

followed the San back to these caves. The two Phuthi groups united and lived together at the cave near Lady Grey, living partly by hunting and gathering and partly by conducting cattle raids on Nguni and Sotho farmers in the Cape Colony. Despite these good relations, however, the two groups clashed when the San claimed cattle which the Phuthi had stolen from Europeans in the Cape Colony. The Phuthi subsequently moved off to an area near Moshesh's Drift on the Kraai River. Here they stayed in caves and were reported to have again subsisted on game hunted for them by San, before occupying an area at the head of the Tele.

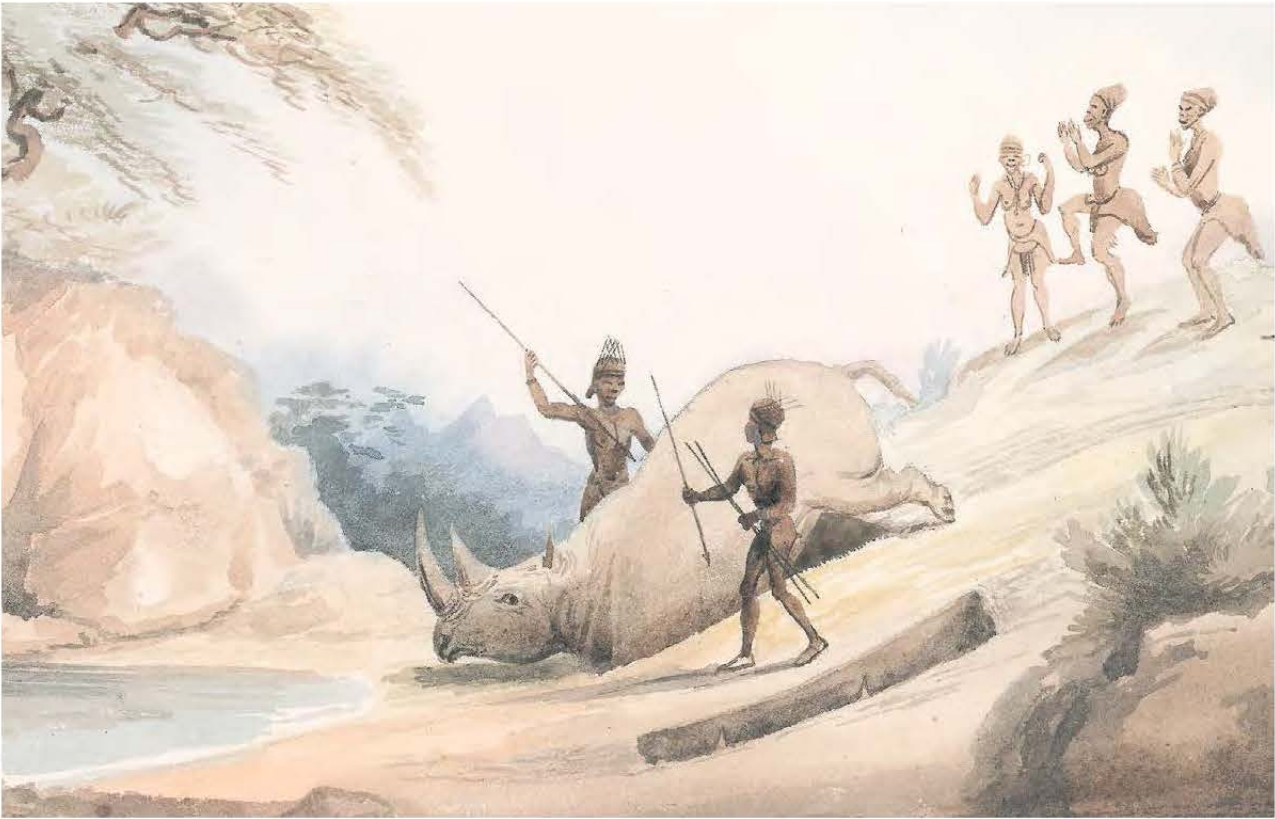
At some time during these wanderings, Mokuoane formalised his relationship with the San by marrying the sister of the San chief Quu and had a son by her. It is quite possible, moreover, that intermarriage between Phuthi chiefs and the San had occurred before this time. Mokuoane's son, Moorosi, was reported to be descended from the San on his mother's side, and it was said that an "ancestor" of Moorosi's had a San wife, suggesting that intermarriage between the San and Phuthi may have occurred over a considerable period of time.



Moorosi.

Source: Gill, S. (1993). *A Short History of Lesotho*. Morija, Lesotho: Morija Museum and Archives.

Many other Sotho communities disrupted by the Difaqane struggles were forced, like the Phuthi, to subsist by hunting and gathering. The Fokeng lived on game in the Rouxville area in about 1822, and at these times the farmers appear to have been aided by San communities. The Koena of Monaheng, too, were greatly helped by the San during the time of the Difaqane. A very old Koena woman, who was born early in the nineteenth century, testified that "(t)he pressure of famine was so great among her own people, owing to the constant raiding which made it not worth while sowing where no one knew who would reap, that even the children had to be fed on game as soon as they were weaned, and they were glad to learn from the despised Bushmen in the neighbourhood of Mekoatleng how to snare the plentiful game by digging pits with a light covering of branches". And some Sotho, probably those who had resorted to hunting and gathering, obtained supplies of "corn" by trading skins with Sotho living in less disrupted areas, who were still able to sow and harvest crops.



San hunters and women celebrate catching a rhinoceros in a game pit.

Source: Bell Heritage Trust, UCT.



Antelope trapped in game pits. By Charles Davidson Bell.

Source: Museum Africa.



Giraffes trapped in game pits.

Source: Wood, J.G. (1868). *The Natural History of Man*. London: Routledge.

A number of San groups appear to have been caught up in the fighting, supporting those Sotho groups to which they were allied. Thus San fought with Setlho's Phetla against the Tlokoa at this time, and the Phuthi were reported to have used poisoned arrows in their struggles with the Ngwane - perhaps the arrows of their San allies. We know that San were formed into "regiments" during "Sotho inter-tribal wars", probably those that occurred during the Difaqane. The Koena chief, Makhetha, is said to have divided his warriors into four corps, one of which consisted of San archers.

The Koena also established relations with the San at the time of the Difaqane. When Moshoeshoe was forced to flee from Butha-Buthe to Thaba Bosiu in 1824, he found San living on Qeme and Qoaling mountains. Among the San groups at Qeme when Moshoeshoe arrived in the area was a group under Quu. The Phuthi united with Quu's San, and it appears that the former were living near Qeme at the time, trading with their San neighbours to whom they were related by marriage.



Moshoeshoe as he would have appeared in 1833 - a reconstruction drawn in 1859.

Source: Gill, S. (1993). *A Short History of Lesotho*. Morija, Lesotho: Morija Museum and Archives;



Moshoeshoe. By George Duff.

Source: Museum Africa.;



Moshoeshoe in 1845. By Francois Maeder.
Source (original): *Journal des Missions Évangéliques* (1846).



Moshoeshoe in 1860.
Source: Cape Archives.

Moshoeshoe attempted to befriend the Qeme San, giving them cattle including cows in calf. Instead of settling down and breeding these cattle, however, the San slipped away one night taking the cattle with them. They retreated to the mountains where they killed the cattle and ate them, after which they became freebooters, plundering the cattle of the Sotho, particularly those of Moshoeshoe's son, Molapo. They eventually joined up with the last great San leader of the Maloti, Soai - whose fate is discussed later. Despite these clashes with the San, Moshoeshoe is nevertheless known to have had at least two San wives, while some San groups acknowledged Moshoeshoe's "ownership" of them, bringing him tribute of lion and leopard skins.



San under Moshoeshoe. Note the typical Sotho warrior's breastplate worn by one of these men. By Charles Davidson Bell.

Source: Museum Africa.

Interaction between San and southern Sotho and Nguni groups after the Difaqane

Under stress stemming from the arrival of these new groups, including the Difaqane raiders, many refugee San and Sotho who wished to retain their independence now fled to remoter areas in the south-eastern mountains, particularly the Maloti and Nomansland (East Griqualand), which continued to support large herds of game until well into the latter half of the nineteenth century. The movement northwards in 1836 of the Boers who had joined the Great Trek added impetus to these processes, and brought the San, in alliance with the Sotho, into conflict with these newcomers.

The arrival of Europeans in areas occupied by San and Sotho, while usually resulting in conflict and hardship for these groups, also presented new opportunities for co-operation between Sotho and San in opposition to a common enemy. Thus Posholi, a brother of Moshoeshoe, conducted raids with the San on the cattle of the Boers in the 1830s, as well as in later times. And many San forced to move from the Transgariiep seem to have placed themselves under the protection of Moorosi - who nevertheless also clashed with other San groups, those who were not allied with him and who raided his cattle. That the Phuthi were involved in raids on the Boer's stock in co-operation with San by this time is suggested by the tradition that Moorosi presented Moshoeshoe with his first horse in about 1829, stolen by one of the San under his protection. San are also reported to have helped Moorosi and his father Mokuoane on another occasion, in about 1835, when Moorosi was visiting Moshoeshoe at Thaba Bosiu. While Moorosi was away, a Boer commando captured cattle belonging to Mokuoane at Bolepeletsa, east of the Tele River, and took the old man prisoner. On the way to deliver him to prison they camped overnight at Buffelsvlei, near present-day Aliwal North, tying the old man to a wagon wheel. However, he was freed during the night by a San man, probably one of his San adherents, and managed to escape.

Other Sotho groups formed alliances with, or protected, the San about this time. When James Backhouse visited Moshoeshoe in 1839 he remarked on the presence of some San among the Sotho clans. And a San group visited by the French missionaries Arbousset and Daumas in the Maloti a few years earlier were found living in rough shelters close to the kraal of a Sotho chief. The chief had gained their trust, and the missionaries remarked that the Sotho sheltered these San in their huts during bad weather. It is possible that this San community had fled the upheavals resulting from the occupation of the Transgariiep by the Griquas, Boers and other groups, and had placed themselves under the protection of the Sotho chief. They told the missionaries that the reason they did not build huts, keep cattle or cultivate crops was partly because they needed to be on the move following the game, but also because they needed to be mobile in order to escape attacks on them by Boers, who treated them very badly.

While Moorosi (whose Nguni clan later became part of the Sotho nation), Moshoeshoe, and some of the other Sotho chiefs had thus established good relations with certain San groups in the 1840s, relations with others were poor. In 1840 the San stole horses belonging to Moshoeshoe near Qoqolosing while he was involved in negotiations with the Boer leader, Pretorius. And when Moshoeshoe accompanied Arbousset on a journey from Thaba Bosiu to the sources of the Malibamatso River in 1840, it was partly to acquaint himself with the more remote areas of his domain where San raiders were believed to be based. San had stolen horses from the Tlokoa chief, Masopo, the previous winter, and had taken them to the Maloti where they slaughtered them. No San were encountered on the journey, but San bands inhabited the mountains, and Moshoeshoe remarked to Arbousset that the Sotho were prevented from establishing permanent settlements in the Maloti by the frequent raids conducted by these groups on their cattle.



San of the Maloti. By Charles Davidson Bell.

Source: Museum Africa.



A tracing of a rock painting panel depicting a San raid on the cattle of a Sotho group.

Source: National Museum, Free State.

The French missionary, Francois Maeder, also remarked that San troubled some Sotho frequently, and Moshoeshoe, acting on complaints by his subjects about San depredations between Thaba Morena and Maphutseng, sent a party to mount an attack on the raiders. Four prisoners were taken and delivered to Moshoeshoe's son, Letsie. At Moshoeshoe's request, Maeder subsequently interviewed one of the San prisoners (both spoke Dutch) concerning his reasons for raiding the Sotho. This may have been a man named "Kingking" (Qingqing?), whom Maeder sketched at the time. As the interview progressed, it became clear to Maeder, to his despair, that these San had no conception of private property with regard to animals - or even of the Christian concept of sin. The captives unashamedly told Maeder that, if released, they would continue to steal, for otherwise, they stated, they would die of hunger. They were subsequently taken to Thaba Bosiu, where Moshoeshoe sentenced them to work for him for the duration of their lifetimes. Three of them later escaped, but one remained with the Sotho.



"Kingking"/Qingqing. By Francois Maeder.

Source: Gill, S. (1993). *A Short History of Lesotho*. Morija, Lesotho: Morija Museum and Archives.

Later developments in the Transgariep, however, were to have the effect, at least initially, of improving San-Sotho relations as these groups combined again to oppose the Boers, who fought two wars in close succession with the Sotho. When the Orange River Sovereignty, established in 1848, was handed over to the Boers by the Colonial government in 1854, boundaries between the newly-established Orange Free State Republic and the Sotho were left undefined, and this was one of the factors which led to armed conflict between the Republic and the Sotho. Senekal's War was waged during 1858 and hostilities broke out again in the Seqiti War of 1865, which continued until 1868. In some cases the San were enlisted, to good effect, by the Sotho in their battles with the European farmers during the course of these wars.

Further to the west, near the town of Boshof, the San chief, Khausob (also known to the Europeans as Skeelkobus), embittered as a result of his having received no payment for land he had sold to European farmers, took advantage of the outbreak of Senekal's War and the diversion of the Republic's forces to the east, where they were engaging with the forces of the Sotho. In 1858, he and his followers, a mixed group of San, Khoe, Korana, and Griquas, launched a series of raids on the farms of Europeans. He was aided, in particular, by two Korana clans - the Scorpions, under Ryk Klaas and Kort Hendriks, and the Seekoeie.

A commando was mustered under Landdrost James Howell, and Khausob's kraal was encircled. After a fierce fight, lasting about three hours, Khausob, his brother Klaas, and about 130 of their followers were killed. Subsequently, more than 40 male prisoners who were being escorted to Bloemfontein were intercepted by a party of Boers, who summarily executed the men. Although a hearing into this atrocity was ordered to take place, pressure placed by the Boers at Boshof on the government meant that this never occurred.

A commission sent by the Free State government to arrange peace at the end of Senekal's War in 1858 asked Moshoeshoe to act against San in his territory, and to order his chiefs, and Moletsane in particular, to do the same. After San had again raided farms in the Free State, a deputation pressured Moshoeshoe, Mopeli and Moletsane to prevent San within their territories, as well as San who were occupying areas formerly under their control, from stealing cattle from the farms of the Boers. Some Sotho chiefs were known to be co-operating with San in these raids. One of these was Posholi, who at about this time was based on the mountain Boloko (Vecht Kop), and, subsequently, nearby on Sefika mountain. A group of "wild Bushmen" and runaway farm servants also lived on Boloko, and Posholi was said to have placed them on the mountain, supplied them with horses, and claimed the lion's share of their booty after their raids on the cattle of the Boers.

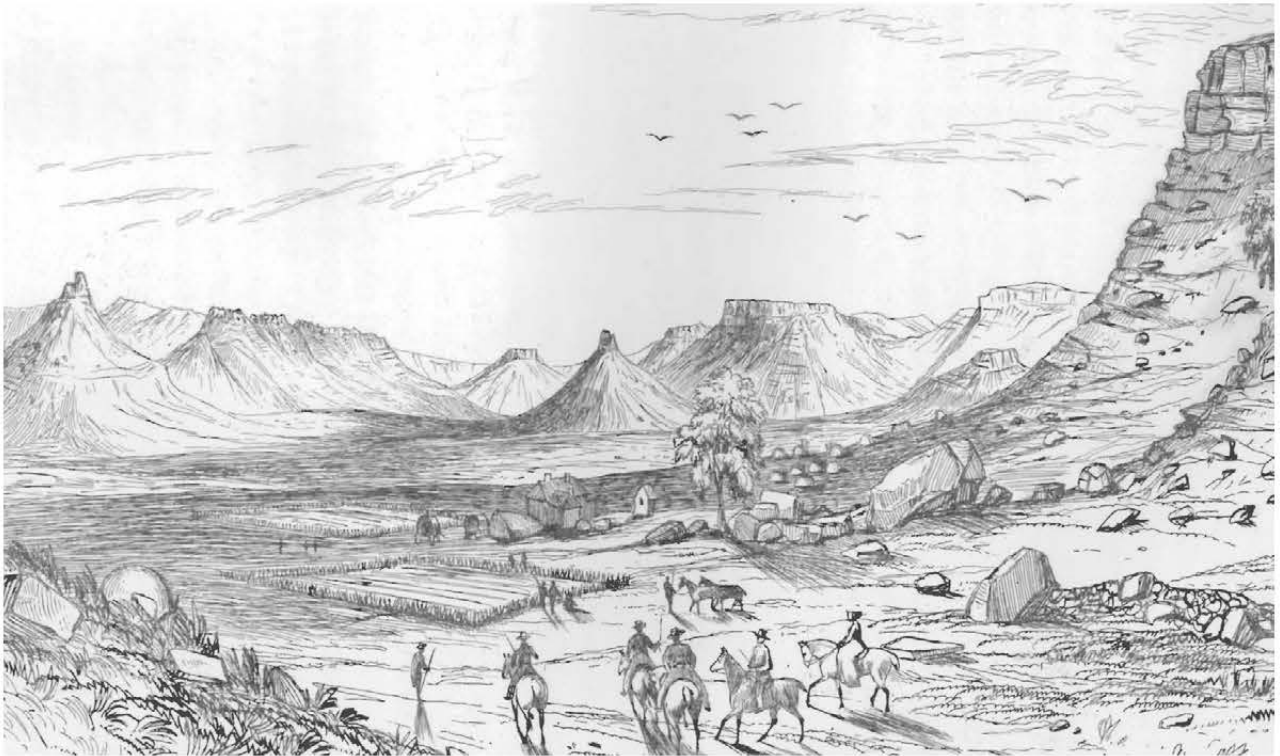


Posholi.

Source: Gill, S. (1993). *A Short History of Lesotho*. Morija, Lesotho: Morija Museum and Archives.

Somewhat unwillingly, a Sotho deputation agreed to allow the European farmers to follow the spoor of cattle stolen by the San into the territories of the Sotho chiefs. And, fearing reprisals by the Boers, some Sotho chiefs acted against San living within their territory whom they had formerly protected. By 1860 joint commandos were being organised by Sotho and Boers against the San. In the same year, Moshoeshoe agreed to act against the San and ensure that his chiefs did the same. Boer commandos were sent to track down Posholi's San. An initial attempt to dislodge them failed, but they were eventually killed, captured and dispersed after being shelled in their caves. Posholi himself attacked and killed a number of San at Litsoeneng in 1862, and several other skirmishes occurred between the Sotho and San at this time. Whether these skirmishes resulted from pressure placed by the Boers on the Sotho is not certain, but the San were now clearly seen as a liability by some Sotho chiefs.

Deprived of support from many of the Sotho chiefs who had previously protected them, San raids on farms in the Free State had largely ceased by 1865. San under the protection of Moletsane were forced to leave Mekoatleng after being attacked by the Boers. The mountain at Mekoatleng had provided a natural fortress for a number of powerful San bands for many generations. They occupied caves in the area until the Seqiti War in 1865, when they were attacked by a commando under Commandants Fick and Dreyer, who used rifles, grenades and cannon against them in a fierce battle to dislodge them from their caves. The Mekoatleng San subsequently moved to Qeme mountain and thereafter to Kolo mountain further to the south.



Mekoatleng in the early 1840s.

Source: Backhouse, J. (1844). *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*. London: Hamilton Adams.

Sotho and San were thus forced to retreat towards the mountains of the eastern Free State and Lesotho, as well as into Nomansland, as the Boers took over their territories, and some San went with them. Moorosi, who had two San wives, moved up the Senqu, accompanied by his Phuthi and San adherents and kin. By 1869, and probably earlier, San had settled amongst the Phuthi in huts, tending their own cattle and sheep and growing crops. They also assisted the Phuthi when they raided farms in the Colony for cattle and horses, and between 1868 and 1870 most of the raids in KwaZulu-Natal were conducted by combined parties of San and Phuthi.

Raids on the farms of Europeans such as these, involving mixed groups of San and Bantu-speakers, had been occurring for more than 30 years in the Maloti-Drakensberg and adjacent areas - after the arrival of large numbers of Boers in KwaZulu-Natal in 1837. Mixed groups of San and Bantu-speakers continued to raid the stock of European farmers in KwaZulu-Natal throughout the 1840s. By 1850 these raids had intensified to the point where the Colonial authorities, now strongly suspecting collaboration between the Nguni and Sotho farmers and San, commissioned an enquiry to investigate the thefts. At the same time they placed pressure on the Mpondo chief, Faku, as well as on Bhaca and Mpondomise chiefs, to act against the San based in their territories, but these demands were initially resisted by the chiefs for a number of reasons: they benefited too greatly from their relationships with San cattle raiders, they