

## Forms and Practices of Slave Trade in Swaziland in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

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### Abstract

Trade in slaves was a response to market forces in the world. A culture that developed from trade in slaves extended to future generations whose lives were degraded. Cases of slaves who rose above their social stations in the slave trade era are non-existent. In Swaziland Mswati II used his military to raid for captives whom he sold as slaves to Boers of the Transvaal. When the demand for slaves expanded his soldiers raided on his non-cooperative chiefdoms for captives to be sold to slave traders as punishment for recalcitrance. Such trade was camouflaged to avoid attacks from aggrieved communities.

### Introduction

The study is based on the slave trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Swaziland. Before trade in human beings started slavery was practiced and it laid a foundation for the slave trade. Though slavery involved the degradation of human life it allowed room for social mobility for enslaved persons but the slave trade did not allow room for any improvement. Second, the slave trade relegated people to the status of a commodity where they were exchanged for other market objects (Eldredge 1994:1-8). In this case slaves became an instrument of capital accumulation, and human beings were captured to fulfill trade obligations. Upon entry into the market slaves yielded wealth that enhanced national or organizational revenue. These concepts are dominant in the works of Morris (1975:292-343); Eldredge and Morton (1994:1-8).

The study analyzes the methods Mswati II and trade partners used to conduct trade in human beings. It also analyzes the economic impact of the trade on affected parties. Rodney (1972:162-222) argues that in colonial days international trade developed one party while under-developing the other but even before that era similar developments occurred. Thus, on the one hand the study on the slave trade produces a similar result to that Rodney observed between Swaziland and the Lydenburg society and that of Lourenco Marques on the other. Economic inequality showed a marked difference between the beneficiary and the loser even though recorded statistical evidence on the impact of the trade on both and the East African and Lydenburg communities is lacking. The study has relied on oral evidence to explain the events hence the absence of recorded statistics on the volume of trade in slaves in the early period between the East African coast and Swaziland and Lydenburg on the other is lacking.

In Swaziland in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Mswati II exchanged some of his subjects with the Boers of Lydenburg and the Portuguese of Lourenco Marques for items that were required to enhance his (Mswati II's) military state (Bonner 1983:106).

The slave trade led to the degradation of human beings to objects of trade and did not allow room for social mobility.

The justification for the study is that the slave trade existed in Swaziland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to understand the state's political, social and economic divisions the historical background of the Swazi society is necessary. Policies that leaders of the 19<sup>th</sup> century adopted either to defend or expand the state should be studied to understand the extent to which these policies accounted for the nature and size of the state that later political leaders inherited.

### **Methodology**

The sensitive nature of the study on trade in human beings led to a lacuna in records on the slave trade. King Mswati II who championed the trade and his successors who were his relatives might have stopped the preservation of information on the slave trade hence the lacuna. Consequently, oral tradition is the main basis of this study. The study confines itself to the 19<sup>th</sup> century because that is when most of the slave trade occurred in Swaziland. Oral traditions on the slave trade abound on Mswati II and the slave trade itself. Bonner's book has been used to trace the historical perspective of the trade in Swaziland. Books on similar developments in other parts of Africa were also used to explain the factors that brought about the slave trade.

### **Swaziland in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The institution of the slave trade was not openly supported in some communities. Some societies did not make any effort to approve of it hence it was forbidden. In Swaziland the institution was anathema hence members of society who promoted it, and participated in it, did not want to reveal their identities (Lomazala Mngomezulu, Mkhuzo 2000).

It has already been stated that the slave trade in Swaziland dated back to unknown years because aristocratic families who wanted to establish relations with traders in human beings outside their state supported it and made cover for it. Most of the aristocratic families had built a culture of a high degree of laziness among themselves. Aristocratic families wanted to be served because of the notion that as leaders God ordained them to lead and be served by those whom they led. Even though Bonner (1983), Mashasha (1977) and Matsebula (1972) do not discuss the aristocratic laziness that led to the emergence of the slave trade, their allusion to aristocrats' dependence on other people for service suggests some degree of laziness. The engagement of other families in menial work constituted social formations upon which rulers depended. Captives who were turned into slaves were drawn from social malcontents who worked hard to earn the favour of their masters. There developed in the SiSwati language a vocabulary that was suited to this type of social division. For instance, slaves were called tigcili (plural, while singular is sigcili), whose rights were equated to those of an object (Kuper 1963:57).

### **Boer-Portuguese Trade with Mswati II**

Trade invited a variety of commodities, and the variety has always been determined by the needs of the people who offered commodities to be exchanged for slaves. In South eastern Africa stood a Swazi state that bordered on a Mozambique boundary in the east and a South African boundary in the South-west and west. In physical size the state of Mswati II was small to the extent that both Mozambique and South Africa were more intimidating to it hence rulers of the Swazi state structured their foreign policies in such a way as to remain cordial to their neighbours. This geographical disposition left very little room for Swazi leaders to dabble in political choices. It is little wonder that Swazi leaders found themselves trading with their neighbours of Mozambique and South Africa in commodities that were culturally anathema. Mswati II had established a cordial relationship with Mawewe in Mozambique, and Boers in Lydenburg who also received the said item of trade from Mswati II (Logwaja Mamba, Ngudzeni).

Thus Mswati II appears to have engaged in the slave trade for various reasons in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the north of his state lay the Boer district of Lydenburg which was militarily powerful. The security of the state of Mswati II was shaky at about 1846 hence he entered into a trade relationship with Lydenburg. The Boers of Lydenburg demanded slaves and other commodities from Mswati II in return for military assistance against the Pedi of Sekhukhuni (Bonner 1983:81; Interview Jealous Magagula, Mahlanya, 2001).

It is difficult to identify the sources of Mswati II's slaves that were sold to the Portuguese in Lourenco Marques in the east and Boers in Lydenburg in the north. Equally difficult is the identification of the factors for the choice of people that were sold to enslavers apart from social deviants. In the north Mswati II contended with containing the Pedi of Sekhukhuni whom he had flushed out of his domain in the south (Logwaja Mamba, Ngudzeni). Mswati II consolidated the authority he had imposed on new subjects and also built up the state to which he added new acquisitions (Sikhondze 1986:144-163) hence the need for new allies in strategic positions to bolster the interests of his state. Thus the first people to be brought forward to raise the required figures of slaves were captives from wars of expansion. In certain instances, slaves were recruited even from the free members of the state. The latter were drawn from the recalcitrant elements of incorporated people in the region (Interview Lohlakula Thwala Lavundlamanti September 1978).

Oral traditions suggest that Mswati II was a warmonger but could not stand on the way of some of the more powerful leaders in the region. His search for military allies suggests his unsettled mind about unannounced military expeditions against his state. Bonner's discussion of the sources of slaves suggests that Mswati II even sold his subjects to his neighbours against his desire. For instance, Bonner suggests that chiefdoms in the lowveld were raided for slaves. In order to avert attacks from his neighbours Mswati II entered into trade in human beings to pacify the former. An analysis of traditions on Mswati II suggests that he was a resolute leader who supported the slave trade to survive under the prevailing conditions. That he sold

some of his own people to the slave trade shows the degree of uncertainty in his mind. Oral tradition and Bonner 91983:81) suggest that Mswati II also recruited in the lowveld of his domain for captives for sale to enslavers (Interview Logwaja Mamba, Ngudzeni, November, 1979; Bonner 1983:81). Much as the pressure for military support against his enemies it is hard to understand the fact that Mswati II's receptive response to enslavers' demands was a consideration for the security of his state.

Traditions on Mswati II paint him as a heartless person who did not flinch in the sight of human blood (Jealous Magagula, Mahlanya, 1997). When looked at differently, more lies hidden in these traditions particularly in the idioms and linguistic slang used. Leaders could not entertain themselves in blood bath hence the tradition could be taken to mean that after avenging himself Mswati II felt relieved and satisfied. Traditions need not be taken in their literal sense because the meaning would not be conveyed effectively to readers. Leaders who 'derived pleasure in blood bath' owed the displayed ruthlessness to a disturbed socio-economic background, a misnomer that Mswati II did not share. This tradition attributes heartlessness to Mswati II's turbulent youth when he escaped death by the skin of his teeth in the hands of his half brother Malambule. The experience of that incidence might have disturbed his conduct henceforth and it might have made him negative about his opponents. His negativity towards some of his people made him institute a smelling out culture where he identified those who were associated with witchcraft. Once identified, suspects were executed in public as a warning to those who practised the craft. But all considered it remains clear that he found himself between two uncompromising situations hence he opted for that which promised to alleviate his immediate political problems (Jealous Magagula, Mahlanya).

The factors discussed above are likely to have contributed to Mswati II's receptive response to Boer and Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory. In Mswati II's praise names are indications that he was a belligerent leader (Jealous Magagula, Mahlanya). But the conditions under which he led his state did not merit any other behaviour than a tolerant one towards his neighbours whose demands on him were exaggerated.

The Boers of Lydenburg gave Mswati II guns for slaves. Portuguese traders gave him guns as well in exchange for slaves and other commodities. In both cases slaves were required to perform agricultural work due to the belief that Africans were more suited to the environmental conditions of the areas the Portuguese and Boers occupied (Interview Lomadlozi Maziya Ubombo July 1988). In addition to agriculture, African labour was required for hunting down elephants from which they got ivory. These elephants were hunted in the Zoutpansberg region which is believed to have been infested with the tsetse fly that caused a sleeping sickness but Africans were said to be immune to it hence their preference to other races for this job.

Slaves were also sent to destinations beyond Mozambique such as neighbouring South Africa or the latter's neighbours. John Douglas Scott, one of the British settlers who entered Swaziland from South Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, gave the view that Portuguese traders in slaves successfully motivated Swazi cooperation in the trade with offers they made in return for slaves. In his view bribery was a common feature, itself a symbol of desperation on the part of buyers of slaves. The destinations of the slaves other than Lourenco Marques were also clove plantations along the Atlantic Ocean (J. D. Scott, Luvu December 1980).

The growing demand for slaves at some of these places led to the systematization of the raids that yielded the required number slaves. Portuguese traders operated through agents because their presence was anathema in some communities. John Douglas Scott alleged that his father, who had arrived at a mission station in South Africa in the 1850s as a missionary and farmer had witnessed the granting of asylum to slaves who had escaped from enslavers. As a result the station had several nationalities some of whom arguably had their origin in Mozambique. Among those who sought asylum at the mission station were also agents of the purchasers of slaves who feared execution by their employers for failure to deliver the expected number of slaves at the destination. The impression thus created of the mission station is that the slaves and agents of traders in slaves were welcome and were both treated as victims of the heinous trade (J. D. Scott, Luvu).

The extent of the insecurity the slave trade created to those who were being captured, and to enslavers themselves was immense and was expressed in the amount of fear these people demonstrated. Fright was caused by lack of trust among participants in the trade (J. D. Scott, Luvu). Both slave agents and victims created problems for mission stations in South Africa by seeking refuge. According to Scott mission stations were safe hide-outs because they were hardly connected with activities like the slave trade (Interview Lofana Mahlinza, Lubombo 20 October 1980). Thus when slaves escaped from their 'catchers' they sought asylum at the mission and so did those who had raided for them when they lost the catch through several factors. Sometimes ambushers who attempted to rescue their relatives from the raiders caused the loss, and losses like these were viewed by financiers of the slave trade to be sabotage on their business hence the execution of culprits.

The research could not establish the names of the people who were enslavers in the nineteenth century because records on these developments were scanty and oral research failed to establish the identities of these people. The slave trade placed the lives of collaborators and of their dependants at risk. The slave trade also placed the lives of many other people in danger. Raiders who failed to deliver adequate captives to their masters were punished by death because the explanations they gave for their failure were not satisfactory (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980).

Vengeance on slave raiders sparked numerous other events and numerous socio-economic dimensions. First, states that participated in the slave trade created military squadrons that protected slave routes between Swaziland and South Africa

(Transvaal) or Mozambique. Second, several ingenious cultural behaviours were developed and designed to protect the slave trade between the state of Mswati II and the two neighbours. The main route that caused Mswati II's people sleepless nights was between Mozambique and Swaziland where ambushes were frequent (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980). To circumvent ambushes fictitious marriage parties were feigned between Swaziland and Mozambique. There were other official trade parties that conducted business in brewed beer that was transported across the two trade partners. Fictitious trade parties drove cattle to and fro Swaziland in order to avoid ambushes. This practice continued for sometime until the suspicion among raided groups subsided. During the times of ambushes enslavers had covered their catch with cow skins and pretended that they were cattle. The slaves under cow skins assumed crouched positions as though they were calves to avoid suspicion that might have attracted ambushers (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980).

### **Mswati II and Slave Trade**

Lydenburg Boers kept cattle and other livestock. Hence, they wanted African slaves to serve as herd-boys in the dangerous environment of the region. Boers still nursed the notion that Africans were immune to most of the diseases of the area hence they employed them to serve as herd-boys and hunters as well. The concept of herd-boy carried some racist connotations in that Africans were considered to be technologically inferior to Europeans and were relegated to a lower social status where they performed menial jobs. Some of the slaves were old men but due to their inferior technological background they were called herd-boys. Mswati II sold some of these old men as punishment for crimes they had committed, and the rewards which accrued from this trade forced him (Mswati II) to support it thus several of his subjects were sold to the Boers of Lydenburg (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980).

The Lydenburg Boer community also sought manpower from Mswati II to strengthen the military operations in the region, and to reciprocate Mswati II's compliance the Boers met his needs. Boer neighbours were mostly African chiefdoms and the relationship between the two groups was hostile because of conflicts that emanated from diverse economic interests (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980; Bonner, 1983). But the major conflict between Lydenburg and African communities emanated from land alienation. The Boers had grabbed most of the land from the Africans despite the fact that Africans were more indigenous to the region than the Boers. Africans arrived in the area before the Boers and as indigenes their claim was more legitimate. On the other hand, the Boers had imposed their interests on Africans because of their superior military technology compared to that of Africans. Whenever Africans asked for land on which to graze their livestock, the Boers retaliated with shooting which bred antagonism that developed between the two races. Boer diplomatic relations with distant Africans such as the Swazi to the south of the Olifants River was aimed at securing contingents whom they could use from time to time against their aggrieved neighbours. Similarly Mswati II needed the Boers to stop Pedi expansion

southwards to his state (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980; Bonner, 1983). In other words, the need for slaves was more than economic; its other role was to facilitate Boer military operations against other African groups in the region.

### The Hazards and Insecurity of Slave Raids and Routes

In his testimonies, which were recorded in the JD Scott memoirs, Mavunga stated that the route between Lydenburg and Nelspruit, which cut across the Mdzimba and Bulembu mountains, was infested with carnivorous animals. Slave raiders avoided the major settlements of present-day Nelspruit in fear of ambush (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980). The two mountains of Mdzimba and Bulembu harboured caves and the trips halted there in order for the scouts to establish the safety of the rest of the journey towards Lydenburg. Though there has not been any attempt to establish the validity of these claims, the shape of the mountains of Mdzimba and Bulembu was such as to harbour caves, and since the forests were thick, it is likely that when rains fell the forests grew even thicker and provided more camouflage to the caves hence travelers could hide there.

A map of these routes would show the places that slaves traveled and it is not possible to be precise on these descriptions because of the changes that the landscapes have undergone since the time of the slave trade. The physical map does not show these routes hence retracing them would be tantamount to a futile exercise. The descendants of the victims of the slave trade and relatives who were custodians of the traditions have since died or only sustain very feeble memories for the exercise of retrieving the map of the routes. J. D. Scot memoirs were not transferred to the archives when he died and that represents another major blow to the researcher who might want to take the subject further. The surviving custodians of these traditions can only make guesses of the places that captives traveled *en route* to Lydenburg (J. D. Scott, Luvu 20 October 1980) (See map).

The relationships some of the slaves developed with African groups in Lydenburg complicated the geopolitics of the region. The Boer communities of the region were dominant in many ways but the development of the new relations betrayed their military secrets. Both military secrets and control strategies Boers had for the African neighbours were rendered useless in any future military operation against the latter. Some of the slaves were women who were breast-feeding at the time they were raided and captured hence they were constantly trying to escape and return to their children. But even though the slaves escaped successfully there were no indications of these having reached home. The routes they used back home were infested with slave traders and it is possible that they were intercepted by other enslavers who might have taken them to other destinations. J. D. Scott had two names of women who escaped and successfully returned home but others went astray *en route* home.

The two women whom Scott encountered at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were Alvinah Motsa and Ellen Dladu whose memories of the route their relatives used

to return to their homes from Lydenburg was very poor already. In his own words he notes;

In the compilation of my memoirs I was assisted by a maid who was a grand-child of a family that was raided, mother taken to Lydenburg. Maryta Mlotsa was her name. She earned a livelihood by selling some items in order to take care of the children with whom she remained at home after the raids for captives. Her father was killed in the raid that led to the capture of her mother (J. D. Scott Memoirs, Luve).

The testimonies of the two relatives of the returnees reveal the degree of secrecy that surrounded the slave trade. For instance, if the capture of these people could only be facilitated by raids because the slave trade was anathema Swazi customary law did not support it (Interview Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). But still Mswati II's subjects understood the mode of the slave trade hence they were not expected to frustrate it.

The transfer of captives from where they were raided to their destinations encountered several obstacles. The areas that slave raiders skirted and avoided were high risk places that might have led to the forfeiture of the catch. Maryta Mlotsa's home was at the foot of the Lebombo Mountain east of the Usutu River where it was raided. This testimony shows the extent of the risk that attended slave raiding. The foot of the Lebombo Mountains was yet another raiding ground for Mswati II's warriors. Earlier in the discussion it was suggested that justifications for the launch of military expeditions against recalcitrant chiefdoms east of his (Mswati II's) state were made and members of the Swazi state showed signs of conviction (Beketele Mlotsa, Manyiseni).

The nineteenth century falls into a period when technological innovations were still very backward hence the problem that slave raiders encountered. Captives were raided both in summer and winter that is both in rainy and dry seasons. Traveling was hazardous in the summer and in the rainy season especially in the swamps that were crossed. It was equally hard to cross big and deep rivers on the routes (See attached map). Captive travel was long and on hazardous routes especially across flooded rivers because they lay on the way to slave destinations in Lydenburg in the case of Boers (J.D. Scott, Luve 20 October 1980). Loss of life during these long journeys was common since some of the captives were already physically weak.

Loss of life also resulted from captive exposure to hostile conditions on the journey to the destinations. Slave routes were encumbered with ambushes from relatives of captives in an effort to free their captured relatives. Some of the routes were infested with dangerous reptiles that bit some of the captives. There were lions and leopards as well which attacked and killed members of slave parties (Maryta Mlotsa, Luve). Enslavers were often not well armed to offer adequate defense either to ambushers or to the depredators of lions and leopards both of which killed to feed on their victims (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). Lohlakula Thwala narrated the ordeal of Josefa Ngubane, a relative from the



maternal line of descent of the sad long walk to Lydenburg. Josefa was captured from Manyiseni, west of the Lebombo Mountains. According to Lohlakula, Josefa was among more than 10 captives that were taken to Lydenburg but escaped at night while enslavers fell asleep due to exhaustion of the trip. Josefa hid in a cave nearby for a day after which he walked back home and the walk lasted for several days (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti).

According to Lohlakula Thwala enslavers did not waste time in searching for Josefa because statistically there were still more than captives to take to the destination without Josefa. The other consideration was that Josefa had escaped alone which made the one bird in the hand worth more than the two in the forest. Josefa was well built tall and strong hence his market value was equated to two slaves. The cave he had hidden in was close to where the party departed for the destination so he could hear the remarks enslavers made about his escape (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). On the way back home to Manyiseni, he (Josefa) avoided the route they had used with his enslavers lest he met other enslavers who might have captured him. It is clear from the above testimony that some of the captives did not reach the destinations due to several factors some of which were death. Some of the captives lost the direction and went astray hence they did not reach their homes (J.D. Scott, Luve 20 October 1980).

While oral tradition identified cases of escapees **en route** to and from Lydenburg there could very well be many other cases whose history could not be documented. Neither oral tradition nor written records contained stories of these escapees. Enslavers might have apprehended other escapees when they attempted to escape and killed them hence the story on these could not be told. Likewise other escapees might have been devoured by lions and leopards. Josefa left a wealth of information on the hazards attendant to the slave route between Swaziland and Lydenburg. Josefa's recollection of the slave route was that it was infested with wild animals (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). There were numerous carnivores on the slave route because the human population was still very sparse. Hence most of the places they traversed had only sparse settlements. Abundant supplies of wild fruits and vegetables served as food supplements hence there was no need to beg for food from homesteads they found on the way. Even though there are instances of homesteads that were attacked and raided both for food and captives these were numerically very few.

In some instances more losses of life were incurred where homesteads were raided for captives on the slave routes. Several routes appear to have been used by enslavers to avoid ambushes (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). Josefa did not return to Manyiseni his home but sought refuge with his aunt at Phophonyane near Lavundlamanti. Josefa's aunt was a grandmother to Lohlakula Thwala. Lohlakula Thwala observed from the nature of the narration of the story that Josefa was traumatized to the extent of being scared to the extent that he avoided all visitors who arrived at Phophonyane lest he be captured again. Josefa thought that enslavers could still follow him to his hiding place. The stories that surrounded

Josefa's trauma are a lead to the impact of the treatment enslavers meted to captives (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti).

Josefa confirmed earlier allegations which have already appeared in the discussion that captives were covered with cow skins to camouflage the intentions of the alleged trade parties. Lohlakula Thwala related the extent to which Josefa expressed the pain that came from the crouching positions of captives. But Lohlakula Thwala dismissed allegations that captives traveled long distances in crouched positions (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). According to his opinion crouching was imposed on the slaves only in those areas that were suspected to be manned by ambushers. For the rest of the journey to Lydenburg slaves assumed normal upright positions. Enslavers were well trained in the trade to position their scouts throughout the routes to spot ambushes that were aimed at setting captives free. In other words, crouching was forced on captives at points where ambushers were suspected to be waiting to attack (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti).

### **Impact of the Slave Trade on some Communities**

The assessment of the impact of the slave trade on communities that were affected is limited by the absence of statistics for illustration of the arguments made. Some readers will find the justification of the study without any statistical evidence weak. However, studies like the present one are undertaken despite these statistical shortcomings in order to fill in gaps that have gone begging for other explanations for long periods of time. For this reason the statements that have been made on the impact of the slave trade on some Swazi communities are based on the oral evidence of the trade in human beings. While communities that the slave trade affected adversely may be identifiable the degrees of the impact would vary greatly hence need for statistics to show the differential of the extent of the effects. Raiders often realized positive results while for the captives the impact was often negative. The use of oral tradition as the basis of the study has limited its benefits from statistical evidence. However statistical generalizations are made based on the validity of the traditions though the limitations created by the absence of figures has left several unfilled gaps. Tables of statistics of slaves who were taken from Swaziland either to Lydenburg or Lorenzo Marques have not been compiled due to statistical deficiency on the data. Interviewees had different figures one from the other hence the compilation of tables would not auger well for the study to show the extent of the effects of the trade on affected communities.

Despite the fragmented nature of the statistics it nonetheless affords the reader the opportunity to discern the extent of the damage of the slave trade on some communities. Communities which colluded with slave raiders realized more positive results while for raided communities the results were negative in that populations were depleted and economic resources shattered. Losses in human resources have been expressed not numbers but in statistical language and in linguistic expressions which indicate the extent of the impact. Despite the generalizations of the figures of people who were killed were suggested to the extent that extent of the effects was exaggerated. For instance, the story of the

survival of Lohlakula Thwala's relative (Josefa) and Josefa's story on the catches that were made **en route** to Lydenburg, suggest the ordeal of the slave route and the dangers that attended the whole process. Losses in economic resources could hardly be expressed in figures even though mention of setting on fire the fields of sorghum and millet also suggested the extent of the destruction that took place on the economic resources during the raids (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti).

The impact of the slave trade was extended to the social and political aspects of the lives of the affected communities. Socially, raided communities were left shattered and disoriented. The social norms and values that were bonds which had held society together were cut asunder and the whole social institution collapsed. Insecurity in the affected areas was a root cause of social dislocation for most communities (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti). Raids for captives became sources of social decadence which cropped up especially when affected communities resisted and fought to retrieve their captured people. Some raiders raped women during the pandemonium. Since the attitudes of the raiders were anti-social inevitably society began to fall apart. Rape of members of society by raiders destroyed the social bond that had held society together. Lack of female confidence in males developed among the victims of the slave trade. Perpetrators of lawlessness that led to women being raped spread fear among members of communities. It had become common that women who resisted rape were killed. Some of the women who survived these ordeals were crippled and lived with painful memories of these experiences. These memories were turned into traditions for later generations who learnt about what happened to their forbears in the region when raids for slaves were conducted. It was recorded in traditions that some kings and other leaders in the region became the main beneficiaries of this heinous practice (Lohlakula Thwala, Lavundlamanti).

### **Conclusion**

The study has revealed various factors that created a drive for the organization of raids for captives that were to be sold to slave traders outside Swaziland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The study has also spelt out the various methods that were used to create a situation whereby captives were taken to be sold to the slave traders whose bases were in Lydenburg and Lorencó Marques. Oral evidence is emphatic on the sale of captives to enslavers in Lydenburg. However, in the case of Lorencó Marques, which apparently also handled trade in slaves there is very little evidence on it having served as a slave market. But there is insistence on traders of Portuguese extraction having handled trade in human beings. Even though the periodization of the events is very hard to pin down due to the nature of traditions and songs that were used as sources of the study the contents of these sources are adequate evidence that the events occurred. Oral traditions had the weakness of not mentioning dates and events that coincided with the trade to facilitate researcher's efforts to periodize the study. However, there is adequate indication in the contents of these sources that trade occurred between the two states until the time of Mswati II. While the name of Mswati II is hardly ever mentioned or associated with the heinous slave trade between Lydenburg and his (Mswati II's) state, in the case of

Lorenzo Marques, his name has a direct link to the trade even though oral traditions lack the details.

Kings were providers of the needs of their people and not enslavers mainly because the slave trade was considered an abnormal socio-economic event in that it converted human beings into commodities of exchange. Traditions on Indian Ocean were dominated by mention of slaves and trade in slaves. Kings were linked to the slave trade only in their capacity as overseers of social, economic and political developments in their domains. Kings and chiefs sanctioned all events that took place in their kingdoms or chiefdoms hence most writers would conclude that these leaders indulged in the illicit trade activities. To continue to command the respect of their subjects, kings and chiefs avoided direct involvement in trade activities. However, there were leaders elsewhere, like in the Nyamwezi states of Unyanyembe who had a direct involvement in all trading activities (Bennett 1968:216-226). Isike and Mirambo, who were arch-rivals in Unyanyembe did not step back from direct involvement (Bennett 1968:216-226). Mswati II is believed not to have had a direct involvement in the slave trade but gave instructions on who should be enslaved after consultations with his councilors on malcontents in his state. In such decisions he consulted closely with his councilors (Bonner 1983). In the identification of routes, oral traditions lacked precision but gave an idea of the direction slaves took to their destinations.

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