

ROBERT MOFFAT, JR. AND HIS “MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA, 1848-51”

Cartography in a time of uncertainty

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La carte créée par Robert Moffat Junior durant les années 1848–1851 présente un exemple très rare de stratégie cartographique dans une région où la souveraineté est incertaine. Après l’annexion britannique, le territoire connu sous le nom de « Orange River Sovereignty » a besoin de nouvelles cartes. Fils d’un missionnaire de renom, Moffat dresse une carte mettant l’accent sur les intérêts des chefs africains alors qu’elle ignore presque complètement la présence des Boers blancs. Cette carte traite aussi de politique linguistique et religieuse. Après l’abandon de ce territoire le nouveau gouvernement des Boers inverse la politique de Moffat, imposant la langue Afrikaans et supprimant la souveraineté des Africains indigènes.

The map drafted by Robert Moffat, Jr. During the years 1848-1851 is a very rare example of the politics of cartography in a region of uncertain sovereignty. After the British annexation of the territory named the Orange River Sovereignty, the new colony needed maps. Son of a famous missionary, Moffat composed a map that emphasised the interests of African chiefs while almost completely ignoring the presence of white Boer settlers who had occupied portions of the territory since 1836. The map also demonstrates the current politics of language and religion. After the retrocession of the territory in the years 1852-54, the incoming Boer governments reversed Moffat’s political agenda, imposing their Afrikaans language and suppressing the independence of African chieftaincies.

Introduction

Today’s historians of cartography reject the notion that maps represent an objective reality. Maps embody political and cultural presumptions about power and knowledge. This has been convincingly demonstrated at the macro level through the analysis of the various kinds of projections used to represent the globe in two dimensions – projections which privilege certain regions such as Europe and North America. Attention has also brought to light the inbuilt biases of the cartographic conventions employed by the leading commercial cartographic firms of the West. The study of the historical cartography of Africa until recently focussed on late-medieval and early modern representations of places barely known to European observers: maps that mined ancient texts for data that

could be conjecturally applied to blank space. By contrast, studies of nineteenth-century African cartography are still in their infancy. Only a handful of scholars have embarked on concentrated analysis of commercially produced maps of Southern Africa, and the study of military and ordinance surveys is virtually untouched (Carruthers, 2007 ; Liebenberg, 2003 ; Etherington, 2007). Elri Liebenberg has called attention to the forces marshalled to produce progressively more topographically accurate printed maps of South Africa in the nineteenth century (Liebenberg, 2006). While acknowledging the cogency of her observations and arguments, this article shows that the cartographical record is also marked by dramatic ruptures and uncertainty. The map of Southern Africa drawn by Robert Moffat, Jr., between the years 1848 and 1851 strikingly illustrates one such momentous

disruption to the smooth progress of South African mapmaking. It represents the section of modern South Africa depicted in figure 1.

Maps of the Southern African interior drawn before the 1840s were notoriously unreliable, as no ordinance surveys of that region had yet been undertaken. Commercially published maps such as Wyld's 1844 map of South Africa were drawn by cartographers in Britain working from written books, newspaper reports and documents. They frequently repeated place and "tribal" names that were long out of date. Identifications of African groups was hit and miss, as shown by W. C. Harris's map of 1837. Even the map (fig. 2) chosen to illustrate the memoir of Robert Moffat's missionary father in 1842 (Moffat, 1842) contains little significant detail along with a number of errors and anachronisms (Etherington, 2004a) (fig. 2).

Political developments in the 1830s and '40s spurred the production of new maps. Wagon trains of residents of Britain's Cape Colony crossed the border in an unauthorized invasion of African territories that later came to be known as The Great Trek. This movement generated numerous wars and land claims in the years immediately following 1836. British officials, fearing that these disturbances would threaten the peace and stability of the Cape Colony, initiated a series of annexations designed to curb their disruptive impact. In 1842 they seized the coastal territory of Natal. In 1848 Britain's High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith, proclaimed a much more audacious land grab, seizing all the territory known to today as the Highveld from Orange River at least as far as the Limpopo River to the north and eastward to the escarpment that separates the Highveld from the lowlands of modern Mozambique.

Smith knew very little about the newly annexed region he named the Orange River Sovereignty. A young surveyor, Robert Moffat, Jr., took up the task of consolidating existing knowledge and putting in on a map designed to aid British officials in their administration of the new colony. Over the years 1848, 1849 and 1850 he collected notes and sketches from a range of sources, which he used to produce a final map in April 1851. Though only in his early twenties, Moffat possessed excellent qualifications. He was both a surveyor in the employ of the Cape government and a fluent speaker of the Sotho-Tswana languages spoken right across the Highveld. He had spent his early years on the mission station founded by his father, Robert Moffat, Sr., one of the earliest missionaries of the London Missionary Society to locate North of the Orange River and a celebrated figure in Southern African history. The younger Moffat

would go on to make the first scholarly study of the Setswana language and was in the process of correcting the proofs of his treatise when he suddenly fell ill and died in 1862 (Moffat, 1864).

To say Robert Moffat, Jr. possessed good technical qualifications is not to say he was an uninvolved, neutral and objective draughtsman. His map is suffused with politics: politics of land ownership and power; evangelical politics of religion; politics of language and names; politics of ethnicity and group identity. His map functions not just as a depiction of existing conditions, but also as a pointer to what kind of colony the Orange River Sovereignty might become. Events took a different direction when the British Government decided to give up the territory through treaties signed in 1852 and 1854. Moffat's map was cast aside and other, quite different maps were produced in subsequent decades. The map stands as a most vivid reminder that nineteenth century cartography was much more than steady accumulation of factual knowledge. In slightly changed circumstances today's maps of Africa would be greatly altered.

Context of the map's production

The original copy of Moffat map is approximately 36 inches (91.44 cm) long and 36 inches (91.44 cm) wide and is held at the Royal Geographical Society in London. In February 1849 Moffat had been engaged in contract surveying work for the Cape Surveyor General. Later that year he identified himself as Surveyor to the Orange River Sovereignty (Survey General's office papers 1/1/2/8, 1/1/2/10). That he intended this map to serve the needs of government is clear from his hand-written inscription in the top right corner: "Original Copy Respectfully presented by the author to His Excellency, Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry G W Smith, Bart., High Commissioner." Moffat explicitly anticipates publishing the map at a later date. While noting that Henry Hall of the Ordinance Department at Grahamstown would be incorporating its data in "his new Map of South Africa", the legend stresses that "Mr. Moffat retains the Copyright for separate publication" (fig. 3).

The map is in poor condition, torn unevenly into four pieces (fig. 3). As it is unlikely to have suffered this wear and tear under the curatorship of the Royal Geographical Society, it may be reasonably assumed that it had been frequently folded and unfolded by officials administering the Orange River Sovereignty in the early 1850s. A note in Moffat's hand states that it was "Returned to the author by Sir George Clerk

KCB on the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty – & now presented to the Geographical Society, Dec. 5 1856.” The extensive information Moffat provides on the names and locations of African groups and chiefs would have been invaluable to the troubled administrators of the Sovereignty during its brief existence (1848-54). Equally useful would have been the unusually detailed indication of roads and tracks shown on the map.

The map also captures uncertainty about language. Grammars and orthographies were at that time in the process of being developed for the languages of the region previously known solely through their oral expression. Robert Moffat, Sr. and his fellow missionaries of the London Missionary Society pushed ahead with translations of Scripture based on English orthographic practice, while nearby French Protestant missionaries applied French principles of spelling and pronunciation. The result was that a single tongue spoken with regional dialectic differences came to be written down as two distinct languages, one grounded in English orthographical practice and the other in French. Moffat, Jr. was well aware of language differences, especially the distinction between the languages spoken near the coast, which became known as Nguni, and the languages of the Highveld, which came to be denominated Sotho-Tswana. Even then, his spelling of words is inconsistent, as might be expected during a period when rules of orthography had yet to be agreed upon. As the French missionary rendering of Sesuthu had yet to take hold in the territory that would become Lesotho, Moffat calls the whole language group Sichuan (rendered today as Setswana).

To summarize so far, Moffat’s map is unique in the annals of mid-nineteenth century Southern Africa in its sensitivity to processes of change: political, religious, and linguistic. It makes no attempt to reduce a dynamic reality to a static picture. The remainder of this paper examines its treatment of each of its principal subjects (fig. 4).

Politics of land and power

For several centuries maps of Africa followed the European early-modern practice of indicating tribal identities on maps, which derived from Judaic and Classical conceptions of tribes (fig. 4). This had been the case with earlier maps of Southern Africa, perpetuating many anachronisms and absurdities. Moffat’s map follows the convention of writing tribal labels on the map (usually obliquely), but differs from others in denoting territories. Thus in the lower right section of the map he writes not ZULU but AMAZULU TERRI-

TORY. In the upper left hand section at the top he writes AMAMATABILI TERRITORY. In the highly contested region shown in the lower left section he identifies GRIKUA TERRITORY, and, most significantly, in very large capitals on horizontal lines, SOVEREIGN TRIBES – thereby emphasising their independence from Boer dominance as recognized by British treaties concluded prior to the proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty.

Second, Moffat associates most of these “tribal” names with particular chiefs. So AMAMATABILI is associated with “Moselekatse Chief”, BASTARDS at 29° 20’S. and 27° 20’E. are associated with “Pieter David Chief”. BASUTOS are shown as under “Moshesh Chief”. In many cases Moffat also attempts to pinpoint the principal town or residence of particular chiefs. So THABA BOSISIU is shown as the Residence of Moshesh. And though relatively little African political detail is shown for Natal and Zululand, Moffat does show at least the location of “Langalibalele Amatlubi” in the lower left section at 27° 30’S, 30° E.

By not writing AMATLUBI Moffat demonstrates his awareness that Chief Langalibalele controlled only one section of what had once been a single Amahlubi chieftaincy, but was now broken into sections. One of the important scholarly revisions of the past decade has been a growing acknowledgment that people of South Eastern Africa spoke of their communities in terms of chieftainship rather than ethnic identity (Etherington, 2011, p. 47; Landau, 2010, p. 1-73). As particular chiefs rose to prominence, were deposed, or disappeared, the nature of the political groupings with which they were associated also changed. Moffat is more careful than any other Southern African mapmaker of the nineteenth century to represent the dynamic processes associated with chiefly government. Look, for example, at the extreme north-western corner of the upper left-hand section, where an extra piece of paper has been appended to show recently discovered Lake Ngami. The local ruler is identified as “Chief Pochuluthébe (age 19)”, and the community is shown as “Formerly part of Bamanguato Tribe”(fig. 5). Nearby, between 21° and 22° S alongside Lake Kummadon are shown three sections of “Bahurutse Tribes” under chiefs “Tsaraloge, Tsapoe, and Pamba” respectively – “formerly part of the Bahurutse”. Not far away at 28° E, between 22° & 23° S we find BASILIKA TRIBE under “Chief Koba & Mother”, illustrating the not infrequent circumstance in which a mother served as regent during the minority or even early adulthood of her son (fig. 5).

A third example occurs in the lower left-hand sec-

tion in the vicinity of 26°E, 25°10' S where immediately above the word BAHARUTS and below BAKHATLE we find the three names of men identified as "Part chief" each of whom heads a section of a formerly united group which is now in the throes of fragmentation. There are several other places in this general area where chiefs are designated as in charge of parts of tribes. This recognition of dynamic processes of chieftaincy formation stands in open contradiction of the stability suggested by writing the names of "tribes" in capitals. The easiest way to grasp the significant contrast between this map and others of the same era is to compare Moffat's map with a detail of one produced by the London firm Jas. Wyld in 1844 (fig. 6). Wyld's map unproblematically depicts BAROLONGS, WANKEETS and TAMAHACHAS as stable entities without reference to chieftainship (fig. 6).

The most politically fraught region depicted on the map appears in the lower left section stretching from Grikua Town to the Caledon River Valley. The wealth of detail on his map represents a huge advance on previous representations. Moffat is at pains to emphasize that boundaries between different polities had yet to be determined. Below Pniel on the Vaal River at 27° 10'S, 26°E he notes "Boundaries between the Chiefs GASIBONOE, WATERBOER, AND JAN BLOEM, and the Sovereignty not yet adjusted."

Tributary and other subordinate relations obtaining at the time are also shown. The town, Mamusa, appears at 27° 10'S, 26°E, along with the notation "Chief, Mahura, subject to Gasibonoe" – a relationship that most born of contemporary political circumstances rather than an enduring affiliation.

Underplaying the Boer presence North of the Orange River

Representations of territory under Voortrekker control are likewise depicted in a state of flux. At the time Moffat drew his map the name Voortrekker had not yet emerged as the preferred epithet for the farmers of Dutch and Huguenot ancestry who migrated into Natal and the Highveld in the period 1836-42. British authorities referred to them either as the Emigrant Farmers or Boers (after the Dutch word for farmer). They had not yet begun calling themselves by the modern term Afrikaner, nor had the dialect of Dutch they spoke had not yet been labelled Afrikaans (though I employ those names in this article). Thus, their group identity displays the same uncertainty we have noted in the names of African groups and languages. The Afrikaner Voortrekkers appear on

Moffat's map simply as "Emigrants". He conveys no sense that they and their descendants were destined to dominate the region from 1854 to 1994.

Moffat is extremely sparing in his use of Afrikaner place names. Aside from the names of rivers in the immediate vicinity of Boer towns, African names are preferred to Afrikaans names. Indeed, the map spectacularly underplays the extent of the Voortrekker presence. Their principal village settlements are depicted as tiny. Potchefstroom is shown with "about 50 houses", Ohrigstad with "25 houses", Zoutpansberg with "50 houses", including the "residence of H. Potgieter". Otherwise the word "Emigrants" appears in very small characters compared to the large capitals used to depict African groups (fig. 7), showing BAHURUTSE above Emigrants at 25° 30'S, 26° 20'E). In contrast to later maps and historical atlases which would prominently feature sites of conflict between the Boers and their foes, Moffat shows only a few. The site of the Boer defeat of the Zulu at Blood River (Ncome River) appears at 28°S, 30°10'E, as does the place, Vechtkop (Vegkop), 27° 30'S, 28° 10'E where the Voortrekkers held off a determined assault by Mzilikazi's Ndebele (though the date is not given). ESE of Fauresmith at 29°S, 25°50'E, the site of Harry Smith's defeat of Andries Pretorius's Boer forces is marked, though the date is incorrectly given as August 1847 rather than 1848. An inattentive reader of the map might miss the Voortrekker presence altogether. Even careful inspection suggests very sparse white settlement north of the Orange River. The triumphal narrative so familiar to readers of twentieth-century textbooks of white frontiersmen engaged in conquest is entirely absent (fig. 7).

In contrast, African tribal names and towns fill the map, something that may surprise readers steeped in the conventional narrative of South African history. Later in the nineteenth century it would become common to show large sections of South eastern Africa as "depopulated" by inter-tribal warfare – a phenomenon called the mfecane or difaqane in the early twentieth century. G. M. Theal graphically illustrated the phenomenon in a map for his 1891 history (fig. 8) According to this interpretation of history, the consolidation and growing power of the Zulu kingdom set off a chain reaction of violence that reverberated through Southern Africa, extending eventually to the Great Lakes region of East Africa. Tribe fell upon tribe, pandemonium reigned and one to two million people lost their lives. Over the last three decades this entrenched narrative has been subjected to close scrutiny and found wanting (Cobbing, 1988 ; Hamilton, 1995 ; Etherington, 2001, p.334-37). The loss of life appears

to have been hugely exaggerated (fig. 8).

Moffat would have been very familiar with violent conflict on the Highveld. His missionary father had witnessed a famous battle in the 1820s and reported depopulation in the Magaliesberg ranges in the 1830s (Moffat, 1842, p. 523-26). Yet the map gives no indication of demographic shrinkage. Though some regions are singled out as “very little known”, no area is shown as depopulated. Nor does he record sites of significant conflict between African groups. On Moffat’s map Africans are everywhere except in the Kalahari desert and certain areas south of the Vaal River at 26° E. The Caledon River valley, often depicted as ravaged by *difaqane* conflict (Etherington, 2004b), appears as a particularly densely populated territory. Tribal names appearing in such close proximity as to be hard to decipher. The use of large capital letters to indicate African groups reinforces the impression that they far exceed the Boers in numbers and significance – which was certainly the case. Moffat’s map captures a moment when it might have been reasonably supposed that the future would be defined through relationships developed between British authorities and African chiefs, with a minimum of interference from the Afrikaner settlers.

Politics of Christian Missions

As a missionary son and a British civil servant, this is the outcome he undoubtedly hoped would eventuate. There can be no doubt that his map was intended to boost the prospects of his father’s evangelical enterprise, whose future was intimately bound up with the fate of the Sovereignty. The invading Boer settlers, known to history as the Voortrekkers, had made no secret of their hostility to missionaries in general and London Missionary Society agents in particular – barring them from work in districts they controlled. The British, on the other hand, had negotiated a series of treaties with chiefs beyond the borders of the Cape Colony. These treaties recognised their independence and kept them open for missionaries, many of whom had taken a leading role in negotiating the treaties. By marking many regions as specifically under the control of named tribes and chiefs, Moffat’s map tacitly countered the Boer threat to their work. Soon after the map was completed, Britain’s Colonial Office concluded that their power to keep the peace and raise revenue in the vast undefined area of the Sovereignty had proved so feeble that the best course of action would be to withdraw altogether.

After territory north of the Vaal River was ceded to the Boers by the Sand River Convention of 1852, Robert Moffat, Sr. chaired the LMS Committee which

pleaded in a memorial that British should maintain the remaining territory of the Sovereignty so that missionaries might continue their work. All in vain. By the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854, territory between the Caledon River and the Vaal passed into the hands of the newly established, Boer-dominated Orange River Free State. Even worse for the missionaries, the British refused to maintain the pre-existing treaties with independent chiefs. Thus the Moffat map captures the state of play in a short period of exceptional uncertainty about land ownership and sovereignty. It implicitly endorses the sovereignty of African groups to specific territory as well as recording the mission stations with which they were associated.

Politics of names and language

The map includes a wealth of African place names – too many to deal with in this brief article. There are far more African towns and chiefs’ residences identified than in previous maps. A remarkable feature that I would like to emphasize is Moffat’s sensitivity to alternative renderings of names in different languages and dialects. The most prominent example is the way he deals with the eastern escarpment running from the Eastern Cape to the Limpopo. It appears as “Drakensberg of the Boers”, “Ikautlambe of the Zulus or Maluti Mountains of the Bechuana”. Where there are multiple names, he provides them. For example, in the lower right section he identifies the “Nkue-Mpigi or Tiger-Wolf Riv”, as well as the “Mokonto or Asagai-Riv” (Mkonto is the Xhosa and Zulu word for spear, *assegai*, a Khoisan word that was assimilated to English). The Limpopo is identified as the “Limpopo or Bempe Riv”. Another striking example is his naming of the “Ncomi or Blood River” at 28°S, 30° 20’E. where the Zulu place Nkanda is named as the spot where “Zulus defeated by Boers”. Or again, at 20°S, 24° 30’E. where a river’s name appears as “RIV. ZONGA or Noka or Botletle.” At a time when incoming groups such as Ndebele, Griquas and Boers were assigning their own names to places previously named by their indigenous inhabitants, it was to be expected that alternatives would coexist.

The principal exceptions to his rendering of alternative names in different languages occurs in regions where white settler authority appeared to have been established. For example in the region now known as Mpumalanga Province (the former Eastern Transvaal), Afrikaans names are assigned to geographical features near the towns of Ohrigstad and Lijdenburg (Lydenburg). No African alternatives are given for the names of the Steil Poort, Speck Boom, Dorp, Blijde or Treur rivers. However, immediately to

West, where territory was disputed with the Pedi (Ba Phiri on the map), alternative names are given for the “Olifants or Lipolole or Lupalule Riv”.

Scholars familiar with the present-day spelling of African names may find many of Moffat’s renderings peculiar. Today we would write uKhahlamba instead of Ikautlambe for the mountain range known to Afrikaners as the Drakensberge. Modern textbooks render the Battle of Vechtkop as Vegkop. The reason for the change is that in Moffat’s day there were as yet no standardized spellings for the Zulu, Xhosa, Sesutu, Tswana or Afrikaner languages. He did his best to render the names he heard orally into English characters. His map thus stands as a testimony to uncertainty about language in his era as well as alternative naming practices. If a future South African government were to widen the present program of restoring African place names, Moffat’s map will provide an invaluable guide – even though it might lead to some difficult choices!

Moffat’s expertise went beyond the simple matter of naming. As a speaker of Tswana from infancy, he possessed rare aptitude for language study. His map maintains a careful distinction between Nguni names with their Ama- plural prefixes and Sotho-Tswana names whose plural forms begin with Ba-. Thus he renders the Zulu as AmaZulu and the Rolong as BaRolong. He demonstrates a linguistic fluency unusual in his generation. A decade later the pioneering German linguist Wilhelm Bleek would reveal that most of the African languages spoken south of the equator belong to a single family, as closely related as the Romance languages of Europe. One of the chief distinguishing characteristics of this Bantu language group is their formation of plural forms by prefixes, after the plural form (BaNtu) of the word for man, Ntu. Moffat shows a linguistic fluency unusual in his generation which might have made him a formidable scholar had his life not been cut short in 1862.

Reverting to type: the scouring of the landscape in later maps

Britain’s decision to abandon the Orange River Sovereignty forestalled the potentialities implicit in Moffat’s map. Two new independent states emerged, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic (also known as the South African Republic). Both of these states repudiated the treaties formerly negotiated with independent chiefs. Neither recognised any African rights to land, claiming the right to parcel the whole region out into farms to be occupied by white settlers. Changes in perceptions of political relations are immediately apparent in maps produced in the

later 1850s. Moffat had anticipated that elements of his map would be incorporated in a new map of South Africa by the more experienced cartographer/engineer, Henry Hall. That project was delayed and dramatically modified due to the emergence of the new Afrikaner states and Hall’s problems with his publishers (Liebenberg, 2006, p. 12-16). When his map did finally emerge in 1857 it deleted much of Moffat’s significant detail concerning African groups, chiefs and place names. Instead the Orange River Free State and Transvaal Republic dominate the map of the interior (fig. 9, left hand image) Most names of chiefs have been deleted and group names have receded into typographical insignificance. Alternative names for rivers and other geographical features have been deleted. In many districts Afrikaner names have practically obliterated African names. Basutu Land has emerged as a separate entity, but the SOVEREIGN TRIBES that figure so prominently in Moffat’s map, have disappeared, along with virtually all of the communities and chiefs he identified in the Caledon River Valley (fig. 9).

By the 1859 edition of Hall’s map, the political/linguistic contours of the region had been subjected to an even more drastic simplification (fig. 9, right hand image). As Jane Carruthers has demonstrated, the application of German mapmaking technology to representations of the Transvaal coincided with the downplaying or obliteration of African community names (Carruthers, 2007). This trend accelerated as titles were issued to individual farms and pre-existing African communities found themselves confined to small reserves in both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic (fig. 10).

The significance of these alterations in perceptions of power relations and land ownership possess a significance extending far beyond the 1850s. After the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 the former republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were absorbed into the new Union of South Africa proclaimed in 1910. By the Land Act of 1913 the alienation of African land proclaimed by the former Boer Republics was enshrined in law. Henceforth it would be illegal for Africans to buy, hold or sell freehold land in those territories. A very small percentage of land was proclaimed as reserves available to African people but held communally. This was the ultimate consequence of the land tenure arrangements enshrined in the Sand River Convention of 1852 and the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854. The map drawn by Robert Moffat, Jr. envisaged a dramatically different landscape in which great swaths of territory belonged to named African groups. Although democracy came to South Africa at last with the proclamation of a non-

racial constitution in 1994, the land ownership arrangements laid out in the Union Land Act of 1913 were left basically unchanged. Comparing the distribution of land today with that depicted on the Moffat map shows what might have been, and the extent of unjust appropriations as yet unredressed.

Conclusion

Moffat's map retains an intrinsic geographical interest for the wealth of detail it supplies about African towns, communities and alternative place names before the tide of white settlement and officialdom swept them away. As an historical document it confirms

the growing realization among scholars and students that political authority and community identities fluctuated far more than had previously been believed. The map is also important for what it does not show. It shows no areas depopulated due to warfare and violence, as postulated by *mfecane/difaqane* theory. Finally, the map calls our attention to a set of possible political relations between the state and African chiefs that might have developed under British imperial authority, but which was forestalled by the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty and the abrogation of the treaties which had previously provided a degree of protection for African land holders.

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Figure 1 : Area of Moffat's map in relation to present-day South Africa [map modified by author from public domain content].

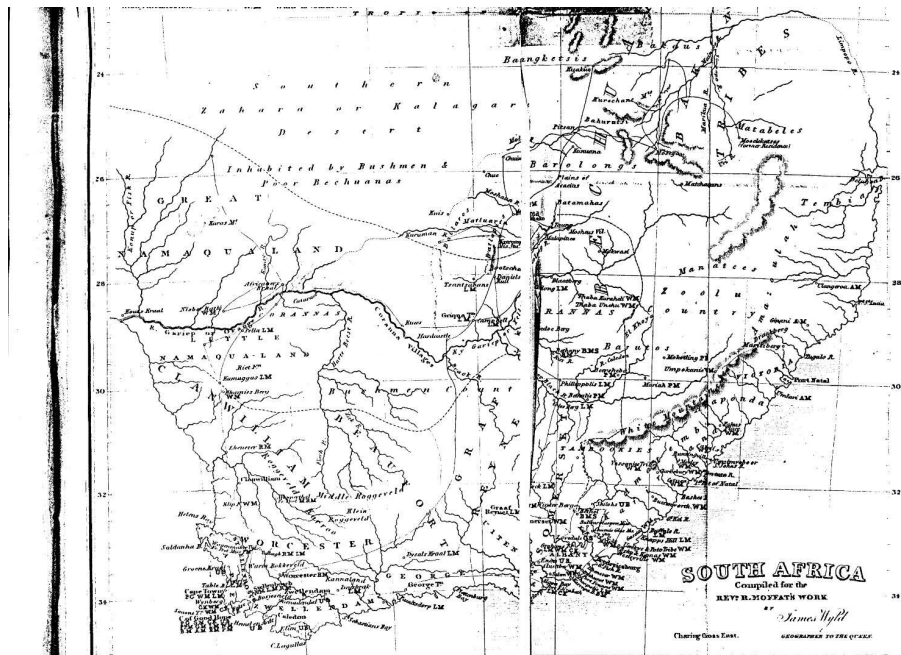


Figure 2 : Map of South Africa used to illustrate Robert Moffat's book, *Missionary Labours* (1842) [see bibliographie for source details].



Figure 3 : Robert Moffat's manuscript map in four pieces (Royal Geographical Society) [copied by RGS and permission granted for reproduction].



Figure 4 : Representation of the tribes of ancient Israel from Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible (1837) [book in author's possession].



Figure 5 : Detail of Northwest section of Moffat's map.



Figure 6 : Detail from South Africa by the firm of Jas. Wyld (1844) [map in author's possession].



Figure 7 : Detail of Moffat's map showing relative size of African and Afrikaner community identifications.

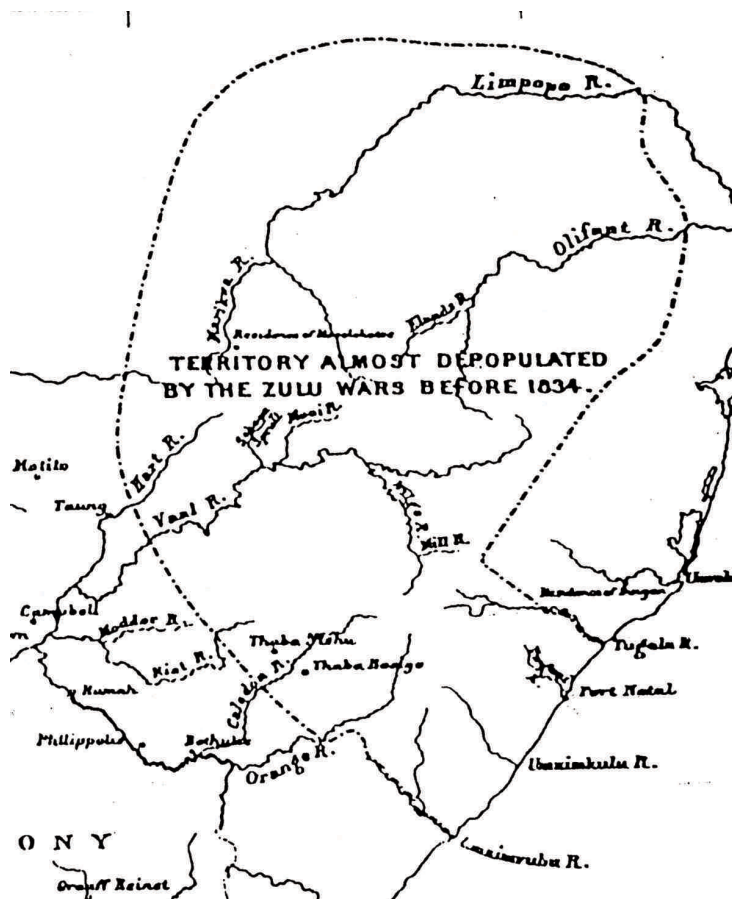


Figure 8 : Detail of map representing depopulation in G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa 1795-1834* (1891) [see bibliographie].

