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The “Dutch have made slaves of them all, and… they are called Free”:
Slavery and Khoisan Indentured Servitude in the Eighteenth-century Dutch Cape Colony

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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Throughout much of South Africa's history, coercion has been the primary means of acquiring labor. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, settlers relied on the coerced labor of two non-European populations: slaves and Khoisan indentured servants. The term "slave" referred to people with a specific status under the law, mainly individuals imported from India, Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, and the Dutch East Indies. The term "Khoisan indentured servant" designated people indigenous to South Africa. This thesis traces the history of the early Cape from its foundation by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 through 1795, when the British took control of the colony. It examines the reasons for the settlement of the Cape, the creation of private landownership, the expansion of the frontier, as well as the consequences these processes had for the formation of labor systems. Finally, this thesis argues that, during the Dutch colonial period, European settlers to the Cape gradually formed opinions about slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude that sharply discriminated between the two forms of labor. While the status of Khoisan indentured servants certainly resembled that of slaves, particularly in the tasks performed, Khoisan were nevertheless thought of as separate from the slave population in a number of key ways. Contemporaries distinguished between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants based on their status under the law, the free or slave status they inherited from their mothers, their method of acquisition, their transferability from one master to another, and the levels of violence that could be perpetrated upon them. Most importantly, despite their declining position, Khoisan themselves were able to maintain their free, non-slave status based on a tradition of Khoisan freedom. These differences between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants caused settlers to think about these forms of coerced labor as separate institutions, rather than as related labor processes.

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Table of Contents and Figures

Throughout much of South Africa's history, coercion has been the primary means of acquiring labor. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, settlers relied on the coerced labor of two non-European populations: slaves and Khoisan indentured servants.[1] The term "slave" referred to people with a specific status under the law, mainly individuals imported from India, Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, and the Dutch East Indies.[2] The term "Khoisan indentured servant" designated people indigenous to South Africa.[3] This thesis traces the history of the early Cape from its foundation by the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) in 1652 through 1795, when the British took control of the colony. It examines the reasons for the settlement of the Cape, the creation of private landownership, the expansion of the frontier, as well as the consequences these processes had for the formation of labor systems.[4] Finally, this thesis argues that, during the Dutch colonial period (1652 – 1795), European settlers to the Cape gradually formed opinions about slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude that sharply discriminated between the two.

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[1] This thesis uses the term "settler" to describe members of the European community at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not inclusive of Europeans in the employ of the Dutch East India Company. While this group was quite diverse with regards to class, wealth, and occupation, this thesis makes the case that, because such settlers never totaled more than 15,000 individuals at the end of the Dutch colonial period and were spread out over a distance of less than 650 miles (see Figure 1), they comprised a community that shared similar values, beliefs, cultural traits, and social norms, despite their differences. Where necessary, this thesis will distinguish between rural, urban, and frontier settlers as well as between those settlers who practiced arable farming and those who were mainly occupied with stock farming.

[2] Frank R. Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A Study of their Mosques, Genealogy and Origins* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1978), 102.

[3] The word "Khoisan" is both the singular and plural form of the noun.

[4] This thesis uses the term "frontier" to describe the area in which two or more culturally distinct communities interact and where one of these communities is in the process of attempting to control the other but has not yet fully succeeded in doing so. This definition is based largely on the work of Martin Legassick, Susan Newton-King, and Nigel Penn. See Martin Legassick, "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography," in *Society and Economy in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman, 1980), 44-46; Susan Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier, 1760-1803* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37-42; Nigel Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th Century* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 9-14.

The purpose of this thesis is not to prove that Khoisan indentured servants were either more or less oppressed than slaves, but rather to establish the fact that settlers recognized a difference in category, history, and legal regulation between the two forms of labor.

Although Europeans at first considered Khoisan their trading partners, as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wore on, the position of Khoisan declined and many settlers began to think of this group as a permanent laboring class or, according to historian Richard Elphick, even as "a subdivision of the slave force."[5] The status of Khoisan certainly resembled that of slaves, particularly in the lived experience of people from both of these groups, but Europeans, slaves, and Khoisan nevertheless thought of the Khoisan indentured servant population as separate from the slave population in a number of key ways. Contemporaries distinguished between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants based on their status under the law, the free or slave status they inherited from their mothers, their method of acquisition, their transferability from one master to another, and the levels of violence that could be perpetrated upon them. Most importantly, despite their declining social, economic, and political position, Khoisan themselves were able to maintain their free, non-slave status based on a tradition of Khoisan freedom. These differences between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants caused settlers to think about these forms of coerced labor as separate institutions, rather than as related labor processes.

The differentiation between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants in the Dutch colonial period had important repercussions later in the British colonial period (1795 – 1803 and 1806 – 1910) when the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed the Slavery

[5] Richard Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), 181.

Abolition Act of 1833, ending slavery in 1834.[6] Because European settlers established firm distinctions between slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude at the Cape during the Dutch colonial period, all forms of coerced labor did not immediately end with the abolition of slavery in 1834. The continuation of coerced labor after the abolition of slavery contributed to the persistence of coerced labor well into the twentieth century.[7]

This thesis participates in debates on the origins of coerced labor and racial oppression in Apartheid South Africa after 1948. Scholars have argued in favor of two pre-industrial sources for racial domination in South Africa, frontier processes and slavery. Early liberal historians saw the origins of racial oppression in South Africa's frontier experience.[8] Although in 1927 W.M. Macmillan first suggested that the South

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[6] From 1834 to 1838, slaves remained apprenticed to their former masters in order to ease into the transition from slave to free labor. The abolition act reads as follows,

> Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four all Persons who in conformity with the Laws now in force in the said Colonies respectively shall on or before the first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four have been duly registered as Slaves in any such Colony, and who on the said first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be actually within any such Colony, and who shall by such Registries appear to be on the said first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four of the full Age of Six Years or upwards, shall by force and virtue of this Act, and without the previous Execution of any Indenture of Apprenticeship, or other Deed or Instrument for that Purpose, become and be apprenticed Labourers; provided that, for the Purposes aforesaid, every Slave engaged in his ordinary Occupation on the Seas shall be deemed and taken to be within the Colony to which such Slave shall belong (United Kingdom, Parliament, An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves, August 28, 1933, 3 & 4 Will.4 c.73, accessible via Peter Davis, *William Loney RN - Victorian naval surgeon*, http://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm (accessed April 21, 2009)).

[7] The continuation of coerced labor after the abolition of slavery was not unique to the Cape, but occurred in several colonies throughout the British Empire. See the cases of Jamaica and Barbados in Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 53, 173-176; Claude Levy, *Emancipation, Sugar, and Federalism: Barbados and the West Indies, 1833-1876* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1979), 72. See also, Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 230-231, 236-246.

[8] Early liberal historians believed Afrikaners were to blame for racism in South Africa. They believed that this racism, however, would disappear as South Africa adopted capitalism more fully. In the 1970s, Marxists reacted against this liberal argument, instead making the case that racial oppression in

African racial system had begun in the Dutch period, in 1937, I.D. MacCrone formulated an explicit frontier thesis, arguing that twentieth century race attitudes resulted from the separation of whites and non-whites on the frontier, an ideology that then flowed back into the values of the majority of European society at the Cape.[9] In 1999, Susan Newton-King undertook a study of the encounter between frontier settlers and indigenous hunter-gatherers and pastoralists in the eastern hinterland of the Cape in the eighteenth century. She revealed that, although frontier settlers and indigenes could initially coexist on the frontier, the situation soon spiraled into violence. She shed light on the period in which she believed South Africa's specific brand of discrimination evolved by detailing the relationship of frontier settlers and indigenous groups and unpacking the ideology and social relations of frontier settlers who were too poor to buy slaves.[10]

The second major cause of racial oppression evident in pre-industrial South African historiography was that of slavery. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slavery at the Cape was believed to be a mild institution.[11] In response to this common assumption, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, examinations of slavery, such as the work of William Wright in 1831, were largely concerned with revealing

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South Africa was formed in the dramatic confrontation with industrial capital in the late nineteenth century. While my thesis does not directly relate to these scholars' work, it is not incompatible with their arguments. See Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid," in *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society*, edited by Harold Wolpe (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980), 294-296.

[9] William M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question; A Historical Survey* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), 1-38; I.D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa: Historical, Experimental and Psychological Studies* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1937), 1-136. See also, C.W. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa, Social & Economic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 1-29; Legassick, "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography," 45.

[10] Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier*, i.

[11] See CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 20-21.

slavery's violence.[12] Robert Ross in 1983 and Nigel Worden in 1985 also argued for the inherent violence of slavery, but took this argument one step further, seeing this violence as one of the contributing factors leading to racial stereotypes present in the twentieth century.[13] In 1994, although Robert Shell claimed in line with Eugene Genovese that paternalistic attitudes rather than violence characterized slavery, he agreed with Ross and Worden, arguing that this institution was central to the emergence of racial attitudes that played a role in the creation of a racial state in the twentieth century.[14]

After the end of Apartheid, historians studying South Africa began to analyze the effects of the abolition of slavery in 1834 on coerced populations at the Cape. In 1997, Pamela Scully examined the way in which emancipation reconfigured gender relations amongst slaves and began an era of contestation over the meanings of cultural categories, sexuality, and conceptions of the family.[15] In 2007, Wayne Dooling analyzed the conflicts generated in the formation of a landed slave-owning class and the subjugation of slave and indigenous populations in southern Africa's colonial settler state. He then looked at the ways in which this landed class managed to survive the crisis of emancipation. Dooling acknowledged that, although British rule brought emancipation for slaves, their freedom remained limited because of their inability to obtain land that remained under the control of European settlers. He focused on the participation of slaves in the disintegration of slavery as they left their former masters en masse, creating

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[12] William Wright, *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, originally published 1831), 61.

[13] Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 1; Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2-5.

[14] Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Hanover, NH: Published by University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press, 1994), xix-xx, xxvii-xxix.

[15] Pamela Scully, *Liberating the Family?: Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997), 2.

confusion and forcing landowners to give into some of their demands for greater freedom and higher wages. Thus, Dooling provides my thesis with a model for how to begin to think about the immediate effects of abolition on society and coerced populations because he argued that the continuation of unequal access to land and capital kept settlers in power even after emancipation.[16] Emancipation clearly occupied a central place in the renegotiation of power relations, but I argue that it did not necessarily end the subjugation of coerced groups.

My thesis draws on both frontier and slavery schools of thought, seeing them as part of the same pre-industrial processes that led to the formation of Cape society. These arguments about the origins of racial oppression in South Africa have hitherto remained separated in the historiography because the two forms of coerced labor central to them have been studied independently of one another. In separating the study of Khoisan indentured servitude, located mainly on the frontier, from slavery, located in the areas closer to Cape Town, scholars have obscured the ways in which these institutions were related through their coercive nature. This thesis sees the coerced labor of slaves and Khoisan indentured servants as central to the frontier experience and a social consequence of land abundance. The Nieboer-Domar hypothesis has stated that slavery will emerge in situations where land is unlimited because a society cannot possess free land, such as a frontier open for settlement, free workers willing to work for wages, and a non-working, land-owning class. Rather, only two of these elements can exist at any one

[16] Wayne Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), 1-12.

time.[17] This hypothesis links frontiers and free land with slavery and coerced labor in the understanding of oppression at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

My thesis also draws on the work of David Eltis and Stanley Engerman, who have taken a holistic approach to the study of slavery in the Atlantic world by looking at slavery as simply one form of coerced labor rather than as a completely separate institution. I apply this perspective to the study of slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude at the Cape. Eltis and Engerman have argued that, while it is easy to treat slavery as an evil perpetrated by evil men, separating it off from other forms of dependency fails to account for the rise and fall of slavery, why at certain points non-slave dependency became more important than slavery, and how certain people were deemed suitable for enslavement. Eltis and Engerman have pointed out that, before 1750, few workers who were paid a wage could be considered "free" according to modern definitions. They instead have argued for a continuum of dependency that ranges from waged labor, to contract labor, to prisoners of war, to serfdom, to indentured servitude, and finally to slavery.[18] Viewing slavery as inherently different from other labor regimes limits our view of the nature of coercion and the way it affects many different forms of labor. This thesis therefore attempts to study the history of slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude as forms of labor related in their coercive nature.

There are several works that have already analyzed these two groups of coerced laborers in relation to one another. W.M. Macmillian's the *Cape Colour Question*, published in 1927, traced the history of slaves and Khoisan indentured servants as

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[17] Evsey Domar, "The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis," *Economic History Review* 30, no. 1 (March 1970): 21.

[18] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Dependence, Servility and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, edited by David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (forthcoming).

important precursors to the Cape's Coloured population.[19] Macmillan's arguments, however, differed from the ones presented here because he did not take into account the differences contemporaries saw between the two forms of labor in the period up to the emancipation of slaves. Macmillan traced the histories of the slave and Khoisan populations and argued that the position of Khoisan had become worse than that of slaves by the end of the Dutch colonial period as a result of frontier processes. After the emancipation of the slaves, Macmillan made the case that Khoisan and former slave populations largely merged into one "Coloured" group.[20] While he was correct to say that the position of Khoisan indentured servants *resembled* that of slaves and that after abolition contemporaries began to see the two coerced populations as one group, Macmillan did not make explicit the fact that contemporaries distinguished between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants up to the abolition of slavery. I argue that coercion continued after abolition because of a distinction between these two forms of labor in the period up to 1834.

In 1979, Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee brought together several authors to discuss different aspects of pre-industrial South Africa, including slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude. They saw the social order at the Cape in the Dutch colonial period as the forerunner to the twentieth century's racial order, but they framed their conclusions as the result of general pre-industrial processes, rather than as the direct result of coerced labor in the colony during the Dutch period, as is done in my thesis.[21] In 1994, Nigel

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[19] Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question*, 26-38.

[20] Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question*, 37-38, 265-266. John Edwin Mason goes further and suggests that Khoisan experienced the same degradation as slaves and that many Khoisan women and children were indeed "virtual slaves." See John Edwin Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 29, 34-35.

[21] Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652-c.1840," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by

Worden and Clifton Crais built upon the work of Elphick and Giliomee in two key ways: they extended the scope of study to include the British period as well as the Dutch colonial period and advanced studies of emancipation by looking at the results of liberationist legislation on all forms of unfree labor in the post-1828 period, rather than simply bringing the study of the two forms of labor into the same book, as earlier authors had done.[22] Worden and Crais's work therefore serves as a model to my thesis because these historians were the first in South African historiography to reconceptualize slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude as two forms of coerced labor, rather than as completely separate subjects of study.[23] In 2004, Worden made his approach to coerced labor more explicit, emphasizing that expanding one's focus to a variety of forms of unfree labor, rather than confining oneself to the study of slavery, avoided many of the problems associated with the definition of slavery and its boundaries.[24]

My thesis is therefore important for two reasons: it makes new contributions to debates on the origins of racial oppression by drawing on ideas from both frontier and slavery arguments, and it juxtaposes slave and Khoisan populations. It makes the case that the movement of settlers to the areas away from Cape Town helped formulate the systems of coerced labor throughout the Cape Colony. Additionally, rather than limiting its perspective to either slavery or Khoisan indentured servitude, my thesis illuminates

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Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 522-523; Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, "Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, settlers, slaves and free blacks, 1652-1795," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 185-186.

[22] Ross's 1983 study also contains a chapter on the interactions of Khoisan and slaves, but it does so to establish the setting of Cape society at this time, rather than investigate the relationship between the two groups. See Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 38-53.

[23] Nigel Worden and Clifton C. Crais, *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and Its Legacy in the Nineteenth-century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 1-5.

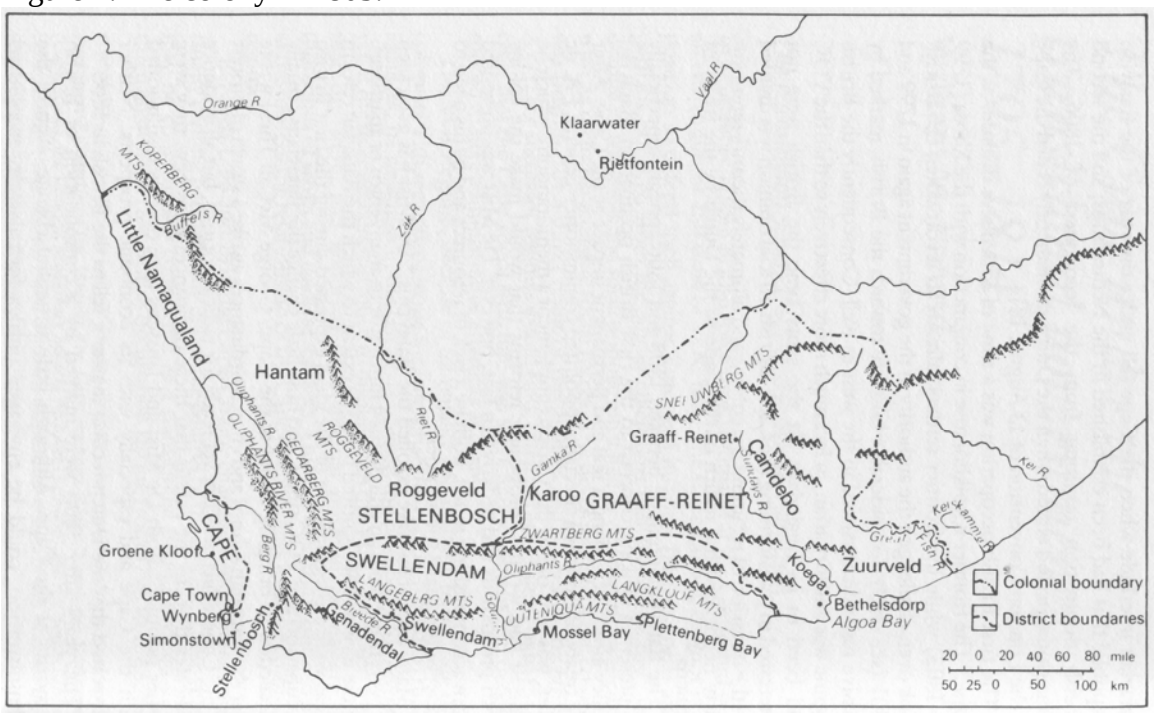
[24] Nigel Worden, "Writing and teaching the history of unfree labour in Africa and the Indian Ocean in the twenty-first century," *South African Historical Journal* 50 (May 2004): 236-240.

the nature of both forms of coercion at the Cape and the way in which settlers themselves distinguished between slave and Khoisan populations.

This thesis cannot cover both the Dutch colonial period and the British period up past 1834, but it does seek to establish that during the Dutch colonial period settlers, who only ever numbered 15,000 at the end of the period and were spread out over a distance of less than 650 miles from the Koperberg Mountains in the North to the Great Fish River in the east (see Figure 1), differentiated between slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude.[25] Settlers relied heavily on the labor of Khoisan indentured servants to supplement slave labor both numerically and in areas that could not easily support slavery. Settlers, however, saw these two forms of coerced labor as very different in terms of the coerced individual's position under the law, the free or slave status he inherited from his mother, the method of his acquisition, his transferability between masters, the violence that could be perpetrated upon him, a history of difference between the two forms of labor, and the actions of Khoisan and their allies. Although the abolition of slavery came in 1834, coerced labor as a whole did not end at this time because Khoisan indentured servitude continued, setting the tone for the continuation of coerced labor long into the twentieth century.

[25] See Appendix A.

Figure 1: The colony in 1803.[26]



The term "Khoisan" is used in current scholarship to describe people indigenous to the southwestern Cape of Africa. When Europeans arrived at the Cape in 1488, they found a people who differed from other African groups in both their language and appearance. Khoisan languages differed from other African languages by their use of implosive consonants or clicks.[27] The appearance of Khoisan also distinguished them from other groups that Europeans had previously encountered, intriguing visitors to the Cape throughout the Dutch and British colonial periods.[28] Many of these travelers wrote

[26] Copied from Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 326.

[27] Mentzel says of "the Hottentots" in 1787 that "If one merely writes that they give a clap of their tongue in many words and a pop, smack or snap, no one could form an idea of it and imitate it, without oral instruction" (O.F. Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1921), 319). Linguists have also noted that, while both Khoikhoi and San languages contain "clicks," these languages are actually were quite distinct (Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 1 (1972): 58, see footnote).

[28] Perhaps the most famous account of Khoisan was Anders Sparrman's. See Anders Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Towards the Antarctic Polar Circle, Round the World and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres, from the Year 1772-1776, Based on the English Editions of 1785-1786 Published by Robinson, London* (Dublin: Printed for Messrs. White, Cash, and Byrne, 1785),

about Khoisan simply to describe their language and appearance for Europeans back home, but they were also exceedingly interested in the origins of Khoisan. In 1719, Peter Kolb assumed that Khoisan had lived at the Cape since biblical times.[29] Later, O.F. Mentzel, writing in 1787, argued that Khoisan were descendants of Europeans who "many hundreds, perhaps even some thousands of years ago… came to the furthest point of Africa then still uninhabited, either through shipwreck or in some other way, and reared children there…"[30] The differences between Khoisan and other human groups thus stimulated much conversation and interest.

Other scholars debated the similarities and differences between various groups covered by the term "Khoisan." Khoisan is a modern term that has been forged from the names of the two groups into which Khoisan were historically divided: Khoikhoi, also called "Hottentots" in the Dutch period, who possessed cattle, and San, called

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191-207. This account was so compelling that William Paterson actually cited Sparrman's description in total. See William Paterson, *A Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots, and Caffraria, in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779. Illustrated with a Map, and Nineteen Copper-Plates. By Lieutenant William Paterson* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1790) 13-20. For additional travelers' accounts of Khoisan, see Ambrose Cowley (1686), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 309-310; CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795-1803: Document 43: 1706, J. Maxwell to Revered Dr. Harris, account of the Cape Colony in 1705-6; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London by Theal, 2-9; Christoffel Langhansz (1694), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 404-407; Isaac Schapera, Olfert Dapper, Willem ten Rhijne, Johannes Gulielmus Grevenbroek, and Benjamin Farrington, *The Early Cape Hottentots, Described in the Writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem Ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus De Grevenbroek (1695)* (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), *passim*; Johann Wilhelm Vogel (1679), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 217-219; Robert Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope; Containing an Historical View of Its Original Settlement by the Dutch ... with a View of the Political and Commercial Advantages Which Might Be Derived from Its Possession by Great Britain* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 86-90; William Dampier (1691), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 382-385.

[29] Peter Kolb, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, translation by Guido Medley* (London: W. Innys, 1731), 30-31.

[30] Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, 273-274.

"Bushmen" in the Dutch period, who were hunter-gatherers without cattle.[31] Early in the Dutch colonial period, Europeans had difficulty distinguishing between Khoikhoi and San groups in the areas nearest to Cape Town.[32] The terms used to describe the two Khoisan groups were therefore mired in confusion throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While general understanding held that San were distant relatives of Khoikhoi, their relationship remained contentious in European circles and was never explained by Khoisan themselves.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, scholars began to believe that Khoikhoi and San groups were unrelated because of the conflicts they found between these two groups further into the interior of the Cape Colony. In the Northern Cape in the second half of the eighteenth century, rural settlers could not help but notice the conflict between the recently immigrant pastoral Khoikhoi and the original hunter-gatherer San

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[31] According to Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, the term "Khoikhoi" means "men of men" in Khoikhoi. See Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 5. However, this assertion has been debated extensively in articles written both by Anna J. Böeseken and Richard H. Elphick. See Anna J. Böeseken, "The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan," *Cabo* 1 (1972): 5-10; Richard H. Elphick, "The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan (comment)," *Cabo* 2 (1974): 3-7; Anna J. Böeseken, "The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan (reply)," *Cabo* 2 (1974): 8-10; Richard H. Elphick, "The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan (final comment)," *Cabo* 3 (1975): 12-15; Anna J. Böeseken, "On changing terminology in history," *Cabo* 2 (1975): 16-18.

With regards to the term "Hottentot," before 1700, Khoikhoi proletariat in Cape Town danced for sailors by hopping from one foot to the other and "sing nothing but the word 'Hotantot,'" leading some visitors to the Cape to understand this behavior to be the origin of their name. See David Tappen (1682), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 238; Simon de la Loubere (1687), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 319; Vogel (1679), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702*, 219. Now, however, the term "Hottentot" is considered derogatory.

"San" was originally an ethonym used by Khoikhoi to describe hunter-gatherers without cattle. Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe include in this group both hunter-gatherers whose ancestors had lived in southern Africa long before Khoikhoi arrived as well as former Khoikhoi who had later lost their cattle and so were forced to become hunter-gatherers. See Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 4, see footnote.

[32] Richard Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations" (Ph.D. Dissertation: Yale University, 1972), 5.

who clearly spoke different languages and frequently engaged in hostilities with one another.[33] Travelers to the Cape who journeyed into the interior also drew distinctions between "Hottentots" and "Bushmen."[34] Sparrman claimed that San differed from pastoral Khoikhoi in that they did not keep animals. Instead, San relied on a hunting, gathering, and plundering existence which, he explained, was why they were "pursued and exterminated like the wild beast."[35] Captain Robert Percival, writing in 1804, also noted that the "Boschies Hottentots (San), in some respects, differ from those who live nearer the Cape and acknowledge the Dutch authority (Khoikhoi)."[36] In 1812, Heinrich Lichtenstein wrote the first ethnographically-based study of Khoisan people, arguing that, while San were the original possessors of the land, southern Africa had later been populated by southerly migrations of Xhosa traveling along an eastern route and Khoikhoi taking a western one.[37] Therefore, while Europeans in the seventeenth century believed Khoikhoi and San groups to be related, by the nineteenth century, many scholars considered these two groups to be discrete.

By 1905, however, scholars once again argued for the relatedness of Khoikhoi and San groups, beginning with George W. Stow in his *The Native Races of South Africa*, the first history of Khoikhoi and San people.[38] George McCall Theal, the great historian of South Africa around the turn of the twentieth century, published Stow's manuscript,

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[33] Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 4.

[34] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 95; Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 210. See also, Carl Peter Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775: Based on the English Edition London, 1793-1795* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1986), 46-47.

[35] Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 210.

[36] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 95.

[37] Heinrich Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928), 304-306.

[38] George W. Stow and George McCall Theal, *The Native Races of South Africa; A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co, 1905), 178.

using its ideas about the linkages between the two groups extensively in his own history of the early Cape.[39] This history, in turn, influenced most scholars of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, scholars turned from the antiquated ways of studying Africa as a colonial subject and began focusing on Africans as the protagonists in their own stories. During this period, the disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology dominated the study of Khoisan.[40] Scholars in these various disciplines conclusively proved that Khoikhoi and San groups did not possess completely separate histories, languages, and physical types, but could not decide the best way to discuss the connections between these two groups – were these a function of common origin or the result of contact and diffusion?

In 1972, Richard Elphick undertook the first modern historical study of Khoisan people in his dissertation.[41] Many historians of South Africa before Elphick had simply written Khoisan off as a society that had succumbed to European colonization and disease.[42] Elphick, however, built on the scholarship of both earlier historians and the social scientists of the 1960s, making extensive use of archival materials and travelers' accounts to write a detailed and nuanced history of Khoikhoi and San peoples to 1713.[43] Also in 1972, Shula Marks argued against the simplistic understanding of Khoisan history as the rapid disintegration of pastoral Khoikhoi and the resistance of San hunter-

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[39] George McCall Theal, *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa Before A.D. 1505; Being a Description of the Inhabitants of the Country South of the Zambesi and Kunene Rivers in A.D. 1505, Together with All That Can Be Learned from Ancient Books and Modern Research of the Condition of South Africa from the Earliest Time Until Its Discovery by Europeans* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1919), 80-124.

[40] For a summary of the findings of these other disciplines, see Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 7-25.

[41] Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations."

[42] See De Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa*, 20.

[43] Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 2-25.

gathers.[44] The fresh approaches of both Elphick and Marks to the study of Khoisan greatly influenced understandings of their past that detailed the gradual decline of their society while acknowledging the confusion in both contemporaries' accounts of Khoisan groups and the early scholarship on their history. Far reaching studies of the South African past invariably touched upon the histories of Khoisan throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, while the literature in the late 1990s and early 2000s tended to deal with Khoisan in the context of frontier studies.[45]

Regardless of the confusion in the earlier scholarship, there is no doubt that Khoisan people had a rich and complex history.[46] San ancestors lived in southern Africa long before the development of pastoralism and agriculture, supporting themselves through a combination of hunting and gathering. As a result of this method of survival, San lived in small, mobile, isolated groups and did not possess a larger San group identity. Also, because of San mobility and small group formation, their culture diversified over time.[47] With European colonization, many San began to be incorporated through intermarriage into creole groups that did not identify with a specifically San culture. Nonetheless, to this day there still exist some groups scattered throughout Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa that claim a distinctly San heritage.[48]

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[44] Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 55-80.

[45] For scholarship from the 1970s and 1980s, see Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*; Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (London: Longman, 1980); UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, *General History of Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981). For scholarship from the 1990s and 2000s, see Leonard Guelke and Robert Shell, "Landscape of Conquest: Frontier Water Alienation and Khoikhoi Strategies of Survival, 1652-1780," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, no. 4 (November 1992): 803-824; Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier*; Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier*; Russel Viljoen, "Aboriginal Khoikhoi Servants and Their Masters in Colonial Swellendam, South Africa, 1745-1795," *Agricultural History* 75, no. 1 (2001): 28-51.

[46] See Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 6.

[47] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 4-5.

[48] Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, *The Old Way: A Story of the First People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 45-47.

Khoikhoi, on the other hand, were a fairly homogenous group by the time Europeans arrived in southern Africa in 1488.[49] The Khoikhoi groups in the southwestern Cape spoke similar dialects, practiced the same culture, and came from related chiefly lineages.[50] Khoikhoi, moreover, recognized one another as members of the same community, even hundreds of miles away. Khoikhoi supported themselves and their families through pastoralism, which greatly influenced the formation of their lifestyle and culture. While pastoralism could lead to unstable economic conditions because of cattle theft and illness, Khoikhoi nonetheless could recover from a loss of their herds by stealing cattle from their neighbors, obtaining employment with a wealthy Khoikhoi in hopes of regaining herds through payment, or by falling back on a hunting-gathering lifestyle no different than that of San. Also, because of their pastoral activities, which dictated that they migrate seasonally to fresh pasture, Khoikhoi organized into small patrilineal kin groups that occasionally combined into larger chiefdoms.[51] According to Oedasoa, a Khoisan big man and uncle of the interpreter Eva, speaking in 1662, "Among the Hottentots… [chiefs] did not have… power over their subjects."[52] Political leadership amongst Khoikhoi functioned more through personal dynamism than force or political legitimacy. This organization according to an egalitarian political structure led to a rapid expansion of Khoikhoi groups over southern Africa (see Figure 2).[53]

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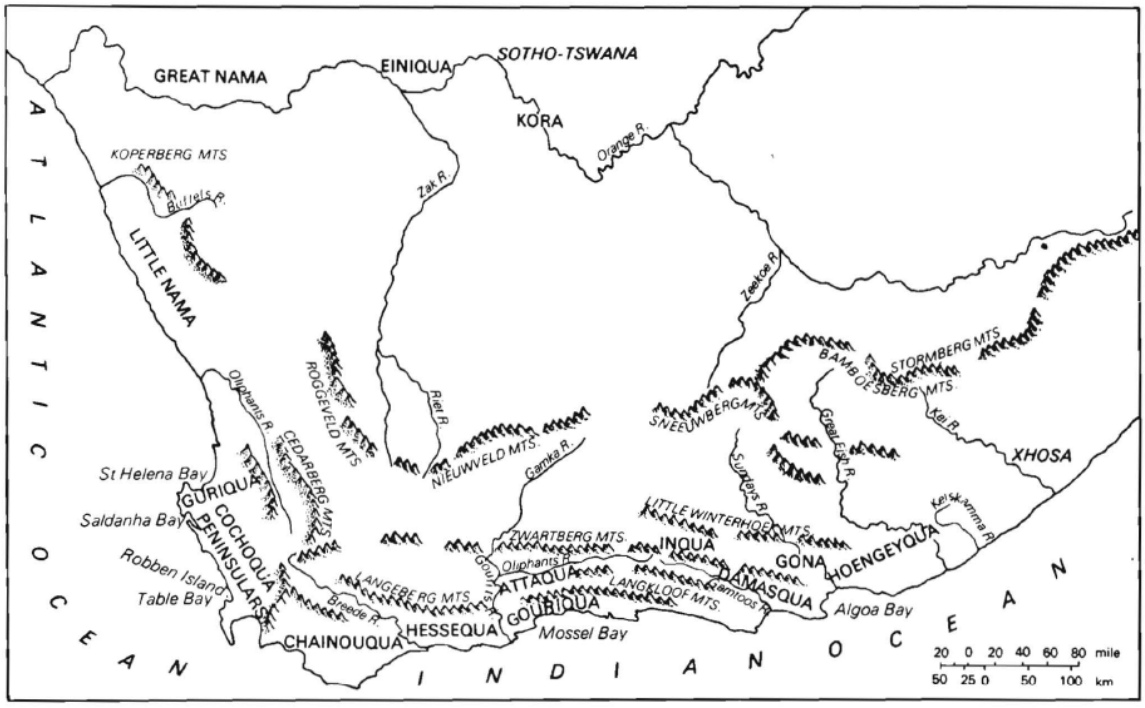
[49] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 4-5.
[50] Elphick, *Kraal and Castle*, 49-53.
[51] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 6-7.
[52] Jan van Riebeeck and Hendrik Bernardus Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1952), February 23, 1662, 3: 477.
[53] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 6-7.

Figure 2: Approximate locations of Khoikhoi before contact with Europeans.[54]



This thesis acknowledges that both San and Khoikhoi groups in southern Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries possessed different lifestyles and cultures. Yet, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, contemporaries did not always have a clear understanding of the differences between these two groups. Europeans, for their part, interacted with "Hottentots" and "Bushmen" in much the same way, only distinguishing between them insofar as Europeans considered "Hottentots" to be those Khoisan who had already succumbed to colonialism and called the still-independent Khoisan "Bushmen." Because it is very difficult to distinguish San and Khoikhoi groups in the historical record, historians have turned to using the term "Khoisan" when studying the interactions of these groups with Europeans and slaves; my thesis follows this convention.

With regard to the size of the Khoisan population, there are only the roughest of calculations for the Cape in the Dutch colonial period.[55] Khoisan were not included in

[54] Copied from Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 9.

census data throughout this period and historians therefore can only approximate their numbers. Leonard Guelke and Robert Shell have been able to estimate that there were around 50,000 Khoisan in the whole of the southwestern Cape in the mid-seventeenth century.[56] After that time, disease and the physical encroachment of Europeans upon their territory reduced Khoisan numbers from initial European settlement through the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, because of European expansion, Khoisan became dispersed throughout the Dutch colonial period such that their numbers were the greatest in the outlying areas of the Cape.

Only with the British takeover in 1795 did census records begin to reveal the number of Khoisan indentured servants in the colony, totaling 14,000 Khoisan in 1798, 17,000 in 1815, and 26,975 in 1820.[57] However, even this count failed to include those Khoisan who fled settler encroachment and who were therefore able to escape servitude and census tallies. As a result, these numbers did not include "Bushmen raiders" who had managed to avoid the authority of the colony. The jump in the Khoisan population from 1815 to 1820 alone attests to the inaccuracy of these population statistics as it most likely reflects an increase in the numbers of servants introduced into the colonial labor regime, rather than an increase in the actual Khoisan population. Arriving at accurate estimates of Khoisan numbers may never be possible. Beginning in 1828, Khoisan census categories were combined with those of free blacks, totaling 41,958 in 1830.[58]

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[55] See Appendix A.

[56] This number includes those Khoisan who fell under the colonial labor system as well as those Khoisan who were independent of it (Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 805).

[57] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 43; William M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 330.

[58] Elphick and Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape," 524.

After the emancipation of slaves in 1834, Khoisan numbers were further muddied as they were combined with slaves, free blacks, and Bastaards, totaling 79,480 in 1840.[59]

The gradual oppression of Khoisan people as a result of colonization began with the arrival of Europeans to the Cape. In February of 1488, Bartolomeu Dias first encountered indigenous Khoisan at Mossel Bay. According to Vasco da Gamma, after Dias' men took water from a Khoisan spring without permission, Khoisan "defended this watering-place with stones thrown from the top of a hillock which [was] above it; and Bartolomeu Dias fired a crossbow at them and killed one of them…."[60] Dias went on to become the first man to round the tip of Africa and pave the way for Vasco da Gamma's successful navigation of a sea route to India from 1497 to 1499.[61] These successful nautical voyages resulted in the importance of the Cape to trading activities in the seventeenth century.

Dutch and English ships first began to stop over regularly at Table Bay in the 1590s en route between Europe and the East. The Cape was an ideal refreshment point because it offered clean water, a good climate, and local Khoisan who were willing to trade substantial amounts of meat to sailors. In 1649, the Dutch East India Company therefore began making plans to establish a permanent settlement at the Cape to support its activities in the East.[62]

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[59] Elphick and Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape," 524. "Bastaards" were individuals of mixed Khoisan and slave descent.

[60] Alvaro Velho, *Roteiro* (Vasco da Gamma), Lisbon, 1861, Oporto 1948 in *Before Van Riebeeck; Callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*, compiled by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1967), 5.

[61] J. de Barros, *Da Asia… dos feitos…*, Lisbon: 1552, etc. 1778, in *Before Van Riebeeck; Callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*, compiled by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1967), 1-2; Velho, *Roteiro* (Vasco da Gamma), 2-8.

[62] Leendert Janz. N. Proot, "Remonstrance, in which is briefly set forth and explained, the service, advantage, and profit, which will accrue to the United Chartered East India Company, from making a Fort and Garden, at the Cabo de Boa Esperance," dated July 26, 1649, in *The Record or a Series of Official*

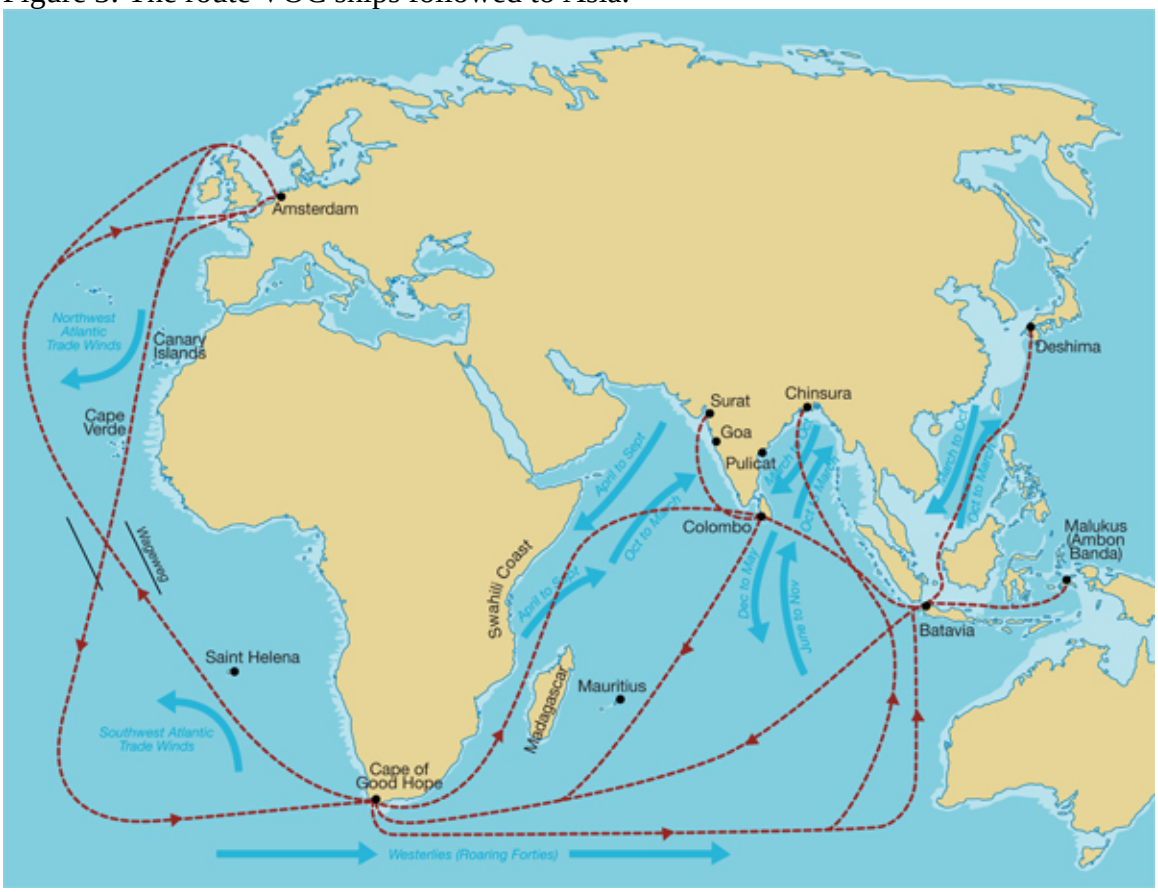
The Dutch East India Company had been chartered by the Republic of the United Netherlands in 1602 and given the authority to act much like a colonizing power. It held a monopoly over trade and possessed the rights to raise an army, negotiate treaties, and administer justice.[63] While the VOC acted like a governing body, its primary responsibility was not to its subjects in southern Africa but rather to its shareholders in Europe. Because of these priorities, its principal policy was not to govern but to promote trade. VOC ships began their voyages in Europe, traveling along the coast of Africa towards India and Indonesia, trading as they went (see Figure 3). From Europe, ships carried gold, silver, textiles, wine, and mercury. They traded these commodities in part for ivory on the African coast, and then traded both European and African goods in Asia for commodities manufactured there. The VOC acquired cloves and nutmeg from Moluccas, pepper from Sumatra and west Java, textiles from India, silk from Persia and China, tea, sugar, and coffee from China and Java, porcelain from China and Japan, and indigo, sandalwood, benzoin, and musk from tropical forests in the regions between Arabia and Indochina. The VOC traded these commodities throughout Asia and Africa and eventually returned to Europe with the rest of the merchandise.[64]

Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 1.

[63] Els M. Jacobs, *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Walberg Pers, Zutpen, Netherlands: Netherlands Maritime Museum - Amsterdam, 1991), 15.

[64] Carmel Schrire, *Digging Through Darkness: Chronicles of an Archaeologist* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 73.

Figure 3: The route VOC ships followed to Asia.[65]



As it was mainly interested in trade, the VOC did not anticipate actively colonizing the Cape but rather intended the colony to serve primarily as a supply station for its ships as they crossed the oceans between Amsterdam and Batavia. As stated in their 1649 plans for the Cape, the VOC needed a "Fort and Garden, … so that while the ships, both outward bound and homeward bound, were taking in their water, they might be daily furnished with three or four cattle and sheep, and with all sorts of vegetables."[66] The Company therefore did not originally have any intention of ruling, taxing, or evangelizing southern Africa and saw the Cape not as an independent colony, but rather

[65] Copied from Laura Jane Mitchell, *Belongings: Property, Family, and Identity in Colonial South Africa (an Exploration of Frontiers, 1725-C. 1830)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 17.
[66] Proot, "Remonstrance," dated July 26, 1649, 1: 1.

as subordinate to the administrative structures in both Amsterdam and Batavia.[67] In 1652, the Dutch East India Company, under the direction of Commander Jan van Riebeeck, established a refreshment station for passing ships on the way between Europe and the Indian Ocean.[68]

Commander Jan van Riebeeck and the VOC initially intended to supply passing ships with agriculture produced through tightly-controlled farm operations, but the Company structure soon proved unable to produce enough food to supply those in the settlement as well as provide for the needs of passing ships.[69] Van Riebeeck needed to build a fort and plant gardens, but with only 120 Company servants in 1660, he was obliged to "only place two or three sentries by day, all the rest being occupied, some attending the cattle, some in the gardens, and others as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c. during which employment they [were] mostly without arms."[70] As long as Company soldiers were occupied with these tasks, the fort would be militarily weak.[71] Van Riebeeck therefore pursued two solutions to this problem at the Cape: he introduced slave labor and established free settlers on farm lands.

The first solution to this supply problem was slave labor. Within the first month, Van Riebeeck wrote to ask the directors of the Company to send him slave labor from the

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[67] Schrire, *Digging Through Darkness*, 53-54.
[68] Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 805.
[69] C. Graham Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," *South African Law Journal* 36 (May 1919): 150.
[70] Gerrit Schutte, "Company and colonists at the Cape, 1652-1795," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 295; "Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck," dated August 8, 1655, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 69.
[71] "Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck," dated August 8, 1655, 1: 69.

East.[72] Because the Company directors had established a strict prohibition on enslaving the indigenous Khoisan population, its servants at the Cape had to turn to importing slaves to work on its projects.[73] Europeans at the Cape thus imported their slave population from Africa and the East Indies.[74] Madagascar comprised the single largest source of slaves during the Company period, totaling sixty-six percent of the Company's direct imports, but many of these slaves were actually Indian in origin. After 1776, many slaves came from Mozambique and East Africa as well. Armstrong and Worden have stated that from 1680 to 1731, approximately 48.5 percent of slaves were of Malagasy origin, with India and Indonesia each comprising 15.8 percent, and 19.8 percent being of

[72] For Van Riebeeck's views on the need for slaves, see CA, C 493, Letters Received, January 1 – April 26, 1756: Jan van Riebeeck – Heren XVII, April 14, 1653, 70; CA, C 493, Letters Received, January 1 – April 26, 1756: Jan van Riebeeck – Heren XVII, April 16, 1655, 384; CA, C 493, Letters Received, January 1 – April 26, 1756: Jan van Riebeeck – Raad van Indië, July 24, 1665, 435; CA, C 493, Letters Received, January 1 – April 26, 1756: Jan van Riebeeck – Raad van Indië, May 25, 1652, 25. See also, Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 806; Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage; An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971), 14.

[73] Though given strict instructions not to enslave indigenous populations, Van Riebeeck had considered enslaving the Khoisan who visited his fort (Proot, "Remonstrance," dated July 26, 1649, 1: 4). In 1652, he suggested to the Company directors that "we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they still constantly come to us without weapons: upon this point, however, are required rather more consultation" ("Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck," dated December 13, 1652, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 23). However, as Van Riebeeck noted, if the Dutch had enslaved Khoisan early on, they would have been forced to send them to India and not keep them in the colony at the risk that they might rebel or run away. Later, Van Riebeeck suggested that, "it would not be out of place… if one disposed of this lot, meaning not that one should kill them, but capture them with their cattle, and employ them as slaves on the islands for seal-catching, etc" (Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, April 7, 1654, 1: 212). Even if such Khoisan slaves were to be kept in the Cape Colony, Van Riebeeck acknowledged that it would be too dangerous to keep them amongst the European population. Rather, he would employ them on the islands off the coast of the Cape.

[74] For miscegenation and intergroup relations, see Elphick and Shell, "Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, settlers, slaves and free blacks," 194-204; MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, 40-46.

other origins, mostly from the African continent.[75] The slave population grew from zero in 1652 to 36,169 in 1834, when slavery was abolished.[76]

With the initial importation of slaves, the Company assumed that it would be the only institution at the Cape to produce crops and own slaves. However, because the Company turned over the production of crops to independent settlers in 1657 (discussed below), the Company's need for slaves remained fairly stable throughout the VOC period and increased only slowly.[77] The Company possessed sixty-seven slaves in 1660, 322 slaves in 1690, 445 slaves in 1711, 506 slaves in 1750, and 534 slaves in 1795 who were "employed in the cultivation of the garden and the rest at other necessary tasks."[78] These slaves were located mainly in Cape Town at the Company's fort and gardens, rather than in the interior of the colony.[79] The settlers' slave population, on the other hand, which became established with independent settler farming, grew at a considerable rate. Before the settlement of Stellenbosch in 1679, the colonists' slave force amounted to only 191, less than the 310 slaves owned by the Company.[80] After this time, with increased opportunities for settlers' independence from the VOC, the number of slaves owned by this group rose to 471 in 1697, 3,873 in 1728, 8,207 in 1768, and 25,754 in 1798.[81] These slaves lived throughout the settlement, but the majority remained in the Cape

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[75] James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, "The slaves, 1652-1834," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 121.

[76] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 109.

[77] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 123.

[78] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 124; Father Guy Tachard (1685), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702, The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation As Seen by Callers*, edited by R. Raven-Hart (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 276.

[79] Robert Shell states that ninety percent of the Company's slaves were urban-based (Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxiii). See also, Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 123.

[80] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 123.

[81] See Appendix A.

District, with the smallest number in Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, the districts furthest from Cape Town.[82]

Bringing slaves in from outside the colony, rather than enslaving those people indigenous to the region, was a fairly standard practice at this time in Europe, Africa, and the New World, where slaves were generally foreigners imported from other areas. In 1982, Patterson pointed out that conquering groups did not commonly enslave indigenous populations "en mass and en situ."[83] Experiments of this kind, such as attempts to enslave Indian populations in the Americas, were generally unsuccessful because the enslaved population found it easier to run away in a country familiar to them.[84] Also, because of the solidarity of the majority of the population with the enslaved, once slaves ran away, they found refuge much more easily than in cases where slaves were outsiders. Patterson noted that an alternative to conquering and enslaving local populations was to conquer local populations, but then bring in slaves from the outside to serve as coerced labor, as was done in southern Africa.[85] The southern African case proved unique, however, because, as the colony expanded eastward and northward impoverishing and making war on indigenous people throughout the eighteenth century, rural settlers began to incorporate these displaced and captured Khoisan as servants on their farms.[86] Rural Cape settlers therefore ignored one of the "rules" of enslavement, enslaving their

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[82] These trends were determined from census records in NA, VOC 4009, 1672 – 1673; NA, VOC 4014, 1678 – 1679; NA, VOC 4022, 1685 – 1686; NA, VOC 4039, 1697 – 1698; NA, VOC 4058, 1707 – 1708; NA, VOC 4079, 1717 – 1718; NA, VOC 4106, 1727 – 1728; NA, VOC 4136, 1737 – 1738; NA, VOC 4210, 1757 – 1758; NA, VOC 4256, 1768 – 1769.

[83] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 110.

[84] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 110, 112.

[85] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 111.

[86] Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier*, 124.

neighbors in addition to maintaining control over the slaves which had been imported as such.[87]

Despite the importation of slaves to work on Company projects, by 1657, the administrative structures of the VOC still proved insufficient for the production of food for the colony and passing ships. The establishment of independent farmers provided a second solution to the provisioning of the Cape. The first official land grants were given in 1657 along the Liesbeeck River "for the purpose of growing rice, wheat or other grain, and for breeding cattle," with the hope that this might supply the needs of the VOC at the Cape more effectively.[88] These grants were given to Company employees under the condition that, after three trial years during which its holders cultivated the land, they would be granted the land as outright property.[89] In 1677, in order to further encourage the growth of wheat, the Company loaned land at Hout Bay to two farmers for twelve years each. These farmers had to pay the Company one-tenth of the wheat grown.[90]

Beginning in 1679, Commander Simon van der Stel, with instructions from the Company to begin new expansion of the colony, began giving out freehold properties on

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[87] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 110, 112. See also, Robin Blackburn, "Slavery - its special features and social role," in *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour*, edited by Léonie J. Archer (London: Routledge, 1988), 268.

[88] "Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander Van Riebeeck," dated October 6, 1654, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 54. The Directors of the VOC had authorized Van Riebeeck "to grant freedom to such persons, as have from experience acquired a knowledge of the country, and who are in a condition to maintain themselves without burden to the Company, by breeding cattle, or otherwise…" ("Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander Van Riebeeck," dated October 30, 1655, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 75). See also, Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, July 20, 1657, 1: 134-135.

[89] Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape* (Cape Town: Historical Studies Department, 2005), 7; Leonard Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers, 1657-1780," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Buhr Giliomee (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 66.

[90] Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," 151.

a first-come, first-serve basis.[91] Freehold land is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "permanent and absolute tenure of land or property with freedom to dispose of it at will."[92] Once the land was given, it became the property of those to whom it was granted and could then be sold according to the prerogative of its owners.[93] At the Cape during the Dutch colonial period (1652 – 1795), a total of 446 freehold farm land grants were given by the VOC either to individuals or to partners.[94] In 1717, however, the Company directors ordered that no more lands should be given out in freehold both because the lands nearest to Cape Town had been filled to capacity and because the colony had begun to produce more crops than were needed for itself and passing ships.[95]

Land remained available on loan as it had been before 1679, however, and increasing numbers of settlers applied for such farms.[96] Individuals and partners applied to the VOC for loan farms in much the same way they did freehold land, but this form of land tenure required that the land be returned to the Company's control after the

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[91] CA, C 499, Letters Received, December 31 – July 29, 1757: Simon van der Stel – Heren XVII, March 27, 1680, 514.

[92] "freehold, n," *OED Online*, March 2009, Oxford University Press, http://dictionary.oed.com/ (accessed March 26, 2009).

[93] Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," 150; J.A. Truter, "Letter from the Fiscal J.A. Truter, Esqre. to Deputy Secretary Bird," dated June 28, 1811, in *Records of the Cape Colony*, edited by George McCall Theal (London: Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1900), 8: 106. Land transfer records from 1658 to 1795, totaling 2,881 records, have been transcribed from the Cape Town Deeds Office transfers (*transporten*) records and are available in Robert Shell's *Changing Hands* Database. See DO, Old Cape Freeholds, volumes 1 and 2; DO, Old Stellenbosch Freeholds, volumes 1 and 2; both cited in Robert C.-H. Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands; A Calendar of Bondage at the Cape, 1550 to 1888*, CD-ROM (Gardens, South Africa: Ancestry24, 2005).

[94] Couples were defined as either married pairs or business partners, yet partner applications totaled only fifteen out of 446 cases (Leonard Guelke, "The Southwestern Cape Colony 1657-1750 Freehold Land Grants," cartography, D. Bonner, Cartographic Centre University of Waterloo, *Department of Geography Publication Series, Occasional Paper Number 5* (Ontario, Canada: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1987)).

[95] CA, C 436, Letters Received, March 28 – October 17, 1731: July 15, 1717, 604. Although only five percent of the total area was under cultivation (Leonard Turner Guelke, *The Early European Settlement of South Africa* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Toronto, 1974), 119-123).

[96] Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 66.

expiration of the time for which it was loaned.[97] There are currently 8,239 surviving loan records in the Office of the Receiver of Land Revenue, although these are far from the total number of loan farms ever issued.[98]

Lands held in loan and in freehold were quite similar in the ways in which they operated in practice. While loan farms theoretically had to be returned to the Company at their expiration, they could be renewed an infinite number of times by the same landholder.[99] Also, although loan farm holders were technically not allowed to sell these properties because they belonged to the VOC, they could sell or bequeath the buildings on their farms, thereby essentially transferring the property to another owner.[100] According to J.P. Baumgard, Receiver General of Land Revenue, writing in 1810, the

> possessors of loan places… notwithstanding the annual renewal of the same as expressed in the grants, feel themselves equally secure in the possession thereof as if they were real property, moreover confiding in the uprightness of an equitable Government they cultivate the same at pleasure, bequeath the same, and although they do not dispose of the land itself by public sale it is very well understood that the premises thereon… are sold, that the good quality of the land is paid for, and becomes the only object of the purchase.[101]

The two forms of landownership acted much the same in practice, especially when, in the later years of the Company's rule, loan farm holders were given opportunities to convert their existing loan farms to freehold properties.[102]

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[97] Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," 149-150.

[98] Loan tenure was only sometimes recorded with a surveyor's diagram. Moreover, there are gaps in the original 1730s documentation. Loan farm application records from 1687 to 1793 are transcribed from the original Archives of the Receiver of Land Revenue records housed in the Cape Archives and can be found in Robert Shell's *Changing Hands* Database (CA, RLR 1 – 38, Licenses, October 1687 – 1748; cited in Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*).

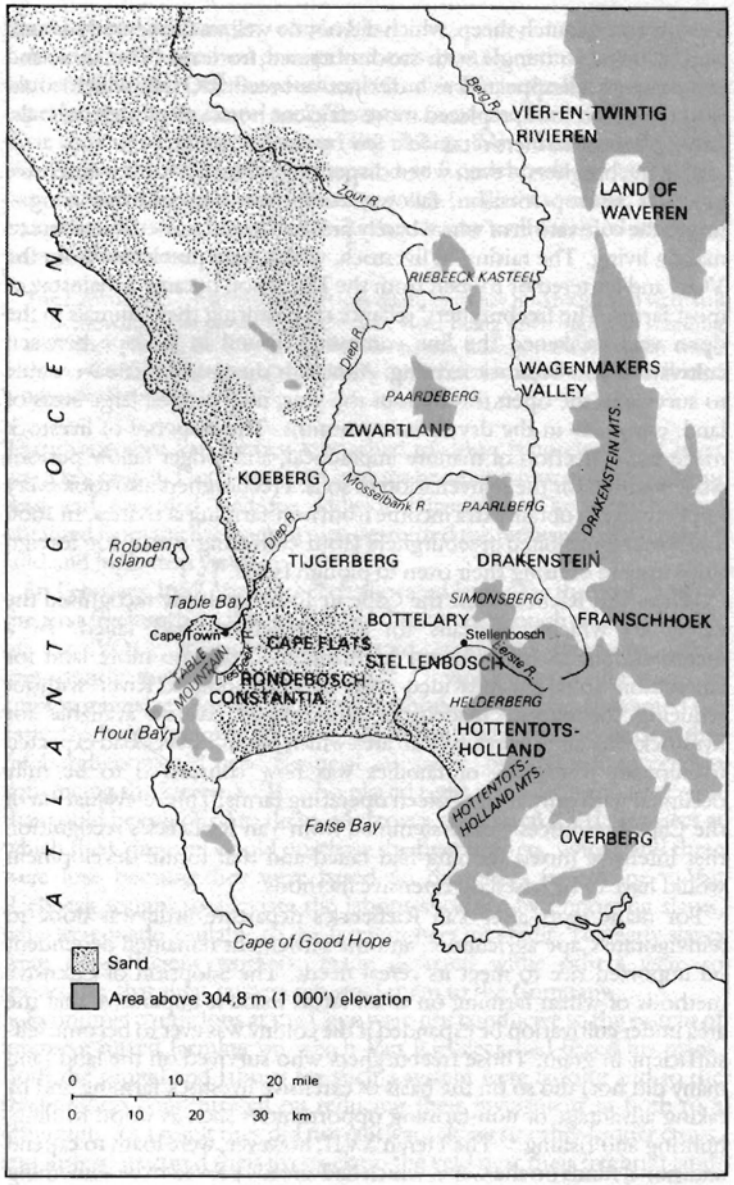
[99] Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*.

[100] Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," 159.

[101] M.C. Gie, "Letter from M.C. Gie, Esqre. to Deputy Secretary Bird," dated November 23, 1810, in *Records of the Cape Colony*, edited by George McCall Theal (London: Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1900), 7: 431.

[102] Botha, "Early Cape Land Tenure," 159.

Figure 4: The southwestern Cape, c.1710.[103]



The main differences between these two types of land tenure were the geographic areas in which they predominated, the length of time these properties were held, the ways in which the land was put to use, and the labor in use on them. Freehold farms were land grants held in perpetuity and generally given out in the Cape Town area, specifically in the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts, usually within fifty miles of Cape Town itself

[103] Copied from Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 72.

(see Figure 4). Because freehold farms had originally been granted to settlers to provide them with land on which to produce crops used to support the colony and passing ships, the majority of this population engaged in the cultivation of wheat and grapes, raising only limited numbers of sheep and cattle.[104] These farms, therefore, required that they were close enough to Cape Town so as to allow easy trade with its markets. Additionally, landholders had to hold these farms in perpetuity so that they could develop the land for the benefit of agricultural production. Growing grapes for wine, for example, took a minimum of three years, requiring that a farmer own his or her property for at least that long.[105]

Compared to freehold systems of land tenure, loan farm holdings tended to be located further from Cape Town and be held for shorter periods of time.[106] Freehold farm grants had been discontinued in 1717 because of over-population and over-production of food stuffs.[107] The VOC saw that the utility of arable farming was gradually declining and so ended the means of obtaining freehold farms on which to grow crops.[108] After 1717, therefore, individuals who wished to hold land had to apply for loan farms, as this type of ownership was the only option available, had to obtain farms further from Cape Town, as these were the only lands left, and found that they had to turn to methods other than arable farming to support themselves, due to a lack of markets for crops. Moreover, property owners further from Cape Town had to abandon arable farming because of the long distances they would have had to travel in order to sell their

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[104] Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 66.

[105] Kevin Zraly, *Windows on the World Complete Wine Course* (New York: Sterling Publication Company, 1985), 19.

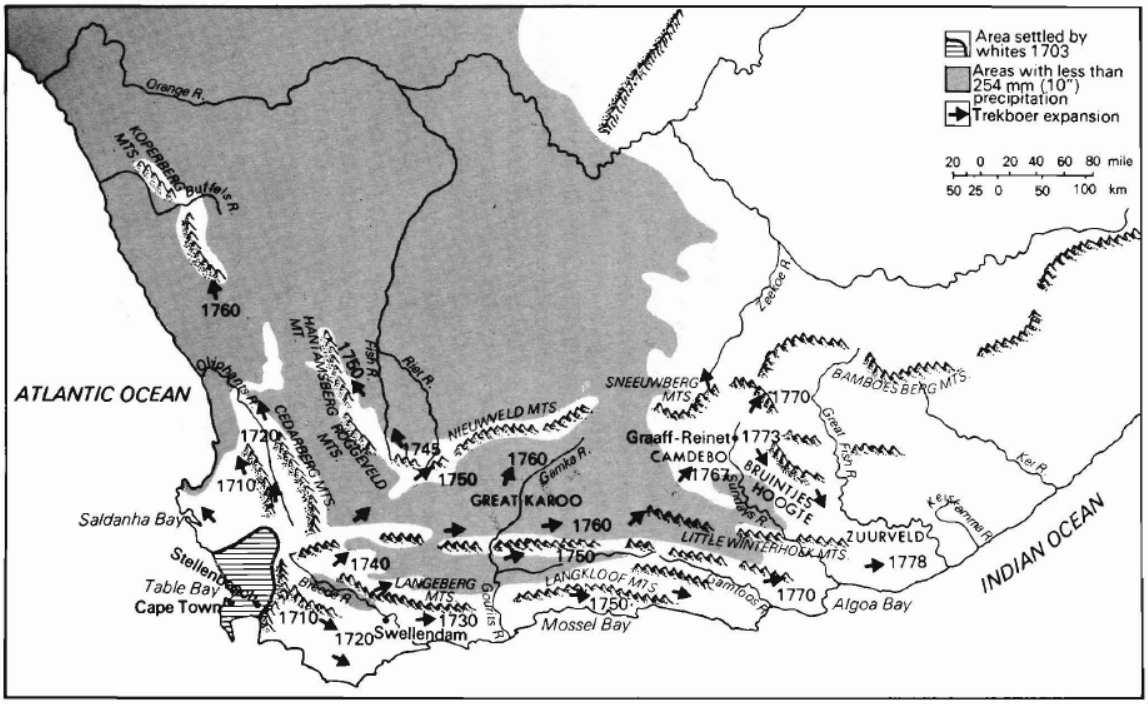
[106] Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*.

[107] CA, C 436, Letters Received, March 28 – October 17, 1731: July 15, 1717, 604; Guelke, *The Early European Settlement*, 119-123.

[108] Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 79.

crops. Settlers on the frontier turned to stock-raising because the market for cattle produce had not reached capacity and these goods could be transported more easily to the market in Cape Town. Hides, jerked beef, and other animal products did not spoil as easily as crops on the long overland journey.[109] Therefore, after 1717, settlers applied for farms that were on loan, were generally farther away from Cape Town (see Figure 5), and were on land where cattle-farming proved the most appropriate enterprise.

Figure 5: Expansion of the frontier, 1703 – 1780.[110]



As frontier farmers took up stock-farming, loan farms became a practical alternative to freehold farms in terms of the length of time for which they were held. Pastoralism on the frontier required little start-up capital because its main requirement was rough pasture. Further investment in the land brought rapidly diminishing returns. Expanding one's pasture area with any increase in stock proved more practical than using

[109] S. Daniel Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), 21, 37, 48, 58.

[110] Copied from Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 68.

the existing area more intensively.[111] This approach to the landscape, however, generally ruined the ecology of the area through over-grazing and soil compaction, a process frequently commented upon by both inhabitants of the frontier as well as visiting independent observers, such as Colonel Robert Gordon.[112] Because of the deterioration of the land associated with cattle farming, grazing required the shorter land grants characteristic of loan farms. Loan farms allowed cattle farmers to move to new pastures when they exhausted those in their possession, gradually expanding further out onto the frontier.

There has been considerable debate surrounding the nature and causes of frontier movement in southern Africa. On the topic of the expansion of the southern African frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leonard Guelke and S.D. Neumark have been particularly vocal. Guelke, for his part, reinvented the earlier arguments of George McCall Theal and Eric Walker, claiming that frontier expansion resulted from the high fertility of the European population at the Cape.[113] This high fertility led to overpopulation and land shortage, pushing younger family members out into the interior of the colony. Guelke emphasized, however, that frontier expansion was an act of last resort.[114]

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[111] Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 92.

[112] CA, VC 592, Diary of Colonel R.J. Gordon, 1777 – 1789: October 1771, 34. See also, CA, 1/SWM 1/1, Minutes of Landdrost and Heemrade, July – November 1747, November 1750 – December 1758: January 24, 1758, 424-447; CA, ACC 447, Swellengrebel Papers: October 31, 1776, 24; CA, C 310, Letters Received, September 2, 1677 – January 27, 1678: May 7, 1776, 78; CA, C 655, Personal Letters to and from the Cape Governors, January 6 – September 12, 1781: June 15, 1771, 65.

[113] See Appendix A. Leonard Guelke, "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (1976): 25-42. See also, George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), 3: 474, 3: 486; Eric A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (London: Longmans, 1957), 66, 76.

[114] Guelke, "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa," 39.

The argument that population increases led to frontier expansion is not without merit. Although for the first few years of the VOC's presence at the Cape the European population remained limited to only a few hundred individuals, it gradually expanded to some 15,000 by the end of the Company period in 1795.[115] With the change to private farm production to supply the needs of the colony in 1657, the Company began encouraging immigration that continued to account for the bulk of population increase in the seventeenth century.[116] Even when increase by birth became the most significant cause of population growth beginning in the eighteenth century, immigration to the Cape nonetheless remained a constant factor throughout the VOC period (1652 – 1795) and even long into the British period (1795 – 1803 and 1806 – 1910).[117] The settler population, including men, women, and children, totaled 125 in 1670, 788 in 1690, 1,693 in 1711, 2,540 in 1730, and approximately 20,000 in 1798.[118] The number of Company officials, who were for the most part men, also grew fairly large, totaling 120 in 1660, 545 in 1700, 1,016 in 1732, and 2,000 in 1795.[119] Population increase was clearly a significant factor and likely influenced the expansion of the frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[120]

S.D. Neumark, an economic historian writing in 1957, had argued against Theal, claiming that population increase did not completely explain the expansion of the

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[115] Schutte, "Company and colonists at the Cape," 298.

[116] See Appendix C.

[117] Guelke, "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa," 67; Schutte, "Company and colonists at the Cape," 298; Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795*, 3: 393.

[118] See Appendix A; Elphick and Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape," 524.

[119] See Appendix A.

[120] Guelke estimated that the number of independent stockholders totaled twenty-five (compared to 260 agricultural producers) in 1716, 225 in 1746, and 600 in 1770, based on the number of individuals not engaged in arable farming who owned at least fifty sheep and twenty cattle in the census records for these years (Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 84-85; see also, NA, VOC 4075, 1715 – 1716; NA, VOC 4166, 1745 – 1746; NA, VOC 4262, 1770 – 1771).

frontier. Rather, he made the case that attractive financial opportunities, such as stock farming and trade with indigenous people in the interior, drew rural settlers further away from Cape Town.[121] Neumark pointed out that frontier settlers moved away from Cape Town to avoid Company-controlled crop prices and the limits these placed on arable farm earnings in the districts closer to Cape Town.[122] Settlers moved towards the frontier in order to acquire inexpensive loan farms, or seemingly free land, and maintain a cattle-farming economy through which they provided for their own needs and produced goods for market, including butter, fat, tallow, hides, skins, hoofs, and horns, as well as wild animal products, such as venison, jerked beef, skins, ivory, hippo fat, ostrich feathers, and ostrich eggs.[123]

Despite their apparent independence, frontier settlers were a part of an exchange economy, maintaining close ties with the outside world, both in Cape Town and with indigenous peoples further into the interior.[124] Frontier settlers traded with Cape Town for commodities such as tea, sugar, clothes, guns, gunpowder, and iron, although extensive trade proved impractical due to the great distance between the frontier and town. Frontier settlers also participated in complex trade relations with indigenous people related to fishing, trapping, hunting, and lumbering.[125] Neumark emphasized the connectedness of frontier settlers to the world around them through trade, rather than the isolationism and ostracism associated with Guelke's version of frontier expansion.

Robert Shell, however, saw these arguments as two sides to the same coin. The push and pull factors associated with frontier expansion were not mutually exclusive.

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[121] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 17, 19.
[122] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 23, 34, 35.
[123] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 21, 37, 48, 58.
[124] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 4.
[125] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 173-174.

Shell argued that the increased population and demographic pressure associated with frontier expansion was not simply the result of high fertility at the Cape. Instead, he made the case that continued immigration to the Cape throughout this period contributed greatly to this frontier expansion.[126] The nature of the inheritance system at the Cape, which allowed women to inherit as frequently as men, provided immigrant men with the opportunity to settle at the Cape and obtain property and standing through marriage. This system of inheritance also favored women, allowing a few, such as the Verwey family, to be able to become major landholders in their own right.[127] Frontier expansion resulted

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[126] See Appendix C. Robert C.-H. Shell, "Immigration: The Forgotten Factor in Cape Colonial Frontier Expansion, 1658-1817," *Safundi* 6, no. 2 (April 2005): 1.

[127] The Verweys comprised what Robert Shell described as a "matrilineal frontier dynasty" because mother and two daughters all owned land at Tijgerberg after the deaths of their husbands (Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*). Catharina Ganzevanger's husband, Gysbert Verwey, died in approximately 1677, daughter Beatrix Verwey's husband died in 1701, and daughter Aletta Verwey's husband died in 1705, at which point the triumvirate of widows was complete (Christo van Rensburg, *Yet Another Family Website*, July 7, 2008, http://www.montxsuz.ca/familie/genealogy/288.htm (accessed April 12, 2009); CA, MOOC 8/1.65, Hendrick Cornelisz, June 30, 1701, in *Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope; MOOC 8 series, volumes 1-4*, CD-ROM by TEPC Transcription Project (Cape Town: TEPC Transcription Project, 2005); CA, MOOC 8/2.2, Ocker Kornelisz Olivier, July 15, 1705, in *Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope; MOOC 8 series, volumes 1-4*, CD-ROM by TEPC Transcription Project (Cape Town: TEPC Transcription Project, 2005)). In 1705, Aletta Verwey was forty-nine years old, Beatrix Verwey was forty-eight, and Catharina Ganzevanger was seventy-five.

Although no longer young women, these widows continued to amass wealth. Catherina Ganzevanger proved to be such a successful farmer that she was known as "Tryntje de Boerin" (Tryntje, the farmer), and in her will left behind at least one farm and seven slaves (CA, MOOC 8/3.15, Trijntje Theunisz Gansevanger, September 13, 1715, in *Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope; MOOC 8 series, volumes 1-4*, CD-ROM by TEPC Transcription Project (Cape Town: TEPC Transcription Project, 2005); Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*). She brewed beer and frequently engaged in illegal trade with Khoisan (Christo van Rensburg, *Yet Another Family Website*, July 7, 2008, http://www.montxsuz.ca/familie/genealogy/288.htm (accessed April 12, 2009); Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*; W.J. de Kock, *Dictionary of South African Biography* (Pretoria: Nasional Boekhandel Bpk. for National Council for Social Research, Department of Higher Education, 1968), 4: 649). Her wealth gave her the freedom to act in ways that other women at the Cape could not; she was even fined twelve rixdollars on November 18, 1671 for insulting the Court of Justice (CA, C 11, Resolutions, May 3 – November 23, 1677: November 23, 1677, 97-104). On December 31, 1720, Aletta petitioned the Council of Justice, stating that she had held a loan farm in the Tijgerberg area for forty years and that she now wished to have it converted to freehold (H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten (Memorials) 1715-1806* (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1905), 4: 1244). By the time of her death in 1723, Aletta had acquired three farms and twelve slaves (CA, MOOC 8/4.68, Aletta Verweij, May 14, 1721, in *Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope; MOOC 8 series, volumes 1-4*, CD-ROM by TEPC Transcription Project (Cape Town: TEPC Transcription Project, 2005)). As for Beatrix Verwey, the twenty-seven times she applied for a loan farm indicates that she was fairly wealthy when she died (she possessed ten hunting licenses, fifteen new applications, two renewals, see passim: CA,

from several push, pull, and societal factors at the Cape, such as VOC regulation, the forms of land tenure available, proximity to markers, opportunities on the frontier, systems of inheritance, as well as population increase.

The expanding frontier not only affected land holding practices, but influenced frontier settler labor practices as well. Between 1679 and 1717 when the VOC still granted freehold farms, the autonomy of Khoisan had not deteriorated to the point that Khoisan individuals felt compelled to work on settler farms and many completely avoided employment with Europeans.[128] Settlers on freehold farms engaged in agriculture instead used the only sources of labor available to them, hired European employees and coerced slaves.[129] Employed white labor was quite expensive, however, so settlers only used such labor when slave labor was insufficient. Slave labor proved ideal given the needs of settlers on farms close to Cape Town.[130] Although at first slow in coming and insufficient in the opinions of settlers throughout the Dutch colonial

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RLR 1, Licenses: Hunting and Grazing, October 1687 – October 1712; CA, RLR 2 – 3, Licenses: Grazing, August 1712 – August 1718. See also, Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*). She also appears twice on the official VOC map of the interior, revealing her notoriety and influence (Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*). Women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not mere wilting proteas. The story of the Verwey family illustrates the ability of women to be substantial landowners in the Cape Colony in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[128] Christoffel Langhansz noted in 1694 that Khoisan frequently gave the excuse, "'Hollaender arbeitem sterbem dem Hottentot sterbem is storbem krup der als ock Hollaender mann,'" meaning "'The Dutch work and toil but not the Hottentots, and at last both die and one is buried in the earth like the other'" (Langhansz (1694), in *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702*, 407).

[129] Settlers could, however, employ Khoisan servants for a hired wage as they could European servants, but this was limited mainly to small tasks, such as "fetching wood and water,… milking cows and herding young calves," managing livestock and producing animal by-products, domestic work, and serving as guides and interpreters (Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28-29; "Resolution of Council," dated October 21, 1653, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 36.

[130] By 1690, settlers in the colony owned more slaves than the Company itself. See Appendix A; "Dispatch from Chamber, Amsterdam," April 16, 1658, in *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Letters and Documents Received, 1649-1662*, edited by H.C.V. Leibbrandt (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1896), 2: 50-56.

period, slaves were a relatively affordable investment and could generally be kept from running away.[131]

On loan farms, which had been granted to settlers on the frontier after 1717, slavery proved untenable for several reasons. Firstly, the frontier provided many spaces not controlled by European settlers where slaves could escape to their freedom, thus depriving frontier settlers of their workforce and investment. Secondly, pastoral settlers had less money to invest in slaves, which required "considerable capital," according to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson in 1806.[132] This poverty resulted both from the lower

[131] Within the first month Van Riebeeck noted in his journal that, "Not one thousandth part of the suitable earth and valleys, however, could be ploughed or sown by the few men we have, and a large number of Chinese or other industrious people or families would be required here and could in due course produce enough food" (Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, April 29, 1652, 1: 36). In response to Van Riebeeck's continued request for slaves, the Directors of the VOC responded in 1665 that "We can easily conceive that slaves are very necessary to private farmers, and that, without slaves, they can scarcely maintain themselves, from the expense of free servants, and the great number of them required; we shall not fail to fall upon some mode of supplying you to some extent…" but still slaves were not quick in coming ("Extracts of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to the Commander and Council Cape of Good Hope, &c.," dated November 7, 1665, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 286). In 1666, Commander Z. Wagenaar (the Commander of the Cape from May 6, 1662 to September 27, 1666) again mentioned the need for slaves ("Extracts of a Memorandum left by Commander Z. Wagenaar, by order of the Directors, for the information of his successor, Mr. C. Van Quaelbergen, &c.," dated September 24, 1666, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 293). Even in 1678, Governor Bax was forced to write the Company Directors, noting that, "We were much pleased to observe that your Honors understand how necessary it is to have slaves here…. We trust henceforth to procure a sufficient number for your relief, and that of the inhabitants, as they will much diminish the expense, and consequently render bread and corn plentiful and cheap…" ("Extracts of Despatch from Governor Bax and Council to Chamber XVII," dated May 18, 1678, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 363).

Guelke has estimated that between 1731 and 1780, slaves formed between thirteen and seventeen percent of the total value of arable farms in the colony (Guelke, *The Early European Settlement*, 277).

In 1658, before Europeans had gained control of Cape Town, slave runaways had been such a problem that, "The fiscal and sergeant were sent round to all the free men – to warn them, as had been done before, that they must keep their slaves in good order, and not make them sulky (*stuggerig*) by constantly beating, punishing, or scolding them, so that no more of them might desert, &c." ("Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck," dated June 19, 1658, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 127).

[132] CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by

profits associated with stock-farming and the initial poverty of individuals who became frontier cattle farmers.[133] Thirdly, the cattle economy that developed on the frontier required an itinerant workforce with a knowledge of both the South African landscape and pastoralism that slaves frequently lacked. Khoisan labor provided a practical alternative to slavery on the frontier.

By the time of the expansion of the frontier and the beginning of stock farming in the areas furthest from Cape Town, the position of Khoisan had deteriorated to the point at which they began to seek employment with European settlers. According to Captain Robert Percival in 1804, the "Hottentot is now become a creature sunk in the most abject slavery, and the most hopeless despair."[134] The gradual disintegration of Khoisan communities provided frontier settlers with a cheap labor force. Khoisan accepted payment in the form of room and board, with the addition of a small proportion of the livestock they looked after.[135] According to Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple writing in 1787, Khoisan were "vastly useful to the Dutch, [as they] drive their wagons, till their ground and tend their Flocks."[136] Khoisan were familiar both with stock-farming and with the local landscape, able to direct frontier settlers to reliable water and

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Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 71.

[133] The poverty of stock-farmers relative to arable farmers can be seen in the average value of the estates of the two types of farms. From 1731 to 1742, the average value of estates left by frontier settlers was 3,760 guilders, 3,500 guilders from 1751 to 1762, and 2,850 guilders from 1771 to 1780. This compares to 9,300 guilders as the average value of estates left by arable farmers from 1731 to 1742, 10,430 guilders from 1751 to 1762, and 24,330 guilders from 1771 to 1780 (CA, MOOC 8/5 – 8/17, Inventories 1727 – 1780; CA, 1/STB 18/30 – 1/STB 18/34, Inventories, 1687 – 1847; both cited in Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 94).

[134] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 85.

[135] For a discussion on Khoisan wages, see Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 30.

[136] CA, A455 14, Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple has excellent knowledge of the Cape and conditions at Swellendam, and description of the industries of the people of Swellendam, circa. 1787, 19.

grazing areas.[137] The existence of this Khoisan workforce made it unnecessary for frontier settlers to invest much in slaves.

In the 1760s and 1770s, employed Khoisan workers were joined by those Khoisan captured on commandos.[138] By this time, the frontier had "closed" to the degree necessary for frontier settlers to be able to control involuntary labor.[139] While earlier in the century slavery had been untenable on the frontier because of the risk that slaves might run away, by the 1760s and 1770s, the likelihood that Khoisan captives would successfully flee their masters had decreased due to the threat of violence and the dwindling number of places to flee. Even if Khoisan indentured servants did escape, their labor came only at the expense of the energy necessary to form a commando, rather than the monetary capital that was necessary to purchase slaves.

The decline of Khoisan to a servile underclass resulted from both direct and indirect colonial processes. Before European settlement in 1652, Khoisan were

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[137] Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier*, 175-176.

[138] The OED defines a commando as a "party commanded or called out for military purposes; an expedition or raid: a word applied in South Africa to quasi-military expeditions of… the Dutch Boers… against the natives" ("commando, n," *OED Online*, March 2009, Oxford University Press, http://dictionary.oed.com/ (accessed April 24, 2009)). One farmer, who had sent a Khoisan servant to take his place on a commando, wrote of Bushmen children, "I have desired my Hottentot to catch a little one for me, and I beg that if he gets one, he may be allowed to keep it, and that you will see that the Hottentot has victuals. –Dirk Koetse" ("Report of Field Corporal A.P. Burger," dated August 23, 1780, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 2: 104, see footnote).

[139] The closing of the frontier was a concept first put forth by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893. Turner stated that in the North American case, the frontier existed when there were less than two people per square mile (Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report ... for the Year 1893,* 1894: 198). In 1981, Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson argued that, while frontiers must begin and end, there could never be a clear definition to designate the "close" of a frontier. Lamar and Thompson claimed that the simplest indicator of the closing of the frontier was a political event in which one group succeeded in establishing political control over the other. Nonetheless, they described five possible scenarios for the closing of the frontier: the extermination of indigenous people by intruders, the expulsion of indigenous people, the subjugation and incorporation of indigenous people, the incorporation of intruders into the indigenous society, and their arrival at a standoff. They also maintained that this was usually a gradual process, but that relations did not become static simply because one group established control over another. This made it difficult to define the "close" of a frontier in actuality (Howard Roberts Lamar and Leonard Monteath Thompson, *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 7-8).

organized into many individual transhumant polities or groups, each with its own decentralized political structure and ancestral lands over which the group migrated seasonally.[140] With European settlement in 1652 and settler expansion beginning in 1657, however, Khoisan found it increasingly difficult to sustain themselves. Khoisan lost out militarily, economically, and politically to European settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, experiencing impoverishment, disease, and loss of autonomy.[141]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Khoisan had been willing to barter livestock in large numbers, despite their substantial value, because Europeans offered tobacco, copper, and iron, which were difficult for Khoisan to obtain except by trade with interior peoples.[142] The VOC established its refreshment station in 1652 in part to regularize the utility that the Cape as a stopover had always provided. Yet, due to an increase in visitors to the Cape beginning in 1590 when Dutch and English ships first began to stop at the Cape regularly, the Khoisan market for tobacco, copper, and iron soon became sated while the European market for livestock only grew.[143] Therefore, by the time the VOC settled the Cape in 1652, Company officials found it very difficult to obtain cattle. While this situation tried the patience of the VOC, it recognized the autonomy of Khoisan polities because the Company was weak in its early days and still

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[140] Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 805.

[141] Carel Frederik Brink, Johannes Tobias Rhenius, and E.E. Mossop, *The Journals of Brink and Rhenius, Being the Journal of Carel Frederik Brink of the Journey into Great Namaqualand (1761-2) Made by Captain Hendrik Hop and the Journal of Ensign Johannes Tobias Rhenius (1724)* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1947), xii.

[142] For the first cattle the Dutch bartered from Khoisan, they paid "3 small plates of copper and 3 pieces of ½ fathom copper wire for a cow and a young calf" (Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, April 13, 1652, 1: 31). See also, Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 115-119; Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, January 14, 1653, 1: 128-129.

[143] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 10; MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, 21.

held out hope that Khoisan might, in time, once again be willing to trade away their livestock.[144]

In the mid-1670s, however, the Company's commitment to Khoisan independence began to lessen, especially after the First Dutch-Khoikhoi War (May 1659 – April 1660) and the expansion of settlers in to the areas surrounding Cape Town.[145] As settlers moved out into Khoisan lands, the VOC began asserting its right to preside over disputes involving Khoisan. In 1672 the Company established its right over Khoisan who did not answer to a "chief" as well as those who entered into a dispute with a European or a slave.[146] The Second and Third Dutch-Khoikhoi Wars (1673, 1674 – 1677) further affected the autonomy of Khoisan groups, as their defeat at the hands of Europeans resulted in the humiliation of the most resistant of Khoisan chiefs.[147] Also, as a result of these wars, in 1676 and 1677, the VOC asserted its right over disputes between all Khoisan.[148] Khoisan military and legal losses in the face of European advancement, however, were only the beginning.

In engaging in hostilities with Khoisan, Europeans aimed at obtaining greater supplies of livestock and land on which to farm. While the loss of land was not, at first, too disastrous, the loss of cattle was more damaging. As pastoralists, Khoisan had never specifically valued land. They did, however, recognize its importance to their pastoral activities and anxiously watched as settlers began moving further into the interior of

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[144] Jan van Riebeeck, "Extract of Proclamation," dated April 9, 1652, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 10-11.

[145] Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, May 5, 1659, 3: 36-50, April 5 and 6, 1660, 3: 195-197, April 27, 1660, 3: 204-205.

[146] These cases established VOC jurisdiction over Khoisan, but did not define their position in law. NA, VOC 4009, 1672 – 1673.

[147] NA, VOC 4009, 1672 – 1673; NA, VOC 4010, 1673 – 1674; NA, VOC 4011, 1674 – 1675.

[148] NA, VOC 4006, 1670 – 1671; NA, VOC 4012, 1676 – 1677.

southern Africa.[149] Yet, the loss of cattle was even more detrimental to Khoisan autonomy because Khoisan society judged wealth according to the size of one's herds. Khoisan jealously guarded their cattle, only trading away old and sick stock, if they traded any away at all, given that Europeans could not offer them valuable items in return.[150] Company officials grew increasingly annoyed at the hesitancy of Khoisan to trade away their cattle and therefore turned to pillaging Khoisan herds by force. Between 1652 and 1699, the Company acquired 15,999 cattle and 36,636 sheep from Khoisan.[151] With the loss of its herds, Khoisan society became impoverished and disorganized. Without cattle, Khoisan big men could not retain supporters and potential followers. Instead, Khoisan began to hire themselves out to settlers in the hope of being able to survive and regain some of their stock.[152] By 1700, the Company had subordinated Khoisan chiefs through war, brought Khoisan under its legal system, allowed frontier settler expansion into Khoisan pastures, and impoverished Khoisan herds.[153]

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[149] As discussed in Van Riebeeck's journal on April 6, 1660, one of the reasons for the First Dutch-Khoikhoi War (May 1659 - April 1660) was that Khoisan objected to Europeans "taking every day… more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle. They also asked, whether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in the same manner…. They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture…." ("Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck," dated April 6, 1660, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 205). See also, Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, January 18, 1660, 3: 176.

[150] Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, November 16, 1658, 2: 378, January 20, 1659, 3: 5.

[151] These numbers were compiled by Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe from the Governors' Journals of the period. However, the actual numbers were probably higher. See Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 19.

[152] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 19-20.

[153] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 18. Moreover, when the Company finally relaxed its control over the settlers in the colony in 1700, the practice of taking Khoisan cattle soon became so well-established that, according to I.D. Colvin in 1909, Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel's attempt to curb its practice resulted in his overthrow in 1707 (cited in Adam Tas, Leo Fouché, and A.J. Böeseken, *The Diary of Adam Tas 1705-1706* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971), 365).

Another major process that negatively affected Khoisan society was disease. In 1713, a catastrophic smallpox epidemic struck the Cape.[154] Introduced by way of laundry from a passing vessel, the Company's slaves were the first to be affected, with almost 200 out of 570 slaves dying within six months.[155] From the slave population, disease spread to Europeans and Khoisan. Although many Europeans were affected, because of a lack of immunity, Khoisan were the hardest hit and tended to die in the largest numbers. Smallpox spread rapidly through Khoisan groups and eventually reached far into the interior.[156] This epidemic devastated Khoisan to such a degree that, in 1714, a group of Khoisan reported that as many as ninety percent of their population had died.[157]

After 1713, Khoisan society in the southwestern Cape, which had previously been in decline due to economic losses, disintegrated rapidly, transforming Khoisan political culture as well. Societal failure ultimately rested on the frustration of Khoisan political structures in the face of European advancement. Before European colonization, a Khoisan polity in decline had four options: its members could migrate to a new region, revert to a transient hunting way of life similar to that of San people, offer to herd for a wealthy chief thereby regaining cattle in payment, or could try to recover cattle and position through war.[158] In the colonial period, with the erosion of political unity through the loss of wealth, the Cape Colony itself acted the part of the "wealthy chief," drawing

[154] CA, LM 18, Letters Received by the Council of Policy, 1709 – 1718, 262-263.
[155] NA, VOC 4070, 1713 – 1714; Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795*, 3: 475.
[156] Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795*, 3: 477.
[157] NA, VOC 4072, 1714 – 1715.
[158] Elphick, "The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations," 279-280.

in Khoisan as laborers, while simultaneously restricting their mobility and preventing military aggrandizement.[159]

Although Khoisan were at first able to remain independent of the colony's labor needs, as their economic and political position declined, they were gradually incorporated into the Cape labor system to such a degree that many settlers began to think of them as a permanent laboring class.[160] As claimed by Captain Robert Percival of in 1804,

> Although by an ancient law at the Cape, the Hottentots were not to be accounted slaves, but were to be entertained as hired servants in the service of the Dutch, yet the latter have always behaved to them in such a manner, as if they were resolved to eradicate every feeling of humanity out to the breast of these unfortunate people.[161]

Throughout the eighteenth century, European farmers, who needed great amounts of labor to run their farms and could not employ enough white labor, turned to slavery and Khoisan labor to supply their needs.[162] Although slaves, as property of either the VOC or private citizens, provided the backbone of the labor force during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, because many farmers, particularly pastoralists, could not afford slaves, Khoisan became an attractive alternative, made only more appealing because of their experience with domesticated animals.[163] As Khoisan society declined, the availability of Khoisan labor made it unnecessary for frontier settlers to invest much in slaves in the areas furthest away from Cape Town.[164]

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[159] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 19-20.

[160] Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 806.

[161] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 82.

[162] According to Captain Robert Percival in 1804, "The Dutch [kept] no European or white servants whatever," although they did employ knechts, or overseers, who aspired to become part of the landholding class (Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 283). See also, Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28.

[163] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 137; De Kock, *Those in Bondage*, 13; Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28; Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 36; Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795*, 3: 389.

[164] Guelke, "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa," 37.

Although many Khoisan had therefore already become dependent upon Europeans by 1700, between 1700 and 1738, contact between Europeans and still-independent Khoisan groups deteriorated into war.[165] According to Robert Percival,

> the colonists of this district were continually at war with the unfortunate Hottentots and Caffrees, and behaved with great cruelty towards them. By successive encroachments they drove them out of their habitations, and from one part to another, till they at length forced them back into the wild uncultivated parts.[166]

The position of Khoisan diminished even further as frontier settlers moved out from Cape Town and began encountering Khoisan far from the control of the colony. Eastward expanding frontier settlers encountered Hessequa, Gouriqua, Attaqua, and Inqua peoples, as well as those Khoisan who had fled earlier settler encroachment.[167] At the same time, northward moving settlers began encountering Khoisan groups which they called "Hottentots," "Bushmen," and "Bushmen-Hottentots" almost interchangeably.[168] These encounters frequently degenerated into hostilities.

The "Bushmen War" of 1738 – 1739 began when several Khoisan indentured servants, who had participated in one of the frontier settlers' illegal barter and raiding expeditions to the Great and Little Nama, were cheated of their share of the spoils. These Khoisan attacked their former employers and were soon joined by other Khoisan eager to capture stock and regain their former lands. The European response proved much more violent than it had been in earlier confrontations. Frontier settlers in areas under attack were subject to mandatory service in a commando that attacked all Khoisan communities

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[165] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 24-26.
[166] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 200.
[167] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 24.
[168] NA, VOC 4141, 1739 – 1740. This confusion in terminology contributes to confusion in the historical record. Some of these groups were originally San groups unrelated to Khoikhoi, while others were Khoikhoi without cattle. For more information on the expansion of this frontier, see Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 31-38.

in the area, stealing livestock, killing, and taking captives.[169] This violence set the precedent for later "Bushmen wars" which would take place in 1770s. In 1774, settlers sent out a "General Commando" of 250 men

> against the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who are daily proceeding in murder and robbery, in order to attack those robbers in their dens and hiding places, and to reduce them either to a permanent state of peace and quiet, or otherwise, in case of necessity, entirely to destroy them, in order, by this means, again to re-establish and thereafter to maintain in the peaceful possession of their abandoned farms, our inhabitants (the settlers)…[170]

This General Commando waged war against all of the Khoisan in the Sneeuwberg and Camdebo regions, killing 503 Khoisan in 1774 alone.[171]

The warfare of the eighteenth century not only allowed settlers to expand into lands previously held by Khoisan groups, but also added additional labor to the colony in the form of captured Khoisan women and children.[172] When commandos went out against supposed Khoisan bandits, the men were usually shot and the women and children were brought back to work as indentured servants on frontier settlers' farms.[173] This action was taken on the grounds that it would be wrong to murder women and children for the crimes of their men or to leave them behind to die, but that it would also be unwise to leave them behind to be cared for by relatives who would no doubt

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[169] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 26.

[170] More than half of this commando was comprised of Khoisan and mixed-race individuals ("Instructions, -according to which the newly-appointed Field commandant Godlieb Rudolph Opperman shall have to regulate his conduct upon the Expedition about to attack the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who still continue to commit murder and robbery," dated April 19, 1774, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 3: 28).

[171] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 27.

[172] For a discussion of the division of captured Khoisan "Bushmen" children between the members of the commando, see "Report of Field Sergeant Charl Marais," dated September 2, 1779, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 2: 81.

[173] Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 73.

encourage them to follow a larcenous path.[174] Contemporaries suggested, however, that the capture of Khoisan children to act as servants may even have been the intended target of warfare on the frontier.[175] Because of the deterioration of the position of Khoisan and the strengthening of settler power, Khoisan were increasingly employed or captured by frontier settlers as a substitution for slave labor.

The decline and virtual enslavement of an indigenous people is a familiar story in many colonial histories. However, at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Khoisan never became slaves because settlers recognized a difference in the statuses of slaves and Khoisan indentured servants. Khoisan were not considered slaves largely because a slave population already existed in Cape society. Slaves had been imported from other parts of Africa and Asia beginning in the 1650s.[176] Khoisan were never, however, simply incorporated into the slave population either initially or after the position of Khoisan had declined because contemporaries distinguished between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants based on differences in law, inheritance, acquisition, transferability, violence, and those distinctions maintained by Khoisan themselves.[177]

The laws and rules which governed coerced labor at the Cape provided the main distinction between slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude. Because of the VOC's

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[174] Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795*, 4: 120.

[175] John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; Illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes, Including Journals of the Author's Travels in the Interior, Together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 2: 265-266.

[176] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 121.

[177] The differences between Khoisan indentured servants and slaves did not necessarily include a racial difference. The slave population consisted of many diverse elements, both Asian and African. Khoisan populations were also very complex, comprising of both Khoikhoi and San peoples. Additionally, through miscegenation, both slave and Khoisan populations became increasingly ethnically diverse as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed. The term slave was used to designate an individual with a specific legal status. Khoisan, on the other hand, designated a group of people with common cultural and ethnic roots, but not necessarily a discrete society with clear bounds. Although the terms used in this paper suggest race was important, it was not the main determinant for slave or Khoisan indentured servant status.

experiences in Asia, ideas about slavery came to the Cape fully developed with laws for the institution already in place.[178] Even when settlers were granted permission to purchase slaves, because the Company had initially established slavery at the Cape and closely monitored settler ownership of slaves thereafter, the VOC set the standard for the way slavery functioned in the colony. Cape slaves were held as property in the same way as slaves in Batavia and throughout the VOC Empire, even when they were owned by settlers at the Cape and not by the Company itself. According to Robert Shell, a slave could be sold from one free person to another according to the owner's prerogative, without consultation of the slave. Until 1823, slaves could not marry in Christian churches and had limited choice over their sexual partners. While they were denied many family-centered rights, slaves at the Cape could, however, still inherit, bear witness, and earn money.[179] Every aspect of a Cape slave's life fell under some legal regulation established by the VOC at an international level.

Slavery as a firmly established institution enshrined in VOC law differed greatly from the legal status of Khoisan in the colony. The Company never specified a list of laws that applied only to Khoisan populations, as it did for whites and slaves.[180] The VOC did, however, institute a series of regulations protecting Khoisan people. Articulated by Leendert Janz. N. Proot in 1649,

> The said Fort then, being provided with a good commander, who would treat the natives kindly, and pay them thankfully for all that was bought of them,... we would not have the slightest cause to fear them, but in time they would learn the Dutch language, and even the natives of the Bay of

[178] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 110; Elphick and Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape," 529.
[179] Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxiii.
[180] Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 43.

> Saldania (Khoisan), and of the interior, might through them be brought to some kind of intercourse.[181]

The VOC realized the impracticality of making enemies of local peoples, especially in the early stages of settlement. Kindness and fairness were seen as ways to domesticate indigenous inhabitants so that they might be more easily governed. This tactic had worked well for the Company in Asia where local people were ruled indirectly well into the nineteenth century.[182]

Therefore, when Van Riebeeck first established a fort at the Cape of Good Hope, the VOC expressly told him to ensure that settlers did not abuse Khoisan so that the Company might maintain good relations with the indigenous population. Van Riebeeck passed on this directive to Europeans at the Cape in April of 1652, stating that

> all kindness and friendship [should] be shown to [the Khoisan], in order that by our amicable conduct they may become inclined to an intercourse with us, so that by this means we may have the greater supply of all kinds of cattle, and suffer the less molestation from them.[183]

Khoisan were neither to be conquered nor enslaved. Instead, their independence was to be respected. The Company took great care that its employees and its subjects, the settlers at the Cape, did not incite indigenous peoples. Van Riebeeck proclaimed in 1652 that

> whoever ill uses, beats, or pushes, any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with 50 lashes, that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and the object of our employers.[184]

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[181] Proot, "Remonstrance," dated July 26, 1649, 1: 4.

[182] Robert Ross, *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 167.

[183] Van Riebeeck, "Extract of Proclamation," dated April 9, 1652, 1: 10.

[184] Van Riebeeck, "Extract of Proclamation," dated April 9, 1652, 1: 11.

According to Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, the VOC was quite successful in preventing free settlers from brutalizing Khoisan until 1690.[185]

In addition to the safeguards put in place by the VOC, Khoisan independence was also maintained through the individual actions of Khoisan themselves. Many Khoisan at first refused to hire themselves out to settlers. A visitor to the Cape, Woodes Rogers, noted during his 1708 – 1711 trip that "the Hottentots, who are very numerous… love their Liberty and Ease so much, that they cannot be brought to work, even tho' they should starve."[186] Khoisan were a nomadic people for whom routine and sedentary life were not worth the luxury goods – rice, bread, tobacco, and alcohol – given in exchange.[187] In addition to outright refusal, Khoisan could feign illness or weakness to escape work. In May of 1653, Van Riebeeck noted in his journal that he and the other Company employees had "managed to get the same Hottentots as yesterday to the forest again, but they were useless, indicating to us that they were much too fatigued from the carrying they did yesterday."[188] These Khoisan used fatigue as an excuse for avoiding working for Europeans. They had been paid in advance for their work with the promise of additional pay afterwards, but then refused to complete the tasks they had been assigned. Khoisan valued their autonomy so much that they would not work for Europeans unless absolutely necessary.

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[185] Although the Company itself had waged wars upon Khoisan. See Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 19.

[186] Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World: First to the South-Seas, Thence to the East-Indies, and Homewards by the Cape of Good Hope. Begun in 1708, and Finish'd in 1711. Containing a Journal of All the Remarkable Transactions; Particularly, of the Taking of Puna and Guiaquil, of the Acapulco Ship, and Other Prizes; an Account of Alexander Selkirk's Living Alone Four Years and Four Months in an Island; and a Brief Description of Several Countries in Our Course Noted for Trade, Especially in the South-Sea. With Maps of All the Coast, from the Best Spanish Manuscript Draughts. And an Introduction Relating to the South-Sea Trade* (London: Printed for A. Bell and B. Lintot, 1712), 419.

[187] Elphick, *Kraal and Castle*, 176.

[188] Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, May 26, 27, 29, 1653, 1: 157.

Some Khoisan did occasionally take up employment with both urban and rural settlers in the early period before they had succumbed to colonialism. Early in the Dutch colonial period, however, this work remained only temporary or day labor.[189] According to Daniel Beeckman, who visited the Cape in 1714, Khoisan in the early eighteenth century had "a great love for Liberty, and an utter Aversion to Slavery: Neither [would] they hire themselves in your Service longer than from Morning to Night, for then they will be paid, and sleep Freemen, and no Hirelings."[190] While Khoisan might have needed to work in order to feed themselves and their families, they were not willing to do so at the expense of their freedom. Khoisan refused to work for settlers for an extended period of time, usually only taking up day labor, but not working and living on employers' farms as dependents of a master's household. Their labor was therefore quite similar to the labor of white hired workers. This refusal to work for settlers at first and then the attempted avoidance of a dependent relationship thereafter resulted from the priorities established by Khoisan themselves.[191]

In addition to limiting the labor they were willing to do, Khoisan actively defended their free status by distinguishing themselves from slaves. Seeing the powerlessness of slaves alongside whom they worked, Khoisan repeatedly emphasized their non-slave status, even to the point of turning runaway slaves over to Europeans.

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[189] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28-29; Jan van Riebeeck, "Resolution of Council," dated October 21, 1653, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 36.

[190] Daniel Beeckman, *A voyage to and from the island of Borneo, in the East-Indies. With a description of the said island: ... Together with the re-establishment of the English trade there, an. 1714, ... Also a description of the islands of Canary, Cape Verd, Java, Madura; of the Streights of Bally, the Cape of Good Hope, the Hottentots, the island of St. Helena, Ascension, &c. ... Illustrated with ... maps and cuts* (London: Printed for T. Warner and J. Batley, 1718), 180.

[191] For more on the difficulties Van Riebeeck had with regularizing Khoisan labor, see Van Riebeeck and Thom, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, August 17, 1655, 1: 336-337, November 24, 1661, 3: 439.

Van Riebeeck had noted in his journal on June 3, 1658 that, "Last night 5 of the Angola slaves deserted… on which, people were sent out in various directions, and several Hottentoos were induced to search for them, by promise of great rewards for finding them – they received beforehand some bread and tobacco."[192] Khoisan willingly turned over slaves to Europeans not only for the material rewards they received in compensation, but also for the distinction that came with being those that recovered slaves, rather than the slaves themselves.

As Khoisan status declined and poverty brought an increasing number of Khoisan into settler labor regimes, Khoisan were nonetheless able to maintain a distinction between themselves and slaves. If they were not paid the wages stated in their contract (even a verbal contract), Khoisan could and did seek the intervention of the Company to assist them in recouping their fair compensation.[193] Also, before 1775, when there were no legal regulations accompanying the servitude of Khoisan, these laborers could always threaten to abandon work at crucial moments, such as harvest, so as to increase their pay.[194] Even in cases where Khoisan had been forcibly indentured, they used "weapons of the weak" to resist the domination of settlers.[195] As late as 1806, according to Wilson,

> The wild and independent Hottentots called Bushmen, who now, scared at the toils of compulsive servitude and jealous of their freedom, prefer a precarious subsistence to the bread of bondage, and as life beset with peril

[192] "Extracts from the Journal of Jan van Riebeeck," dated June 3, 1658, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 127. For further examples, see CA, CJ 788, Criminal Sentences, 1750 – 1755: April van de Caab, 1752, 103-108; Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 44.

[193] NA, VOC 4266, 1771 – 1772; NA, VOC 4300, 1781 – 1782.

[194] Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 43.

[195] For a discussion on forms of resistance open to groups subject to severe and sometimes hegemonic subjugation, see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), xv-xxi.

> to one protracted by the selfish care of a master, would discriminate between voluntary industry and the task of slavery.[196]

Khoisan attempted, like slaves throughout the Atlantic world, to negotiate for more favorable working conditions, maintain some degree of economic independence through individual farming and stock-raising, work slowly and clumsily so as to lessen their usefulness, and flee harsh employers.[197] The legally free status of Khoisan indentured servants directly resulted from Company actions and law, but was also actively maintained by Khoisan themselves.

Khoisan indentured servitude and slavery also differed in the free or slave status one inherited from his or her mother. Early in the period, both freedom and slavery had been established as matriherital with the "children born of a slave woman, though got by a white man… [becoming] slaves" and the children of Khoisan mothers remaining free, regardless of their father.[198] As Khoisan economic and political independence began to too decline, Khoisan status fluctuated between a position of freedom and enslavement and so did Khoisan children's ability to inherit the free status of their mothers. According to Captain Robert Percival in 1804, "the original Hottentots are, it is true, considered by the laws as free men; but so many pretexts are found to entrench on this freedom, that it proves to be merely nominal."[199] Settlers did their best to reduce the

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[196] CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 24-25.

[197] For examples of ways in which bondsmen and women resisted coercion, see Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Knopf, 1956), 86-140.

[198] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 291. The term "matriherital" designates "a system of inheritance according to which the title to inherit passes through the mother's line" ("matriherital, adj," *OED Online*, March 2009, Oxford University Press, http://dictionary.oed.com/ (accessed April 3, 2009)). For a discussion on slave descent systems, see also, Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 135-147; Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 30.

[199] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 82.

position of Khoisan indentured servants to one akin to slavery, but the fact that this process was even necessary, attests to the fact that Khoisan were not slaves.

In 1721, a group of farmers petitioned the Council of Policy, the body which governed settlers at the Cape, to declare that children born from unions between Khoisan women and slave men be apprenticed for a fixed number of years upon reaching maturity.[200] Before this time, the children of Khoisan women had been technically free and so could not be forced to work once they came of age, even if their father were a slave. The Council of Policy did not act upon this suggestion until 1775, when the Governor of the Cape, Joachim van Plettenberg, approved a regulation in Stellenbosch that allowed children of Khoisan mothers and slave fathers to be apprenticed on the farm on which they were born, called the *inboek* system.[201] Such indentures were registered with the government for a period of twenty-five years.[202]

This legislation was the first that formally restricted Khoisan freedom and pushed this group even further into servitude than poverty already had. This regulation proved especially coercive after 1775, when frontier settlers construed it to apply to all Khoisan children born on rural settler farms, not simply those with slave fathers.[203] Moreover, in 1797, John Barrow claimed that many indentures were not ever even registered, and if so, at "the expiration of this period the odds are ten to one that the [Khoisan] is not

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[200] The request of 1721 reads as follows,
We would like to mention how by the present conjuncture of time, which has resulted in the Hottentots, in securing their own sustenance, have come to seek shelter among the free burghers. It transpired that some of the slave men belonging to the undersigned mixed in with the women of this nation, and have bred children from these unions. The costs of the consequent child-rearing have been born by us… so that we ask if you could decree that a certain number of years may be stipulated during which these offspring might be bonded to serve their foster bosses other we would have no further recompense for our trouble and expense (cited in Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 29).
[201] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 32.
[202] Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 31-32.
[203] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 32.

emancipated. A Hottentot knows nothing of his age; 'he takes no note of time.'"[204] Barrow added that, should a Khoisan "be fortunate enough to escape at the end of the period, the best part of his life has been spent in the profitless servitude, and he is turned adrift in the decline of life (for a Hottentot begins to grow old at thirty) without any earthly thing he can call his own, except the sheep's skin upon his back."[205] Barrow, like many other travelers to the Cape, pointed out the degree to which frontier settlers attempted to enslave their ostensibly free Khoisan indentured servants, noting in 1797 that in Graaff-Reinet, the district furthest from the Cape, there were not even "a score of individuals who are not actually in the service of the Dutch."[206] By 1800, according to Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, European settlers completely dominated Khoisan.[207]

Still, Khoisan status differed from that of slaves because of the way in which both groups were acquired; slaves did not require indenture. Slaves found themselves in South Africa either because they were brought to the Cape as slaves or because they were born to a slave mother.[208] Slaves were property of their mothers' master upon birth, and their hereditary status was rarely questioned. Khoisan indentured servants, on the other hand, had to be employed through indenture, bodily stolen through raids, or compelled into indentures as children of Khoisan mothers employed on settlers' farms. Therefore, though the outcome of Khoisan coercion might have been that their position resembled

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[204] John Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798 including cursory observations on the geology and geography of the southern part of that continent, the natural history of such objects as occurred in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and sketches on the physical and moral characters of the various tribes of inhabitants surrounding the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. To which is annexed, a description of the present state, population and produce of that expensive colony; with a map constructed entirely from actual observations made in the course of the travels* (London: Printed by A. Strahan Printers-street for T. Cadell and W. Davis in the Strand, 1801), 146.

[205] Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, 146.

[206] Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, 93.

[207] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28.

[208] Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxiii.

that of slaves, their status did differ from slaves' in that it required much more effort to obtain Khoisan services.

Even in the eighteenth century, when Khoisan were frequently coerced into servitude by force and had little control over their choice of employer, their status as laborers was not automatic, as it was for slaves, and the indenture of Khoisan servants remained a contentious issue. Coerced Khoisan indentured servitude had, by the 1770s, become an acceptable solution to the poverty and shortage of labor experienced by frontier farmers.[209] Taking away settlers' ability to freely capture Khoisan indentured servants in the second half of the eighteenth century would have bankrupted many frontier settlers and lessened the authority Europeans exercised throughout the colony.[210] Therefore, even when the capture of Khoisan indentured servants had become established in practice, frontier settlers desperate for labor and too poor to afford the investment necessary to obtain slaves felt the need to vehemently defend their ostensible right to forcibly indenture Khoisan. In 1795, the patriarchs of the district of Swellendam proposed ten articles of demand to the Cape authorities as part of their secession efforts, one of which was,

> Articul 5 that any Bushmen or Hottentot women caught singly or on commando either previously or now, shall henceforth be the property of the farmer employing them, and serve him for life. Should they run away, their master shall be entitled to pursue them and punish them *na merites*.[211]

Rural settlers in 1795 did not yet feel secure in their coerced property. With these demands, frontier settlers attempted to establish their legal right to Khoisan

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[209] Guelke, "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa," 39.
[210] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 142-143.
[211] CA, 1/SWM 12/90, Minutes of the "Collegie Nasionaal," June – September 1795.

already under their control, regardless of how acquired. Another of these articles was

> Articul 6 concerning the ordinary Hottentot farm retainers brought up by Christians, they shall serve their masters up to the age of 25 and not enter another's employ without his consent. No runaway Hottentot shall be allowed sanctuary in any colonie (kraal) but shall be accosted and warned by the District Officers and dispatched directly to their Lord and Master, or else taken in custody by the messenger.[212]

Rural settlers felt the need to assert their right to indenture any children of Khoisan indentured servants in their employ, even after 1775, when this right was generally understood by colonists. Therefore, while scholars today stress the fact that Khoisan occupied a position akin to slavery and that capture and indenture of ostensibly free Khoisan children remained the norm for this period, enraged frontier settlers in 1795 still felt that the condition of Khoisan at the Cape, even in the frontier districts such as Swellendam, was not close enough to the status of slaves to allow settlers to be secure in the possession of their Khoisan indentured servants.[213] A slave was already a known commodity who could be purchased at will; Khoisan labor, on the other hand, had at first to be coerced by settlers and then reaffirmed by them thereafter.

Perhaps settlers felt so insecure with regards to their Khoisan indentured servants because they were not transferable property even after the 1775 regulation. The fact that Khoisan could not be bought and sold proved to be one of the main distinctions between the status of Khoisan indentured servants and that of slaves in the minds of settlers. In the early years of the colony, Khoisan had merely been employed labor and were therefore not transferable. Yet, even as the position of Khoisan deteriorated relative to that of the free population, settlers continued to recognize that Khoisan could not be

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[212] CA, 1/SWM 12/90, Minutes of the "Collegie Nasionaal," June – September 1795.
[213] Elphick, *Kraal and Castle*, 181; Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 27.

bought and sold or otherwise transferred between settlers through inheritance or other means.[214] Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple stated in 1787 that "at most of the Farm Houses in the Province there resides from 10 to 20 Hottentots, the Dutch have made slaves of them all, and they understand a little of the Dutch language, they are called Free, because their master cannot sell them, as they do the Negroes..."[215] Additionally, if a master of Khoisan indentured servants died, his heirs could lose their labor.[216] Therefore, although settlers might not pay Khoisan indentured servants well and, over time, were able to tie them to the land through poverty and pass legislation, Khoisan indentured servitude differed from slavery throughout the Dutch colonial period because Khoisan individuals were not heritable property, either in law or in practice, as were slaves.[217]

One of the consequences this non-transferability of Khoisan indentured servants was the value settlers placed on Khoisan lives, relative to slaves. Although the cost of slave labor increased over time, slaves remained generally good investments, provided they did not die or run away.[218] Khoisan indentured servants were cheaper to obtain,

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[214] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 32.

[215] CA, A455 14, Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple has excellent knowledge of the Cape and conditions at Swellendam, and description of the industries of the people of Swellendam, circa. 1787, 19. It might seem inaccurate to use travelers' accounts to illuminate the mindset of settlers at the Cape because outsiders generally tend to gloss over different elements of society. However, the fact that travelers were able to distinguish between slaves and Khoisan indentured servants despite their confusion on the subject, indicates that settlers most likely saw an even greater difference between these two forms of coerced labor than is even presented in this thesis.

[216] Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 30.

[217] In 1780 Stellenbosch officials passed a regulation requiring "free Bastaard-Hottentots" to carry passes, like slaves (Mary Kathleen Jeffreys and S.D. Naudé, *Kaapse plakkaatboek, Afgeskryf en persklaar gemaak* (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1944), 3: 15-16). In 1787, the Council of Policy of the Cape resurrected a hitherto unenforced proclamation of 1755, which required Hottentot women in Cape Town to reside with a burgher, and expanded it to include men as well (Jeffreys and Naudé, *Kaapse plakkaatboek*, 4: 8-11). Later, pass systems were instituted for Khoisan in Swellendam in 1797 and Graaff-Reinet in 1798 (CA, 1/SWM 1/3, Minutes of Landdros and Heemrade, March 1789 – December 1798: December 4, 1797, 330-332; CA, 1/GR 1/2, Minutes of Meetings of Landdrost and Heemraden, 1795 – 1802: July 2, 1798, 174).

[218] The average price of an adult male slave (in rixdollars) was 100 in 1662 – 1674, 134 in 1730 – 1737, 163 in 1765 – 1772, and 345 in 1791 – 1795 (Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 140). See also,

only needing to be employed, coerced, or captured, rather than paid for, but this situation also made them cheaper to brutalize.[219] Early on, when Khoisan indentured servitude remained in practice only hired labor, settlers valued Khoisan laborers according to the amount of work they could accomplish relative to how little they could be paid. Khoisan laborers in the early part of the Dutch colonial period were paid tobacco, food, beads, flints, knives, clothing, and perhaps even a few cattle; they did not, therefore, cost settlers much to employ.[220] Because settlers did not own their Khoisan indentured servants, however, they did not value their lives the way they did slaves' lives. Slaves had been bought and were as valuable as any other chattel property.[221] Even with the deterioration of the position of Khoisan relative to whites, their non-transferability kept settlers from considering them valuable property investments. Although Khoisan became more valuable after the indenture law of 1775, when European control over Khoisan became more secure, their non-transferability nevertheless limited the value placed on their lives, evidenced by the levels of violence Khoisan experienced relative to slaves.

Khoisan indentured servants and slaves were both treated miserably, but Khoisan indentured servants at the Cape experienced a greater degree of violence than slaves for several reasons. Firstly, Khoisan experienced a greater degree of violence because their lives were not worth as much as slaves' lives, given that they were not transferable

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CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 71.

[219] Both Khoisan indentured servants and slaves did, however, have to be fed once in the service of a European master.

[220] Elphick, *Kraal and Castle*, 176; Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 30.

[221] W.M. Macmillan perhaps put it best when he said, "A slave's person was an asset, and even his family and dependents were worth caring for as the natural means of conserving and increasing the owner's 'property.' A Hottentot's person and dependents were entirely his own affair. To his employer the family were a mere encumbrance, and even if the servant himself died he could easily be replaced – whereas a slave cost money" (Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question*, 38).

property. Secondly, Khoisan experienced a greater degree of violence because they were concentrated in larger numbers out on the frontier, where violence proved more severe, rather than in areas closer to Cape Town, where slaves predominated. Thirdly, Khoisan indentured servants experienced more brutality than slaves because of the differences in the sex and age composition of the two groups: as the eighteenth century wore on, Khoisan increasingly became female and young, compared to slaves, whose population contained more men than women throughout the Dutch colonial period.

Firstly, because Khoisan laborers were presumably free and not transferable, settlers frequently acted out their cruelty towards Khoisan indentured servants, rather than injuring valuable slaves.[222] During the Dutch period, settler treatment of slaves was actually thought to be mild compared to other parts of the globe.[223] Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, writing in 1806, claimed that

> Here, and here alone perhaps in the world, are the slaves treated with a mildness that would merit the administration of a Howard. No rigorous toil excites compassion or indignation, no melancholy plaints pierce the heart of the passenger. The little children are ever caressed by their proprietors with as much kindness as if they were the offspring of relations, and if they be not born in freedom they are for years unconscious of their shackles. They are associated in every amusement, they share every act of tenderness with the white children, and although the European mother prefers her own race, she would think herself unworthy to be a parent if she could neglect an infant or not treat it with kindness because it was the offspring of a slave. This indulgent conduct towards infants born in a state of reprobation does surely more honour to these people than any initiation of those refinements in other colonies that too frequently render the heart insensible to offices of humanity, but in the discharge of their duties it is not pretended that there is no exception, that the last never scars at the caprice of ill temper, and the sweat never pours in the service of a tyrant. Such cases must exist, the power that had men have to be cruel is an insufferable argument against all slavery, but it is

[222] See Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, 145.
[223] See Wright, *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope*, 61.

> gratifying to reflect that here the catalogue of cruelty contains but few memoranda of such crimes.[224]

While the mildness of slavery was vehemently denied by many scholars of the twentieth century, such as Robert Ross and Nigel Worden, Robert Shell argued that the master-slave relation at the Cape was indeed paternalistic.[225] John Edwin Mason, writing in 2003, agreed with Shell that slavery was less violent than had been earlier assumed by historians, but he came to his conclusions based on observations of slavery during the British period leading up to abolition. He attributed the attenuated violence of Cape slavery largely to slave resistance that forced masters and the colonial state to respond to slaves.[226] Scholars and contemporaries have disagreed over the degree to which slaves experienced violence.

Although this debate is far from over, historians and contemporaries have agreed that Khoisan indentured servants experienced great violence. Travelers to the Cape extensively chronicled the brutality of the treatment of Khoisan. John Barrow argued in 1797 that there was

> scarcely an instance of cruelty said to have been committed against the slaves in the West-India islands, that could not find a parallel from the Dutch farmers of the remote parts of the colony towards the Hottentots in their service. Beating and cutting them with thongs of the hide of the sea-cow or rhinoceros, is a gentle punishment, though these sort of whips which they call shambos are most horrid instruments, tough, pliant, and heavy almost as lead. Firing small shot into the legs and things of a Hottentot is a punishment not unknown to some of the monsters who inhabit the neighborhood of Camtoos river. Infant death is not

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[224] CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 20-21.

[225] Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 1; Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 2-5; Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xix-xx, xxvii-xxix.

[226] Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection*, ix-x, 9-11.

> infrequently the consequence of punishing these poor wretches in a moment of rage.[227]

Khoisan experienced a great degree of brutality, even by eighteenth-century standards. Khoisan had been "long habituated to oppression & unjustly dealt by on all occasions by the farmers," according to Lady Anne Barnard in 1799.[228] This cruel treatment, according to Captain Robert Percival in 1804, had succeeded in subjugating Khoisan. He noted that the colonists behaved towards Khoisan

> in such a manner, as if they were resolved to eradicate every feeling of humanity out of the breasts of these unfortunate people. In this they have succeeded so well, that a Hottentot seems now to consider himself as designed by nature merely to serve and to suffere; and there is scarcely one krael to be found within the reach of the Dutch government, which retains any idea of its original independence.[229]

Contemporaries believed that settlers had so oppressed Khoisan that these people had lost all sense of independence and had accepted their fate. The levels of violence perpetrated upon Khoisan individuals were due, in part, to the common assumption at the time, articulated by historian Nigel Penn, that Khoisan life came cheap.[230] According to Robert Ross, Khoisan were more vulnerable to the terror of the colonists because a Khoisan's status as non-slave and non-heritable property made him less valuable than a slave.[231] After murdering Casper, a Khoisan laborer, Theunis Roelofs, a white overseer on a farm in the Tijgerberg in 1727, reportedly told a slave "there is no law for Hottentots, but if I should murder you or other slaves, then your master would lose

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[227] Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, 145.

[228] Lady Anne Barnard, "Letter 23: Letter from Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas Melville," dated September 12, 1799, in *The letters of Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas, from the Cape and elsewhere, 1793-1803, together with her Journal of a tour into the interior, and certain other letters* by Anne Lindsay Barnard and Henry Dundas Melville (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1973), 194.

[229] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 82.

[230] Nigel Penn, *Rogues, Rebels, and Runaways: Eighteenth-century Cape Characters* (Cape Town: D. Philip Publishers, 1999), 138.

[231] Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 43.

money."[232] Khoisan, who were not property and whose labor could not be bought and sold between setters, were subject to much greater violence than were slaves, who were considered valuable transferable property.

Another explanation for the greater violence experienced by Khoisan can be found in the geographic distribution of the two forms of coerced labor. As argued earlier in the thesis, while slave holdings were concentrated in the areas around Cape Town, greater numbers of Khoisan existed in the areas further into the interior, particularly after frontier settler wars generated increasing numbers of captive Khoisan indentured servants. As stated by Captain Robert Percival in 1804, it was said of "the people of Cape Town, that they universally treat [their servants] well in comparison to the farmers and planters of the country parts."[233] Europeans in the areas closest to Cape Town had, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, largely gained control over their subservient populations, both Khoisan and slave. In the areas furthest from Cape Town, however, where Khoisan indentured servants could be found in the highest concentrations, the frontier remained "open," forcing frontier settlers in these areas to exercise greater levels of violence to keep their servants under control.

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[232] Despite his assertions, Theunis was banned from the colony for life, revealing that, although Khoisan were subject to immense violence, their deaths at the hands of Europeans did not go unpunished (NA, VOC 4104, 1727 – 1728). On April 27 1672, Willem Willemsz van Deventer shot and wounded a Khoisan servant. He fled into the veld to avoid arrest and then escaped the Cape Colony on board the ship *Magelos* on May 4, 1672, only to be declared a fugitive on May 16 when the servant finally died. Although violence against Khoisan indentured servants remained commonplace at the Cape, the murder of such individuals by Europeans did not go unpunished, especially in the early days of the colony. Willem Willemsz van Deventer returned to the Cape on July 1, 1673 and was confined to Robben Island, only to be exiled later, first to Batavia in 1676 and then to Mauritius in 1677, where he died (CA, C 9, Resolutions, May 2, 1674 – September 9, 1676: August 18, 1676, 98-104; CA, C 9, Resolutions, May 2, 1674 – September 9, 1676: September 3, 1676, 105-106; CA, C 11, Resolutions, May 3 – November 23, 1677: July 23, 1677, 45-50; CA, VC 39, General Muster Rolls: Free Burghers and Wives, 1660 –; CA, VC 603, Church Registers: Cape Town Congregation; C.C. de Villiers and C. Pama, *Geslagsregisters van die ou Kaapse families* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1981), 920, 1137; J.L.M. Franken, "Willem Willemsen van Deventer," *Standpunte* (October – November 1956)).

[233] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 292.

The issue of control of subservient groups remained important throughout the Dutch colonial period on the isolated frontiers where domination proved only that much more difficult.[234] According to Susan Newton-King, Khoisan indentured servants represented potentially dire threats to the security of settler households on the frontier. A frontier settler's subordinates knew all that happened on his farm and possessed knowledge of guns, horses, and the Dutch language. These servants were in a good position to successfully betray their master during attacks from Bushmen raiders, making solidarity within a frontier settler's household crucial to its survival.[235] Where unity could not be achieved through familiarity, especially if Khoisan indentured servants had recently been captured on Bushmen raids, or accomplished by pitting servants against one another, solidarity could be brought about through fear.[236] In order to maintain dominance while far away from government structures, masters frequently relied on brute force to keep their servants in line.[237] Even George McCall Theal, the first historian of the Cape and always the apologist for European behavior in South Africa, acknowledged the brutality of frontier settlers towards their servants far from the government's control.[238] Frontier power frequently proved much more violent than the management exercised closer to Cape Town where settler dominance had been well-established.

The fact that the 1795 articles of demand by the patriarchs of Swellendam to the VOC dealt specifically with the indenture of Khoisan women and children speaks to the third reason that perhaps Khoisan were generally subject to more terror than were slaves:

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[234] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 153.
[235] Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier,* 108.
[236] Armstrong and Worden, "The slaves," 129.
[237] Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, W. Blommaert, J.A. Wiid, Johan Lambertus Machiel Franken, and Ian Milne Murray, *Die joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen 1803* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1937), 152.
[238] Theal, *History of South Africa Before 1795,* 4: 117, 4: 168.

their age and gender.[239] The slave population consisted of more men than women and children throughout the entire period due to the ratio of slaves imported.[240] The age and sex composition of Khoisan laboring populations, however, changed over the course of the Dutch colonial period. Early in the period, when Khoisan labor had been more voluntary and Khoisan "were not in the habit of taking so much trouble" as to work for settlers, the composition of the Khoisan *laboring* population had contained more men than women and children.[241] The first Khoisan employed by Europeans generally worked seasonally and left their families at home.[242] As time went on and Khoisan indentured servitude more frequently accompanied warfare and became less voluntary, the composition of the Khoisan indentured servant population became more heavily dominated by women and children. Khoisan women servants proved to be just as valuable as men servants in many ways: both could milk farmers' cows, slaughter animals, treat hides, collect animal fact, as well as prepare skin bags, thongs, butter, and soap. Additionally, Khoisan women could work as cooks, domestics, and nannies.[243] Because of their utility, after Khoisan men had been killed in battle with frontier settlers, Khoisan women and children were brought in as servants.[244] While this gender imbalance could, of course, even out over time, frontier settler capture of Khoisan indentured servants lasted into the nineteenth century, not permitting such a rebalancing until after the British took control of the Cape.

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[239] CA, 1/SWM 12/90, Minutes of the "Collegie Nasionaal," June – September 1795.
[240] See Appendix B. See also, Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 58.
[241] CA, C 1872, Journals, January 1 – December 31, 1658: November 16, 1658.
[242] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 17.
[243] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 28-29.
[244] Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 73.

Theses gender balances, with a higher ratio of men in the slave population and a higher ratio of women and children in the Khoisan population, meant that Khoisan were subject to more terror than were slaves. Although men were frequently ruled through violence, men were not subject to the same terror that gender violence, rape, and abuse of children could bring.[245] Khoisan indentured servants at the Cape experienced a greater degree of violence than slaves because of the sex and age composition of the group. While certainly not a marker of Khoisan "freedom," the fact that Khoisan experienced more violence than slaves was nevertheless a factor that distinguished them from this other form of coerced labor.

The least tangible distinction between Khoisan indentured servitude and slavery was actually a history of Khoisan freedom, which Khoisan capitalized upon in order to defend their rights. As stated earlier, the VOC had, in 1652, established the freedom of Khoisan people, although the position of Khoisan later declined. While Europeans generally hated this technical freedom of Khoisan, they nonetheless acknowledged it and, as articulated by Captain Robert Percival in 1804, understood that Khoisan were "exempted from slavery, as being the original possessors of [the] country."[246] Despite the miserable treatment of Khoisan by settlers later in the colonial period, the fact that Khoisan had originally been seen as a protected people allowed some Khoisan to gain status above their slave-like conditions.

The non-slave status of Khoisan had therefore been so well established by the time that the British took over the Cape that they too considered Khoisan indentured

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[245] Nomboniso Gasa, *Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers = Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007), 21-41. See also, Scully, *Liberating the Family?*, 158-170, 175 .

[246] Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope,* 291.

servants to be different than slaves. With the concerted efforts of Khoisan supporter Reverend Dr. John Phillip, Khoisan rights were reaffirmed by the British government with the passage of Ordinance 50 on August, 19 1828. Ordinance 50 repealed the Caledon Code of 1809, which had required that all Khoisan in the colony have a fixed residence and carry passes when outside their home area.[247] The new ordinance of 1828 declared that

> whereas by usage and custom of this Colony, Hottentots and other free persons of colour have been subjected to certain restraints as to their residence, mode of life, and employment, and to certain compulsory service to which others of His Majesty's subjects are not liable: Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Ordinance, no Hottentot or other free person of colour, lawfully residing in this Colony, shall be subject to any compulsory service to which other of His Majesty's subjects therein are not liable, nor any hindrance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person has been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of law; any custom or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.[248]

This ordinance thereby reestablished Khoisan as free people and prohibited their coercion. The Ordinance additionally stated that Khoisan had the right to own land and provided for the establishment of the Kat River Settlement, giving 800 Khoisan land on

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[247] "Ordinance 50: Ordinance for improving the Condition of Hottentots and other free Persons of colour at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the Laws affecting these Persons," dated July 17, 1828, in *The Cape of Good Hope Government Proclamations, from 1806 to 1825, As Now in Force and Unrepealed: And the Ordinances Passed in Council from 1825 to 1838, with Notes of Reference to Each, and a Copious Index: with an Appendix*, edited by Walter Harding (Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, 1838) 1: 436. See also, Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 47-48. Earlier, on July 24, 1798, the British government had attempted to deal with the issue of coerced Khoisan servitude on the frontier through proclamation, "Art. 5th, The Bosjesmen are then to be left in possession of their just rights and habitations and are not to be molested, nor their children taken from them or made Slaves or Servants on any pretence whatsoever," but the government now found it necessary to establish Khoisan freedom in law (CA, BO 181, Proclamations, August 1797 – February 1800: July 24, 1798, issued by Macartney, 60).

[248] "Ordinance 50: Ordinance for improving the Condition of Hottentots and other free Persons of colour at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the Laws affecting these Persons," dated July17, 1828, 1: 463.

which to live.[249] Through the political mobilization of their allies, Khoisan had been able to reassert their free, non-slave status under the law.

The abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834 soon followed Ordinance 50. At this time, both coerced forms of labor at the Cape became ostensibly free, yet both of these emancipatory acts remained largely ineffective. While in 1828 Ordinance 50 had given Khoisan land on which to live in the form of the Kat River Settlement and had recognized this group's free status under British law, very little was done to assist Khoisan escape their dependency.[250] Leslie Duly, who has looked at the effects of Ordinance 50 during the 1830s, found that the ordinance lacked means of enforcement as authorities were inaccessible to most Khoisan seeking redress.[251] Settlers continued to treat Khoisan much as they always had. In the same way, with the official abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834, informal coercion of former slaves remained intact. According to the resident missionary at the Pacaltsdorp mission station, writing in 1859, slaves left "their bondage empty-handed," and therefore, according to Reverend Dr. John Philip in 1839, had to earn "their livelihood by serving the farmers."[252] The failure of abolition resulted largely from a lack of opportunities available to emancipated slaves.[253] Both Ordinance 50 and the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 failed to liberate Khoisan indentured servants

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[249] "Ordinance 50: Ordinance for improving the Condition of Hottentots and other free Persons of colour at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the Laws affecting these Persons," dated July 17, 1828, 1: 436-437. See also, Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 47-49; V.C. Malherbe, "Colonial Justice and the Khoisan in the Immediate Aftermath of Ordinance 50 of 1828: Denouement at Uitenhage," *Kronos* 24 (November 1997): 77-78.

[250] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 49; Malherbe, "Colonial Justice and the Khoisan in the Immediate Aftermath of Ordinance 50 of 1828," 77-90.

[251] Leslie Clement Duly, "A Revisit with the Cape's Hottentot Ordinance of 1828," in *Studies in Economics and Economic History; Essays in Honour of Professor H.M. Robertson*, edited by Hector Menteith Robertson and Marcelle Kooy (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972), 34-56.

[252] SOAS, CWM, Box 16, Folder 4, Jacket C, Report of Resident Missionary, Pacaltsdorp, December 2, 1839; SOAS, CWM, Box 16, Folder 3, Jacket C, Philip – Napier, August 14, 1839; both cited in Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa*, 119.

[253] Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa*, 117.

and slaves because the coerced groups in question were not given the necessary support to escape their master-servant relationships.

One of the reasons for the failure to support newly freed servants was due to the concerted efforts of rural settlers who feared the economic ruin they were certain would accompany free labor. In 1804, the governor of the colony, J.W. Janssens, put words to rural settlers' fears when he proclaimed that the abolition of slavery "would destroy all property and plunge the colony into misery (perhaps for good)… the whole industry of this country [being] based on the existence of slaves…"[254] Frontier settlers could not imagine paying for the labor used on their farms, in either slave or Khoisan form. In response to the threat of free labor, in 1841, settlers at the Cape passed a Masters and Servants Ordinance solidifying the position of former slaves and Khoisan as contract farm labor and making desertion, insubordination, and insulting language criminal offenses. This Ordinance was not repealed until 1974.[255]

These two freedom acts also proved ineffective largely because they addressed in completely different ways two sides of the same coin. Had liberals in Britain known of the works of Eltis and Engerman, they perhaps could have reconceptualized slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude as two forms of coerced labor. Instead, the British government, like settlers, saw slavery and Khoisan indentured servitude as completely separate institutions. With Ordinance 50, the British government simply reaffirmed the legal freedom of Khoisan and did not acknowledge the messiness of coercion on the ground. The British government put its total faith in the ability of free labor markets to alleviate the subjugation of Khoisan, believing that more effective enforcement of

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[254] Petrus Johannes Idenburg, *De Kaap de Goede Hoop gedurende de laatste jaren van het nederlandsch bewind* (Leiden, Netherlands: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 1946), 102-103.

[255] Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 2.

capitalist free-labor laws would solve this problem.[256] The issue of Khoisan indentured servitude therefore manifested itself as an issue of law enforcement that pitted flagitious Boers against King and Empire, becoming more of a nationalist issue than a question of the autonomy of Khoisan. The abolition of slavery also proved ineffective because the British government ignored the broader issue of coercion. Abolitionists in Britain were concerned with slavery as a moral evil, rather than with coercion, violence, and ill-treatment, which they considered slavery's symptoms. Only with the Great Trek and the movement of settlers from the British Cape Colony to the frontiers in the Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal regions did the issue of slavery began to align itself with the issue with Khoisan indentured servitude. Even then, however, the British government considered both to be a problem of disobedient "Boers" rather than a question of the coercive nature of southern African labor regimes and of society itself.[257]

Because the British government failed to address coercion, settlers at the Cape were able to manipulate and sometimes even ignore the British government's emancipatory intentions by interpreting regulations according to the strict letter of the law, rather than its spirit. Settlers relied more heavily on slave labor after the passage of Ordinance 50. Then, once the fervor of Khoisan freedom had died down and the British government began focusing on the abolition of slavery, settlers again turned to relying more heavily on Khoisan indentured servitude. Settlers were thus able to alternate between the two forms of coerced labor, depending on the popular freedom trend of the day, because they were distinct in settlers' minds. Though the Dutch utilized Khoisan

[256] Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 53.

[257] Within the paradigm of coerced labor studies in South Africa, it would also be interesting to investigate the levels to which European men coerced poorer whites at the Cape as well as white women and children.

labor in much the same way as they did slave labor and attempted to oppress the Khoisan population to such a degree that Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple stated in 1787 that "the Dutch have made slaves of them all," Khoisan indentured servitude nonetheless differed from slavery because Khoisan were not slaves under the law, did not inherit a slave status from their mothers, were not acquired in the same way as slaves, were not transferable as were slaves, experienced different levels of violence than slaves, and possessed a history of freedom that allowed Khoisan to maintain their distinct status that was "called Free."[258] Each of these differences shaped contemporaries' understandings of coerced labor such that they saw them as completely separate institutions. The fact that coercion was not examined in and of itself nor really seen as the problem was one reason it existed for so long.

[258] CA, A455 14, Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple has excellent knowledge of the Cape and conditions at Swellendam, and description of the industries of the people of Swellendam, circa. 1787, 19.

Glossary of Terms

Bastaards – individuals of mixed Khoisan and slave descent

Bushmen raiders – Khoisan people not employed by settlers as servants, but who lived off the land as hunter-gatherers

commando – a party commanded or called out for military purposes, such as an expedition or a raid

Dutch East India Company/the Company/VOC – the company that established a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 and governed it until 1795

Europeans – individuals living in southern Africa of European descent, either VOC employees or settlers

freehold – land held in permanent and absolute tenure with freedom to dispose of it at will

Khoikhoi/Khoi/Hottentots – see footnote 31

Khoisan – see page 12-13

matriherital – a system of inheritance that passes through the mother's line

San/Bushman/Bosjesman – see footnote 31

settlers/colonists – individuals living in southern of European descent who were not employed by the VOC

slaves – those people designated as slaves, either owned by the VOC or by settlers

Appendix A: Population figures for the Cape Colony, 1660 – 1820.[259]

		number of:					
		Company officials	male settlers	total settlers (men, women, and children)	Company slaves	settlers' slaves	Khoisan
in years:	1660	120		105	67		50,000
	1678		87	259	310	191	
	1688		131	254		78	
	1697		401	1,083		471	
	1700	545	487				
	1707		491	1,023		1,237	
	1718		691	2,053		2,496	
	1728		737	2,713	597	3,873	
	1732	1,016	717	1,334			
	1738		901	3,612		5,757	
	1748		1,294	4,508		4,932	
	1758		1,563	5,575		5,932	
	1768		2,114	7,718		7,807	
	1778		2,789	9,721	559		
	1788		3,481	12,661			
	1793				509		
	1795	2,000	4,259	14,929			
	1798			21,300		25,754	14,883
	1820			42,975		31,779	26,975

[259] CA, VC 58, Other stuff and Letter from J. Maxwell to the Reverend Dr. Harris: Account of the Cape Colony, 1706; report on the Cape by A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1789; letters by J. Pringle on conditions at the Cape, etc., 1795 – 1803: Document 59: Description of the Cape Colony in 1806, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, of the 20th Light Dragoons; copied from the original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum, London, March 1895 by Theal, 70; Elphick, *Kraal and Castle*, 23; Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 43, 124, 295, 298, 524; Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of Conquest," 804; NA, VOC 4009, 1672 – 1673; NA, VOC 4014, 1678 – 1679; NA, VOC 4022, 1685 – 1686; NA, VOC 4039, 1697 – 1698; NA, VOC 4058, 1707 – 1708; NA, VOC 4079, 1717 – 1718; NA, VOC 4106, 1727 – 1728; NA, VOC 4136, 1737 – 1738; NA, VOC 4210, 1757 – 1758; NA, VOC 4256, 1768 – 1769; Robert Ross, "The 'White' Population of South Africa in the Eighteenth Century," *Population Studies* 29, no. 2 (July 1975): 221.

Appendix B: Number of males and females in the slave population.[260]

	Males	Females	Number of males per female
1678	133	38	3.50
1708	981	166	5.91
1738	4,602	1,155	3.98
1768	6,243	2,464	2.53
1806	19,346	10,515	1.84

[260] Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 133; NA, VOC 4014, 1678 – 1679; NA, VOC 4058, 1707 – 1708; NA, VOC 4136, 1737 – 1738; NA, VOC 4256, 1768 – 1769.

Appendix C: European immigration to the Cape

European settlers to the Cape were drawn from many diverse backgrounds. Early on, many settlers were former VOC employees of German origin who had joined the settler ranks on their way back to Europe from the East.[261] Even with this immigrant population, however, before 1717, the Company felt that the population at the Cape remained too small and therefore encouraged other sources of European immigration. In 1664, the Company arranged for Dutch women to be brought to the Cape as wives for settlers already there.[262] Additionally, in 1688, the Company encouraged Huguenot refugees to immigrate to the Cape so as to increase overall agricultural production.[263]

Much of the immigration to the Cape nonetheless remained German in origin, due largely to the instability of the German states in the period right before the settlement of the Cape. Between 1618 and 1648, religious wars between Catholics and Protestants devastated the German areas. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which ended these wars, collectively called the Thirty Year's War, redrew the map of Europe and confirmed the existence of the Dutch United Provinces and the autonomy of the German states. The treaty, however, also created a situation in which Lutheranism retained dominance in the northern half of the Holy Roman Empire, Catholicism in the southern half, and Calvinism in the Rhineland, leaving little room for dissenters, many of whom fled to the Netherlands and then later immigrated to the Cape.[264] Still, the greatest motivation for emigration was the fact that that the Thirty Years' War had left the German territories in

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[261] Jan Lucassen, "A Multinational and its Labor Force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595-1795," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 17-18.

[262] "Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander Wagenaar and Council," dated April 29, 1664, in *The Record or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa compiled*, compiled by Donald Moodie (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1960), 1: 280.

[263] Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers," 67.

[264] G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 391-394.

a poor economic condition. The innumerable boundaries that were created after peace not only impeded commerce, but also promoted absolutism and a lavish ruling class that exploited the relative productivity of the peasantry, preventing the establishment of a middle class. The second half of the seventeenth century saw the increase in noble estates and the reduction of the peasantry to a state of servility, pushing many young men out of Germany to seek their fortunes elsewhere.[265] In comparison to other nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Republic of the United Provinces possessed religious tolerance, economic opportunities, and high wages, all of which attracted foreigners.[266]

Of these men who immigrated to the Netherlands, many sought work with the Dutch East India Company, later settling at the Cape as "accidental colonists," who entered the settler population only gradually, frequently assisted by marriage or other serendipitous happenstance.[267] Although the VOC had earlier employed men mainly from Holland or Zeeland, in the 1640s, it began hiring from Flanders and Brabant in the South and Northwest Germany and Denmark in the North. Later still, the VOC recruited almost exclusively from Norway and Germany.[268] Company sailors and soldiers were generally drawn from the lowest caste of European society.[269] Several of the VOC's so-called recruits were actually the victims of *seelenverkäufers* (soul-sellers). These pariahs were boarding-house keepers who gave impoverished migrants to the city food and lodging only to turn a profit from their naïve guests by selling their labor to the VOC for

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[265] Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 391-394; Linda Zollner, "Germans in South Africa," *Familia* 35, no. 4 (1998): 139.
[266] Nicholas Canny, *Europeans on the Move* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 153.
[267] Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier,* 11.
[268] Lucassen, "A Multinational and its Labor Force," 17-18.
[269] Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa,* 18.

a finder's fee.[270] Slaves and Khoisan indentured servants were not the only coerced groups at the Cape.

One notable absence in the population of VOC employees was that of the Dutch. Due to the general prosperity of the United Provinces, Dutch men were usually able to make a living in their own country. They did not, therefore, find it necessary to join the employ of the VOC except as upper-level officials.[271] Many of the migrants to the Cape of Dutch origin reached the colony as free settlers or lesser-born Dutch women to serve as wives for men already there. In the first few years of the settlement's existence, the VOC had imported women from Dutch orphanages, telling Van Riebeeck in 1664 that, "We have resolved to send to you, at their own desire, by the next ships, and under charge of some families who take their passage in these ships, some young girls, for the advancement of the population…"[272] Two of these women were Beatrix Weyman, who married Jan Pietersz Louw eight days after her arrival at the Cape, and Catharina van der Zee, an orphan from the Netherlands who married into the Cape community.[273]

The French Huguenot immigrants who arrived at the Cape in the late seventeenth century had fled France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. A great number of Huguenot refugees chose to immigrate to the Netherlands due to the impressive tolerance of the Dutch. The Netherlands not only possessed Wallon communities (French-speaking Dutch), but also had a Reformed religious culture similar to that of the French Huguenots. The *Eglise Réformée* in France and the *Ghereformeerde*

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[270] Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa*, 18-19.
[271] Lucassen, "A Multinational and its Labor Force," 17-18.
[272] "Extract of a Despatch from Chamber XVII to Commander Wagenaar and Council," dated April 29, 1664, 1: 280.
[273] De Villiers and Pama, *Geslagsregisters van die ou Kaapse families*, 500, 1062; Shell, compiler, *Changing Hands*.

Kerkchen of the Netherlands had both come out of John Calvin's religious reforms in the sixteenth century. Most importantly, perhaps, the Netherlands was economically prosperous, in a good location between several European powers, and easy to travel to.[274] Beginning in 1681, the United Provinces welcomed Calvinists from France and gave them help "in cash and kind," creating the perfect sanctuary.[275] In the end, the Netherlands, with a population of only 2.5 million, gave shelter to approximately 60,000 Huguenot refugees, equaling 2.4 percent of its population.[276] Immigration to the Cape was a continuation of immigration to the Netherlands and became especially attractive when, in 1689, Commander Simon van der Stel deliberately encouraged such immigration in order to stimulate the Cape's agriculture and viniculture.[277] The reasons these migrants left Europe and the experiences they brought with them were quite diverse, but it was this diversity that created the unique character of the settler population at the Cape.

[274] Pieter Coertzen, *The Huguenots of South Africa* (Tafelberg, South Africa: Tafelberg Publishers Limited, 1988), 58.
[275] Mourice Boucher, *French Speakers at the Cape: The European Background* (Pretoria, South Africa: University of South Africa, 1981), 87.
[276] Coertzen, *The Huguenots of South Africa*, 64.
[277] Coertzen, *The Huguenots of South Africa*, 58.

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ACC 447, Swellengrebel Papers

A455 *Dundas (Melville) Papers*

A455 14, Lieutenant Colonel William Dalrymple has excellent knowledge of the Cape and conditions at Swellendam, and description of the industries of the people of Swellendam, circa. 1787

BO *First British Occupation, 1795 – 1803*

BO 181, Proclamations, August 1797 – February 1800

C *Archives of the Secretary, Council of Policy, 1649 – 1795*

C 9, Resolutions, May 2, 1674 – September 9, 1676

C 11, Resolutions, May 3 – November 23, 1677

C 310, Letters Received, September 2, 1677 – January 27, 1678

C 436, Letters Received, March 28 – October 17, 1731

C 493, Letters Received, January 1 – April 26, 1756

C 499, Letters Received, December 31 – July 29, 1757

C 655, Personal Letters to and from the Cape Governors, January 6 – September 12, 1781

C 1872, Journals, January 1 – December 31, 1658

CJ *Archives of the Court of Justice of the Cape Colony*

CJ 788, Criminal Sentences, 1750 – 1755

LM *Leibbrandt Manuscript Series, 1651 – 1898*

LM 18, Letters Received by the Council of Policy, 1709 – 1718

MOOC *Masters Office, Cape*

MOOC 8/5 – 8/17, Inventories, 1727 – 1780

MOOC 8/3.15, Trijntje Theunisz Gansevanger, September 13, 1715

MOOC 8/1.65, Hendrick Cornelisz, June 30, 1701

MOOC8/2.2, Ocker Kornelisz Olivier, July 15, 1705

MOOC8/4.68, Aletta Verweij, May 14, 1721

RLR *Receiver of Land Revenue, 1682 – 1830*

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RLR 9/1 – 39, Licenses: Loan Farms, August 1730 – 1748

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1/GR *Archives of the Magistrate, Graaff-Reinet, 1763 –*

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