins and beans, similar to the European horse-bean. They did not eat poultry or eggs. They also grew 'tobacco', but it was felt that the quality needed improvement. The local people were "friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong

[1089] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
[1090] Ibid., p. 34.
[1091] Ibid., p, 42.
[1092] 'Dispatch' 15 April 1689, in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 430.

and ingenious, armed with only one assegai, obedient and submissive to their King or Chief, living in communities, in huts made of branches, wrought through with rushes and long grass, and roofed like haystack in Holland."[1093]

In preparation for their sea trip the survivors were able to obtain quantities of provisions from the local people. "For a copper arm-ring or a common neck-ring, of the thickness of a tobacco-pipe, they sell a fat cow or ox of 600lbs weight, more or less; for a similar ring they give as much corn as will fill an ordinary meat tub".[1094] In exchange for copper and beads the survivors stocked up with "ground meal, two or three tons of corn, 200 or 300 fowls, about 1000 lb salted and smoked beef, with 20 goats, [and] 150 pumpkins". [1095]

The *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura* survivors also found the indigenous people friendly and hospitable and willing to trade. They bartered beads for meat, bread, milk, fruit and roots and copper rings for ivory. "Copper rings were much prized and were sold for elephants' teeth."[1096]

Mzimkhulu to the Mbhashe Rivers:

The kingdoms mentioned by the survivors were *Magoses*, *Makriggas, Matimbes, Mapontes* and *Emboos*.[1097] According to evidence given when on the *Centaurus*, the survivors said that they had passed through

> "five sorts of Hottentots ….. named (beginning at the place of the wreck) the *Semboes*, the *Mapontemousse*, the *Mapontes*, the *Matimbes*, the *Magryghas* (the most cruel of all, those who plundered them of everything) and the *Magosse*, where they were received with every kindness, and have been supplied with the necessaries of life up to this day."[1098]

[1093] Declaration by ten Officers and Sailors, in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 417-418.
[1094] Ibid., p. 417.
[1095] Ibid., p. 417.
[1096] *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura,* Evidence of survivors, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 419.
[1097] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.
[1098] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 426-427.

Grevenbroek listed the *Magose*; *Matimbe*; *Embi; Mapontes* and *Makriggas*.[1099]

The survivors met an old Portuguese man whom they understood was from the country of the *Mapontes* [Mpondo]. He said he had been shipwrecked about 40 years before and bronze and iron cannon were still to be seen. He had been circumcised, spoke only an African language, owned cattle and had a wife and children. He did not wish to return to Europe.[1100] He could have been from the *Madre de Deus* at Bonza Bay, near East London (1643) or the *Atalaia* at Chefane (1647). The presence of brass or iron cannon is difficult to explain as no cannon have been seen on shore at these wreck sites. Cannon have been found at the *Santo Alberto* site at Sunrise-on-Sea, a much earlier wreck (1593), but it is fairly close to the other two and over time, he may have confused the sites.[1101] This man was alone so it is possible that he had crossed the Kei River in order to meet with the latest shipwreck survivors or that they had misunderstood his description of the people as the *Mapontes*.

Mbhashe to the Keiskamma Rivers:

The *Magose*/*Macosse* people assisted the survivors soon after they had been attacked, which would still have been east of the Kei River. When the survivors were rescued, they were living in the vicinity of Cove Rock, some five km west of the Buffalo River. De Chalezac said that the extent of their territory was about 30 leagues in circumference.[1102]

The survivors lived with the '*Magose'* (de Chalezac spelt the name *Macosse*] for 22 months. They noted that they were "so well treated that the barbarians shamed the Christians by their charity and hospitality".[1103] The kindness of the *Magose* was

[1099] De Grevenbroek', J.W., " Descriptio" in Vigne, op. cit., p. 134.
[1100] Jansz and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.
[1101] The East London Museum and Amathole Museum each have one cannon from this site.
[1102] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.
[1103] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.

illustrated as when the survivors returned from their abortive effort to continue west, their hosts again proved friendly and gave each European a weapon and corn and "enough to set up house, as many cattle as they needed, two three or four, indeed up to ten cows to milk. And in addition further foodstuffs and beer to support life."[1104]

The men were 'well formed in body' and 'swift runners'. Their king was called '*Magamma'* or '*Majamma'*, who was "a friendly, good hearted, young and active fellow."[1105] De Chalezac described them as "well-built and tall, with dexterous limbs"[1106]. He said that the people with whom the *Magose* were on good terms were "such as *Maponoou Mouee*, and they all owe fealty to one king."[1107] He commented that the king who ruled the *Magoses* had eight sons, five daughters and ten wives. He did "not know how he came to his royal status, for his father, who had ruled before him, was still alive, and he was not the eldest of his brothers."[1108]

De Chalezac was cared for by "a cousin of the king".[1109] He does not give his name, but Grevenbroek, with no apparent evidence, calls him '*Tokhe'* and later, '*Sotope'* or '*Sesse'*.[1110]

The '*Magoses'* lived in huts made of branches of trees woven into arches and covered with mats. They had small settlements, which usually housed 40 to 50 people.[1111] Their clothes consisted of a cloak of ox-hide and two pieces of hide suspended in the front and back from a wide belt.[1112] They practiced circumcision.[1113] A man had to pay

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[1104] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.
[1105] *Centaurus* Log-book , in Moodie, op. cit., p. 427.
[1106] Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35
[1107] Ibid., p. 35.
[1108] Ibid., p. 36.
[1109] Ibid., p. 34.
[1110] De Grevenbroek, J.W., "Descriptio", in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 133, 134.
[1111] Ibid., p. 37.
[1112] Ibid., p. 35.
[1113] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 38, Jansz, pp. 88-89 and *Centaurus* Log-book, in Vigne, op. cit., p.109

the prospective father-in-law in cattle and kind before he could marry his daughter.[1114] It was said that they had 'no beliefs', but de Chalezac commented that they did have rites that he could not understand.[1115] They had 'rainmakers' or 'diviners'.[1116] The king dealt with crimes, which were punished severely.[1117]

The Xhosa kept cattle and it was said that many individuals owned herds of 2000 to 3000 head.[1118] They moved every two years for new pastures. Other livestock were sheep, which were not very common, fowls and dogs.[1119] Milk was curdled.[1120] It was said that they did not eat fowls or eggs.[1121] Cultivated crops were "pumpkins, small calabashes, watermelons, sugar-cane, beans and wheat."[1122] There were three types of grain.[1123] Two types were described, one had a 'sweet seed' and another, a mustard-like seed, which they ground and made into cakes and beer.[1124] The other type described the grain as 'corn', "from which they make very well tasted and nourishing bread".[1125] The grain was stored in cavities under the ground.[1126] There were two types of beans, a kind of 'ground nut' and an 'underground bean'. They also grew 'tobacco', which they smoked. [1127]

Two types of wild figs, a small plum and medicinal herbs were collected.[1128] Also noted were 'wild plums' and 'wild cherries with large stones' which were very sour, as well as a

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[1114] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 38.
[1115] Ibid., p. 39.
[1116] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 40 and Jansz, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 87,
[1117] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 41.
[1118] Ibid., p. 36.
[1119] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 36, 39 and Jansz p. 91, in Vigne, op. cit.
[1120] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 38.
[1121] Jansz, and Others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 87.
[1122] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 428.
[1123] Jansz, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.
[1124] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
[1125] Jansz and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.
[1126] Ibid., p. 89.
[1127] Ibid., p. 90.
[1128] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 428.

kind of apple which could only be eaten when very ripe.[1129] They ate roots, one of which was 'worse-flavoured than a sweet potato'.[1130]

The '*Magose'* [amaXhosa] hunted game but no fishing was done.

> "They eat no fish, however, either from the sea or the rivers, for they include snakes under the name of fish and believe they will die if they eat them."[1131]

Jansz also reported that the amaXhosa "will eat no fish, nor anything that comes from the sea, not chickens nor eggs, nor the entrails of wild boar".[1132]

Earthenware pots were used.[1133] The amaXhosa could smelt iron and make arm rings. The weapons mentioned were spears or assegais, shields, sticks and stones.[1134]

In response to raids by people referred to as *'Magoika'* or '*Maquenasses*', the amaXhosa chief raised an army of 4000-5000 men and attacked them. It was said that the *Maquenasses* used only poisoned arrows, but as it was windy their arrows were carried away and the '*zagays*' of the amaXhosa were more effective. No mercy was shown and men, women and children were massacred and booty was taken of 6000 head of cattle and numerous sheep.[1135]

West of the Keiskamma River:

The people described as enemies of the 'Magosse' were named '*Makanaena',*[1136] '*Magoika'* or '*Maquenasses'*. [1137] These people fought with poisoned arrows, but no assegais. They "use the bow and arrow, and do them great injury, for they not only

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[1129] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 91.
[1130] Ibid., p. 85.
[1131] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 39.
[1132] Jansz, and others in Vigne, op. cit., p.87.
[1133] De Chalezac, p. 30 and Jansz, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85
[1134] De Chalezac, p. 30, in Vigne, op. cit., and *Centaurus* Log-book, in Moodie, p. 427.
[1135] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 36.
[1136] *Centaurus* Log-book , in Vigne, op. cit., p. 109.
[1137] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.

steal their cattle, but do not spare women and children, inhumanly murdering them".[1138] They had considerable herds of cattle (6000) and sheep, which the '*Magoses'* took as booty. They must have been a large group as it took an army of about 4000 of the '*Magoses'* to subdue them.[1139] These were the people who the survivors encountered inland when they attempted to journey to the Cape so they lived west of the Keiskamma River. This would probably have been in the Fort Beaufort area or in the mountains to the north.

In the first attempt to reach the Cape, the survivors were attacked by people who both de Chalezac and Jansz referred to as a 'type of *Caffre* called the *Caauws'*. The survivors were later told that they would have to pass through the land of the '*Maghanan'*, with a king named '*Gamma'* and the '*Inquase* Hottentots'.[1140]

According to evidence given on board the *Centaurus*, twelve men tried to get to the Cape but they were killed by the '*Batuas'*.[1141] It is not clear whether this was part of this attempt (along the coast) or the later one which was inland. Neither Chalezac nor Kind mentions this in their accounts. Vigne suggests that these were the people who attacked de Chalezac and his companions on their coastal attempt and that the term *baTwa* was the Xhosa name for the 'San'.[1142]

What could be called 'trade fairs' were held regularly,

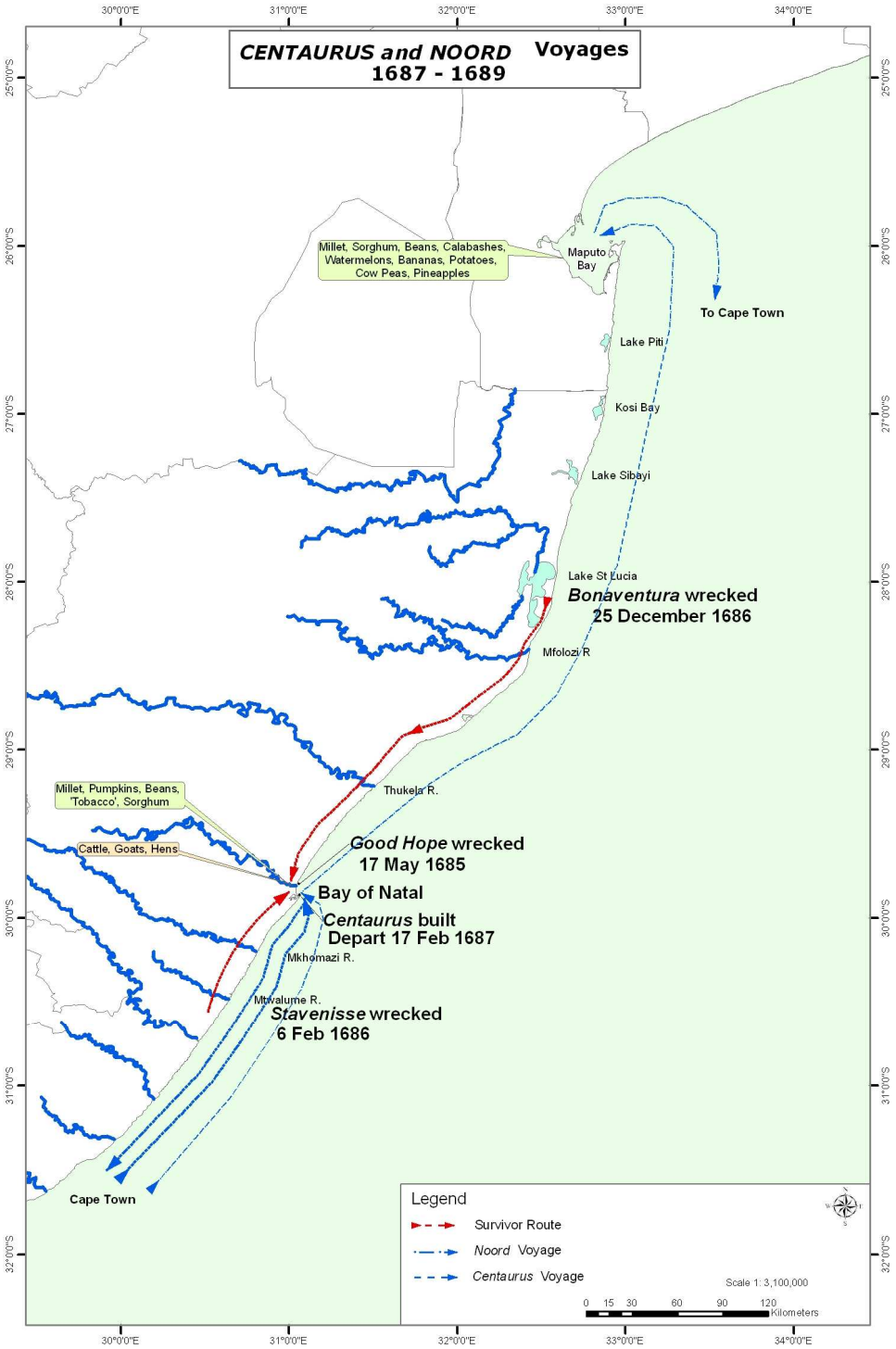
> "every year at a known time and place, a days' journey from where they were, between 50 and 100 Hottentots, with wives and children, would come to trade coral and copper rings for 'dagha', which is similar to leaves of hemp and is used like opium or the 'affioen' chewed by Indians, without making them mad, but only sleepy and as if drunk."[1143].

[1138] *Centaurus* Log-book , in Vigne, op. cit., p. 109.
[1139] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 34.
[1140] Jansz and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.
[1141] *Centaurus*, Log-book, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 427.
[1142] Vigne, op. cit., Note 32, p. 55.
[1143] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.

As it is suggested that this territory extended to the Tsholomnqa River, the fairs were probably held near the Keiskamma River.

Map 11 shows the voyages of the *Centaurus* and the *Noord*, the positions of the *Stavenisse*, the *Bonavenura* and the *Good Hope*, relevant dates and the livestock and cultivation observed.

Map 11 - Voyages of the *Centaurus* and *Noord*



11.5 The Indigenous People in 1686 – an overview.

11.5.1 Linguistics:

As the survivors had lived among the amaXhosa (*Magoses*), located between the Mbhashe and Tsholomnqa Rivers, for nearly two years, they had learnt to speak their language, which by this time would have been isiXhosa. The people whom the survivors met near the Fish River, the '*Caaws' (inquase*), spoke a language unintelligible to the survivors. This could have been a Khoisan dialect.

11.5.2 Physical appearance:

The amaXhosa and the men living around the Bay of Natal were strong, well built and could run very fast.

11.5.3 Political Organisation:

The clans who lived in the Bay of Natal area had chiefs or kings who were highly respected. They were obedient and submissive to the chief who had wide powers. The amaXhosa had a king named *Magamma*, alternative spelling, *Majamma*. Their chief was also highly respected. The communities were well organized and crimes were punished severely.

The amaXhosa chiefdom must have been fairly extensive as de Chalezac estimated that the circumference measured 30 leagues. It is doubtful that he would have meant the circumference, but he could have been familiar with the width and breadth of the territory. Thirty leagues is about 130 km so this indicates that the area probably extended from the Tsholomnqa River for some 130 km which would be west of the Kei and as far inland as present-day King William's Town or Stutterheim. The wider kingdom could have extended from the Tsholomnqa to the Mbhashe Rivers.

11.5.4 Settlements:

The Thonga people living in the Maputo Bay area had huts that were both square and round. The walls were 'wattled' (woven) and they were thatched with reeds.

The people living around the Bay of Natal had huts made of branches entwined with rushes and grass and roofed like haystacks. The people lived in well-organised communities.

The amaXhosa lived in round huts made of branches tied into an arch and covered with mats. Their settlements were groups of huts housing about 40 to 50 people. They moved every two years in search of fresh pastures for their livestock.

11.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories:

Clothing of the amaXhosa consisted of a hide cloak and a belt of hide with pieces hanging in the front and at the back. Beads as ornaments were much valued by the Thonga, amaXhosa and the people living in the Bay of Natal area.

11.5.6 Customs and Ritual:

Circumcision was practiced by the amaXhosa. The shipwreck survivor, who had joined the amaMpondo people, had been circumcised, indicating that this was practiced by those people. The Xhosa used rainmakers and diviners. Marriage for the Xhosa had to be with permission from the chief and the prospective father-in-law had to be paid in cattle.

11.4.7 Belief Systems:

Rites were observed but the belief systems of the amaXhosa were little understood and could not be interpreted.

11.5.8 Mode of Livelihood:

11.5.8.1 Livestock:

There was no mention of livestock in the Maputo Bay area. Cattle, goats and fowls were found around the Bay of Natal. Among the amaXhosa, cattle were said to be numerous, with many individuals owning herds as large as 2000 to 3000 head. They also had sheep, which were not so numerous, dogs and fowls. It was said that fowls and eggs were not eaten. This could be an observation made at a particular time and place, as it is illogical that any form of livestock would have been kept if there was no use for the product.

The *Maquenasse*, who lived west of the Keiskamma, must have had large herds as 6000 head of cattle and numerous sheep were taken as booty by the amaXhosa.

11.5.8.2 Cultivation:

In the Maputo Bay area, two types of 'corn', were cultivated, 'the same kind as grown in Natal'. These were probably millet and sorghum. 'Ground meal' and 'corn' were recorded in the Bay of Natal region. The ground meal could have been pearl millet, *Pennisetum glaucum* or finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*. The 'corn' is likely to have been sorghum, S*orghum bicolor.*[1144] Cultivation must have been extremely productive as the survivors were able to obtain 'two or three tons of corn'.

The question must be asked if the 'corn' could have been maize introduced at this period. The Portuguese survivor record of 1647, together with the earlier accounts, shows that three types of grain, pearl and finger millet and sorghum, were being cultivated over large areas of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. The *Stavenisse* records only refer to three types of grain. When maize was introduced it is unlikely that it would have completely displaced the traditionally grown grains, but would have been an addition to the crop regime while preferences developed. It is therefore suggested that it is unlikely that what is referred to as 'corn' would have been maize in 1686.

[1144] Van Wyk, B., and Gerike, N., *People's Plants*, (Pretoria, Briza publications, 2000), pp. 10, 12, 14.

For the amaXhosa, the 'sweet seed' would have been pearl millet, *Pennisetum glaucum*, and the mustard-like seed would have been finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*. It is most probable that what was termed 'corn' or ''wheat' was sorghum, *Sorghum bicolor.*

The amaXhosa stored their grain in cavities under the ground.

Other crops, also recorded by the earlier survivors, were grown in all the regions east of the Keiskamma. They were: calabashes, *Lagenaria siceraria*, water-melons, *Citrillus lanatus*,[1145] and two types of beans, probably Jugo, *Vignia subterranea*, and Mungo, *Vigna radiata.* [1146] What was called 'sugar cane' cultivated by the amaXhosa, was probably sweet -stalk millet.[1147] Bananas (piesang) were grown in the Maputo Bay area. What was reported as tobacco was probably dagga, *Cannabis sativa*,[1148] and this had extended to the Bay of Natal region and as far as the Keiskamma River by this period.

The record of the pumpkin, *Cucurbito pepo,* being grown[1149] is of interest as this was not a crop recorded by the Portuguese survivors. This therefore gives a period (1647-1686) during which the pumpkin had been recognized as a valuable food crop and was being cultivated as far south as the Buffalo River area.

'Annanas', the pineapple, *Ananas cosmosus* and 'pattatas', sweet potato, *Pomoea batatas*, were recorded as being found around Maputo Bay.

11.5.8.3 Plant Gathering:

[1145] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., pp. 38, 46.
[1146] Ibid., pp. 28, 29.
[1147] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, Vol. I, Grains*, (Washington, National Academy Press, 1996), p. 125.
[1148] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 158.
[1149] Jansz Kind, A., and Others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.

The two types of wild fig, *Ficus sp,* were collected. The small plum could have been the red-berried wild plum, *Harpephyllum caffrum*, and the sour cherry-like fruits could have been the Kei-apple, *Dovyalis caffra*.[1150] The sweet-potato type root could have been the Livingstone or wild potato, *Plectranthus esculentus*.[1151] The apple-like fruit could have been the green monkey orange, *Strychnos spinosa*.[1152]

11.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

The amaXhosa hunted game but no fishing was done and fish were not eaten.

11.5.8.5 Food preparation:

Grain was ground, 'cakes' and bread were baked and beer was made by the Thonga, amaZulu and amaXhosa.

11.5.8.6 Technology:

Earthenware containers were made by the amaXhosa and used to store milk, indicating that pottery was one of the skills of the indigenous people. They could also smelt iron and copper. Weapons were assegais, shields and sticks used by the amaXhosa. Bows and poisoned arrows were used by those living to the west of the Keiskamma River.

11.5.8.7 Trade:

Links with Maputo Bay had been established in the Bay of Natal area as ivory was being collected for that trade. Beads were well known there and were a highly desirable commodity. Metals were valued, with copper being highly prized. Some exchange rates were one copper neck ring for a cow or for a meat tub full of grain.

The people of the Maputo Bay region showed evidence of wide trade contacts with the Portuguese.

[1150] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., pp. 42, 44.
[1151] Ibid., p. 94.
[1152] Ibid., p. 58

The report that fairs were held regularly, probably near the Keiskamma River, when hunter-gatherers and/or pastoralists and amaXhosa would meet and trade coral and copper rings for 'dagha'[1153] is a significant one. Wilson has noted that there is a reference to 'marts' being held by the Sotho, suggesting that they might have had trading partners, but "No further evidence of 'marts' has been found, nor is there any evidence of regular markets such as occurred elsewhere in Africa."[1154] In addition, it was known that the Portuguese traded gold at inland 'fairs' in 'Rhodesia' [Zimbabwe], but none have been recorded as being held south of the Limpopo.[1155]

These 'fairs' then stand as the first in the historical record and could have been the forerunners of the later trade fairs held in Grahamstown and at Fort Willshire, established in 1817, between the white settlers and the amaXhosa.[1156]

11.5.9 Cultural Group Distribution:

The people living in the Maputo Bay area would have been the Thonga .[1157]

Those who lived in the area around and inland of the Bay of Natal were very successful cultivators and herders. They lived in well-organised communities under chiefs.

The survivors who walked south-west from the wreck site passed through five 'kingdoms' situated along the coast to the extent of 150 miles [241km] and inland for about 30 miles [48km]. These were the *Magoses, Makriggas, Matimbes, Mapontes* and *Emboos*.[1158] The survivors on the *Centaurus* then gave the names in the order through

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[1153] Jansz and others in Vigne., op. cit., p. 86.
[1154] Wilson, M., "The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga", Wilson, M. and Thompson, L., *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. I, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), p.152.
[1155] Wilson, in Wilson and Thompson, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 152.
[1156] Ibid., p. 241.
[1157] Van Warmelo, N.J., "The classification of Cultural Groups", in Hammond-Tooke,W., Ed., *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979),
[1158] Jansz, and others, in Vigne, op cit., p. 90.

which they passed from the wreck site. They were the *Semboes*, the *Mapontomousse*, the *Mapontes*, the *Matimbes* and the 'cruel *Magryghas'* and the *Magose*.[1159] The derivation from the sounds indicates that the *Mapontomousse* would have been the Mpondomise who would have been located west of the Mzimkhulu; the *Mapontes* would have been the Mpondo who would have already been established in the area near the Mzimvubu River; the *Matimbes* were the abaThembu; living at that time between the Mzimvubu and the Mbhashe Rivers; the *Magose*, clearly the Xhosa, was the last group encountered and among whom the survivors lived. Vigne accepts these derivations and they are marked on his map.[1160] Wilson identified the *Semboes* as Mbo and the *Magryghas* as Griqua.[1161]

This shows a pattern of distribution remarkably similar to the situation of the Southern Nguni in the nineteenth century. The Mbo, also referred to as 'Emboos' and 'Embi', were the first people the survivors met, this would have been situated north of the Mzimkhulu River. Van Warmelo states that the Mbo could have been a sub-division of the Nguni and that today they are found in Swaziland.[1162] Ayliff and Whiteside said that the valley of the Buffalo River in Natal was known as Embo, probably after people who had travelled from Central Africa and had been there for about 200 years.[1163]

The group who attacked the *Stavenisse* survivors, the '*Magrygas'/'Makriggas'*, possibly forerunners of the Griquas, could have been a group of pastoralists who had been ousted from their land east of the Kei by the Xhosa at a relatively recent date and were still angry. The groups who made raids on the Xhosa were called the 'Magoika' or 'Maquenasse/Makenasse'[1164] and they must have been a different group. The fact that these people only used poisoned bows and arrows and no other weapons could suggest that they were hunter-gatherers, but large herds of cattle and sheep were taken

[1159] *Centaurus* Log-book , in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 426-427.
[1160] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 28.
[1161] Wilson and Thmpson, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 84.
[1162] Van Warmelo, op. cit., pp. 64,65.
[1163] Ayliff, J. and Whiteside, J., *History of the Abambo*, (Butterworth, Butterworth Gazette, 1912), p. 2.
[1164] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 35, 36.

as booty, which could indicate that they were pastoralists. The use of poisoned arrows among the pastoralists was not usual. The large size of the amaXhosa army indicates that they were facing a formidable force so it is possible that groups of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists had banded together, hence the use of two terms; the *Maquenasse* and *the Magoika.* There is no description of where these groups were situated but they are likely to have been north of the Xhosa territory and/or west of the Keiskamma River.

The hostile '*Caauws'*, were situated in the Fish River area and have been linked to the '*Inquase*' who were known at the Cape as the '*Inquahase* Hottentots'.[1165]

The location of the baTwa or hunter-gatherers [Bushmen] who were said to have attacked and killed some of the survivors is not clear. Vigne thought that they were the people who attacked the survivors on their coastal attempt to reach the Cape, but de Chalezac does not give that name. It was reported by the 'Hottentots' that twelve of the survivors had been killed by these people, possibly elsewhere.

The attacks and hostility shown by people who were clearly hunter-gatherers and/or pastoralists are indications of unsettled communities whose lands and livelihood were under threat at this time.

[1165] Vigne, op. cit., Notes 16 and 20, p. 96.

Chapter 12

BENNEBROECK 1713

12.1 Author and publication of the account:

The account was given to Governor Simon van der Stel by four of the survivors who were recorded as Marchand, Fred, Jansz and Gerrit van der Pyper, The record was translated from the Dutch by the then Keeper of the Archives, H.C.V. Leibrandt, in 1896.[1166]

12.2 The Narrative of the Shipwreck:

In December 1712, the *Bennebroeck*, a Dutch East Indiaman, left Ceylon (now Sri-Lanka) in the company of four other ships. Wild storms separated it from the other vessels and it ran aground on some rocks at the mouth of the Mtana River, just south of Hamburg (in the Eastern Cape) on 16 February 1713. [1167] There were 77 survivors comprising 57 Dutch crew and 20 convicts and slaves.[1168]

After four days the survivors set off to walk to Cape Town, but when they reached a broad river many could not swim so 17 Dutch and 9 slaves returned to the wreck site. According to the record, 60 Dutch and 11 slave survivors managed to cross the Fish River, but only one reached the Cape. A group tried again in June, leaving behind three Dutch and one slave at the wreck site. Again they found they could not ford the river so 17 Dutch men and 9 slaves returned to the site where they found blood-stained clothes and assumed that those who stayed behind (three Dutch men and one slave) had been killed. Those survivors were supported by the local people.[1169] .

[1166] Leibrandt, H.C.V., *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Chronicle of the Cape Commanders, 1699-1732*, (Cape Town, Warichouds & Sons, 1896), p. 262.

[1167] Bell-Cross, G. and Vernon, G.N., "The Bennebroeck Story", *The Coelacanth*, Vol. 32(2), 1994, pp. 14-19.

[1168] Marchand and others, Tr., Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p, 261.

[1169] Ibid., p. 262

A small ship arrived in the river and on 17 August 1714 took four of the survivors back to Cape Town. [1170] Only one of those who had crossed the Fish River, a Malabar slave, eventually arrived in Cape Town on 26 February 1714.[1171]

12.3 Identification of the site and landmarks:

The identification of the wreck site was first suggested by Graham Bell-Cross as being near the mouth of the Mtana River, about two kilometres west of the Fish River. It was confirmed during salvage operations when a cannon with the VOC insignia and a worn date of '170…' was recovered in 1984.[1172]

The large and swiftly flowing river that prevented the non-swimmers from crossing when trying to reach Cape Town has been identified as the Fish.[1173]

The Keiskamma River is some seven kilometres from the Mtana River and is the only estuary which could have been entered by a small ship in that area. On their return from the second abortive attempt to cross the Fish River, the survivors were living with the indigenous people when the ship arrived, so the conclusion is that these people were farming in the Keiskamma estuary and probably some distance inland.

12.4 Location of the people:

This account provides a description of the indigenous people with whom the survivors lived for a period of six months in and around the estuary of the Keiskamma River.

12.5 The Indigenous People in 1714 – an Overview:

12.5.1 Linguistics: No mention was made of language.

12.5.2 Physical Appearance:

[1170] Marchand and others, Tr., Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262.
[1171] Ibid., p. 259.
[1172] Bell-Cross and Vernon, op. cit., pp. 14-19,
[1173] Ibid., p. 17.

The people were described as being "black, well-formed, flat nosed and having Kafir hair."[1174]

12.5.3 Political Organisation: No mention was made of this.

12.5.4 Settlements: No mention was made of these.

12.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories: Their clothing was made of hides.

12.5.6 Customs and ritual: No mention was made of these.

12.5.7 Belief systems: No mention was made of these.

12.5.8 Mode of Livelihood:

12.5.8.1 Livestock:

Cattle, goats and fowls were kept and the pastures said to be excellent.[1175]

12.5.8.2 Cultivation:

Grain, pumpkins, gourds and watermelons were grown.

12.5.8.3 Plant gathering: No mention was made of this activity.

12.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing: No mention was made of the local people engaging in these activities.

12.5.8.5 Food preparation:

[1174] Marchand and others, Tr., Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262
[1175] Ibid., p. 262.

The grain was ground between stones with water and made into balls. These were baked and the bread was 'nice and nourishing'. [1176]

12.5.8.6 Technology: No mention was made of this.

12.5.8.7 Trade:

The survivors obtained milk, meat and grain for iron and copper which they could find from the ship.[1177] The crew of the ship in which the survivors were rescued bartered 3000 pounds of ivory for yellow copper rings.[1178]

12.5.9 Cultural group distribution:

The survivors were insistent that the people who traded with them at the wreck site and later supported them were 'Kafirs' and not 'Hottentots'.[1179] The people were said to be "in endless war with the lighter coloured Hottentots".[1180]

At this time the people living west of and around the Keiskamma River were agriculturalists and were distinct from the pastoralists. They were kindly disposed towards the survivors and supported them for six months.

The reference to the enmity between them and their pastoralist neighbours indicates that the frontier between these groups had moved west of the Keiskamma River along the coast and was possibly at the Fish River at that time.

Living among these people was a Frenchman, who said he had been on a shipwreck some 30 years before, which they assumed was the '*Stavenis'.* The ship would have been the *Stavenisse* of 1686.

[1176] Marchand and others, Tr., Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262.
[1177] Ibid., p. 261.
[1178] Ibid., p. 262.
[1179] Ibid., p. 261.
[1180] Ibid., p. 262.

The local people who supported the survivors for a period of six months, "were not savagely disposed", showed them "civility" and were sad to see them go.[1181]

[1181] Marchand and others, Tr., Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262.

Chapter 13

DODDINGTON 1755

13.1 Authors and publications of the accounts:

Two accounts of the wreck and the experiences of the survivors were written. One was by Evan Jones, the Chief Mate, and another by William Webb, the Third Mate. Jones kept a journal, which became the official record, and another so-called 'secret journal', which recounted the interactions and conflicts between the survivors and the efforts to get the treasure. Webb wrote his version of the events and gave fuller descriptions of the local people.

William Webb's Journal was published in 1763.[1182] Evan Jones's "Original Account by Evan Jones, Chief Mate of the Doddington" was published in an undated pamphlet in about 1775. The two accounts, excluding the 'secret journal', were published as "A Narrative of the loss of the Hon. East India Company's ship Doddington composed from the journals of the two surviving officers by an officer who visited this place on 14 March 1814." It was printed and sold for the author by Jacob Jacob, Winchester, in 1826.

Jones's account was edited by R.C. Temple and published in a journal in a series from 1900-1902.[1183]

Extracts from the diaries of the Jones and Webb's accounts were published by the salvors of the wreck.[1184]

The accounts by both Webb and Jones have been used in this dissertation.

13.2 Narrative of the shipwreck:

[1182] Webb, W., "A Journal of the Proceedings of the Doddington East Indiaman, A draught by Mr Webb, one
of the mates belonging to the said ship", in *Plaisted*, (London, T. Kinnersley, Vol.. MDCCLXIII) 1763.

[1183] Temple, R.C., Ed., *The Indian Reliquary*, "The Wreck of the Doddington, 1755, Vols, XXIX, 1900; XXX,
1901; XXXI, 1901-1902.

[1184] Allen, Geoffrey and Allen, David, *Clive's Lost Treasure*, (London, Robin Garton, 1979)

The *Doddington,* on hire by the English East India Company, was part of a fleet of ships carrying men and munitions from England to Bombay and Madras.[1185] She was wrecked on Bird Island, in Algoa Bay, off the coast of Woody Cape and near the mouth of the Sundays River, on 17 July 1755. [1186] There were 23 survivors from the original complement of 270.[1187] Over a period of seven months, the survivors built a ship using the timbers and material from the *Doddington*, which they named the *Happy Deliverance*.[1188]

During this time three of the crew took a small boat to get to the mainland where they hoped to obtain provisions. One man was drowned in the rough surf, but the other two landed and interacted with the local people, but with no success.[1189]

The *Happy Deliverance* [with 22 survivors on board] set sail from Bird Island on 17 February 1756.[1190] *En route*, they anchored in bays twice and went ashore, spending a total of 26 days bartering for wood and provisions with the local inhabitants.

At the second of the bays, the surf was so high that ten men disembarked, declaring they would rather remain with the local people than be drowned. One man returned with the boat, leaving nine on shore.[1191] The survivors reached Maputo Bay on 21 April 1756, where they found an English trading ship, the *Rose Galley*.[1192] Three of the nine rejoined the group. The captain assisted the remaining survivors to get to Madagascar and then to Madras.[1193]

13.3. Identification of the landing sites:

[1185] Allen, op. cit., p. 9.
[1186] Ibid., p. 19-20.
[1187] Ibid., p. 33.
[1188] Ibid., p. 33.
[1189] Jones, Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op, cit., pp. 116-117.
[1190] Ibid., p. 131.
[1191] Ibid., p. 189.
[1192] Ibid., p. 190.
[1193] Ibid., p. 191.

The survivors constructed a small ship on the island without proper tools or expertise. They used a single mast and used the boom and sails salvaged from the *Doddington*.[1194] The ship was named the *Happy Deliverance*. These survivors set sail from Bird Island on 17 February 1756 and arrived at Cape St Maria on 20 April 1756.[1195]

Their navigational instruments consisted of a compass which was difficult to use "as we Could by no Means Make the Compass Stand."[1196] It is not recorded what instrument, if any, was used to record the latitude. Jones, as the Chief Mate, took his duties seriously and recorded day-by-day dated entries which included descriptions of the weather. The dates have been accepted as being accurate. He occasionally noted the latitudes. If the latitudes are accepted as correct to within a few minutes, the landing sites would have been the Mzimvubu River and the St Lucia estuary. These were the landing sites identified by Temple. They do not, however, accord with the descriptions of the sites in the text and the distances which they would have sailed in a day are not credible. In view of the difficulties in taking readings and the inadequacies of the instruments, it is clear that the latitudes given by Jones were inaccurate. A decision has been made to exclude these and to use descriptions of the area, observations about the availability of provisions and a more logical rate of travel to determine the landing sites.

Table 17 gives the dates, descriptions of the places and page references in the Jones account. Table 18 shows the identification of the landing sites based on descriptions, distances, given dates and rate of sailing.

[1194] Webb, in Plaisted, op. cit., p. 273.
[1195] Jones, Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., pp. 131, 190.
[1196] Ibid., p. 180.

Table 17

***DODDINGTON* 1755**

***Happy Deliverance* Voyage 1756**

Based on dates and description in text.[1197]

Year	Month	Day	Landing site	Page
1755	July	17	Aground on a small rocky Island	110
	Sept.	6	Boat to the mainland *[Woody Cape]*	116-117
			Build *Happy Deliverance*	
1756	Feb.	17	Sail from 'Bird Island'	131
		22-23	Gales	181
	March	1	Attempt to land	182
		7	Arnold goes ashore	183
		8	Sail close to the shore: 'droves' of cattle	184
		10-12	Try to land - unsuccessful	
		13	Four go ashore, two remain	185
		14	Shelter in a small bay	
		15	Over the bar, anchor	
		16	Ashore to trade *[Thukela R.]*	186
		29	Depart	187
	April	6	Over the bar, 'River St. Lucia' *[Kosi Bay]*	188
			Trade	189
		18	Depart	190
		20	Reach 'S. Point Delagoa Bay' *[Cape St Maria]*	
		21	Sail around island *[Inhaca]*	
			Make contact with 'Rose Gally'	

[1197] Jones, E., in Temple, R., *The Indian Reliquary*, "The Wreck of the Doddington", Vol. XXXI, 1902.

Table 38

DODDINGTON

Happy Deliverance Voyage: 1756

Identification of landing sites based on descriptions, distances given dates and rate of sailing.

Year	Month	Day	Landing sites	Km	Days	Stops	Rate
1755	July	17	Aground on Bird Island Algoa Bay				
	Sept.	6	Land at Woody Cape-return				
1756	Feb.	17	Sail from Bird Island				
		27	Chintsa Bay.	246	9		27.3
	March	1	Try to land Mbhashe R.	100	3		33.3
		7	Arnold ashore N. Mtamvuna R. Anchor Ivy Bay, Port Edward.	194	6		32.3
		8	Sail close to shore				
		13	4 crew ashore 2 remain				
		14	Anchor in small bay				
		15	Over bar Thukela R.	240	8		30.5
		16	Trade		[14]	14	
		29	Depart				
	April	6	Into Kosi Bay	306	8		38
			Trade		[12]	12	
		18	Depart				
		20	Reach Cape St Maria	90	2		45
		21	Around Inhaca Island Into Maputo Bay				
			TOTAL	**1174**	**62**	**26**	**32.6**

Distance: Bird Island to Cape St Maria -1174 km
Time taken: 17 February to 20 April 1756 - 62 days
Days ashore: 16-29 March and 6-18 April - 26 days
Actual sailing – 36 days
Average rate of sailing per day – 32.6 km

An estimate of the average sailing speed has been made to assist in the identification of the landing sites. The distance from Bird Island to Cape St Maria is 1174 km. The *Happy Deliverance* left Bird Island on 17 February and arrived at Cape St Maria on 20 April 1755, taking a total of 62 days. The crew spent 26 days ashore, so excluding these days, they had 36 days actually making progress. This gives an average sailing speed of 32.6 km a day.

During the construction of the *Happy Deliverance*, four survivors rowed to the mainland in a small boat.[1198] This would have been in the vicinity of Woody Cape.

There are two sites where the *Happy Deliverance* made landfall, where time was spent obtaining provisions and where there are descriptions of the local people with whom the survivors interacted.

On 17 February, the survivors set sail in the *Happy Deliverance* from Bird Island. They sailed close to the shore as they needed to obtain supplies of fresh water and wood, so were constantly looking for places to land. On 23 February it was reported that there were 'fresh gales' and they 'lost more ground'.[1199] By 27 February, they had probably reached Chintsa Bay, a distance of 246 km from Bird Island, sailing at an average rate of 27.3 km a day. On 1 March they tried to get ashore, but were unable to do so owing to a strong sea.[1200] This was possibly at the Mbhashe River, 100 km from Chintsa Bay. Their sailing rate would then have been about 33 km a day. The survivors continued sailing close inshore to catch fish and trying to find a place to land. [1201] On 7 March they came to a "Small Bay Where there was a Little Surf by Which Means got him [Thomas Arnold] off".[1202] . The vessel was only able to anchor about '4 or 5 miles' [19-20 km]

[1198] Jones, Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p.116.
[1199] Ibid., p. 181.
[1200] Ibid., p. 183.
[1201] Ibid., pp. 181-183.
[1202] Ibid., p. 183.

further on in a 'Small Bay'.[1203] This was possibly Ivy Bay, in present-day Port Edward, a little north of the Mtamvuna River. The distance is likely to have been over estimated as Arnold did not have to walk that distance to get to the anchorage and did not have to cross the Mtamvuna River. Webb says it was only one league [4.8 km].[1204] Others joined Arnold and they were able to obtain some grain and wood. [1205]

Once all were back on board, they continued sailing. On 8 March they saw "many droves of cattle."[1206] On 10, 11 and 12 March, attempts were made to get some men on shore, but were unsuccessful.[1207] On 13 March four men got ashore, and two returned, leaving the other two. Following that,

> "After we had Run about 4 or 5 Miles Came to a Small Bay where there was Shelter from a Westerly Wind. Anchored in 5 Fm. Water 4 Men went on Shore. 2 to meet that was [sic] left Behind & 2 to Sound at Ye Mouth of a River."[1208]

On 15 March at high tide they "ran over the Barr, Much Safer than we Expected, and came to Anchor in the River in ¼ less three fathoms."[1209]

Temple identifies this stop as being at the "River of St John or the Umzimvubu River".[1210] While there is deep water once over the bar at the Mzimvubu River, this is a very dramatic and singular landscape, with towering cliffs on each side of the estuary and a relatively narrow right bank. The lack of any such comment is significant. The distance to Cape St Maria and the time taken to get there are also factors to be considered. They left the bay on 29 March, spent another 12 days ashore at another bay, arriving at Cape St Maria on 20 April.[1211] Excluding the stop, they would have

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[1203] Jones, Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 183.
[1204] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 275.
[1205] Jones, Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 184.
[1206] Ibid., p. 184.
[1207] Ibid., p. 184.
[1208] Ibid., p. 185.
[1209] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 185.
[1210] Temple, in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., Note 58, p. 185.
[1211] Jones in Temple, Ed., *The Indian Reliquary* op, cit., pp. 187-190.

spent only 6 days covering the distance of 731 km at a rate of 122 km per day, very much faster than their average speed.

It was recorded that some of the survivors travelled in a boat up river for about eight miles [38 km].[1212] This indicates that the Bay of Natal could not have been the landing site as there is no river entering the bay where this could have been done. The next possible river where a ship could have crossed the bar and anchored in three fathoms is the Thukela River, which is 194 km from the Mtamvuna River. They had taken 6 days and probably were sailing at a rate of 30.5 km a day. The survivors remained ashore from 15-29 March to trade and obtain provisions,[1213]

On 29 March the *Happy Deliverance* resumed sailing north. On 1 April they observed an "Opening which Made like a River, but it did not prove to be So."[1214] Jones then saw "An Opening which I Take to be the River St Lucia."[1215] As they needed to replenish their provisions, they anchored offshore and decided to try to cross the bar.[1216] They were assisted by an east wind and on 6 April

> "Gott Safe Over having No less than 10 foot water. In running up the River to Anchor, Grounded Upon a Sand, but Recv'd the Damage, and got her off again Next Side. And [We then] Moor'd in 3 Fathom Water."[1217]

Temple noted that the identification as St Lucia was doubtful and thought that the description sounded more like 'Port Natal or Durban'.[1218] There was no mention of the large lake system or that the estuary of the St Lucia River is relatively shallow. The area is not particularly fertile. Again there is the problem of distance and time taken. The *Happy Deliverance* took only two days (18-20 April) from there to reach Cape St Maria.[1219] This means that they would have covered the distance of 264 km at a sailing

[1212] Ibid., p. 186.
[1213] Ibid., pp. 185-187.
[1214] Ibid., p. 187.
[1215] Ibid., p. 188.
[1216] Ibid., p. 188.
[1217] Ibid., p. 188.
[1218] Temple, op. cit., Note 59, p. 188.
[1219] Jones in Temple, Ed., *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 190.

speed of 132 km per day, which is not credible. This was almost certainly Kosi Bay which is 306 km from the Thukela. They had taken 8 days and, well provided with provisions and not needing to keep trying to get ashore, their rate of sailing was then 38 km per day. The survivors left there on 18 April and had difficulty in crossing the bar as there were very high waves.[1220] Here the crew again spent time trading successfully.[1221]

On 19 April it was said that they were at the "Entrance of a River with a large Barr".[1222] There are no rivers entering the Indian Ocean between Kosi Bay and Cape St Maria, so it is probable that Jones might have seen an inland lake, separated from the ocean by a relatively low dune. Temple thought that this would have been the River St. Lucia.[1223] This would not have been possible as on the following day, the *Happy Deliverance* reached "The S° Point of Delagoa Bay."[1224] This was Cape St. Maria.

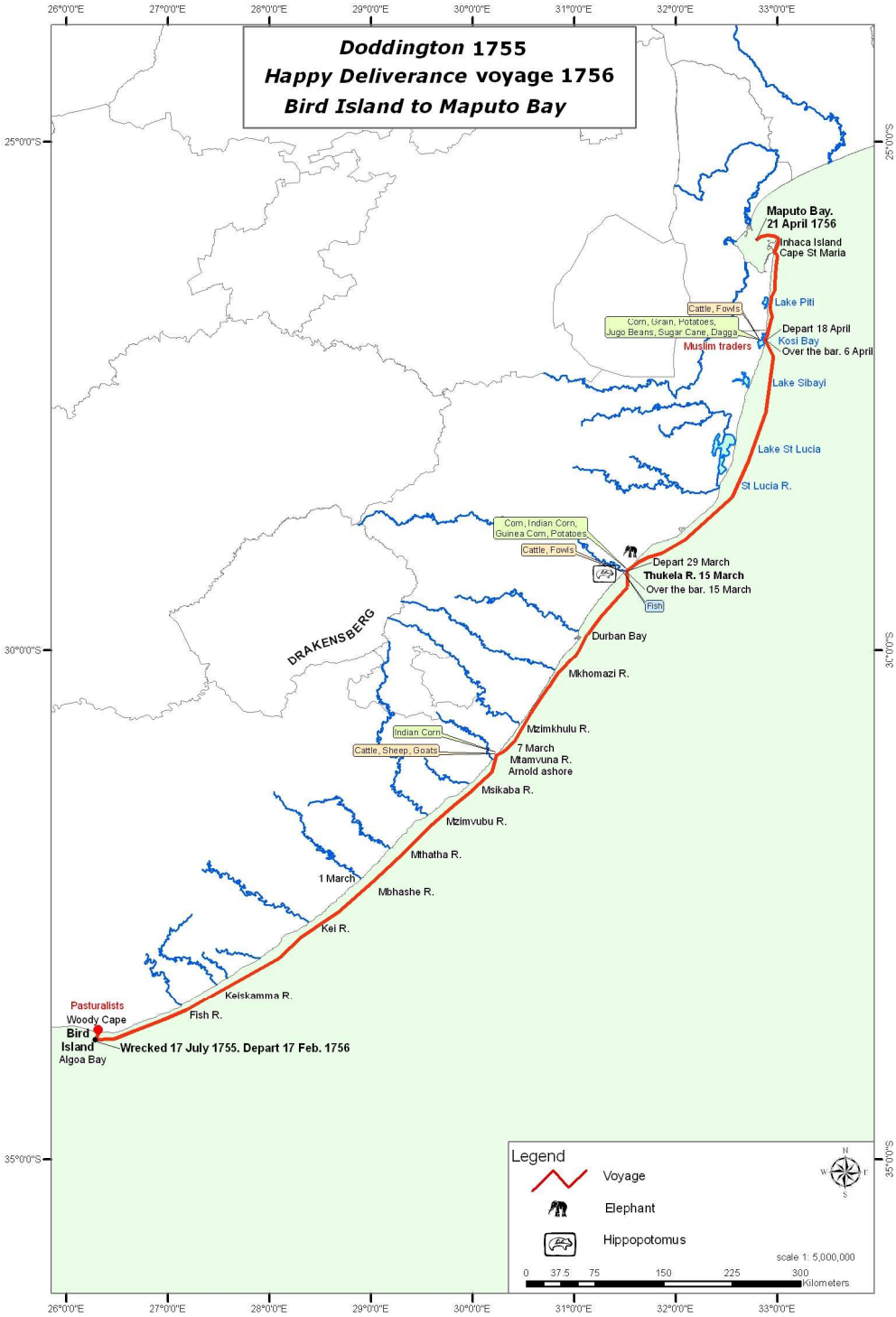
The survivors then tried to sail between the point and the island but "At Noon it Was Low Water, and we Found Ourselves Surrounded by Breakers. Therefore Thought [it] the best way to go Out, the Same way we Came in; Which we did."[1225] They then rounded the island by sailing north and then west and "Came to an Anchor in 9 fathom, Where to Our Great Joy Found Riding The Rose Gally from Bombay."[1226]

The survivors had arrived in Maputo Bay. They had tried to sail through the shallows of the channel between Cape St Maria and Inhaca Island, but had had to withdraw and go around Inhaca Island.

[1220] Ibid., p. 189.
[1221] Ibid., pp. 188-189.
[1222] Ibid., p. 190.
[1223] Temple, op. cit., Note 60, p. 190.
[1224] Jones, in Temple,, op. cit., p. 190.
[1225] Ibid., p. 190.
[1226] Ibid., p. 190.

Map 12 shows the voyage of the *Happy Deliverance* with relevant dates and observations of livestock and cultivation.

Map 12 – *Doddington: Happy Deliverance* voyage



13.4 Location of the people:

Algoa Bay:

The people whom some of the survivors encountered on the mainland in the vicinity of Woody Cape, were described as "Hottentots Wearing a Skin like them [those] at The Cape of Good Hope & Clacking When they Speak like them".[1227] Initially only a single man was encountered. He ran away but he returned the following day with companions. After being threatened with a pistol, the local people retaliated, threatening one survivor with lances and hitting him with a stick. They took his shirt, waistcoat and trousers, with which they were seemingly "well pleased".[1228] The description indicates that these were probably pastoralists, as the language employed clicks [clacks]. By 1755 Dutch farmers had reached the Sundays River and Petrus Ferreira owned land there[1229] so the pastoralists would have been familiar with fabric clothing.

Port Edward to Mzimkhulu River:

When Arnold went ashore he was met by about 40 people, who were at first

> "seemed very shy of him but; … they all sat down, and desired him to sit down by them, which he did. Upon presenting the String of Amber Beads to the oldest Man among them, which seemed to be their Chief, he received it very kindly. Then he made Signs to them that he wanted to eat, they brought him some *Indian Corn* and fruit, and when he had done eating, gave him some Water in a Calabash to drink, then directed him to the place where we had got him off."[1230]

Arnold also said that the people had sent up-country for "Sheep and Bullocks, etc."[1231] The survivors had also observed large herds, 'droves', of cattle along the shore in that area.[1232] As they moved along the shore, looking, but not finding, a place to land, the

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[1227] Jones, in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 117.
[1228] Ibid., p. 116.
[1229] Allen, op. cit., p. 30.
[1230] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 275.
[1231] Ibid., p. 275.
[1232] Jones in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 184.

local people signalled that they would trade and had "great Numbers of Cattle, such as Goats and Bullocks".[1233]

Thukela River:

In this area, where a group of men were landed, "the Natives received our Men very civilly, and gave them Beef and Fish to eat and Milk to drink".[1234] Jones adds bread, milk and fruit.[1235] Two bullocks were purchased for a

> "Pound of Copper and three or four Brass Buttons, each Bullock weighing about five or six Hundred [pounds], very good Meat; and they seemed very well satisfied with their Bargain, and proposed to bring more Bullocks down when we wanted them."[1236]

They were also able to obtain what as described as "a small grain like Guinea wheat."[1237]

On the north side of the river the survivors were able to obtain cattle, fowls, "Indian and Guinea corn" and "potatoes".[1238] Brass was the most valued trade medium, with iron being acceptable.[1239]

There appeared to have been three different clans in this area. Two were on either side of the river and were not friendly towards each other, those on the south side warning the survivors that the people on the other side would "Cutt our Throats".[1240] When two men crossed, however, they were "Treated Very Civilly" and were able to trade.[1241] A third group later appeared whom the survivors had not seen before, who wanted to trade.[1242]

[1233] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 276.
[1234] Ibid., p. 277.
[1235] Jones, in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 185.
[1236] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 279.
[1237] Ibid., p, 279.
[1238] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 186.
[1239] Ibid., pp. 185-186.
[1240] Ibid., p. 186.
[1241] Ibid., p. 186.
[1242] Ibid., p. 187.

Webb admired their ability and commented that

> "Their chief Exercise is hunting, and their only Arms are Launces and two short Sticks with a Knob at the End, with which, after having wounded their Game with the Launce, they knock it down …. They are prodigious active and dextrous with their Launces; we often saw them throw a Launce thirty or forty Yards, and hit a small Head of Corn." [1243]

The inhabitants had some elephant tusks which were offered as trade goods. These people wore little clothing which included a cloak of hide which had been treated to make it very supple. Their ornaments were a 'bullock's tail' with a few sea shells attached, which hung to their ankles, and pieces of skin tied around their arms, knees and ankles. They rubbed their bodies with fat and hair was dressed with fat mixed with 'red earth'.[1244] Webb also noted that they were black with 'wooly' hair, but they did see a youth who was 'quite white', who he thought resembled a European.[1245] There is the possibility that he was the descendant of a survivor from a previous shipwreck, but this is unlikely. It is more probable that he was an albino. Webb also noted that

> "I never saw a more amicable Sort of Folks among themselves than they are; for if they have anything to eat, be it ever so little, the Person who has it divides it equally as far as it goes with a seeming Pleasure."[1246]

Kosi Bay:

The people who lived I the vicinity of Kosi Bay were cultivators and herders, with cattle being scarce, but the crew obtained "four dozen fowls for brass buttons."[1247] Pumpkins, 'potatoes', 'sugar cane', 'tobacco' and 'a small root which eats like a bean', were also available. They also received dough to make bread.[1248]

It was noted that these inhabitants were very different from those whom they had met before. There were many 'Towns' inland, and some of the crew spent two or three days

[1243] Webb, in *Plaisted* , op. cit., pp. 279-280.
[1244] Ibid., p. 280.
[1245] Ibid., p. 280.
[1246] Ibid., p. 281.
[1247] Jones in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 188.
[1248] Ibid., p. 188.

with one group. Webb described them as "a haughty proud sort of People"[1249]. They refused to eat with the crew and

> "likewise differed greatly from the other people aforementioned in their Cookery, as they dress all their victuals in a very cleanly Manner, and are likewise very cleanly in their Bodies; for the first Thing they do in the Morning is to wash themselves all over; then they go to some kind of Devotion, which we never observed in the others. Neither have these any of the same Ornaments the others use. They pride themselves very much in their Hair, which they dress up very neatly; and they are extremely shy in regard to their Women. Their Arms are the same as the others, and also their Diversions."[1250]

This suggests that these people were Muslims whose practice of washing before their prayers, who had strict rules governing preparation of food, and whose women were protected, are still a part of their religious beliefs.

13.5 The Indigenous People in 1755 – an overview:

13.5.1 Linguistics:

In Algoa Bay the people spoke with clicks (clacks).

13.3.2 Physical Appearance:

Jones commented that "These people answered the description of Hottentots."[1251] He possibly used the term which had become common in the Cape to refer to all the indigenous people of southern Africa as Hottentots. Webb said that the people in the Thukela River area were "entirely black and all wooly haired".[1252]

13.5.3 Political organisation:

In the Thukela River area there were three different clans who were all eager to trade with the crew. Two were hostile towards each other.

[1249] Webb, in *Plaisted* , op. cit., p. 264.
[1250] Ibid., pp. 284-285..
[1251] Jones in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 187.
[1252] Webb, in *Plaisted* , op. cit., p. 280.

13.5.4 Settlements:

In the Thukela River area, many settlements were situated about 10 or 12 miles (16-19 km) inland. The huts were covered in rushes and were very neat inside.[1253] Inland at Kosi Bay it was said they lived in 'Towns',[1254] implying that the settlements were large.

13.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories:

In the Thukela River area, clothing was described as being made of hide, treated to make it very supple. This was sometimes worn around the shoulders and sometimes hanging from the waist to the ankles and ornamented with sea shells. Arms, knees and ankles were decorated with skins. Hair could be "plaistered up with a great quantity of tallow or fat mixed with a kind of red earth, and they rub their Bodies over with Grease."[1255] The Muslim people at Kosi Bay wore different ornaments.

13.5.6 Customs and ritual:

In the Thukela River area, the survivors observed the people

> "dancing and jumping all round a Ring, and making a most hideous noise, sometimes hallowing and sometimes grunting like a Hog; then running backwards and forwards as hard as they can, flourishing their Launces."[1256]

13.5.7 Belief Systems:

The Muslims had 'some kind of Devotions', which the survivors had not seen before.

13.5.8 Mode of Livelihood:

13.5.8.1 Livestock:

Cattle were much in evidence along the shore north of the Mtamvuna River and were seen in large numbers. At Thukela River crew members were able to obtain at least

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[1253] Webb, in *Plaisted* , op. cit., p. 279..
[1254] Ibid., p. 284.
[1255] Ibid., p. 280.
[1256] Ibid., p. 280.

nine bullocks and cows, several calves and plenty of milk.[1257] At Kosi Bay they were able to obtain some milk, but cattle were scarcer. The crew managed to obtain five cows, but one group refused to sell them any.[1258]

Sheep and goats were said to be available in the Port Edward area.[1259] There was no mention of them further north.

Fowls were plentiful around the Thukela River. There the crew managed to obtain 26, then four dozen from Kosi Bay and in great numbers around Maputo Bay.[1260]

13.5.8.2 Cultivation:

Arnold was given 'Indian Corn' in the present-day Port Edward area, north of the Mtamvuna River. What was described as grain or corn was plentiful around the Thukela River. Jones described this grain as 'Indian' or Guinea Corn with 'heads'.[1261] At Kosi Bay bread was available.[1262] 'Potatoes' were grown at both the Thukela River and Kosi Bay and were available by the 'bushell'.[1263] Pumpkins, 'sugar cane', 'a small root that eats like a bean' and 'tobacco' were found at Kosi Bay. [1264]

Indian corn was possibly maize. 'Guinea corn' is described as *Sorghum durra*.[1265] The bean would have been Jugo and the tobacco, dagga.

13.5.8.3 Plant gathering:

Arnold was given fruit in the area north of the Mtamvuna area and the survivors were also given fruit in the Thukela River area.[1266] Honey was available at Kosi Bay.[1267]

[1257] Jones in Temple, Ed., *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., op. cit., p. 185-187.
[1258] Jones, in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., pp. 188-189.
[1259] Webb in in *Plaisted,* op. cit., p. 276..
[1260] Jones in Temple, op. cit., 186, 188, 190.
[1261] Ibid., pp. 186-187.
[1262] Ibid., p. 188.
[1263] Ibid., p. 186-188.
[1264] Ibid., p. 188.
[1265] Macmillan, H.F., *Tropical Planting and Gardening*, (London, Macmillan and Co., 1949), p. 297.

13.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing:

It was commented that hunting was the chief exercise of the people around Thukela River. Fish were given to the survivors there and 'sea cows' [hippopotami] were sometimes caught when they were asleep.[1268]

13.5.8.5 Food preparation:

Bread was made in the Thukela River area and around Kosi Bay.

13.5.8.6 Technology:

Weapons were lances and sticks with knobs at one end.

13.5.8.7 Trade:

At each of the landing sites brass, often in the form of buttons, copper (bangles) and iron were acceptable for use at barter.[1269] Webb stated that

> "They seeming to have a great Veneration for Brass, we carried a Brass Handle of an old Chest with us, and showed it to them, for which they immediately offered us two bullocks."[1270]

Clothes were in demand around Kosi Bay. Elephant tusks were offered to the crew by the people at the Thukela River.[1271] At Kosi Bay there were plenty of elephant tusks and "Ambergrease".[1272]

13.5.9: Cultural Group Distribution:

The people who lived in the Algoa Bay area were pastoralists. Those who lived north of the Mtamvuna River would have been agriculturalists as they kept livestock and

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[1266] Jones in Temple, Ed., *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 185.
[1267] Jones in Temple, Ed., *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p. 190.
[1268] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 280.
[1269] Jones in Temple, Ed., in *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., pp. 185-190.
[1270] Webb in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p.284.
[1271] Webb in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 280.
[1272] Ibid., p. 285.

cultivated the soil. Muslim people lived in the area around Kosi Bay. In the Thukela River area there were three different clans. Those on either side of the river were hostile to each other. A third group appeared later wanting to trade.

Chapter 14

GROSVENOR 1782

14.1 Authors and publications:

The *Grosvenor* became a well-known shipwreck, both at the time and later when it was reputed to be a treasure ship and many salvage efforts were undertaken. As a result, there have been numerous publications on the subject, including, books of fiction and non-fiction, articles, poetry, art and even a play.[1273]

Four survivors of the *Grosvenor,* Robert Price, Thomas Lewis, John Warmington and Barney Leary, made their depositions to Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer of the East India Company. His report was published in London in 1783.[1274]

A survivor, who arrived later than the first four, William Hubberly, gave his report separately to Dalrymple who published it as an appendix to the first edition in 1786. In about 1809 he (possibly) dictated his account, entitled 'The Journal and Evidence of William Hubberly'.[1275] A bound manuscript was held by the Durban Museum and transcribed by Kirby.

The accounts of the nine European survivors were included in a report by Abraham Chiron, bookkeeper for the Dutch East India Company.[1276]

Another account was published in London in 1791, entitled '*A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman'* by George Carter. It was based on the author hearing of

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[1273] Kirby, P., *The True Story of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*, (Cape Town/London, Oxford University Press, 1960, pp.159-172.

[1274] Dalrymple, A., 'An Account of the loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman', in Kirby, *A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*, (Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1953), p. 29.

[1275] Kirby, P,, *A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman),* Vol. 34, (Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1953), pp. 56-59.

[1276] Ibid., pp.145-149.

the story of the wreck from a survivor, John Hynes.[1277] The Carter account, together with an English translation of the Van Reenen expedition, was published in 1927.[1278]

Following the arrival of the first survivors at the Cape, an expedition was mounted to search for any others. This was the Muller and Holtshausen Expedition and some survivors were found. Stories of survivors who were still alive reached the Cape and the van Reenen Expedition was sent in 1790 to search for any more survivors, but it was unsuccessful.

In 1953 Kirby compiled and edited transcripts of relevant records of the *Grosvenor*. These include British and Dutch correspondence and reports, the official reports of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape which was compiled by Dalrymple and Chiron, a transcript of Hubberly's account and the 'Report of the Expedition of Muller and Holtshausen'.[1279] This was published in 1953 and has been the major source reference.

Kirby edited two further books on the *Grosvenor*. He used the English translation by Edward Riou for the one on the van Reenen Expedition. [1280] The other was in response to many public misconceptions and entitled *The True Story of the Wreck of the Grosvenor* [1281]

In compiling his report, Dalrymple examined Price and Lewis separately and Warmington and Leary together. Thomas Lewis gave most of the evidence, but Dalrymple states that his dates should not be considered as precise. [1282] Hubberly

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[1277] Kirby (1953), op. cit., pp. 2-3.
[1278] Botha, C. Graham, ed., *The Wreck of the Grosvenor*, Vol. 8, (Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1927).
[1279] Kirby, (1953), op. cit.,
[1280] --------*Jacob van Reenen and the Grosvenor Expedition of 1790-1791*, (Johannesburg Witwatersrand University Press, 1958).
[1281] -------*The True Story of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*, (Cape Town/London, Oxford University Press, 1960).
[1282] Lewis, recorded by Dalrymple, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., pp. 29-30.

was also interviewed separately and his 'Evidence' was recorded by Dalrymple.[1283] In 1809 Hubberly compiled a 'Journal', which was five times longer than his earlier account and had much more detail. Kirby suggests that there are places where Hubberly's travelling times are over- or underestimated. He also considers that Hubberly possibly had access to Hynes's narrative as there are some instances where the wording was is the same.[1284]

There are some discrepancies between the versions of Hubberly and that of Lewis et al, which suggests that Hubberly omitted some significant facts in his descriptions of the interactions of the survivors and the indigenous people. In view of the fact that the survivors separated, it is important to know where observations on the same events were made by Hubberly and Lewis et al.

Taylor comments that Hubberly "at times seems to be consciously imitating Robinson Crusoe, with precisely the same fears enumerated by Defoe's hero, 'that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages or starved to death for want of food' are themes that recur in Hubberly's journal. He would have been an unusual survivor if he had not embellished his experiences."[1285] He further noted that Hubberly was "the only witness to the deaths of the rich nabobs, Williams and Taylor, so it is not surprising that he embellished his account of this episode and fabricated a band of murderous Xhosa in order to cast himself in a creditable light and redeem his reward."[1286] He did indeed visit the wealthy widow, Sarah Williams, when he arrived in England, as he felt he was entitled to some reward.[1287]

[1283] Hubberly, 'Evidence of William Hubberly', recorded by Dalrymple, in Kirby, (1953) op. cit., p. 57.
[1284] Kirby (1953) op. cit., pp. 58-59.
[1285] Taylor, S., *The Caliban Shore*, (London, Faber and Faber, 2004), p, 248. Note: Taylor met English descendants, who spelt the name as Habberley.
[1286] Ibid., p. 248.
[1287] Ibid., p. 246.

At around the Mtafufu River, the group divided into three parties. Some 47 stayed with the captain and none of these people were known to have survived.[1288] Another party of 22 included Price and Leary.[1289] A third party of 20 included Warmington, Lewis and Hubberly.[1290] Just beyond the Mgazana River, Hubberly seems to have broken away with a smaller group.[1291] This indicates that at least as far as the Mtafufu River, Lewis and Hubberly were together and making observations on the same route and events.

14.2 Narrative of the shipwreck

The *Grosvenor*, a British East Indiaman in the service of the English East India Company, was wrecked near Lambazi Bay, at a site known today as Port Grosvenor, on 4 August 1782 on a homeward bound voyage from Ceylon [Sri Lanka]).[1292] There were 123 survivors, including 23 Lascars (crew members from the Indian sub-continent).[1293]

The survivors were met by a group of indigenous people at the wreck site. After three days they started their walk to the Cape, leaving two people behind.[1294] Six sailors eventually arrived at a farm belonging to Francois Ferreira on the Sundays River. Only nine Europeans and nine Indians (seven men and two women) were known to have survived the journey.[1295]

The accounts of this shipwreck are well known and the information about the indigenous people has been utilized. The *Grosvenor* was the last shipwreck where survivors walked through the Eastern Cape and left records of the people whom they encountered. This narrative, however, provides continuity with the earlier narratives and is especially useful in the analysis of the interactions between survivors and the indigenous people.

[1288] Warmington and Leary, recorded by Dalrymple in Kirby, (1953) op. cit., p. 40.
[1289] Lewis et al. recorded by Dalrymple, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., pp. 41-42.
[1290] Lewis et al, recorded by Dalrymple, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., pp. 42-43.
[1291] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 83.
[1292] Turner, M. *Shipwrecks and Salvage*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1988), p. 214.
[1293] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p.71.
[1294] Dalrymple, Evidence of Price et al, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 35.
[1295] "The Muller and Holtshausen Expedition", in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 112.

For the purposes of this dissertation, only the area between the wreck site and the Bushman's River will be considered.

14.3 Identification of the landmarks

The exact site of the wreck has been the subject of dispute for many years, in spite of the numerous salvage attempts.[1296] Most of the artefacts collected have come from an area close to Lambazi Bay and one of the salvage efforts caused a large iron hoist (extant until recently) to be erected at the site with a strange idea that a tunnel would be dug under the sea and come up where the wreck was supposed to be. In 2001 the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), granted a permit to the Octopus Maritime Archaeological Association to excavate the Lambazi Bay site with the East London Museum as the designated institution to handle the recovered artefacts. Among the retrieved objects was a brass label for a trunk with the name "Colonel Edwd. James" stamped on it. Apart from the coins that have dates consonant with the period, this find proved conclusive evidence that this was the correct site as Colonel Edward James was one of the known passengers. The label is held in the East London Museum collection. The completed findings are held in the SAHRA archives, but have not yet been published.[1297]

Hubberly marked the days on a notched stick from the time of departure from the wreck site to the Fish River and the dates were subsequently inserted in his Journal. Kirby noted the astonishing accuracy in Hubberly's account of the journey and commented that he must have had a remarkable memory.[1298] In order to identify the rivers and times of crossing, Prof. J.L.B. and Margaret Smith walked the route between Kei Mouth and Port St Johns, relating the terrain to the text as they went. Kirby received further assistance when two students undertook to walk from Port St Johns to the wreck site and record their observations, also in relation to the text.[1299]

[1296] Kirby, (1960), op. cit., pp. 148-158.
[1297] Smit, G., Conservator, East London Museum.
[1298] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., pp. 56-57.
[1299] Ibid., Acknowledgements, n. p.

Table 19 shows the dates, descriptions of locations and page references cited in the text. Table 20 shows the identification of the landmarks based on the descriptions, distances, dates and rates of travel.

The survivors departed the site near Lambazi Bay on 7 August 1782 and moved west, heading for the Cape. On the following day they met a man, described as a 'Malay', and thought that he had run away from the Dutch.[1300] Some three days later they arrived at his village, probably situated near the Mbotyii River.[1301] On the same day [11 August] the survivors came to a 'small river', which Kirby identifies as the Mntafufu.[1302] The group then moved inland and "soon after it being low water, we crossed the river, the ladies being about breast high, but they having plenty of assistance got safely over."[1303]

This does not sound like a small river. The Mntafufu is 20 km from the Mbotyi River and as the survivors were not moving that fast, it is suggested that the 'small river' would have been the Mzintlava River, which is only 10 km away. The river which the survivors crossed 'breast high' could have been the Mntafufu. Hubberly could have conflated two rivers. On 11 August dissension led to a breaking up of the survivor group, with some of the fittest members and the Lascars forming their own separate parties, and pushing on ahead.[1304]

On 13 August a group of 52, of which Hubberly was a member, reached a river which was "large river, half a mile [.8 km] broad".[1305] This must have been the Mzimvubu.[1306] They had taken 6 days to cover 50 km, travelling at an average rate of 8.3 km a day.

[1300] Hubberly, in Kirby,(1953), op, cit. p. 72.
[1301] Ibid., p. 75 and Note 44, p. 130.
[1302] Ibid., p. 76, and Note 45, p. 130.
[1303] Ibid., p. 77.
[1304] Ibid., p. 77.
[1305] Ibid., p. 130.
[1306] Kirby, Note 8, p. 130.

They spent two days moving inland looking for a ford and only crossed it on 15 August.[1307]

[1307] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 78-79.

Table19

GROSVENOR

Dates, descriptions of places and events with page references cited in the text.[1308]

Year	Month	Day	Place/Description	Page
1782	August	4	Ship wrecked at Lambazi Bay	67
		5	Local people collect metal from wreck	68
		7	Depart, stones thrown	71
			Skirmish *[Mkweni R.]*	
		8	Meet chief and 'Malay'	72
		9	Another skirmish	
		10	Malay's village, *[Mbotyi R.]*	76
		11	Cross river, 'breast high'. *[Mntafufu]*	77
		13	Large broad river *[Mzimvubu]*	78
		15	Cross inland	
		17	Cross river *[Mngazi.]*	81
		19	Meet people who trade	
			Cross river *[Mngazana R.]*	82
			Meet people wearing ivory rings	
		25	Fisherman *[near Mdumbi R.]*	84
		27	Large river *[Mthatha]*	
	Sept.	3	Very wide river *[Mbashe]*	87
		5	Cross	88
		8	Fisherman's hut *[Nqabara R]*	89
		26	Meet Malay *'Anton '* *[Jujura R.]*	92
		26	Large river *[Kobonqaba R.]*	93
	Oct.	1	Large river, 'Stone' *[Kei R.]*	94
		3	Meet 'black Portuguese', cross.	96
		11	River difficult to cross *[Buffalo R.]*	99
		12	Cross inland	100
		18	Salt river *[Keiskamma R.]*	101
		26	Cross on raft	104
		31	River at high water *[Fish R.]*	105

Table 20

[1308] Kirby, P.R., 'The Journal and evidence of William Hubberly' in *A Source Book of the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*, (Cape Town Riebeeck Society, 1953).

GROSVENOR

Identification of landmarks based on descriptions, distances, revised dates and rates of travel

Year	Month	Day	Landmark	Km	Days	Stops	Rate
1782	August	4	Lambazi Bay [123 survive]				
		7	Depart cross Mkweni R.				
		10	Mbotyi R. Malay's village				
			Mzintlava R.				
		11	Mntafufu (small) river				
			Separate into smaller groups				
		12	Hubberly's group go inland				
		13	Mzimvubu River	50	6		8.3
		15	Cross inland			2	
		19	Mngazana R. Tshomane/Mbo				
		22	Hubberly's group to 20				
		25	Fisherman near Mdumbi R.				
		27	Mthatha River	55	14		4.6
			Coxon and ladies last seen				
	September	3	Mbhashe River	50	7		7.1
		5	Cross inland			2	
		8	Fisherman Nqabara R?				
		15,18	Shaw ill, dies			3	
		20	Qhora R.				
		26	Meet Malay 'Anton', Jujura R?				
		28	Kobonqaba R.				
		29	Cross			1	
	October	1	Kei River [Stone R.]	80	28		3.6
		3	Cross			2	
		11	Buffalo R.	65	10		8.1
		12	Cross inland			1	
		18	Keiskamma River	55	7		9.2
		24	Only 4 left				
		26	Cross			8	
		31	Fish River only 3 left	50	13		10
	November	4	Hubberly continues alone				
			TOTAL	**405**	**85**	**19**	**6.1**

Total Distance: Lambazi Bay to Fish River – 405 km
Time taken: 7 August to 31 October 1782 – 85 days
Exclude stops – 19 days
Average rate: of actual travel – 6.1 km a day.

On 17 August, out of sight of the sea, these survivors crossed another river, which would have been the Mngazi.[1309] They then moved towards the coast and on 19 August crossed the Mngazana River.[1310] It was commented that by 22 August, the party had been reduced to about 20. [1311]

The Mthatha was the next large river but, with a strong tide running, two people drowned while trying to cross.[1312] They reached this river on 27 August. It was 55 km from the Mzimvubu, which they had only crossed on 15 August, so and they had taken 12 days between the two rivers which gave an average rate of 4.6 km a day. They had to move inland, about six or seven miles [10-11 km] to cross the Mthatha.[1313]

On 3 September, this group arrived at a very broad river, the Mbhashe, where again they moved inland to ford 2 days later.[1314] They had covered the 50 km in 7 days at an average rate of 7.1 km a day.

At this time, a Lascar caught up with Hubberly's group and informed them that Captain Coxon's party had been seen at the 'Sea-cow ' [Mthatha River].[1315]

Another river [the Shixini] was crossed on 12 September, and then a respected member of the crew became ill and died and the party spent three days with him.[1316] On 28 September, the survivors reached a large river where there were many elephants. There they found a woman and her children collecting shellfish. The survivors spent a day there, also collecting berries and shellfish. This would have been the Kobonqaba.[1317]

[1309] Hubberly in Kirby,(1953), p. 81 and note 57, p. 130.
[1310] Ibid., p. 82 and note 59, p. 130.
[1311] Ibid., p. 83.
[1312] Ibid., p. 85, and note 68, p. 131.
[1313] Ibid., p. 86.
[1314] Ibid., p. 87 and note 74, p. 132.
[1315] Ibid., p. 93 and note 86, p. 88.
[1316] Ibid., pp. 90-91 and note 80, p. 132.
[1317] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 132.

It took another 28 days to reach the next large river, which they did on 1 October. The survivors named it the 'Stone River', and had to move two miles [3.2 km] inland to ford the river. This was the Great Kei.[1318] They had covered this part of the journey very slowly, only covering the 80 km in 28 days, but with 6 stops their progress was only 3.6 km a day. At this river, these survivors met a "black Portuguese who could who could talk Moors, Portuguese and Dutch". [1319] He refused to join them, but showed the survivors a ford and they moved to the coast again.[1320]

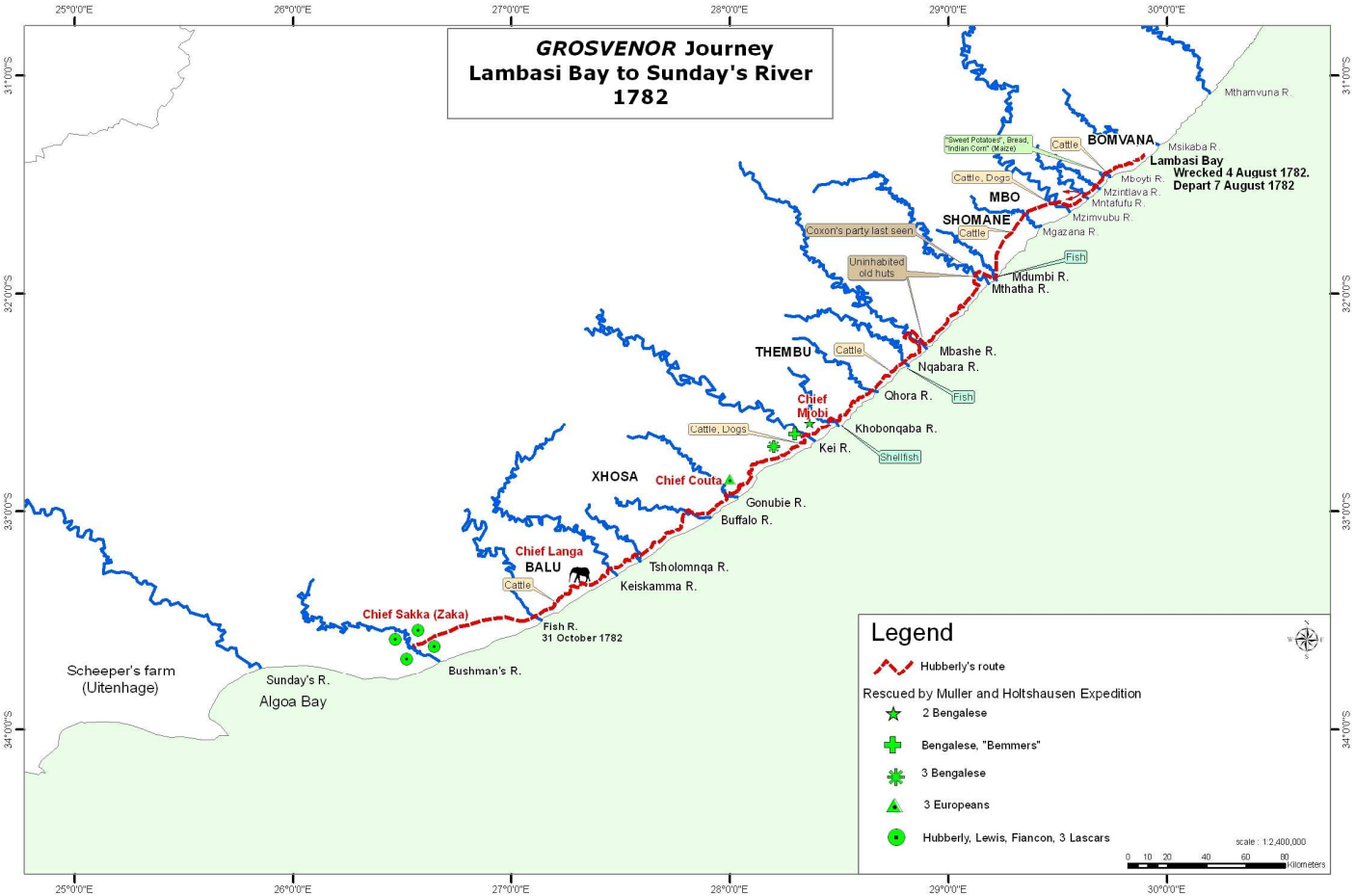
This group of survivors had eventually crossed the Kei on 3 October. They reached the next large river, the Buffalo, on 11 October, which they crossed inland on the following day.[1321] They had covered the 65 km in 10 days, so excluding the 2 days taken to cross the Kei, their rate was 8.1 km a day. The Keiskamma River was reached on 18 October.[1322] They were moving at a rate of 9.2 km a day, having walked the 55 km in 7 days (excluding the day to get over the Buffalo). It took them 8 days before the remaining four survivors managed to cross the river.[1323] They then reached the next river, the Fish, on 31 October.[1324] They had taken 13 days to get there, but excluding the 8 days at the Keiskamma, they took 5 days actual travelling time, so they covered the 50 km at a rate of 10 km a day. Three of the men met their death at this time and on 4 November, Hubberly continued alone.[1325]

The total distance which Hubberly had travelled from Lambazi Bay to the Fish River was 405 km. They took 85 days, leaving the wreck site on 7 August 1782 and arriving at the Fish River on 31 October of the same year. With 19 days stoppages, they had a very slow rate of travel at only 6 km a day.

[1318] Ibid., p. 94 and note, 87, p. 132.
[1319] Ibid., p. 96.
[1320] Ibid., p. 97.
[1321] Ibid., p. 99 and note 99, p. 132.
[1322] Ibid., p. 101 and note 103, p. 132.
[1323] Ibid., pp. 103-104.
[1324] Ibid., p. 105 and note 107, p. 133.
[1325] Ibid., p. 108.

Map 13 shows Hubberley's journey, relevant dates, position of the Chiefs and groups encountered and observations of livestock and cultivation.

Map 13 – *Grosvenor*: Survivor's Journey



14.4. Location of the people

Lambazi Bay to Mzimvubu River:

The local people must have lived fairly close to the wreck site as on the same day of the wrecking [4 August] there were

> "fires made by the natives for the purpose of getting the ironwork from off the pieces of the wreck, which great numbers of them had the whole day employed themselves about, and at sunset peaceably retiring, taking with them their loads".[1326]

The high value which was placed on metal and their lack of aggression was again demonstrated when on the following day

> "the natives again returned all armed with lances and targets. They appeared to be in parties. Their arms they piled together, and left them under the care of their women, whilst they themselves were employed in collecting iron or any other metal they could find which had been washed on the shore. They seemed to consider everything as belonging to them, and very jealous of our looking amongst the rocks."[1327]

When the survivors found copper saucepans and carpenters' tools, it was claimed that the local people took them after threatening the survivors with their weapons.[1328]

The appearance of the local people was described: "The natives dress their heads high with a hollow in the middle, and stuck into their hair the brass nails picked up from the trunks cast ashore. They had very little clothing."[1329]

Kirby identifies the people who lived near the wreck site as being the 'Bomvanas'.[1330] These people seemed to indicate the way that the survivors should follow to get to a European settlement was not west towards the Cape: "after the ship struck the natives pointed the other way, not the way they travelled afterwards, and said something, which

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[1326] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 67.
[1327] Ibid., p. 68.
[1328] Ibid., p. 68.
[1329] Dalrymple, A., Evidence of Warmington and Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 35.
[1330] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., note 61, p. 195.

they imagined was to tell them that there was a bay that way."[1331] Kirby noted that they were pointing to the north-east.[1332]

The survivors gathered together in a party but, as they left the site, Hubberly reported that

> "we were surrounded by a great number of the natives who began throwing stones at us and holding their lances in a threatening manner and seemed desirous of preventing us from proceeding."[1333]

This could have been an attempt to guide the survivors to the east, indicating that they believed that the survivors should have gone towards Mozambique as the previous shipwreck survivors had done. Although there was a considerable time difference (135 years), oral story-telling could have passed on this information.

There are two accounts of skirmishes with the local people by the survivors. One is by Hubberly and the other by Lewis. Hubberly places it close to the wreck site, but Lewis made no mention of a skirmish at this time, but reported that apart from stones being thrown as the survivors left the wreck site, there were no attacks on the survivors until after they had met the 'Malay'.[1334] It is suggested that these are different versions of the same skirmish with the time of occurrence being confused. Hubberly's version was that after the survivors had resumed travelling, they were again

> "surrounded by some hundreds of the natives, all armed with lances and targets. They set up a terrible shouting and came on brandishing their lances over our heads, we expecting nothing less than to be cut to pieces, which such numbers of them might easily have accomplished…. They then went among the group and took buckles and buttons."[1335]

[1331] Dalrymple, Evidence of Warmington and Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 35
[1332] Kirby, op. cit., note (a), p. 35.
[1333] Hubberly in Kirby, op. cit., p. 71.
[1334] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, in Kirby, op, cit., p. 36.
[1335] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 71.

Lewis's version was that the captain

> "took a lance from one of the natives who endeavoured by signs and entreaty, as his words were supposed, to set it back but to no purpose. There was no village in sight, but he went away to the village and called the rest who came out with their lances and targets."[1336]

Following this the captain "attacked the natives and drove them out of the village."[1337]
In retaliation, the local men

> "not choosing to lose the iron at the end of the lance, they drew out the lance-staffs and sharpened the end and threw these staffs at our people. It was one of these they stuck in Mr Newman's ear; he was stunned and fell down, on which the natives made a noise. One of the natives, having fallen down in running away, he was overtook by the boatswain and others, and bruised terribly, but the captain told them not to kill any." [1338]

It appears that Hubberly omitted to mention that the captain made the first aggressive moves and that the attack by the local people was in retaliation.

Hubberly said that on the following day [8 August], moving through rugged country, the survivors observed huts with cattle grazing near them. They were met by

> "about sixty of the natives marching in regular order, two deep, armed with lances and targets, and headed by a chief, which alarmed us very much: but as soon as they came near they halted. The chief stepped forwards and made a short speech, they all behaving themselves very peaceable. Our purser by order of the captain distributed some gold lace among them with which they seemed well pleased and satisfied, and then marched off again in the same manner as they approached."[1339]

[1336] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[1337] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, Warmington and Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[1338] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis confirmed by Price, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[1339] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 72.

He then goes on to say that near the village of the 'Malay', probably near the Mbotyi River, the survivors were able to trade, obtaining "sweet potatoes and other roots, a few ears of Indian corn, and two or three cakes of bread".[1340]

Lewis stated that "Afterwards the natives brought sweet potatoes to exchange for the lance-staffs and sticks they had thrown at our people. They sat down peaceably round and the captain had some toys which he gave them, and they went away."[1341]

This indicates that the chief did not approve of the aggression and was trying to make peace with the survivors.

The survivors met a man whom they supposed to be a (Malay) slave who had run away from the Dutch. Kirby identifies him as Anton, who was an escaped slave of A. du Plessis.[1342] In spite of promises of rewards, he refused to accompany the survivors as he had a wife and children. This man looked different from the local people as they were "of a darker colour and much taller, their cheeks painted red and with ostrich feathers stuck in their hair, which was twisted into a conical shape." [1343]

The Malay advised the survivors to keep to the coast "for inland we should certainly meet the Boshemen Hottentots who would certainly kill us all."[1344]

Moving on, the survivors observed more huts with cattle grazing but claimed that they were pursued by a group of 'troublesome' men. They arrived at the village where the 'Malay' lived and where there were numerous cattle, but the local people refused to part with any.[1345] The village was situated in the vicinity of the Mboyti River.[1346]

[1340] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 73.
[1341] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis confirmed by Price, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[1342] Kirby, op. cit., note 44, p. 193.
[1343] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit p. 72.
[1344] Ibid., p. 73.
[1345] Hubberly, in Kirby,(1953), op. cit., p. 75.
[1346] Kirby, note 44, p. 130.

It was claimed that the men wore "but one shoe, made of buffalo hide, which they wear on their right foot."[1347] Quoting a Dutch farmer with whom Lewis later stayed, he added that the sandal was a sole only and was tied around the ankle with two strips held at the heel. These were worn when the men went hunting and they could "make great springs".[1348]

Lewis described their weapons as "reddish sticks, seemingly dyed, with a wooden knob at the end, and lances."[1349]

The local chief gave the survivors two guides, but shortly after stones were still being thrown and the guides joined in. Some sailors and Lascars pushed on ahead and some stragglers were robbed of any metal objects. In his early report to Dalrymple, Hubberly claimed that "The natives stripped the ladies of their ear-rings, and everything they found hard, threatening to kill them if they resisted."[1350]

He elaborated in his later Journal stating that

> "the natives making no difference between age and sex, pillaging all, and threatening to kill those who opposed them. They feeling something in the ladies' pockets, and not knowing how to come at them, they instantly cut them off, clothes and all, after which they took away their earrings and searched their hair." [1351]

Again Warmington and Leary had a different view point: "The natives never offered to carry away Mrs Logie or any other of the ladies, nor offered them any injuries, except taking their rings and suchlike."[1352] It is possible that Hubberley exaggerated some of the actions of the indigenous people in his later journal for effect.

[1347] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, in Kirby, op. cit., p.36.
[1348] Ibid., p. 36-37.
[1349] Ibid., p. 37.
[1350] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 77.
[1351] Ibid., p.76.
[1352] Dalrymple, Evidence of Warmington and Leary, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 39.

After crossing the Mntafufu River the group separated into parties.[1353] Hubberly's group moved inland to try to trade. They observed cattle and dogs, but again no one was willing to part with any. On reaching the Mzimvubu River, there were many more 'fine cattle', but still none available to the survivors. They were able to get a little milk in exchange for metal buttons. There a group of unfriendly people threw stones at these survivors.[1354]

Mzimvubu to Mthatha Rivers:

Once over the Mzimvubu River Hubberly's group found a large village where the people were not hostile, but they still were unable to get cattle or milk.[1355] Between there and the Mngazi River there were again 'well-inhabited villages' with plenty of fine cattle, but none on offer.[1356]

In the region of the Mngazana River, the survivors met a group of men who were friendly and they were able to trade a young bullock for a gold watch chain and some milk for buttons. The local men killed the animal and cut it up for the survivors.[1357] Kirby identified these people as the AmaMbo.[1358]

On the other side of the river, more people were encountered.

The survivors identified the chiefs

> "by the ornaments they wore, having pieces of copper in their hair, beads round their necks and wrists and ivory rings round their arms etc. These were certainly a different sort of people from those where the ship was unfortunately lost; their hair being covered

[1353] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 77, and note 46, p. 130.
[1354] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
[1355] Ibid., p. 80.
[1356] Ibid., p. 81.
[1357] Ibid., p. 81.
[1358] Kirby, op. cit., note 39, p. 130.

> with brick-dust and matted with grease had more resemblance to ropes hanging down than hair."[1359]

The 'brick-dust' would have been red ochre. Kirby identified these people as the AmaShomane.[1360]

The survivors moved inland, but could find no inhabitants, although there were many old huts and paths.[1361] They moved towards the sea and Hubberly reported that they only met one fisherman who lived in a hut on the coast near the Mdumbi River. He kept no cattle.[1362] The other survivors had a different description and stated

> "They met a black Portuguese, rather young than old, in a house by a salt-water river near the sea. He had two Coffree women with him; his house was by itself, but there was a Coffree village of five huts near. This Portuguese had no cows, but he gave them three fish which he cooked for them, together with the shellfish they had picked up, and some white roots like potatoes."[1363]

On reaching the Mthatha River, the survivors moved inland in an attempt to find a ford. There were no people living there, only several old uninhabited huts.[1364]

Mthatha to Kei Rivers:

Once over the river, the survivors returned to the coast, but still found no inhabitants between there and the Mbhashe River.[1365] They moved inland to cross this river but again no signs of people, only old huts.[1366] Moving to the coast again, the survivors found another lone fisherman, possibly at the Nqabara River. They saw some cattle inland but they were far away.[1367] The first people whom the survivors met were at the Qhora River, where there were huts and cattle on the far side. After crossing the river,

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[1359] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 82.
[1360] Kirby, op. cit., note 58, p. 130.
[1361] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
[1362] Ibid., p. 84. and note 65, p. 130.
[1363] Dalrymple, Evidence of Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
[1364] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 86.
[1365] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., pp. 86-87
[1366] Ibid., p. 88.
[1367] Ibid., p. 89, note 78, p. 133.

"about twenty of them surrounded us before we could well get on our clothes. They rifled them of whatever they pleased, and afterwards drove us away by throwing stones at us."[1368]

At the Kobonqaba River, this group of survivors found a woman and her two children gathering mussels. After crossing the river a little inland, they found a village with cattle grazing. The people refused to trade and insisted the survivors move off towards the beach.[1369]

The survivors moved about two miles inland to cross the Kei River where they came to a large village but, although the inhabitants were not hostile, they refused to trade or give any milk to the survivors, preferring to give it to their dogs. There were many villages situated in pleasant valleys but, although there were many cattle, no one was prepared to trade. One group offered some milk in exchange for '*zimbe'*, which the survivors understood to be their ornaments. The local people refused the buttons and then indicated that the survivors should leave and threw stones at them. Others joined in from different villages, the survivors were made to strip and a watch was found.[1370] While still searching for a place to cross the river they met a "black Portuguese who could talk Dutch very well".[1371] He refused to join them but showed them the ford. They then moved back to the coast.[1372]

Kei River to the Fish River:

The survivors continued walking along the coast, moving inland to cross the Buffalo River, but found no inhabitants.[1373] When they were near the Keiskamma River, they met a group of about 20 men, women and children who were on the beach, "who all fell on us with sticks and stones, and beat us until they were tired, after which they left

[1368] Ibid., p. 91.
[1369] Ibid., p. 93.
[1370] Ibid., p. 95.
[1371] Ibid., p. 96.
[1372] Ibid., p. 96.
[1373] Hubberly, in Kirby, (1953), op. cit., p. 99.

us."[1374] At the Keiskamma River, where the survivors had collected shellfish, some local people came, took the shellfish and doused their fire.[1375] By this time there were only four people left in the group and they were all very weak. Three of the survivors crossed the river on a makeshift raft, leaving one person behind who was very ill.[1376]

Between the Keiskamma and the Fish Rivers, it was noted that the country was 'infested' with elephants. The only people the survivors met on the beach were some women gathering shellfish and who let them have a dead sea-bird.[1377] When the survivors arrived at the Fish River, a group of men overtook them and

> "began throwing stones at us, at which we implored their mercy. After they had desisted … they took hold of Mr Williams and dragged him down to the river and threw him in. When he rose again and endeavoured to reach the opposite shore by swimming, they again threw stones at him, and before he was half-way over, some of the stones striking him on the head, he instantly sunk, when the savages perceiving it they all shouted."[1378]

They then attacked Taylor but Hubberly made his escape. The two men then made a raft and crossed the river, but Taylor died. Hubberly then continued on alone.[1379]

The Muller and Holtshausen Expedition of 1782-83, rescued three Europeans, including Hubberly, and three 'Moors' between the Bushman's and Fish Rivers. They were sent to Gerrit Scheeper's farm.[1380] They had been taken in by Chief Sakka's people.[1381] Kirby identifies him as 'Zaka', a Gqunukwebe chief, son of Cungwa. Three Bengalese were then found on the 'plain of Corega', living with Chief Couto's people.[1382] Kirby identifies

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[1374] Ibid., p. 100.
[1375] Ibid., p. 102.
[1376] Ibid., p. 103.
[1377] Ibid., p. 104.
[1378] Ibid., p. 105.
[1379] Ibid., p. 105-107.
[1380] Report of Muller and Holtshausen, in Kirby, op. cit. p. 165.
[1381] Kirby, op. cit., note.10, p. 192.
[1382] Report of Muller and Holtshausen, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 171.

this place as being in the present Mooiplaas area, on the Kwelera River.[1383] Three more Bengalese survivors were found living with Chief Jobi's people.[1384] Kirby identifies this man as being 'Mjobi', a Thembu chief, who lived near the Kei River.[1385]

14.5. The Indigenous people in 1782

The *Grosvenor* survivors made relatively few observations about the lifestyle of indigenous people whom they encountered on their journey. Hubberly referred to them as 'natives' and only on one occasions as 'Coffrees'.

14.5.1 Linguistics

No comments were made on language except that the survivors were unable to understand the local people.

14.5.2 Physical Appearance

The men who lived near the Mbotyi River were tall and dark in colour.

14.5.3 Political Organisation

The survivors recognized that the people had chiefs whose authority was apparent. Although a group of armed men approached the survivors in a formal body, two abreast, near the Mkweni River, the chief was obviously in charge and no stones were thrown.

14.5.4 Settlements

The survivors found the country uninhabited between the Mngazana and Kobonqaba Rivers. They had walked much of the way in sight of, or along the shore, but moved inland to cross the Mthatha and Mbhashe Rivers, where they observed many deserted huts. This could indicate that the area was under dispute between rival chiefs and the

[1383] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., note 36, p. 193.
[1384] Report of Muller and Holtshausen, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 173.
[1385] Kirby, op. cit., note 40, p. 193.

people had fled to avoid the fighting. It was noticed that the people lived in huts in valleys in the Kei River area.

14.5.5 Clothing, ornament and accessories

The people who came to the wreck site dressed their hair high with a hollow in the middle. The comment that they 'stick copper nails in their hair', implying they were used as ornaments, could merely have been a way of keeping them safely for the interim. People living in the Mbotyi area painted their faces red, possibly with ochre, twisted their hair into a conical shape and ornamented it with ostrich feathers. The chiefs in the Mngazana area were more richly ornamented than their subjects, having pieces of copper in their hair, beads around their necks and wrists and ivory rings on their arms. The people themselves dressed their hair with ochre and grease and had thick braids like ropes.

The description that the men wore only one sandal is quoted by Shaw and van Warmelo,[1386] but it is suggested that this observation is questionable. None of the earlier records or any contemporary illustrations mention or show this. It could have been one observation being made when the other sandal was being repaired.

14.5.6 Customs and ritual: None were observed or commented on.

14.5.7 Belief Systems: None were observed or commented on.

14.5.8 Mode of Livelihood

14.5.8.1 Livestock:

The people who lived in the area between Lambazi Bay and the Kei River kept cattle. Livestock was not mentioned by Hubberly who moved along the coast from the Kei to the Fish Rivers. Dogs were observed in the Mzintlava and Kei River areas.

[1386] Shaw, E.M., and van Warmelo, N.J., *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni*, Vol. 58, Part 4, Personal and General, (Cape Town, Annals of the Cape Museums, 1988), p. 529.

14.5.8.2 Cultivation

Sweet potatoes were available in the Mkweni River area, with ears of 'Indian corn' being grown in the Mbotyi River area. The question arises whether the 'Indian corn' referred to was maize. In view of the term being used to describe maize and the fact that the same term was used by the *Doddington* survivors in 1556, this reference could be used as a pointer towards the introduction of maize into Southern Africa.

14.5.8.3 Plant Gathering

'Roots' were mentioned in the Mbotyi River area.

14.5.8.4 Hunting and Fishing

The only reference to hunting was made when it was said that the men wore sandals when hunting. Fishermen were reported as living on the coast collecting shellfish and catching fish at two places. These people kept no cattle and planted no crops. Kirby suggests that the first site would have been the Mdumbi River which has a sheltered bay.[1387] According to the text, this was a two day journey before the Mthatha River was reached and, as the survivors were travelling at rate of about 4-5 km a day, this would place it in the region of the Makatye River. The second site was observed three days after crossing the Mbhashe River and travelling at the same rate, this could have been the Nqabara River.

14.5.8.5 Food Preparation

Cakes were made in the Mbotyi area.

14.5.8.6 Technology

Weapons were 'lances and targets', observed in the area between the wreck site to the Fish River. These were assegais and shields.

[1387] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., note 45, p. 131.

14.5.8.7 Trade

There was no mention of trade, but Iron and copper were very highly valued and presumably the iron and copper which the local people obtained would have been trade items.

14.5.8.8 Cultural group distribution

By the late 1700s, the names of many of the various Xhosa-speakers living in the Eastern Cape had become known, mainly through travellers' accounts, with the information contained in these narratives forming part of the resource material. Kirby used Soga and Shaw's journal for his research and included the information in the form of footnotes.

The Fish River had been proclaimed the boundary between the Dutch farmers and the Xhosa in 1780, although several Xhosa clans had already settled west of that river.[1388]

There must have been a group of disaffected people living or ranging to the north of the Mbotyi as the survivors were warned of 'Boshemen Hottentots'. Kirby identified them as Bushmen,[1389] but they could have been herders who had been displaced from their grazing lands, or a combination of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers who had been displaced. The amaBomvana, an Mpondo clan, lived between the Mzimvubu and the Mngazi, under Chief Gambushe at the time of the wreck.[1390]

According to Kirby, the people living north of the Mngazana River area were the AbaMbo, with their chief being Ngqungqushe, father of Faku. His Great Place was at

[1388] Berg, J.S. and Visagie, J.C., *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660-1980*, (Durban, Butterworths, 1985),
p. 10.
[1389] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., note 40, p. 130
[1390] Ibid., note 9, p. 50.

Lusikisiki.[1391] On the south side of the river the people encountered were identified by Kirby as the AmaShomane whom, he states, were of 'mixed blood'.[1392]

Kirby states that at that at the time of the wreck, the abaThembu occupied the land between the Mbhashe and the Kei Rivers.[1393] The survivors found the area between the Mthatha and the Mbhashe Rivers uninhabited, although they saw many unoccupied huts. The reason for this was most likely to have been that during the reign of the abaThembu chief, Ndaba, (c. 1775-1800), there were a series of wars with the Xhosa and Ndaba fled, possibly with some of his people. The situation did not end with Rharabe's death in 1782, the year of the wreck.[1394]

Three people were encountered who were probably runaway slaves. The first was a man who could speak Dutch, but whom Hubberly referred to as a 'Malay', found in the Mbotyi area. There was another man, also described as a Malay, living near Jujura River, said to be a slave, Anton, who had escaped six years ago.[1395] The other man described as a 'black Portuguese' was met on the east bank of the Kei River.

Kirby suggests that the people living near the Chalumna [Tsholomnqa] River were Xhosa, whose chief, Zaka, was usually friendly towards Europeans.[1396] Muller, of the Muller and Holtshausen Expedition, referred to a chief 'Couta' who lived east of the Buffalo River. Kirby identified him as Chief Kawuta, son of Gcaleka, who founded the tribe. He lived in the Gonube River valley.[1397] A chief, 'Lambe', lived near Kawuta. He was Ndlambe, the son of Rarabe, and related to Kawuta.[1398] Muller also met Chief

[1391] Ibid., note 39, p. 130
[1392] Ibid., note 58, p. 130.
[1393] Kirby, (1953), op. cit., note 8, p. 50.
[1394] Peires, J., *The House of Phalo*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town, Jonathon Ball, 1981), p. 95.
[1395] Kirby, op. cit., note 85, p. 132.
[1396] Kirby, op. cit., note 101, p. 133.
[1397] Report of Muller and Holtshausen, in Kirby, p. 171 and note 29, p. 193.
[1398] Muller, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 171 and note 29, p. 193.

Langa who lived near the Keiskamma River. Kirby stated that he was chief of the AmaMbalu and had his Great Place near the present site of Wooldridge.[1399]

As a final conclusion to the shipwreck survivor narratives, Table 20 shows an overview of all the shipwrecks and gives a comparative rate of progress for each of the survivor groups.

[1399] Ibid., p. 169 and note 33, p. 193.

Chapter 15

Mode of Livelihood – An Overview

Introduction:

Each of the sections is organised according to anthropological categories based on the work of Shaw and van Warmelo.[1400] These authors used Theal's translations for the shipwreck narratives. In this dissertation, the translations given by Boxer, Blackmore and Lockhart have been used in preference to Theal where available.

Livestock Distribution:

Sheep:

Based on archaeological evidence, Mitchell states that sheep were the first livestock to appear in southern Africa in 350 AD.[1401] Denbow, using glottochronology as well as archaeological evidence, postulates that sheep arrived in southern Africa as 2000 to 3000 years ago [1050 - 50 BC].[1402] Archaeologists have found evidence of sheep being present in the Western Cape dating to about 2000 years BP [50 AD].[1403]

The earliest written record of sheep in South Africa is found in the Barros account of the voyage of Bartholemeu Dias, where sheep were observed at Mossel Bay in 1488.[1404] Sheep were observed there by da Gama in 1497 and by Houtman in 1595.[1405] They were also seen in Table Bay by Davys in 1598.[1406] Willcox cites the *Santo Alberto* record for the presence of fat-tailed sheep on the south-east coast, but, with an

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[1400] Shaw, E. and van Warmelo, J., *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni*, Vol. 58, Parts 1-4, (Cape Town, Annals of the South African Museum, 1974-1988).

[1401] Mitchell, P., *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 2002), pp. 230-231.

[1402] Denbow, , J., "Kalahari, on close relationship between the Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, the principle language groups in Southern Africa today", *Journal of African History*, Vol. 27 [1] 1980, p. 3.

[1403] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 231.

[1404] Raven-Hart, R., *Before van Riebeeck*, (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1967), p. 5.

[1405] Ibid., pp. 1, 5-6, 17.

[1406] Ibid., p. 19.

incorrectly identified wreck site, positions their presence on the coast of KwaZulu-Natal.[1407]

It has been stated that the breed of fat-tailed sheep came to Africa from south-west Asia and a sheep-herding people moved to the south-west Cape passing though Zimbabwe and Botswana.[1408]

Sheep formed part of the livestock holdings of many of the communities encountered by the survivors, but were never as common or as numerous as cattle.

Sheep were found between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal by the survivors who were wrecked at the Msikaba River in 1554.[1409] They were not mentioned again until they were seen at Lake Sibayi.[1410] In 1593 the people living inland between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers kept large herds of sheep. It was said that they had fat tails "like those of Ormuz".[1411] They were also found in the Flagstaff area and north of the Mzimkhulu River.[1412] Sheep were also available to trade in the Nkhandla area north of the Thukela River and at a settlement near the White Mfolozi River.[1413]

In 1622, the survivors who walked from Cannon Rocks first mentioned sheep when they were north of the Mzimkhulu River and were not mentioned thereafter.[1414] Sheep were part of the livestock at Plettenberg Bay in 1630.[1415] In 1647, the survivors who were wrecked in Chintsa Bay first saw sheep at the Thukela River and some were observed around the Matikhulu River.[1416] From there on, sheep were only mentioned at Kosi

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[1407] Willcox, A.R., "Sheep and Sheep-herders in South Africa", in *Africa*, Vol. XXXVI [1] 1966, p. 433.
[1408] Willcox, op. cit., p. 432.
[1409] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 235
[1410] Ibid., p. 262.
[1411] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 130.
[1412] Ibid., p. 158.
[1413] Ibid., pp. 165, 168.
[1414] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 158.
[1415] Sousa, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[1416] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 343-344.

Bay.[1417] In 1686, sheep were part of the domestic livestock of the Xhosa people living in the area between the Tsholomnqa and Buffalo Rivers.[1418] In 1755 sheep were observed by the *Doddington* survivors north of the Mtamvuna River.[1419]

Goats:

Goats were present in the Western Cape in 650 AD and are known to have been present in the Eastern Cape in the last millennium.[1420] They were not mentioned in the records of 'Callers at the Cape from 1488 to 1652" compiled by Raven Hart.[1421] In KwaZulu-Natal, archaeological evidence dates the presence of sheep and goats to the sixth to seventh centuries at sites at the confluence of the Thukela and Msuluzi Rivers and to the eighth century at Ndondwana in the Thukela valley.[1422]

The survivors of 1554, who moved north along the coast from the Msikaba River, first observed goats between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal.[1423] They were then observed around the Mvoti and Mfolozi Rivers.[1424] The survivor group who moved inland in 1593 only observed goats north of the Mzimkhulu River, at Kosi Bay and in the Inhaca Peninsula .[1425] The survivors of 1622 first mentioned goats when they reached the Mthatha River.[1426] From there they were only observed again between the Mtwalume River and the Bay of Natal and in the Lake St Lucia area.[1427] In 1647, goats were owned by people who lived about 20 km south of the Mzimkhulu River and by those who occupied land between the Mtwalume River and the Bay of Natal.[1428] Further

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[1417] Ibid., pp. 353, 354.
[1418] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 31, 36, 39.
[1419] Jones in Temple, *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p.184.
[1420] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 231
[1421] Raven-Hart, op. cit., full text.
[1422] Maggs, T., "The Iron-Age Sequence South of the Vaal and Pongola Rivers: some historical implications",
Journal of African History, 20 [1] 1980, op. cit., p. 4.
[1423] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 235
[1424] Ibid., p. 238, 250.
[1425] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 158, 177.
[1426] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 215-217.
[1427] Ibid., pp. 233-243.
[1428] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 334-340.

north, goats were seen in the Matikhulu River area, around Kosi Bay and on the Inhaca Peninsula.[1429]

In 1686, goats were part of the domestic livestock of the Xhosa people living in the area between the Tsholomnqa and Buffalo Rivers.[1430] The survivors who built the *Centaurus* at the Bay of Natal also reported that goats were kept there.[1431] In 1713, the livestock of the people living west of the Keiskamma River included goats.[1432] In 1755 goats were found in the Port Edward area but not observed further north.[1433]

In summary, goats were recorded as being part of the livestock of the people who lived along the coast, north of the Mzimkhulu River throughout the period. By 1622 they were only first observed at the Mthatha River and by 1686 they were kept by the Xhosa people in the Buffalo River area. In 1630 they were held in Plettenberg Bay.

Cattle: The earliest archaeological record for cattle is in the Western Cape and dates to 650 AD.[1434] In south-eastern Africa, the earliest archaeological evidence of cattle has been found at Ndondwana, a site in the Thukela valley in the eighth century.[1435] Derricourt had a radio-carbon date for cattle in the Queenstown area of 1760 BP [90 AD].[1436]

In his study on the early farmers in the Transkei, Feely suggests that pastoralists first arrived sometime after 2000 BP [50 AD].[1437]

[1429] Ibid., pp. 343-344.
[1430] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 31, 36, 39.
[1431] Witkins, H., of the *Bonaventura*, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 101.
[1432] Leibrandt, H.C..V., *Chronicle of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Chronicle of Cape Commanders: 1699-1732,* (Cape Town, Warichauds and Sons, 1896), p. 262.
[1433] Jones in Temple, *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., p.184.
[1434] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 231.
[1435] Maggs, 1980, op. cit., p. 4.
[1436] Derricourt, R.M., *Prehistoric Man in the Ciskei and Transkei*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1977), p. 145.
[1437] Feely, J., *Early Farmers if Transkei, Southern Africa, before A.D. 1870*, (Cambridge, Monographs in African Archaeology, 1987), p. 125.

In 1552 cattle were found in the area around the Mtamvuna River, but they were not numerous. In 1554, cattle were present at the Msikaba River, between the Mzimkhulu River, the Bay of Natal and at the Mvoti River. There were no cattle found until Lake Sibayi was reached and none were mentioned at Kosi Bay or on Inhaca Island.[1438] In 1589, it was said that the king's cattle were kept on Inhaca Island but were not seen by these survivors. None were mentioned between the Incomati River and Bazaruto Island.[1439]

The survivor group who moved inland in 1593 found cattle present wherever there were settlements along their route. There were individually owned herds of around 110 to 200 head seen between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers.[1440] The land between Ibeka and the Mgwali River was uninhabited grassland. People living between the Mgwali River and the crossing point of the Mbhashe River [at the bridge on the R61] kept cattle.[1441] No cattle were found north of the Mthatha River along high ground until the area around Flagstaff was reached. This was rich cattle country and the local people were wealthy enough to be able to trade 24 cows.[1442] From about the Mtamvuna to the Mvoti Rivers, cattle were kept wherever there were settlements but the survivors could only obtain a little milk for it was said that provisions were scarce as there had been no rain.[1443] Cattle were available to trade in the Nkhandla area north of the Thukela River and at a settlement near the White Mfolozi River.[1444] Cattle were present east of Nongoma, but none after they descended to the Mkhuze Plain.[1445] No cattle were observed thereafter.

In 1622 the people living in the Cannon Rocks area kept cattle.[1446] No domestic stock was observed along the coast between Cannon Rocks and the Kei River. Thereafter,

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[1438] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 235, 238, 250, 262.
[1439] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 83.
[1440] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 122,123, 130, 131.
[1441] Ibid., pp. 140-142.
[1442] Ibid., pp. 150-151.
[1443] Ibid., pp. 157, 159, 161, 163.
[1444] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 165, 168.
[1445] Ibid., pp. 170, 172, 174.
[1446] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 198.

cattle were found at settlements between the Khobonqaba and Mbhashe Rivers.[1447] Around the Mthatha River there were large herds of cattle and the survivors were able to obtain 26 head, the most on their whole trip.[1448] They were present between the Mzimvubu and Msikaba Rivers,[1449] again around the Mtamvuna and south of the Mzimkhulu River.[1450] between the Mtwalume River and the Bay of Natal.[1451] There was no livestock recorded thereafter until Kosi Bay where there were some cows.[1452] At this time there were no cows observed on the Inhaca Peninsula and Island.[1453] No livestock was mentioned between the Incomati River estuary area and Inhambane, where there were a "few oxen".[1454]

In 1630 the indigenous people kept cattle at Plettenberg Bay.[1455] In 1635 in the Mzimvubu River area, cattle were present with the larger herds being kept inland. In 1647 the first cattle observed north of Chintsa Bay, were found around the Mbhashe River.[1456] They were again present along the Mzimvubu River, up to 50 kilometres inland and about 20 kilometres to the north. The people who lived just south of the Mzimkhulu River and as far as the Bay of Natal owned cows.[1457] They were found in the Matikhulu River area and at this time the farmers living inland around the Mfolozi River were wealthy enough to be able to part with 140 head of cattle.[1458] Thereafter, the only time cattle were mentioned was when the survivors were at the Incomati River. They were told that one of the chiefs who lived inland had cattle, but these were not actually observed.[1459]

[1447] Ibid., pp. 209, 210, 214.
[1448] Ibid., pp. 215-217.
[1449] Ibid., pp. 218, 221, 229..
[1450] Ibid., pp. 227-229, 231.
[1451] Ibid., pp. 233-234.
[1452] Ibid., p. 244.
[1453] Ibid., p. 247, 249.
[1454] Ibid., p. 263.
[1455] Sousa, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[1456] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 313-314.
[1457] Ibid., pp. 326 -340.
[1458] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op., pp. 343, 344, 348.
[1459] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op., p. 357.

In 1686, cattle formed the major part of the domestic livestock of the Xhosa people living in the area between the Tsholomnqa and Buffalo Rivers.[1460] Some individuals owned herds as large as 2000 to 3000 head. The people living west of the Keiskamma River had herds of cattle amounting to at least 6000 head.[1461] These were major increases from the 1593 record when herds of only about 200 were found in the Kwelera/Kei area [1462]

The survivors who built the *Centaurus* reported that cattle were common around the Bay of Natal.[1463] No livestock was observed in the Maputo Bay area.[1464] The people living west of the Keiskamma River had cattle in 1713.[1465] In 1755, cattle were observed by the *Doddington* survivors north of the Mtamvuna area and around the Thukela River. In the Kosi Bay area cattle were not numerous and only a few were available for trade.[1466] In 1782, cattle were kept by the local people who lived between Lambazi Bay and the Fish River.[1467] The people were not prepared to trade their cattle and the one group only managed to obtain one bullock on the whole journey.[1468]

These observations indicate that the size of the cattle herds increased considerably in the coastal areas during the period under consideration. The early records of the coastal areas south of the Mzimkhulu River indicate that pastoralists grazed their cattle inland of the shore but they were not numerous. In 1593 cattle were found inland of the Kwelera River with herds of about 200 to 300 owned by individuals. In 1622 cattle were not observed along the coastal area from Cannon Rocks to just north of the Kei River. They were present at settlements along the coast between the Kei and the Mzimkhulu

[1460] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 31, 36, 39.
[1461] Ibid., p. 34.
[1462] Ibid., pp. 36, 86.
[1463] Witkins, H., of the *Bonaventura*, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 101.
[1464] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
[1465] Leibrandt, H.C..V., *Chronicle of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Chronicle of Cape Commanders: 1699-1732,* (Cape Town, Warichauds and Sons, 1896), p. 262.
[1466] Jones in Temple, *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., pp. 184,185-187.
[1467] Hubberly in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 75, 78-79, 81, 95.
[1468] Ibid., p. 81.

Rivers, with concentrations in the Mthatha and Mzimvubu River valleys, but no cattle were found until north of the Mzimkhulu. In 1647 cattle were still scarce along the coast from Chefane to north of the Kei River. By this time cattle were then found some 30 to 40 kilometres south of the Mzimkhulu River. By 1686 in the area between the Tsholomnqa and Buffalo rivers (with the observations probably extending to the Kei), herds of 2000 to 3000 head were owned by individuals.

During this period it was noticed that cattle were the most important of the domestic animals "with cattle they drive their trade and commerce, and cattle forms their treasure."[1469] Chief Ubabu who lived north of the Kwelera area showed the survivors his cattle with great satisfaction and then could not bring himself to lose them and raised his price.[1470]

The close relationship between the people and their cattle was also commented on. At Cannon Rocks the transaction by which the survivors thought they had traded cattle for iron could easily have been misunderstood and the pastoralists were dismayed when their cattle were taken. The cows did not want to leave and "lowed continually, as if in longing".[1471] The dogs were let loose among the cattle who were called by their owners with "low whistling and shouts, and the cows when they heard them jumped through the tents and fled with the dogs behind them".[1472]

[1469] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p 123.
[1470] Ibid., p. 131
[1471] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 200
[1472] Ibid., p. 200.

Figure 17 - Drawings in pen and ink of a 'Hottentot' family travelling with their livestock, including a dog. Note the man carrying a stick and a whisk.

Courtesy of the National Library of South Africa.

Fowls:

Fowls formed part of the domestic livestock of the people who lived in the Kosi Bay/Inhaca Peninsula area throughout the period. The group who travelled inland did not mention seeing any fowls in 1593. The most southerly observation along the coast was around the Mzimkhulu River in 1622.[1473] At that time they were common from there through to Kosi Bay.[1474] By 1635, the people living along the Mzimvubu area were rearing them.[1475] In 1686 the Xhosa people kept fowls.[1476] By 1713 fowls were found as far south as the Keiskamma River. [1477] In 1755 fowls were plentiful around the Thukela River, Kosi Bay and Maputo Bay.[1478]

Junod commented that poultry was the most common of the livestock kept by the Thonga people in Mozambique and it was asserted that they had always possessed fowls.[1479] These records suggest that that fowls were introduced into the coastal areas of south-east Africa from Mozambique during this period. The *Stavenisse* survivors at the Bay of Natal and in the Buffalo River area maintained that the people did not eat chickens or their eggs.[1480]

Dogs

The domestication of the dog, *Canis familiaris*, took place in China in about 1400 BC and they first appeared in Africa in about the fifth century BC. [1481] Inskeep stated that "It is hard to escape the implication that sheep and pottery (and perhaps dogs) made their appearance as associated traits in the extreme south of South Africa at least 2000 years ago"."[1482] Mitchell suggests that dogs were first introduced into southern Africa by

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[1473] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 235.
[1474] Ibid., pp. 240, 242-243.
[1475] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p 335.
[1476] Hoogsaad and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 87.
[1477] Leibrandt, H.C..V., *Chronicle of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Chronicle of Cape Commanders: 1699-1732,* (Cape Town, Warichauds and Sons, 1896), p. 262.
[1478] Jones, in Temple, *The Indian Reliquary*, op. cit., pp. 186, 188, 190.
[1479] Junod., H., *The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol II,* (New York, University Books, Inc.,19622), p. 51.
[1480] Hoogsaad and Jansz Kind, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 84, 87.
[1481] No author, "The AfriCanis in History", www.africanis.co.za, 2009, pp. 1, 2, 10, 12.
[1482] Inskeep, R., The Peopling of Southern Africa, (Cape Town and London, Daviv Philip, 1978), p. 147

Iron Age farmers early in the first millennium. Evidence of the presence of dogs has been found in the Limpopo Province around 570 AD and Botswana around 700 AD.[1483] Further evidence has been found in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape at Ndondwana and Ntshekane on the Thukela River in the eighth century.[1484] Dog remains have been found at the Ntsitsana site on the Mzimvubu River, south of Ntabankulu, which date to around the seventh and ninth centuries.[1485] In 1487, Vasco da Gama observed dogs in the area around Table Bay.[1486] They were also seen by De Houtman at Mossel Bay in 1595.[1487] Hall and Marsh state that today different and linguistic groups have their own types of working dogs and there are a number of possible origins for these dogs.[1488]

In 1593 dogs, described as 'gelded whelps', were kept by the local people living between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers.[1489] In the Flagstaff area, it was commented that the men were not accompanied by dogs, unlike the people whom they had met previously.[1490] In 1622, the people at Cannon Rocks kept dogs with their cattle as they were "great hunters, they always have their hunting dogs with them, and these cows are reared with the dogs who guard them from lions and tigers on this coast."[1491] Dogs were again recorded at the Mbhshe River but were not mentioned again.[1492] In 1635, dogs were found in the Mzimvubu area and had their tails docked.[1493] The survivors of 1686 do not mention dogs. In 1782 dogs were mentioned near the Mzintlava and Kei Rivers.[1494]

[1483] Mitchell, P., The Canine Connection: Dogs and Southern African Hunter-gatherers, *Animals and People: Archaeological Papers in honour of Ina Plug.*
[1484] Maggs, 1980, op. cit., p. 4.
[1485] Feely, Pers. Comm.quoting Prins.
[1486] Raven-Hart, op. cit. p.3.
[1487] Ibid., p. 17.
[1488] Hall, S. and Marsh, R., "The Origin of the Iron Age Dog in South Africa", *Beyond Belief*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1996), p. 83.
[1489] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 122.
[1490] Ibid., p. 150.
[1491] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 200.
[1492] Ibid., p. 210.
[1493] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 328.
[1494] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 94, 95.

The survivor records indicate that dogs were never observed north of the Mzimvubu River during the study period. The survivors of the *São João Baptista* noted that the dogs owned by the pastoralists at Cannon Rocks were an integral part of their livelihood and used for herding cattle and hunting. The *Santo Alberto* survivors observed them south of the Kei River and as far as the Xuka River to the north, but it was stated that they were absent in the Flagstaff area and not seen further north.

Figure 18 - *Canus africanus* at Port St Johns

Figure 19 - *Canus africanus* on the prowl at Hamburg

Introduction and spread of cultivated plants:

Millet:

Finger millet, *Eleusine coracana,* originated in Africa, probably in Uganda and Ethiopia, where it has been grown for thousands of years. It became a staple food in eastern and southern Africa and is one of the most nutritious of all the major cereals.[1495] The very small seeds were round and can be baked and/or used to make porridge and beer.[1496]

Descriptions in the narrative of 1554, refer to cakes made of seeds, called '*nacharre',* and indicate that the grain was being cultivated in the area between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal.[1497] In the Flagstaff area in 1593, a similar type of grain was described which resembled 'canary seeds', which was called '*nechinim'*.[1498] What must have been finger millet, was also found around the Mbhashe River in 1622.[1499] Seeds again described as resembling 'mustard-seeds' were cultivated by the Xhosa people between the Tsholomnqa and Kei Rivers in 1686.[1500]

Pearl millet *Pennisetum glaucum* is an indigenous grass which has been cultivated in Africa for about 4000 years. It is a nutritious cereal and is still widely grown in India, but has been largely displaced in Africa by maize.[1501] The species has previously been known as *P. americanum* and *P. typhoides*.[1502] The grains are pounded, mixed into flour and used for porridge, gruel and beer. Archaeological evidence has shown that the cultivation of bulrush (pearl) millet, recorded as *Pennisetum americanum,* has been found in EIA settlements in southern Mozambique to 300 AD. *Eleusine coracana* and

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[1495] National Research Council, *Lost Crops of Africa, Vol I, Grains*, (Washington D.C., National Academy Press, 1996), p. 39.
[1496] Van Wyk,and Gerike, op. cit., p. 10.
[1497] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, p. 235.
[1498] Ibid., p. 151.
[1499] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 210.
[1500] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 39.
[1501] National Research Council, op. cit., pp. 77, 79.
[1502] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 12

Pennisetum typhoides have been staples for diet among communities living in KwaZulu-Natal in the sixth and seventh centuries.[1503]

In the narratives, pearl millet can be identified as being cultivated in the area between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers. The seeds were white and the size of peppercorns and grew on a plant that resembled reeds in shape and size. The grains were ground between stones or in wooden mortars to make flour from which cakes were made and baked in the embers of a fire. The seeds were also fermented in clay jars and made what was said to be wine.[1504] Millet cakes were called '*sincoa'*.[1505] In the Mzimvubu area in 1635, seeds a little bigger than linseed, were cultivated.[1506] This was probably pearl millet. In 1686, seeds were fermented and made into 'beer' in the area occupied by the Xhosa between the Tsholomnqa and Kei Rivers.[1507]

Sorghum:

The name '*ameixoeira'* or '*amechueira'* was used to describe a grain other than millet by four of the survivor groups. It was differentiated from millet and twice said to resemble canary seeds. *Ameixoeira* would have been *Sorghum bicolor,* which has been cultivated in sub Saharan Africa for at least 3000 years. It has been ground and used for beer brewing, bread, gruel or porridge. [1508] The common name in South Africa has been 'Kaffir corn'. Like millet it is another grain crop native to Africa.[1509]

Sorghum was first described as being cultivated north of Kosi Bay in 1554.[1510] In 1589, a type of pulse called '*ameixoeira'* was grown on the Inhaca Peninsula. This was different from the millet which had been obtained at Kosi Bay. Boxer identified it as

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[1503] Maggs, T., "The Iron Age sequence of the Vaal and Pongola Rivers: some historical implications", in *Journal of African History*, 20[1], 1980, pp. 339-341.
[1504] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 122.
[1505] Ibid., p. 142.
[1506] Da Costa, M.G., *The Itinerário of Jerónimao Lobo*, (London, Hakluyt Society, 1984), p. 332, Note 1.
[1507] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 39.
[1508] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 14.
[1509] Nat. Research Council, op. cit., p. 138
[1510] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 271.

sorghum and cites Junod who stated that "a*meixoeira*, or *mexoeira* nowadays designates the small grey 'kaffir corn in Lourenco Marques".[1511] In 1593 *ameixoeira* was grown in the Flagstaff area[1512] and on the Inhaca Peninsula it was also known as *ameixoeira*.[1513] In 1622 grain similar to canary seed, called '*amechueira'* was being cultivated in the Nyalazi River area, [1514] around Kosi Bay and on Inhaca Island, '*amechueira*' was mentioned.[1515] Sorghum, '*amechueira*' was grown at Inhambane.[1516]

Sesame:

Sesame, *Sesamum indicum*, is an ancient crop, possibly of East African or Indian origin. The grain has small egg-shaped and highly nutritious seeds. Today it is grown on a small scale in rural areas in southern Africa.[1517] This grain was identified by name was cultivated in the region around Flagstaff in 1593.[1518] In 1622 it was also observed in the Inhambane area.[1519] In 1647 sesame was available in the area between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal. [1520] At that time, sesame was cultivated in the area south of Lake St Lucia, at Kosi Bay and in the Inhaca Peninsula.[1521]

'Sweet millet' and 'sugar cane':

In 1635 stalks of so-called 'sweet millet' were obtained in the Mzimvubu area.[1522] This was probably sweet stalk sorghum, a type of *Sorghum bicolor*, which has been widely

[1511] Do Couto, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 82, Note 2.
[1512] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 150.
[1513] Ibid., p. 184.
[1514] Ibid., p. 241.
[1515] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 244, 247, 249.
[1516] Ibid., p. 263.
[1517] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 24.
[1518] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 150.
[1519] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, p. 263.
[1520] Ibid., pp. 336-337.
[1521] Ibid., pp. 352-354.
[1522] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332, Note 1.

grown in southern Africa and was chewed like sugar cane.[1523] This was possibly *S.vulgare.*[1524]

There are four other references to the survivors obtaining what is referred to as 'sugar cane'. The 1622 survivors obtained what they called 'sugar canes' between Mzimkhulu and the Bay of Natal.[1525] In 1647, 'sugar cane' was mentioned as being traded on three occasions in the same area.[1526] In 1686, the Xhosa also cultivated 'sugar cane' in the Buffalo River area.[1527] In 1756, 'sugar cane' was cultivated at Kosi Bay.[1528]

Sugar cane *Saccharum officinarum*, is thought to have originated in New Guinea and then spread to Asia, China and India. It reached Africa around 400 to 600 AD.[1529] There a possibility these references are to sugar cane but it seems more likely that this was the sweet stalk millet.

Maize:

The date when maize *Zea mays*, was introduced into southern Africa is still debatable. It has been suggested is that this grain, sometimes known as Indian corn, was introduced into Africa by the Portuguese sometime during the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.[1530] In 1791, a Frenchman, F.R. Chateaubriand, landed in Virginia, North America, in 179. He stated that they bought some cakes made of "Indian corn".[1531] This must have been maize. An Internet reference states that maize was cultivated in Africa in the mid 1500s.[1532] van Wyk and Gerike claim that maize has been cultivated in Southern Africa

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[1523] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 14.
[1524] Upthof, J.C.T., *The Dictionary of Economic Plants*, (New York, Stechert-Hafner, 1968), p. 493.
[1525] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 235.
[1526] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 336-337.
[1527] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 110.
[1528] Jones, in Temple, p. 188.
[1529] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 112.
[1530] Burtt-Davy, J., Maize: Its History, Cultivation, Handling and Uses, (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), p. 14.
[1531] Kennedy, L. comp. *A Book of Sea Voyages*, (London, Fontana Collins, 1981), p. 30.
[1532] USDA.gov/research/maize, *Milho, makka, and yu mal: early journeys of Zea mays to Africa*, 2007, p. 1.

since 1500 AD.[1533] Archaeological evidence for maize in Southern Africa has been found at a site in the Thukhela valley, which was occupied from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, and at a site on the Babanango plateau in the late seventeenth century.[1534]

The question arises as to whether the references to corn by the Dutch and English survivors were to maize. In 1689, the crew of the *Noord* reported that the two types of corn grown in the Maputo Bay area were 'the same kind as grown in Natal'.[1535] In the Bay of Natal area, the survivors obtained 'corn' from which they made bread and beer.[1536] In the same period, the Xhosa, who lived in the area between the Tsholomnqa and the Kei Rivers, grew 'sweet seed', from which they made bread, and seeds resembling mustard-seeds, from which they made wine.[1537] They grew three types of grain and made bread and beer from the 'corn'.[1538]

Although millet and sorghum were not mentioned in the texts and they were known staples, so it is probable that these were the grains cultivated at the time and these were not maize.

The survivors of the *Doddington* (1755) and *Grosvenor* (1782) mention Indian corn. The *Doddington* survivors were given 'Indian corn' in the area north of the Mtamvuna River.[1539] Temple thought that these were 'mealies'.[1540] In the Thukela River area, 'great quantities of corn' was available, from which bread was made. In addition, 'Indian and Guinea corn ' were mentioned.[1541] The survivors of the *Grosvenor* were given 'ears

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[1533] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 16.
[1534] Hall, M., and Vogel, J.C., "Some radio-carbon dates from South Africa", *The Journal of African History*, Vol 21, 1980, p. 444.
[1535] Van der Stel, Dispatch, in Vigne, p. 123.
[1536] Hoogsaad and Others, in Vigne, op. cit, p. 85.
[1537] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
[1538] Jansz Kind and others, in Vigne, p. 86, 87, 90.
[1539] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 184.
[1540] Temple, op. cit., Note, p. 184.
[1541] Ibid., p. 186.

of Indian corn', as well as 'cakes of bread', in the Mbotyi River area.[1542] The likelihood is that this was maize and provides a record of the period when maize would have been introduced into Southern Africa.

Beans:

The Jugo bean, *Vigna subterranean*, (African groundnut or Bambara groundnut), which grows underground, is indigenous to Africa.[1543] The other ground-nut, *Arachis hypogea*, is an exotic.[1544] The Mung bean, *Vigna radiata,* has been an important food plant in rural southern Africa for its dry beans and as a green vegetable.[1545]

Beans were being cultivated on the Inhaca Peninsula in 1589 and beans, described as growing underground [probably Jugo beans] were cultivated in the Flagstaff region.[1546] In 1622, 'jugo' and 'mungo' beans were being cultivated in the Inhambane area. [1547] Beans and seeds that grew underground were found around the Mzimvubu River in 1635[1548] and they were being cultivated by the Xhosa between the Tsholomnqa and Kei Rivers in 1686.[1549] Beans that appeared as roots were available to the *Doddington* survivors at Kosi Bay in 1556.[1550] These were all probably Jugo beans.

There are references to cow peas *Vigna unguiculata* being indigenous to Africa and having been cultivated for its seeds in Southern Africa.[1551] There is the possibility that some of the references, especially to seeds, could have been cow peas, but without better descriptions it cannot be claimed confidently.

Melons and Gourds:

[1542] Hubberly, in Kirby., op. cit., p. 73.
[1543] Van Wyk, and Gerike, op. cit., p. 28.
[1544] Ibid., p. 28.
[1545] Ibid., p. 30
[1546] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 150.
[1547] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 263.
[1548] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol VIII, op. cit., pp. 335, 353.
[1549] Janz Kind and others, 'Dispatch', in Vigne, p. 90.
[1550] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 189.
[1551] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 30.

Melons cultivated in this period would have been the Tsamma melon *Citrillus lanatus,* which is a creeping annual herb. Widely distributed in Asia and Africa, it is indigenous to Africa and has been cultivated in rural areas since pre-colonial times.[1552] The calabash or bottle gourd, *Lagenaria siceraria*, also considered to be indigenous to Africa, has been cultivated in Africa for at least 2000 years. The thick epidermis of gourds, has been and is still used as containers in rural southern Africa.[1553] Archaeological evidence indicates that the tsamma melon, C*itrullus lanatis*, and the bottle gourd, *Lagenaria siceria* have been grown in Southern Africa since at least the eighth century AD.[1554]

A gourd was first mentioned by the *Santo Alberto* survivors in 1593, as being found in the Nkhandla area, they but were probably more widely cultivated at the time.[1555] In 1635, in the Mzimvubu region, melons were said to be large and sweet and that there were also 'Guinea' gourds called 'calabashes'. [1556] In 1647, they were mentioned as being cultivated from the Mzimvubu River as far as the Incomati River and the Xhosa were growing melons and gourds in 1686. [1557] By 1713, they were found west of the Keiskamma River. [1558] Melons and/or gourds were available around the Mzimvubu, Thukela, Mhlatuzi and Mfolozi Rivers, near Lake St Lucia, at Kosi Bay and around the Incomati River.[1559]

Bananas:

The first record of bananas *Musa sapienta* being grown was in 1622, when they were found on the Inhaca Peninsula. [1560] By 1647 they *were* being cultivated around the

[1552] Van Wyk and Gerike op. cit., p. 38.
[1553] Ibid., p. 46.
[1554] Maggs, op. cit., p. 5.
[1555] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 165.
[1556] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332, 335.
[1557] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 38, 46.
[1558] Leibrandt,, H.C.V., *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, Chronicle of Cape Commanders, 1699-1732, (Cape Town, Warichauds & Sons, 1896)), p. 262.
[1559] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 343, 346, 347, 348, 352, 353, 356.
[1560] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 247.

Mkhomazi River.[1561] Referred to as 'piesang', they were also mentioned as being grown around Maputo Bay in 1689. [1562]

Pumpkins

The pumpkin C*ucurbito pepo* is widely grown in rural areas at the present time.[1563] It was a crop not recorded by the Portuguese survivors, but cultivation must have spread fast as the group of *Stavenisse* survivors, who lived among the Xhosa people east of the Keiskamma River, found pumpkins being grown in that region.[1564] The crop was well established in the Bay of Natal area by 1686, as these survivors were able to obtain 150 pumpkins for supplies when they set sail in the *Centaurus*.[1565] The crew of the *Noord* commented that pumpkins were common when they visited Maputo Bay in 1689.[1566] By 1713 pumpkins were being cultivated west of the Keiskamma River.[1567] In 1756, pumpkins were plentiful in the Kosi Bay region.[1568]

Potatoes

What were referred to as 'potatoes', 'sweet potatoes' or 'pattatas' could have been either amadumbe *Colocasia esculenta,* or wild potatoes *Ipomoea batatas*. The amadumbe has been widely cultivated in southern Africa and it is thought that the plant was probably introduced by Portuguese traders around 1500. [1569] Wild potatoes grow

[1561] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 340.
[1562] *Noord*, Log-book, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 123.
[1563] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 40.
[1564] Jansz Kind and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.
[1565] Hoogsaad, and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 84.
[1566] Van der Stel, Dispatch, op. cit., p. 123.
[1567] Leibrandt,, H.C.V., *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, Chronicle of Cape Commanders, 1699-1732, (Cape Town, Warichauds & Sons, 1896)), p. 262.
[1568] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 188.
[1569] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 82.

underground and have fleshy tubers. They are still grown in southern Africa and form a major part of the diet of the Thonga people.[1570]

'*Pattatas'* were observed for the first time in the area around Maputo Bay in 1647 [1571] and again in 1689 around Maputo Bay by the *Noord* crew.[1572] The Xhosa people ate roots which were described by the survivors as being 'worse-flavoured' than a sweet potato.[1573] The sweet-potato type root could have been the Livingstone or wild potato, *Plectranthus esculentus*.[1574] It is not clear whether they were being cultivated or growing wild. In 1782 'Sweet potatoes' were also obtainable in the Mbotyi area.[1575] In 1756, 'potatoes' were obtained in the Thukela River area and at Kosi Bay.[1576]

Pineapples:

The crew of the *Noord* reported that they could obtain 'annanas' at Maputo Bay.[1577] This could have been the pineapple *Ananas cosmosus*.

Oranges and lemons: They were well established in the Inhambane area in 1622.[1578]

Tobacco or dagga:

The first reference to 'tobacco' being grown was in 1647 in an area around the Mfolozi and Mhlatuzi Rivers. [1579] By 1686 'dagha' was a trade item between the Xhosa and pastoralists in the Keiskamma River area. [1580] In 1755, the *Doddington* survivors obtained 'tobacco' from the people at Kosi Bay.[1581]

[1570] Ibid., p. 90.
[1571] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 354.
[1572] Van der Stel, Dispatch, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 123.
[1573] Hoogsaad,, and Others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.
[1574] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 94.
[1575] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 73.
[1576] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., pp.186, 188.
[1577] Van der Stel, 'Dispatch', in Vigne, op. cit., p. 123.
[1578] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 263.
[1579] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 348, 352.
[1580] Kind, Jansz, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.
[1581] Jones, in Temple. op. cit., p. 188.

Tobacco, *Nicotiana rùstica*, an original North American plant, was first introduced to Europe[1582] and reached Portugal in 1558.[1583] It was later grown successfully in Turkey and India.[1584] The habit of smoking leaves would have been recognized by Portuguese survivors, hence the naming of the plant smoked by the local people, as 'tobacco'. There is the possibility that Portuguese or even Arab traders could have introduced the Turkish variety, *Nicotiana tabacum,* into Mozambique since that time, but it does not seem likely to have been cultivated so far south at that time. It is most probable that the 1647 record of 'tobacco' was dagga, *Cannabis sativa*. It is thought that it was introduced into southern Africa by Arab traders.[1585]

A significant observation was that in 1593 the *Santo Alberto* survivors observed the local people irrigating crops from mountain streams along the valley of the Manyane River, a tributary of the Thukela River, just north of Jameson' Drift.[1586] This practice has not been recorded elsewhere.[1587]

Plant Gathering:

The aim of this section is to record the diet of the indigenous people, not the haphazard collecting of fruits by the survivors. The narratives show that the indigenous people ate fruit, roots and seeds, but only those which give a description will be included in this section. The *Santo Alberto* survivors were the most successful food collectors, so although that narrative reflects what the survivors ate, the indigenous people, probably the guides, must have shown this group which plants had edible roots otherwise they would not have known what plant to dig up. They might have experimented with the

[1582] Bailey, H., *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, (New York, Macmillan, 1937), p. 2143.
[1583] Brogan, H., *The Pelican History of the United States,* (London, Pekican Books, 1986), p. 26.
[1584] Uphof, J.C.T., *Dictionary of Economic Plants*, (New York, Steichert_Hafner, 1968), p. 430.
[1585] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 158.
[1586] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 164-165.
[1587] Pers. Comm.. Dr Roger Ellis.

fruits on trees, but it is more likely that these had been shown to them as well otherwise they could have become seriously ill if eating poisonous fruit, as happened to other survivors. The location of areas where foods were collected is of interest but the temporal aspect is not significant.

The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks collected roots that looked like truffles.[1588] Roots, resembling spurge flax were collected along the Mzimvubu River.[1589] Turnip-sized roots were collected between Ibeka and the Mgwali Rivers.[1590] They could have been 'uintjies', *Cyperus fulgens*.[1591] Carrot-like plants were collected in the region of the Mgwali River.[1592] These could have been either *Annesorhiza macrocarpa,*[1593] or *Chamarea capensis*, which also has feathery leaves and a pencil-like root and was well known to the 'Khoi'.[1594]

In the area between the Tsholomnqa and Buffalo Rivers two types of wild figs, *Ficus sp.*, a small plum and medicinal herbs were collected.[1595] Also noted were 'wild plums' and 'wild cherries with large stones' which were very sour, as well as a kind of apple which could only be eaten when very ripe.[1596] The small plum could have been the Kei-apple, *Dovyalis caffra*, and the sour cherry-like fruits could have been the red berried wild plum, *Harpephyllum caffrum*.[1597] The apple-like fruit could have been the green monkey apple, *Strychnos spinosa*.[1598]

[1588] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, C.R., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), op. cit., p. 200.
[1589] Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[1590] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 138.
[1591] van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 86.
[1592] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 138.
[1593] van Wyk & Gerike op. cit., p. 81.
[1594] Ibid., p. 82.
[1595] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Vigne, .op. cit., p. 110.
[1596] Jansz Kind and others, *Stavenisse*, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 91.
[1597] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., pp. 42, 44.
[1598] Ibid., p. 58

Sour fruit was found growing on bushes south of the Mgwali River.[1599] These could have been either *Ximenia caffra* (sour plum), which grows on spiny bushes, is sour-sweet and eaten in rural areas,[1600] or Governor's plum, *Flacourtia indica*, which has a sour fruit and grows on small bushy trees.[1601]

A yellow rather bitter fruit was collected from trees growing in abundance in the Xhuka River area.[1602] This was probably *Dovyalis caffra,* the Kei apple, which occurs widely in the Eastern Cape.[1603]

In the Mthatha area, the fruits gathered by the local people were red and tasted like cherries, but were longer.[1604] These were almost certainly the Wild Plum, Harpephyllum caffrum, which are edible fruits, red in colour, and found mainly in the coastal forests of along the east coast of Africa.[1605]

Melons were found north of the Mzimvubu River, in an uninhabited region.[1606] This indicates that they were uncultivated and as the plant is indigenous, they could have been 'makataans', a type of *Citrillus lanatus*.[1607]

'Jujube trees', were found in the Tembukazi and Mzimkhulu areas. [1608] *Ziziphus jujuba* has been cultivated in Portugal since the first millennium[1609] and so the name would have been given to a tree familiar to the survivors with a similar growth type and fruit.

[1599] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 138.
[1600].van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 60.
[1601] Ibid., p. 42.
[1602] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 141.
[1603] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 42.
[1604] Boxer, op. cit., p. 216.
[1605] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 44.
[1606] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 148.
[1607] Van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 38.
[1608] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 148.
[1609] Bailey, L.H., *The Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture,* Vol. III, (New York, Macmillan, 1937), p. 3548.

They were on the right lines as the trees were very possibly buffalo-thorn, *Ziziphus mucronata*, which has edible berries.[1610]

The sweet myrtle berries gathered at Tembukazi[1611] and in the Thukela River area[1612] could have been the water berry, *Syzygium cordatum* (Myrtaceae) or *Eugenia albanensis*.[1613]

The trees bearing very bitter fruit resembling *ferrobas* were noted in the Mtamvuna area. Boxer suggests that this could be the 'alferroba'.[1614] The 'algerroba', a *Ceratonia sp.* or carob, was well known in the drier regions of the Mediterranean and characterized by having a long pod and edible but bitter seeds.[1615] A similar type of tree found in that area with long pods with bitter tasting seeds is the Bush Boer-bean, *Schotia latifolia*. The indigenous people do not eat these seeds as they are bitter, but are used to make a drink.[1616]

Near the Mbotyi River cherry-like fruits, but with no pips, were collected.[1617] These were possibly *Carissa macrocarpa* , the Natal Plum, the 'Amathungulu', a large bright red edible fruit.[1618]

In the Mzimvubu area the wild fruit was described as

> "cabbage palms; a kind of fruit like unripe cherries; another kind like dates but smaller and yellowish; another like immature fruit the size of walnuts, very sweet tasting but with little pulp; carandas like large nuts as hard as cherries of Cintra and in colour an

[1610] Van Wyk & Gerike, op. cit., p. 15.
[1611] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 153.
[1612] Ibid., p. 164.
[1613] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 58.
[1614] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 153 and Note 1.
[1615] Bailey, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 717.
[1616] Pooley, op. cit., p. 148.
[1617] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 228.
[1618] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 36.

extremely fine scarlet, of excellent taste, whose flower in scent and every other aspect, is like that of an orange."[1619]

The survivors reported that fig trees were cultivated in the Mtwalume area.[1620] These were possibly the Common wild fig, *Ficus thonningii*, which has a tasty fruit.[1621] They were possibly mistaken in claiming that the trees were cultivated and a grove of the trees was utilized for their fruit.

Fruits that the Portuguese named *'bolånjas'* were bartered at the Thukela River and St Lucia.[1622] The Monkey orange*, Strychnos spinosa*, grows in bushveld areas in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. The fruit has with a hard woody shell, green to yellowish brown in colour, about the size of an orange and with edible pulp.[1623] 'Wild, bitter, mad-apples' were eaten near the Mzimvubu River.[1624] This is likely to have been a fruit-bearing tree, with fruits about the size of an apple. They are edible but sour and could have been the Wild Medlar *Vangueria infausta*, which is small tree widely distributed in southern Africa, with a pale brown fruit and a sweet-sour taste.[1625]

South of Kosi Bay in the palm sand-veld, there were trees bearing a 'fruit like grey pears' called '*Macomas*' by the local people. [1626] These were possibly *Monodora junodii*, which grows in sandy areas and has a large edible fruit, which is mottled grey-green in colour.[1627]

Tree resin was collected along the Mzimvubu River.[1628] Honey was collected around the Bay of Natal, Kosi Bay, Inhaca Peninsula and Inhambane.[1629] It was also collected

[1619] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 334.
[1620] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 336.
[1621] Pooley, E., *Trees of Natal,* Durban, Natal Flora Publications Trust, Durban, 1993), p. 70.
[1622] Feyo, Theal tr., in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 342, 352.
[1623] Pooley, E., op. cit., p. 420.
[1624] Feyo, Tr. Theal in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 316.
[1625] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., p. 58.
[1626] Lavanha, Boxer, Tr., in Boxer, op. cit., p. 174
[1627] Van Wyk and Gerike, op. cit., pp. 94, 107.
[1628] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332.

south of the Ngele Mountains and 15 jars of honey were emptied to make place for water on the Portuguese trading vessel at Inhaca Island.[1630] Salt was available near Kosi Bay.[1631]

Locusts described as being found in 'quantities' and in 'clouds',[1632] were probably at Magwa and Ntindini, and as 'plagues' at the upper reaches of the Msikaba River. The survivors were offered the locusts to eat,[1633] indicating that when available, these would be eaten by the local people. Swarms were again seen near the Mzimkhulu River and around St Lucia.[1634]

Fishing:

The archaeological record has established that fish had been added to the diets of Southern African hunter-gatherers by 2000 years before present.[1635] The fish resources of the Thukela River have been exploited by the hunter-gatherers at inland sites since a very early date. [1636] Avery has studied the age and use of fish-traps found within a research area which ranged between Kleinmond and Cape Agulhas.[1637] He noted that there had been no detailed information published since Goodwin had published his article in 1946. [1638]

In her work among the Mpondo, Hunter reported that people living on the coast gathered shell-fish and speared other fish in rock pools and lagoons, but did not make

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[1629] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 246, 353, 263.
[1630] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 154, 184.
[1631] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 353.
[1632] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 326.
[1633] Ibid., pp. 325, 326.
[1634] Ibid., pp. 336, 352.
[1635] Mitchley, P., *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 248.
[1636] Mazel, A., "The Stone-Age People of Natal", in Duminy, A., and Guest, B., Eds, *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910*, (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1989), p. 14.
[1637] Avery G., "Discussion on the age and use of tidal fish-traps", in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin,* Vol. 30, December 1975.
[1638] Ibid., p. 105.

nets or traps. At that time (1930s) some men would fish from the rocks with trade hooks and pronged spears were used by men who went fishing at night using burning torches. There was no trade in fish inland. Women gathered shellfish at spring tide.[1639] She has noted that the Nguni people avoid fish and have not exploited fish resources along the coast. This was unlike the Thonga, pastoralists and hunter-gatherers who utilised this resource.. She also suggested that food taboos could reflect social cleavage, and that these could be practiced to distinguish themselves from other groups. [1640]

Shaw and van Warmelo quote the *São João Baptista* narrative suggesting that the Cape Nguni caught fish, but do not locate where this occurred.[1641] Several records from1813 are quoted, "Caffres never go fishing being reckoned unclean, as are also tame fowls, swine etc." [1642] It is also stated that "It is probable that most of the Cape Nguni people neither practiced fishing nor ate any fish until they learnt the habit from the 'Hottentots' or Europeans. It is definitely stated by several early writers that fish, or according to one author all produce of the sea, were abhorrent to the Xhosa" and "there is definite evidence that the coastal Mpondo practice fishing and have done so for some time." [1643]

In an article on fish and fishing, Fikizolo noted that the Xhosa people have never been fishermen and their avoidance of fish is based on their belief that it would disturb the 'river people' and bring tribulation to the land-based Xhosa. He maintained that for many of the Xhosa speakers, including the Thonga, there is "little or no written literature pertaining to their traditional fishing methods."[1644]

[1639] Hunter, M., *Reaction to Conquest*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 96.
[1640] Wilson, M., in Wilson M. and Thompson, L., *The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. I, South Africa to 1890*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 96-97.
[1641] Shaw E.M., and van Warmelo, N.J., *The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni, Part 3, Subsistence*, (Cape Town, *Annals of the South African Museum*, 1981), p. 360.
[1642] Shaw and van Warmelo, op. cit., p. 361.
[1643] Ibid., p. 363.
[1644] Fikizolo, Lisolomzi, “Xhosa, Fish and Fishing” in *Ichthos* newsletter, JLB Institute of Ichthyology, Grahamstown, 1997/98, pp. 11-12.

The survivor narratives reflect that during the period 1554 to 1647, the coast of south-eastern Africa was exploited for fish by the agriculturalists as they moved south. The people living near the coast, from at least the Kobonqaba River through to Mozambique, utilized the protein resources offered by the sea and caught fish wherever suitable tidal estuaries or lakes were found. There was, however, a change in 1686.

In 1554 two observations of fish traps were recorded. At the Bay of Natal fish were found to be abundant [1645] and near Maputo Bay "we saw a fisherman in a *gamboa*, which is a sort of a snare that they place in the water to catch fish."[1646] In 1589 the local people brought the survivors raw and cooked fish at Kosi Bay.[1647] In 1593 at Kosi Bay, the survivors were able to buy "large and tasty fish called *Tainhas*."[1648] In 1622, the survivors found the Kobonqaba River "almost dry, and a fish garth with two very large traps which we opened and found it full of quabs."[1649] The people, who lived near the Mbashe river mouth, were called 'fisher folk' by these survivors.[1650] At the Mdloti River just north of the Bay of Natal the local people sold the survivors "a great quantity of fish." [1651] At Lake St Lucia there were "countless fish garths called *gamboas* made of wattles joined together, which the fish enter at high tide, and when it ebbs they are left dry".[1652] On Inhaca Island, the Chief said "that he would order a fish-garth to be made for every two Portuguese, so that we would have sufficient provisions." [1653] The author found the fish at Inhambane

> "the best I have ever tasted in the whole of India, and is so cheap that it is astonishing, for they will give a hundred very large quabs for a *bertangil*, [cloth] or a *motava* of beads, which is worth even less."[1654]

[1645] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 237.
[1646] Ibid., p. 268.
[1647] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 80.
[1648] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 177.
[1649] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 208.
[1650] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 210.
[1651] Ibid., p. 239.
[1652] Ibid., p. .242.
[1653] Ibid., p. 249.
[1654] Ibid., p. 263.

In 1647, the *Atalaia* survivors were able to obtain fish from the local inhabitants at the Khobonqaba River. Further along the coast, the local people at the Qhora and Xhora Rivers provided them with fish and they observed fishermen at the Msikaba River.[1655] Once over the Mzimkhulu River, the survivors obtained fish from the local people who lived in the Mtwalume area.[1656] In the Bay of Natal there many pools were left at high tide, in which there were weirs for catching fish.[1657] At the Mlalazi River mouth, these survivors reported that there was "a quantity of fish already heaped on the shore, and at the sight of us they left it and fled in haste, and there was so much that the whole camp was satisfied with it that day and the next." [1658] This catch must have been considerable as it provided enough to feed all the survivors, numbering at least 150 at this point. Close to Lake St Lucia, but probably at the Nyalazi River, the local people had fish, but refused to hand them over to the survivors.[1659] At Kosi Bay and to the north, quantities of fish were available.[1660]

The change came when, in 1686, it was reported that the Xhosa people living between the Kei and the Tsholomnqa Rivers, would eat no fish "either from the sea or the rivers, for they include snakes under the name of fish, and believe they will die if they eat them."[1661] The paucity of references to fishing being common is reflected in the later accounts. There is no mention of fishing by the people who lived around the Keiskamma River in 1713, and in 1782, the *Grosvenor* survivors who walked close to the coast from Lambazi Bay to the Fish River, only observed two sites, at the Mdumbi and Nqabara Rivers, where fishing was an occupation.[1662]

The question arises as to why this taboo on eating fish was established. The Eastern Cape is not country where food resources are always plentiful. The soils are not fertile

[1655] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit. pp. 312, 313, 314, 327.
[1656] Ibid., p. 336.
[1657] Ibid., pp. 341-342.
[1658] Ibid., p. 345.
[1659] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 349.
[1660] Ibid., p. 353.
[1661] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 39.
[1662] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., pp. 86, 89.

and rainfall can be erratic, so there have been times when floods, pests or drought have diminished food supplies drastically. There must have been an event of some major proportion to make hungry people reject a valuable food source.

It is possible that somewhere between the Mbhashe and the Buffalo Rivers, between the years 1647 and 1686, there were some oceanographic or weather conditions which caused fish and/or shellfish to be poisoned, as happens with the 'Red Tides' of the Western Cape. A chief and/or a large number of members of a clan could have died as a result of ingesting fish and abhorrence could have resulted from this occurrence.

Hunting:

It is clear from the records that hunting was an important activity among the indigenous people. The trapping of elephant and hippopotamus was noted, especially in the Bay of Natal area and north of Kosi Bay.[1663]

In 1554, the hunting of elephants and 'sea horses' was carried out effectively on the Inhaca Peninsula and it was noted that on one occasion, two elephants were killed in one night.[1664] In 1622, the people at Cannon Rocks were great hunters using dogs to assist them.[1665] At the Keiskamma River, these survivors encountered that some hunters who had killed a hippopotamus.[1666] It was said that elephants were common around the Bay of Natal and north of the Thukela River, although no traps were seen. In 1635 in the Mzimvubu river area, the people hunted wild pig, buck, buffalo, elephant, lions, leopards and hippopotami using dogs to assist them.[1667] In 1647, snares and,

[1663] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 238, 240.
[1664] Ibid, pp. 271-273.
[1665] Ibid., p. 200.
[1666] Ibid., p. 202.
[1667] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, Note 3, p. 328.

what were described as 'pitfalls' for elephants, were seen in thick woods. [1668] This was probably the Manubi Forest, between the Qolora and Mbhashe Rivers. At that time, pits to catch elephants and hippopotami were common between the Bay of Natal and the Thukela River.[1669] The survivors of the *Doddington*, who landed in the Thukela River in 1756, commented that hunting was the chief exercise of the people. Hippopotamus (sea cows) were trapped in the river.[1670]

In 1593 snares and traps were observed in an area east of Tembukazi, near the present village of Ntombe. [1671] It is assumed that the people were hunter-gatherers as they used arrows and had no livestock. In the Msinduzi River valley in the Lubombo Mountains, the survivors met men who were out hunting.[1672]

Clothing:

The clothing of the indigenous people during the period 1552 to 1782 was in essence the same as in the later period, but there are details which add to prior knowledge. The long cloak was common to all and there is extra information on hair styles and ornamentation. Body greasing was common, as was the use of ochre on the skin. The hunter-gatherers encountered at Chefane in 1647 "go naked and wear only a few skins."[1673] Little was said about the clothing of the Thonga people other than the chiefs used cloth garments which they had obtained through trade with the Portuguese. Beads, also from this trade, were in evidence.[1674]

The dress of the pastoralists observed by the survivors was similar to that recorded by Schapera. He describes the dress of these people as consisting of front and rear aprons made of skin and attached to a leather thong tied around the waist. A cloak

[1668] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 313.
[1669] Beckingham quotes Cabreira, in Da Costa, Note 3, p.342.
[1670] Webb, in Plaisted, op. cit., pp. 279-280.
[1671] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 148.
[1672] Ibid., p. 173.
[1673] Feyo, op. cit., p. 307.
[1674] Anon., in Boxer, p. 24; Perestrello, in Theal, p. 269; Do Couto, in Boxer, p. 81; Lavanha, in Boxer, p. 179; D'Almada, in Boxer, p. 245; Feyo, in Theal, p. 354.

called a *'kaross'* was worn in cold weather and there were armlets of ivory and copper. Fat and a herb, named *'buchu'*, were rubbed on the skin and faces could be painted with red ochre.[1675]

In 1630, the pastoralists who lived in the Plettenberg Bay area wore a piece of skin tied around the waist and in winter a cloak of hide was added. Adornment was a necklace of sinews and bracelets of copper.[1676] The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks in 1622 painted their faces with ochre and ashes.[1677] The *Doddington* survivors who landed at Woody Cape, Algoa Bay in 1755, said that the local people were dressed in garments of skin similar to the 'Hottentots' whom they had seen in at the Cape of Good Hope.[1678]

The dress for the Nguni, as noted by Shaw and van Warmelo, included the records from the shipwreck narratives, but was largely based on information from eighteenth century travellers.[1679]

Penis sheaths:

Shaw noted that penis sheaths were essential garments for all circumcised males from the mid-eighteenth century.[1680] This garment was, however, only mentioned once. In the 1622 narrative, D'Almada stated that in the Mzimvubu area, the men "wear nothing but these capes and a politer skin which covers their privy parts."[1681]

Loin-cloths or aprons:

[1675] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan People of South Africa*, Rep. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p 64.
[1676] Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, p. 418.
[1677] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 197.
[1678] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 117.
[1679] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part 4, op. cit., p. 520.
[1680] Ibid., p. 520.
[1681] d'Almada, op. cit., p.222.

Shaw maintains that loin-cloths did not appear to be a typical garment for men of the Cape Nguni in the early days.[1682] According to eighteenth century travellers, aprons were worn in front.[1683]

Descriptions in the narratives do not allow differences between loin-cloths and aprons to be discerned. In 1635, the people living in the Mzimvubu River area "had a sash of the same kinds of hide [wild animal], a hand's breadth in width, from which hung another piece of hide, which covered, both in front and back".[1684] In 1686 the Xhosa wore a belt with two pieces of hide hanging from it, one in the front and one at the back.[1685] This does indicate that aprons/loin-cloths were commonly worn in these early years and some hung from the back as well.

Cloaks

Shaw states that cloaks were common to all and were straight and of dressed skin.[1686] There were differences of opinion on whether the hair was worn outside or inside, but Shaw favoured the inside.[1687]

Cloaks were mentioned as being worn by the local people in all the narratives where clothing was described. Lavanha reported that throughout their journey in 1593, well-dressed hide cloaks were worn with the hair on the outside.[1688] A chief wearing a leopard [tiger] skin cloak at Kosi Bay, .was commented on in 1589. [1689] This was an early reference to a leopard skin being a chiefly insignia.

[1682] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part 4, op. cit., p. 524.
[1683] Ibid., p. 526.
[1684] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324
[1685] De Chelezac, in Vigne, p. 35.
[1686] Shaw and van Warmelo, op. cit., p. 526.
[1687] Ibid., p. 528.
[1688] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 269.
[1689] Do Couto, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 79.

The survivors of 1622 made similar observations on dress when in the Mthatha River area where the men wore hip-length cloaks of dressed hide. [1690] In the Mzimvubu River area in 1635, the cloak was ankle-length and of a soft worked hide made from wild animal skins.[1691] Cabreira added that the cloaks were of "cow skins, softened till they are like velvet, which then reach from their shoulders to below the knees."[1692] In 1647 it was noted that in the Mbhashe River area, men wore skin cloaks.[1693] Both Xhosa men and women in the Buffalo River area in 1686 wore cloaks of ox-hide.[1694]

Survivors of the *Doddington* who landed in the Thukela River, described cloaks as being made of hide and treated to make them very supple. They were worn hanging from the shoulders, sometimes with a piece of "Bullock's Tail, which hangs dangling down from their Rump to their Heels, with a few small Sea Shells tied to it."[1695]

Ornaments and Facial decorations:

In 1593, the only ornament notes was that "the chiefs and kings wear hanging from their left ear a little copper bell, without a clapper, which they make after their fashion."[1696] In 1622, in the Bay of Natal area, it was noticed that the chief wore brass collars.[1697] The people who were living at Plettenberg Bay in 1630 wore copper armbands.[1698]

In 1635 in the Mzimvubu River area, faces were ornamented with charcoal and/or red clay. The men wore pendants on their ears and large copper earrings with `little strings of small red beads'. Neck and arm bands of copper were worn by some. It was said

[1690] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 221-222.
[1691] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[1692] Cabreira, in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[1693] Feyo, in Theal, op, cit., p. 314.
[1694] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.
[1695] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 280.
[1696] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.
[1697] Ibid., p. 239.
[1698] Sousa, in Theal, Vol. VI, p. 418.

that the king could be distinguished as his ornaments were larger and he had a greater quantity. [1699] It was commented that women did not wear ornaments.[1700]

The red beads were probably cornelian beads, which were part of the cargo of earlier shipwrecks in the region.

In 1647, in an area east of the Mzimvubu River, a wealthy man wore copper bracelets.[1701] In 1686, copper neck and arm bands were worn by men living in the Bay of Natal area and in the Buffalo River area.[1702] In 1755, in the Thukela River area, arms, knees and ankles had small pieces of skin tied around them and bodies were greased.[1703] In 1782 Hubberly, of the *Grosvenor*, commented that ivory armbands were worn by men living in the Lambazi Bay area, [1704] the men who lived in the Mbotyi River area, painted their cheeks with red [ochre] and in the Mngazana River area, the people wore ivory armlets.[1705]

Caps

In 1635 in the Mzimvubu River area, it was said that "Some of them wore on their heads some small pointed half-hoods". In 1647 it was commented that the women wore caps in the Mbhashe area.[1706]

Hairstyles

Shaw and van Warmelo comment that hair styles have been subject over the years to many changes in fashion is well illustrated in the varied descriptions in the narratives.

The earlier accounts do not comment on hairstyles. The first is in the 1635 narrative, with the survivors located in the Mzimvubu River area. Lobo commented that hair was

[1699] Lobo, in da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[1700] Cabreira, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332.
[1701] Feyo, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 328.
[1702] Hoogsaad, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 84.
[1703] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 280.
[1704] Lobo, in da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[1705] Ibid., p. 272.
[1706] Feyo, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 314.

often worn loose and long, greased with butter and strands decorated with various small objects, such as shells, "bird's foot, wing and head, and some whole birds, small pieces of iron, brass and copper."[1707]. In 1647, near the Mtamvuna River, it was commented that the men dressed their hair like the 'Banyans of India'.[1708] In 1755, in the Thukela River area, hair could be plastered with a mixture of fat and red ochre.[1709] The 1782 fashions in the Mbotyi River area, were of hair twisted into a conical shape and ornamented with feathers.[1710] It also could be greased and coloured with red [ochre] and hung in rope-like braids.[1711] In the Mngazana area copper pieces were added.[1712]

Sandals

Shaw uses the description of Lavanha to describe the sandals worn in 1593.but locates them only at the Mthatha River. The location where the description was made was in the area between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers, and in his description of the dress of the people, Lavanha states that "This dress is used by nearly all the Negroes of this Kaffraria".[1713] He comments that the people are "shod with two or three soles of raw hide fastened together in a round shape, secured to the foot with thongs and with this they run at great speed."[1714]

In 1635, in the Mzimvubu River area, Cabreira described footwear as consisting of "round sandals of elephant hide".[1715]

[1707] Lobo, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[1708] Feyo, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 314.
[1709] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 280.
[1710] Hubberly, in Kirby, A Source Book of the Grosvenor, op. cit., p. 72
[1711] Hubberly, in Kirby, A Source Book of the Grosvenor, op. cit., p. 72.
[1712] Ibid., p. 82.
[1713] Lavanha, op. cit., p. 121.
[1714] Ibid., p. 161.
[1715] Cabreira, quoted by Beckingham in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1

Figure 20 - Earliest known depiction of the 'Khoikhoi', probably in Algoa Bay.
They are wearing the round soles sandals described by the survivors.

Original woodcut reproduced in Hirschberg, Ed., Monumenta Geographica, Vol. 1, 1962. Courtesy Akademische Druk-u. Verslagsanstalt.

Whisks

Shaw and van Warmelo comment that for the last 200 years among the Cape Nguni, only doctors have used whisks.[1716] Four of the narratives contain further information on this accessory and point to the fact that at that time references are made to whisks being carried by all the men. The descriptions of whisks by Lavanha and D'Almada are

[1716] Shaw and van Warmelo, op. cit., p.713.

used but sited incorrectly at the Mthatha and Mbhashe Rivers. Those of Sousa and Lobo are omitted. The records do attest to their wide usage at the time.

In 1593, Lavanha reported that the men "carry in their hand a thin stick to which is fastened the tail of an ape or of a fox [probably a jackal], with which they clean themselves and shade their eyes when observing."[1717] In 1622 the whisks were described as

> "a little piece of wood of the thickness of the finger and about two and a half spans long, covered from the middle upwards with a monkey's tail. It is customary to carry a stick of this kind throughout almost the whole of Kaffraria as far as the river of Lourenço Marques, and they never converse without it, for they emphasize all their talk by gesticulating with this stick in their hand, and they call it their mouth, making gestures and grimacing."[1718]

In 1630, the men living in the Plettenberg Bay area carried whisks with what were described as 'fox-tails' attached.[1719] In 1635, in the Mzimvubu River area, the men carried whisks described as

> "sticks the width of a finger and the length of a covado with the shaggy tail of a dog or some other country animal set in both ends, which serves them as an elegance, amusement, fly swatter, and handkerchief with which they clean their eyes and anything else they wish."[1720]

These whisks are featured in seventeenth century illustrations of the Khoi at the Cape of Good Hope. See Figure I.

[1717] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.
[1718] D'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 222.
[1719] Sousa, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[1720] Lobo. In Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.

Figure 21 - Drawings in pen and ink of groups of 'Hottentot' people.

Two men carry whisks.

From Smith, A. and Pheiffer, R., *The Khoikhoi at the Cape of Good Hope,* (Cape Town, South African Library, 1993. Courtesy of the National Library of South Africa

Figure 22 - A diviner's whisk with fronds of cattle hair. In use in Eastern Cape, c. 1930s

Courtesy of the East London Museum

Technology

Shaw and van Warmelo state that according to early travellers and missionaries, neither the Xhosa nor the Thembu ever mined or smelted iron or copper, but there is extensive evidence pf mine-working in Natal.[1721] They use information on metallurgy from the accounts by Perestrello, Lavanha and the *Stavenisse* survivors.[1722]

The pastoralists encountered by the survivors valued iron and copper. In 1554 the pastoralists burnt the ship's timbers to extract the iron at Msikaba.[1723] The pastoralists, who lived at Plettenberg Bay in 1630, wore copper armbands and traded for iron.[1724]

Working in iron was well advanced in 1593. In addition to all assegais having iron blades, hatchets were constructed. These were wedges of iron set in wood, and used for carving wood and clearing the bush.[1725] In 1686 it was noted in the Bay of Natal area, that the indigenous people knew the art of smelting iron.[1726] Iron and copper were highly valued by all the people met by the *Grosvenor* survivors in 1782.

Weapons

All the survivor narratives record that the weapons of the agriculturalists were fire-hardened lances and iron-tipped assegais. The only report of a type of 'knobkerrie' was from the *Doddington* survivors of 1755 in the Richards Bay area, where there were "sticks with knobs at each end".[1727]

[1721] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part 2, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
[1722] Ibid., pp. 107,108
[1723] Perestrello, in Theal, op. cit, pp. 223-224.
[1724] Sousa, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 417
[1725] Lavanha, in Theal, op. cit., p. 122.
[1726] Van der Stel, Dispatch to the Chamber XVII, in Moodie, p. 419.
[1727] Jones in Temple, op. cit., p. 40.

The men carried shields in the Mngeni River (inland) area in 1593.[1728] In 1622 the first shields seen were around the Mkhomazi River where it was said that they were made of buffalo hide and were very strong.[1729] In 1635 in the Mzimvubu region, the men had shields made of elephant hide.[1730] In 1647 the first shields mentioned were found in the Bay of Natal area.[1731] By 1686 shields were used by the Xhosa in the Buffalo River area. In 1782 all the men as far as the Fish River had what the survivors called 'targets'.[1732]

The weapons of the Thonga were the same as those of the Nguni, fire-hardened sticks and iron tipped assegais.[1733] There was however, a group called the 'Mocrangas' who ranged between the Limpopo and Inharrime Rivers, who used arrows as well as assegais.[1734]

Other technology:

The Thonga made canoes which were used to cross to the islands, cross the larger rivers and for fishing. These were used by all the survivors. Baskets were woven and clay pots made by most of the peoples.[1735]

Ritual:

The narratives offer three descriptions of the initiation ceremonies, but only that of the *Stavenisse* record has been used by Shaw and van Warmelo. This is however very brief so is not referred to in the discussion.[1736] The very informative de Chalezac record has been omitted.

[1728] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 162.
[1729] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 337.
[1730] Cabreira quoted by Beckinghami in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[1731] Feyo., in Theal, op. cit., p. 342.
[1732] Hubberly, in Kirby, p. cit., pp. 68, 72, 105.
[1733] Do Couto, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 79.
[1734] D'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 256.
[1735] Lavanha, in Boxer, p. 122; D'Almada, in Boxer, p. 233, Lobo, in Da Costa, p. 353; Feyo, in Theal, p. 312.
[1736] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part 4, op. cit., pp. 757, 820.

In 1593, Lavanha observed that most men who lived south of Lake St Lucia [latitude 29° southwards] were circumcised.[1737] When in the Flagstaff area he described part of what was an initiation ritual. There the survivors observed young men dressed in reed mats, which were described as "the attire of young nobles before they bear arms or copulate with women".[1738] In 1622 in the Mzimvubu River area, it was commented that initiation rites for young boys involved wearing palm leaves in the form of a skirt and rubbing themselves with ashes so they looked as if they had been whitewashed. They were separated from the villages and lived in huts in the bush, with their mothers bringing them food.[1739] In 1686, the circumcision of young men was said to be essential among the Xhosa. After the operation, which was deemed to be cruel and many died from it, the young men were isolated for three months in huts which had been built for them. They were then given a girdle of rushes and there was a special ceremony with dancing.[1740]

The *'lobolo'* system was in place during the period under review. In 1622 in the Mzimvubu area the prospective husband had to pay a 'bride-price' of cattle to his father-in-law for his wife.[1741] In 1635 in the same area the same system was noted.[1742] In 1686 the bridegroom had to give ten oxen to the bride's father before the marriage was consummated.[1743]

Ritual ceremonies were by noted by two the survivor groups. The survivors of the SA were presented with a sheep at the wreck site. A ceremonial ritual was performed and entrails were thrown into the sea. [1744] The pastoralists at Cannon Rocks presented the survivors with an ox and also performed some ceremony with them. [1745] This is one of

[1737] Lavanha, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 123
[1738] Ibid., p.150.
[1739] d'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 217.
[1740] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 38.
[1741] Ibid., p. 217.
[1742] Cabreira, quoted by Beckingham, in Da Costa, op. cit., Note 1, p. 332.
[1743] De Chelezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 38.
[1744] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.
[1745] d'Almada, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 198.

the cultural traits of the pastoralists as observed by Kolbe in 1719 where cattle entrails played an important role in some rites of passage.[1746]

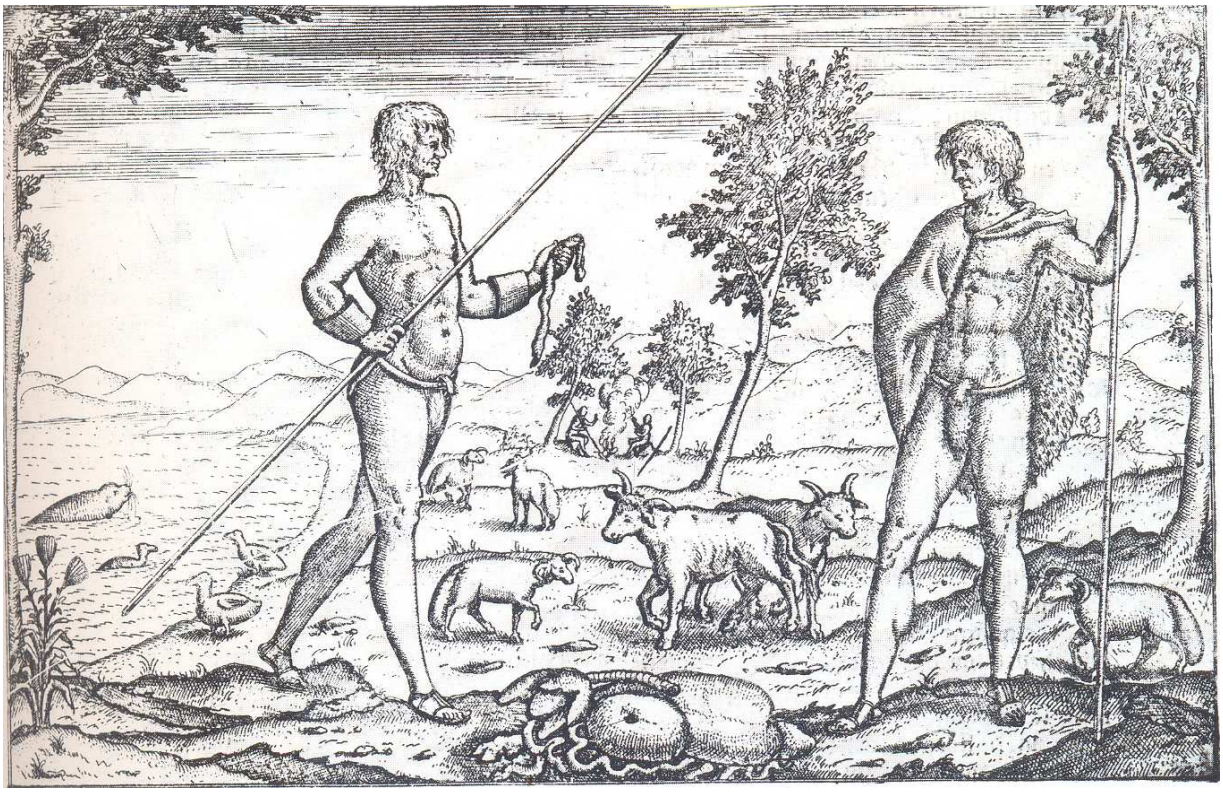

Figure 23 Stylised depiction of 'Hottentot' men, showing entrails. Fat-tailed sheep are among the livestock.

From W. Lodewijcksz, Historie van Indien .. ‘n eerste boeck, Amsterdam, 1617. Illustrated in Smith, A. and Pheiffer, R., *The Khoikhoi at the Cape of Good Hope*.

Courtesy of the National Library of South Africa.

Trade

[1746] Fauvelle-Aymar, "Against the 'Khoisan paradigm' in the interpretation of Khoekhoe origins and history: a re-evaluation of Khoekhoe pastoral traditions", *Southern African Humanities*, Vol 20 (1), 2008, p. 81.

Pre-colonial trade in south-east Africa was based on a barter system with no fixed unit of currency. The exchange of goods among the agriculturalists and pastoralists was by barter, with cattle being the main unit of wealth.[1747]

The earliest source record of trade among the Nguni by Shaw and van Warmelo is that of the *Stavenisse*, and these only with reference to the 'bride price'.[1748] None of the other survivor narratives is used. The trade fairs between the Xhosa and the pastoralists are also not mentioned.

Trade with the Portuguese began with the establishment of permanent fortified posts along the East African coast. Sofala was the first to be settled in 1505, but Moçambique Island (1506) became the main base for maritime trade. These, with Quelimane (1545) were the only permanently occupied Portuguese trading posts in the period under review.[1749] The main objective of the Portuguese was to obtain gold, ivory, silver and slaves.[1750] The barter commodities with the indigenous people were cloth and beads from Cambay.[1751] Depending on the monsoon winds, small trading ships sailed south about once or twice a year to collect ivory from the River of Lourenço Marques [Maputo Bay].[1752]

It was to the Portuguese settlements that the survivors headed and with the hope that they would find one of the ships at anchor further south. They found that these ships anchored offshore on Bazaruto Island,[1753] Xefina Grande,[1754] Inhaca Island[1755] and Portuguese Island, where Portuguese traders had constructed huts and left boats for

[1747] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part 4, op. cit., p. 867.
[1748] Ibid.,p.857.
[1749] Axelson, E., *Portuguese in South-Eastern Africa: 1488-1600*, op. cit., pp. 31, 61, 64, 136.
[1750] Ibid., p. 74.
[1751] Ibid., p. 46.
[1752] Ibid., p. 136.
[1753] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 98.
[1754] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 357.
[1755] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal,Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 280.

their use.[1756] Small boats, probably dhows, were used to get to the mainland. The large sheltered lagoon at Inhambane was also one of the anchorages and the survivors of the *São João* and *São João Baptista* were rescued from there.[1757] Muslim traders living permanently were also found on Bazaruto Island, and near the Limpopo River estuary.[1758] By 1755 a group of Muslim traders had established themselves inland of Kosi Bay.[1759]

Metals:

Metals were acceptable and valued trade items for the indigenous people encountered by the survivors and throughout the period. Iron and copper salvaged from the hull of the wrecks and any metallic parts of possessions of the passengers and crew, were extracted by the survivors and used as barter to obtain food. The hunter-gatherers at the *Atalaia* wreck site were the only exception.[1760]

The *São João* survivors used nails as payment to be ferried over the Santo Espiritu estuary and for provisions in the Incomati River area.[1761] In 1554, the people encountered around the Msikaba and Mtwalume Rivers, north of the Bay of Natal and in the Lake St Lucia area were all prepared to trade provisions for iron.[1762] In 1589 at Kosi Bay the survivors paid for provisions with nails and shirts. A copper bowl, and iron pieces were presented to Chief Inhaca and nails were traded for food in the Limpopo River area.[1763] In 1593, the Santo Alberto survivors were able to trade cattle, milk and millet for copper, iron nails and crystal beads for most of their inland journey (from the Kwelera River to Inhaca Island, with the exception of the uninhabited regions.[1764]

[1756] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 183.
[1757] Anon., in Boxer, p. 25 and D'Almada in Boxer, p. 263.
[1758] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 92,998.
[1759] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., pp 284-285.
[1760] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol VIII, op. cit., p. 314.
[1761] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Theal, op. cit., p. 18, 19.
[1762] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 224, 235, 238, 247.
[1763] Do Couto, Tr, Boxer, in Boxer, pp. 80, 82, 92.
[1764] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 130, 133, 139, 142, 143, 150, 152, 154, 155.

In 1622 the survivors of the *São João Baptista* bartered copper, iron and brass throughout their long journey. Pieces of copper were traded for cows at Cannon Rocks. The people living between the Kei and Mthatha Rivers found copper and brass to be very acceptable trade items. It was noted that in the Bay of Natal area brass was highly valued."[1765] Around Plettenberg Bay, the survivors of the *São Gonçalo* were able to exchange pieces of iron for cows and sheep in 1630.[1766] In the Mzimvubu area in 1635, iron was traded and it was noted that worked iron in the form of keys was particularly prized.[1767] In 1647 the *Atalaia* survivors traded copper and iron for provisions north of the Kei River and beyond the Mzimvubu where it was commented that copper was highly prized. All the people north of the Bay of Natal were keen to trade and again it was said that copper and brass were valued above all things.[1768] This was still true in the Bay of Natal region in 1686 where metals were wanted, with copper being highly prized. Some exchange rates were one copper or neck ring for a cow or a meat tub full of grain.[1769]

In 1713 the agriculturalists who lived around the Keiskamma River traded meat, milk and grain for iron and copper salvaged from the ship. The ship, in which the survivors were rescued, "touched at another place" and bartered about 3000 lbs of ivory for copper rings.[1770]

In 1755 the *Doddington* survivors found that at each of the sites where they landed, brass, often in the form of buttons and copper bangles as well as iron were acceptable for use at barter. "They seeming to have a great Veneration for Brass, we carried a Brass Handle of an old Chest with us, and showed it to them, for which they immediately offered us two bullocks."[1771]

[1765] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 199. 213-214, 239.
[1766] Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 417.
[1767] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 329.
[1768]Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 325, 348.
[1769] Moodie, op. cit., p. 417.
[1770] Marchand and others, Tr. Liebrandt, in Liebrandt, op. cit., p.p. 261, 262.
[1771] Webb in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 284.

Figure 24 - Copper nails from the *Atalaia* wreck site.

Courtesy East London Museum

Cloth:

Woven fabric had been imported to south-east Africa from India, mainly by the Portuguese. In 1589, the survivors could trade cloth with Chief Inhaca. The Portuguese paid the chief at Inhambane in cloth for caring for the survivors.[1772] In 1593, the people of Chief Mutuadondommatale who lived near the Mngeni River valued cloth and it was noted that the other people who they had met previously were not interested

[1772] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 82, 99.

in this commodity. Cloth was also appreciated by people living near the Thukela River and to the north of it in 1593.[1773]

In 1622 the first evidence of direct trade with the Portuguese was found at Lake Sibayi where cloth became an acceptable trade commodity. Further north they met people wearing cloth garments and the chief had a hat. At Inhambane it was commented that two *bertangils* (a length of Indian cotton fabric) could purchase one ox and many goats and sheep.[1774] The survivors of 1647 also found that the Thonga valued cloth and were willing to trade for it.[1775] In 1755 clothes were in demand in the Maputo Bay area.[1776]

Beads:

Beads were highly accepted commodities among the Thonga people, who obtained them from the visiting Portuguese traders. In 1552 it was noted that beads were "the items most valued by the blacks."[1777] Beads were used as payment to chiefs for supporting the survivors in 1552, 1554 and 1622.[1778] By 1686 beads had become known in the Bay of Natal area and were a highly desirable commodity among the people living there.[1779]

In the period under review there was a lacuna in the presence of beads between Kosi Bay and the Mzimkhulu Rivers, but red beads were observed being worn by the people living between the Mtamvuna and the Kei Rivers.

In 1554 at the Mtenthu River, the survivors noted that the leader of a band of local people was wearing red beads which Perestrello stated as being recognized as being

[1773] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 161, 164, 168.
[1774] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 244, 245, 263.
[1775] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., pp. 354 – 357.
[1776] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 284.
[1777] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 25.
[1778] Anon, in Boxer, p. 25, Perestrello, in Theal, Vol. I, p. 281.
[1779] Survivors of the *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura*, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 419.

from Cambay in India and were used for trade in Africa.[1780] In 1593 the people living in the area around the Kwelera River wore red beads in their ears. It was understood that these were from the land of the 'Unhaca', who lived by the river of Lourenço Marques. The beads were described as being made of clay, they were of all colours and of the size of a coriander seed. It was added that they were made in India at Neputam and from there were brought to Mozambique where they were bartered for ivory.[1781] In the Mzimvubu area in 1635 the people wore strings of small red beads. [1782] In 1647 the people living between the Mtamvuna and the Mzimkhulu Rivers were observed wearing red beads around their necks.[1783]

The presence of these beads could suggest that trade links were present between those people living south of the Mtenthu River and the Portuguese far to the north. It is suggested that this deduction is incorrect. All the Portuguese ships, which had been wrecked between the Mtamvuna and Kwelera Rivers, carried quantities of cornelian beads, which are reddish in colour and had their origin in Cambay in India.[1784] It is far more likely that these beads had been obtained from the wrack of the *São João* (1554, Mtamvuna River), the *São Bento* (1554 Msikaba River), the *Santo Alberto* (1593, near the Kwelera River) and/or the *Santo Espiritu*, (1608 near Double Mouth, west of the Kei River), all of which carried cornelian beads.[1785]

[1780] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 235.
[1781] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 133.
[1782] Lobo, Lockhart, Tr., in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 324.
[1783] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 334.
[1784] Bell-Cross, G., "The Occurrence of Cornelian and Agate Beads at Shipwreck Sites on the Southern African Coast", in *The Coelacanth*, Vol.25, No.1, 1988 , pp. 20 – 32.
[1785] From the collections in the East London Museum.

Figure 25 - A necklace mad of cornelian beads collected near Double Mouth, the wreck site of the *Santo Espiritu* 1608.

Figure 26 - A close-up of the beads.

Courtesy Sheila Bell-Cross

Ivory:

Ivory was the main reason for Portuguese trade in East Africa from Maputo Bay to Sofala during the period under review. In 1554, when north of the Thukela River, the survivors met some men who were carrying an ivory tusk to sell, and it was noted that Chief Inhaca sold ivory in exchange for beads.[1786] In 1622 many of the Thonga people on Inhaca Island spoke Portuguese well and the chief had quantities of amber and ivory stored ready to trade. Chief Manhisa living in the Incomati River area had good trade relations with the Portuguese and the Inhambane area, ivory and amber were traded for cloth and beads. North of Inhambane, many people were travelling to Sofala carrying ivory and amber to sell there.[1787] In 1647 ivory was offered to the survivors by people living just north of Richards Bay.[1788] By 1686, the local people in the Bay of Natal area had accumulated ivory as it was recognized as a trade commodity with the Portuguese and passing ships.[1789]

By 1713 the Dutch at the Cape had recognized the value of ivory. A trading ship, which rescued the survivors at the Keiskamma River, landed at an unnamed site and obtained 3000 lbs of ivory for copper.[1790] In 1755 elephant tusks were offered to the crew at present-day Richard's Bay and there were plenty of elephant tusks and "Ambergrease" at Kosi Bay.[1791]

In 1686 it was reported that 'trade fairs' were held regularly when Khoi groups and Xhosa would meet and trade coral and copper rings for 'dagha'.[1792]

During the period 1552-1647, trade with the Portuguese played a significant part in the economy of the Thonga people. The agro-pastoralists and pastoralists placed a high

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[1786] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 245, 269.
[1787] d'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 248, 252, 263, 265.
[1788] Ibid., p. 349.
[1789] *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura* survivors, in Moodie, op. cit., p. 419.
[1790] Marchant and others, In Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262.
[1791] Webb, in *Plaisted*, op. cit., p. 285.
[1792] Jansz Kind and others in Vigne., op. cit., p. 86.

value on iron, copper and brass as trade commodities. Cloth and beads became part of the exchange transaction for those living in the north of KwaZulu-Natal during this period.

The inclusion of cloth as a trade commodity among the agro-pastoralists who lived north of the Mngeni River indicates that by 1593 trade relations with the Portuguese or agents had been established there. As far south as the Mzimkhulu River, one of the guides claimed that he had been to the land of the 'Inhaca' where he had seen Portuguese and their ship.[1793] There is no reason to doubt his veracity and does suggest that the trading frontier was in the process of extending to the Mzimkhulu River in 1593. Certainly trade with the Portuguese was well established in the Bay of Natal area in 1696 as ivory was being collected for that trade.[1794]

It can be noted that there was no mention of gold or slaves in these narratives.

The 'trade fairs' held in the 1680s, on a regular basis between the Xhosa and the pastoralists, is the first record in Southern Africa in pre-colonial history.[1795] This is a significant record again:

> "it became clear to them that every year at a known time and place, a day's journey from where they were, between 50 and 100 Hottentots, with their wives and children, would come to trade coral and copper rings for *dagha*, which is similar to leaves of hemp and is used like opium or the *affioen* chewed by Indians, without actually making them sleepy and as if drunk."[1796]

Conclusion:

The points which arise relating to livestock distribution are that cattle were widespread throughout the area south of St Lucia. The sporadic appearance of cattle to the north

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[1793] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 156.
[1794] *Good Hope* and *Bonaventura* survivors, in Moodie, op. cit., pp. 417, 419.
[1795] Wilson, in Wilson and Thompson, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 152.
[1796] Jansz Kind and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.

could indicate the presence of tsetse fly. During the period under review the numbers of head increased south of the Mzimkhulu River. Sheep were present but never so numerous as cattle. Goats were more common in the north. Fowls were first observed at Kosi Bay in 1589. By 1622 they had reached the Mzimkulu River and by 1686 the people living near the Keiskamma River were keeping them. Dogs were never mentioned north of the Mzimvubu River.

Five different types of grain were cultivated by the agriculturalists: finger and pearl millet; sweet stalk millet; sorghum; sesame and 'corn'. There is the possibility that the 'Indian corn' mentioned in 1755 and 1782 was maize. Melons and gourds were also grown widely. 'Potatoes' in various varieties, were also mentioned. Jugo and Mungo beans were also cultivated. New introductions during this period were pumpkins, bananas and dagga from present-day Mozambique. There is a possibility that sugar cane was grown. Wild fruits and roots were collected.

The abhorrence of the Nguni people towards the consumption of fish can be located in the period between 1647, when this resource was commonly used, and 1686, when it was reviled.

There are some detailed descriptions of clothing, ornaments and hairstyles and that of the oval sandals is of interest. The record that men carried whisks during this period is significant in that in later years it was only the medicine men who used this accessory. The presence of shields among the agriculturalists and not among the herders can be noted.

The '*khwetha'*, the initiation ritual for young men, and '*lobolo*', the bride-price paid by a man to his prospective father-in-law, were already being practiced during this early period.

The widespread appreciation and value laid on copper and iron and the presence of worked ornaments, even among the pastoralists, indicates technological knowledge and the extent of trade, not fully appreciated.

There is a clear description of a trade fair, probably held inland on the banks of the Keiskamma River, with an exchange of goods between the Xhosa and the pastoralists in 1686, which may have been the forerunners of the later trade fairs held at Fort Willshire and in Grahamstown in 1817, between the settlers and the Xhosa-speaking people.[1797]

[1797] Wilson, in Wilson and Thompson, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 241.

Chapter 16

Distribution of Cultural Groups

Introduction:

The contribution of the evidence contained in the narratives for the period 1552 to 1782 is evaluated within the framework of the present state of knowledge and the debates concerning the movements of early societies and the interactions between them. The model of a 'Moving Frontier' is utilised to illustrate the shifts in population distribution during the period under review. Included in this chapter are settlement patterns and political organisation observed by the survivors.

The historical context:

The early pre-colonial history of southern Africa to date is based mainly on the work of archaeologists and linguists. Archaeologists identify the material culture of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists as Late Stone Age (LSA) people. The physical appearance of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists was very different from most other Africans and their languages, with implosive 'clicks', belong to a different language family than other African language groups, including Bantu.[1798]

The agriculturalists who moved into southern Africa spoke dialects of the Bantu language. With their knowledge of iron forging and smelting, they have been identified as Early Iron Age (EIA) and Late Iron Age (LIA) by archaeologists. The EIA lasted from about the third century AD [200 AD] or earlier, to the eleventh century AD, and the LIA lasted up to the early nineteenth century.[1799]

It has been shown that peoples of the Earlier Stone Age (ESA), primitive hunter-gatherers, populated Southern Africa from about 1.7 to 250 000 years before the

[1798] Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H., *The Shaping of South African Society*, 1652-1840, (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 4.

[1799] Feely, J.M., 'Prehistoric use of woodland and forest by farming peoples in South Africa', in Lawes et al,*Indigenous forests and woodlands: policy, people and practice*, (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004), p. 284.

present (BP).[1800] The period between 250 000 and 30 000 years BP is termed the Middle Stone Age and was practised by Archaic and Early Modern Homo sapiens. Late Stone Age (LSA), hunter-gatherers, have occupied parts of KwaZulu-Natal since about 30 000 years BP [28 050 BC] with a high concentration in the Drakensberg.[1801]

The pastoralists were originally hunter-gatherers who obtained livestock from agriculturalists. Linguistic research postulates that this occurred in northern Botswana and/or Zambia about 2000 years ago and spread south from there.[1802] The earliest archaeological records of livestock are for sheep dated to around 350 AD [1600 BP], goats to 550 AD [1400 BP] cattle to 650 AD [1300 BP] and dogs to 800 AD [1150 BP].[1803]

Pastoralists, who moved south and west, retained their purely pastoral economy. They occupied a territory that extended from Namibia to east of the Fish River.[1804]

The period when and where the pastoralists first entered KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape has not yet been established. Simon Hall's work shows that pastoralists were present in the Koonap valley in the Eastern Cape in the second century AD.[1805] Cattle remains and ochre burnished ware used by pastoralists have been found by Derricourt near Queenstown in the Eastern Cape and dated to the eleventh century. He maintained that this showed the evolution of a hunter-gatherer into a 'Hottentot' [pastoralists] group at that period. [1806]

[1800] Klein, R., "The Earlier Stone Age of Southern Africa", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol.55, 2000, p. 107.
[1801] Mazel, Aron, 'The Stone Age People of Natal', in Duminy, A. and Guest, B., Eds, *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910,* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1989), pp. 2-10.
[1802] Mitchell, P., *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 228-229.
[1803] Ibid., p. 231.
[1804] Elphick, R., *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press,1985), pp. 8, 11.
[1805] Maggs, T. and Whitelaw, G., 'A Review of Recent Archaeological Research on Food-Producing Communities in Southern Africa', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 32 (1991), p. 8.
[1806] Derricourt, R., *Prehistoric Man in the Ciskei and Transkei*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1977), pp. xviii.

With the arrival of the Early Iron Age (EIA) people in about 2000-1500 BP [50 BC – 450 AD], there was interaction between them and the earlier inhabitants.[1807] Until about 1000 AD there was an equitable relationship between the societies.[1808] Gradually the hunter-gatherers were displaced and moved into the mountainous and drier areas.[1809] The period has not been definitively established, but was probably from about 2000 BP [50 BC].[1810]

EIA sites of the first millennium are widely distributed in the eastern parts of southern Africa, in Mozambique, in the Limpopo River basin and on the Inhaca peninsula, including at Zitundo.[1811] Those situated on the eastern seaboard of southern Africa have been dated by Maggs to the third century AD. Most of these sites are within three kilometres of the coast with three situated further inland around the Bay of Natal and Lake St Lucia.[1812] In both KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, the EIA sites have been found in the river valleys where there was perennial water and fertile soils, and are located as far west as the Buffalo River.[1813]

It has been established that LIA settlements expanded into grasslands of KwaZulu-Natal in the fifteenth century and into the grasslands of the Eastern Cape from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.[1814] At Ntsitsana, on the Mzimvubu River, Prins has excavated an Early Iron Age settlement where the remains of sheep, goats, cattle and dogs, dating from the seventh to the ninth centuries, have been identified. He noted that caprine remains pre-dated those of cattle. [1815] An excavation near East

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[1807] Elphick, op. cit., p. 13.
[1808] Ibid., p. 21.
[1809] Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 250-251.
[1810] Ibid., p. 226.
[1811] Maggs and Whitelaw, op. cit., p. 12.
[1812] Maggs, T. 'The Iron Age south of the Zambesi', in Klein, R.G., Ed., *Southern Africa Prehistory and Paleoenvironments*, (Rotterdam, Balkema, 1984), pp. 333, 339.
[1813] Feely, 2004, op. cit.,p. 284.
[1814] Ibid., p. 287.
[1815] Prins, F.E., 'Aspects of iron Age Ecology in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal', *Azania* (Special Volume) Vol. 12, pp. 71-90.

London has pottery similar to EIA sites in KwaZulu-Natal and has been dated to the seventh century AD.[1816] A later sequence in a valley of the Koonap River, a tributary of the Great Fish, produced pottery possibly relating to the Thembu or Xhosa people and dating to the fifteenth century.[1817]

Cultivated bulrush millet has been identified and dated to 300 AD, with finger millet, *Eleusine coracana,* and bulrush or pearl millet, *Pennistum typhoides*, being dated to the sixth and seventh centuries at Magogo in KwaZulu-Natal.[1818] It was noted that the EIA settlements were located in valleys and LIA sites being situated on higher ground, slopes or hill tops.[1819]

In his study of farmers in the Transkei, Feely has worked on sites in the basins of the Msikaba, Mzimvubu, Mbhashe and Great Kei Rivers. In the entrenched wooded valleys in the middle reaches of the Mzimvubu and lower Mzintlava Rivers, some 100 km from the coast, he found pottery and evidence of EIA and LIA iron-smelting, dating to the first and second millennia. Along the coast between the Mzimvubu and Mthenthu Rivers, a single first millennium EIA site was found inland on the banks of the Msikaba River.[1820]

In his work in the Mbhashe River basin, which included the tributaries Xuka, Mgwali and Mnyolo, Feely found evidence of agriculturalists occupying the valleys of the lower Mbhashe River and during the first and second millennia higher up. Archaeologists excavating some of these sites found charcoal, which has been radiocarbon dated to between the fifth and seventh centuries. Evidence of iron smelting was found at several EIA and LIA sites in the basins of the Mbhashe and Mzimvubu Rivers.[1821] In the upper reaches of the White Kei River all the archaeological sites were of the LSA, but it was

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[1816] Nogwaza, T., 'Early Iron Age Pottery from Canasta Place', *South African Field Archaeology*, Vol. 3 [2], 2000.
[1817] Maggs and Whitelaw, op. cit., p. 8.
[1818] Maggs, 1984, op. cit., p. 341.
[1819] Ibid., p. 348.
[1820] Feely, J.M., *Early Farmers of the Transkei, Southern Africa*, (Oxford, Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, B.A.R. Series, 1987), pp. 61-68.
[1821] Feely, (1987), op. cit., pp. 70-81.

not clear whether these were hunter-gatherers or pastoralists. In the central White Kei drainage basin, LIA settlements were found which dated to the nineteenth century. In the middle reaches of the Great Kei, the valleys are deeply entrenched, but LIA settlements were in all land types. In the valleys of the Great Kei and its tributary, the Tsomo, farming settlements were found dating to the second millennium and to the first millennium on the Kobonqaba River.[1822] There is a break in the archaeological record between the EIA and the LIA with the people of the later period from 1100 AD, having a more developed technology.[1823]

The Debates:

There are a number of issues being debated by historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and linguists. The main topics under discussion are the movement of people into and around south-eastern Africa in pre-colonial times, the nature of interactions between societies and the periodicity of the establishment of new economic structures. Modern technology has enabled archaeologists to make more definitive statements regarding the age of artefacts, but there are still many problems.

Archaeologists, Pilkington and Hall, suggest that "Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age may be unsuitable formats for understanding prehistoric behaviour and encourage us to compartmentalize integrated and complex interactions between people with differing technologies."[1824]

Mitchell argues that "More fundamentally, we must recognise that although ceramic typologies provide a useful, and indeed necessary, tool for our research, they remain and archaeological construct, just like any other spatio-temporal grouping of material remains."[1825]

[1822] Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[1823] Maggs, T., 'The Iron-Age Sequence of the Vall and Pongola Rivers: some historical implications', *Journal of African History*, 20 [1], 1980. p. 3.

[1824] Pilkington, J. and Hall, M., "Patterning in recent radio-carbon datings from Southern Africa as a reflection of pre-historic settlement and interaction", Journal of African History, Vol. 28 [1], 1987, p. 1.

[1825] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 270.

Maggs and Whitelaw warn that the written record, as opposed to the archaeological record, gives a simplified picture of the interactions between pastoralists and agriculturalists as there is evidence of a complex 1000 year period of social and economic change and interaction. [1826]

How the pastoralists dispersed is uncertain as it has been difficult to identify pastoralist communities in the archaeological record as theirs was a nomadic existence and structures were of organic material, which leave few remains.[1827]

Different schemes have been suggested for tracing the streams of movement of the Iron Age people. Hall and Vogel state that there is general agreement that the first farming communities [agriculturalists], identified on the basis of ceramic styles, moved south along the coastal plain from Mozambique in the fourth and fifth centuries AD.[1828]

Huffman has identified streams based on carbon dating and ceramics. He suggests that from 200 to 400 AD, EIA people moved through the Eastern Transvaal, southern Mozambique and along the coast to north of Durban. Another stream moved through Zimbabwe, the western Transvaal lowlands, the valleys and coast of KwaZulu-Natal and along the coast to the Transkei from 400 to 900 AD. Subsequently, LIA peoples moved north along the south eastern coast of KwaZulu- Natal. [1829]

There is a difference of opinion between (Martin) Hall and Huffman over the period when ownership of cattle became pivotal in the lives of the Iron Age people. Hall suggests that prior to 900 AD areas of south-eastern Africa were covered in dense forest or bush which made it unsuitable for agriculture and the presence of tsetse fly made it unsuitable for livestock, especially cattle. He suggests that in the fourth century AD, livestock were limited and cattle did not then assume the full economic and

[1826] Maggs and Whitelaw, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
[1827] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 237.
[1828] Hall and Vogel, op. cit., p. 440.
[1829] Hall, M. 1987, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

symbolic role which they carried later. With the clearing of woodland for agriculture, animal husbandry only became a viable proposition by the tenth century and only then was a new powerful economic order established.[1830] Huffman, who introduced the concept of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) into southern African archaeology, argues that the CCP and the associated beliefs were established earlier than the tenth century.[1831]

It is a contentious issue whether livestock remains found by archaeologists at LSA sites are derived from to hunter-gatherers or pastoralists.[1832] In addition, the interactions between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, are still "hotly debated".[1833]

The issue being debated at present is focused on whether the pastoralists at some stage were just hunter-gatherers with livestock. While some accept that there was a pastoral revolution at some period with a transition from egalitarianism to social hierarchy, it has been postulated that the earliest herders in the Cape were hunter-gatherers who had obtained livestock by diffusion and not migration.

Archaeological research in the Western Cape has established that sheep have been present there since 2000 BP [50 AD], but the question is how they got there.[1834]
Sadr disputes the traditional view that [Khoekoe] pastoralists were continuously present at the Cape from 2000 BP [50 AD] onwards. He suggests that the early people were not necessarily the same as those encountered by the Portuguese and the Dutch.[1835] He states that there is no clear archaeological evidence for a migration of pastoralists from north to south during the period 50 AD to the early 1500s and mid 1600s.[1836] He

[1830] Maggs and Whitelaw, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
[1831] Ibid., p. 20.
[1832] Mitchell, op. cit., p. 239.
[1833] Ibid., p. 248.
[1834] Smith, A.B., "Pastoral origins at the Cape, South Africa: influences and arguments", *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 20 (1), 2008, p. 53.
[1835] Sadr, K., "Invisible herders? The archaeology of Khoekhoe pastoralists", *Southern African Humanities,* Vol. 20 (1), 2008, p. 180.
[1836] Ibid., p. 189.

suggests that sheep herding was by diffusion and not migration and that the people of 2000 BP were sheep-herding hunter-gatherers and that the true pastoralists with a distinct culture, were a later addition.[1837]. This is supported by Jolly in relation to the hunter-gatherers in the Free State and Lesotho. [1838]

Fauvelle-Aymar notes that the question of when and where the pastoral revolution took place is still being debated, and also suggests that the arrival in the Cape of the 'Khoekhoen', who were the 'true pastoralists', was relatively recent [1839]

Smith maintains that that while it is accepted that domesticated animals came from the north, in order to sustain a sheep flock, knowledge of animal husbandry would have been essential, so it is unlikely that hunter-gatherers would have been able to manage livestock successfully. He argues that it is more likely that people with knowledge of livestock management, the pastoralists, would have migrated south and would have been established at the Cape by 2000 BP.[1840]

Barnard points out that in recent years the shifting lifestyles between the hunter-gatherers and the pastoralists have been well documented. He considers the ideas of the revisionists that it is possible that the hunter-gatherers were part of a cyclical pattern of acquisition and loss of livestock, which may have happened at some periods. It has been recognised, however, that there are profound ideological differences involved when there is a transition from the egalitarian society of the hunter-gatherers to a herding lifestyle which involves an accumulation of resources.[1841] While boundaries can

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[1837] Ibid., p. 192.
[1838] Jolly, P., "Before farming? cattle kept and psinted by the south-eastern San", *Before Farming*, [4] Article 2, 2007, pp. 1-29.
[1839] Fauvelle-Aymar, F., "Against the 'Khoisan paradigm' in the interpretation of Khoekhoe origins and history: a re-evaluation of Khoekhoe pastoral traditions", *SAH*, Vol. 20 (1) 2008, pp. 87-88.
[1840] Smith, 2008, op. cit., p. 57.
[1841] Barnard, A., "Ethnographic analogy and the reconstruction of early Khoekhoe society", *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 20 (1), 2008, pp, 61-63.

be blurred, Barnard suggests that there are ideological, social and economic differences between the 'Khoekhoe' pastoralists and the 'San' hunter-gatherers.[1842]

With reference to the questions of the presence of pastoralists in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, Hall maintains that there is still doubt whether herders preceded the agriculturalists in the central and eastern regions of southern Africa.[1843]

Recent linguistic research has postulated that a now extinct 'Limpopo Khoekhoe' people have had a major input in establishing sheep and cattle in the eastern areas of southern Africa. Two successive Bantu populations have been identified, of which the Nguni were the second, as having occupied land in KwaZulu-Natal and extending to the Kei River over the past two millennia.[1844] There is also linguistic evidence which points to separate and distinct 'Khoekhoe' populations in the Eastern Cape, which influenced southern Nguni societies living between the Mzimvubu and Kei Rivers in the middle centuries of the second millennium [c. 1500].[1845]

Feely quoting Prins, has noted that archaeologists have suggested that agriculturalists may have moved out of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape during the tenth and eleventh centuries as a result of climate change, and returned 300 years later. During the fifteenth century, LIA settlements expanded into grasslands in Mpumalanga, Gauteng, the North West Free State and KwaZulu-Natal and from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries in the Eastern Cape.[1846]

The distribution of cultural groups as recorded in the narratives:

[1842] Ibid., p. 73.
[1843] Hall, M. *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860*, (Cape Town and Johannesburg, David Philip, 1987), p, 32.
[1844] Ehret, C., "The early livestock-raisers of South Africa", *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 20 (1), 2008, pp.13-14.
[1845] Ibid., p. 15.
[1846] Feely, J., 'Prehistoric use of Woodland and Forest by farming peoples in South Africa', in Lawes, M.J. et al, Eds, *Indigenous forests and woodlands policy, people and practice*, (Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal University Press, 2004), pp. 2-3.

In 1552 the *São João* survivors found that the people, who lived near the wreck site some five kilometres north of the Mtamvuna River, kept cattle but did not cultivate crops. Scouts spent two days exploring inland and must have ranged for at least 20 kilometres. They found no signs of cultivation, indicating that the people living in that area at that time were pastoralists. These people used arrows as well as assegais, which further indicates that they were pastoralists, as the agriculturalists did not use arrows.

The *São Bento* survivors of 1554 who were wrecked at the Msikaba River also sent scouts to explore inland and they found no signs of cultivation. The people whom they met at the wreck site kept cattle, so the indications are that they were pastoralists. These people owned iron-tipped assegais and valued iron. As the ship broke up and parts of the structure were washed ashore, they immediately set about obtaining the metal by setting fire to the wood.

Although there were African slaves among both the *São João* and *São Bento* survivors, they were not able to communicate with the local people through the medium of translators, although they were able to do so further north. This suggests that the indigenous people who lived near the Msikaba and Mtamvuna Rivers at that time spoke a Khoisan language and not one of the Bantu languages.

Both sets of survivors first encountered agriculturalists north of the Mzimkhulu River. In 1593, the *Santo Alberto* survivors described the people whom they encountered on their inland journey from present-day Sunrise-on-Sea to Inhaca Island. Those who occupied the area between the Kwelera River and present-day Ibeka, grew crops and kept cattle and sheep, so they were agriculturalists. The grassland between there and the Mgwali River was uninhabited, but the country between the Mgwali River and the present-day road bridge over the Mbhashe River (on the R 61), and for some distance beyond, was occupied by agriculturalists. The coastal plateau north and east of the Mthatha River was uninhabited at that time with the exception of a band of hunter-gatherers met in the

region of the present-day Mtombe village. Groups of successful agriculturalists occupied land from the Flagstaff area to the north-east along the route of these survivors as far as Inhaca Island. An exception was a group encountered in the region of Mhlabatini in KwaZulu-Natal, who were probably hunter-gatherers.

The *São João Baptista* survivors of 1622 encountered a band of pastoralists in the vicinity of Cannon Rocks. They kept cattle but did not grow crops. They hunted with dogs and collected shellfish. The skin colour of the local people was paler than a people known to them as 'Mulattoes'. This suggests that their skin was lighter than people of mixed blood, known to the Portuguese in India or Portugal. The language of the local people included clicks and was not understood by any of the African slaves. They valued iron, which was traded for cows. Along the coastal regions between the wreck site and the Kei River, these survivors only met some hunters at the Keiskamma and Tsholomnqa Rivers. They must have been travelling close to the shore when passing the Kwelera River as they did not make contact with the substantial population of farming people who lived about 20 km inland and who had hosted the *Santo Alberto* survivors in 1593.

The first settlements close to the coast found by these survivors were around the Kobonqaba River, a few kilometres north of the Kei River. There the people were herders and cultivators and had fish traps in the river. Africans among the survivors could communicate with the local people. North of the Kobonqaba River, the survivors of 1622 found settlements at the Mbhashe River, where the people cultivated the land, kept livestock and also fished. At the Mpako River the people kept cattle but there was no mention of cultivation. Around the Mthatha River the country was well populated with agriculturalists. These survivors remained in the Mzimvubu River area for 30 days and they had to move inland to cross the river. There they found agriculturalists, but noted that there were fewer at the coast than inland.

The survivors moved along a route which was about ten km from the shore and only observed a few isolated settlements and few cattle were seen. At the Msikaba River, still some distance inland, there were settlements where the people kept cattle and sheep and cultivated millet. The infertile area between the Msikaba and the Mtamvuna River was unpopulated, but once over the river flourishing settlements were found, where livestock was kept and millet was cultivated. About 20 km south of the Mzimkhulu River, there were two large kraals where the people kept cattle and sheep and cultivated the soil.

As noted by the previous survivor groups, these 1622 survivors found that land between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal was well populated with very successful agriculturalists. The area around the Thukela River was also well populated. From the Thukela north to Kosi Bay, settlements were few and the people were poor. At Kosi Bay some provisions were available. On the Inhaca Peninsula grain was cultivated and sheep, goats and hens were kept, but there were no cattle. In the Incomati River area the chief was able to supply provisions to the survivors and it was commented that he was a powerful man. The Inhambane area was recorded as being very productive with people living on both sides of the bay.

In an area around the Limpopo River a group of people, called the 'Mocarangas', were robbers, with no livestock or cultivation being observed. The Muslims, who lived near the Inharrime River, were on good terms with the local chief, but were subordinate to him. Provisions were available there.

The *São Gonçalo* survivors, who were wrecked at Plettenberg Bay in 1630, encountered people who kept cattle and sheep, but undertook no cultivation. They were light in skin colour and spoke with clicks. Described as nomads, it was said that they had no settled villages and used portable tents made of stakes and mats. It was noted that they wore copper armbands. They were clearly pastoralists.

By 1635 the area around the Mzimvubu River was populated by agriculturalists. They grew grain and kept cattle, fowls, 'other livestock' and dogs. They used iron-tipped assegais and wore brass, copper and iron ornaments, with armbands of copper. The description indicates that the area was more densely populated than in 1622.

The survivors, who came ashore at Chefane in 1647, encountered a group of people who were unmistakably hunter-gatherers. The clicks were very noticeable in their language and the African Bantu-speakers among the slaves could not understand them. It is likely that they were probably on a seasonal foray to the coast to collect shellfish and did not reside in that area.

No other people were encountered along the coast between the wreck site and the Kei River. There were cultivators living around the Kobonqaba River who set fish traps.

In contrast with the 1622 observations, by 1647 there were isolated settlements situated a little inland along the coast between the Kei and the Mthatha Rivers. Elephant traps were set in the region of the Qhora River, where fishing was also carried out. At the Mbhashe River, the people were also hunters and constructed pitfalls for elephants. They had livestock and cultivated millet and set fish traps. It was noted that their language included clicks.

Between the Mthatha and Mzimvubu Rivers there were isolated settlements along the coast, but in the Mzimvubu area the country was well populated with successful farmers, who were able to supply the survivors with millet, bread, and milk They were also prepared to trade iron for cattle. Between the Mntafufu and the Mtenthu Rivers the survivors divided into two groups, one party going inland and the other keeping closer to the coast. Along the inland route livestock was kept and the level fertile areas were cultivated. Closer to the coast, the people also kept livestock, grew millet and trapped fish. The people who lived in the vicinity of the Msikaba River were not prepared to

trade, but at the Mtamvuna River, millet was cultivated and cattle and hens were kept and some trading was done. These survivors met cultivators occupying land south of the Mzimkhulu River and they also reported on the wealth of provisions available between the Mzimkhulu and the Bay of Natal.

The *Stavenisse* records and the rescue attempts of 1686-1689 show that agriculturalists were occupying coastal lands as far south-west as the Tsholomnqa River at that time. There appeared to be a 'no-man's-land' between the Tsholomnqa and the Keiskamma Rivers with hunter-gatherers or pastoralists being situated north and west of the Keiskamma River.

Those of the survivors of the *Stavenisse* who walked south must have moved along the coast, or in sight of it, in order to know what route to take to the Cape. They met many people en route and were able to name the various groups. They lived among the indigenous people for about two years from 1686 to 1688. The pattern of distribution described was remarkably similar to the situation of the Southern Nguni in the nineteenth century.

The Mbo, [Emboos/Embi], were the first people the survivors met, and they were situated north of the Mzimkhulu River. Van Warmelo states that the Mbo could have been a sub-division of the Nguni and that today they are found in Swaziland.[1847] Ayliff and Whiteside said that the valley of the Buffalo River in Natal was known as Embo, probably after people who had travelled from Central Africa and had been there for about 200 years.[1848]

As far as can be established, the Mpondomise [Mapontomousse] were located west of the Mzimkhulu, the Mpondo [Mapontes] were established in the area near the Mzimvubu River and the Thembu [Matimbes] were living between the Mzimvubu and

[1847] Van Warmelo, op. cit., pp. 64,65.
[1848] Ayliff, J. and Whiteside, J., *History of the Abambo*, (Butterworth, Butterworth Gazette, 1912), p. 2.

the Mbhashe Rivers. The Xhosa [Magose] was the last group encountered and these were the people among whom the survivors lived for nearly two years. They were established between the Kei and the Tsholomnqa Rivers, possibly as far east as the Mbhashe at that period.

There was very definite hostility between the pastoralists and the Xhosa in the area around the Keiskamma River and north of the Kei River during this period. The *Magryghas [Makriggas]* were a hostile group who were encountered, probably between the Mbhashe and the Kei Rivers. They could have been a group of pastoralists who had been ousted from their land east of the Kei River by the Xhosa at a relatively recent date and were still angry. Wilson identified them as Griqua and they could possibly have been forerunners of the later Griqua nation. [1849]

The groups which made raids on a clan of the Xhosa, then living in the Buffalo River area, were likely to have been situated north of the Xhosa territory and west of the Keiskamma River. They were referred to as *'Magoika'* and *'Maquenasse'* [*'Makenasse'*].[1850] They only used poisoned bows and arrows, which suggests that they were hunter-gatherers, but large herds of cattle and sheep were captured from them, which could indicate that they were pastoralists, although the use of poisoned arrows among the pastoralists was not usual. The large size of the Xhosa army (5000) indicates that they were facing a formidable force so it is possible that groups of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists had banded together, hence the use of two names.

The hostile '*Caauws'* were situated in the Fish River area and have been linked to the 'Inquase' who were known at the Cape as people as the 'Inquahase Hottentots'.1851 They were pastoralists.

[1849] Wilson and Thompson, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 84.
[1850] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit ., pp. 35, 36.
[1851] Vigne, op. cit., Notes 16 and 20, p. 96.

The location of the 'baTwa', or 'Bushmen' [hunter-gatherers], who were said to have attacked and killed some of the survivors is not clear. Vigne thought that they were the people who attacked the survivors on their coastal attempt to reach the Cape, but de Chalezac does not give that name.

There was a time, however, when there was a cessation of hostilities and an annual 'trade fair' was held in the vicinity of the upper Keiskamma River where pastoralists and Xhosa traded goods.

Both the Portuguese and the *Stavenisse* survivors, who built a ship at the Bay of Natal, encountered very successful people there, who were cultivators and kept livestock.

In 1713, the survivors of the *Bennebroeck* lived among people who were agriculturalists and it was stated specifically that they were distinct from the 'Hottentot' pastoralists. This was in the area around the Keiskamma River, and it indicates a shift to the south-west along the coast of the population during the period 1686 and 1713. The agriculturalists had possibly absorbed or displaced the hunter-gatherer or pastoralist clans who had occupied this area in 1686.

At a landing place at present-day Port Edward, the *Doddington* survivors of 1755 reported that these were a friendly people, who kept cattle, cultivated the soil and were willing to trade. The people who lived in the Thukela River area and around Kosi Bay were also agriculturalists who were prepared to be friendly and exchange goods for iron. They observed a group of Muslims living in the Kosi Bay area.

Hostility between the hunter-gatherers (and/or) pastoralists and the agriculturalists was in evidence in 1782 when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked at Lambazi Bay. These survivors moved west towards the Cape in different parties and mainly along the coast. At the Mbotyi River, they were warned that there was a group of hostile people 'Boshemen Hottentots' living to the north. It is of interest that again two names are used,

also suggesting that possibly the pastoralists and hunter-gatherers had banded together.

The area between the Mthatha and the Mbhashe Rivers was uninhabited at the time when the *Grosvenor* survivors were there. The reason was probably that at that time the Thembu nominally occupied the land between the Mbhashe and the Kei Rivers, but there was conflict with the Rharabe Xhosa. A series of battles had taken place between these clans during the reign of the Thembu chief, Ndaba, (c. 1775-1800) who fled from the area. The situation did not end with Rharabe's death in 1782, the year of the wreck.[1852] The many unoccupied huts observed by the *Grosvenor* survivors suggest that the owners had recently departed.

The lack of assistance experienced by the *Grosvenor* survivors could have been owing to the unsettled state of the country through which they passed.

The movement of cultural groups between the years 1552 and 1782:

In reviewing the historical interaction between the indigenous people and Europeans, Legassick and Giliomee define a frontier as being a region where contact takes place between culturally distinct communities and where one group is attempting to control the other.[1853]

Elphick and Malherbe use the concept to define a frontier which existed between the different indigenous cultural groups. Hall further develops the idea and uses Alexander's model of a 'moving frontier' to identify the locations where indigenous people with farming technologies were spreading into new areas. 'Static frontiers' were located where the process of advance had ceased.[1854]

[1852] Peires, J., *The House of Phalo*, (Johannesburg and Cape Town, Jonathon Ball, 1981), p. 95.
[1853] Elphick, R. and Malherbe, V., "The Khoisan to 1928", in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Cape Town, Maskew Millwe, Longman, 1979), Note, p. 8.
[1854] Hall, 1987, op. cit., p. 32.

Evidence from the survivor narratives indicates that agriculturalists moved south-east along the coast of the Eastern Cape into areas occupied by pastoralists during the period under review and there is some indication of periodicity. There is also evidence of an inland frontier between the agriculturalists and pastoralists with isolated areas occupied by hunter-gatherers, but with insufficient information to indicate movement.

The Coastal Frontier:

The coastal area under discussion extends for about 20 to 30 kilometres inland, which is the range within which the survivors moved. They did not walk continually along the sea shore. The sandy beaches and the usually thickly wooded dune cordons made the immediate shore difficult to traverse and in places it would have been impossible. In times of hunger the survivors did move to the shore to harvest shell fish. While the survivors needed to keep the coast in sight for directional guidance, it is often recorded that they were several leagues inland. There the terrain was usually grassland and rivers were more easily forded at the ebb and flow. In the period under review, the survivors found that the settlements were aggregated around rivers.

It is noted that in the 1593 agriculturalist settlements were not situated in the coastal areas. They were found about 20 -30 km inland north of the present-day resort of Sunrise-on-Sea, as it took these survivors a few days to reach the first village. This record is applied to the inland and not the coastal frontier.

In the mid 1500s, only pastoralists were observed living in the coastal regions around the Msikaba and just north of the Mtamvuna Rivers. This included a swathe up to about 10 to 30 km inland for both rivers where no cultivation was being carried out. Agriculturalists were first observed north of the Mzimkhulu River by both survivor groups.

The first information of settlements in the coastal region south of the Msikaba River is found in the 1622 narrative. Pastoralists were encountered around the present-day

resort of Cannon Rocks, some 15 km west of Bushman's River. There were no settlements in the coastal regions between there and the Kei River at that time. The first agriculturalists observed were at the Kobonqaba River, some 20 km east of the Kei River.

These survivors found agriculturalists occupying land around the Mbhashe River, but only saw pastoralists at the Mpako River. There were many settlements of agriculturalists in the Mthatha River area and around the Mzimvubu River, but with fewer people living at the coast than inland. Between the Mzimvubu and the Msikaba River, there were a few isolated settlements. These survivors found agriculturalists established at the Msikaba River, some 10 km inland which were not there in 1554. Also, unlike the earlier report, there were well established settlements of agriculturalists near the Mtamvuna River. At this time agriculturalists were occupying land about 20 km south of the Mzimkhulu River, again in contrast with the earlier report that they were only to be found some distance north of the Mzimkhulu River.

In 1635 the population of agriculturalists around the Mzimvubu River had increased as more resources were noted by these survivors than had been available to the 1622 survivors.

The survivors of 1647 met hunter-gatherers at the wreck site in Chintsa Bay. These people were not reported as being hostile, and this could indicate that at that time hunter-gatherers could range freely in the country west of the Kei River. This would suggest that the agriculturalists had not yet occupied much of that area and the hunter-gatherers had not yet been displaced and were not threatened.

The survivors of 1647, moving north from Chintsa Bay, also first observed agriculturalists at the Kobonqaba River. Once this group moved north of the Kei River, they alienated the local inhabitants by burning some huts, so their interactions with the local people were limited. Although these survivors saw many huts, their occupants

were nowhere to be seen. The only people they met were fishermen at the Qhora and Xhora Rivers. It was commented that the language of the people living around the Mbhashe River included clicks, which indicates a recent or strong infusion of pastoralists. Unlike the 1622 group, these survivors did not encounter agriculturalists living around the Mthatha River, although they had been informed that provisions would have been available there. There was a small settlement of agriculturalists south of the Mzimvubu River which had not been noted by the 1622 survivors. As with the observations of the 1622 and 1635 groups, the area around the Mzimvubu River had established settlements of agriculturalists. At this time there were more agriculturalists living in the coastal areas between the Mntafufu and the Msikaba Rivers than had been noted in 1622.

As with the earlier group, these survivors also managed to alienate the local people and those who lived near the Msikaba River were antagonistic so no observations were made there. They found well established agriculturalists occupying land near the Mtamvuna River as had been noted by the 1622 survivors. The 1647 group also found agriculturalists occupying land south of the Mzimkhulu River.

The route of the 1686 survivors, as they made their way south over the Mzimkhulu River, was not described, but they kept within range of the coast for directional guidance. They encountered agriculturalists living between the Mzimkhulu and Tsholomnqa Rivers and were able to name the groups in order from north to south, which suggests that these people were living near to the coast, probably around perennial rivers. The Xhosa (Magosse) lived close to the sea in the Buffalo River area as they observed the *Centaurus* on its rescue mission and were able to organise contact with them. This possibly indicates that by 1686, agriculturalists had moved south of the Kei River and had occupied coastal regions as far as the Tsholomnqa River. It is quite clear that at time pastoralists and/or hunter-gathers were situated west of the Keiskamma River. The hostility between them and the agriculturalists could indicate resentment on the part of the pastoralists and/or hunter-gatherers as having

been displaced from their former pastures and hunting grounds at a relatively recent date.

By 1713 agriculturalists had moved west of the Keiskamma River. In 1782, the Grosvenor survivors did not find agriculturalists (Bantu-speaking) people living west of the Fish River. In 1755 the people who lived in the Algoa Bay area were pastoralists.

The positioning of the frontier at the Mzimkhulu River in the mid-1550s could be disputed as it could have been a temporary situation at the time owing to a failure of crops. There is, however, a further record which shows that agriculturalists had moved south over the Mzimkhulu between the years 1554 and 1622. This was substantiated by the 1647 account.

Evidence from the narratives does suggest that the population of agriculturalists in the coastal areas increased over time and it is postulated that the frontier moved from the Mzimkhulu to the Fish Rivers along the coast during the period under review.

This evidence is at variance with the interpretation of archaeological research which has been undertaken along the coastal areas of the Eastern Cape. Archaeological evidence, based on pottery samples, the presence of iron slag and radio-carbon dating of charcoal, positions farmers (agriculturalists) with knowledge of iron-working, as living as far south as the Kei River from the fifth and seventh centuries [400-600 AD]. This evidence indicates that agriculturalists were occupying coastal regions at an earlier date than evidence from the narratives suggest

There could be several explanations. One is that there is too little evidence to substantiate the claim of a frontier at the Mzimkhulu River in the 1550s and that the survivors missed seeing already established agriculturalists.

Another scenario is that there was a break in the occupation by Early Iron Age peoples in that area. It is known that there is a lack of archaeological evidence to explain or link the change from the early technology of the Early Iron Age and the superior techniques of the Later Iron Age. Archaeologists have suggested that climate change climate between the tenth and eleventh centuries might have induced agriculturalists to retreat from KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape for a time and to return later.[1855] This might well explain the earlier presence Iron Age people and their absence at a later date. The agriculturalists who moved south during the period 1552 to 1782 could have been those who had developed superior iron-working techniques, an LIA people.

A break in occupation in the area between the Mzimkulu and the Kei Rivers could also be an explanation for the linguistic evidence cited by Ehret, that there were two separate and distinct populations of 'Khoekhoen' [pastoralists] who influenced the southern Nguni between the Mzimvubu and Kei Rivers in the mid 1500s.

The Inland Frontier:

Evidence from the narratives about a frontier situated inland between hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists is derived from the 1593 and 1686 accounts. These are, however, not sufficient to make any comments about movement.

It has been noted that in 1593 there was a long stretch of uninhabited land between the Mthatha River and the Flagstaff region, with only one band of hunter-gatherers being observed, probably in the Mtombe area. There was another section of country between present-day Ulundi and Nongoma, where a band of hunter-gatherers were observed. This suggests that at that time agriculturalists only occupied the lower lying areas of the coastal plateau especially in fertile land near major rivers.

In 1686, the attacks on the survivors by the '*Magryghas*' while east of the Kei River, is evidence that at that time these people were hostile to any strangers and there was a

[1855] Feely (2004), op. cit., p. 285.

probable conflict over land ownership. The location of the fight between the Xhosa people and pastoralists and/or hunter-gatherers suggests that the Khoisan-speakers were occupying the Amathole Mountains, north of the Keiskamma River which flows west in that area.

According to archaeological research and the survey by Feely, the inland area of the Eastern Cape had been settled by Iron Age peoples [agriculturalists] in the first and second millennia. These people were mainly located in the middle to lower reaches of the main river systems of the Mzimvubu, Mbhashe and Great Kei Rivers.

In integrating this work with the observations of the survivors it is suggested that an inland frontier between the agriculturalists and the pastoralists, and/or hunter-gatherers would have extended along the plain south of the Amathole Mountains, along the base of the escarpment of the inland plateau, but to the south, and continuing east along the lower reaches south of the Drakensberg Mountains in KwaZulu-Natal. There was possibly a relict society of hunter-gatherers still retaining possession in a forested area between Ulundi and Nongoma.

Evidence of integration between pastoralists and agriculturalists:

There were some pointers in the narratives which could be considered by relevant experts about the period and locality of the integration of pastoralist and agricultural societies, based on observations made by the survivors on physical appearance, ritual practices and apparel.

In 1593, the people, who lived between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers, were described as having light skins, 'not very black', and who were not familiar with the bushy beards of the survivors.[1856] They kept livestock and cultivated the soil. Those people who lived between the Mgwali and Xuka Rivers, west of the Mbhashe, were also agriculturalists with light skins. Although they were still surprised at the beards of the Portuguese, it

[1856] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 120, 130.

was said that they did not feel their beards as often as those encountered before had done.[1857] It was said that the people found living in the Flagstaff area, much further to the north-east, were darker.[1858] The survivors made no further comments about skin colour or facial hair during the rest of their journey northwards. The pastoralists were known to have a lighter skin colour than the Bantu-speaking agriculturaliusts.

A ritual of the ceremonial killing of a sheep, removing the entrails and casting them into the sea, was performed by the agriculturalists in 1593 near the Kwelera River.[1859] The same rite, also performed with due ceremony, was noted by the *São João Baptista* survivors at Cannon Rocks in 1622.[1860] These people were pastoralists and this was said to be a rite of passage for them.[1861]

The agriculturalists who lived in the area between the Kwelera and Kei Rivers wore sandals which had oval or round soles.[1862] This was footwear being worn by a Khoi man in a seventeenth century illustration. See Figure 20.

Another link with the pastoralists can be observed in the description of whisks which were said to be carried by all men (agriculturalists) in 1593.[1863] Whisks being carried by pastoralists can also be observed in the seventeenth century illustrations of Khoi people at the Cape. See Figure 22.

These could suggest that the people who lived west of the Kei and Mbhashe Rivers in the late sixteenth century were of mixed Bantu-speakers [agriculturalists] and pastoralist descent and could indicate a relatively recent diffusion of the two cultures.

[1857] Ibid., p. 142.
[1858] Ibid., p. 150.
[1859] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 120-121.
[1860] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 198.
[1861] Kolbe, quoted by Fauvelle-Aymar, in Maggs and Whitelaw, op. cit., p. 81.
[1862] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 121.
[1863] Ibid., p. 121.

Settlement patterns and housing:

In his geographical study of Zululand before Shaka, Daniel points to the important role that the environment played in the choice and pattern of settlements and the effective functioning of chiefdoms. The choice of the principal kraal site was determined by factors which would enable a economy to function efficiently. This meant that there should be enough arable land to grow crops and for there to be good pasture for the cattle. Fresh water sources were also critical. The watershed between main rivers was often chosen.[1864] While this study period was 1800-1820, the principles governing the pattern of settlements during the earlier period were the same.

The pastoralists required good grazing and water sources, but did not need arable land. The grasslands of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal have sweet- and sour-veld and there they practiced a form of transhumance.

In 1593, an area of open grassland from about Ibeka to the Mgwali River was uninhabited and would probably have been used for seasonal grazing. At that time there was an uninhabited region inland extending from just north of the present R62 road along the coastal plateau to the Flagstaff area. Most of this upland area is very cold in winter and is rocky and infertile, but some grassland was observed, which were probably used for summer grazing.

The coastal areas, usually sour-veld, were not optimal areas for settlements and the survivor groups of 1622 and 1647 found no settlements along the coast from Cannon Rocks through to just north of the Kei River.

Daniel, J.B.McI., "A Geographical Study of Pre-Shakan Zululand", *South African Geographical Journal,* 55[1], 1973, pp. 23-26.

In 1686, in spite of also being cultivators, the Xhosa who lived between the Tsholomnqa and the Kei Rivers, also moved every two or three years to find new pastures for their livestock.[1865]

Archaeologists have noted that In KwaZulu-Natal, the earliest settlements were found along a narrow coastal belt from Kosi Bay to the Mzimkhulu River. These expanded up entrenched valleys as far as the Buffalo River in the Eastern Cape. Along the coast west of the Mbhashe River, first millennium settlements were restricted to ebb and flow near the river mouths. There were particularly dense first millennium settlements along the middle Mzimvubu and Mzintlava Rivers.[1866]

This is reflected in the survivor accounts. In the Eastern Cape the agriculturalists preferred fertile and well-watered valleys and there were settlements around the major rivers with sizeable populations around the Kobonqaba, Mbhashe, Mthatha, and Mzimvubu and Mzimkhulu Rivers. At the earlier time, there were only pastoralists living around and between the Msikaba and Mtamvuna Rivers, known to be infertile, but later agriculturalists settled near the rivers.

With the exception of the *São João* account, which is very vague, all the survivors who walked through the coastal region from the Mtwalume River to the Bay of Natal, reported that this was densely populated where many very successful farmers grew a variety of crops and who had enough resources to be able to trade willingly.

In 1554 north of the Bay of Natal, there were settlements along the coast, with some concentration around the Thukela River. North of the Thukela there were fewer settlements than further south.

[1865] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 37.
[1866] Feely, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

In 1554 and 1622, the area north of the Mfolozi River and in the Lake St Lucia area, was described as barren and the few people who lived there were very poor.[1867] Later, in 1647, the *Atalaia* survivors however, found the area between the Mlalazi River and Lake St Lucia to have many flourishing settlements.[1868]

All the survivors who moved along the coast from Lake St Lucia to Kosi Bay had difficulty finding fresh water and there were no settlements until Lake Sibayi where there were a few. All the accounts reflected that the Kosi Bay area was well populated and provisions were available.

In 1686 *Stavenisse* survivors who moved west from the Mtwalume to the Buffalo Rivers, did not comment in detail about the countryside, but they recorded that the Mbo, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Thembu and Xhosa were all agriculturalists. It is not clear how close to the coast the settlements were, but the survivors must have stayed close to the shore as this was used to determine their route. It was commented that in the Buffalo River area homesteads were usually about two leagues apart [10 km].

The *Santo Alberto* survivors of 1593, who moved inland, commented that there were at least eight homesteads or villages between the Kwelera and the Kei Rivers. There were many settlements along the Mbhashe River, between the Mgwali and Xuka Rivers. In the Flagstaff area, east of the Mzintlava River and extending to beyond the Mzimkhulu River, there was a well-populated region with productive farming communities. The upper reaches of the Mkomazi and Mngeni Rivers had settlements some distance apart. There were many people living in the Thukela valley around present-day Jameson's Drift and in the Manyane River valley, where crops were irrigated. The survivors reported a 'thickly populated plateau' around Nkhandla, north of the Thukela River.[1869]

[1867] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 251 and D'Almada, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 241-242.
[1868] Feyo, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 352.
[1869] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 150-151, 165.

In (present-day) Mozambique, survivors found that there were settlements along most of the coast, with the exception of an area between the Limpopo and Inharrime Rivers, where the 'bandits' roamed. There were concentrations of populations found on the Inhaca Peninsula where settlements were grouped around the residences of the Chiefs Inhaca, at Zitundo and south of Cape St Maria; around the Santo Espiritu estuary and north along the Incomati River and at Inhambane.

Archaeological research has indicated that the EIA people preferred valleys and established their settlements close to water, whereas the LIA, which commenced in about the eleventh century, had settlements on higher ground, often on the slopes of hills.[1870] The settlement patterns observed by the 1593 survivors on their inland route noted settlements on both high ground and in valleys.

Settlements situated on high ground were found near the Mgwali and Mbhashe Rivers and on a plateau in the Nkhandla region north of the Thukela River. All the other settlements along the survivor route in 1593 were situated in valleys, near rivers. In 1622 it was noticed that villages were situated on slopes near the Msikaba and Mtwalume Rivers and in valleys around the Mthatha, Mzimvubu and Mtamvuna Rivers. The only comment on the situation of settlements made in 1647 was in the vicinity of the Mbhashe River, where a group of huts was seen on a height.

South of Kosi Bay throughout the study period, all the survivor accounts described huts being round and low and made of straw, reeds and branches. It was commented that they were similar in shape to a baker's oven.[1871] In 1630, the pastoralists in Plettenberg Bay, used reed mats to cover their huts.[1872] In 1593, between the Kwelera and the Kei Rivers[1873] and in 1686, the Xhosa people living in the Buffalo River area, had huts made

[1870] Maggs, T., "The Iron Age south of the Zambesi", in Klein, R.G., Ed.,Southern African Pre-historic and Paleoenvironments, (Rotterdam, Balkema, 1984), p. 348.
[1871] Perestrello and Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vols. I and VIII, pp. 225, 313.
[1872] Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, p. 418.
[1873] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, p. 122.

of branches woven into arches and covered in mats.[1874] In the Bay of Natal area, it was said that the huts were made of branches entwined with rushes and grass and roofed like haystacks.[1875]

In the Mzimvubu area clay was used in hut construction.[1876] It is known that the Mpondo plastered the interior of their huts with liquid clay. [1877] It was noted that the villages were enclosed.[1878]

There were no pole-and-daga walled huts with thatched roofs described south of Kosi Bay during this period. It has been suggested that they were only introduced in the nineteenth century.[1879]

The first square huts were found around Kosi Bay where it was said that there were "huts like our vineyard shacks, not circular like those hitherto seen."[1880] In the Maputo Bay area huts were both square and round and thatched with reeds.

In 1630 the Khoi pastoralists in the Plettenberg Bay area were nomadic with no settled villages and most had portable tents.[1881]

Political organisation:

The narratives all indicate that the political organization of the indigenous people was through a system of chiefs. They were referred to variously as 'ancosse', 'Inkosi', 'kings' or 'kinglets'. The chiefs were distinguished by their dignified bearing and were held in

[1874] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 37.
[1875] Hoogsaad, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 84.
[1876] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, Ed., op. cit., p. 332.
[1877] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part I, op. cit., p.69.
[1878] Lavanha and D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 122, 208.
[1879] Shaw and van Warmelo, Part I, op. cit., p. 65.
[1880] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 176,
[1881] Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.

great respect by their people. The chiefs "have such a serious mien and are so respected by their subjects that I cannot exaggerate it".[1882]

In 1554 Perestrello noted a man whom he thought was the leader of the group who came to meet them at the wreck site, as he was distinguished by wearing red beads and who took the lead in trying to communicate with them. Thereafter the survivors made no effort to meet any of the local chiefs on their journey until they were north of Kosi Bay. Referred to as 'rebels' by their neighbours, a group of hostile people with no chief mentioned, were encountered by the Sao Bento survivors inland and a little south of Lake St Lucia.[1883]

In 1589, Do Couto stated that the survivors landed in the 'Land of Fumos' and this was where the 'Macomates' lived.[1884] He also named several chiefdoms which lay to the south of Kosi Bay, but these have not been identified. They were the, Viragune, Mocalapa, and Vambe.[1885] It was also said that the people were ruled by 'ancores', probably misspelling and mispronouncing the word 'inkosi', which means 'chief'.[1886]

In 1593, the *Santo Alberto* survivors, unlike the other survivors, and under the leadership of Nuno Velho Pereira, befriended the local people and made every effort to meet the chiefs. The area between the Kwelera and the Kei Rivers was controlled by a 'king', named Luspance. In a separate but close homestead there was another chief, probably a headman whose name was Ubabu, who was the brother of Inhancosa, one of the guides who had been allocated by Luspance and who also had a separate homestead. Theal suggests that 'Inhancosa' is similar to the term 'Nyana wenkosi', which means the son of a chief.[1887] This implies that Ubabu and Inhancosa were the

[1882] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 217.
[1883] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 247.
[1884] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 69.
[1885] Ibid., p. 70.
[1886] Ibid., Note 1, p. 71.
[1887] Theal, in Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 132.

sons of Luspance. The two could have been half brothers, sons of different wives of Luspance.

The homestead of an important chief, Vibo, was situated about 10 km east of the Kei River, possibly at KwaMdange. It was thought that he "seemed by his bearing and following to be of a higher rank than any of the chiefs we had previously met".[1888] The next chief, Incancunha, was met near the Mgwali River, fairly close to where it joins the Mbhashe River.[1889] Once over the Mbhashe, there were no settlements but some trade negotiated with Catine, probably a headman.[1890]

In the Flagstaff area the 'king' was named Mabomborucassobelo and his son was Inhanze.[1891] This chief's land extended to a small stream, probably a tributary of the Mtamvuna, where the guides provided by 'Inkosi' Mabomborucassobelo departed. The survivors then met Mocongolo, described as 'lord of the land'. [1892] This chief met the survivors west of the Mtamvuna River although his homestead was on the other side. He gave the survivors new guides.

The next chief, 'Inkosi' Gogambampolo, lived about 30 km to the north-east of the Mtamvuna, where there were about 15 villages.[1893] Some 11 km further, on both sides of the Bisi River, were 30 hamlets where 150 men and women lived with an unnamed chief.[1894] The chief in the Mzimkhulu River area, who gave the survivors new guides, was also not named and it is suggested that they could have been headmen, probably under Gogambampolo.

[1888] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 135.
[1889] Ibid., p. 140.
[1890] Ibid., p. 143.
[1891] Ibid., pp. 150-151 and Note 1.
[1892] Ibid., p. 153.
[1893] Ibid., p. 154.
[1894] Ibid., p. 155.

The residence of 'king' Gimbacucubaba was situated some 12 km north of the Mzimkhulu River.[1895] This was probably on a farm today known as 'The Watershed'. The survivors walked though some 52 km of uninhabited country before meeting 'Inkosi' Uquine Inhana.[1896] His homestead was situated near the Mkhomazi River, possibly in the region of Mdushini or the present rail bridge. Uquine Inhana and Gimbacucubaba were in conflict over land which the latter claimed had been taken from him.

Mutuadondommatale, 'the lord of the land', was the next chief encountered.[1897] He lived north of the Mngeni River and had no allegiance to Uquine Inhana. About 30 km from the Mngeni, possibly near the present village of Cramond, there was another unnamed leader.[1898] He could have been a headman under Mutuadondommatale as the same guides continued with the survivors. Near the Mvoti River there was an unnamed 'Inkosi' who provided new guides. Near the Thukela River, the widow of a chief was presented with a cow.[1899] This courtesy implies that the survivors perceived that it was a woman who was in authority there.

There were no chiefs mentioned at the crossing of the Thukela River, probably at Jameson's Drift. The next named chief was 'Inkosi' Panjana.[1900] He lived in the Nkhandla area, possibly near the present village of Msukane. 'Inkosi' Malangana was the next chief encountered,[1901] who lived about 12 km from the White Mfolozi River. He could have been the Zulu founding ancestor, Malandela, mentioned by Wilson, who lived about six generations before Shaka, and was buried at Babanago.[1902]

The next stretch of land was a wilderness north of Mahlabatini, where the survivors met people described as 'bandits', who used arrows and assegais. They had a chief but he

[1895] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 157.
[1896] Ibid., p. 160.
[1897] Ibid., p. 160.
[1898] Ibid., p. 162.
[1899] Ibid., p. 163.
[1900] Ibid., p. 165.
[1901] Ibid., p. 166.
[1902] Wilson and Thompson, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 90.

was not named.[1903] These were probably hunter-gatherers. About 12 kilometres away the survivors met another band of people, who seemed fearful of being robbed. Their chief was also unnamed.[1904]

In the region of Nongoma, another unnamed chief was encountered who provided guides for the survivors.[1905] At a village to the east, they met a 'headman' and then were taken to meet their chief, 'Inkosi' Gamabela, who lived some distance away.[1906]

A chief, Bambe, reputed to be a great thief, led the survivors astray.[1907] This was possibly in the Masingwana area. A village at Lake Sibayi was the home of Chief Inhaca's sister and her husband.[1908]

The *Belém* survivors of 1635 reported that in the Mzimvubu River area each village had a leader who was called "Lord Masingo" or "Great Maculo".[1909]

By 1686, the *Stavenisse* survivors, who walked from the Mtwalume River through the Eastern Cape to the Buffalo River, noted that all the groups encountered along the coast, with the exception of the "Magoika" or "Maquenasses", gave "fealty" to one king.[1910]

Chief Magamma/Majamma was the ruler of the Xhosa when de Chelazac and the *Stavenisse* survivors arrived in the area between the Tsholomnqa and the Buffalo River in 1686.[1911] Grevenbroek states that the king, "who was kind to de Chelezac", was

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[1903] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 166-167.
[1904] Ibid., p. 167.
[1905] Ibid., p. 169.
[1906] Ibid., p. 169-170.
[1907] Ibid., p. 175.
[1908] Ibid., p. 176.
[1909] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 332.
[1910] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.
[1911] *Centaurus* Log-book, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 109 and Note 18, p. 114.

named Tokhe.[1912] This name does not appear in either de Chelezac's account or the records from the *Stavenisse* survivors. Vigne states that to place Thoke/Togu as an ancestor of the Xhosa Royal House has been strongly disputed by contemporary historians.[1913]

De Chelezac expressed surprise at Magamma being known as the king as his father was still alive and he was not the eldest son.[1914] It has been suggested that Magamma could have been the eldest son of his father's Great Wife.[1915] According to de Chelezac, this chief commanded respect as he was a leader in war and was more skilled in throwing his spear than his subjects. He wielded sovereign power and dictated punishments.[1916]

De Chelezac resided with a cousin of the king who lived about a day's journey from Cove Rock.[1917] Grevenbroek calls him Sotope or Sesee.[1918]

In 1686, pastoralists lived west of the Keiskamma River. The bands were named variously as Makanaena, Magoika and Managan. The Maquenasse and Caaw were called Inquase Hottentots and the name of their chief was Gamma.

The leaders whom the survivors encountered in present-day Mozambique were usually referred to as kings. In 1552 the survivors met a 'king' who lived north of Kosi Bay, who the author said was called "de Sá".[1919] In the Incomati River area there was another 'king' who was also not named.[1920]

[1912] Grevenbroek, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 133.
[1913] Vigne, op. cit., Note 30, p. 55.
[1914] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 36.
[1915] Vigne, op. cit., Note 43, p. 57.
[1916] De Chelezac, Tr. Vigne, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 36.
[1917] Ibid., p. 34.
[1918] Grevenbroek, in Vigne, p. 134.
[1919] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 15.
[1920] Ibid., p. 19.

In 1554 the survivors met King Inhaca who was living some distance south of Cape St Maria, possibly between Lake Mangalidge and Macumbe, near Maçhangulo. His residence was described as a town *(ciudade)* and the design suited its administration. There were courtyards around the houses and the area was enclosed by a fence of 'prickly pine trees' with three or four entrances. [1921]

Perestrello asserts that the Tembe River was the southernmost river that entered [Maputo] Bay and this divided the land of Chief Tembe from that of Inhaca. He named the next river as Santo Espiritu or Lourenço Marques and stated that this was the land of the chiefs Rumo and Mena Lobombo. The river Manisa was to the north and the chief who lived there was called Manisa.[1922]

It was commented that political organization was well regulated with villages having headmen under chiefs, who were responsible for law and order in their villages.[1923]

In 1589 the *São Thomé* survivors found that Chief Inhaca, who lived at Zitundo at the time, controlled the land east of the Maputo River and north of Kosi Bay and including the islands on the north shore. Chief Manhica ('Manisa' in the *São Bento* record) controlled land around the Incomati River. Chief Rumo was somewhere north of the Santo Espiritu. Chief Inhàpula and a Muslim member of his household, Inhatembe, had residences on the south bank of the Limpopo River. The kingdoms of Mamuça and Panda lay north of the Limpopo, with that of Panda being closer to the coast at Cape Correntes. The kingdom of Gamba was situated between the Inharrime River and Inhambane. Muslim traders were living on Bazaruto Island.[1924]

[1921] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op, cit., p. 270.
[1922] Ibid., p. 267.
[1923] Ibid., p. 278.
[1924] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 922-98.

In 1593 the survivors met Chief Inhaca "of gigantic stature, well-built, with a cheerful and pleasant countenance".[1925] His land extended from Kosi Bay to Cape St Maria and included Inhaca and Portuguese Islands.

In 1622 the son of chief 'Inhaca Sangana' was established probably at Zitundo, while the chief himself, 'a great personage' had his residence further north, probably near or between Lakes Mangalidge and Macumbe. 'Inhaca Manganheira' had his residence where there were large houses with palisaded courtyards, on Inhaca Island.[1926]

King Manhisa was located in the Incomati River area with a headman on Xefina Island. 'Lord' Hinhampuna lived near the Limpopo River with the Zavala or sheik at the Inharrime River. A great chief, Inhame, was established near Maxixe and King Osanha held sway on the mainland opposite Bazaruto Island.[1927]

In 1647 Chief 'Unyaca Sangoan' then lived closer to Kosi Bay, probably at Zitundo. Chief Machavane was established around the Santo Espiritu estuary. This text locates Chiefs Tembe the elder and the younger between there and the Incomati River.

Based on evidence from the 1593 narrative, it is suggested that although major rivers formed boundaries between chiefdoms, the residences of the major chiefs were on the watersheds between the rivers, but with drifts being controlled by one chief. This is in keeping with Daniel's observation that in Zululand in the early 1800s, seven out of ten royal kraal sites were situated on or within 10 km of watersheds. Dingiswayo for example sited his kraal on the watershed between the Mfolozi and Nseleni Rivers.[1928]

[1925] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 179.
[1926] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 246-248.
[1927] Ibid., pp. 252-266.
[1928] Daniel, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

Junod used the evidence from the 1552 Perestrello account to develop the historical record of the Thonga people who were the group of Bantu-speakers who at one time were settled on the eastern coast of Africa from Lake St Lucia to the Sabi River. They comprised a number of clans with six groups speaking dialects of the Thonga language.[1929] He noted that the Inhaca, Tembe, Mpfumu [Rumo], Manhisa and Libombo all had descendants at the time of his research. [1930]

In Mozambique, it is noticeable that many of the chief's names and chiefdoms mentioned in the survivor narratives have been retained in river and place names; Inhaca, Tembe, Boene, Cape Correntes, Inhambane, Manica. This could possibly indicate a more settled population over the four centuries than in the lands to the south.

According to Kirby, the people living north of the Mngazana River area in1782 were the abaMbo, with their chief being Ngqungqushe, father of Faku. His Great Place was at Lusikisiki. The amaShomane, lived south of the Mgazana River. These were people of white ancestry.

[1929] Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. I, Social Life,* First edition, 1912, Revised in 1927, reproduced (New York, University Books Inc., 1962), p. 13.
[1930] Ibid., p. 27

Conclusion:

The narratives are set within the framework of the existing knowledge of pre-colonial history in southern Africa.

Information contained in the narratives confirms that agriculturalists were well established in Mozambique, KwaZulu-Natal and in the more fertile inland regions of the Eastern Cape, close to rivers. These people had moved into lands which were suitable for both grazing and cultivation between the high inland plateau and the coastal plain at an earlier period. It is clear that during the period under review, the hunter-gatherers had already retreated to the more inhospitable upland areas of both provinces.

There is evidence that a 'stream' of agriculturalists expanded into the Eastern Cape moving south-west along the coast. It is postulated that there was a frontier which moved south along the coast from the Mzimkhulu River in the mid-1550s to the Fish River in the late 1700s.

Archaeologists have, however, found evidence that Iron Age people [agriculturalists] were present south of the Mzimkhulu in 400 to 600 AD, earlier than the observations of the survivors.

The narratives also contain information on settlement patterns at the time and political organisation, including the recorded names of chiefs, which isiXhosa- and isiZulu speakers may be able to interpret.

The frontier model may not be suitable to illustrate the movement of agriculturalists through the Eastern Cape at this period. It has, however, been a theoretical framework within which to structure the analysis of the evidence. The integration of the extra information from the narratives can be analysed by experts in the relevant disciplines and a contribution made to the debate about the movement of peoples in the pre-colonial historical period.

Chapter 17

THE SLAVES AND 'OTHERS' AS SETTLERS

Introduction:

An important issue, which has been little recognised or appreciated, is that the Dutch *Bennebroeck* and all the Portuguese ships carried slaves. One aim of this section of the dissertation is to make a contribution to the existing knowledge of the Indian Ocean slave trade.

Another significant point is that large numbers of the survivors chose to remain in present-day KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape instead of proceeding to Mozambique in the hope of being rescued. All the narratives contain numbers of the survivors, but they do not constitute a complete record. The number of slaves who survived is only mentioned in some of the accounts.

Table 21 shows the statistics given in the texts for the survivors of the wrecks and journeys.

It is clear from the records that large numbers of slaves and some Portuguese remained with the indigenous people and made successful settlers. Rather than work in generalities, an attempt has been made to utilise the known figures and make reasoned numerical estimates of the number of survivors who remained in present-day KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape during the period under review.

Table 21

SURVIVORS OF WRECKS AND JOURNEYS: 1552-1782

SHIP	European Survivors	Slave Survivors	Total	Europeans rescued	Slaves rescued	Total
São João	**180**	306	486	**8** (Inhamb.)	**17**	**25**
São Bento	**98**	**224**	**322**	**56** (In. Is..)	**6**	**62**
São Thomé	**98**	**0**	**98**	**86** (B.Is.)	**-**	**86**
Santo Alberto	**125**	**160**	**285**	**117** (In. Is.)	**65**	**182**
São João Baptista			**279**	**31** (Inhamb.)		**31**
N.S. Atalaia			310	**125**(X.Is.)	**30**	**155**
S.Sacramento			**72**	**5** (In. Is.)	**4**	**9**
Grosvenor		-	**123**			**19**
Leave on ship						
São Gonçalo		**0**	**100**	**100**		**100**
N. S. Belém			**272**			252
Doddington	**23**	-	**23**	**22**	**-**	**22**
Rescued						
Stavenisse	**47**	-	**47**		-	**19**
Bennebroeck			**77**	**4**	**1**	**5**

The figures in bold are recorded in the texts.
The figures in normal type are deductions.

Survivors' rescue locations:
In. I. – Inhaca Island
X.Is. –Xefina Island
Inhamb. – Inhambane
B.I. – Bazaruto Island

Vink notes that "Slavery, far from being a 'peculiar institution', has deep and far-reaching roots, stretching back at least to the beginning of historical times in many parts of the world".[1931] He quotes Drescher and Engerman, editors of *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (1998), who state "In comparison with the literature on the trans-Atlantic slave trade, a number of topics in the slave trade in Asia and Oceana remain under-researched".[1932] He further points out that "The Atlantic slave trade has been mapped out in relatively great detail in numerous studies, its Indian Ocean counter part, 'the world's oldest trade' in the 'oldest oceanic world' or 'newest old world' has remained largely uncharted territory and overlooked in Asian colonial historiography."[1933]

Slave trading around the Indian Ocean dated to 1580 B.C. and was one of the oldest slave trading areas in the world.[1934] During the period under review, slavery was widely regarded as an acceptable institution. Shell points out that in antiquity, slavery was never a moral issue and the injustice was only perceived once the institution became biracial.[1935]

Arabs had been capturing slaves in East Africa, since at least 800 AD, and supplying markets in Arabia, 'Irak', Turkey, Persia and India.[1936] With the creation of the Portuguese empire in the east, fortified trading posts were established along the east coast of Africa to facilitate trade, which included obtaining slaves. Arab trading centres were taken over and fortresses built in 1505 and 1506 at Sofala and on Moçambique Island.[1937] The Portuguese did not interfere with the Swahili slave raiders.[1938] They

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[1931] Vink, M., "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 14 [2], 2003,op. cit., p. 132.
[1932] Ibid., p. 131.
[1933] Vink., "' Work of Compassion?' Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century", in Worden, N., ed., *Contingent Lives*, (Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 2007), p, 454
[1934] Shell, R., *Children of Bondage*, (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1997), p. xxxiv.
[1935] Ibid., p. xxxv.
[1936] Coupland, R., *The Exploitation of East Africa 1856-1890*, (London, Faber and Faber, 1939), p. 134.
[1937] Axelson, E*., Portuguese in South-Eastern Africa: 1488-1600*, (Johannesburg, Struik, 1973), pp. 38, 61.
[1938] Duffy, J*., Portuguese Africa*, (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 45.

bought slaves from these traders and exported the slaves first to India and then to Brazil.[1939]

In the period under study, there was no mention of slaves being on board the *Stavenisse*, *Doddington* or *Grosvenor.* In the studies which have been undertaken on the Indian Ocean slave trade, none of the authorities consulted utilised the information contained in these shipwreck narratives. Shell and Braga record them, but do not analyse the evidence.[1940]

The Portuguese trade in slaves from East Africa was not initially as important as the European trade with West Africa. In the east gold and ivory were the main desirable commodities. For some time the export from Mozambique to India rarely reached 1000 slaves per year.[1941] Only in the seventeenth century did slaves become a major commodity in the European trade.[1942]

The African slaves were mostly drawn from the area around Kilwa (in Kenya) and the coastal hinterland where people like the 'Makua', 'Makonde', 'Ndona' and 'Ngindo', were captured by slave traders.[1943] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they came from the coastal hinterland between Sofala and Quelimane (in Mozambique).[1944] In the late nineteenth century, the route to the coast at Kilwa was from Lake Nyasa [Malawi] and Bagamoyo to Tabora and then to Lake Tanganyika.[1945] Other recognised routes from the interior to the coast were from west of Lake Malawi, crossing the lake at Karonga, or skirting the northern end with the captives being collected at the villages of

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[1939] Coupland, op. cit., p. 134.
[1940] Shell, R., "The global context of slavery in Africa 632 AD to c. 1900" and Braga, O., "Wrecks of slavers along the coast of South Africa", in *From Diaspora to Diorama: The UNESCO Slave Trade Feasibility* Study, (UNESCO, 2000.
[1941] Alpers, E. A., *The East African Slave Trade*, (Nairobi, Historical Ass. of Tanzania, 1967), p. 7.
[1942] Duffy, op. cit., p. 45.
[1943] Alpers, op. cit., p. 19.
[1944] Duffy, op. cit., p. 26.
[1945] Coupland, op. cit., p.137.

Yao chiefs, Makanjira and Zerafi. There they were traded for guns and cloth.[1946] There was also evidence of slaves being exported from Lourenço Marques [Maputo] and Inhambane [in Mozambique].[1947]

When in Malindi in 1624, Lobo, the Catholic priest who was one of the *Belém* survivors, reported that

> "good slaves are bought in this land, especially some called *maracatos*, who are a certain tribe of Muslims, who live inland at a distance of one or two days' journey from the sea, extending many tens of leagues forming a belt along that whole coast behind the Muslims, who live closer to the water. The *maracatos* are people of good facial features, not very black in colour, with handsome bodies, and the men are active and tall." [1948]

It has been suggested that these people were from Somalia.[1949]

Based on an account by a French trader, Jean Mocquet, who visited Goa in the first half of the seventeenth century, Hall states that many of the slaves taken by the Portuguese were Indians, with some from Japan and China.[1950] Watson notes that the slaves in the Cape came from Madagascar, Mozambique, Ceylon, India, the East Indies, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and Japan.[1951]

The survivor narratives show that the slaves were not always Africans. The captain and officers of the ships, as well as wealthy passengers, owned many slaves, including women and children. Slaves were recorded as coming from India (Malabar, Canarin [Goa], Gujerat and Bengal), China, Japan, Java and Malaya. It is probable that the

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[1946] Tindall, P.E.N., *History of Central Africa*, (London, Longman, 1968, reprints to 1987), pp. 125-127.
[1947] Harries, P., "Slavery, social incorporation, surplus extraction: the nature of free and unfree labour in South-East Africa, "*Journal of African History*, Vol. 22 [3], 1981, p. 312.
[1948] Lobo, *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, Ed. Da Costa, D.G., Tr. Lockhart, D., (London, Hakluyt Society, 1984), p. 59.
[1949] Beckingham. in Da Costa, op. cit., note 1, p. 59.
[1950] Hall, R., *Empires of the Monsoon*, (London, Harper Collins, 1996), pp. 325-326.
[1951] Watson, R., The Slave Question, (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1990), p. 10.

people from the East were in the service of the Portuguese and it was the African slaves who were destined for the plantations in Brazil.

In the accounts, the references can be confusing. Slaves were referred to as 'our Negroes', 'negroes', 'Cafres' or 'Kaffirs' and 'cabras'. A cabra has been defined as a person who had one parent who was a 'negro' [an African].[1952] In the texts, the term 'cabra' was used to describe a slave from India, who belonged to one of the Portuguese passengers or ship's officers. The indigenous people were called either 'Kaffirs' ['Cafres' in the original Portuguese texts] or 'Negroes'. The context has to be considered when deciding when the references were to slaves and when to the indigenous people.

Lavanha [1593] and D'Almada [1622] use both terms 'Negro' and 'Kaffir' to describe the indigenous people, with no differentiation between types implied. During their journeys, the term 'slave' was usually avoided, unless to describe a specific incident concerning one or more.

The term 'slave' was only used once by Lobo [1635 *Nossa Senhora da Belém*]. This was at the time of the wreck when some survivors were trying to reach the shore in a small boat and were in danger of overturning. It was commented that it was "the slaves, however, who exerted themselves enough to carry the boat closer to the beach".[1953] Thereafter they were referred to as 'negroes', 'Cafres' or 'cabras'. There must have been a fairly large complement as it was stated that when constructing the ships, "The negroes who were numerous, were assigned, some serving their masters who were busy working, the others, and when necessary all of them, to hauling the wood."[1954]

[1952] Beckingham, in Da Costa, op. cit., note 1, p. 340.
[1953] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 320.
[1954] Ibid., p.351.

Hubberly used the term 'native' to describe the indigenous people, but on one occasion, Leary, for no perceptible reason, referred to the women who lived with a 'black Portuguese' as 'Coffrees'.[1955]

The use of the term 'Caffre' or 'Kaffir' was originally used by the Arabs in Africa, meaning an infidel or 'unbeliever' in the Muslim faith.[1956] When the Portuguese arrived in East Africa they adopted the term to refer to the Africans, which also involved an implicit understanding that the Africans were 'unbelievers' in terms of their Catholic faith as well. The term 'negro', also used in the narratives, was a more correct term as the dictionary defines it as referring to the "black or dark-skinned group of populations that originated in Africa, south of the Sahara."[1957]

[1955] Dalrymple, Evidence of Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 43.
[1956] Hawkins, J. and Allen, R., Eds, *The Oxford Encyclopedic Dictionary*, (Oxford, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 776.
[1957] Ibid.,, p. 973.

The Settlers:

The unknown author of the *São João* narrative claims that 500 people survived, of whom 180 were Portuguese.[1958] In accepting that the 180 was a relative figure, and extrapolating the ratio of Portuguese to slaves (as illustrated in Table 25), the total number of survivors was 486. Only 14 slaves finally reached Inhambane and were rescued. [1959] These were all servants of the passengers so were probably all Asians. The slave women had an important role to play in this shipwreck narrative. Three of these slaves survived and reached Goa where they told how they saw D. Leonor die. [1960] Their version entered into Portuguese literature through the works of Luis de Camões, Garcia de Resende and Gil Vicente.[1961]

There were 322 survivors from the *São Bento* in1554**,** of whom 98 were Portuguese and 224 were slaves.[1962] Fifty six Portuguese arrived at Chief Inhaca's residence on the Inhaca Peninsula,[1963] but five months later, when a trading ship arrived, there were only 20 Portuguese and three slaves left.[1964] One female slave had been left at the wreck site as she had a broken leg, but the fate of the rest of the slaves was not recorded.

The slaves on board the *São Thomé* of 1589 never reached land as the lifeboat only accommodated some of the crew and important passengers.

There were 285 survivors from the *Santo Alberto* of 1593, and of these 160 were slaves.[1965] This was the most successful journey as 117 passengers and crew reached Inhaca Island, together with 65 slaves.[1966] The record includes references to slaves

[1958] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
[1959] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[1960] Ibid., p. 24.
[1961] Duffy, op. cit., p. 15.
[1962] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 227.
[1963] Ibid., p. 270.
[1964] Ibid., p. 281.
[1965] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 115.
[1966] Ibid., p. 183.

coming from Malabar,[1967] Java and Japan.[1968] There were also people referred to as 'negroes' or 'Kaffirs', who were presumably African. Many of the slaves were owned by ship's officers and passengers and these probably had their origins in India and other Eastern countries. The 65 slaves who chose to accompany the survivors back to India were probably Asians.

The survivors of the *São João Baptista* in 1622 had an exceptionally long journey, extending from Cannon Rocks, west of Port Alfred, to Inhambane, a distance of 1154 kilometres. There were 279 survivors from the wreck and only 31 were finally rescued. No numbers of slaves were given, either at the wreck or as survivors of the journey.[1969] Some slaves did accompany the group at least as far as the Limpopo River, but none were mentioned as being part of the rescued group.

When it came to sharing out provisions when they were available, the slaves certainly received very little, if any, so were often forced to try to obtain food by negotiating with the local people separately. On one occasion it was stated that a 'negress' was hung for private trading.[1970] On another, "the captain ordered two little Negroes, one belonging to Thomé Coelho and the other to Dona Ursula, to be hanged, simply for stealing two small pieces of meat. The eldest was not twelve years of age." [1971]

One group of slaves remained behind at the Mbhashe River, together with two or three Portuguese. Some later rejoined the main group as there had been unfair dealings with the Portuguese and one, Gaspar Fixit, had been killed.[1972] In spite of the opposition of other Portuguese in the group, the captain accused the two messengers of killing the Portuguese and ordered that they be hanged.

[1967] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 130, 152, 230.
[1968] Ibid., p. 152.
[1969] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 199, 270.
[1970] Ibid., p. 216.
[1971] Ibid., p. 220.
[1972] Ibid., pp. 222-225.

These savage reprisals brought trouble within the group and alienated the local people. Even some of the survivors recognised that the unfair treatment of the slaves by the captain could have unpleasant repercussions, "We were deeply distressed at this news, seeing it was touch and go that our own Negroes had not rebelled against us, and we gave thanks to God, beseeching his mercy."[1973]

This took place at the Mzimvubu River, where the survivors' treatment of the local people had gained their enmity, and no provisions were available from them. As a result the survivors were very hungry and hardly were the hanged men dead, than they were cut down and eaten.[1974]

D'Almada, who only took over as leader later in the journey, could appreciate that in the circumstances in which the survivors found themselves and where there was inter-dependence for survival, the rigid social divisions in society, which had prevailed in their home circumstances, were no longer applicable and slaves could not be treated as unpaid servants.[1975] He noted that in territory where the local people were hostile and the survivors needed to find a place to cross a river "I therefore sent one of our Negroes to sound it with a pole in his hand to find the passage, and that he might do it willingly I gave him a golden chain: for here they were no longer our slaves, and it was necessary to keep them satisfied in order to prevent them from fleeing to the local Negroes."[1976]

Nuno Velho Pereira, of the *Santo Alberto*, and Vaz D'Almada were the only two leaders who recognised that in a survival situation, co-operation and inter-dependence were more important than the rigid class divisions which were prevalent in European society at that time. Pereira's insistence that provisions be equally apportioned resulted in a well-functioning group and contributed to the success of this journey.

[1973] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 225.
[1974] Ibid., p. 225.
[1975] Lobo, Tr., Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 254.
[1976] Ibid., p. 254.

The *São Gonçalo* record is one where the slaves are not mentioned. All the Portuguese ships of the period carried slaves, so they must have been part of the ship's complement. There is the possibility that they were on board, but possibly stayed on the ship and went down in the storm or that the African slaves, in particular, went ashore and quickly linked up with the local pastoralists, but it was not thought worth mentioning in the record.

There were many slave women on board the *Atalaia*. One of the trips made by the longboat to the shore when the ship was sinking carried the Portuguese women and "all the negresses we had on board." [1977] In this account, there were references to people from Malabar,[1978] Malay,[1979] China[1980] and Goa [Canarin].[1981] There were 30 'negro' slaves recorded as having arrived at the Incomati River.[1982] Although referred to as 'negroes', they included a 'Canarin' and as it is unlikely that Africans would have wanted to return to servitude in India, it is assumed that they were Asians. Four of these people were from the *Sacramento*, so there were 26 there. During the long wait, two of the slaves ran off,[1983] so only 24 finally made it to India.

There were 72 survivors from the *Santissimo Sacramento* in 1647.[1984] Only nine joined up with the *Atalaia* survivors. Of these, one was a 'Canarin', one was from Malabar and one was described as a 'Kaffir'.[1985]

The survivors of the *Stavenisse* warned the Dutch authorities not to look for slaves among the Xhosa people:

[1977] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit. p. 304.
[1978] Ibid., p. 337.
[1979] Ibid., p. 337.
[1980] Ibid., p. 343.
[1981] Ibid., p. 350.
[1982] Ibid., p. 357
[1983] Ibid., p. 358.
[1984] Ibid., p. 351.
[1985] Ibid., p. 349.

> "It would be impossible to buy any slaves here for they would not part with their children or any of their connections for anything in the world, loving one another with a most remarkable strength of affection."[1986]

Some, such as Jerónimo Lobo, the Catholic priest, who was a survivor of the *Belém* and author of one of the accounts, condemned the conditions imposed on captive people. While on a voyage where some 800 slaves were being transported from Loanda to Brazil in 1636, Lobo commented with some asperity,

> "we experienced nothing worthy of note other than seeing the miserable life and unfortunate fate of those poor creatures, put in the bottom of the ship as if they were vicious criminals, with no such guilt to justify such treatment, captivity and misery than their colour and our greed. God seems to be punishing us for since we condemn to perpetual captivity free people who are driven to such despair that some of them, unable to endure the heat, the lack of room, the foul odour and food, and such a multitude of people in such a small place, being allowed to go out for air only once a day and for a short time, when they were able to escape from such cruelty, threw themselves into the sea and were drowned. Of those who were on our ship, six such desperate people perished in this way." [1987]

Where resources were available, it is likely that the Africans would have asked permission from the chief concerned if they could remain with a community. Those who came from Bantu-speaking groups would have found no difficulty in adapting to a similar culture and having a language related to their own. Negotiations with the chief and/or the people would have been without the knowledge of the Portuguese, so they were rarely mentioned in the texts.

Among the *São João* survivors, when in the Incomati River area, a black woman in the company was able to act as an intermediary as she was "beginning to understand a

[1986] Janz and others, 'Dispatch to the Council', in Vigne, op. cit., p. 89.
[1987] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 387.

little of their language".[1988] Later a 'woman from Sofala' acted as translator.[1989] She was probably the same person referred to earlier and indications are that she could have been a Swahili, as she had remained with the survivor group and had not felt welcome further south.

A ship's boy and a female slave, who each had a broken leg, were left at the wreck site [Msikaba River] by the *São Bento* survivors in 1554.[1990] As there was no settlement there, it is unlikely that they survived. There was no further mention of slaves remaining behind, but it is highly likely that the African slaves remained with the local people at places where they would have been accepted.

Some 72 African slaves survived the wreck of the *Santo Alberto* in 1593. In a few cases, the places where they remained were mentioned, but most were unrecorded. These were probably Africans who were able to be integrated into African communities with such ease that it caused no comment.

Three 'negroes', presumably African, remained with Chief Luspance, north of the Kwelera River.[1991] Two men and one woman [African] slaves found a home with a clan just south of the Mzimvubu River.[1992] Two African slaves remained with Chief Mabomborucassobelo[1993] in the Flagstaff area.[1994]

In 1622, the local people who visited the survivors at the wreck site at Cannon Rocks, spoke with clicks which were incomprehensible to both the Portuguese and the slaves.[1995] They then found that "We had with us a Kaffir who turned up at the place where we landed, a native of the island of Angoxa, who was the only one that our Kaffir

[1988] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
[1989] Ibid., p. 19.
[1990] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol I, op. cit., p. 227.
[1991] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 130.
[1992] Ibid., p. 146.
[1993] Ibid., p. 152.
[1994] Ibid., p. 152.
[1995] Ibid., p. 198.

slaves could understand."[1996] The implication is that this man was living among the local people as he 'turned up', that he could understand the Khoisan language of these people, but also could communicate with the African slaves among the group.

The Angoche Islands are situated off the northern coast of Mozambique, near to Moçambique Island. This is a distance of well over a thousand kilometres from Cannon Rocks. It is highly unlikely that this man had walked so far south, so it is more probable that he was a slave from one of the previous wrecks and had linked up with the local people. The closest in time would have been the *Santo Espiritu*, wrecked near Morgan Bay in 1608, or closer in distance could have been the *Santo Alberto,* wrecked near the Kwelera River in 1593.

He was certainly treated with little ceremony by the survivors as he was taken captive in order to act as a guide,[1997] but later "Fearing lest he should tell the Kaffirs of our weak points, such as that our matchlocks could not be used when it rained … we resolved to put him to death."[1998]

By the time the survivors had reached the Kei River, some form of communication with the local people could be made. This can be inferred by the comment that on one occasion it was noted

> "for by carelessness or forgetfulness we had not brought an interpreter with us to explain what we wanted, nor had we asked the captain for one, although these Kaffirs could understand the Negro slaves we had brought with us from India."[1999]

This does not mean that the so-called 'Negro slaves' were Indian, as the practice was for the trading ships to transport African slaves and trade goods to India. From there they would have been loaded onto the larger carracks which would have transported

[1996] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 201
[1997] Ibid., p. 201.
[1998] Ibid., p. 207.
[1999] Ibid., p. 208.

them to Lisbon. The interpreters found near the Kei River could have been Bantu-speakers from Africa.

At the Mtwalume River, these *São João Baptista* survivors were met by a *Santo Alberto* ex-slave. He was described as a 'Kaffir', but spoke Portuguese. When asked to accompany them, he refused stating that "the Kaffirs would not allow him, because he gave them rain when it was required, and he was already old and had children." [2000] Near the Msikaba River, "three of our servant girls who were married to three of our Kaffirs remained here, two of them being Kaffirs and the other a Javanese."[2001]

Lobo, from the *Belém* [1635], stated that many of the slaves from this wreck (in the lower reaches of the lands bordering the Mzimvubu River) tried to find homes with the local people, but they were not always successful. He stated that the

> "Cafres, who seeing people of their own colour, land, inclinations and features, yearned for the freedom, albeit barbarous, which they could have among them, esteeming it more highly than captivity in a Christian land with the means for their salvation it provides, so that some of them began to flee, not only Cafres but *cabras* from India as well. The first, either because they found a good welcome and free acceptance into the society of the native Cafres or because they died of hunger and bad treatment, were never heard of again, nor did we ever learn what happened to them. Others, who were the majority of those who attempted to flee on different occasions, were treated to such a reception by the Cafres that they came back in a very few days, more content and less incensed with life among us."[2002]

Those who were never heard of again were undoubtedly Africans. Some 12 years later, the *Atalaia* survivors met three *Belém* survivors in the area around the Mzimvubu River who were Asians, so in spite of Lobo's claim, some Asians did remain and adapt successfully.

[2000] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 235.
[2001] Ibid., p. 230.
[2002] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., pp. 360-361.

The survivors of 1647 made problems for themselves by the unequal distribution of resources and the slaves were the main sufferers. Some of the African slaves, who had been promised rewards if they carried Dom Duarte in a litter, gave up the unequal task and fled.[2003] This was probably at the Mpande River. When the survivors arrived at the Mzimvubu River the local people were prepared to trade at first. The captain issued an order that there was to be no private trading, but it was clear that provisions were not divided equally and three slaves, ('our negroes') and three seamen tried to obtain food for which they were punished. The whites were "led through the camp by a rope, their offence proclaimed, and their hands pierced".[2004] One of the slaves was executed and the other two severely whipped. This led to internal problems and trade dried up.

The many Asian slaves were often referred to by their countries of origin and many were personal servants of passengers and officers. They would not have found it as easy as the Africans to make the transition to a new culture.

Only 14 from the *São João* group finally survived the journey, including at least three women.[2005]. They were probably personal servants to the Portuguese women, including Dona Leonor, and accompanied the captain's party when they left the Incomati River. [2006] One was referred to as her 'nanny'.[2007] It was recorded that five slave women 'cried bitterly' when Dona Leonor and her children died.[2008]
The survivors of the *São Bento* encountered ex-slaves from the *São João*. At the Mkhomazi River, Gaspar, described as a 'Moor' [a Muslim] joined the group and travelled with them to Mozambique.[2009] He had probably found it difficult to practice his religion alone and decided to take a chance with another group. Other *São* Joã*o* slave

[2003] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 316.
[2004] Ibid., p. 321.
[2005] Anon, Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
[2006] Ibid., pp. 21-22.
[2007] Anon, Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 23.
[2008] Ibid., p. 24.
[2009] Perestrello, Tr., Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 235-236.

survivors were two who were living in the Bay of Natal area[2010] and a man from Malabar had settled just north of the Bay.[2011] In the St Lucia Bay area, there was a "young man from Guzerat".[2012]

The *Santo Alberto* record of 1593 includes details of where 13 of the slaves remained. Five of these records are of Asians. This suggests that there would have had to have been some negotiation with the local chiefs for their acceptance. The captain's slave, an Indian woman, and one from Malabar remained with local people under Chief Luspance, north of the Kwelera River. [2013] One Javanese and one 'Malabari', stayed with Chief Mabomborucassobelo in the Flagstaff area.[2014]

In 1622, the survivors encountered a Javanese ex-slave in the Mboyti River area, who assisted them in trading.[2015] At the Msikaba River, they found a man who had come from Malabar, and who then had two wives and 20 children. It was commented that his daughters were "the most beautiful Negresses in those parts."[2016]

A later record from the *Belém* indicated that two ex-slaves from the *São João Baptista* [referred to as the *São João*] were well established in the Mzimvubu area. One was a 'Cafre' named Domingos and the other was named João. Domingos apparently drowned while trying to swim over a river, [although this is questionable] and the other was killed by the survivors as they thought he was a spy.[2017]

The *Belém* survivors also had contact with an ex-slave from the *Santo Alberto* who lived in the Mzimvubu River area. He was a man named Antonio, described as a 'Christian *cabra*'. It was said that he had been left at that place from the wreck of the 'Sam

[2010] Ibid., p. 237.
[2011] Ibid., p. 238.
[2012] Ibid., p. 251.
[2013] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 129, 130.
[2014] Ibid., p. 152.
[2015] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 228-229.
[2016] Ibid., p. 230.
[2017] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in da Costa, op. cit., p. 357.

Alberto' as a very small child. Lobo incorrectly stated that the wreck had been 48 years earlier [it was 42] and claimed that this man had been there for 60 years. He was now called Mangabome. He could understand and speak Portuguese, had the reputation for being a rainmaker and was said to be wealthy.[2018]

It is doubtful if Antonio had been a 'very small child' when the ship was wrecked as then he would have lost the ability to speak Portuguese and is unlikely to have known that he had been a Christian. The reference to 60 years could mean that this appeared to be his age at that time. This would mean that he had been 18 at the time of the wreck. Antonio had two wives and several children and grandchildren.[2019]

This record is an indication of the mobility of the local people as the *Santo Alberto* wreck occurred near the Kwelera River, some 220 kilometres away and the survivors had moved inland so came nowhere near the mouth of the Mzimvubu River.

At the wreck site of the *Atalaia* in 1647, three slaves, who had been injured and could not walk, remained. They were a 'Kaffir', a 'cabra' and a little 'negress', who were slaves belonging to the author and crew members.[2020] A 'little Kaffir girl' and two 'little cabras' were found alive by the *Sacramento* survivors.[2021]
About ten km north of the wreck site another little 'negress' remained with a nun, Joanna do Espirito, and a lady, Dona Barbara.[2022] The *Sacramento* survivors also found Dona Barbara still alive but the nun was dead.[2023] She, and probably the little girl, must have been given food and water by the local people in order to have still been alive as it was over a month later when the *Sacramento* survivors passed.

[2018] Ibid., p. 340-341.
[2019] Ibid., pp. 342, 343, 358,
[2020] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII , op. cit., p. 308.
[2021] Ibid., p. 351.
[2022] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII , op. cit., pp. 309-310.
[2023] Ibid., p. 351.

Many of the Asians were given no reason to remain loyal to the group. A "little Chinese and a Kaffir who had belonged to Domingos de Sousa", remained in the region of the Qhora River.[2024] At the Mntafufu River, a slave belonging to a friend of the captain fled.[2025] Later two 'cabras' absconded. [2026] Just north of the Mzimkhulu River, three slaves, one who had belonged to one of the friars, left the group.[2027] At the Mtwalume River, a 'little negro of Malabar', who belonged to one of the priests, was left behind. In the same area, a woman described as a 'freed negress' and her son, who had belonged to the nun, and another Malay woman remained.[2028] While crossing the Thukela River, a Chinese, belonging to the captain, was nearly left behind.[2029] In the St Lucia area, nine people remained. They included 'a Canarin and two slaves'.[2030]

Penalties for lack of obedience were harsh. One of the slaves, named João, who had refused to continue carrying the litter, was captured, accused of stealing and hanged.[2031]

Near the Msikaba River "a young man from India, a very skilful surgeon, remained on this shore, because he could go no further".[2032] He could very well have survived as the local people would have valued his skill.

The *Atalaia* survivors encountered ex-slaves from the *Belém* some 12 years later. One, described as a 'Kaffir' who spoke Portuguese, called João, introduced himself when they were at the Mbhashe River. He assisted the survivors with trading but refused to go with them as he was married.[2033] In the region of the Mzimvubu River, another

[2024] Ibid., p. 312..
[2025] Ibid., pp. 324-325.
[2026] Ibid., p. 231.
[2027] Ibid., p. 336.
[2028] Ibid., p. 337.
[2029] Ibid., p. 343.
[2030] Ibid., p. 350.
[2031] Ibid., p. 323.
[2032] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII , op. cit., p. 327.
[2033] Ibid., pp. 313-314.

'Kaffir', who spoke Portuguese and was named Benamusa, joined the *Atalaia* group.[2034] While not stated, he was probably also from the *Belém*. One of the groups of these survivors, who moved inland, met a 'good-looking Kaffir' who spoke Portuguese and was prepared to trade. "It was inferred that the said Kaffir had been left there when a child from some shipwreck".[2035] Surprisingly they did not deduce that in all probability he was also a *Belém* survivor. In that region the survivors met Benamusa again, "who seemed to be a person of some authority" and who gave them two guides.[2036]

The number of slaves who survived the wreck of the *Santissimo Sacramento* of 1647 was not recorded. Four joined the *Atalaia* survivor group near St. Lucia. They were a 'Canarin' (from Goa), a 'mulatto', one from Malabar, and a 'Kaffir'.[2037] Three were not Africans. The so-called 'kaffir' was possibly a man from one of the northern coastal regions who spoke Swahili and had decided not to remain with a local group.

There were 20 survivors of the *Bennebroeck*, described as 'convicts and slaves'.[2038] Only one of the 11 who crossed the Fish River, described as a Malabar, arrived at Cape Town, but it is likely that at least some of the remaining 10 would have preferred to remain with local people if they were accepted. The seven slaves, who were supported by the local people in the Keiskamma River area, probably all survived and became acculturated.

The narratives reflect that, in spite of cultural and linguistic differences, many of the Asians encountered by subsequent survivor groups had settled among the local Africans, absorbed their culture and had become wealthy and respected members of their communities.

[2034] Ibid., p. 318.
[2035] Ibid., pp. 328-329.
[2036] Ibid., p. 331.
[2037] Ibid., p. 349.
[2038] Marchand, Tr. Leibrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 261.

Mountain points out that, by the time the Dutch were established at the Cape, it was well known "that the amaXhosa chiefs were well-disposed to runaway slaves who had many skills, were easily assimilated and, as they were dependent on patrons, their loyalty was unequivocal".[2039]

The Europeans in the narratives were Portuguese, Dutch and English, with the French being mentioned.

It was reported that 180 Portuguese survived the wreck of the *São João* in 1552, but only eight were finally rescued.[2040] By the time the group had reached the Bay of Natal area, it was said that ten or twelve people had already been lost. These included the illegitimate son of the Captain, Manuel de Sousa, who was ten or twelve years old, together with the slave who was carrying him. The boy was apparently frail from starvation.[2041] About seven Portuguese, including the nephew of the governor of India, were lost north of the Bay of Natal, "from sheer hunger and the labour of the march".[2042] Not all of the people died. There was a chance of the little boy's survival, as the slave, once away from the group, could have sought shelter from the local people. As reported by the later groups, this was an area where the indigenous people were successful farmers, with resources to spare, and they might well have assisted two people in need of hospitality and who offered no threat.

There is an indication that Europeans could well have become acculturated and survived in the example set by Rodrigo Tristaõ, a survivor from the *São João*. In 1554, the survivors from the *São Bento* met a man who they considered to be one of 'a group of Kaffirs' as he was naked and was carrying a bundle of assegais, until they observed

[2039] Mountain, A., *An Unsung Heritage*, (Cape Town, David Philip, 2004), p.58.
[2040] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 13, 24.
[2041] Ibid., p. 13.
[2042] Ibid., p. 13.

his hair and his speech. He had become so acculturated that he was indistinguishable from his hosts.[2043]

The account of the *São Bento* [1554] recorded that the ship's caulker, who was old, and the cooper, who was wounded, remained in a village on the Mtenthu River.[2044] These two men, who had valuable skills, could easily have survived. Two Portuguese remained at the Mtwalume River.[2045] The narrative showed that 98 Portuguese survived the wreck with 56 making it to the Inhaca peninsula. Only 20 were finally rescued and the record indicates that they had died while waiting for the ship.[2046] This was probably from malaria or a tropical disease.

The *Santo Alberto* narrative indicates that 125 Portuguese survived the wreck and 117 survived the trip.[2047] Only one Portuguese man was left just south of the Mzimvubu River as he was too ill to continue.[2048] He is unlikely to have survived as he was not left with a community.

In the vicinity of the Keiskamma River, a young girl, daughter of a Portuguese man who had died on the *São João Baptista* of 1622, was left behind in the vicinity of the Keiskamma River. For a time she had been carried on a litter, but the bearers refused to continue and as "she had no one but her little brother to impress upon the captain the great cruelty of leaving a young and beautiful damsel to the lions and tigers in the wilderness", she was abandoned.[2049]

> "She lay down on the round, covering herself with a skirt of black taffeta that she wore, and every now and then as the people passed by she uncovered her face and said 'Ah! Cruel Portuguese, who have no pity on a poor young girl, a Portuguese like yourselves, and leave her to become food for beasts, may Our Lord bring you to your homes." [2050]

[2043] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 238, 283.
[2044] Ibid., p. 230.
[2045] Ibid., p. 235.
[2046] Ibid., pp. 227, 270, 281.
[2047] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 115, 183.
[2048] Ibid., p. 146.
[2049] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 202.
[2050] Ibid., p.. 203.

Her brother remained with her. As this was not a well-populated area at the time, their only chance of survival would have been if the brother had managed to meet with some pastoralists, who might have assisted them.

At the village near the Mbhashe River, another Portuguese woman, Beatriz Alvarez, and her three children, a two year old girl, two sons aged 17 and 5, the little girl's African nurse and 'a few others' remained behind as they were too weak to continue.[2051] It was later reported that Beatriz and Da Sousa were very ill and near death.[2052] It is suggested, however, that the three children and the nurse had good chances of surviving and becoming integrated into the society. A Portuguese and a sailor remained near the Mbotyi River.[2053] Another sailor, Bernardo Jorge, remained at the Bay of Natal.[2054] Around the Mfolosi River, many people were left behind suffering what was described as dysentery and other diseases which they ascribed to eating raw millet and possibly other poisonous things.[2055] After the privations they had suffered, their health could not have been good and their deaths are more likely to have been from malaria or a tropical disease.

Dona Ursula and her eldest son, Antonio de Mello, remained with Chief Manhisa in the Incomati River area. She was described as being young and beautiful, the Chief promising that she would want for nothing.[2056] A total of 31 made it to Inhambane, but at that place four elected to remain with the local people.[2057]

There are very good chances that those who remained behind could have survived. Over-eating is not usually fatal. Dona Ursula and her son are highly likely to have survived under the care of the chief.

[2051] Ibid., p. 212.
[2052] Ibid., p. 223.
[2053] Ibid., p. 229.
[2054] Ibid., p. 239.
[2055] Ibid., p. 240.
[2056] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 252.
[2057] Ibid., pp. 199, 270.

The Portuguese women among the survivors of the *Atalaia* could not keep up with the men. About ten kilometres from Cefane, a lady passenger, Dona Barbara, a nun, Joanna, and three others remained as the women could not walk and the others were ill.[2058] As has been noted, when the survivors from the *Sacramento* passed, about a month later, they reported that the nun was dead, but Dona Barbara was still alive.[2059] It is very likely that she survived as she must have been fed by the local people to still be alive after a month. A sailor and a passenger remained at the Kei River.[2060] A wealthy, but overweight noble, Dom Sebastião, remained near the Kei River.[2061] With no mention of a village, it is unlikely that he would have survived for long. The ship's cooper, João Lopez, remained at the Mzimvubu River, with an injured leg.[2062] He, however, could have survived as he had a skill, which could have been put to good use.

Of the *Atalaia* survivors in 1647, 124 Portuguese arrived at the Incomati River.[2063] During the long wait of six months for a trading ship, many died.[2064] The number of those who were finally rescued was not given.

Six of the survivors from the *Santissimo Sacramento* of 1647 who joined up with the Atalaia survivors near Lake St Lucia, were Portuguese

The *Stavenisse* of 1686 was a Dutch ship, so there were mostly Dutch men on board, but some were French. A total of 27 men, including men from two English ships, built the *Centaurus* in the Bay. It was reported that when they sailed off, four Englishmen and one Frenchman remained behind.[2065] In later attempts to rescue any of the remaining survivors, the *Noord*, however, found two Dutchmen and the mate's boy in the area

[2058] Ibid., p. 309.
[2059] Ibid., p. 351.
[2060] Ibid., p. 311.
[2061] Ibid., p. 312.
[2062] Ibid., p. 323.
[2063] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 357.
[2064] Ibid., p. 358.
[2065] Hoogsaad and others, 'Dispatch to the Council', in Vigne, p. 84.

around the Bay of Natal. These two owned very fine cattle.[2066] On a second voyage of the *Noord*, it was said that the 'residue of the crew' were taken on board in the bay.[2067] This would seem to indicate that no crew members remained in this area, but the fact that at least two had become acculturated and owned cattle suggests that they might well have stayed.

A party of 47 walked south west along the coast.[2068] They made their way from the wreck site, north of the Mzimkhulu River, to the Buffalo River area and were sheltered by the amaXhosa for nearly three years before being rescued. Of this group, four were reported as dying, but 33 arrived in the country of the amaXhosa.[2069]

These survivors met an old Portuguese man who had been wrecked some 40 years before and who was living in the country of the 'Mapontes' [Mpondo]. He had become thoroughly acculturated, as he "had been circumcised and had a wife and children, cattle and land. He spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything, his God included."[2070] There is the possibility that this man was the cooper from the *Atalaia*.

It was reported that 12 of the *Stavenisse* survivors tried to reach the Cape, but what became of them was not known. It was understood at the time that they had been killed by the 'Batuas' ['Bushmen'].[2071] Nineteen of the men were rescued by the *Centaurus*[2072] and others by the later trips of the *Noord*.[2073] Some, however, remained behind. They had learnt the language and

> "had become intimate with some Hottentot women, that they had fathered some children on them, and some of these, in acknowledgement of the love and trust shown them in

[2066] Logbook of the Noord, in Vigne, p. 116.
[2067] Van der Stel, 'Dispatch to the Council', in Vigne, p. 125.
[2068] Moodie, op. cit., pp. 417, 420.
[2069] Janz and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 85.
[2070] Janz and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 90.
[2071] Logbook of the *Centaurus*, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 108.
[2072] Logbook of the *Noord*, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 106.
[2073] Ibid., pp. 121, 123, 125.

> two years, had been moved not to abandon these Hottentot women (as did their comrades) but rather to remain with them for the sake of their children they had already done by them, as also they did indeed thus remain."[2074]

On the later rescue mission by the *Noord* it was reported that the boatswain and W. Christian "had resided for fully a year, as they were quite satisfied that the black would take good care of them".[2075] These could have been two of those who stayed.

In 1713, there were 57 European survivors from the *Bennebroeck,* wrecked at the Mtana River. In an effort to get to the Cape, 17 could not swim over the Fish River, so returned to the wreck site.[2076] This indicates that 40 managed to get across, but none arrived in Cape Town. Possibly some found Dutch farmers who might have settled in the outlying areas, but they would have been reported to the local magistrate. It seems unlikely that they would have been accepted by any Khoi people whom they encountered as there would have been little love lost between the two groups.

Of those who returned to the wreck site, two disappeared and it was assumed that they had been killed. This would leave 15 who were cared for by the local people who lived in the coastal area around the mouth of the Keiskamma River. Only four of those were rescued by the *Clapham Galley*.[2077] Although the *Postloper* had instructions to find the remaining men and salvage what they could from the wreck, the site could not be found so this was an unsuccessful voyage.[2078] This would leave nine Europeans still living with the local people.

These survivors reported that there was a Frenchman living with the local people in the Keiskamma River estuary area, who said he had been on a shipwreck some 30 years before, and which they assumed was the '*Stavenis'* [*Stavenisse*]. It was said that his

[2074] Valentyn, told by a sail-maker sailing with him, in 'Dispatch to the Council', in Vigne, p. 93.
[2075] Logbook of the Noord, in Vigne, p. 119.
[2076] Ibid., p.261.
[2077] Marchand, Tr., Liebrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 261.
[2078] Van der Stel, in "Journal of the Cape Commanders", Tr. Liebrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 265.

name was David Appelman, he was about 80 years old and "lived there happily in the native fashion".[2079] He did not, however, seem to be highly regarded by the people among whom he lived, "Whether it was caused by his disposition or birth we don't know, but the Kafirs showed us more civility than they did to the old man."[2080] It is estimated that 12 of these survivors remained with the local people.

There were 23 survivors from the *Doddington,* an English ship wrecked on Bird Island in 1755.[2081] One man drowned in the surf when an effort was made to reach the mainland in a small boat.[2082] A small ship, the *Happy Deliverance* was constructed, but there was no mention of the crew numbers when they set sail.[2083] When the *Happy Deliverance* crew arrived at the Thukela River, it was reported that "we met a Youth, seemingly about 12 or 14 Years of Age, quite white and his Features had the true Resemblance of an European, having fine, light hair … this Boy was made use of as a kind of Domestic; for they sent him on Errands and sometimes would not let him eat with them".[2084] This boy was possibly an albino.

The crew entered Kosi Bay with difficulty and when they were trying to negotiate the high surf at the bar to leave the bay, some took fright

> "And 10 of them Gott the Small Boat Out and went on Shore, saying they would Rather Live With the Natives the Remainder of their life, Than stand the Chance of being all their life Time rather than be Drown'd".[2085]

One man returned with the boat, which left nine behind. Three men eventually arrived at Maputo Bay.[2086] There was no mention of the remaining six having died on the walk to Maputo Bay, so there is the possibility that they remained with the local people in the Kosi Bay area.

[2079] Marchand, Tr., Liebrandt, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p. 262.
[2080] Ibid., p. 262.
[2081] Jones, in Temple, Ed., in The Indian Antiquary, op. cit., p. 115
[2082] Ibid., p. 116.
[2083] Ibid., p. 131.
[2084] Webb in Pleisted, op. cit., pp. 280-281.
[2085] Jones, in Temple, op. cit., p. 189.
[2086] Ibid., pp. 189, 191.

There were 123 survivors of the *Grosvenor* in 1782. Of these men, 23 were Lascars.[2087] About 100 would have been English. Only nine finally reached Cape Town.[2088] At the Mzimvubu River, dissension led to the party dividing into two groups.[2089] There were 57 in Hubberly's group.[2090] This indicates that there would have been 71 in the other group, but it may not have been that many. By the time Hubberly's group reached the Mngazana River, the numbers had fallen to 20.[2091] This indicates that some 32 had remained in the area between the Mzimvubu and the Mngazana Rivers. At the time that this group arrived at the Keiskamma River, only four remained.[2092] Three died and only Hubberly crossed the Fish River.[2093]

The overall figures indicate that 109 English people, which included women and children, had died or remained with the local people. Reports that there were many still alive, led to two expeditions being mounted to see if they could be found. Taylor researched the further lives of John Bryson and Joshua Glover, who were known to have remained at the wreck site. Bryson, who became known as a blacksmith, had four wives and many offspring. Glover never married and was known as a carpenter. Taylor also speculated that Lydia Logie, who was pregnant, might have been cared for by the 'amaTsomane'.[2094] From oral records, he also suggested that Mary Hosea, her daughter, aged two, Sophia James, and the two other children, Mary Wilmot and Eleanor Dennis, had good chances of survival.[2095]

Numerical Estimates of Survivors who became Settlers:

[2087] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 71.
[2088] Muller and Holtzhausen Expedition, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 112.
[2089] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 77.
[2090] Ibid., p. 78.
[2091] Ibid., p. 83.
[2092] Hubberly, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 101.
[2093] Ibid., pp. 195-295.
[2094] Taylor, S., *The Caliban Shore*, (London, Faber and Faber, 2004), op. cit., pp. 222-223.
[2095] Ibid., pp. 225-229.

The aim of this section is to try to estimate the number of African, Asians and Europeans who remained in the present-day provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Those who remained in Mozambique are excluded as so many died there while waiting for rescue. Kosi Bay is therefore selected as the end point for the calculations of the survivors who made their way to Mozambique. The Bushman's River is used as the end point for those survivors who tried to reach the Cape. While the actual numbers of the survivors who remained behind cannot be known, most of the accounts give some quantifiable data and reasonable estimates can be deduced from these.

The total number of survivors from the shipwrecks is given in all the narratives, with the exception of the *Atalaia* record. In this case it is possible to give a reasonably accurate estimate of the number based on the number of trips made to the shore in the lifeboat and with the stated capacity of the vessel. The *São Bento* and *Santo Alberto* give the numbers of slaves and Europeans who survived the wreck. None differentiate between the Asian and African slaves. The deductions to estimate the numbers of survivors who remained to settle are based on the following assumptions:

- The slaves who came from Africa would not have chosen to return to India with the main group and it is assumed that they would have been likely to have remained in places where the local people would have accepted them.
- The slaves from the Portuguese ships who chose to return to India, were of Asian origin.
- Ratios of Europeans to slaves can be deduced from the numbers given in texts of the *Santo Alberto* and *Sao Bento* and then extrapolated to give estimates of the complements of the other Portuguese ships.
- Ratios of African and Asian slaves can be deduced from the detailed records of the Santo Alberto and extrapolated to give estimates of the differential numbers of African and Asians in the other Portuguese ships.

- The slaves from the *Bennebroeck* are assumed to be Asians. They were taken by the Dutch who mainly obtained them from Indonesia and Madagascar. The survivor who arrived in the Cape was from Malabar in India.

There were 98 Portuguese and 224 slave survivors from the *Sao Bento.* The *Santo Alberto* narrative records that there were 125 Portuguese and 160 slaves who survived. From these totals of 223 for the Europeans and 384 for the slaves, the ratio of 37:63 can be extrapolated and applied to the other Portuguese ships.

The *Santo Alberto* record carefully tabulates the differential number of survivors. Table 24 shows these numbers and the percentages which can be deduced from them. A total of 285 people survived the wreck, of these, 125 were Portuguese and 160 were slaves.[2096] A total of 182 reached Kosi Bay, of whom 117 were Portuguese and 65 were slaves.[2097] The disposition of the five Asian slaves who remained with various communities was carefully tabulated as the local people were paid for taking them in.[2098] As 65 slaves reached Kosi Bay and assuming that they were Asians, the total number of Asian slave survivors would have been 70. This means that of the original160 slave survivors, 90 would have been Africans. This gives a ratio 32:25 for the relative percentages of Africans to Asians for the *Santo Alberto* slave survivors. Together with the figures for the number of slaves for the other Portuguese ships, the number of Africans can be extrapolated. The number of Asians can then be found by deducting this number from the total. Based on the extrapolations, the *São João* figure for total survivors would have been about 486, rather than the 500 mentioned, and 486 has been used in the deductions.

[2096] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 115.
[2097] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 183.
[2098] Ibid., pp. 129, 228-229.

Table 22

***SANTO ALBERTO* SURVIVOR PERCENTAGES**

Numbers	European	Slave	African	Asian	Total
Embark	175	225	127	98	400
Drowned	75	40	22	18	115
Survive	**125**	**160**	**90**	**70**	**285**
Remain	8	94	89	5	102
Kosi Bay	117	65	1	65	170
Percentage					
Embark	44	56	32	25	100
Drowned	43	57	32	25	29
Remain	8	92	87	5	36
Kosi Bay	64	36	1	35	64

The Africans

The extrapolated figures show that of the slave contingent for each ship 56% were African. From this it is deduced that of the total of 1248 slaves, 701 were Africans.

The texts record that at least seven were known to have died *en route* and two chose to return to India. The final count is that at least 692 Africans, possibly coming from the region around Lake Malawi, would have had very good chances of surviving as they would have been able to integrate relatively easily with the agriculturalist who spoke a related language. They would have remained various communities in the area between Algoa Bay and Kosi Bay during the period 1552 to 1647.

Table 23 shows the actual and extrapolated numbers for each of the Portuguese ships, with the exception of the *São Thomé* and *São Gonçalo*, where there are no records of any slaves surviving.

This gives the actual (in bold) and estimated total number of survivors, the total numbers of Portuguese and slaves, the number of Africans, the number of recorded deaths *en route*, the number recorded as being rescued and the number of Africans who remained.

Table 23

AFRICANS AS SETTLERS

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF AFRICAN SLAVE SURVIVORS
WHO WERE UNACCOUNTED FOR AND POSSIBLY SURVIVED
ALGOA BAY TO KOSI BAY
1552-1647

Ship	Total Survivors	Eur.	Slaves	Afric.	Die *en route*	Afric. Rescued	Afric. Remain
São Joao	486	**180**	306	172		0	172
São Bento	**322**	**98**	**224**	126	**2**	0	124
Santo Alberto	**285**	**125**	**160**	**90**	**0**	**1**	**89**
São João Baptista	**279**	103	176	99	**5**	0	94
N.S. Belém	**252**	93	159	89			89
N.S. Atalaia	310	132	178	100			100
S. Sacramento	**72**	26	45	25		1	24
TOTAL	2006	757	1248	701	7	2	692

Figures in bold type are recorded in the texts. Figures in normal type are deductions.
The estimated numbers of Europeans and slave survivors are based on the ratio extrapolated from the *São Bento* and *Santo Alberto* records, i.e. 37:63 (Table 22).

The estimated numbers of the African slave survivors are based on the ratio extrapolated from the *Santo Alberto* record, which is that **56% of the slaves were Africans.**

The Asians:

The extrapolated figures show that of the slave contingent for each ship 44% were Asians. From this it is deduced that of the total of 1248 slaves, 566 were Asians.

In the narratives it is recorded that at least 17 were known to have died *en route* and 169.chose to return to India. These people were strangers in Africa and the culture would have been very dissimilar to their own. In addition it was known that many acted as personal servants, were well treated and enjoyed a standard of living which was better than many of the peasants in their own lands.

The final count is that 381 Asians were not accounted for. The narratives record that many Asians had become acculturated and were wealth and respected members of their communities. They would have remained in the area between Algoa Bay and Kosi Bay during the period 1552 to 1647.

Table 24 'Asians as Settlers', shows the actual and extrapolated numbers for each of the Portuguese ships, with the exception of the *São Thomé* and *São Gonçalo*, where there are no records of any slaves surviving. This table includes the *Bennebroeck*, a Dutch wreck, where it is assumed that the slaves were Asians, although some were possibly from Madagascar. This table reflects the total number of survivors and the estimated number of slave survivors; the estimated number of Asian survivors; those who died en route; those who were rescued; and those who could not be accounted for.

Table 24

ASIANS AS SETTLERS

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ASIAN SLAVE SURVIVORS

WHO WERE UNACCOUNTED FOR AND POSSIBLY SURVIVED

ALGOA BAY TO KOSI BAY

1552-1755

Ship	**Total Survivors**	**Eur.**	**Slaves**	**Asians**	**Die *en route***	**Asians rescued**	**Asians remain**
São João	486	**180**	306	134		17	117
São Bento	**322**	**98**	224	98	**2**	6	91
Santo Alberto	**285**	**125**	**160**	**70**		**65**	**5**
São João Baptista	**279**	103	176	77	3	0	74
N.S.Belém	**252**	93	159	69		46	23
N.S. Atalaia	310	132	178	78		**30**	48
S. Sacramento	**72**	26	45	20		**4**	16
Bennebroeck	**77**	**57**	**20**	**20**	**12**	**1**	**7**
TOTAL	2083	814	1268	566	17	169	381

Figures in bold type are recorded in the texts.
Figures in normal type are deductions.

The *Bennebroeck* slaves taken by the Dutch were probably from Indonesia and possibly Madagascar, so these are counted as Asians.

The numbers of Europeans and slave survivors are based on the ratio extrapolated from the *São Bento* and *Santo Alberto* records. i.e. 37:63 (Table 22)

The estimated numbers of Asian slave survivors is deduced by subtracting the number of African slaves (Table 23) from the total number of slaves. It was then calculated that if 56% of the slaves were Africans, **44% of the slaves were Asians.**

The Europeans, the 'Other':

Of the total of 2035 people who survived the wrecks, 925 were Europeans, 539 reached their destinations, and there were 120 known or assumed deaths. This left 289 who could not be accounted for. The probability of all of these Europeans ultimately surviving is not high, but many could have done so.

Fifty nine survivors arrived at Kosi Bay and, as 12 deaths had been recorded before that, 32 Europeans were not accounted for. Some had probably died, but it was recorded that some remained with local people and were successfully absorbed into their culture.

It was also recorded that six Portuguese remained with Chief Manhisa, and 10 had died after reaching Kosi Bay. Of the Europeans, 31 finally reached Inhambane.

Table 25 shows the actual and extrapolated numbers for the Portuguese ships, with the exception of the *São Thomé, São Gonçalo* and *Nossa Senhora de Belém,* where these survivors built ships and, according to the records, none remained behind. Included are the *Stavenisse, Bennebroeck, Doddington and Grosvenor.* This table includes the total number of survivors, the number of European survivors, the numbers of Portuguese survivors who reached Kosi Bay, the number of Dutch and English survivors who reached Cape Town, the number of *Doddington* survivors who reached Maputo Bay, the number of known or assumed deaths and the number of Europeans who were unaccounted for.

Table 25

EUROPEANS AS SETTLERS

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF EUROPEAN SURVIVORS

WHO WERE UNACCOUNTED FOR AND MAY HAVE SURVIVED

ALGOA BAY TO KOSI BAY

1552-1782

Ship	**Total wreck survivors**	**European wreck survivors**	**Reach Kosi Bay, Fish River or Cape Town**	**Known/ assumed deaths**	**Europeans remain**
São João	**486**	**180**	**120**	**19**	41
São Bento	**322**	**98**	**56**		42
Santo Alberto	**285**	**125**	**117**	**8**	0
São João Baptista	**279**	103	59	**12**	32
N.S. Atalaia	310	132	**124**	**8**	23
S. Sacramento	**72**	26	6		20
Stavenisse	**58**	**58**	**29**	**23**	**6**
Bennebroeck	**77**	**57**	**4**	**40**	**13**
Doddington	**23**	**23**	**19**	**1**	**3**
Grosvenor	**123**	**123**	**5**	**9**	**109**
	2035	925	539	120	289

Figures in bold type are recorded in the texts.

Figures in normal type are deductions.

Conclusion:

All the Portuguese and one Dutch ship carried slaves. The English ships did not. The slaves came from Africa and Asia. The Asians were drawn from India, Indonesia, China and Japan and were mainly servants of the Portuguese. There was no evidence that the slaves were obtained from present-day Mozambique south of Inhambane.

What the estimated figures show is that there were large numbers of survivors who remained. They were mostly Africans from the north, but included many Asians and some Europeans who integrated successfully with the indigenous populations. They would have made a genetic contribution to the indigenous populations of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

There are confidence limits to these numbers as undoubtedly many did not ultimately survive. The number of Africans who survived would have been much higher than the others as they could have made the transition with ease. The number of Asians was possibly less, but the evidence shows that there were many very successful Asians who became acculturated. Even the Europeans who had skills to offer and the will to live, especially the children, who could (and some were known to have done) have integrated with the indigenous people.

The beginnings of stereotyping can be observed in the terms used to describe names for Africans and/or slaves. The categories were fluid and terms varied between 'slaves', 'negroes', 'natives', 'Caffres' and 'Kaffirs'. During their journeys, the survivors were forced to perceive the slaves as people and not as goods, with the result that over time the term 'slave' was only used to describe a specific event. The slaves became known as 'servants' belonging to masters or mistresses, as the status of slavery moved towards the master/servant relationship.

What is also significant in the terminology as expressed in the narratives is that the term 'Caffre' or 'Kaffir', originally associated with religion, was applied to both slaves and the indigenous people. In the discourse of difference which developed in Africa, this

overlapping of a term which described an African slave was also used to describe an African inhabitant. During the period under review, there was a process where new meanings were being attached to terms and there was a narrowing down of a set of associations. This could point to the later development of the derogatory association of the term 'Kaffir', as being associated with a slave/servant and becoming part of incipient racism.

Chapter 18

ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF THE SURVIVORS: THE 'OTHERS'

Introduction:

Implicit in the term 'Other', is that it is expressed against the concept of 'Self', where the world view of the 'Self' is understood to be the norm. Written descriptions by Europeans of the peoples of the 'New World' with the so-called 'Voyages of Discovery' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained the unstated idea that the 'Self' was the European.

Schwartz points out that in "meetings across cultures, an 'implicit ethnography' existed on both sides of the encounter. Members of each society held ideas, often unstated, of themselves and 'other' and the things that gave them such identities, language, colour, ethnicity, kinship, gender, religion and so on."[2099] The discourse of the 'Self' based on these notions of difference opens up inherent judgmental standards by which the 'Other' was defined.

The Europeans had a world view set within a global context, as opposed to the indigenous people who had different and more localised notions of difference. In the circumstances of the shipwrecks, where the Europeans were the strangers, the order is inverted. It was the Europeans who were judged as the 'Other' by the indigenous people who were on their home soil and who had a different world view

The Europeans were conditioned by their own culture and their representation of the people whom they encountered, exaggerated and misinterpreted differences. As Hammond and Jablow commented "All people are conditioned to their own cultures that their habits and learned modes of behaviour seem the inevitable expression of basic human nature. Other people with different habits acquired from their culture seem to

[2099] Schwartz, S. Ed., *Implicit Understandings:Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 2.

behave unnaturally or perversely. This is the basis of all pre-conceptions about alien cultures and the source of stereotypes which they describe. Differences are almost always exaggerated."[2100]

The complement of people being carried on board the various ships did not consist only of Europeans. On board were slaves from both Africa and Asia, as well as crew members from Asia. The control was, however, in the hands of the Europeans and it was on their terms that the survivors were organised as they made their way through the country and engaged with the people whom they met.

As a part of the discourse, suggestions are made as to what legacy the survivors would have left with the indigenous peoples and future generations, which could have coloured their responses to the later incursions of Europeans into their land. The use of descriptive terminology for the indigenous people can be seen as containing the seeds of modern racism.

In analysing interactions, both within the survivor groups and in their relationships with the indigenous people, the cultural norms, social structure as well as the attitudes and assumptions of the survivor groups need to be assessed.

There is a major 'silence' on the part of the authors of all the narratives. There are no references to sexual advances being made by the men on black women. Sailors who have been at sea for long periods, without the presence of women, are known to have sought sex when they come ashore. There is no reason to believe that the various crews were any different from their fellows. The presence of attractive black women, wearing little clothing is likely to have led to advances being made by the men, especially where time was spent in areas where they rested or traded. This will be taken into account when trying to explain the occasions were the survivors were well

[2100] Hammond, D. and Jablow, A., *The Africa that Never Was*, (Illinois, Waveland Press, 1970), p. 14.

treated initially, but then an unexplained reversal of attitude occurs and the survivors were driven from the place, often with stones being thrown at them.

An illuminating contrast can be drawn between the experiences of the survivors of the *Santo Alberto* of 1593 and the other Portuguese survivors who chose a coastal route. Excuses could be made for the latter groups who assumed aggressive and arrogant attitudes in terms of the times in which they lived, but the example set by the leader of the *Santo Alberto* group show that this was not necessarily the case.

Europeans as the 'Others':

It has been noted that each ship was "in itself a floating mobile world that took its origin from the society that constructed it, but that operated according to the rules of its own."[2101] Da Silva has pointed to the differences among the Europeans themselves, so it is

> "difficult to regard the Portuguese as a single group as they were very diverse. Virtually all shared the religious bond of Christianity but sometimes there were so-called 'New Christians' – sometimes reluctant converts from Judaism. Not all were Portuguese and many carried a number of Italians, Castilians, Germans and other Europeans, as traders, gunners and sailors."[2102]

The Europeans did, however, regard their culture and religion as superior. There was a clearly perceived "preeminence of Europe and its people over those of the other two continents. The papacy was the head of Christendom which claimed in effect a superiority of Europe over the whole world."[2103] In 1480 the Pope gave papal grants of authority to the Portuguese in Africa.[2104]

[2101] Phillips, S., "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages", in Schwartz, S.B., Ed., *Implicit Understandings*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 34.
[2102] Da Silva, C.R., "Beyond the Cape: the Portuguese encounter with the people of South Asia", in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 296.
[2103] Philips, in Schwartz, op. cit., p.44.
[2104] Axelson,E., *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600*, (Cape Town, C.Struik, 1973), p. 7.

Greenblatt commented that European culture was "characterized by an immense confidence in their own centrality, by a political organization based on practices of command and submission, by a willingness to use coercive violence on both strangers and fellow countrymen, and by a religious ideology… With very few exceptions, Europeans felt powerfully superior to all the peoples they encountered." [2105]

European societies had common societal structures in existence during the period under review. They were rigid social hierarchies which divided the upper class of the aristocracy, from the middle class of merchants and both of these from the lower orders.[2106] In Spain (and Portugal) the upper class of 'nobles' was by birth. They exercised the power as they held the land, the primary source of wealth. The nobles also had the exclusive right to carry weapons and controlled the army. They also held the function of jurisdiction.[2107]

The passengers on board the Portuguese ships included some nobles and members of the middle class (merchants). The Captain was also of the upper class. Ships' officers were middle class and the seamen were from the lower class. The slaves were regarded as goods and had no standing in the social order.

Within this group, the cultural background of the Portuguese noblemen was very different from that of the Portuguese sailor.[2108] All the Portuguese ships and one Dutch ship carried cargoes of slaves who were regarded only as trade goods. This cultural filter affected the attitudes of the Europeans, not only towards the indigenous people encountered on their journeys, but also towards their own groups, and these attitudes led to serious problems.

[2105] Greenblatt, S., *Marvellous Possessions*, (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1991), p. 9.
[2106] Kamen, H., *European Society 1500-1700*, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 120-121.
[2107] Ibid., pp. 93-94, 98.
[2108] Da Silva, in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 297.

In Portugal, it was the king's prerogative to sell or give lucrative offices.[2109] The captaincy of the ships was one such sinecure, as the appointments were made by the king or a well-connected noble. The respective captains therefore, were not required to know anything about the sailing of the ships and usually were not efficient leaders of men and this had disastrous effects on the management of most of the survivor groups.

With the so-called 'Voyages of Discovery', the Europeans had many preconceived ideas about the people whom they would encounter.

> "Europeans entered the new age of expansion at the end of the fifteenth century with a variety of ethnographic models, from the 'noble savage' and the 'cannibal' and the whole panoply of the 'monstrous races' to the 'barbarian' and the 'infidel.'"[2110]

A definition has been given of the term 'barbarian' as used at the time:

> "The barbarian was distinguished by such features as his lack of an ordered urban or rural existence, his inability to manufacture and to employ the material artefacts of more advanced civilisations, and by the absence of a sophisticated spoken or written literary culture."[2111]

Armed with this type of preconception, a 'barbarian' was also perceived as a threat.[2112]

The killing of the Viceroy of India, Francisco D'Almeida, in Table Bay in 1510, adversely affected the attitudes of later Portuguese shipwreck survivors towards the indigenous people of south-eastern Africa. The actual account of D'Almeida's death does not reflect well on the Portuguese contingent, but the circumstances which led to his death have been ignored in the retelling of the story.

On a return voyage from India to Lisbon, the ship with D'Almeida on board landed at 'Saldanha' [Table Bay] to take on water. The men took ashore iron and cloth with which

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[2109] Da Silva, in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 105.
[2110] Philips, in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 62.
[2111] Jones, W.R., quoted by Philips, in Schwartz, op. cit., p 50.
[2112] Philips, in Schwartz, op. cit., p. 44.

to barter with the local people. Some obtained permission to go with them to their villages, which were some distance inland. On their return, one of the Portuguese men

> "brought along two of them, and since they, suspecting him of malice, were unwilling to come to the shore, and he, somewhat forcibly tried to compel them to do so, they threw down what he had bought, and misused him so he presented him to the Viceroy with his face bloodied and some teeth broken. They became so indignant at the blacks that they induced the Viceroy to go to the village to punish them."[2113]

This first encounter was that of a Portuguese trying to force two of the local men to go with him and they retaliated. The decision to 'punish them' was a very arrogant one, which assumed that the Portuguese had the right to force 'inferior people' to do their bidding.

The following day the Viceroy and about 100 of his men went ashore in their small boats. Some went to the village and returned

> "bringing some cattle, and some children which they had found in the houses, the blacks, up to 80 of them began to come down from where they had assembled in their first fright, like men who go to risk death to save their sons….and although some of our folk began to let the children go… the blacks came on so furiously that they came into the body of our men, taking back the oxen."[2114]

The local people then surrounded the Portuguese and threw sticks, lances and stones at them. Meanwhile the sea became very rough and the men manning the boats had taken them back to the ship, so leaving many of the Portuguese on the beach. D'Almeida was killed by a lance piercing his throat and about 50 other were killed. "Finally, having buried him [D'Almeida] and the others in this barbarous place, he [de Mello] returned to the ships and set sail for this kingdom."[2115]

[2113] Barros, quoted by Raven-Hart, R., *Before van Riebeeck*, (Cape Town, Struik, 1967), p. 10
[2114] Ibid., p. 10.
[2115] Barros, quoted by Raven-Hart, op. cit., p. 11.

This states quite plainly that the Portuguese were abducting children and probably taking cattle as well. The local people were understandably extremely angry and their response was to attack with their weapons. The Portuguese version became that the indigenous people were dangerous, 'barbarous' and aggressive.

The *São Bento* survivors landed on the shores of Africa in 1554 with their preconceptions intact. They were familiar with the Portuguese version of the death of D'Almeida:

> "The natives whose evil disposition and want of faith the disastrous death of Dom Francisco de Almeida still taught us to distrust"[2116] He stated that the local people had "More the appearance of savages than of rational men."[2117]

The first action of the *São João* survivors on getting ashore was to build a fort as "the Kaffirs would certainly rob them."[2118] The *São Thomé* survivors also brought with them their preconceptions and arrogant assumptions. Africa was a place of "savage souls" and this was an "uncertain pilgrimage … every hour being fraught with such risks and dangers".[2119] In an effort to imply their superiority over the indigenous people, they referred to them as 'monkeys' and 'apes' on two occasions.[2120] Even the *Santo Alberto* group arrived armed with prejudices. After the shipwreck, they collected arms and provisions with "our people guarding everything with great care to secure themselves from the thefts and attacks of the Kaffirs".[2121] The indigenous people were sometimes called 'barbarians'.[2122] The *São Gonçalo* survivors often referred to the local people as 'barbarians' and 'savages'. [2123]

[2116] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 226.
[2117] Ibid., p. 223.
[2118] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
[2119] Ibid. p. 94.
[2120] Ibid. pp. 79, 92.
[2121] Ibid., p. 119.
[2122] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 120, 123, 150.
[2123] Da Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 417.

Prejudices about Africans were not confined to the Portuguese. The French boy, De Chalezac, noted that in spite of a belief that "All Caffres in general are held to be gross and brutish people", the people with whom he stayed were not like that. [2124]

In 1782, when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked, prejudice was well established in England. Notices in two newspapers reported on the loss of the *Grosvenor* in the following terms

> "The ship was lost upon the coast of the Caffres, a country inhabited by the most barbarous and monstrous of the human species. By these Hottentots, they were dragged up into the interior parts of the country, for the purposes of the vilest brutish prostitution, and had the misfortune to see those friends, who were their fellow passengers, sacrificed in their defence."[2125]

Hubberly, one of the survivors, reported that "the natives, which were very much dreaded by the more considerate part of us, particularly in our present defenceless situation."[2126]

A significant feature of the Portuguese survivor groups who moved along the coast was their poor and ineffective leadership. The captains of the ships were not selected for their capabilities, either as leaders or for their knowledge of seamanship.

> "The top command of the fleet and on the individual ships was usually held by noblemen, and it is only logical that these gentlemen, not being sailors by profession, had a far greater affection for their persons and their pocketbook than they did for the ship and the lives on it … he was a political appointee."[2127]

Taylor notes that Coxon's rise to the rank of captain of the *Grosvenor* was irregular and was probably acquired by paying money for it.[2128]

The problem of handling authority in times of crisis often became insupportable and the captains of both the *São João* and the *São João Baptista* became mentally unstable.

[2124] De Chalezac, Tr. Claxton-Vatthauer, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.
[2125] Identical notices in *The Morning Chronicle,* and *London Advertiser*, 25 April, 1783, in Kirby, *A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor*, op. cit., p. 10.
[2126] Hubberly, "Journal and Evidence", in Kirby, op. cit., p. 68.
[2127] Duffy, op. cit., p. 69.
[2128] Taylor, S. The Caliban Shore, (London, Faber and Faber, 2004), pp. 39-40.

By the time the *São João* group had reached the Santo Espiritu River,

> "the captain [Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda] was not in his right mind…From that point on he never again exercised command over his people as he had done till then."[2129] By the time the group had reached the Incomati River, it was said that he was "already quite sick and had lost his judgment".[2130]

The captain of the *São João Baptista,* Pedro de Morais, clearly was unfit to be a leader. At one point, when some of the survivors had remained behind at the Mbashe River, one of the slaves who had stayed with that group, rejoined the main party.

> "The captain went up to him before anyone had spoken a word to him, and seized him, saying: 'Oh, dog! Who killed the Portuguese? Confess it, or else I will order you to be hanged forthwith!' The Negro was stunned, and said that he was not guilty of their deaths, nor were any of our Negroes who had remained behind with him. We were astounded that the captain should ask such a question without having heard any tidings of those people, and we asked him who had brought him such sad news. He replied that for two days those people had been continually on his mind, and his heart had invariably told him that the negroes who had stayed with them had killed them – and this was why he had asked that question."[2131]

D'Almada criticised the captain, noting that "As the captain never took advice from anybody, and relied solely on his own judgment, he acted unwisely in many things."[2132] Accusations of some jewels being stolen and, without evidence, the captain seized one man and

> "tied his hands behind him… [and], together with four men of the company, one of whom he put to cruel torture in his blind rage, although these poor men were quite innocent of what they were accused."[2133]

He then trumped up an accusation against the man and ordered that

[2129] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 18.
[2130] Ibid., p. 20.
[2131] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 222.
[2132] Ibid., p. 252.
[2133] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 205.

> "the accused be beheaded. This was done without anyone being able to save him, nor was any adequate reason given for this execution, which was naturally criticized, and in fact regarded as a great atrocity"[2134]

As with de Sousa Sepulveda, de Morais, also lost his wits. At the Incomati River it was said that

> "Here the captain, realizing his condition, and that he often spoke wonderingly, ordered that a general election should be held to choose someone of merit and parts to take his place."[2135]

Never one to hide his light under a bushel, D'Almada boasted that "They all voted for me, extolling my virtues, and the captain said that this was also his choice."[2136]

Lobo, of the *Belém* criticised the weak leadership shown by the captain, Joseph de Cabreira, stating that "disorder had its origins in the boldness of some people by whom the captain had allowed himself to be so dominated that he dared not contradict them".[2137]

Problems with leadership surfaced among the *Atalaia* survivors. Once these survivors had reached the Mkomazi River, the captain, Antonio da Camerara de Noronha , realizing his inability to control the group, resigned his charge and Antonio Carvalho, a survivor of a recent shipwreck [*Madre de Deus*, 1647], was elected as a new leader.[2138] He, however, proved as incompetent as de Noronha and allowed private trading within the camp, eliciting the comment that "this man never did his duty to preserve us and the cattle until we reached the kingdom of Unyaca, then the command was again changed."[2139]

[2134] Ibid., p. 206.
[2135] Ibid., pp. 252-253.
[2136] Ibid., p. 253.
[2137] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 355.
[2138] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., pp. 340-341.
[2139] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 346.

It was a *sine qua non* that if the survivors were to survive on their long journeys, that they needed to be able to obtain food. It was appreciated that this would involve a bartering process with the indigenous people and most collected supplies of iron and copper which were known to be desirable trade goods. What the leadership failed to understand was that they were the strangers, subservient to the indigenous people, who were in positions of control. The captains all failed to appreciate that to antagonize their hosts was to reduce their chances of obtaining food and so reduce their chances of survival.

As a result of poor leadership, internal dissension often led to the breaking up of the groups. At the Mtafufu River, the *Atalaia* survivors suggested that the group should divide, owing to the "disgust at the government of the captain." One group followed the Master and one followed the Captain.[2140] Both groups met with so many problems that they later rejoined.[2141] Trouble continued and, once over the Mzimkulu, it was averred that the Master's group had most of the copper, a valuable trading resource, and this should be equally divided. An attempt was made to try to recover the copper by force, using guns as a threat. A council held and it was agreed to divide the copper and stay together.[2142]

The captain of the *Stavenisse*, Willem Knyff, was part of the group who made their way to the Bay of Natal and constructed the *Centaurus*. He made a report on the loss of the ship to the Council at the Cape, but there is no evidence that he assumed command. The main report was given by the Senior Pilot, Isbrand Hoogsaad, who probably assumed effective leadership and a successful rescue took place.[2143]

[2140] Ibid., p. 324.
[2141] Ibid., p. 333.
[2142] Ibid., pp. 335-336.
[2143] Van der Stel, *Journal of the Commander and Council*, 'Evidence of the survivors of the Stavenisse', in Vigne, op. cit., p. 82.

There is no mention of the captain of the *Bennebroeck*, and the lack of an effective leader was probably the reason for the poor survival rate of those who crossed the Fish River.

The *Grosvenor* survivors were also badly served by poor leadership. Initially it was agreed that Captain Coxon should retain command once the survivors got ashore and all seemed to be well when he gave orders that provisions should be divided equally and divided the group into three parties, each with a leader.[2144] His first interaction with the local people was, however, totally mismanaged.

Taylor commented that "As well as trying to ignore the natives, Coxon seemed reluctant to engage with his own men, for no attempt was made to communicate with them either. Tension rose through the afternoon. In the absence of leadership, men were starting to ask who was in charge now they were no longer at sea."[2145] Of the 47 survivors in the Captain's group, none were known to have survived.[2146] Of the original 121 survivors of the *Grosvenor*, only 18 ultimately reached the Cape.[2147]

Another failure of the various captains was to recognise that in a situation with survival being at stake, the rigid social structure in their homeland could not be maintained. The upper class taking the lion's share of resources, which they thought to be their right, was bound to lead to serious consequences. One of these was that there was an unfair distribution of resources, with the lower orders, especially the slaves, being given very little, if any, of the traded provisions. This led to resentments being nurtured, especially among the sailors and slave contingent. Inevitably private trading took place and severe punishments were inflicted on the perpetrators, which intensified resentment and led to retaliation.

[2144] Hubberly, 'Journal and Evidence', in Kirby, op. cit., p. 68.
[2145] Taylor, op. cit., p. 117.
[2146] Warmington and Leary, rec. Dalrymple, in Kirby, *The Source Book of the Grosvenor*, op. cit., p. 40.
[2147] Muller and Holtshausen, in Kirby, *The True Story of the Grosvenor*, op. cit., p. 112.

The captain of the *São João Baptista* survivors "ordered a negress to be hanged for stealing a small piece of meat which did not weigh half a pound – an excessively cruel punishment."[2148] Two more slaves were hanged "as they had deserted from us twice." [2149] On another occasion, a few of the Portuguese survivors, who were not able to continue, remained at the Mbhashe River and a number of slaves decided to stay as well. They were carefully separated from the Portuguese group and each traded separately. The Portuguese consumed their portion and asked the slaves to give them half of a cow and they would be repaid. It was understood that the Portuguese refused to repay the loan after they had obtained more cows and it was reported that the slaves had killed them.[2150]

Lobo, author of the *Belém* narrative, was aware that the situation was very unjust. He noted that

> "The fishing and distribution of catches were carried out in such a way that they certainly were of great benefit to some … the unfortunate neediest ones often remained comfortless".[2151]

At one time it was thought that there was a conspiracy among the slaves who were then flogged and the leader "was put to death by hanging."[2152]

The unequal distribution of resources also affected the lower orders among the *Atalaia* survivors and the severe punishments inflicted led to internal dissension. In the Mzimvubu River area, three Portuguese and three slaves were caught trading. Two of the three Portuguese were led by a rope, though the camp, their offence being proclaimed, and their hands pierced. One of the slaves was executed and the two others were severely whipped through the camp. Another servant was also

[2148] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 216-217.
[2149] Ibid., p. 219.
[2150] Ibid., p. 224.
[2151] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 355.
[2152] Ibid., p. 361.

whipped.[2153] North of the Mzimvubu "one of the Kaffirs of Dom Duarte's who returned to camp with a promise of safety was hanged upon slight proof, because it was reported that he had bartered food."[2154] Yet another incurred the same punishment.[2155]

In spite of many examples to the contrary, the survivors continually distrusted the local inhabitants, which simply served to alienate them as potential trading partners. When being ferried over the Santo Espiritu River, the captain of the *São João* assumed that as "the blacks were planning treachery, he put his hand to the sword and drew it against the rowers, saying, 'Where are you taking me, you dogs?'"[2156] This distrust continued and after they had crossed the river, these survivors saw a band of men approaching and "made ready to fight, thinking they were about to be robbed."[2157] The so-called aggressors merely asked who they were and took them to their king.[2158]

The survivors of the *São Bento* were convinced that when they left people behind who were too weak to continue, they would be "captured and then eaten."[2159] An ironic statement when it was their own men who had done the eating of a man. It was said that when Chief Inhaca gave assistance to the survivors, his actions were not founded on virtue, but on covetousness.[2160] The interactions between the local people and these survivors were characterized by the arrogant attitudes and lack of respect displayed by the survivors towards the people on whom they depended for their survival. The term 'insolence' was often used, implying that the Portuguese regarded themselves as superior and in authority over the local inhabitants.

When the *São João Baptista* survivors were followed at one stage by some men, D'Almada complained that "since we did not punish them as their insolence deserved,

[2153] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 321.
[2154] Ibid., p. 323.
[2155] Ibid., p. 325.
[2156] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 18.
[2157] Ibid., p. 18.
[2158] Ibid., p. 19.
[2159] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 268.
[2160] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 270.

they became so disdainful of us that they began to throw fire-hardened sticks at us."[2161] At the Mzimvubu, when two cauldrons were stolen, D'Almada proclaimed "but they paid for their insolence",[2162] and, with an odd notion of retribution, they shot another man who brought them some millet for sale.[2163] Again demonstrating an astonishing arrogance, the captain thought that he could order the king to do his bidding. When near the Msikaba River,

> "the king of this region came to see the captain in a very dignified manner, bringing a beautiful sheep with five quarters to sell to him, and he asked more for it than the price of a large cow. Seeing what little use a sheep would be in comparison with the cow which we might buy with the price demanded for it, we told him to order cows to be brought to us, for we did not want sheep. Upon this they brought three, and being resolved to practice some cheat or theft upon us, they sold us a cow, and when they had the price thereof in their hand they began to flee with the animal. But we captured one of them and would have killed him, had not the Javanese bade us desist, saying that he would soon bring back the cow, explaining that the negroes had acted like this because they did not know us. He asked us not to annoy anybody and promised to bring it back forthwith, which he promptly did. Seeing what badly disposed these people were, we went on our way."[2164]

D'Almada again demonstrated his arrogance when wanting to pass through the region around the Limpopo River,

> "The Mocaranga Muquulo, who was king of all that region, sent to tell us that we must not pass through his country at night, as it was not customary, and that he did not want a fight with us. I sent a reply that the Portuguese required no man's permission to go wherever they wanted. He then sent to tell me to beware of what I did and not to cause a war, for all the Portuguese who passed that way made him a present, as they did in other parts."[2165]

[2161] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 204.
[2162] Ibid., p. 218.
[2163] Ibid., p. 219.
[2164] Ibid., p. 229.
[2165] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit, p. 258.

D'Almada's negative response raised an outcry among his group and it was argued that he would destroy them all for the sake of two pieces of cloth, D'Almada wanted to continue and travel by night, but was warned that he would not be followed. He reluctantly paid the king, but the rearguard was attacked and stripped of their clothes and D'Almada wounded by arrows.[2166] As a gesture of good faith, the king then ordered his men to return some of the goods and "ordered the arrow-heads to be extracted and my wounds dressed with a sort of oil."[2167] This kindness was unappreciated and he later referred to "these cursed Kaffirs".[2168]

Part of the arrogance demonstrated by the survivors was in their belief of the superiority of their religion and that the heathens would not have an afterlife. It was commented by Lavanha that "They are very brutish and worship nothing, and thus they would come to our holy Christian faith very easily."[2169]

The arrogant attitudes held by the survivors led to the assumption that they were entitled to help themselves to any provisions which they found, as was their right. When at the Mkomazi River, some of the survivors of the *São Bento*

> "found a large basket of millet which the Kaffirs had hidden there in case we should attack their village, and this being a rich prize in our necessity and those who were guarding it wished to defend it, the strife increased, and offended at some blows which they received, they called to each other. In a short time a large number assembled… they attacked two young men who were a little apart, and took their wallets which they carried. Then they began to approach us more boldly, threatening to kill us with their assegais if we resisted, at the same time placing themselves in our path to prevent us fording the river. There not being five armed men among us, we gathered ourselves together and had a perilous fight with them." [2170]

[2166] Ibid.,.pp. 259-260.
[2167] Ibid., p. 260.
[2168] Ibid., p. 261.
[2169] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 122.
[2170] Perestrello, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 236.

The *São João Baptista* survivors stole fish which they found in traps in the Kobonqaba River, with no acknowledgement that these belonged to the local people.[2171] In a similar manner the *Atalaia* survivors grabbed the full catch of fish found at the Mlalazi River, and chased the fishermen away.[2172] Near the Mfolosi River, the same group passed through "a garden of gourds and green water-melons, of which none was left uneaten."[2173] This same group treated homesteads with complete disregard for the inhabitants. Near the Nxaxo River, on "reaching a height, we set fire to some huts."[2174] Just beyond the Mzimvubu River, a homestead was "entered and plundered of what food they found, but the captain would not allow them to set fire to it."[2175]

The Portuguese survivors who walked along the coast all adopted aggressive attitudes and never hesitated to use their guns to impress the indigenous people with their superior fire-power. The authors of the narratives attempted to portray their people as valiant fighters in a warlike situation, not of their own making.

The *São João* survivors reported that

> "during this time there had been skirmishes, but the Kaffirs always got the worst of it: in one fight the Kaffirs killed Diogo Mendes Dourado, who fought well to the death like a valiant knight."[2176]

This was not, however, the full story as when the survivors of the *São Bento* were near the Mkomazi River, they were told that the captain of the *São João*, De Sousa Sepulveda, had killed a man there.[2177]

The huge company of 279 persons from the *São João Baptista* attempted to obtain cows from the pastoralists at Cannon Rocks. They had no idea, nor would they have been interested, in how important and valuable cattle were to these people. "During this

[2171] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 208.
[2172] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 345.
[2173] Ibid., p. 346.
[2174] Ibid., p. 312.
[2175] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 329.
[2176] Anon. Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
[2177] Perestrello, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 237.

time we bartered for cows, which we ate, though they were not as many as we needed."[2178] The survivors assumed they had paid for them, but it is quite likely that the local people would have had little experience of bartering in this form and would have been horrified to have seen their cattle being killed. Apart from the cows they had eaten, the survivors then moved off with 17 oxen a very large number to be taken from the precious herd of the Khoi group. The cattle were reluctant to leave with strangers, "they lowed continually, as if in longing".[2179] The survivors must have realized that they had not departed with the cattle with the approval of their owners as they pitched their tents "in a circle, within which we put the cows at night, posting sentinels and making the rounds with great care and vigilance."[2180] It did not help, for "during the third watch the Kaffirs came and let loose the dogs inside with low whistling and shouts, and the cows when they heard them jumped through the tents and fled with the dogs behind them."[2181] The response of the survivors was to follow and fight and they "killed the son of the king and many of his company."[2182]

This aggression and willingness to shoot to kill by the *São João Baptista* survivors was continued throughout their journey. At the Tsholomnqa River, where the group was followed by a few men who tried to steal two cauldrons, "the ship's carpenter, who was nearest, fired his matchlock at one of them, the shot breaking his arms and going through his chest."[2183] The group met a survivor from another wreck, said to have come from the Angoche islands. This man was forced to go with them and held as prisoner, finally being put to death as it was feared "lest he should tell the Kaffirs of our weak points, such as that our matchlocks could not be used when it rained"[2184] At the Khobonqaba River, the local people were frightened and threw sticks at the survivors,

[2178] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 199.
[2179] Ibid., p. 200.
[2180] Ibid., p. 200.
[2181] Ibid., p. 200.
[2182] Ibid., p. 200.
[2183] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 204.
[2184] Ibid., p. 207.

"Seeing the danger we were in, I took careful aim with my matchlock and killed three with a single shot, … These deaths caused great consternation among them."[2185]

Regardless of the effect that this aggression would have on the people on whom they depended for provisions, the readiness to fire on the local people continued. At the Mzimvubu River, guns were taken from two stragglers, so "I, and some other soldiers in the rearguard, came to the rescue and entering the village we killed every living soul we found there."[2186] Boxer called it a particularly 'foul atrocity'.'[2187]

When these survivors were negotiating with the king of the region to use his canoes to cross the Limpopo River, he indicated that three pieces of cloth was not sufficient payment. D'Almada, in an effort to exercise his authority over this king, tried to threaten him with his guns:

> "Whereupon I arose and withdrew to the tents, giving order that all were to be ready with their arms in their hands until midday. Seeing that they did not withdraw, I sent word that the Portuguese never allowed other people to stay alongside them, and that I told him this because it was growing late, and at night we might kill some of his followers with our guns, with which we kept watch all night."[2188]

The king protested that he was their friend, but the survivors fired over their heads. When

> "they sent to ask the meaning of this, for they did not wish to quarrel with us. I sent back a reply that it was an accident."[2189]

D'Almada's party objected to his attitude and he was forced to concede. The survivors were finally taken across the river in canoes for a payment of eight pieces of cloth.[2190]

[2185] Ibid., p. 208.
[2186] Ibid., p. 219.
[2187] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 219.
[2188] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 256.
[2189] Ibid., p. 256.
[2190] Ibid., p. 256.

The *Belém* party also antagonized the people who lived in the Mzimvubu area by their aggressive behaviour. A group was sent by the captain to search for two tin plates and a mortar and pestle. They entered the house of the local chief [probably by force] and a large number began gathering. Their response was to take the chief out and shoot him and make permanent enemies.[2191]

The *Atalaia* group divided into two parties when beyond the Mzimvubu River, both using their guns without real provocation or any thought for the consequences. A skirmish involving the Master's group led to a threatening display by the local people. These survivors fired on them, killing three men.[2192] After crossing the Msikaba River,

> "we found more than two hundred Kaffirs awaiting us with their assegais and warcries, covered with shields of hide which they use. We attacked them, punishing their boldness by the death of their leader, at whom Antonio Carvalho da Costa fired, and hit him in the legs with two bullets, so that he fell wounded, and we finished him with our swords."[2193]

This led to a renewed attack and another man was shot dead.[2194]

The Captain's party, when near the Msikaba River, was followed by a band of men and it was claimed that they had been ambushed, so they fired on them and killed one.

> "At this they became so infuriated that getting out of gunshot they did not cease molesting the company with stones, so much that in descending any mountain it was necessary for three men to stand with their firearms leveled while the rest of the company passed by."[2195]

Retribution meant that stones were continually thrown at them for some distance.[2196] At a certain point, a survivor from an earlier wreck arrived, one Benamusa, through whose offices they were able to trade and obtain guides.[2197] A little inland of the Mthenthu

[2191] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 363.
[2192] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 326.
[2193] Ibid., p. 327.
[2194] Ibid., p. 237.
[2195] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 329-330.
[2196] Ibid., p. 330.
[2197] Ibid., p. 331.

River the survivors suspected that there was a trap, so they killed one of the guides. Again, not surprisingly, the stoning increased and the survivors took refuge in some caves. The local people came to fetch the dead man "with great lamentations, from which they did not cease all night"[2198].

After passing the Bay of Natal, the *Atalaia* survivors were surprised when

> "Here the Kaffirs came out in warlike array, with assegais and shields that covered them, whereupon we assembled in a body, and at the sight of us they threw down their arms and came to us with many hens which we bartered from them".[2199]

The same survivor group obtained guides to show them where to cross the Thukela River, but they got frightened as "so many Kaffirs came upon us that the captain was obliged to kill one with his gun."[2200] Some distance further on, some of the survivors heard drums being played and assumed that they signalled war. They advanced on the huts and fired a charge, but claimed that they did not kill or wound anyone. The local people retaliated and these survivors retired back to their camp, having been "wounded with assegais and beaten".[2201] Near the Mlalazi River, the *Atalaia* survivors continued on their destructive path and claimed that some of the people there were trying to steal their cattle so they shot a man.[2202] Still ready to claim superiority of their group when at the Nyalazi River, the survivors bought cows but thought that the price being too high, so they just took the cows. The owners then demanded their cattle back and, in reply,

> "Paulo de Barros, who was in the van, fired his gun at one who drew near, and killed him,
>
> whereupon the others took flight, and we pursued them. They came out of the thickets into the open where a great number of Kaffirs bewailed the dead man."[2203]

[2198] Ibid., p. 332.
[2199] Ibid., p. 342,
[2200] Ibid., p. 343.
[2201] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 344.
[2202] Ibid., p. 345.
[2203] Ibid., p. 349.

The captain of the *Grosvenor* initially alienated the people who lived near the shipwreck site. There were different versions of the event, but what transpired was that the captain grabbed an assegai from one of the local men and refused to return it. This must have been seen as a threat as he went to summon his friends "who came out with their lances and targets."[2204] The captain then "attacked the natives and drove them out of the village."[2205] In retaliation, the local men threw some wooden lances at the survivors, but when one hit and stunned one of the survivors, they became agitated and ran away. One man was overtaken by the boatswain and beaten so badly that the captain then told the survivors that they should not kill anyone.[2206] This was too little too late and the local people had by then, been thoroughly alienated.

Hubberly's version of the affair did not mention that it was the captain who made the first aggressive move.

The spectre of cannibalism raised its head as alienation of the local inhabitants meant that the survivors were often starving. When the *São Bento* survivors were just north of the Mzimkulu River, it was decided to send four seamen ahead to see if a trading ship had arrived at Maputo Bay and to request that it wait for them.[2207] These seamen, probably as a result of poor management and poor example, could not have dealt politely with the local inhabitants and were unable to trade for provisions. This meant they were starved of food and turned to eating human flesh. By the time that the main company had reached north of Lake Sibayi, they were told that

> "The four men whom we had sent on before with a message to Lourenço Marques were dead, and they killed them close to that spot because, constrained by hunger, they seized a Kaffir whom they found on the sea-shore, and carrying him into a wood they cut him up and roasted him to furnish their wallets; but the inhabitants of that place, found that he was missing, and the ground being dry and sandy, they followed their track and

[2204] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[2205] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis, Warmington and Leary, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[2206] Dalrymple, Evidence of Lewis confirmed by Price, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 37.
[2207] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 237.

> came upon them in the act; and then carrying our men to the shore, and thinking it proper to be revenged upon them, they slew the poor wretches with cruel butchery."[2208]

Cannibalism was also practiced by the survivors of the *São João Baptista.* Poor leadership, the unequal distribution of resources and the alienation of the local people who refused to trade with them, meant that these survivors could not obtain food and in the extremis of hunger, they turned to eating human flesh. In the region of the Mzimvubu River, two slaves were hanged

> "though they did not remain on the gallows until morning because of the fearful hunger we then suffered, but they were secretly eaten by Negoes (and by others who were none such) of our camp, which was overlooked and allowed to pass."[2209]

At the same place, a Portuguese lad, who was the servant of the boatswain, was found bartering a small piece of iron and was hanged. Even D'Almada criticised this action.

> "He was a sturdy youth, who could have been useful to the company, and truly these cruelties finished us off in the midst of so many hardships – for although great rigour is requisite in whoever controls the seamen, it should not be carried to such an excess. The poor wretch begged for burial, that he might not be eaten; but his petition availed him little, for the captain gave an opportunity to our servants, who were weak with hunger, by ordering them to throw his body into the bush, and they took good care to give him the same burial as they had usually given to those who had died."[2210]

There were a number of instances where there were sudden changes in attitudes on the part of the local people, from peaceful trading, to angry aggression. These occasions involved one or two men who were separated from the group and who tried to explain the change by claiming that they were being robbed or were trying to prevent robberies.

It is very possible that some of the male survivors would have attempted to have sexual relations with any of the black women, especially when a group stayed in one place for

[2208] Ibid.,op. cit., p. 257.
[2209] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 225.
[2210] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 225.

a few days and this would have infuriated the men. As the *Stavenisse* survivors reported:

> "Men declare a great aversion from those who speak dishonourably and disrespectfully of their daughters, sisters or of any other women of their blood, and will show their displeasure by immediately withdrawing and abandoning the company."[2211]

Their responses would have been expressed much more strongly if the strangers had tried to take liberties with their women.

On one occasion, the survivors of the *São João Baptista* had traded peaceably at the Mtwalume River where they had met a survivor from a previous ship, who had assisted them. It was then claimed that a small pot and an arquebus had been stolen from them.[2212] The survivors moved on and camped next to the Mkomazi River where it rained heavily and incessantly.[2213] They were suddenly attacked by a very hostile and angry band of warriors for no apparent reason. "They almost drove us out of our camp, screaming such extraordinary war-cries and long continued whistles that it seemed like hell."[2214] Two of the survivors were killed and others wounded. The survivors retaliated and killed several by shooting them.[2215] It was claimed that the same people who had attacked them then came to trade, as did another group who crossed from the other side of the river and who told them there were bad people where they had camped.[2216] This episode, as recounted by D'Almada, is hardly credible. Why would a group of indigenous people risk death for no apparent reason and then arrive to trade peacefully? The sudden ferocity of the attack indicates that one or more of the survivors had given serious offence to incur such an angry retaliation. There is a strong possibility that this offence was an attempt to sexually molest one of their women. The peaceable traders were probably from another group.

[2211] Janz Kind and Others, Dispatch to the Lords XVIII, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 88
[2212] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 234-235.
[2213] Ibid., p. 236.
[2214] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 236.
[2215] Ibid., p. 236.
[2216] Ibid., p. 237.

In another episode, the Master's group of the *Atalaia* survivors also experienced a sudden attack, which appeared to be unprovoked. In an area north of the Mzimvubu River, this group spent three days with the local people as there was 'plentiful barter'.[2217] Two of these people apparently offered to act as guides. It was claimed that they had "plotted together two rob us, the two who had offered to guide us serving as spies."[2218] According to the account, two of the Portuguese men, who were separated from the main party, then got into a skirmish with these 'guides', who ran off. Then

> "coming into the open, we found ourselves on a plain surrounded by Kaffirs as thick as starlings on the wing, uttering warcries and brandishing assegais, an infinite number to each of the Portuguese."[2219]

The question can be asked why the local people were so angry that they had gathered in large numbers when nobody had been killed? This is a situation where it is suggested that the two men, giving their excuse that the 'guides' were 'spies', had possibly tried to have sexual intercourse with the women, and this was the cause of the anger of the local inhabitants.

The Captain's party, also from the *Atalaia*, who travelled further inland than the other party, also experienced what appeared to be an unprovoked attack, but this time one man was singled out. It was claimed that after some successful trading, a Portuguese man, one de Barros, claimed that he feared that the cattle were going to be stolen so hurried on ahead driving the cattle and climbing to the top of a mountain, accompanied by a ship's boy and some 'native Kaffirs'. Once there, de Barros was

> "severely beaten with the wooden cudgels which they used, and took from him the wallets and three live cows. The ship's boy defended himself with his broadsword and lost nothing but his hat."[2220]

[2217] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 325.
[2218] Ibid., p. 326.
[2219] Ibid., p. 326.
[2220] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 329.

This is a strange story. If de Barros feared that the cattle might be stolen, why take them away from the main group with only one young boy to protect them and go 'up a mountain'? Why was the attack made on only the one man, but the ship's boy was left unharmed? The three cows were not in fact lost and there is no further mention of the supposedly stolen wallets. Cows were not in short supply in the area so there would have been no need to antagonize the survivors by stealing their cows. Again it is possible that de Barros tried to sexually approach a black woman and was beaten, his excuse being that the local people had tried to steal some cows. The survivors then plundered the nearby huts and one man was shot dead. After this, the company was followed for a great distance and stones were thrown at them.[2221]

In spite of their prejudices against the indigenous peoples, the survivors admired their physical appearance and prowess. D'Almada, of the *São João Baptista* group reported that the pastoralists at Cannon Rocks were

> "stoutly built men, and disfigure themselves with daubs of red ochre, charcoal and ashes, with which they generally paint their faces, though they are really quite good looking."[2222]

He later noted that

> "they are vigorous and courageous, capable of performing remarkable feats of strength and agility, for they will pursue a bull and hold it fast, though those animals are of the most monstrous size imaginable."[2223]

When on Inhaca Island he commented that the overweight Chief Manganheira was unusual "whereas throughout the whole of Kaffraria I never saw a Kaffir who was round-shouldered or fat, but on the contrary they were all upstanding and lean."[2224]

[2221] Ibid., p. 329.
[2222] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 197.
[2223] Ibid., p. 200
[2224] Ibid., p. 249.

De Chalezac described the Xhosa people with whom he lived: "They are well-built and tall, with dexterous limbs, and although their country lies in a temperate zone, they are as black as those in the torrid zone."[2225]

The *Stavenisse* survivors found the country around the Bay of Natal "very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong and ingenious."[2226]

There is a remarkable contrast between the attitudes and actions of the Portuguese survivor groups who moved along the coast, as well as the *Grosvenor* survivor group, and the *Santo Alberto* party which took an inland route from Cintsa Bay to Inhaca Island in 1593.

Like their compatriots, the *Santo Alberto* group arrived on the coast of Africa with their prejudices intact. According to the author of the narrative, the indigenous people were "naturally inclined to robbery and treachery".[2227] After the shipwreck, they collected arms and provisions with "our people guarding everything with great care to secure themselves from the thefts and attacks of the Kaffirs"[2228] Lavanha referred to the indigenous people as 'barbarians'.[2229]

As with the other survivors, their criticisms were based on their belief in the superiority of their religion. As non-Christians, the indigenous people were "very brutish and worship nothing, and thus they would receive our Christian faith very easily."[2230]

The major advantage which this group enjoyed was that they had a leader of great insight, strength of character and wisdom. He was able to inspire loyalty and create discipline within the group and he treated the indigenous people with respect and

[2225] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 35.
[2226] Hoogsaad and others, in Vigne, p. cit., p. 84.
[2227] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 112.
[2228] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 119.
[2229] Ibid., pp. 120, 123, 150.
[2230] Ibid., p. 122.

dignity. Nuno Velho Pereira had distinguished himself in defending the Portuguese Empire in India and had been granted the captaincy of Sofala and Moçambique.[2231] This meant that his service in Africa had given him some understanding of the African peoples.

Pereira was not the captain of the *Santo Alberto*, but he showed leadership and foresight during the time when the ship was sinking.[2232] Although the captain initially took charge on the beach, an election was held to choose the 'Captain-major' to lead the party. Unusually, the soldiers and seamen were allowed to nominate their electors:

> "With one consent they elected Nuno Velho Pereira, on account of his nobility, prudence, courage and experience. … he accepted this nomination, and took the usual oath to fulfil his obligations, and all the rest likewise took a similar oath to obey him." [2233]

The organisation of the party was done carefully and six parties were created, each with a leader. Pereira appointed officers, including the Captain, to take charge of the provisions, arms and trade goods.[2234] The soldiers on board were divided up into the parties and Pereira earned their loyalty by giving them some gold and silver pieces "saying that he wished the gift was equal to the goodwill with which he gave it."[2235]

Unlike the other Portuguese survivor groups, no differentiation was made according to social status and provisions were shared: "the meat was equally divided among all as was inevitably done during the whole of the journey".[2236]

He did not allow private trading and hearing of attempts to barter by individuals

> "he ordered an inventory to be made of all the copper, iron and cloth which they had. He compelled them all to declare on oath what they had, and to deliver it to the said officials,

[2231] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 109.
[2232] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 112.
[2233] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 118.
[2234] Ibid., p. 124.
[2235] Ibid., p. 125.
[2236] Ibid., pp. 128-129.

> so that the aforesaid drawbacks could be avoided, everything might be equally divided, and by economizing in their use they might not be wanting when they were most needed."[2237]

Pereira dealt firmly with problems which arose after the long trip through uninhabited country:

> "The impatient among them now became insubordinate, denouncing the journey into the uninhabited interior, and clamouring to be led and guided to the sea. The pilot and master pointed out that their actual eastward course was the nearest way to the sea, which being confirmed by Nino Velho, appeased them."[2238]

Astonishingly enough, two noble ladies, Dona Isabel and her daughter, Dona Luisa, were carried in litters all the way. Initially by slaves, but when they tired, Pereira induced 16 seamen to carry the litters in exchange for money which would be paid to them at the end of the journey. This was done and his promise was honoured.[2239]

In his handling of the interactions with the indigenous people, Pereira showed that he understood that the survivors were the interlopers and were dependent on the goodwill of the local inhabitants for survival. He always tried to meet and negotiate with the chiefs and was careful to respect their dignity and positions.

The chief of the region visited the survivors at the wreck site and Pereira recognised his consequence immediately. He received the chief, Luspance, courteously, laying out a carpet with some ceremony. He managed to obtain two interpreters from among the slaves and was able to converse with the chief and explain their circumstances.[2240] The chief gave the survivors a present of two sheep. Pereira responded with giving the chief presents of sweetmeats, "a brass bowl full of nails, and a gilded Chinese writing

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[2237] Ibid., p.141.
[2238] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 149.
[2239] Ibid., pp. 131, 137.
[2240] Ibid., pp. 119-120.

box."[2241] The result was that the survivors were treated with goodwill and were able to obtain provisions and were given guides.[2242] The next chief, one Ubabu, possibly a son of Luspance, was "welcomed with their usual ceremony."[2243] He responded by asking his wives, daughters and others to entertain them with dancing.

> "Nuno Velho declared himself pleased with the entertainment and asked the treasurer for some small crystal beads threaded on silk, which he gave to the children (as he did allthrough the journey), and likewise three chessmen tied to three silk threads which he hung around the necks of the daughters of Ubabu, at which the brothers and father were much gratified and they promised Nuno Velho four cows in return."[2244]

When the survivors met Chief Vibo who lived north of the Kei River, he was perceived to be of high rank. Pereira again laid out a carpet and received the chief with due ceremony and explained how they had arrived there. He presented the chief with a metal pestle, a kettle, some crystal beads and three rosaries to his sons. Guides and provisions were then supplied.[2245]

Chief Incancunha who lived near the Mgwali River was also "received and entertained on a carpet. He gave him a crystal rosary, a piece of coral and the brass tip of a sunshade, with which the Negro was greatly delighted."[2246] Chief Mabomborucassobelo and his mother came to meet the survivors In the Flagstaff area. They were again received with due courtesy and all three seated on a carpet. Pereira was able to explain how they had arrived there.[2247] With a view to ingratiating himself with the chief, he added that "he had heard of this king's fame long before he had reached his land, which had induced him to travel this way in order to see him."[2248] The chief was presented

[2241] Ibid., pp. 120-121.
[2242] Ibid., p. 127.
[2243] Ibid., p. 130.
[2244] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 130-131.
[2245] Ibid., pp. 135-136.
[2246] Ibid., p. 140.
[2247] Ibid., p. 151.
[2248] Ibid., p. 152.

with "a branch of coral tied to a silk string around his neck, giving him also the lid of a cauldron, and his mother with some green speckled crystal beads".[2249]

Chief Gogambampolo presented two cows to the survivors and in return was given copper and nails.[2250] Other chiefs who lived between the Bisi and Mzimkulu Rivers were given copper, coral and crystal beads.[2251] Chief Gimbacucubaba, who lived north of the Mzimkulu was received on a carpet and presented with coral and cloth.[2252] Chief Uquine Inhana was not helpful, so he only received a porcelain bottle.[2253]

Near the Thukela River, Pereira ascertained that the widow of the chief held a respected position so he presented her with three pieces of copper and a Chinese silk curtain of various colours worked with beads and gold thread.[2254] Chief Panjana, who lived in the Nkandla area, was given a Chinese curtain, a cauldron-handle, a branch of coral and a silver coin as well as pieces of copper.[2255]

In the Nongoma region, Pereira and Chief Gamabela exchanged greetings:

> "Taking each other by the hand they sat down on a carpet, and the Captain-major told him how glad he was to see him … They then exchanged presents, the Inkosi giving two cows, and Nuno Velho some mother of pearl beads, a piece of silver, seven pieces of copper and a bloodstone."[2256]

This chief was so pleased with the good will shown that he asked for a keepsake. Pereira gave him his rosary and said it was "a sacred pledge of friendship" He was also given a specially cut wooden cross and a lecture on belief in God.[2257]

[2249] Ibid., p. 152.
[2250] Ibid., p. 154.
[2251] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 155-157.
[2252] Ibid., pp. 157-158.
[2253] Ibid., p. 160.
[2254] Ibid., pp. 163-164.
[2255] Ibid., p. 165.
[2256] Ibid., p. 170.
[2257] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

Chief Inhaca received Pereira and they sat on a mat together. The chief had heard about this group and sympathized with him about the shipwreck. "Nuno Velho thanked him profusely, as also for what he did for Dom Paulo de Lima and for the castaways from the great ship *São Thomé*, when they passed that way." [2258] He gave the chief presents of a felt sun-hat, a piece of Chinese cloth worked in silk and gold, two silver chains, a medal, a small silver bottle and two cows. He later gave his son cloth and silver.[2259]

The actions by Pereira in the giving of presents to the chiefs had important significance and this was one of the reasons that the chiefs responded so kindly. In offering gifts, Pereira was acknowledging the status of the chief and that he was subordinate to chiefly authority.

The chiefs responded to Pereira's courteous and dignified approach and the exchange of presents by giving the party guides wherever possible and they were always well rewarded. Chief Luspance and his sons were provided with guides to a village near the Kei River and Chief Vibo gave his sons to lead them as far as the Teka area. They were paid with crystal rosaries and silver[2260] Chief Incancunha not only gave two guides but also three herdsmen to domesticate the 14 cows which had been traded.[2261] The survivors were advised which path to take when they moved beyond the Mbhashe River into uninhabited country where guides would not continue.[2262]

All the chiefs, who lived between the Flagstaff area and north of the Mzimkhulu River, provided guides for the party.[2263] After an uninhabited area as far as the Mkomazi River, the respective chiefs gave guides as far as Nkandla.[2264] After another uninhabited area the chief at Nongoma and other chiefs met thereafter, guided the

[2258] Ibid., p. 179.
[2259] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 180-181.
[2260] Ibid., pp. 127, 128, 135-136.
[2261] Ibid., pp. 140-141.
[2262] Ibid., p. 143.
[2263] Ibid., pp. 152-158.
[2264] Ibid., pp. 160-166.

survivors to the coast near Lake Sibayi.[2265] Chief Inhaca's sister then gave guides who took them the Chief Inhaca's domain.[2266]

Throughout the journey, Pereira never offered aggression. He was fortunate to have the assistance of translators, so he was able to explain who they were and the circumstances of their arrival and to emphasise that they came in peace and would ask permission to travel through their lands. When Chief Ubabu had second thoughts about losing his cattle, Pereira first discussed the matter and treated him with "sweets and wine." When this did not work he merely told him that he was disappointed in him, but remembered the kindness of his brother.[2267]

Unlike the other survivor groups, guns were never used to fire on their hosts. Shortly after leaving the wreck site, and appreciating that the survivors had been treated courteously, the men "buried two muskets, by order of Nuno Velho, because they were very heavy, a great encumbrance, and little needed."[2268] North of the Mngeni River, some of the local men showed signs of wanting to steal some of the survivor's cattle, so Pereira ordered that a cow be killed with a matchlock in order

> "that they should be frightened and intimidated by the noise of the discharge. This had the desired result, for having killed the cow in this manner, the Kaffirs who were present were struck with amazement, and the Inkosi, who had already left, hearing the noise, returned in great haste to see what it was."[2269]

On meeting some Bushmen, one of whom tried to steal a cow, was merely hit on the head with a halberd.[2270]

In situations where the survivors did not have guides to introduce them to the next group of villages, Pereira could appreciate that a large body of strangers could frighten and intimidate the local inhabitants. When approaching a village near the Mgwali River,

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[2265] Ibid., pp. 169-173.
[2266] Ibid., p. 177.
[2267] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p.. 132.
[2268] Ibid., p. 129.
[2269] Ibid., p. 161.
[2270] Ibid., p. 167.

after traversing an uninhabited area, Pereira first sent six men, including the interpreter to ask leave to approach, while keeping the main body of people out of sight that they might not "frighten them with their numbers."[2271] The interpreter first went to explain, then they

> "were kindly received by the Kaffir and his wife, being welcomed with milk and to the fire which was relit. The master gave the hostess a crystal rosary, which she thanked him for, and she was astonished to see that our people resembled the negroes in everything save only in colour."[2272]

When they approached a village in the Flagstaff region after the long journey through uninhabited country,

> "they met four Negroes who with many others had seen our people long before and were watching them, not daring to approach for fear of the injury they might receive from such a numerous company." [2273]

Pereira then sent one of the company and an interpreter to reassure them and give them pieces of copper. After this, about 50 men appeared who had been hiding behind a hill. "Then they all came to the camp, and the principal men among them conversing with Nuno Velho gave him the news of the fertility and population of that region".[2274]

Pereira insisted that the survivors respected the possessions and crops of their hosts:

> "Coming in sight of some Negroes' huts which were those of the guides accompanying them, these, fearing that our people would injure their crops of millet around the huts, left the track and led them along where there was no grain. The Captain-major, seeing this, and asking and learning the reason for being side-tracked, ordered the column to halt, and made the proclamation that no one should touch anything belonging to those Kaffirs, on pain of death. They, learning from the interpreter, were astonished, and then returned laughing to the proper way."[2275] 129.

[2271] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 139.
[2272] Ibid., p. 139-140.
[2273] Ibid., pp. 149-150.
[2274] Ibid., p. 150.
[2275] Ibid., p. 129.

In the Thukela valley, the survivors

> "halted by a field of millet which was already ripe, but they did not touch it, partly soas not to offend the Negroes, and partly because these latter were very liberal with what they had already harvested".[2276]

The other relatively successful groups were those who built boats to escape and who did not antagonize the local people. As far as can be established, the *São Gonçalo* party at Plettenberg Bay, built two boats and departed without alienating the local people. The *Belém* survivors at the Mzimvubu did make enemies of the indigenous inhabitants, but were able to build their boats and leave before there was outright war. The *Stavenisse* survivors, who walked south, had the good fortune to be taken in by the kindly Xhosa people. They must have had a good leader who was able to negotiate with the chief. The *Doddington* survivors also must have had a good leader as for the most part, they interacted well with the indigenous people when they went ashore.

Conclusion:

The survivor groups from all the shipwrecks, even the Africans, were strangers in a strange land, which was occupied by peoples who were well established and who controlled the resources and the survivors depended on them for their ultimate survival. Where there was no effective leadership, the groups became dysfunctional. This, together with the sense of superiority and acts of aggression antagonized the local people, so provisions were not easily available and led to cannibalism in some instances.

The rigid social class hierarchy of the Europeans could not be sustained in times of disaster. This was a major issue on the Portuguese ships, where the slave contingent usually outnumbered the Portuguese. It was difficult to marshal a well-disciplined group

[2276] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 164.

when there was an unequal distribution of resources, which led to resentment and private trading.
The Europeans had a sense of their own superiority, based largely on their religious beliefs. The indigenous people were not Christians, but were non-believers and heathens. They were to be pitied as they could not look forward to the after-life.

The possession of guns reinforced the Europeans' sense of superiority. In spite of the fact that Pereira never used fire-power against the indigenous people, and indeed, buried some of the guns early in the journey, Lavanha persisted in the belief that guns were necessary to 'control' the indigenous people. Clinging to his own prejudices and in the teeth of evidence to the contrary, and possibly unaware that the indigenous people had no knowledge of firearms, he made the nonsensical statement that

> "the Kaffirs were obliged by their fear and awe of these firearms to be friendly, to barterprovisions with them, and to refrain from working their will upon them, these people being naturally inclined to robbery and treachery, as will be seen in the course of this narrative."[2277]

The *Grosvenor* survivors felt helpless when encountering the local people as they had not saved any gunpowder.

The experiences of all the groups showed that good and effective leadership was fundamental to the ultimate success of their journeys. They needed more than the physical fitness of individuals in undertaking the long and demanding journeys, often over difficult terrain. A leader was needed who could create a coherent and disciplined group and who could interact with the indigenous people, treating them with respect and dignity, thus ensuring their goodwill and co-operation and access to provisions.

Nuno Velho Pereira proved to be such a man. He interacted with the local chiefs in such a way that the *Santo Alberto* survivors were always able to get plenty of food, they

[2277] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 112.

moved along established routes for most of the journey, so they were able to travel in good physical condition and there was a high survival rate.

The Portuguese groups who moved and lived along the coast, left a legacy of dislike and distrust, which was especially felt by the people who lived in the environs of the Mzimvubu River. The *Santo Alberto* party who moved inland left behind feelings of good will. The survivors of the Dutch ships, the *Stavenisse* and the *Bennebroeck*, did not antagonise their hosts and appear to have respected them and been grateful for their assistance. The survivors from the English ships, the *Doddington* and the *Grosvenor*, were not slave ships, so did not have an extra group on board to both fear and control. When they ventured ashore, the *Doddington* survivors showed a proper respect for the people from whom they hoped to obtain provisions. The dysfunctional *Grosvenor* groups had no idea of how to treat with the local people.

Chapter 19

RESPONSES OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: THE VOICES OF SILENCE

Introduction

The main aim in interpreting the interactions between the survivor groups and the people whom they encountered is to give voice to the so-called 'silence' of the indigenous people. In undertaking research into the peoples of the Marquesa Islands, Dening commented that "It was the silence of those who for one reason or another had no voice, or whose voice was not their own, but always someone else's."[2278]

Brink has noted that "Silence is not to be thought of as an opponent or an adversary: it is not simply the 'other' of language. If words are indeed, from a certain point of view, wrested from silence, it is equally true that silence may be read to inhere in language itself."[2279]

The narratives of the survivor accounts were recorded by Europeans but, in engaging with the texts, it becomes clear that from the responses and actions of the indigenous people with whom the survivors interacted, that they were far from being silent.

The text is read "against itself so as to expose what might be thought of as the 'textual subconscious' where meanings are expressed which may be directly contrary to the surface meaning."[2280] In this way the responses from the indigenous people to the often unstated actions of the survivors can be uncovered through analysing the texts 'against the grain'. Here the Europeans were the interlopers, the 'Other', and were in a subservient position to the indigenous people, in whose territories they had landed.

[2278] Dening, P, 'Writing, Rewriting History,' *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent land: Marquesa: 1774- 1880*, (Chicago, University of Hawaii Press, 1980), p. 145.

[2279] Brink, A., "Interrogating silence: new possibilities faced in South African literature", in Attridge, D., and Jolly, R., *Writing South Africa*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 14.

[2280] Barry, P., *Beginning Theory*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 73.

As pointers to authors of African history, Phillips suggests that “To write African history we must strive to understand the mindset and world view of the Africans of the past that we write about.”[2281] He adds “Historians should, as the most important lesson of history, try to give our readers an insight into another time and another place. We should not just provide new information, raw facts, but should also make people think in new ways by explaining to them how things were in an era they can never enter into.”[2282]

The Africans as the hosts:

The discourse of the Africans was widely at variance with that of the Europeans. While the latter had become globalised with the discoveries of new worlds, the Indigenous people had more localised and pragmatic perceptions of the world.

Their notions of difference were not based on religious beliefs or cultural practices and they were not immediately judgmental. When the strangers arrived, they were mainly concerned abut their origins - where had they come from, where were they going and what were their intentions? In view of their different colour, the local people also wanted to establish that the strangers were human and not beings from another world who might have magical powers. Many also ascertained if the strangers had any value and could offer trade goods.

When the *São João* survivors were just north of the Santo Espiritu River, they met a group who "drew nearer and began to speak with our people, asking them who they were and what they were seeking."[2283] When the *Santo Alberto* survivors met Chief Luspance, he said that "he would be glad to know how they came there."[2284] Chief Vibo enquired "who were these Portuguese, where they came from and whither they were

[2281] Phillips, J.E., Ed., “What is African History”, in *Writing African History*, (Rochester, Rochester University Press, 2006), p. 35.
[2282] Ibid., p. 43.
[2283] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 18.
[2284] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 120.

going."[2285] In the Nongoma area, the survivors were "asked who they were and what were they doing in their country."[2286] The *Stavenisse* survivors of 1686 commented that "whenever they [the Xhosa] meet [a stranger], asking whence they came and whither are they going".[2287] In 1782, when the *Grosvenor* survivors met a group of local people, their chief "came to enquire what they were and where going, as they understood."[2288]

The survivors of the *Santo Alberto* understood that the exclamations of "Nanhatá, Nanhatá" with which they were greeted both in the Kwelera River area and in near Nongoma, were signs of peace and friendship.[2289] A small group of people, possibly Bushmen, called out "Alala, Alala", which these survivors also took to be a greeting.[2290] They were recognised as not being hostile but could have been exclamations of surprise.[2291]

Even today, the traditional form of greeting strangers in the rural Transkei is much the same. Strangers are asked where have they come from, what is their business and where is their destination? [2292]

The indigenous people who occupied the land through which the survivors passed were: hunter-gatherers [the Bushmen], pastoralists or herders, who spoke dialects of the Khoisan group of languages, and the agro-pastoralists, later called the Nguni and the Tsonga, who spoke dialects of the suite of Bantu languages.

Communication between these people and the survivors was always difficult, but in some cases, the African slaves on board were able to act as interpreters if the local

[2285] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 135.
[2286] Ibid., p. 167.
[2287] Jansz Kind and others, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 89.
[2288] Hubberly, Evidence, in Kirby, op. cit., p. 73.
[2289] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit. pp. 119, 169.
[2290] Ibid., p. 148.
[2291] Boxer, Note 1, p. 148.
[2292] Feely, Pers. comm.

people were from a Bantu-speaking group. They were however unable to communicate with the Khoisan language-speakers whose language was characterized by 'clicks'.

The hunter-gatherers [Bushmen, San] were at one time were spread over most of Southern Africa. They moved in independent groups or bands with chiefs, but acknowledged no paramount chief.[2293] Each band had their own hunting territory which was defined by waterholes. Infringement of these rights was one of the main causes of dispute between neighbours and could lead to fights.[2294] They did not cultivate and the leaves, roots and fruit of edible plants which they gathered, formed the main part of their diet. They kept no livestock and obtained animal food by hunting and fishing.[2295] Their weapons were bows and arrows.[2296] Circumcision was not practiced.[2297]

Elphick defines the pastoralists of southern Africa as communities where a dialect of the Khoisan language was spoken and where pastoralism was the preferred mode of economic life.[2298] The Gonaqua, Damasqua and other clans were found in the Eastern Cape in the late seventeenth century.[2299]

The herders moved widely in search of pastures. As a semi-nomadic society they did not base their culture on land ownership, but had small patrilineal clans which were loosely linked under a chief. Theirs was a fragile economy as animal husbandry was vulnerable to theft, disease or drought.[2300]

[2293] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Poeple of South Africa*, Reprint, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 81.
[2294] Ibid., p. 77.
[2295] Ibid., p. 91.
[2296] Ibid., p. 128.
[2297] Ibid., p. 71.
[2298] Elphick, R., *Khoilhoi and the founding of white South Africa*, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985), p.xxi.
[2299] Ibid., p. xvii.
[2300] Elphick, R. and Malherbe, V.C., “The Khoisan to 1928” in Elphick, R., and Giliomee, H., Eds, *The Shaping of Suth African Society, 1652-1840*, (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 6.

Their encampments were in the form of great circles enclosed by a fence of thorns. The huts were ranged around the circumference and the open space in the centre was the fold in which the livestock was kept at night.[2301]

Although ownership of land was not an issue, the pastoralists did claim ownership of water sources.[2302] They owned cattle, sheep, goats and dogs.[2303] Stock was seldom slaughtered and then only for ceremonial occasions. Milk was used to make butter and thick sour milk.[2304] Game was hunted with traps and snares and pits being dug for big game.[2305] Fishing was carried out by setting traps of woven baskets or reeds in river inlets, and weirs were made along the coast. They were fearless swimmers.[2306] The roots and fruits of wild plants were collected.[2307] Food was shared and they were generous with their hospitality.[2308] Weapons were bows and arrows, short straight throwing clubs, knobbed at one end, and spears, with narrow pointed iron blades fixed to wooden shafts.[2309] The pastoralists made pottery containers. They could smelt iron, making arrow- and spear- heads and cutting tools and could work copper into ornaments. [2310]

Initiation ceremonies for young boys at puberty consisted of a: period of seclusion and a course of instruction, but they did not practice circumcision.[2311]

They were not an aggressive people and usually were friendly towards strangers. It was only when there were misunderstandings or quarrels, that they were roused to anger.[2312] Their musical talent was highly developed.[2313]

[2301] Schapera, op. cit., p. 228.
[2302] Ibid., p. 235.
[2303] Ibid., pp. 230, 300.
[2304] Ibid., pp. 237, 238.
[2305] Ibid., pp. 236, 303.
[2306] Ibid., p. 304.
[2307] Ibid., pp. 235, 236, 238.
[2308] Ibid., p. 239.
[2309] Ibid., p. 301, 303.
[2310] Ibid., p. 315.
[2311] Schapera, op. cit., p. 71.

The agro-pastoralists were people who cultivated the soil, kept livestock and worked with iron. Their language was Bantu, with many dialects. Translators for some of the survivor groups were found among the African slaves, who were able to understand these people and in turn, make themselves understood.

The Tsonga are found on the eastern coast of Southern Africa. At one time their land extended from St Lucia to the Sabi River in the north. There were numerous clans, speaking dialects of the Tsonga (Thonga) language.[2314]

Smith uses descriptions provided by the Portuguese, including the information from Perestrello (*São Bento*, 1554), to suggest that strong political units in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were centred around Maputo Bay, and that they were well-established kingdoms as compared with the more loosely controlled chiefdoms in the south. This was an important issue in determining power relations between the various tribes and the competition for trade could lead to conflict.[2315] These internal interactions affected the relationships between the survivors and the local people.
The Tsonga practiced a ceremony of initiation which included circumcision. The payment of a bride-price to a prospective father-in-law was also a part of the culture.[2316] Belts of tsetse fly separated the Tsonga from their southern neighbours which meant that they developed a culture which was distinct from that of the Nguni.[2317].

Goats were the most common domestic animals. Cattle were found but not in the tsetse fly areas. They also kept fowls and the most favoured grain was sorghum. Canoes

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[2312] Ibid., p. 350.
[2313] Ibid., p. 400.
[2314] Junod, H., The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. I, Social Life, First Edition, 1912, Revised 1927, (New York, University Books Inc., 1962), p.13.
[2315] Smith, A., "Delagoa Bay and the Trade of South-Eastern Africa", in Gray, R., and Birmingham, D., *Pre-Colonial African Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 268-269.
[2316] Junod, op. cit., p. 71.
[2317] Wilson, M., "Sotho, Venda and Tsonga", in Wilson, M., and Thompson, L., *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. I, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 176-177.

were constructed to cross the many deep rivers. Fishing was done in coastal lagoons and rivers using traps, and by constructing weirs in the sea. Weapons were bows and arrow and assegais.[2318]

The indigenous people who lived in the coastal areas between Kosi Bay and the Keiskamma River during the period 1552 to 1686 were amazed to see people who resembled themselves, but with pale skins and wearing strange garments, appearing among them. Their body language was often unmistakable, and when the survivors were able to get translators, their comments can be understood.

The *São João,* wrecked some five kilometres north of the Mtamvuna River in 1552, was the first of the wrecks on the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal coast. The appearance of some 500 people, apparently washed up from the sea, must have been an astonishing, inexplicable and frightening occurrence for the indigenous people who first observed them from a distance. At this time there would have been no stories telling of strangers suddenly appearing from the sea. In later years, when more ships went aground along the coast, there must have been many tales which could at least have alerted the local people. As it was, these, the first observers, nine in all, stood rooted to the spot when they "appeared on a hill where they stood for two hours without attempting to speak to us. Then they left as if frightened."[2319] They returned later and, through hand signals, they signalled that they wanted iron. Later a cow was brought and, while trying to negotiate an exchange for nails, another group appeared. They were not happy to associate with the strangers, and told the first-comers to leave, which they did.[2320]

The survivors of the *São Bento* were first observed by a group of about eight people who inspected them from a headland and then disappeared.[2321] These people had

[2318] Wilson, in Wilson and Thompson, op. cit., p. 177.
[2319] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 11.
[2320] Ibid., p. 11.
[2321] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 223.

possibly heard stories of the *São João* group who had appeared from the sea in the same manner only two years before and only some 50 km distance away. These were a confident people who were prepared to interact peaceably with the survivors. Their first action was to burn pieces of the wreck which had been washed up on the shore, to obtain the nails. They did not seem afraid and were never aggressive:

> "on our calling to them some of them came to the edge of the river opposite to where we were and became bolder, seeing us unarmed, for then purposely we did not carry weapons with us. They swam across the river and came to speak to us, and Fernão d'Alvarez gave them the best welcome he could, giving them such poor provisions as we had, and caps, pieces of cloth and iron, with which they were delighted".[2322]

When later that day, about a hundred men appeared carrying wooden pikes, the survivors

> "took to our arms and went to attack them, thinking such was their intention; but it proved otherwise, for on our approach they offered no violence, but showed themselves peaceable as before".[2323]

The local people were still very curious about these strange people. It was commented that

> "we learnt nothing from them except that from their peaceable and assured demeanour they were men who had come to see us as a novelty to which they were unaccustomed, showing their surprise at our colour, arms, dress and disposition."[2324]

Chief Luspance, who lived near the Kwelera River, first needed to establish that that the *Santo Alberto* survivors were human. He noted that they had "bodies like his, and that they were the children of the sun (since they were white)".[2325] The cattle also found the visitors very strange:

[2322] Ibid., p. 224.
[2323] Ibid., p. 225.
[2324] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit , p. 225.
[2325] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 120.

> "If the Kaffirs thought our people odd on account of the difference in colour and dress, their cattle were no less astonished, for they would run towards the Portuguese from a great distance, and then stop near them with their muzzles in the air, as if amazed at such a novelty."[2326]

A son of a chief came to visit the survivors when they were near the Kei River. "He said that his father had sent him to see such strange people."[2327] At the Mgwali River, the wife of a man who gave food to the survivors, said that "she was astonished to see that our people resembled the Negroes in everything save only in colour."[2328] The people who lived in the Flagstaff area were "astonished at the appearance of our people".[2329]

The pastoralists who first observed the survivors of the *São João Baptista* at Cannon Rocks must have been astonished and probably apprehensive at the sudden appearance of strangers on the beach. Their response was not aggressive, but placatory. The survivors were apprehensive so

> "we took up arms, and as they drew near to us they handed the assegais which they carried to their children until they were very close to us, when they squatted down on their haunches, clapping their hands and whistling softly, in such a way that they all kept in tune together, and many women who were with them began to dance."[2330]

An exchange of presents took place with the survivors giving the chief some pieces of iron and cloth and in return an ox was brought and was

> "cut open alive at the navel, and he with most of those that were with him plunged their hands into the entrails of the ox while it was still alive and bellowing, smearing themselves with that filth."[2331]

This was possibly a protective ritual. A similar rite was performed at the *Santo Alberto* wreck site by the people there, where the entrails were thrown into the sea.[2332] Junod states that this would have been an invocation to the spirits of the ancestors.[2333]

[2326] Ibid., pp. 132-133.
[2327] Ibid., p. 134.
[2328] Ibid., p. 140.
[2329] Ibid., p. 151.
[2330] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 197.
[2331] Ibid., p. 198.

In 1630, the pastoralists living in the vicinity of Plettenberg Bay, showed no overt hostility towards the survivors of the *São Gonçalo*, but tried to propitiate them by inviting them 'to partake of a cake.'[2334]

The people at the Mzimvubu River were also puzzled by the arrival of the survivors of the *Belém* in 1635. Strange white people had been seen before when the *São João Baptista* survivors had spent some days there in 1622. The legacy which this group had left could not have been a good one as they had killed the local chief and prectised cannibalism among their own people. The local inhabitants clearly did not want a confrontation, but were still apprehensive. It was reported that

> "at a distance of a quarter of a league from us, and all of them seated in a squatting position, somewhat as if they were holding a council on what they should do. They got up a few at a time and gradually drew nearer to us, sitting down and resting from time to time. We imitated them, drawing nearer to them and sitting down in the same way as they did until, we and they being a stone's throw apart, they all rose and clapping their hands and dancing in time with the sound and singing in a barbarous but moderate voice and tone, came towards us with great celebration and signs of joy."[2335]

Their 'signs of joy' may have been wishful thinking on the part of the survivors.

The people who lived in the vicinity of the Kobonqaba River did not conceal their astonishment at the sight of the *São João Baptista* survivors: "They were amazed at seeing us white and clothed, and the women and children made a great hullabaloo".[2336] Near the Mtwalume River, "many of them climbed up the trees merely to see us".[2337] At Kosi Bay, "they thought we were creatures born in the sea and they asked us by signs to show us their navels, which two sailors immediately did. They asked us to breathe in

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[2332] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 120-121.
[2333] Boxer, op. cit., Note 1, p. 121.
[2334] De Sousa, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VI, op. cit., p. 418.
[2335] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 323
[2336] D'Almada Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 208.
[2337] Ibid., p. 234.

and out, and when they saw us do this they nodded their heads as if to say 'These are human beings like us.'"[2338]

In 1635, a number of the people in the Mzimvubu area probably had missed seeing the survivors in 1622, as they "gave signs of great wonderment as they saw what they had never seen before".[2339] They must have been even more astonished, and possibly amused, at the spectacle when the *Belém* survivors tried to ask for food by making signs:

> "And since our whole trouble and greatest need was to satisfy our hunger, we so informed them, asking if there were chickens, sheep, cows, whichever one of us who best knew how to do it imitating the sound of a chicken until, by this means, they finally recognised what we wanted. Others of us forming horns on our heads with our arms and bellowing like an ox or bleating like a sheep".[2340]

The strange and often inexplicable appearance of the survivors certainly puzzled many of the local people, and some wondered if the strangers were human or were beings from another world with magical or healing powers. When the *Santo Alberto* survivors were between the Mzimkulu and Mkhomazi Rivers, "there came several sick and crippled Kaffirs who asked the Captain-Major to cure them, offering him sheep and goats which they brought."[2341] To his credit, Nuno Velho simply made the sign of the cross and said it was not within his power and did not take their offerings.[2342] Again, just north of the Mgeni River, these survivors met many men and women

> "who offered them ears of millet to lay hands on those parts of their bodies where they suffered pain, hoping to be cured by those means. Our people made the sign of the cross upon them, at which they were very joyful and pleased, and placing themselves in front of the vanguard they went singing after their fashion."[2343]

[2338] Ibid., p. 246.
[2339] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 323.
[2340] Ibid., p. 324.
[2341] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 158.
[2342] Ibid., p. 158.
[2343] Ibid., p. 163.

In the Thukela River area, men and women offered the *Santo Alberto* survivors

> "ears of millet to lay hands on those parts of their bodies where they suffered pain, hoping to be cured by these means. Our people made the sign of the cross on them, at which they were very joyful and pleased, and placing themselves in front of the vanguard they went along singing after their fashion."[2344]

A little north of St Lucia, D'Almada reported that "they saw me shoot a bird dead with my matchlock, at which they were greatly astonished, for it seemed witchcraft to them."[2345] The captain of the *São João Baptista* was then asked to treat a man who had been crippled by a crocodile. Unlike the more honest response of Nuno Velho, this captain first exacted payment and then showed the man his face in a small mirror, which astounded him. The captain then brushed the wound with fat and bound it with a piece of cloth. Others followed and were treated in the same way.[2346]

Where the survivors did not offer aggression, they met friendliness in many places, often characterized by dancing and singing. At the Mtwalume River, the *São Bento* survivors reported that the people from some neighbouring villages "came out to see us, singing and clapping their hands with many joyful demonstrations, bringing cakes, roots and other things upon which they live, to sell to us".[2347]

The *Santo Alberto* survivors were entertained at Chief Ubabu's village

> "In order to show his pleasure at entertaining them.. He told the women to dance, and they, clapping their hands and singing, there rose up about sixty Negroes of the same village who were sitting around looking at our people, and they began to dance and jump to the same sound."[2348]

[2344] Ibid., p. 163.
[2345] D'Almada Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 243.
[2346] D'Almada Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 243-244.
[2347] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 235
[2348] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 131.

Again at the Mbhashe River, "Here many Negroes with their women and children came to see them from their villages, and entertained them with singing and dancing."[2349] In the Flagstaff region, the people came dancing and singing as they guided the survivors to a valley near a village.[2350] Near the Bisi River, the *Santo Alberto* survivors were again entertained when there was "rejoicing and singing at the sight of the Portuguese; and with a great show of affection, for which they were well paid, they helped them pass the river."[2351]

The *Belém* survivors first gave the people at the Mzimvubu River presents "which they received with much delight and friendliness".[2352] It was reported by the *Atalaia* survivors, that the people who lived near the Mkhomazi River "came to meet us on our way, singing and dancing with great rejoicing, after their fashion."[2353]

In present-day Mozambique, most of the chiefs gave assistance to the survivor groups as they valued the trade with the Portuguese. Desirable goods were cloth and beads which the itinerant trading vessels brought from India in exchange for ivory.

What the survivors who walked along the coast often failed to appreciate, was that, in spite of the loss of many of their people on the long and arduous trips, the groups were still large and supplying them with food would deplete the resources of their hosts.

The 120 *São João* survivors received hospitality and shelter from Chief [Inhaca], who "provided for them a best he could".[2354] They were totally unappreciative when Chief Manhisa was unable to provide for this large number in one place. When he divided

[2349] Ibid., p. 142.
[2350] Ibid., p. 150.
[2351] Ibid., p. 155.
[2352] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 325.
[2353] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 339.
[2354] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

them up among the different villages, it was said that "This was the malicious intention of the king, it seemed, given what happened later."[2355]

With the of best intentions, Chief Inhaca was hard put to find provisions for the 56 survivors from the *São Bento,* who arrived at his residence and appeared to think that they should be fed without payment.

> "After we had been there three or four days he sent for our captain, and said to him that we were so numerous that he was unable to maintain us all, as he was obliged to buy provisions from his people to give to us, and therefore we should assist him with gold and silver pieces, and that we could not excuse ourselves from it, because he well knew that all white men were rich; that we should consider what he asked was for our good, from which nothing came to him but the trouble of collecting it, and if all were not willing to do this he would give food to those who did and not to the others; and if this plan did not suit us we might go where we pleased, but he could not promise us security from his people."[2356]

The captain attributed this to the chief's 'covetousness' and the survivors returned the answer that they had very little. In return for some grain, they gave a few presents. When they asked for more the chief

> "replied by making known how little he was able to do, saying he could not give us any grain because he had none, for even what he gave us before he had collected among all his people, but when any elephant or seahorse was killed he would share it with us. And this proved to be the truth, for though at first we were angry, suspecting he made this excuse that we might die of hunger, when we became aware of the barrenness of the land and of his goodwill towards us, we found this was really all he could do."[2357]

The chief kept his promise and gave the survivors a share of an elephant, which the local people had killed. Far from being grateful, the survivors then complained that the local men 'had so little energy' that they did not immediately do some more hunting.[2358] The survivors were in fact, concealing trade goods and private trading revealed this,

[2355] Ibid., p. 20.
[2356] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 271.
[2357] Ibid., p. 272.
[2358] Ibid., p. 272.

which angered the chief.[2359] These survivors finally moved to Inhaca Island, where they were divided up into separate villages, and were expected to contribute in labour: "Each chose a well disposed leader in the village and carried wood and water as he required in return for protection and food sharing."[2360]

The 98 *São Thomé* survivors, who were wrecked some 35 years after the *São Bento* group, received assistance and kindly treatment from Chief Inhaca's people. Near Kosi Bay they were met by an old man, probably a headman in his own right as he was wearing a leopard [tiger] skin cloak. He was accompanied by a group of men who conducted these survivors to a village by the side of a lake [Kosi Bay] where they were able to barter for food. They, however, showed little appreciation or gratitude when the black women

> "gathered to see the white women, as something marvellous, and all night they gave them many entertainments and dances, which they would gladly have excused, as the noise prevented them from sleeping and they had great need of some rest."[2361]

After another three days, the survivors were met by friendly people sent by King Inhaca and who were accompanied by one who could speak Portuguese. They were taken to the village of the king where they were received with great courtesy. Again the white women excited interest among the black women and in an early demonstration of the sisterhood operating across racial lines, and seeing them "weary and distressed", offered them compassion and "the use of their huts and desiring even to take them there at once."[2362] Here the survivors remembered their manners and presented the king with a piece of cloth worked in gold and some iron. The king offered to support the survivors

[2359] Ibid., p. 273.
[2360] Ibid., p. 279.
[2361] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
[2362] Ibid., p. 81.

"as well as he could until the next trading ship came and they could take up residence on an island where there were huts in which the Portuguese lived when they came for the ivory trade."[2363]

The chief of the Manhiça, who lived on the Incomati River, had a Portuguese trader who was staying with him. There these *São Thomé* survivors were also made welcome and given food.[2364] They were given a guide to King Inhàpula near the Limpopo River who "came to meet them kindly and ordered that they should all be lodged together in a large hut giving them some provisions of that country to eat in exchange for pieces of nails."[2365] At this stage there were still about 81survivors in the party. They were also well received in the kingdom of Mamuça, where they remained for three days.[2366] They were given guides to the kingdom of Panda where the king, who was a friend of the Portuguese and who valued the trade, entertained them "by banquets and rejoicing." [2367] In the kingdom of Gamba [Vilanculos area] the king and his sons were Christians and the remaining survivors were "received and lodged very well".[2368] In the final stage, they made their way to Bazaruto Island, occupied by Muslims "who treated them very well".[2369]

In the region of Lake St Lucia, the *São João Baptista* survivors reported that "the flat country was inhabited by very poor people who nevertheless received us very hospitably."[2370] On Inhaca Island these survivors presented the chief with a cape and were able to trade provisions.[2371] Chief Manhisa also "showed goodwill towards us."[2372]

[2363] Ibid., p. 82.
[2364] Ibid., p. 89.
[2365] Ibid. p. 92.
[2366] Ibid., p. 94.
[2367] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit. p. 95.
[2368] Ibid. p. 96.
[2369] Ibid. p. 98.
[2370] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit.,p. 241.
[2371] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit.,p. 348.
[2372] Ibid., p. 252.

In the Mzimvubu area, the *Belém* survivors first encountered people who "left us pleased with them and with their friendliness as if they were people already known to us".[2373]

The survivors from the *Atalaia* found that the people were well-disposed in the area north of the Mzimkulu River, where they were able to barter for provisions.[2374] Once in Mozambique, the combined group of survivors from the *Atalaia* and *Sacramento*, which numbered 154 people, were, nevertheless, given provisions and lodgings by Chief Inhaca Sangoan and given guides to assist them to reach the Xefina islands.[2375]

The survivors of the *Stavenisse* met kind assistance from the Xhosa [Magosse] people: "They were so well-treated that the barbarians shamed the Christians by their charity and hospitality."[2376] They were given the means to live and become self sufficient: "giving each European enough to set up house, as many cattle as they needed, two three, four, indeed up to ten cows to milk, and in addition further foodstuffs and beer to support life."[2377]

De Chalezac reported that after being assaulted, he was rescued and taken to the chief. There he was "received with all sorts of kindness."[2378] After the failed attempts to walk to the Cape, he found lodging with "the cousin of the king, who received me with a tenderness which was not that of a barbarian."[2379]

In 1713, a group of survivors from the *Bennebroeck* who did not attempt to walk to the Cape remained with the local people who lived in the vicinity of the Keiskamma River.

[2373] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 325.
[2374] Ibid., p. 337.
[2375] Ibid., pp. 354, 356.
[2376] Jansz Kind and others, Dispatch, in Vigne, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
[2377] Jansz Kind and others, Dispatch, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 86.
[2378] De Chalezac, in Vigne, op. cit., p. 32.
[2379] Ibid., p. 34.

They were very well treated, and when a trading ship landed nearby, only four took the opportunity of getting to the Cape.[2380]

The *Doddington* survivors of 1755 found that wherever they went ashore the indigenous people were friendly and willing to trade. A crew member, Arnold, was landed between the Mzimkhulu River and the Bay of Natal and gave a description of his interaction with the people whom he met:

> "They Seem'd a little Shy of him, but he Advanced towards them Making Motions of Submission all the way he went. He Came to a Number of them Setting down, who Made Motions for him to Sett down by them which he did. Then an Old Man, held up the Lap [Lappet] of the Garment which was a Bullocks Hide, expecting he would give him Something, and having a few Beads About his Neck, he gave Them to him. Then Another Held up his Garment in the Same Manner, And he Gave Him a small piece of Buntin Which was all he had, and they all would be glad to accept anything you would give them, but Never Offered To Take anything by Force. Our Man Made Motions to them for Something to Eat & they gave him Some Indian Corn."[2381]

He added that they were very "Civill" to him and that they might be prepared to trade some Sheep.[2382]

The indigenous people, however, gradually learnt that their overtures of friendliness were not reciprocated by the Portuguese survivors who moved along the coast. In response to the aggressive and warlike actions of these groups, many became fearful and angry. Word of some of the aggressive actions of the survivors often spread ahead and as a result, local people would refuse to trade. In addition, where particularly foul deeds had been perpetrated in certain areas, succeeding groups were regarded with disfavour.

[2380] Marchand and Others, in Leibrandt, op. cit., p.262.
[2381] Jones, in Temple, *The Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., pp. 183-184.
[2382] Ibid., p. 184.

After their earlier depredations, the *São Bento* group found that in the St Lucia area, "the natives whom we found were more savage and more evilly inclined at each encounter".[2383] North of Lake Sibayi, the people were unfriendly and it was explained to them by a translator that this was the area where the four seamen who had been sent on ahead, had killed and eaten a local man so they were thought to be cannibals.[2384]

The word of the cannibalism had undoubtedly reached Chief Inhaca's people at this time and these survivors were despised, distrusted and scorned:

> "It was easily seen in our state and appearance how we had fared upon the road, foreveryone had his skin clinging to his bones and looked more like an image of death than a living being, and in ur thinness, together with the poverty of our rags and the filth with which we were covered through labour and want, so disgusted the natives that they came to the huts where we were and assailed us with all manner of scorn."[2385]

They "were lodged in huts apart from the rest and told not to walk about the town."[2386] The claim that they only went into the town to scavenge for bones, was probably untrue and they did try to steal; "When we went into their town we were attacked and beaten they declared we had been robbing their houses."[2387]

When the *São Thomé survivors* landed north of Lake Sibayi in 1589, they were not welcomed. They were followed by about 300 of the local men and the survivors assumed that they wanted "some caps and other trifles … They drew nearer and nearer, until they were emboldened to get in front of our people and attack them, shouting their war cries and brandishing their weapons".[2388]

The survivors assumed the worst and formed a body with men bearing matchlocks and taking a very threatening stance. Assegais and lances were hurled with loud cries but

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[2383] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 268.
[2384] Ibid., p. 256.
[2385] Ibid., p. 270.
[2386] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 270.
[2387] Ibid., p. 276.
[2388] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

no one was hurt. The survivors fired their matchlocks and the attackers withdrew.[2389] What these survivors did not know was that they were near to the place where four of the survivors of the *São Bento* had killed and eaten a local man, only 35 years before. [2390] These memories of white strangers would certainly have led the indigenous people to mistrust and be hostile to this large body of people, so the aggressive actions of the people there is understandable.

News of the cannibalism practiced by the *São João Baptista* survivors also travelled ahead of them and near the Msikaba River, the local people were very hostile. It was explained to them by an ex-slave, a Malabari man from a previous shipwreck, that "these Kaffirs had known of our coming two days before, and they had been told that we ate men, which was why they were up in arms."[2391]

Regardless of the effect on the people who could have assisted them with provisions, D'Almada was unmoved when "passing by the village where we had killed the three Negroes we found them still unburied, and the Negroes pointed them out with great fear and trembling ".[2392]

The people living at the coast at the Mzimvubu River soon learned not to trust the *Belém* survivors. They approached the survivors and "thrust their assegais in the sand at a distance from us, and without any weapons at all were coming happily and confidently towards the place where we were."[2393] They brought provisions to barter but

> "They did not fail, however, to notice, and told us so, that, whereas they had laid down their weapons, we were not laying ours down, and this was certainly malice on their part, because since there were so many of them, they could easily take them from our hands and could do anything they wished with us. We replied to them that it was our custom

[2389] Ibid., p. 79.
[2390] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 257.
[2391] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 230.
[2392] Ibid., p. 209.
[2393] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 329.

> never to lay down our arms, with which answer they seemed to be satisfied, whether they were or not."[2394]

The horror of the flesh-eating [*São João Baptista*] people was remembered by the local inhabitants when the *Belém* survivors went up the Mzimvubu River in search of cattle and people with whom they might trade. They found them distinctly hostile and ready to attack. Through Antonio, a survivor from a previous shipwreck, the survivors were told that "the reason for the Cafres' not wanting friendship with us was that they were persuaded that we ate people and would surely do so with them".[2395]

The local people were given evidence of the untrustworthiness of the *Belém* survivors and showed that they despised them. It was claimed that they asked the survivors to give them rain. Lobo commented with some perception that:

> "Unfortunately, we had a few pranksters among us who promised it to them…On one occasion, however, this foolishness of theirs turned out very badly for them, because, as it was getting dark in a Cafre's village with a few houses in it, as night was already closing in and a thunder-clap resounded, threatening a great rain, which did indeed come, they asked the lord of the village to have a house given to them in which they could take shelter. The Cafre, who could not have been the most rustic or stupid fellow in those woods, answered very haughtily: 'Don't you say that you give rain whenever you wish? You can also prevent it then, so just order this threatening rain not to fall, and it will doubtless obey you, so that neither will you need a house nor will I have the trouble of going to find it for you, nor will the inhabitants have the inconvenience of getting out of it for you.' And if he said it well he did it better, for, grabbing the door, he shut it in the guests' faces, leaving them in the rain for them to experience".[2396]

The villagers responded to arrogance and aggression by refusing to trade with these *Belém* survivors, who complained of the lack of cows to trade "because they took offence at some instances of mistreatment we gave them in their villages".[2397] As has

[2394] Ibid., p. 329.
[2395] Ibid., p. 340.
[2396] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 354.
[2397] Ibid., p. 358.

been noted, after some of the *Belém* survivors had killed the chief at the Mzimvubu, the people attacked the perpetrators several times and followed them as they returned to their camp, throwing rocks at them and incurring their enmity.[2398]

These survivors even managed to antagonize Antonio, a survivor from a previous shipwreck, who had previously assisted them, by accusing him of not dealing fairly. Lobo commented that "As things finally turned out, however, they had offended him so much that he stayed away from us some two months before our departure."[2399]

The *São João Baptista* group and the *Belém* survivors managed to make 'outright enemies' among the peoples who lived between the Kei and Mzimkulu Rivers. As a result, those who lived around the Kobonqaba River did not welcome the *Atalaia* survivors some 12 years later, and "took to flight".[2400] At the Xhora River, there were no trading opportunities and these survivors complained of famine.[2401] The people who lived around the Mthatha River were wary of the *Atalaia* group, and "fled into a thicket and would not come and speak to us."[2402] Lobo's warning that the people of the Mzimvubu region would not trade with any future wreck victims, owing to the depredations of the *Belém* survivors proved true as the *Atalaia* survivors were never shown any friendliness in that area. Only when they met a survivor from a previous shipwreck, one Benamusa, were they able to obtain some cows and millet.[2403] Even as far as the Msikaba River, there was nothing to barter.[2404]

The few *Doddington* survivors, who landed at Woody Cape in Algoa Bay in 1755, did not find the local people friendly. Unfortunately one of the survivors threatened them with a pistol. Not surprisingly they took offence and hit him with a stick and took his

[2398] Ibid., pp. 364-365.
[2399] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 358.
[2400] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 312.
[2401] Ibid., p. 315.
[2402] Ibid., p. 316.
[2403] Ibid., pp. 319-320.
[2404] Ibid., p. 327.

clothes.[2405] These were people who had already met Dutch settlers moving east and were well aware of the power of the gun.

There certainly were times when small articles, usually metal containers or travel bags, called 'wallets', were stolen from the survivors. These were usually taken from stragglers, or when one or two were unaccompanied. The *São Bento* survivors reported that when they were at Lake Sibayi a group of men

> "assembled in a large army well armed according to their custom, came to the place where we were, and while talking peaceably to us began to steal different things from those who were not on their guard… we understanding their evil designs and fearing their numbers, were till more desirous of reaching the shore."[2406]

When in the Lake Sibayi region, the survivors of the *Santo Alberto* met a chief, who led them astray and tried to steal some cows. Through an interpreter they asked who this man was and it was said that "he was a great thief named Bambe, whom they obeyed and followed out of fear." [2407]

In the Mzimvubu area, two matchlocks were taken from two straggling seamen of the *São João Baptista* group.[2408] This could only have been curiosity, as the perpetrators could have had no idea of how to use them, but there were savage reprisals and the guns were returned. When north of the Mtwalume River, a small pot was stolen, but was returned when another man was held hostage.[2409]

The *Belém* survivors sent a boy to fetch water and he had a knife, a copper pot, a pewter vessel and a cauldron taken from him.[2410] Shortly after leaving the campsite, Dona Barbara, one of the *Atalaia* survivors, had her wallet stolen from her as she

[2405] Jones in Temple, op. cit., p. 116.
[2406] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, op. cit., p. 247.
[2407] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 175.
[2408] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 219.
[2409] Ibid., p. 235.
[2410] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 330.

lagged behind.[2411] When two sailors became separated from the main group at the Kobonqaba River, a wallet and a brass can were stolen from them.[2412] At the Mzimvubu River, a kettle was stolen from one of the slaves, who had also lagged behind.[2413] Some stragglers from the Master's group had their wallets snatched from them.[2414] Near the Mhlatuzi River, a ship's boy, also from the *Atalaia*, fell asleep while guarding cattle and the local people drove off 15 head. They were chased and the Captain returned with more than they had taken, namely nine cows, nine calves, nine sheep and nine she-goats with kids.[2415]

The Portuguese survivors found some evidence of conflict between clans and there were certain groups who did not appear to be Bushmen, but were known to be robbers by their neighbours. The most notable and consistent was a tribe who lived in the Limpopo River area. All three of the Portuguese survivor groups who travelled through that area were robbed of clothing and possessions, and all were warned of this band by Chiefs Inhaca and Manhisa.

The *São João* survivors were the first to be stripped and robbed in that area.[2416] Chief Inhaca warned the survivors of the *São Thomé* that there were thieves north of Maputo Bay "who would rob and kill them. He added that his father had warned Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda of this when he had passed that way, and he was lost not following this advice."[2417] All too true as in the country between the Incomati and Limpopo Rivers, the *São Thomé* survivors were

> "followed by many Kaffirs who soon gathered and who disturbed and molested them many times until they grew so bold that they snatched the caps from their heads and the wallets from their backs, bounding about with the agility of apes."[2418]

[2411] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 309.
[2412] Ibid., p. 312.
[2413] Feyo, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 321.
[2414] Ibid., p. 328.
[2415] Ibid., pp. 343-344.
[2416] Anon., Tr. Blackmore, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 23.
[2417] Do Couto, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 82.
[2418] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

Survivors of the *São João Baptista* were also warned by Chief Manhisa that there were robbers further north.[2419] Near the Limpopo River, they entered "the country of the robbers, we tried to march on as fast as we could. And so we did with great difficulty".[2420] When crossing the Limpopo River, a man who had assisted these survivors warned them

> "bidding me to be on our guard in the future, for that was the country of the worst Kaffirs in all Kaffraria. Who would kill us for the sake of stealing the clothes that we wore, and they were very numerous."[2421]

They were attacked and "wounded from afar with their arrows".[2422] After meeting with the king of that region, Mocaranga Muquulo, and arrogantly telling him that the Portuguese required no man's permission to pass through the country, the survivors continued marching along the shore. They were then attacked again and those in the rear had their clothes stolen.[2423] D'Almada himself had

> "five deep arrow wounds, one in the right temple, one through the chest, from which my breath escaped, on through my loins … another in the left thigh, in which the iron remained, and another in the left leg."[2424]

The king, however,

> "ordered the arrow heads to be extracted and my wounds to be dressed with a sort of oil which they have there called *mafure*, and when this was done they gave me an old sleeveless doublet, and a little of the food they had robbed us of."[2425]

There is evidence of conflict over land ownership between two chiefs who lived In an inland region between the Mzimkhulu and Mkomazi Rivers. They were separated by uninhabited land. Just north of the Mzimkulu River, the *Santo Alberto* group met Chief Gimbacucubaba, who complained that

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[2419] D'Almada, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 252.
[2420] Ibid., p. 254.
[2421] Ibid., p. 257.
[2422] Ibid., p. 257.
[2423] Ibid., pp. 258-259.
[2424] Ibid., p. 260.
[2425] Ibid., p. 260.

> "he was likewise a castaway and refugee from his own kingdom, which one of his neighbours had taken from him in warfare, killing many of his people, and forcing him to take refuge in this country which belonged to his relatives".[2426]

On reaching the Mkhomazi River, they met a chief named Uquine Inhana, who confirmed that he was at war with one of his neighbours.

Conflict between the hunter-gatherers and the agriculturalists was present during this period. With the influx of the farming people, the hunter-gatherers had been displaced from their hunting grounds and animosity had developed between them. They had already retreated to the more mountainous and less fertile areas with the more powerful farming groups taking over their former hunting grounds.

The hunter-gatherers encountered by the *Santo Alberto* survivors in the Tembukazi area were more frightened than hostile.[2427] In an area north of Ulundi, the *Santo Alberto* survivors encountered a group of about 20 people who tried to steal some of their cattle:

> "They were all bandits who lived in this range upon the proceeds of their robberies, and thus they were all armed with assegais and arrows."[2428]

They were also probably hunter-gatherers, who had also been dispossessed of the hunting grounds.

The *São Bento* survivors encountered a group inland of the St Lucia lake system.

> "we would not have escaped them, because being very numerous, as we afterwards learnt, they lived as rebels in that village, recognizing no king or superior except such as they appointed among themselves, subsisting by robbing those of the country who were less powerful. Their calling was easily perceived by the advantage they had over the other Kaffirs of that district in arms, bracelets, and various ornaments, and by the shameless manner in which they began to lay hands on the iron of some of us. Besides

[2426] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, p. cit., p. 157.
[2427] Ibid., p. 148.
[2428] Ibid., pp. 166-167.

these, others came to us who were so lawless that we were almost forced into a severe and uncertain fight with them."[2429]

Conclusion:

The indigenous people had a different set of perceptions and representations from the Europeans. Their counter discourse was based on what was immediately important to them and to understand the nature of the strangers. Origins were important as was value or worth and intentions of the newcomers. They also tried to establish if these were human or 'magic' beings and if they offered any threat.

The so-called 'silence' of the indigenous people, was, ironically, given voice by the interlopers. Reading the texts 'against the grain', their voices come through loud and clear.

If the local people were satisfied with the explanations or the actions of the strangers, they were as hospitable as their resources permitted. If the authority of the chiefs was acknowledged, the strangers were allowed to trade freely and given guides. When treated with dignity and respect, the indigenous people responded in kind. Those who lived inland, along the route taken by the *Santo Alberto* survivors would have had good memories of those strangers, and the many new settlers would have had further stories to tell.

When confronted with arrogance, cannibalism, aggression and violence, the indigenous people made their feelings perfectly clear. They retaliated but only killed when driven to extremes, preferring to drive unwelcome visitors away by throwing stones. They then refused to communicate and withdrew trading privileges.

The indigenous people who lived in the coastal regions of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal could not have had good memories of the Portuguese survivors who had passed through their land. This would have been especially true of the area around the

[2429] Perestrello, Tr. Theal, in Theal, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 247.

Mzimvubu River. This is a possible explanation for the attitude of the local people towards the *Grosvenor* survivors, which was less than welcoming. Although this was some 135 years later, story-tellers among the local clans would not have had a good word to say about white strangers from the sea.

The aggression and violence shown to the people who lived in the Mzimvubu area was severely criticised by Lobo:

> "in repayment for the kind treatment he had accorded us during the seven months we stayed in his lands. The reasons there for not doing so idiotic a thing to a poor people who, although barbarous, had not wronged us in any way, are so obvious that I shall not stop to rehearse them except to say that the motive was so patently insignificant and, if that were not enough in itself, should have been considered in the wretched state in which we found ourselves and the respect and gratitude which we owed to a land which, receiving us as we were cast from the waves of the sea, treated as benevolently as if it were our own homeland, for us not to stain it with the blood of a poor Cafre, of whom and of whose subjects we could still stand in great need."[2430]

With some prescience, Lobo articulated the legacy which these survivors left for future generations:

> "The most important consequence is the state of open warfare that will be faced by thepeople in any carrack that experiences our misfortune and shipwrecks there, for the Cafres now remain outright enemies".[2431]

[2430] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 363.
[2431] Ibid., p. 363

Chapter 20
CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, there are two different methods of representation, the global discourse of the Europeans and the counter discourse of the indigenous people which represents a more localised attitude. There is also a tension between the facts and the interpretation reflected in the discourse.

The correct identification of the shipwreck sites was a starting point for the research. The routes and itineraries of journeys have been established within reasonable parameters so the observations of the survivors in regard to the indigenous people have been located spatially and temporally.

The ethnological and cultural aspects of the mode of livelihood for the indigenous people have been extracted and this information adds to the historical and anthropological knowledge of this pre-colonial period.

In relation to livestock distribution, it is clear that cattle were widespread throughout the area south of St Lucia and increased in numbers south of the Mzimkulu River during the period. They were scarce in the north and only recorded sporadically, possibly indicating the presence of tsetse fly. Cattle were seldom eaten, then only for ritual purposes. Sheep were present but never so numerous as cattle. Goats were more common in the north, only being observed in the south during the later period. Hens were first observed at Kosi Bay in 1689, but by 1622 they had spread to the Mzimkulu River and by 1686 they were part of the livestock of the people living near the Keiskamma River. Dogs were never mentioned north of the Mzimvubu River and were associated with hunting and cattle herding.

Six different types of grain were cultivated, which included millet sp., sorghum, sesame and 'Indian corn'. The latter, only mentioned in 1755 and 1782, was probably maize,

which indicates that it was during this time that this crop was introduced into KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Melons and gourds (calabashes) were grown widely throughout the period. 'Potatoes' in various varieties, probably including *'amadumbe'*, were also mentioned in the later records. Jugo and Mung beans were cultivated in the north and inland. The records show that during this period, bananas (1647), dagga (1647), and pumpkins (1686), were introduced. 'Sugar cane' was mentioned and although this was likely to have been sweet-stalk millet, there is the possibility that it was introduced at this time. Wild fruits and roots were also collected.

The practice of irrigating crops from mountain streams, observed in the valley of the Manyane River, a small tributary of the Thukela River, is a significant one as this practice has not been recorded elsewhere.

Hunting was carried on by all, with elephant and hippopotamus being specially mentioned. The catching and consumption of fish was widespread until 1647. By 1686, it was recorded that fish were no longer eaten by the Xhosa people.

Clothing, footwear, ornaments and hairstyles are described. A significant record is that during this period whisks were carried by most men and not only by medicine men as in later years. Weapons were fire-hardened sticks and iron-tipped assegais for both pastoralists and agriculturalists. The agriculturalists carried shields.

Circumcision and the initiation ritual for young men, together with their bodies being smeared with ashes and reed skirts being worn, were described in the 1593 and 1622 narratives. These are the earliest descriptions of the '*khwetha'* initiation ritual in the historical record of southern Africa.[2432] The '*lobolo*', or bride-price system, was in place during the period under review.

[2432] Lavanha, Tr., Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 558.

Metal, especially copper and iron, were highly valued by both pastoralists and agriculturalists. Iron was worked to form the tips of assegais, hoes and as ornaments by agriculturalists. Copper was used for ornaments, which included armbands, by pastoralists and agriculturalists. There is evidence that pastoralists had knowledge of iron-working. Even if this was limited, it does not seem to be fully appreciated by archaeologists in their categorization of the pastoralists as Stone Age. The use of copper for ornaments, including armbands by pastoralists, gives some indication of the extent of trade relationships between indigenous people, as copper is not found in the Eastern Cape. An annual trade 'fair', where there was an exchange of goods between the Xhosa and the pastoralists was noted in 1686, and was probably held near the Keiskamma River. This may have been the forerunner of the later trade fairs 'introduced' by the Europeans at Fort Willshire in 1817.

The location and movement of cultural groups has been traced within the period under review. The historical context and debates about the movement of the pastoralists and agriculturalists has been outlined. The narratives have evidence of agriculturalists being well established in Mozambique, KwaZulu-Natal and parts of the more fertile country inland in the Eastern Cape. Contemporary observations indicate that there was an expansion of agriculturalists along the coast from the Mzimkulu River to the Keiskamma River and beyond, between the years 1552 and 1713. This is, however, at variance with known archaeological records which place the Iron Age people further south at an earlier date. While two alternative explanations are offered, this is an aspect which could involve further research and may assist in the debate around the movement of people in a pre-colonial era.

The narratives also contain information on settlement patterns and political organisation.

As slaves were part of the cargo on the Portuguese and one Dutch ship, the records provide a contribution to aspects of the Indian Ocean slave trade. The African slaves probably came fro the Great Lakes region, but there were many from India, Indonesia,

China and Japan. There was no evidence that the slaves were obtained from present-day Mozambique south of Sofala during this period.

There were large numbers of survivors, including slaves from Africa and Asia, who remained with the local people and became acculturated. The estimated figures show that there were about 692 Africans who were unaccounted for and who probably had a very good chance of being integrated into local societies. Some 381 Asians were not included in the ultimate survivor figures and it was recorded by later wreck survivors, that many had become wealthy and successful settlers among their hosts. While some Europeans were known to have integrated successfully with the indigenous populations, the number of 289 Europeans, who were not recorded as being rescued, is probably not a good reflection of those who ultimately survived. The new settlers who did integrate successfully would have made significant genetic contributions to the indigenous populations of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

The terminology used to describe both the slaves and the indigenous people was gradually interlinked. The term 'Caffre' or 'Kaffir', originally associated with religion, or the lack of it, used by the Portuguese, was applied to both slaves and the indigenous people. The differences between the terms 'slaves', 'negroes', 'natives', 'Caffres' and 'Kaffirs' gradually became blurred. During their association and journeys, the term 'slave' was dropped in the narratives and the slaves became known as 'servants' belonging to masters or mistresses. The term to describe slaves gradually became embedded in the master/servant relationship. With this process, where new meanings were being attached to terms, the associations were narrowed and the beginnings of stereotyping can be deduced. This could be seen to lead to the later development of the derogatory association of the term 'Kaffir', as being associated with a slave/servant and becoming part of the origin of modern-day racism.

Interactions between the divergent cultures have been analysed. The Europeans brought many prejudices and pre-conceptions about the indigenous people. Apart from

being 'heathens', they were thought to be savage, aggressive and warlike. In spite of evidence to the contrary, many retained these attitudes which led to the alienation of the people on whom they were ultimately dependent.

The Europeans also had a sense of their own superiority, based on their religious beliefs, a papal decree and the possession of firearms. Among the groups, where there was no effective and wise leadership, the survivors developed arrogant attitudes and treated the indigenous people as servants to be ordered about.

The rigid social class hierarchy of the Europeans was unsustainable in the circumstances in which the survivors found themselves. For those who did not acknowledge this, there was an unequal distribution of resources within the parties, which in turn led to dissension and resentment and created dysfunctional groups who were unable to interact effectively with the indigenous people.

The survivor groups from all the shipwrecks needed to adjust their behaviour as they had no rights in the country where they had been washed ashore. They were the strangers, the 'Others' in the eyes of the indigenous people. They needed to acknowledge the authority of the chiefs and the fact that it was the indigenous people who controlled the resources and that they were dependent on their goodwill for their ultimate survival.

On their part, it was important to the local people that they should understand the nature and origin of the strangers and to establish if they were human or beings from another world. They wanted to know what the intentions of the newcomers were, if they offered any threat and if they had anything to offer in terms of trade goods. If the local people were satisfied with the explanations and/or the actions of the strangers, they were as hospitable as their resources permitted. If the authority of the chiefs was acknowledged, the strangers were allowed to trade freely and given guides. When treated with dignity and respect, the indigenous people responded in kind.

The successful survivor groups were those who able to interact peaceably with the indigenous people and who had good and effective leadership. The leader of the *Santo Alberto* created a coherent and disciplined group of people who interacted with the indigenous people in a way which acknowledged chiefly authority and who treated the local people with respect and dignity. His attitude ensured that his group had plentiful provisions and that they received guides so were able to move along established routes for most of the journey. As a result they were able to travel in good physical condition and there was a high survival rate.

The survivors of the *Stavenisse* and the *Bennebroeck* were able to interact amicably with their hosts and, while some were rescued, many remained and became integrated into the local communities. The *Doddington* survivors, who went ashore to try to trade with the local people, also treated them with respect and were able to trade successfully.

When confronted with arrogance, aggression and violence, which usually included the use of firearms, the indigenous people made their feelings perfectly clear. They retaliated but only killed when driven to extremes, preferring to drive unwelcome visitors away by throwing assegais and/or stones. They then refused to communicate and withdrew trading privileges.

The Portuguese groups who moved and lived along the coast, left a legacy of dislike and distrust among most of the people whom they encountered. This would have been especially true of the area around the Mzimvubu River, where the survivors of three different ships acted very aggressively. It was here where the survivors of the *São João Baptista*, having antagonized the local people, were starving so they practiced cannibalism, generating a horrified reaction among the local inhabitants. This is a possible explanation for the attitude of their descendants towards the *Grosvenor* survivors, which was less than welcoming. Although this was some 135 years later, the wreck site was near the Mzimvubu River and story-tellers among the local clans would

not have had a good word to say about the white strangers. The *Grosvenor* survivors may well have reaped the whirlwind of those who had come before.

The author of the narrative of the *Belém*, Jerónimo Lobo, had harsh words for his own party and they are worth repeating:

> "in repayment for the kind treatment he [the chief] had accorded us during the seven months we stayed in his lands. … the people who, although barbarous, had not wronged us in any way .. the wretched state in which we found ourselves and the respect and gratitude which we owed to a land which, receiving us as we werecast from the waves of the sea, treated as benevolently as if it were our ownhomeland, for us not to stain it with the blood of a poor Cafre, of whom and ofwhose subjects we could still stand in great need."[2433]

There is a temptation for historians to judge peoples of earlier times by value systems which have been developed in the modern world. In this dissertation, the implicit criticisms have been informed by contemporary figures. The example of the manner in which Nuno Velho Pereira, the leader of the *Santo Alberto* group, conducted his party and the insight of Jerónimo Lobo provide benchmarks against which the actions of the other survivor groups can be evaluated.

The shipwreck narratives have an important contribution to make to the pre-colonial history of Southern Africa during the years 1552 to 1782. The 'silence' of the indigenous people is given a 'voice' through their responses to the survivors.

Much can be learnt about indigenous culture and the movement of people. Further analysis of the information contained in the narratives by experts in their relevant disciplines can reveal aspects as yet unexplored.

While the discourse reveals the early seeds of stereotyping and racism among Europeans, there is little doubt that the legacy left with the local people by the survivors

[2433] Lobo, Tr. Lockhart, in Da Costa, op. cit., p. 363.

who moved along the coast, could only have been that of distrust, fear and in many cases, disdain.

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APPENDIX

Research Field Trip - September 2008

TRACING THE ROUTE OF THE *SANTO ALBERTO* SURVIVORS THROUGH KWAZULU-NATAL

The main aim of this trip was to trace the route of the *Santo Alberto* survivors from the Mzimkhulu River to Kosi Bay. The identification of the crossing points at the rivers was critical.

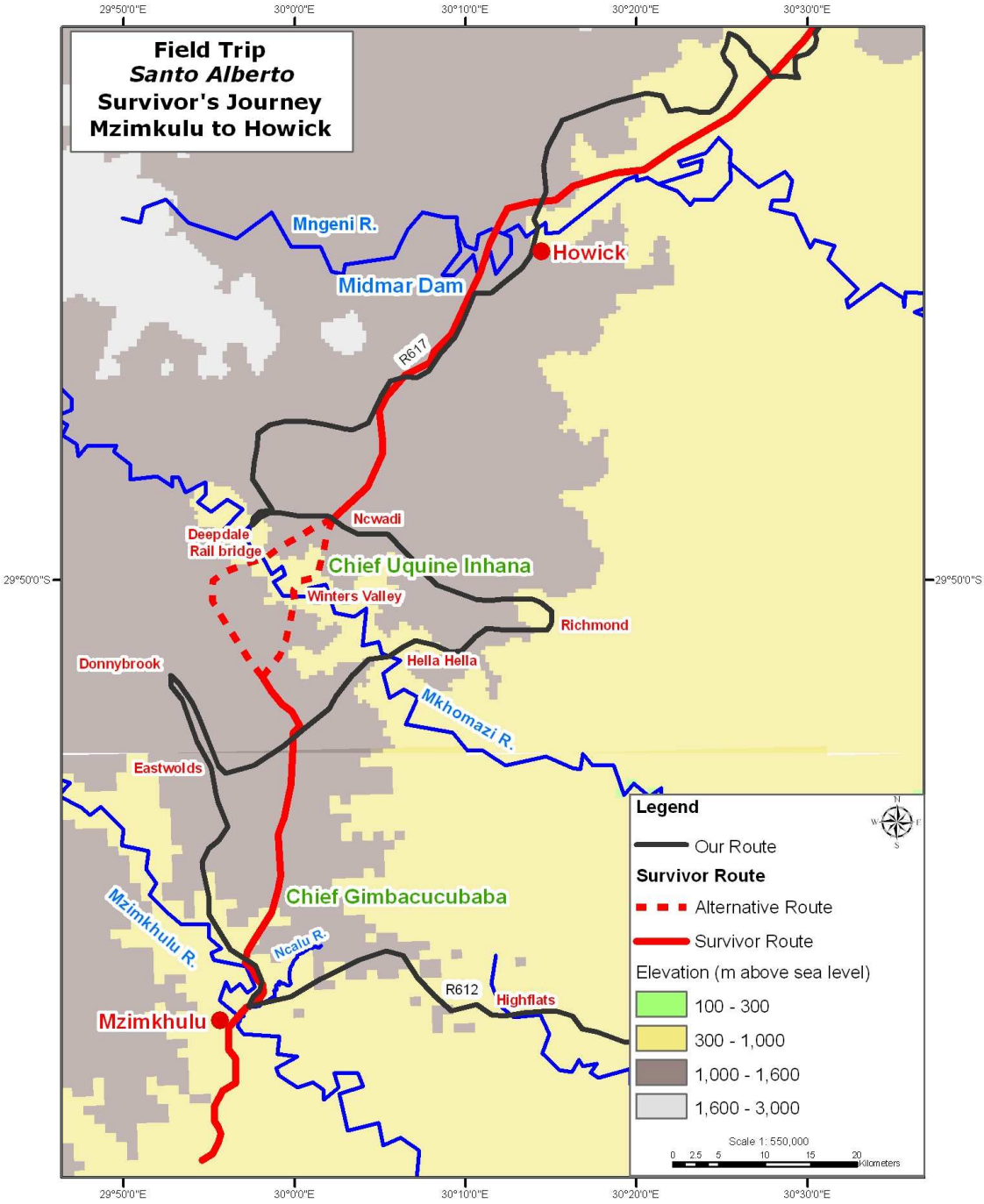
13-16 September 2008 – East London to Pennington:

My husband, Carl, and I travelled from East London to Pennington, where we stayed with our friends, Gwen and Robin Frayne, who had agreed to accompany us. Robin had spent most of his working life in KwaZulu-Natal and had travelled extensively throughout the area and Gwen had worked as a cartographer on many projects located in KwaZulu-Natal. Their expertise was of great assistance. Gwen and I laid in provisions for the trip and drove to Durban to get the hired vehicle for the trip. Robin kindly agreed to be our chauffeur.

The survivors had been given guides for most of this section of their trip, so they would have been taken over known paths and drifts, especially when going through mountainous areas. The account[2434] has some dates which are recorded in bold type. Boxer calculated the other dates based on the day-to-day record which accord with the text.

The map entitled **'Field Trip - Mzimkhulu to Howick'** shows the route taken on the field trip and the proposed route for the *Santo Alberto* along this section of the route.

[2434] Lavanha, João Baptista, (Lisbon, 1597), Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, Ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea*, (Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001).


Field Trip
Santo Alberto
Survivor's Journey
Mzimkulu to Howick
29°50'0"E
30°0'0"E
30°10'0"E
30°20'0"E
30°30'0"E
29°50'0"S
Mngeni R.
Howick
Midmar Dam
R617
Ncwadi
Deepdale
Rail bridge
Chief Uquine Inhana
Winters Valley
Richmond
Donnybrook
Hella Hella
Mkhomazi R.
Eastwolds
Chief Gimbacucubaba
Mzimkhulu R.
Ncalu R.
R612
Highflats
Mzimkhulu
Legend
Our Route
Survivor Route
Alternative Route
Survivor Route
Elevation (m above sea level)
100 - 300
300 - 1,000
1,000 - 1,600
1,600 - 3,000
Scale 1: 550,000
0 2.5 5 10 15 20
Kilometers

***Santo Alberto* text - Mzimkhulu to Mngeni Rivers:**

17 May 1593 - "they guided our people to a stream [Mzimkhulu], which they did not cross, both because it was late and because the path ended on a bank. On the other bank was a green mountain range, and villages on both banks.[2435] On the following day [18 May], the survivors met with the "Inkosi", then followed "a *good straight path*", crossed another stream, climbed a hill and rested where there were villages on the *"skirts of the hill".*[2436] On the next day (19 May), they camped by another stream where there were *"wild ducks*", and found many people who were willing to trade. After crossing this "*large stream by means of rocks*" and following many paths they camped near a stream where they were surrounded by many villages. There they were visited by *"King Gimbacucubaba*", who arrived with about 120 followers.[2437]

On 20 May the survivors obtained guides from this king and passed through many villages.[2438] For the next three days [21-23 May] they moved through uninhabited country and found it very cold. There were "*good pastures"* and *"high trees*". On **22 May** they turned north-west to cross a mountain range. On **23 May** they resumed travelling north-east climbing hills, travelling along valleys and crossing streams.[2439] On 24 May the survivors moved along a valley and sent a messenger to ask the "lord of the country" permission to pass through. On 25 May they reached his residence which consisted of seven villages.[2440] He was called "*Uquine Inhana*" and was said to be at war with his neighbour. The villages were situated next to a very large river which the survivors were assisted to cross on the following day [26 May].[2441] A day later [27 May], the survivors arrived at "*a river running to the north-east and to the south-west. It was the widest and had the strongest current of any that they had seen on their journey."*

[2435] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 155.
[2436] Ibid., p. 156.
[2437] Ibid., p. 157.
[2438] Ibid., p. 158.
[2439] Ibid., p. 159.
[2440] Ibid., p. 159.
[2441] Ibid., p. 160.

There they met the "*lord of the land, called Mutuadondonommatale*".[2442] The survivors were informed that the level would drop the next day as it was "*swollen from a recent thunderstorm*".[2443]

17 September 2008 - Mzimkhulu to Howick:

We headed for the small town of Mzimkhulu, as I had worked out that the crossing point of the Mzimkhulu River would have been at or near the town where there is a bridge over the river. From Pennington we took the R612 towards Ixopo but turned west onto a secondary road just after Highflats. We went through plantations and then cultivated land along the Ncalu river valley, joining the R56 to Mzimkhulu just south of Carisbrook.

The town of Mzimkhulu is situated on the west bank of the Mzimkhulu River. There is a cultivated field on the east bank where there could have been a settlement at that time. Also on the east bank is a range of high hills which accord with the description. The survivors presumably crossed the river that night, although the text does not refer to it. An unnamed chief resided in this area.

We took a secondary road which ran north-east where it *"climbed a hill*", as I thought this could have been the route which the survivors had taken once they had crossed the Mzimkhulu. This terrain, however, did not match the description as it ran alongside the river, which was not mentioned in the text, and the hills rose steeply to the east making the area unsuitable for the many settlements described. It was concluded that the valley of the Ncalu River was the more likely route. Today the land is under cultivation but in the past there could have been settlements there. See Figures 1 & 2.

[2442] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 160.
[2443] Ibid., p. 161.

Fig. 1 **The town of Mzimkhulu**.
The bridge over the Mzimkhulu River can be seen. The probable crossing point for the survivors is likely to have been in this vicinity.

Fig. 2 **Up-river of the Mzimkhulu**.
The road is on the right runs and along the base of the range of hills.

We continued north along the road we had taken and joined the R612 south of Donnybrook. The road runs in a north-westerly direction along the watershed between the Mzimkhulu and the Mkhomazi Rivers. There were some settlements situated alongside the road. The area is at a high altitude [500 m] and is grassland. We were there in September (the survivors were there in May) and it was cold and windy. A few days later, snow fell there. We drove to Donnybrook, but turned back as we had gone too far north.

In order to identify the crossing point of the Mkhomazi River, we decided to try the Hella Hella (secondary) road, which turned off the R612 at Eastwolds. It wound down into a deeply incised valley until the river was reached. At that crossing, however, it was clear that the valley was too steeply sided for settlements and even today, there were none. See Figures 3 & 4.

Fig 3. The Hella Hella road leading into the Mkhomazi valley.

Fig. 4 The Mkhomazi River valley.

The steep-sided valley would not have been suited for settlement or as a crossing point.

Another option for the route was along the railway line, which would have been constructed through the mountainous terrain along the least steep gradients. The track runs just north of Donnybrook, through Edendale to Pietermaritzburg. This seemed to be the better choice, but as there is no road which runs alongside the railway line, it was decided to get as close as possible to the rail/river bridging point.

We then continued on the road to Richmond and turned east, taking the secondary road to Ncwadi, travelling through mountainous country. *En route*, however, we could see the valley of a small tributary of the Mkhomazi River which looked as if this could have been the route taken as there could have been a drift at the junction of the rivers.

We continued to Deepdale and turned south to Lundy Hill, but could not get a view of the rail bridge. The rail crosses the Mkhomazi near Butu, but we could not find an access road to the bridge. The land is still fairly rugged but in the rail bridge area the

land was flatter and there are existing settlements. This could have been a crossing point. We joined the R617 and drove to Howick, where we spent the first night.

Conclusion:

This was the most difficult part of the route to identify as the distances between the major rivers and the dates given in the text cannot be reconciled. The text states that it took the survivors only one day, travelling at about 10 km a day, for them to cover the distance between the Mkhomazi and Mngeni Rivers. At no point in their courses are these rivers so close. Along the route suggested, the distance between the rivers is about 50 km, which would mean at least four days of travel. The only conclusion I can reach is that this section was possibly written up at a later date and the days were not accurately recorded, or there could have been errors in the transcriptions.

The distance between the Mzimkhulu and the Mngeni Rivers along the suggested route is about 120 km and the overall time taken was given as 10 days [17 to27 May]. This would mean that the survivors had travelled at a rate of 12 km a day, which is reasonable. If the time frame between the rivers is ignored, then the order of Lavanha's observations along the suggested route reflects the actual terrain.

With knowledge of the terrain, the following route is suggested. After crossing the Mzimkhulu, the survivors probably moved north-east and north of Ixopo. This would have been where Chief Ginbacucubaba lived. They survivors would then have walked in a north-westerly direction along the watershed between the Mzimkhulu and the Mkhomazi Rivers following the line of the present R 612. It was May when the survivors moved though these grasslands and they found it very cold. At that time it was uninhabited and the area would have been used for summer grazing.

Guides led the survivors north-east to negotiate the deeply incised valleys of the Mkhomazi, referred to in the text as "*mountainous country*" to get to a fordable drift. They could have crossed the Mkhomazi River at one of two places. Either they turned

north-east at present-day Charthill, passing through valleys to cross at a drift near Winters Valley, or they could have turned north-east when north of present-day Donnybrook and moved along the present railway track, possibly fording the Mkhomazi in the vicinity of the present rail bridge. The two places are only 10 kilometres apart, so the distance would not be critical when placing the position of the chief, Chief Uquine Inhana, whom the survivors met at that point.

The survivors then continued in a north-north-east direction, probably moving along the route of the present R617 and this would have taken them to the Howick area. The only river of some size north of the Mkhomazi is the Mngeni, so this must have been the next river they had encountered. The strong current is explained as this river had come down in flood. Chief Mutuadondonommatale was encountered near this river.

***Santo Alberto* text - Mngeni River to White Mfolosi River:**

On 28 May the survivors were assisted to cross the [Mngeni] River. They resumed their journey the next day, going over a stony path and skirting the high ground which lay to the north.[2444] The ground became less stony and they rested when their captain felt ill. They met a chief, who was not named. He gave them new guides and they "*climbed a mountain-pass and descended to a level and pleasant land.*"[2445]

On 3 June the survivors descended a hill, crossed a stream and moving north, they climbed another range. On **4 June**, turning north-east again and passing through many villages, they reached a *"great river*" and were assisted to cross.[2446]

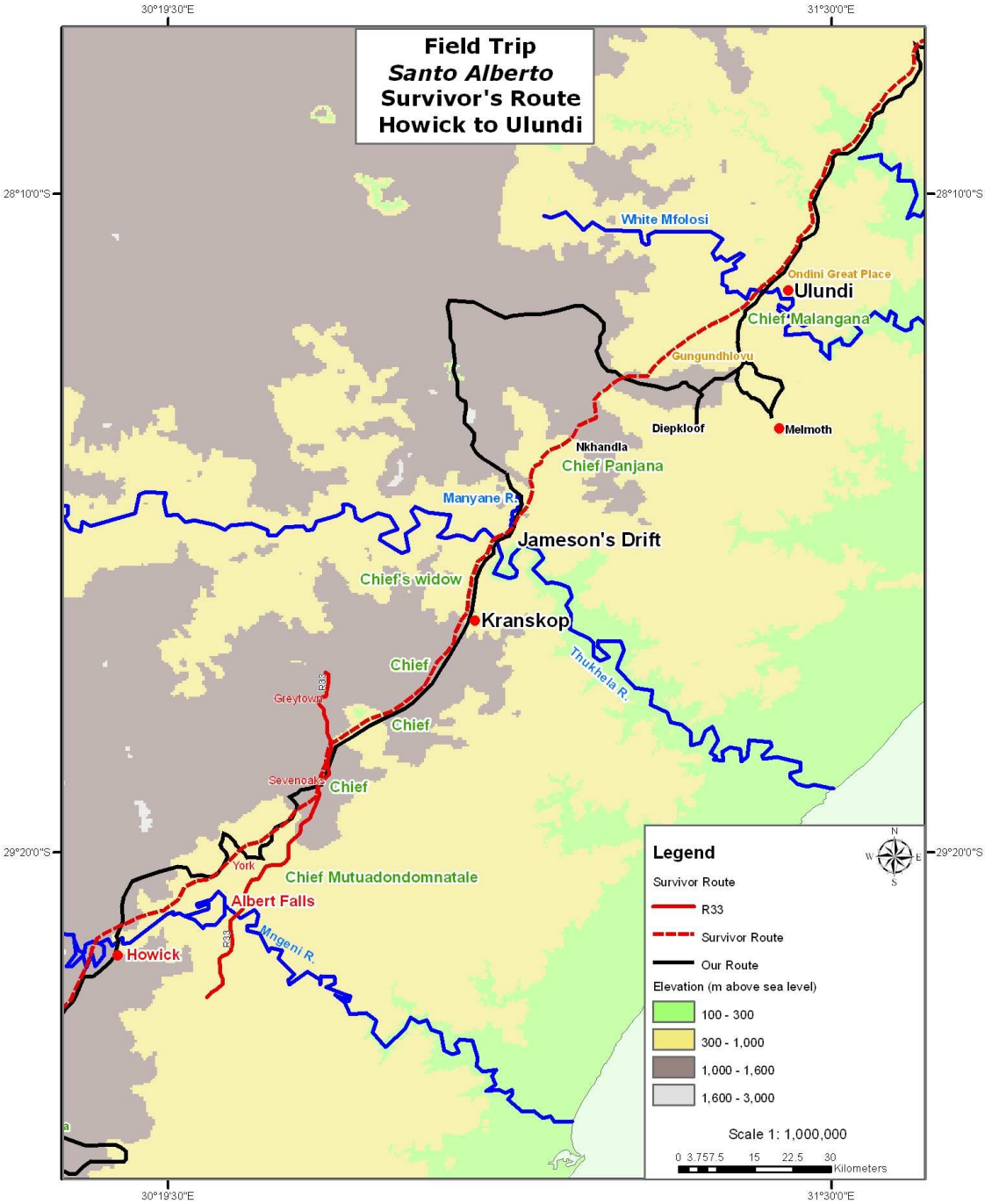
After the survivors had crossed the river, they crossed a stream and *"travelled over a marshy plain covered with crops of millet, and irrigated with water from a mountain range opposite."*[2447] The route then took them onto a *"thickly populated plateau*", where

[2444] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p 162.
[2445] Ibid., p. 163.
[2446] Ibid., p. 164.
[2447] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 164.

they met Chief Panjana.[2448] With guides provided by Panjana, the survivors travelled over "*good ground*" and halted at a stream where they were visited by Chief Malangana.[2449]

The map entitled **'Field trip - Howick to Ulundi'** illustrates the route taken on the field trip and the proposed route for the *Santo Alberto.*

[2448] Ibid., p. 165.
[2449] Ibid., p. 166.


Field Trip
Santo Alberto
Survivor's Route
Howick to Ulundi
30°19'30"E
31°30'0"E
28°10'0"S
29°20'0"S
White Mfolosi
Ondini Great Place
Ulundi
Chief Malangana
Gungundhlovu
Diepkloof
Melmoth
Nkhandla
Chief Panjana
Manyane R.
Jameson's Drift
Chief's widow
Kranskop
Thukhela R.
Chief
Greytown
R33
Chief
Sevenoaks
Chief
York
Chief Mutuadondomnatale
Albert Falls
R33
Mngeni R.
Howick
Legend
Survivor Route
R33
Survivor Route
Our Route
Elevation (m above sea level)
100 - 300
300 - 1,000
1,000 - 1,600
1,600 - 3,000
Scale 1: 1,000,000
0 3.757.5 15 22.5 30
Kilometers
N
S
E
W

18 September - Howick to Ulundi:

Once in Howick, we tried to work out where the crossing could have been but the area around the town is so built up that it was difficult. We visited the Howick Falls, noting that the land dropped sharply to the south. The crossing point was probably west of the Howick Falls as the subsequent record indicates that the survivors remained on high ground, only descending from the plateau at a later date.

We resumed the trip along a secondary road through York, which took us through the Karkloof Mountains. Once through the mountains we descended onto a plain and joined the R33 at Sevenoaks. We avoided Greytown by taking a secondary road to Ahrens and joined the R622 to Kranskop.

From there we took a secondary road which wound through mountainous country down to the Thukela River valley and Jameson's Drift. The Thukela valley had level land on the south side and was well populated, having a school and clinic. See Figures 5 & 6.

Fig. 5 View of the Thukela valley.

Fig. 6 The Thukela valley downstream of Jameson's Drift.

Jameson's Drift was situated further up river where there was a valley on the opposite bank, through which the road passed. See Figures 7 & 8.

Fig. 7 The bridge at Jameson's Drift

Fig. 8 The road from Jameson's Drift leading through a valley

I was still uncertain if this was the actual drift, as there is another known drift further downstream on the road through Ntunjambili.

Once over the Thukela, we crossed a small tributary, the Manyane River, which flowed through a steep-sided valley. On either side of the river there were irrigated lands, where vegetables were being cultivated and women were watering them from pipes. The streams flowing down from the steep sided mountains were visible as were swathes of top-soil which had been washed into the lands. The widespread erosion was an indication that this was an area which has been worked over a long period. Reeds were found growing in eroded gullies, indicating a prior presence of marshes. The valley was eight kilometres in length with settlements throughout.

The terrain and activities of the people accorded precisely with the description in the text. We had crossed a small river and entered a steeply sided valley and here were people still irrigating their crops as their ancestors had been doing some 400 years ago. See Figures 9, 10, 11 & 12.

Fig. 9 The Manyane River valley

Here are well-laid out garden plots with vegetables being grown under irrigation. A pipeline can be seen leading into the land.

Fig. 10 The Manyane River valley.
Here is a woman is growing vegetables on her irrigated plot.

Fig. 11 An eroded gully with reeds.
This indicates that this was once a marshy area

Fig. 12 Heavily eroded hillsides showing evidence of long occupation

Once out of the valley, the road led onto an undulating upland area. There were some settlements visible, especially around the village of Nkhandla. The land has been afforested with plantations of eucalyptus trees so possibly rural people who once lived there have been relocated. We joined the R68, the Babanango/Melmoth road, and spent two nights at the Nkunzi Lodge at Diepkloof, situated 23 km from Melmoth.

Conclusion:

The survivors probably crossed the Mngeni River where the Midmar Dam is now situated. They would have avoided a prominent hill and moved through rugged ground where granite boulders abound. They continued in a north-easterly direction, probably parallel to the R33. They met an unnamed chief probably in the vicinity of Cramond. They crossed the Karkloof Mountains though an easy pass and over fairly flat land until they reached the more mountainous area around Kranskop. There were many people living there but no chief mentioned. From there they would have turned north and

headed for the drift [Jameson's] to cross the Thukela River. There were numerous settlements there, but again no chief was mentioned.

From Jameson's Drift, the survivor route would probably have been the same as the present road as it leads through a valley where people are still irrigating their lands from mountain streams. There they met the 'Inkosi' of those villages. Climbing out of the valley into an upland region, they met Chief Panjana, probably in the region of Nkhandla.

Moving north-east again, their route would have taken them over a *"stream*". This would have been the White Mfolozi River, near the present-day site of Ulundi. There they were visited by Chief Malangana.

19 September Visit to Ulundi:

We spent the day visiting Ulundi Museum, which is situated on the site of Ondini Royal Residence of King Cetshwayo. Only a few huts have been built to date. The place is poorly signposted, and while the structure of the huts is interesting, there is no information available on the site, but there is a small well laid-out museum.

We then visited Mgungundhlovu, where a start has also been made in reconstructing Chief Dingane's Great Place. Some huts have been constructed, but are not easily accessible. Piet Retief's memorial is situated in that area. We also visited EmaKhosini where a national shrine has been built on top of a hill in the form of a toposcope.
See Figures 13, 14, 15 & 16.

Overnight at Inkunzi Lodge

Fig. 13 Reconstructed huts at the Ondini Royal Residence of King Cetshwayo

Fig. 14 The layout for the Ondini Royal Residence is still Incomplete

Fig. 15 **Mgungundhlovu,**
Reconstruction of Dingane's Great Place

Fig. 16 **Some reconstructed huts at Mgungundhlovu**

***Santo Alberto* Text - Ulundi to Inhaca Island:**

After leaving the White Mfolozi River, the survivors then continued north-east and camped in a wood. For the next two days [7-8 June] they passed through uninhabited country and came to a "*richly verdured range of hills, which divided into two spurs, one running north and the other east, a great valley lying between them.*"[2450] Here they met *"bandits who lived in this range upon the proceeds of their robberies, and thus they were all armed with assegais and arrows.*"[2451]

The survivors then wound their way through hilly country meeting more people and their chief. They camped in a wood. [9 June][2452] On 10 and 11 June, they obtained guides and deciding to head for the shore, they went "*over good level ground due eastwards*".[2453]

Once they had turned east, the survivors arrived at many villages and met the son of the chief.[2454] The chief, Gamabela, arrived on 14 June and the survivors remained there for the day.[2455] They resumed their journey on 16 June, moving through hilly country and "continued their march through thorny trees and uninhabited country, in which there were many aloe shrubs". [2456] On 17 June, the survivors came down to "*a very wide marshy plain, where there were good pastures and trees, and many more wild cattle, buffaloes, deer hares, pigs and elephants, which were grazing in large herds. These were the first animals of this kind which they had met in the long march*"[2457] The text states that they came down to this plain "*from a great range which*

[2450] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 166.
[2451] Ibid., pp. 166-167.
[2452] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 168.
[2453] Ibid., p. 169.
[2454] Ibid., p. 169.
[2455] Ibid., p. 170.
[2456] Ibid., p. 172.
[2457] Ibid., p. 172.

crosses them from north to south. Our people entered it by a valley, along which ran a river, which they crossed many times".[2458]

On 18 June the survivors *m*oved through the mountain range and *"marched until ten o'clock along the same valley and stream, amid extremely rank vegetation. …on the other side was a hill, which they climbed when the heat was passed, and then followed an extensive plain, watered by the said stream".*[2459] On the coastal plain they observed "*geese, ducks, thrushes, cranes, wild fowl and monkeys. In a large pool which the river formed at the place where our people spent the night, they saw many hippopotami, whose bellowing prevented them from sleeping quietly".* [2460]

From 19-21 June the survivors continued moving north-east, first through a marsh and then over sandy country where there were many palm trees.[2461] On 22 June they were led into a wood. Deciding that they had been led astray, they returned to their original path. [2462] On 23 June they then crossed more marshes with great difficulty.[2463] At one point they said that they could see the mouth of the "*Santa Lucia River"* to the south-west*, which "they had already crossed the day before, at a place which gave them no trouble and was far from the mouth".*[2464]

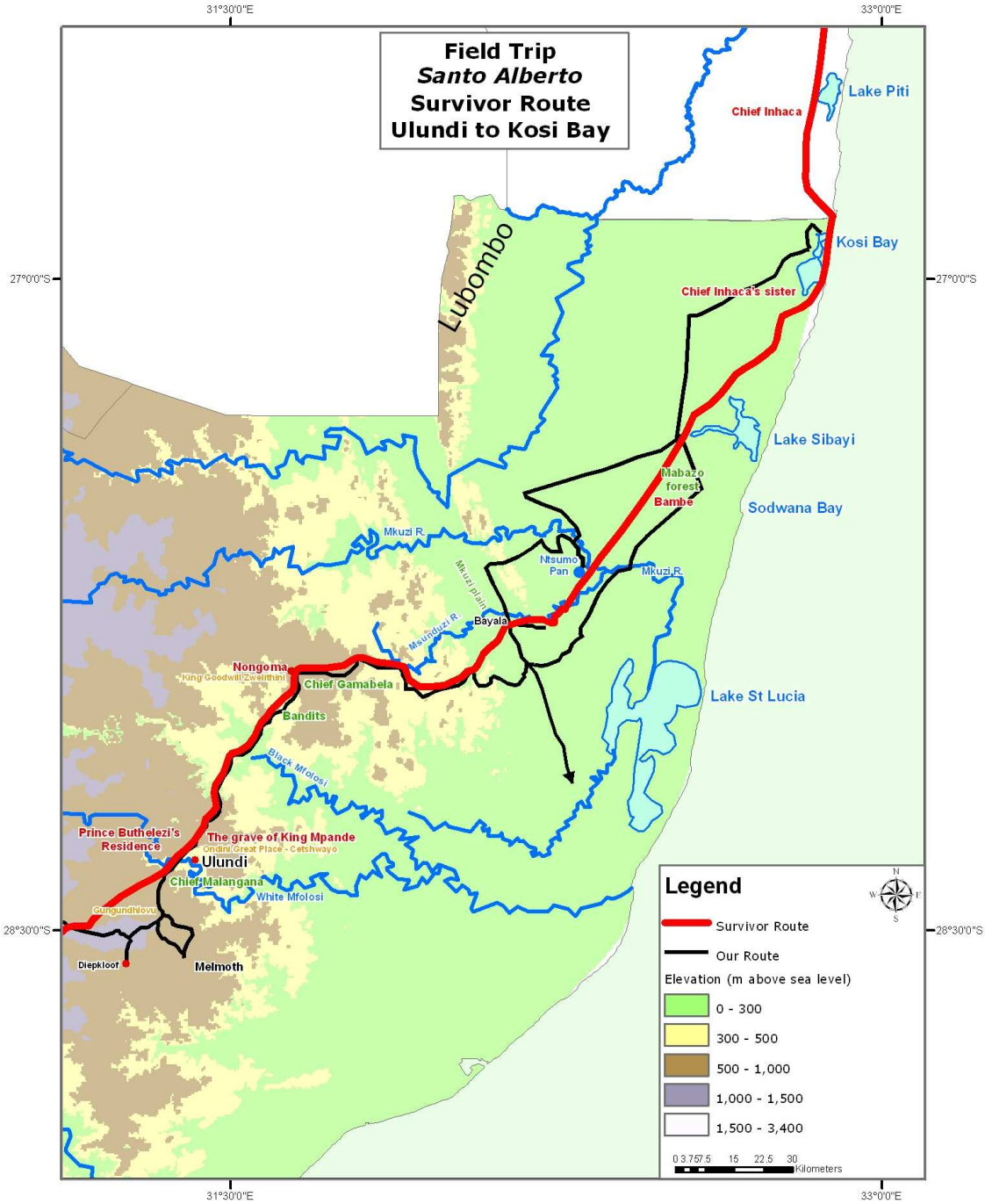
On 24 June the survivors then reached a village and were told that they were "*in the country of the Inhaca, this being the village of one of his sisters."*[2465] It was stated that "*From this village the sea is visible … and it is on that part of the coast which is called the Dunes of Gold".*[2466] They then *"travelled along a great beach of reddish sand …*

[2458] Ibid., pp. 172-173.
[2459] Ibid., p. 173.
[2460] Ibid., p. 173.
[2461] Lavanha, Tr. Boxer, in Boxer, op. cit., p. 174.
[2462] Ibid., pp. 174-175
[2463] Ibid., p. 175.
[2464] Ibid., p. 176.
[2465] Ibid., p. 176.
[2466] Ibid., p. 177.

and at sunset reached a river which was swollen by the high tide, forming an islet at the mouth, and thus it can only be forded at low tide."[2467] [Kosi Bay estuary]

Moving inland the survivors *"journeyed on behind the sand dunes, through fresh and beautiful country, until midday, when they halted beside a village. … they then crossed a marsh, … travelled over a plain and reached a large and beautiful lake of fresh water, about a league in length [4.8 km]"*[2468] *"Thence they marched along the shore of the lake, seeing many ducks, geese and herons, and they encamped on a plain beyond it, as they were not able to reach the village before dark."*[2469] According to the text this was on the 26 June. The next day they moved to the village of King Inhaca.[2470]
The map entitled **'Field trip – Ulundi to Kosi Bay'** illustrates the route taken on the field trip and the proposed route for the *Santo Alberto.*

[2467] Ibid., p. 177.
[2468] Ibid., p. 177.
[2469] Ibid., p. 178.
[2470] Ibid., p. 179.


Field Trip
Santo Alberto
Survivor Route
Ulundi to Kosi Bay
31°30'0"E
33°0'0"E
27°0'0"S
28°30'0"S
Lake Piti
Chief Inhaca
Kosi Bay
Chief Inhaca's sister
Lubombo
Lake Sibayi
Mabazo forest
Bambe
Sodwana Bay
Mkuzi R.
Ntsumo Pan
Mkuzi plain
Mkuzi R.
Bayala
Msunduzi R.
Nongoma
King Goodwill Zwelithini
Chief Gamabela
Lake St Lucia
Bandits
Black Mfolosi
Prince Buthelezi's Residence
The grave of King Mpande
Ondini Great Place - Cetshwayo
Ulundi
Chief Malangana
White Mfolosi
Gungundhlovu
Diepkloof
Melmoth
Legend
Survivor Route
Our Route
Elevation (m above sea level)
0 - 300
300 - 500
500 - 1,000
1,000 - 1,500
1,500 - 3,400
0 3.75 7.5 15 22.5 30
Kilometers

20 September - Ulundi to Bayala:

We drove along the R66 which runs north-east along a broad valley which is in contrast to the very hilly country through which we had passed. We came to a range of hills near a village named Ivuna, just north of the Black Mfolozi River. Based on their travelling speed, I had worked out that the point where the survivors turned east must have been near Nongoma. There were no roads or tracks indicated on the map before that point which were in line with the direction in which the survivors were travelling.

We therefore turned east onto a secondary road at Nongoma. It was raining and misty and as there were road works and no signposts, we got lost. With the kind help of local people, we were directed to a road leading to the N2. The area through which we had travelled was undulating grassland, intersected by streams and in one area the presence of numerous aloes was a marked feature. In general this was inhospitable country, and even today it was sparsely populated. The road then went down the escarpment and we joined the N2 near Mhlosinga. We were then on very flat country known as the Mkhuze Plain. Looking west the escarpment appeared to be a mountain range. To the east were the Lubombo Mountains. See Figures 17 & 18

Fig. 17 Mkhuze Plain and the southern Lubombo Mountains

Fig. 18 Mkhuze Plain with the escarpment in the distance

We made our way through Bayala to stay with Ian and Sue Macdonald who live on a private game reserve, Kubu Yini, some 12 kilometres from Bayala, in the Lubombo Mountains. Coincidently, and by great good fortune, the reserve is bounded by the Msinduzi River. It was through this valley that I thought the survivors had made their way to the coast. We were taken to a 'Look-out', which had been constructed on a high point over-looking the valley and with views to the east and west. To the west we could clearly see the Mkhuze plain and to the east there was a view of the coastal plain. We were informed that there were old elephant paths and an old wagon track through the valley. This area certainly matched the observations of the survivors.
See Figures 19 *& 20.*

20-21 September – Bayala to Kosi Bay:
From Bayala, Ian took us on a round trip to Kosi Bay in a 4x4. We travelled north through the Mkhuze Plain and then through the Mkhuze Game Reserve. We observed numerous animals at a waterhole and then moved on to the Ntsumo Pan. Here were the waterfowl described by the survivors – spurwing geese, herons and ducks, as well as some hippos. We left the Park by the Ephansi Gate through flat bushveld country onto the Maputoland sand plain. See Figures 21 & 22

We joined the N2 and drove through palm savanna, where the ilala, raphia and phoenix palms are common. See Figure 23.

Kosi Bay was the one place through which the survivors from all the wrecks had passed, so my interest went beyond only that of the *Santo Alberto* survivors. As we approached Kosi Bay the area became marshy. The village of Kosi Bay is situated among small hills with tall trees and was densely populated, with the main street lined with informal traders.

Fig. 19 **Msinduzi River valley**

The Mkhuze Plain is to the left

Fig. 20 **Msinduzi River valley, view towards the coastal plain**

Fig. 21 **Ntsumo Pan**

A descendant of the hippos who kept the *Santo Alberto* survivors awake at night is present!

Fig. 22 Wild fowl on the Ntsumo Pan

Fig. 23 Palm veld on the coastal plain, northern KwaZulu-Natal

Following the N2 we first took the turning to Kosi Bay Lodge which overlooks the freshwater lake. We then had to return to the N2 and take the road to the estuary, less than a kilometre from the Border Post at Ponto Douro. The road led through the Nwamanzi Forest Sanctuary. It was very sandy and the 4x4 was needed. Passing through the dunes, which were mostly covered by dense vegetation or dune forest, a blow-out on the inland slope had formed and we were given a glimpse of the 'Golden Dunes', the actual golden colour of the underlying sand. See Figure 24.

Fig. 24 One of the 'Dunes of Gold' near Kosi Bay

We reached the estuary after slithering through a very sandy track. The opening to the sea is very narrow and leads into a shallow lagoon. There we saw numerous fish traps which consisted of wooden poles laid out in sections containing a smaller circular area where the poles were closely packed. There was also a small herd of Nguni cattle resting next to the lagoon. Survivors from other shipwrecks commented on the presence of cattle at Kosi Bay. See Figures 25, 26, 27 & 28

Fig. 25 **Kosi Bay estuary**

Fig. 26 **Fish traps in Kosi Bay**

Fig. 27 **Cattle at Kosi Bay**

Conclusion:

The Great Places and burial sites of Chiefs Dingane, Cetshwayo, Mpande, and Buthelezi are found in the Ulundi area and King Goodwill Zwelethini has his royal residence at Nongoma. The presence of Chief Malangana near the White Mfolozi River in 1593, suggests that these areas have had a long occupation by Zulu royalty. This makes it very probable that this was the route which the survivors took.

The hills through which we passed after leaving Ulundi were not thickly wooded, but the area is heavily eroded and given the long occupation of the area and the need of the local people for wood, it is probable that the 'verdure' is long gone.

It was important to identify the point where the survivors turned east. The survivors took 8 days to get from Jameson's Drift to where they turned due east. They were travelling reasonably fast at that time, but could not have gone further north than Nongoma, which

is about 140 km from the Thukela and this seemed the most logical place. Their rate of travel would have been a relatively fast 17 km a day.

It is suggested then that the survivors would have turned east in the region of Nongoma. There is a secondary road [R618] which goes east from Nongoma and several what could be called 'sub-secondary' tracks branching off. It is likely that the secondary roads would have followed original paths through this area. They could have gone along the line of a secondary road which joins the N2 at Bayala. This would have been similar country to that through which we had passed, even to the 'aloe shrubs', although we were further south.

The text describing the next part of the survivors' journey was difficult to interpret. According to the record, the survivors had descended from a 'great range running from north to south', which sounds as if the range was the Lubombo Mountains. They came down to a plain but the text then reads as if they crossed the same range by passing through a river valley. Once I had visited the area, the sequence became clear. The survivors descended from the escarpment of the African Plateau into the Mkhuze Plain. They then passed through the Lubombo Mountains by following the valley of the Msinduzi River onto the coastal plain.

Once the survivors had moved though the mountains along the Msinduzi River, they would have arrived at the Ntsumo Pan, where they would have seen the water and wild fowl and hippopotami. They continued moving a north-easterly direction, first through palm savanna country and then through a wood, where they thought they had been 'led astray'. It is probable that the wood referred to was the Mabasa Forest. At some point It was stated that when they looked back in a south-westerly direction it was stated that they could see the mouth of the 'Santa Luzia River' This would not have been possible,

so they were probably able to see the point where the Mkhuze River enters Lake St Lucia.[2471]

The survivors returned to their path which took them through marshes. The survivors then reached the village of the sister of Chief Inhaca, which would have been situated at the southern end of Kosi Bay. From there they moved to the coast which is bounded by high dunes, the 'Dunes of Gold'

They then travelled along the beach and came to a river which could only be crossed at low tide. This would have been the estuary of Kosi Bay.

They then moved inland behind the dunes and travelled over flat country and some marshes before reaching the 'large and beautiful lake of fresh water', which could have been a lake near Zitundo or Lake Piti. From there they were guided to the village of Chief Inhaca.

22 September:
On the return journey we visited the southern shore of Lake Sibayi, one of the few fresh water lakes on the long sandy coastal plain between St Lucia and Kosi Bay. See Figure 28.

[2471] Jim Feely, Pers. Comm.

Fig. 28 Lake Sibayi, view towards the sea

We tried to get to Brodie's (Makakatana) Crossing over the St Lucia estuary, where it has been suggested that most of the survivors crossed the St Lucia Lake system. We turned off at a sign to Makakatana, but arrived at the Makakatana Lodge. Although this is private property, we were kindly allowed to visit the edge of the Lake and I was able to see the landscape and vegetation which fringed the lake. The area is now known as the iSimangaliso Wetland Park**.** See Figure 29.

Fig 29 View of a very low Lake St Lucia from Makakatana Lodge

There was no time to make our way to try to view the crossing point from the seaward side. Coincidently, Ian and Sue Macdonald were visiting Cape Vidal on the following day and Ian took a series of photographs to show the extent, one of which is reproduced here.

See Figure 30.

Fig 30 Brodie's Crossing, Lake St Lucia

We had lunch with Paul Dutton at Salt Rock, who is extremely knowledgeable about Mozambique and northern KwaZulu-Natal, and he kindly answered my many questions. We then returned the hired vehicle and made our way back to Pennington.

24 September:
Returned home via Kokstad.

Photographs by Carl Vernon, Ian Macdonald and the late Sue Macdonald.

Time off for lunch in the Mkhomazi valley
Gwen Gill and Robin