

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Making Empire

This is the dramatic story of the colonial encounter and the construction of empire in southern Africa in the nineteenth century. What did the British make of the Xhosa and how did they make sense of their politics and culture? How did the British establish and then explain their dominion, especially when it ran counter to the cultural values they believed themselves to represent? Richard Price answers these questions by looking at the ways in which individual missionaries, officials and politicians interacted with the Xhosa. He describes how those encounters changed and shaped the culture of imperial rule in southern Africa. He charts how an imperial regime developed both in the minds of the colonizers and in the everyday practice of power and how the British imperial presence was entangled in and shaped by the encounter with the Xhosa from the very moment of their first meeting.

RICHARD PRICE is a Professor and the Chair of the Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park. His previous publications include *Labour in British Society 1780–1980* (1986) and *British Society 1680–1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change* (1999).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial
Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Making Empire

Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

University of Maryland, College Park



Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial
 Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa
 Richard Price
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo,
 Delhi

Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,
 New York

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521718196

© Richard Price 2008

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2008

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Price, Richard, 1941–
 Making empire: colonial encounters and the creation of imperial rule in
 nineteenth-century Africa / Richard Price.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-521-88968-1

1. Xhosa (African people) – History – 19th century. 2. Xhosa (African people) –
 Colonization – South Africa – Cape of Good Hope. 3. Xhosa (African people) –
 Missions. 4. British – South Africa – History – 19th century. 5. Kaffraria –
 History – 19th century. 6. Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) – History –
 1795–1872. 7. Great Britain – Colonies – Africa – History – 19th century.
 8. Imperialism – History – 19th century – Case studies. I. Title.

DT1768.X57P75 2008

968'.004963985–dc22

2008018713

ISBN 978-0-521-88968-1 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-71819-6 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
 the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
 third-party internet websites referred to in this book,
 and does not guarantee that any content on such
 websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial
Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To the memory of Kathleen Price and Lilian Chedgy

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial
Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page viii
<i>List of maps</i>	x
<i>Preface: Intentions and purposes</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvi
<i>Cast of characters</i>	xx
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xxiv
<i>Maps</i>	xxv
1 Encounters in empire	1
2 The making of missionary culture	16
3 Observation, engagement and optimism	39
4 Cultural encounters: the destabilization of missionary culture	57
5 Missionaries encounter the chiefs: the growth of colonial reasoning	93
6 The closing of the missionary mind	127
7 Creating colonial knowledge	154
8 Meetings, ceremonies and display	190
9 Empire as democracy: the imperial state and the chiefs	233
10 Empire and liberalism: the creation of the Grey system	267
11 The destruction of the Xhosa chiefs	296
12 The trials of the chiefs	316
13 Postscript: endings and beginnings	335
<i>Note on sources</i>	363
<i>Index</i>	367
	vii

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Figures

Plates to be found between pages 189 and 190.

Missionaries

1. Reverend Henry Calderwood. South African National Library, Cape Town.
2. Reverend William Shaw. South African National Library, Cape Town.
3. Reverend Richard Birt. South African National Library, Cape Town.

Xhosa chiefs

4. Sandile. South African National Library, Cape Town.
5. Sandile and his counselors. South African National Library, Cape Town.
6. Maqoma. South African National Library, Cape Town.
7. Xhoxho. Western Cape Provincial Archives, Cape Town, Photo Collection.

Meetings

8. Meeting between Governor Janssens and Chief Ngqika, 1803. South African National Library, Cape Town.
9. Meeting with Xhosa chiefs at Charles Brownlee's residence. Western Cape Provincial Archives, Cape Town, Photo Collection.

Officials

10. Sir Harry Smith. Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images.
11. George Grey © Bettmann/Corbis.
12. Charles Lennox Stretch, frontier official. Western Cape Provincial Archives, Cape Town, Photo Collection.
13. Lt. General Sir George Pomeroy Colley. South African National Library, Cape Town.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of figures

ix

Chiefs and prophetesses

14. Maqoma and his wife at Robben Island. South African National Library, Cape Town.
15. Chiefs at Robben Island. South African National Library, Cape Town.
16. Mhala, Maqoma and Xhoxho. South African National Library, Cape Town.
17. Nongqawuse and Nonkosi. South African National Library, Cape Town.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Maps

1. Cape Colony 1806–65	<i>page</i> xxv
2. The eastern frontier 1795–1858	xxvi
3. The eastern Cape frontier: Xhosa land losses 1779–1850	xxvii
4. The eastern Cape frontier area 1847–50	xxviii
5. The eastern Cape frontier area 1858–66	xxix

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface: Intentions and purposes

In early January 2000 I found myself standing in the small, old-fashioned catalogue room of the Cape Archives in Cape Town, South Africa, leafing through the binders that contain the depository's finding lists. I had come to Cape Town on a scholarly whim. It was a luxury that I had given myself during a sabbatical year – an alternative to a scholarly lifetime of making the trek across the north Atlantic to the comfortable familiarity of the British Library. After many years working in British social history, I was searching for a new research project. I had spent the previous ten years working on a book that was a synthesis of pre-existing scholarship and I knew that I wanted to get back into historical archives again after a long absence. Cape Town was not, perhaps, an obvious place to satisfy this need, although it would certainly be warmer and more beautiful than anywhere I knew in Britain. But, of course, this trip was not entirely an indulgent caprice. My interest in South Africa had longer and more complicated roots.

I grew up in Britain in the 1950s. It was a childhood that I remember as being dominated by two major political themes. There was the question of empire and there was the question of class. Both were a constant presence in the culture and politics and both were inextricably bound up with what it meant to be British. It was impossible to escape the issues of class and empire. The seeming propensity of the male British worker to go on strike and the growing nationalist movements in the empire were seldom out of the public eye. It is no surprise that my own scholarly career has been dominated by those two themes.

My early interest in history was kindled by an old four-volume set of *Cassell's History of England* given to me by my grandfather, which presented an imperial version of British history. I early developed the habit of browsing the history shelves of the local public library, which seemed to be crammed with books on empire. It was the history of the empire that first made me want to be a historian. At university, I was lucky enough to be taught by Ranajit Guha, who mentored me as an undergraduate and as a graduate student. I wrote a thesis which later became a book on the culture

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii Preface: Intentions and purposes

of empire and the working classes, using the case of the South African War of 1899–1902. After that, I went in a different scholarly direction, although I never lost interest in the question of empire and always regarded the imperial experience as essential to a full understanding of Britain's history.

By 2000, however, these influences of empire had been reawakened by personal circumstances. A few years before, I had traveled to South Africa on personal business. I was struck by the beauty of the place and, of course, by the exciting political changes that were associated with the transition to a democratic nation. That visit in 1996 also rekindled the interest in empire that had been my starting point as a historian. So I began to scheme in my head for ways to return to the Cape more regularly, as something slightly more than a tourist.

My inclination was reinforced as I watched how empire had recently become important again in my own field of modern British history and beyond. The publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978 may be said to have initiated this renewed interest in empire, and following his lead, post-colonial theory moved the focus of attention in empire studies away from its traditional concentration on politics and economics and towards culture. In the past, historians had treated empire almost entirely from the standpoint of political economy, so the shift that Said initiated was quite a departure. But there were other sources, too, for the renewed attention to empire in scholarly consciousness. In Indian history, for example, the Subaltern Studies project sought to place the colonial subject at the center of the imperial experience. Elsewhere, the disciplinary lines were constantly being breached. Indeed, some of the most important work on colonial relations was being done by anthropologists who possessed a historical bent, such as Greg Denning for the south Pacific, Anne Stoler for the Dutch empire, and John and Jean Comaroff in southern Africa.

I watched this scholarly turn to empire from the sidelines. I was impressed with its vitality and appeal. In British history the scholarly turn to empire focused on the way empire had been central to the making of Britain's history and had permeated deeply into its culture. I was in sympathy with this move. But I was somewhat reserved as to the degree to which one could reduce British history to the imperial connection. Other contexts also seemed important – such as Europe, or even class. More interesting to me was the question raised by the Indian scholar Ashis Nandy in a wonderful book, published in 1983, which he titled *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. One of Nandy's major themes was precisely the way empire damaged and distorted British culture; so that ultimately, perhaps, this damage was greater to the colonizer than it was to the colonized. And personal conversation with Ranajit Guha helped keep that question in my head. My scholarly inclination, therefore, drew me

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface: Intentions and purposes

xiii

more and more away from Britain itself. I thought it might be useful to go to the empire and see what happened to British culture there, at the frontier of empire. This book is about what I found when I made that journey.

It was these vague and unformed intentions that I carried to Cape Town in January of 2000. There, I did what historians do when they are not quite sure where they are going: I began to rummage through the archives, testing various ideas against what the sources revealed. On the morning in question I opened a binder whose title page read: “List of British Kaffraria Records.” A distant memory stirred in my mind. I had heard the name “British Kaffraria” many years before in some long-forgotten school lesson, or perhaps from one of those old books in my home town public library. The “Kaffir Wars” were frontier and land conflicts on the eastern Cape frontier in the middle years of the nineteenth century; some of Queen Victoria’s *little* wars; wars which hardly rippled the tides of British public opinion; wars which did not figure in most histories of colonial warfare, and occasioned little notice in contemporary politics. I called up some of the volumes in the finding list, opened the large books into which the material was bound, and knew almost instantly that I had found my project.

The material handed me was often disorganized and eccentrically classified. But it electrified me. Among the first things I examined were reports of British colonial officials – they were variously termed diplomatic or resident agents – who lived with the Xhosa tribes in the 1830s. It was immediately evident that this was amazing stuff – especially to a British historian. Imperial states are obsessed with recording, watching and surveilling, and the compulsion to inform and log was evident in these reports and letters. The volumes contained records of what the early imperial administrators were doing and thinking. Stories of encounter, observation and of the struggle to understand the culture and politics of the Xhosa tribes were all to be found in these volumes. It was a rich collection which allowed me insight into the mentality of people who were constructing the empire on the ground in the context of their encounter with the Xhosa. This was the empire as it was experienced at the frontier, not as it was imagined to be back home.

The book that has resulted from my encounter with this colonial archive has been the most enjoyable of all the books I have researched and written. It was impossible not to be hooked by the stories that I found in the Cape Archives and elsewhere. As the reader who persists will discover, the archives that have provided the key source material for this book – that is, the missionary archives and the records of the imperial administration – are packed with stories detailing the nitty-gritty of the encounter between the British and the Xhosa. This turned the book into a very personal project. Inevitably, I found myself fascinated by the personalities that were my daily companions in the sources. This was particularly true of

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Preface: Intentions and purposes

the Xhosa chiefs who will appear throughout the whole narrative. But it was true also of figures like Sir Harry Smith and Sir George Grey on the British side. My engagement with these and other luminaries was a determining influence on the way I wanted to shape the book. It is therefore appropriate to explain why the book takes the shape that it does, to declare its historical logic and to deal with other housekeeping matters that will enhance the reader's understanding of the narrative.

When I sat down to write this book, I was very conscious of those historians who had explored this frontier of empire before me. The story of how the Xhosa came to be part of the British empire has been told before – although it has received relatively little attention in imperial history. My own excursion into this corner of African and imperial history has depended entirely upon the work of others, particularly those colleagues working in the area of South African history. South African history is a lively field and at many points this book bumps up against the debates and controversies that animate the field. The book also touches on histories that are often distant from imperial historiography, such as the history of African religion; and it draws upon scholarship in fields other than history, such as historical anthropology.

But while I wanted to properly acknowledge my considerable debt to other specialists, I did not want to write a book whose narrative was constantly interrupted by the need to address this or that historical controversy, or comment on how my argument contrasts with the theoretical framework of other historians. I have drawn upon other scholars where I feel they help me understand and illuminate the historical processes I am describing. And I have taken issue with the way other historians have treated particular events where I felt it would help the reader better understand the historical story I wanted to tell. But I did not want to frame this book around engagements with other historians or historiographies. I have not aspired to write a book whose principal aim is to displace, contest or confirm the work of other historians. And the reason for this is very simple. The story that I have to tell is too dramatic and too important for that. I do not want readers to be diverted away from the rich and engaging stories that are told between the covers of this book. Although the book was partly inspired by the “imperial turn” in British history it has not been written either within that school of history or as a counterpoint to it. It is, rather, a study of how colonial encounter produced a culture of imperial rule.

I use the word “culture” a lot in what follows, and this is a good place to describe what I have in mind by that term. By “culture” in this context I am speaking of how a culture of difference, power and domination emerged out of the dynamics of the encounter between the British and the Xhosa. The argument tracks the growth of an imperial culture that

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

enabled, explained and rationalized why the British should establish dominion over the Xhosa. I am concerned principally with the practices, modes of behavior, mindsets, values and ideologies that shaped the way relationships between the British and Xhosa played out. I am less concerned with the institutional forms of this imperial culture – with the structures of imperial administration, for example – than I am with how the ideologies of that culture evolved and worked.

By the same token, I have not intended to track the debates and divisions within imperial culture itself. That is, I do not focus on the differences within the various segments of the cultural processes I describe. I am aware, of course, that cultural forms are not monolithic, either in ideology or in political practice. In the present case, for example, doctrinal differences between the various missionary groups influenced their attitudes to racial politics. Within the apparatus of imperial administration, the competing priorities of the frontier officials, the provincial administration at Cape Town, and the metropolitan authority of London are mainstays of imperial historiography. Such divisions are important. But to highlight the internal histories of the cultural formations would shift the focus of the book more toward the cultural institution itself. I have wanted to put the behavior of individuals at the center of my story; to use the experience of individual stories to explain what happened when British culture met Xhosa culture and politics.

Finally, a word about nomenclature. The nomenclature of African history is, of course, inevitably inflected with the experience of colonialism. Africanists are still sorting out what are the most appropriate spellings to describe indigenous peoples and cultures. When I have used the word “Kaffir,” for example, it is either because it is in the historical sources, or because it refers to a particular epoch when the historiography used that disparaging term. In other cases, such as the word Khoesan for Khoisan (what an earlier generation would have referred to as “Hottentot”), I have tried to use the word most widely accepted at the present day. Xhosa spelling presents special difficulties because when the British encountered the Xhosa there was no dictionary or orthography they could use to understand the Xhosa language. They had to make these aids for themselves. As a consequence Xhosa names and words appear in the sources in a variety of different spellings. The chief Maqomo, for example, was recorded as Maqoma, Mocomo, Macoma, and even MacKomer! Except when I am quoting from an original source, I have tried to achieve a consistent spelling throughout which uses the form that is accepted as most reflective of Xhosa grammar itself. For guidance in these matters, I have consulted Africanists and I have noted the usages in books by other scholars.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

In this book I have wandered into new and fascinating scholarly places. I had no background in African history, a little in South African history, and somewhat more in imperial history. The willing help I have received from colleagues in these areas of history has been one of the real pleasures of working on this book. It is only proper, then, that they take pride of place in this list of professional colleagues to whom I owe thanks.

My colleagues Paul Landau and David Gordon (now at Bowdoin College), expert Africanists themselves, were tolerant and helpful critics. They answered my questions and responded helpfully to them. Paul Landau is an important scholar of African religion and his work touches directly on the themes of this book. But he has always been mindful of my agenda, and in his readings and critiques he kept that in mind. He was generous enough to read the whole manuscript and provided an astute and very helpful reading. Elizabeth Elbourne was kind enough to read and comment on early parts of the manuscript. Elizabeth is one of the pre-eminent imperial historians of her generation. She has been most generous in sharing her knowledge and giving me her reflections on the early chapters, as well as being a sharp but gentle critic of various scholarly papers I have presented. Likewise, I was flattered that Robert Ross, another pre-eminent historian in the field, also took time to read the manuscript. His comments were particularly welcome since they allowed me to correct some errors of fact and detail. Another colleague of mine at Maryland, Arthur Eckstein, is not an Africanist, but a distinguished historian of Ancient Rome. He is also a widely read historian and he has a special interest in empire that almost makes him a specialist in the field. He read the whole manuscript and his comments were most helpful.

In Cape Town itself, I had the great pleasure of getting to know Bill Nasson, of the Department of History at University of Cape Town. Bill was extremely helpful in being a ready listener for my interests and speculations, particularly when the project was in its early stages. He (and his wife, Anne) were generous with their time and were very welcoming to two strangers who wandered into their world. The staff of the Cape

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

xvii

Archive and of the Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, were unfailing in their help. At the Cory Library, in particular I would like to thank Zweliyanykima Vena for his assistance in digging out collections from the obscure corners of the library. Timothy Stapleton and Roger Levine deserve notice for help with Xhosa spelling. Roger Levine generously shared with me his important work on Jan Tzatzoe.

In the United States and the United Kingdom this book has been a way of adding new professional friends. In Washington, I am fortunate to have Dane Kennedy, a leading historian of empire, as a colleague at nearby George Washington University. Dane listened to the ideas of this project from its beginning and read the whole manuscript as it neared its final draft. His commentary at every stage was unfailingly helpful. Likewise, Philippa Levine at the University of Southern California has followed the project from its early formulation to the final drafts. At every stage she willingly read and made useful comments. Alison Twells, of Sheffield Hallam University, likewise interrupted her busy schedule to read large chunks of the manuscript. Alison is a scholar of missionary culture in Britain and I was most grateful to receive her reflections on my arguments about missionary culture. Susan Thorne helped me formulate the project by reading and commenting upon an early position paper. My friend Philip Hare is not a historian, but he is South African, and he knows a lot about the racial politics of the place and its history. He read the whole manuscript in draft form and had intelligent things to say about it. My conversations with him have taught me a lot about South Africa itself and recent South African history.

My good friend John Belchem of the University of Liverpool, as always, was helpful and supportive. He facilitated a presentation to the Department of History research seminar and a lecture in the Victorian Studies Lecture Series at Liverpool that gave me the opportunity to talk about this project. I have delivered parts of the project to a variety of scholarly gatherings and have always come away both pleased and stimulated by the quality of the discussion that it evoked. In particular, I would like to mention the Rethinking British History Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London, which Catherine Hall kindly invited me to attend; the British Worlds Conference in 2000 at Cape Town and at Bristol in 2007 where John Mackenzie, Jeffrey Cox and Saul Dubow among others made helpful remarks; the Center for European History, Harvard University, where Jim Cronin invited me to present an early version of this project; the European Social Science History Conference at Amsterdam in 2006; Martin Weiner was kind enough to invite me to talk about this project to an African Studies group and a student seminar at Rice University; I gave an early version of the project in the History

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii Acknowledgments

honors lecture series at George Washington University. My own colleagues at Maryland responded most generously to an early description of the project I delivered to the Nathan and Jeannette Miller Center for Historical Studies in the Department of History. Barbara Weinstein, Ira Berlin, Jeannie Rutenberg, Paul Landau and David Gordon were particularly helpful and encouraging. Various parts of the book were presented at the North American Conference on British Studies in Philadelphia 2005 and Denver 2006, at the American Historical Association in Atlanta in 2007, and at the lecture series on British History at Stanford University in May 2007, where David Como and Priya Satia were kind enough to invite me to lecture. My thanks to all participants in those gatherings.

Ranajit Guha has been a major intellectual influence in my life. This is true not only of his scholarly work but also of his commitment to scholarly values and to the life of the mind. He was my graduate supervisor many years ago. And although I have worked in very different areas of history and in different ways, I have never ceased to learn from him. The deep origins of this book lie in my early studies on imperialism as an undergraduate with Ranajit Guha, and its more recent formulation flowed from conversation and discussion I had with Ranajit in New York in early 2000 as I was casting around for a new scholarly focus.

I must also acknowledge the general support I have received from my institution, the University of Maryland. The Dean of Arts and Humanities, James Harris, awarded me a semester of supported research leave in academic year 2000 and a sabbatical leave in the same year. I received a Distinguished Research Fellowship in 2003–4, and the Chair of my Department, Gary Gerstle (now of Vanderbilt University) generously gave me a reduced teaching and service load to enable me to write a nearly final draft of the book. Without that support the research for this book could not have been done, nor could the writing have been so expeditiously completed. Courtenay Lanier has helped me by using her technical skills with the computer to good effect. Michael Watson, my Cambridge editor, and several anonymous readers also deserve my thanks. The readers led me to clarify some arguments and revise others. Michael pushed for several changes that were both improving and necessary. I also wish to thank Howard and Marilyn Simler and Derek and Judy Simler for their hospitality during several research sojourns in London.

Finally, I want to recognize the two most important people in my life, my son Marshall and my wife Adele. Marshall contributed to this book by just being there and affording me the pleasure of watching him as he grew into a fine young professional in his own right. Adele's contribution was more varied and labor-intensive. Adele introduced me to South Africa in

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

xix

the first place; and it was from that introduction that I got the idea to work there. More than that, she brings light into my life; her presence sustains and supports me, and provides the energy and inspiration to do projects like this book. She also assisted me by performing a real labor of love. She spent many hours reading and editing the manuscript for flow and consistency, giving the best sort of editorial advice. Any literary qualities this book may possess are due largely to her work. Obviously, any flaws the book contains are not the responsibility of Adele nor of anyone else mentioned here; they are mine alone.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cast of characters

AYLIFF, JOHN 1797–1862; Methodist missionary associated particularly with Mfengu; 1820 settler; established Healdtown school and settlement for Mfengu 1854.

BENNIE, JOHN 1796–1869; GMS missionary; the earliest serious student of Xhosa; author of many published works on Xhosa orthography; 1820 settler; founder of Lovedale with John Ross in 1824; left missionary work to concentrate on teaching in 1853 after a squabble with GMS.

BROWNLEE, CHARLES 1821–90; one of the first British “experts” on Xhosa; son of John Brownlee, missionary founder of King William’s Town; interpreter for American missionaries in Natal with Dingane and nearby when Boer trekkers massacred; Commissioner to the Nqgika 1849–66; Resident Magistrate, Somerset East 1866–72; first Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Colony 1872–78; considered a leading authority on native law and customs; created system of “native administration” for the Transkei that was modeled elsewhere; 1878 chief magistrate Griqualand east.

BOYCE, WILLIAM BINNINGTON 1803–89; Methodist missionary; established Buntingville 1830; worked at Mt. Coke, Wesleyville, Newtondale and Grahamstown before returning to England in 1843; compiled the first printed grammar of Xhosa in 1834; discovered the euphonic concord; adviser to D’Urban in sixth frontier war and modified D’Urban’s original intention to expel Xhosa.

CALDERWOOD, HENRY 1808–65; LMS missionary; was already a minister in Kendal when in 1838 accepted by LMS; married to Eliza Taylor by whom he had five sons and a daughter; published in Zulu 1844 and was proficient in it; left ministry in 1846; associated particularly with resettlement of Mfengu on new frontier in 1848 and the establishment of military villages; author of several reports on education policy towards the Mfengu.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cast of characters

xxi

CHALMERS, JOHN AITKEN 1837–88; GMS missionary; son of William Chalmers, who arrived at Tyhumie in 1827; spoke fluent Xhosa and was considered an expert on the Xhosa; educated at Glasgow University and at the College of the United Presbyterian Church; attended medical classes at Edinburgh; composed Xhosa hymns.

CATHCART, LIEUTENANT GENERAL, SIR GEORGE 1794–1854; ADC to Wellington at Waterloo and a member of Wellington's Horse Guards clique, even though he was generally unknown to the public; Wellington responsible for his appointment as Governor of the Cape Colony 1852–53, where he brought the eighth frontier war to an end; killed in the Crimean War.

CURRIE, SIR WALTER 1819–72; 1820 settler family; frontier official; served in 1846 and 1850–3 wars; commandant of FAMP 1855; advocate of policy of annexing Sarhili's territory and of punitive expeditions into Independent Kaffraria; given a KCB for role in Prince Alfred's 1860 visit; played large role in establishment of Griqualand east; effected the transfer of 40,000 Mfengu from their "overcrowded colonial locations" to Transkei.

GREY, SIR GEORGE 1812–98; Colonial governor and leading representative of Liberal imperialism; earned initial fame as an early explorer of Australia, which led to his appointment as Governor of South Australia 1841–5; achieved national standing as Governor of New Zealand 1845–53, where he also attained status as an "native expert"; Governor of Cape Colony 1854–61; New Zealand again 1861–8, when he was fired by the Colonial Office; remained in New Zealand to become a leading politician, and Prime Minister 1877–9 before returning to England shortly before his death.

HINTSA 1790–1835; grandson of Gceleka the last undisputed chief of all the Xhosa; thus, Hintsa was the Xhosa paramount but his real power extended only over the Gceleka branch; his relations were particularly tense with the Rharhabe Xhosa; recognized to be a benevolent ruler and not a tyrant; never imposed death penalty, effectively abolishing it within Xhosa law; known for his welcoming attitude to white travelers; accused by British of complicity in sixth frontier war and was killed in a celebrated incident trying to escape from his British captors.

MACLEAN, JOHN 1810–74; leading frontier administrator; army captain who arrived at Cape in 1835 to serve under Smith in the sixth frontier war; appointed Resident Agent at Fort Peddie in 1845; Commissioner to Ndlambe's Xhosa; Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria 1852

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxii Cast of characters

and made Lieutenant Governor 1860; knighted and appointed Lt. Governor to Natal on absorption of British Kaffraria into the Cape Colony 1866.

MAQOMA 1799–1872; son of Ngqika and elder half-brother of Sandile; for much of this period, generally recognized as the most respected, militarily expert and politically powerful of the Xhosa chiefs.

MHALA? –1875; son of Ndlambe, on whose death the tribe split into three parts with Mhala leading the most important group; achieved chiefly status due to his own political skills, rather than being recognized as Ndlambe's legitimate successor; known as "wild cat" because of his cunning; the most resistant of all the chiefs to British control and, after Maqoma, the most able of the Chiefs.

NDLAMBE 1740–1828; Rharhabe Xhosa, grandson of Phalo and father of Mhala; and uncle, guardian and then rival to Ngqika, with whom he contested for leadership of the Rharhabe Xhosa; cuckolded by Ngqika, who started an affair with Ndlambe's mistress, Suthu, whom he married; even though Ndlambe defeated Ngqika for supremacy over the Rharhabe, Ngqika outmaneuvered him by securing British support.

NGQIKA 1775–1829; chief of the Rharhabe Xhosa, thanks largely to support of British, who continued to treat him as a paramount even though he rapidly lost his power after his alliance with them in 1819–20. The British commonly referred to him as Gaika, and to his tribe as the Gaika Xhosa.

ROSS, JOHN 1799–1878; the first GMS missionary ordained specifically for service in South Africa; Xhosa linguist; graduate of Glasgow University; a scholarly man; printed the first Xhosa booklet in 1824 and the first book of Xhosa hymns; spent the entire period of his mission at Pirie, even though he was burned out of his mission four times due to war.

SARHILI 1814–92; son of Hintsu, and thus formal paramount of Xhosa and chief of Gceleka; managed to escape British rule until the annexation of the Transkei after the last frontier war in 1878.

SMITH, SIR HENRY GEORGE WAKELYN, LT. GENERAL 1787–1860; served in South America, 1806–7, in the Peninsular War 1809–12; chief of intelligence in the war of 1812, present at the burning of the White House and lifted one of James Madison's jackets as a souvenir; Battle of Waterloo 1815; Military Secretary at the Cape, 1828–40 and frontier commandant 1835–6; India 1840–7, victor of Aliwal in the Sikh

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cast of characters

xxiii

War 1845–6, for which he was knighted; Governor of Cape Colony 1847–52; Commandant of Western District 1853–60.

SOGA, TIYO 1829–71; the first Xhosa missionary, son of “Old Soga”; educated in Glasgow in the late 1840s and 1850s and ordained there after attending classes at Glasgow University; married Janet Burnside, by whom he had several children and founded the first generation of Xhosa intellectuals; arrived in eastern Cape to take up full-time mission work in 1858; died of consumption 1871.

SHAW, WILLIAM 1798–1872; Methodist missionary; 1820 settler; superintendant of WMMS in the eastern Cape; active in support of Mfengu; in 1846 war was leading adviser to Governor Peregrine Maitland; implemented policy of a string of Methodist mission stations into Natal; returned to England in 1857, where he served as President of the Methodist General Assembly.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

BK	British Kaffraria
CA	Cape Archives
CAD	Cape Archives Depot
CO	Colonial Office
CL	Cory Library
CWM	Council on World Missions
f(f).	folio(s)
FAMP	Frontier Armed Mounted Police
GH	Government House
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society
LG	Lieutenant Governor
LMS	London Missionary Society
MSB	The Grey Collection, NLSA (CT)
NA	National Archives, Kew, formerly the Public Record Office
NLSA (CT)	National Library of South Africa, Cape Town
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of [now: for Promoting] Christian Knowledge
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

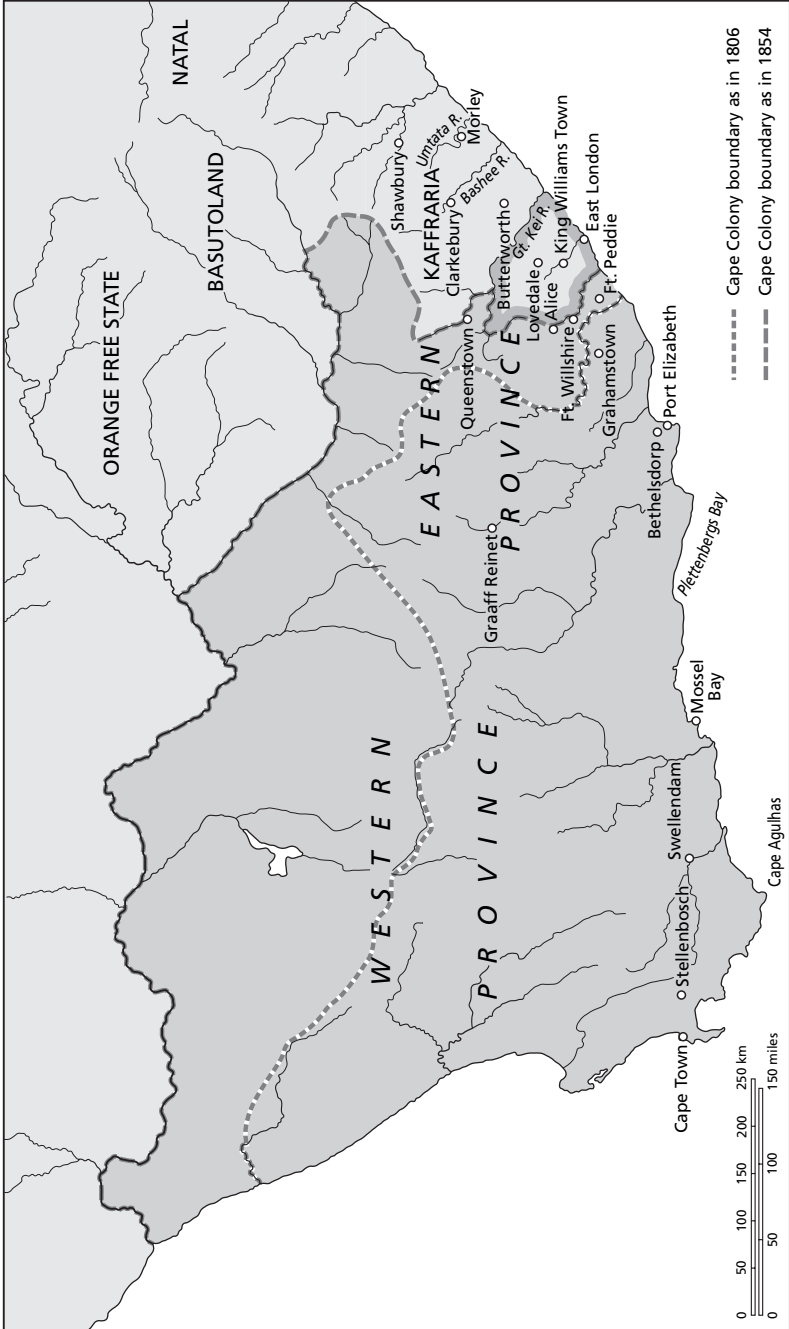
Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



1. Cape Colony 1806-65

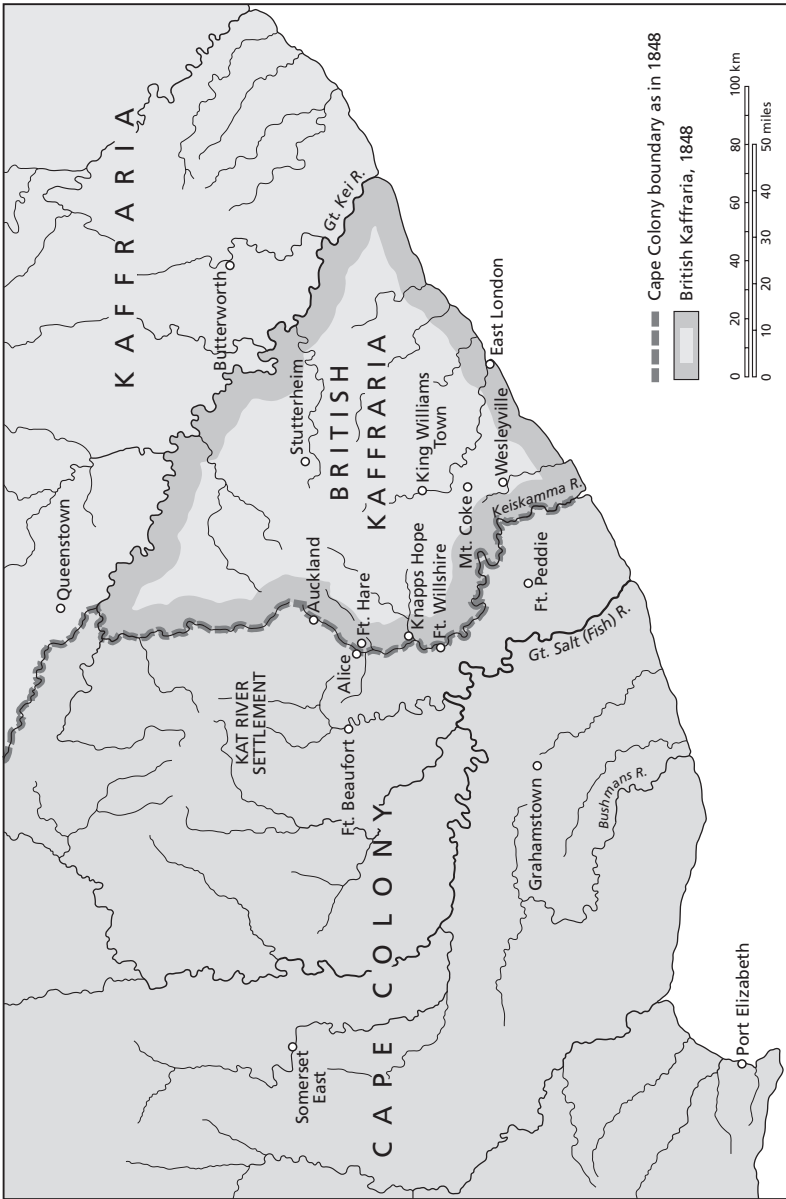
Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



2. The eastern frontier 1795–1858

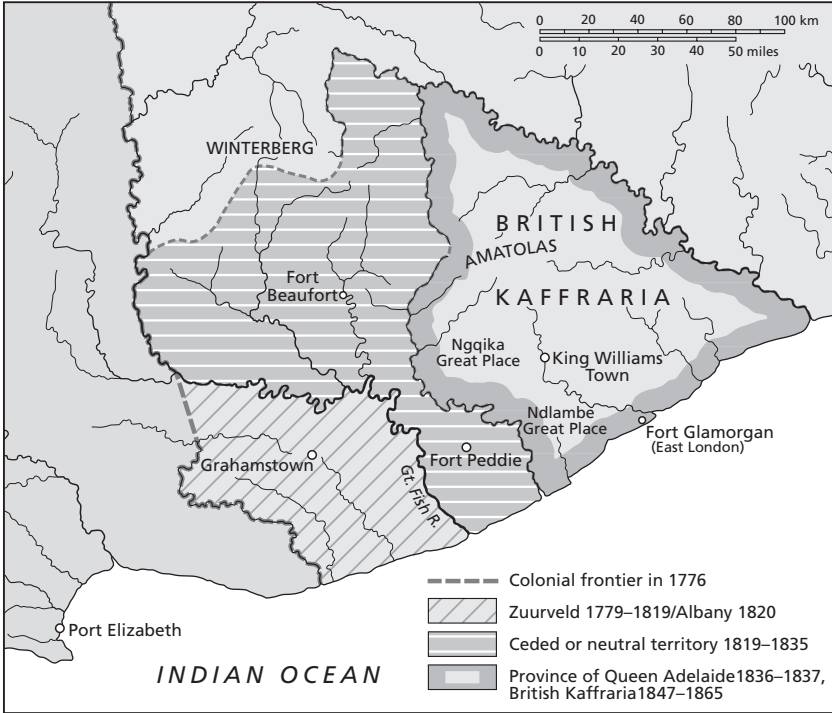
Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



3. The eastern Cape frontier: Xhosa land losses 1779–1850

xxviii Maps



4. The eastern Cape frontier area 1847–50

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



5. The eastern Cape frontier area 1858–66

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88968-1 - Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial
Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa

Richard Price

Frontmatter

[More information](#)
