

# SOUTH AFRICA

## *A Modern History*

THIRD EDITION

UPDATED AND EXTENSIVELY REVISED

T. R. H. DAVENPORT

*Professor of History*  
*Rhodes University, Grahamstown*

**M**  
MACMILLAN  
PRESS

# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xv
<i>List of Maps</i>	xvi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xvi
<i>Preface to the First Edition</i>	xvii
<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	xix
<i>Preface to the Third Edition</i>	xx
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxiii

## **PART ONE: THE PRELUDE TO WHITE DOMINATION** 1

### **SECTION I THE SETTING OF THE HUMAN PROBLEM** 1

<b>1 From the Dawn of History to the Time of Troubles</b>	<b>3</b>
1.1 The earliest South Africans	3
1.2 The Khoisan peoples	3
1.3 The migration of Bantu-speaking peoples	7
1.4 The northern Nguni disturbances of the early nineteenth century	12
1.5 The unrest on the highveld	18
<b>2 The Birth of a Plural Society</b>	<b>22</b>
2.1 The early years of European settlement	22
2.2 The Khoikoi and the Dutch	24
2.3 Cape slavery	25
2.4 The V.O.C. and the Cape station	28
2.5 The emergence of the Trekboer	30
2.6 Conflict between Trekboers and Khoisan, who either accept incorporation or retreat	32
2.7 The creation of a stratified society	34

<b>3</b>	<b>The Enlightenment and the Great Trek</b>	<b>36</b>
3.1	The eighteenth-century revolution and Cape Colonial 'Calvinism'	36
3.2	The first British occupation, 1795	40
3.3	Batavian rule, 1803-6	41
3.4	The return of the British, 1806	42
3.5	The Albany settlement of 1820 and its cultural impact	43
3.6	The emancipation of the slaves and the Cape coloured people	46
3.7	The start of the Great Trek	49
 <b>SECTION II CHIEFDOMS, REPUBLICS AND COLONIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY</b>		<b>55</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>African Chiefdoms</b>	<b>57</b>
4.1	Tswana chiefdoms of the Kalahari borderlands	57
4.2	Chiefdoms of the Eastern Transvaal: Pedi, Lovedu, Venda and Ndzundza	59
4.3	The southern Sotho	60
4.4	The southern Nguni peoples: Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo	61
4.5	The Mfengu (Fingo) people	64
4.6	The northern Nguni peoples: Zulu, Gaza, Ngoni and Swazi	65
4.7	The Khumalo Ndebele	68
4.8	The bonds of African society in the nineteenth century	69
4.9	New concentrations of power after the Mfecane	74
<b>5</b>	<b>Boer Republics</b>	<b>76</b>
5.1	Voortrekker tribulations	76
5.2	The Republic Natalia	78
5.3	Potgieter and Pretorius on the highveld	80
5.4	The Orange Free State Republic	82
5.5	The South African Republic, the civil war, and the rise of Paul Kruger	84
5.6	Ideological rifts during the presidency of T. F. Burgers	89
5.7	Kruger's Republic and the Uitlander challenge	93
<b>6</b>	<b>British Colonies</b>	<b>98</b>
6.1	Cape political and constitutional growth, 1820-72, and the politics of separatism	98

6.2	The Afrikaner revival and the Rhodes–Hofmeyr alliance	103
6.3	Black politics in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony	107
6.4	The founding and settlement of colonial Natal	109
6.5	Shepstone and African administration in Natal	112
6.6	Political developments in Natal to responsible government, 1893	114
6.7	The arrival of Natal's Indians	116
6.8	The Cape and Natal – a study in contrasts?	118

**SECTION III THE STRUGGLE FOR POSSESSION 121**

<b>7</b>	<b>White and Black: The Struggle for the Land</b>	<b>123</b>
7.1	The territorial confrontation: preliminary observations	123
7.2	Conflicts on the San frontiers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries	124
7.3	The eastern frontier of the Cape Colony	126
	The beginnings of contact between the Xhosa and the colonists	126
	The sixth frontier war and the treaty system	129
	The conflicts of 1846–53	132
	Sir George Grey and the cattle-killing of 1857	134
	The Thembu experience	136
	The Gcaleka in exile: the war and rebellions of 1877–80	137
	The incorporation of Pondoland	140
7.4	The conflicts on the Griqua and Orange Free State frontiers	142
	The Cape–Kora wars	142
	The Philippolis Griqua and their exile to Kokstad	142
	The Griqua of Nicholas Waterboer, the land court and the rebellion of 1878	146
	Moshweshwe's Sotho, the Free State and the British, 1833–84	148
	The Rolong of Thaba'Nchu and the Orange Free State	154
7.5	Conflict on the eastern and northern frontiers of the Transvaal	156
	The Pedi, the Boers and the British, 1845–83	156
	The Transvaal Ndebele	161
	The Lovedu and the Venda	161
7.6	The Swazi and their 'documents'	163
7.7	The survival and overthrow of the Zulu monarchy, 1838–1906	165

7.8	The frontier conflicts of the Tswana on the 'Road to the North'	170
	The Tlhaping and Rolong	170
	The northern Tswana kingdoms	171
7.9	The Khumalo Ndebele and the British South Africa Company	173
7.10	The role of the missionaries	177
7.11	The changing ownership of the land	181
7.12	The role of trade in colonial expansion	183
<b>8</b>	<b>Empire and Republics: The Breaking of Boer Independence, 1850–1902</b>	<b>184</b>
8.1	Formal and informal Empire	184
8.2	The pursuit of the Voortrekkers	185
8.3	Republican independence: the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions, 1852–4	187
8.4	The high commissionerships of Sir George Grey, 1854–61, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, 1862–70	189
8.5	Sir Henry Barkly and the diamond fields, 1870–7	192
8.6	Federal strategies, 1874–80: Carnarvon, Frere, Shepstone and the annexation of the Transvaal	193
8.7	Republican independence again, 1881–4: the Pretoria and London conventions; conflict over Basutoland and the 'Road to the North', 1880–5	198
8.8	The scramble for southern Africa: gold, railways and rival imperialisms, 1880–95	202
8.9	Chamberlain, Rhodes, Milner and the confrontation with Kruger, 1895–9	206
8.10	The Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902	211
<b>9</b>	<b>The Shaping of a White Dominion</b>	<b>222</b>
9.1	The Treaty of Vereeniging, 31 May 1902	222
9.2	The Cape and Natal in the post-war era	223
9.3	Milner and reconstruction	225
9.4	The Milner regime and South African blacks: the Lagden Commission, segregation and the Zulu rebellion of 1906	228
9.5	Independent churches and the growth of black political movements	231
9.6	Gandhi	233
9.7	The revival of Afrikanerdom	234
9.8	The Transvaal British	236
9.9	The move towards responsible government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony	239

9.10 The formation of the Union of South Africa, 1908–10	243
9.11 The unacknowledged protest of the blacks	249

**PART TWO: THE CONSOLIDATION OF A WHITE STATE** **253**

**SECTION I THE ROAD TO AFRIKANER DOMINANCE** **253**

<b>10 Union under Stress: Botha and Smuts, 1910–24</b>	<b>255</b>
10.1 Botha's accession to power and quarrel with Hertzog	255
10.2 The segregation strategy of the Botha–Smuts regime	258
10.3 The growth of African political opposition: the S.A.N.N.C. and the I.C.U.	260
10.4 Indian affairs: the climax of the Gandhi–Smuts encounter and the defiance of Saprú	264
10.5 White worker resistance, 1913–14	268
10.6 The invasion of German South West Africa and the Afrikaner rebellion of 1914	270
10.7 South Africa in the Great War	272
10.8 Party realignments, 1915–21	273
10.9 Smuts at Versailles, the South-West African mandate and the bid to incorporate Southern Rhodesia and the Protectorates	274
10.10 Shadows over the Smuts regime, 1921–2: Bondelswarts, Bulhoek and the Rand Rebellion	278
10.11 The Nationalist–Labour Pact and the 1924 General Election	283
<b>11 The Afrikaner's Road to Parity: Hertzog, 1924–33</b>	<b>286</b>
11.1 1924–a turning-point?	286
11.2 Dominion status, the flag crisis, and the protectorates	287
11.3 Hertzog's policies for Asians and Africans	292
11.4 The General Election of 1929	297
11.5 The I.C.U. and the A.N.C. in the 1920s	298
11.6 The Great Depression and the politics of coalition and fusion	302
<b>12 White Unity, Black Division, 1933–9</b>	<b>309</b>
12.1 The Fusion Government and the 'native bills'	309
12.2 The black reaction to Hertzog's 1936 legislation	314

12.3	The Party split of 1934 and the rise of 'purified' Afrikaner nationalism	317
12.4	The foreign policy of the fusion era	326
<b>13</b>	<b>Smuts and the Liberal-Nationalist Confrontation, 1939-48</b>	<b>329</b>
13.1	South Africa enters the Second World War	329
13.2	The Afrikaner Opposition, 1939-43	331
13.3	Liberal reform initiatives and a polarised response, 1942-3	338
13.4	The mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the Fagan Report	341
13.5	Xuma's A.N.C. and the rise of the Youth League	345
13.6	'C.A.D.', 'Anti-C.A.D.' and the Non-European Unity Movement	348
13.7	Durban's Indians and the 'Pegging' and 'Ghetto' Acts	350
13.8	The Nationalist victory in 1948	353
 <b>SECTION II THE DESIGNING OF A 'NEW MODEL' STATE</b>		 <b>359</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>The Age of the Social Engineers, 1948-60</b>	<b>361</b>
14.1	The first purely Afrikaner government	361
14.2	The Coloured vote issue and the Torch Commando	363
14.3	The politics of the Defiance Campaign	366
14.4	Tomlinson, Verwoerd, and the ideology of <i>apartheid</i>	371
14.5	The Strijdom interlude	377
14.6	The defeat of the Coloured parliamentary struggle	378
14.7	Residential and cultural <i>apartheid</i>	379
<b>15</b>	<b>Internal Combustion, 1956-64</b>	<b>382</b>
15.1	Rural resistance to the <i>apartheid</i> regime	382
15.2	The Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, 1955	385
15.3	The first of the treason trials	388
15.4	Verwoerd's 'new vision' and Macmillan's 'winds of change', 1959-60	389
15.5	The A.N.C., the P.A.C., and Sharpeville, 1960	394
15.6	The first republican referendum, October 1960	398
15.7	Post-Sharpeville resistance: B. J. Vorster and the political underground	400
15.8	The murder of Dr Verwoerd	405

<b>16 Modification and Backfire, 1964–78</b>	<b>406</b>
16.1 Living with the Tomlinson Report: industrial licensing and rural resettlement	406
16.2 The extension of Homeland self-government: the first reactions of Homeland leaders and liberal whites	413
16.3 Black Consciousness	417
16.4 The end of indirect representation for Coloured people, and the failure of the Coloured Representative Council	419
16.5 The Erika Theron Report and Vorster's constitutional reform proposals, 1976–7	421
16.6 Vorster and the opposition: the extrusion of the Hertzogites and the harrying of the liberals	423
16.7 Black movements in exile and the start of the terrorist campaign	428
16.8 The Soweto disturbances of 1976–7	430
16.9 The information scandal and the fall of Vorster	435
<b>17 At the Crossroads, 1978–85</b>	<b>438</b>
17.1 P. W. Botha's political style and aims	438
17.2 The climax of population resettlement	445
17.3 The conspiracy of gold and maize	449
17.4 Signs of a white backlash	451
17.5 Reactions to denationalisation in the Homelands	454
17.6 Resistance to denationalisation in the common area: the A.N.C., school boycotts, resurgent trade unionism, Black Consciousness and the United Democratic Front	458
17.7 Confrontation about consensus: the constitutional debate, 1978–85	464
<b>18 Salesmanship: Ethnasia contra mundum, 1945–85</b>	<b>474</b>
18.1 South Africa and the birth of the United Nations	474
18.2 The Malan–Strijdom era in foreign policy, 1948–58	475
18.3 Dr Verwoerd and the outside world	479
18.4 South West Africa, Angola and the growth of confrontation, 1952–79	480
18.5 South Africa and Rhodesian independence	487
18.6 Vorster: dialogue and <i>détente</i>	488
18.7 The threat of economic sanctions: employment codes, disinvestment and trade boycotts	489
18.8 The Cape route, strategic minerals and oil	493
18.9 P. W. Botha, the 'constellation' concept and the S.A.D.C.C.; through destabilisation to the Nkomati Accords and beyond, 1979–85	500



<b>SECTION III THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA</b>	<b>507</b>
<b>19 The Economy and the People of South Africa</b>	<b>509</b>
19.1 From subsistence to capitalist farming	509
19.2 The spread of communications, commerce and banking	512
19.3 The rise of diamond and gold mining and their peculiar labour patterns	516
19.4 Secondary industry, a late development	524
19.5 The evolution of labour migrancy and the colour bar in a state-regulated economic system	526
19.6 The collapse of the industrial colour bar and the legitimization of black collective bargaining	536
<b>20 The Cancer of Apartheid</b>	<b>541</b>
20.1 Segregation and <i>apartheid</i>	541
20.2 The territorial dimension	543
20.3 Segregation in town	547
20.4 Passes and the control over black movement	554
20.5 Racially segregated schools and universities	557
20.6 The churches and <i>apartheid</i>	560
20.7 Group areas	561
20.8 The conflict over <i>apartheid</i> in entertainment and sport	563
20.9 <i>Apartheid</i> and civil liberty: the press, the courts and the operation of the law	565
20.10 <i>Apartheid</i> in politics	569
20.11 The force and the mass, the ostrich and the crab	571
<i>Bibliographical Notes</i>	588
<i>Index</i>	657