

COLONIALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION OF CAPE SOCIETY UNDER THE

DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

(Two Volumes)

by

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Volume Two

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Chapter 6

SLAVERY AND KHOISAN LABOUR IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CAPE

In the previous chapter the disintegrative effects of V.O.C. and settler colonialism on the structure of, and relations between, Khoi and other societies at the Cape were examined. It is now necessary to analyze the manner in which the new society was constituted in the course of, and behind, that destructive movement. This is the other - constitutive - side of the colonial coin.

The constitution of Cape colonial society is most usefully described in terms of the manner in which different groups were incorporated in the political economy of the society; that is, in the overall arrangement of the social, political and economic division of labour. The central question to be asked, then, is this: how on the one hand did slavery and the peculiar arrangements of labour at the Cape contribute to the structure and central features of the new society there, to its values and its ideology, and how on the other hand did they, in turn, contribute to, alter or sustain its substance and form? I examine the first part of the question in detail here, and look at ideology more fully in later chapters.

Why focus now on labour and slavery? There are two immediate and related reasons; one theoretical, the other historical. First, it is one of the operational assumptions underlying the argument of this study that the relations between groups in the division of labour in a society - plural or otherwise - are a key to its social and political structure, and have far-reaching implications for it, though there is more to it than simply those relations. Secondly, it is in fact the case that ('trade' and

barter with the Khoi aside), the initial circumstances of admission and the initial conditions of participation of all major groups in Cape society was directly related to local labour needs, and that each category of labour was associated with a quite distinct initial political and social status. This is true not only of the V.O.C. employees, Dutch knechte and free burgers, but also of Khoisan dependants from an early stage, and the imported East African and Asian slaves. The labour question at the Cape which includes, but is not exhausted by, slavery is therefore central in ^{the} explanation of how the various component segments of the society were brought together, and of the internal relationships between them. In this respect, therefore, an isolated examination of slavery at the Cape can not tell us very much: but, analyzed in the context of a broader treatment of both 'free' and 'unfree' labour, and the relations between different categories of labour, the central structural features of the plural society at the Cape can be identified, and thus the role of slavery in its formation exposed.

While it is possible to explain the general impact of colonialism at the Cape in terms of the wider forces of European expansion from the 16th century and beyond, the specific configuration of the groups that were drawn together at the Cape is best analyzed in terms of the notion of differential incorporation. As was indicated in chapter 2, where its meaning was outlined, the notion is central to this study. But stated baldly and viewed abstractly it is a blunt analytical instrument, for the notion assimilates a variety of dimensions which have to be handled in the concrete analysis, and thus obscures them. Thus, it is worth indicating them here, for they are operationalized later and also form the cluster of tightly related assumptions in terms of which the analysis of

differential incorporation is carried forward.

The first thing that needs to be said is that the object of the exercise is to explain how the various labour categories came to be where they were in the socio-economic and political structure at any stage - but particularly in the initial stages - in the formation of the new society. That is, the notion of differential incorporation must be elaborated analytically through the medium of historical time - that is diachronically. Its heuristic advantages are thus most clear in the analysis of the constitution of new societies, for then one has the rare opportunity to examine the process in action and identify the causes, conditions and consequences of the 'entry' of groups to the political economy of the society in question.

Secondly, though the focus of the analysis is on the overall division of labour, there were other dimensions associated with the divisions which have to be analyzed in the context of the incorporative process. The various categories in the labour arrangements also stood initially in differential and unequal relationships to the central political resources, and land-holding for instance. Thus, in accounting for the structural shape of the society, and particularly for the durability of that shape, it is necessary to see how politically dominant or influential groups came to be so, and how they were able to manipulate the political machinery to protect their position, limit admission to the upper echelons of the society and thus to lock initially subordinate groups in long-term subordinate roles, status and class positions, with long-term political and social implications.

Thirdly, when dealing with this incorporative process in a plural colonial society, the analytical task is more complex for

it must call on additional explanatory categories and deal with further variables. The history of the Cape illustrates this with particular sharpness. The lines of 'class' division in the labour arrangements corresponded broadly with cultural differences, at least initially. Thus class and cultural relationships both obscured and supplemented each other, for they overlapped. Hence, in mobilizing evidence which is illustrative of the process of differential incorporation, the lines of cleavage can seldom be sharply demarcated, and the process which pulled groups together is not clear-cut or self-evident. For example, in explaining how groups of diverse antecedent cultures and histories (Dutchmen, Khoi, Madagascans, Indonesians, for example) came to be locked in a particular economic or labour relationship with each other, the fact of their cultural differences is not, in itself, of sufficiently plausible explanatory weight. Nor - where subsequent acculturation took place - does it help to explain why they remained 'frozen' there. Likewise, the lag in cultural change or the very slow process of acculturation means that an unelaborated 'class analysis' does not adequately explain the complexity of cultural and social relations at any particular point, or the ambiguous character of ideology in a plural society in its early stages.

Fourthly, there is the question of 'colour', often confusingly referred to as 'race' in studies about South Africa.**

** The term 'race' is objectionable and inadequate on many grounds. Analytically it is clumsy and unhelpful for it combines and confuses the dimensions of culture, colour, ethnicity and physical or somatic features in one omnibus notion. Since all these variables may in fact be found to vary independently with each other, the sooner the term is scrapped the better. That seems true both from the point of view of analytical precision and also from the practical political viewpoint, since language and terminology have far-reaching implications for perception and behaviour. I use the term only where it is unavoidable or where a surrogate would be more confusing.

In elaborating on the various aspects of differential incorpor-
ation, three dimensions have been identified/which have to be
above
uncovered in the historical material and related to each other in
the course of the analysis. They are conventionally associated
with broader analytical concerns: labour and land ('class'
relations), power ('politics'), and institutions and behaviour
(culture). Here, they need to be handled together. One can show
how each had quite explicit expressions in concrete terms at the
Cape, and hence had direct implications for the structure of
economic, political and social relationships. But what about 'colour'?
Is it also a dimension of interaction which is articulated in the
process of differential incorporation? I shall argue that it is not,
that it operates and is relevant at an entirely different analytical
level, and that it is secondary to, and contingent upon, these other
socio-economic and political relations. For colour, qua colour, has
no behavioural correlates, except in the sense that the behaviour of
individuals or groups may be indirectly affected - in terms of
attractions, avoidance, exclusions, for example - by their
perception of the 'colour' or more inclusive somatic features of
other groups.¹ Thus, to the extent that it becomes meaningful or
possible to talk of the 'race' or 'colour' factor in the formation
of Cape society, this question must be seen as being historically
implicated in, and contingent upon, that complex of structurally prior
relations of class, culture and politics, not the other way round,
though antecedent and received attitudes are important and cannot be
ignored.

1. A thoughtful discussion of this question is given in Harry
Hoetink: The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations where he
deploys the concepts of Somatic Norm Image and the associated
notion of Somatic Distance. In particular, see Part Two.

In analyzing the differential incorporation of categories in the political economy of Cape society, therefore, the critical analytical path that has to be followed involves tracking and untangling the overlapping dimensions not of class and colour, or colour and culture - as the titles of two important studies of South Africa suggest² - but rather, of CLASS AND CULTURE. The salience of these two central concepts emerges from the two slim but impressive explanatory traditions of a careful and non-mechanistic marxist historiography and sociology on the one hand, and the more recent developments in sociological and anthropological enquiry called 'pluralism', referred to in chapter 2, on the other hand.

Finally, by way of introductory comment to the substantive concerns of this chapter, it needs to be said that, given the above dimensions of the analytical framework and the operational assumptions of its application to the historical materials, the economic backgrounds against which the process of differential incorporation took place is crucial. Of course the implication there that there is a 'given' background, distinct from the actors and groups constituting and making it, is misleading. What is being argued, however, is that the economic context of the colony will have to bear substantial explanatory weight, without assuming a crude deterministic role. For it is a further assumption and starting point for the analysis of the formation of Cape society, that the economic and material context set critical limits to what was

2. Sheila Patterson: Colour and Culture in South Africa, and H.J. and R.E. Simons: Class and Colour in South Africa. Though the major focus of these books is on later periods in South African history, the broad conceptual orientations in both seem to miss what appears to be the really important problems in analyzing structure - those of the relations between class and culture, within a colonial economic context.

possible, and thus provided the main structural framework within which and through which a variety of social and political relationships were established, and endured.

What needs to be done in this chapter then is, first, to outline the essential features of the Cape economy in the 17th and 18th centuries in order to situate the analysis of labour relations and slavery in the constitution of the society. Secondly, the main characteristics of the major groups involved will be sketched and a causal model of the incorporative process spelt out. Thirdly, the detailed evidence of the history of the two main labour groups will be mobilized in support of the model and the argument. Then, finally, the implications of all this for the analysis of social and political structure can be briefly indicated and carried forward for specific discussion in the next chapter.

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Most of the economic history of the Cape is well known and it does not need detailed repetition.³ However, the central fact about the Cape economy is that, like all colonial economies which are designed to serve or service the interests of a metropolitan power, it grew to be artificially structured and retarded. Its growth was constrained and distorted by its prescribed role in the wider imperial and mercantile interests of the V.O.C. It is not surprising that in time the local interests of the colonists at the

3. The main accounts are in M.H.de Kock: Selected Subjects in the Economic History of South Africa; S.D.Neumark: Economic Influences on the South African Frontier; S.F.N.Gie: "Stages in our Economic History under the DEIC"; H.M.Robertson: "The Economic Development of the Cape under van Riebeeck". Theal's History of Africa, South of the Zambesi, Vols II and III are always invaluable sources, even if his interpretations are often unusual. So is the account by Commissary J.A.de Mist in 1802 who gave a clear and critical appraisal of the economic problems of the colony under the V.O.C. See The Memorandum of J.A.de Mist, 1802. There is also some useful material on the 18th century developments in J.A.van der Walt's Die Ausdehnung der Kolonie am der Guten Hoffnung 1700-1779. Likewise in the study by P.J.van der Merwe: Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die

Cape clashed with the policy and instructions of Amsterdam and Batavia. The 'costs' of this clash to the colonists were, so to speak, passed on to the Khoi and slaves to bear. The main 'cost' was that they were denied access to the benefits of what little growth there was, and their opportunity for mobility and freedom was further constrained by that.

The Cape economy was never more than barely satisfactory as far as the V.O.C. was concerned, and was a great deal less than that in the view of most colonists. During the first 50 years the Cape regularly imported food (especially rice) from Batavia.⁴ There were times in the 1650s when the men nearly starved. But by the turn of the

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3. (continued from previous page) Kaapkolonie, 1657-1842. There is some useful data too in A.J.Böeseke: Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse Op.cit.,passim.
 4. A.J.Böeseke: "The Settlement under the van der Stels", p.30. This was not something of which the Directors approved. They taunted van Riebeeck and rebuked him for his grand ideas of a prosperous colony. "For what would be the advantage to us if we should desire to create a great colony there if we were forced continuously to provision it from the outside?". Cited in H.M.Robertson: Op.cit.,I,p.184. See also the Despatch from the Seventeen to the Cape dated 12th October,1656 in Moodie: Op.cit.,I,p.90. A century later, though conditions in respect of food had greatly improved, Stavorinus noted that, according to officials with whom he talked, the colony imported iron, coal, and nails from Holland, and 'coarse cotton cloths', much arrack, 8-9,000 lbs of rice from Batavia, and coffee, sugar, rice and timber from the East Indies generally. Overall, he noted, the colony cost the V.O.C. ".... about three hundred thousand guilders more than it yields, by reason of the little trade they carry on, and the strong garrison which is obliged to be kept there". J.S.Stavorinus: Voyage to the East Indies, III,pp.457-8. He advocated free trade as a solution: it was a popular remedy outside the V.O.C. A gilder was equal to about 7½p or 1/8d. A rix-dollar was equal to 22½p or 4/6d. E.H.D.Arndt: Banking and Currency Development in South Africa, says a Rix-dollar was equal to about 4/2d (p.5.)

century, the settlement was able to provide meat, wine and the necessary agricultural produce for the fleets and had thus achieved the purpose for which the V.O.C. had intended it in the first place. It was also self-sufficient in food.⁵ In 1695 the Directors had ordered the officials to cease Company activity in agriculture and ranching and to hand all this over entirely to the colonists.⁶

Thereafter, during the 18th century, the problems of the Cape swung in the direction of a chronic and substantial over-production of foodstuffs - like grain, fruit, vegetables and wine: meat could always be consumed or cattle herds permitted to build up in size. Natural increase in the burger population created local pressures on land, and competition between them increased. There was some export of grain to Batavia in the 18th century, but it was only with difficulty that officials there had been persuaded to buy from the Cape.⁷ Better and cheaper grain could be obtained from Bengal,

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5. M.H.de Kock: Op.cit.,p.23; Katzen: Op.cit.,p.197. On the near starvation in the 1650s see van Riebeeck's Journal, and the entries especially for the month of April 1654, and especially 21st-25th. Journal,I,pp.231-3.
6. Leibbrandt: Letters Received,1695-1708,p.61 and pp.204-5. Letters dated 14th July,1695 from the Seventeen and 27th June, 1699. Both to the Cape. See also Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.380.
7. Theal provides the figures for the grain exports between 1705 and 1780. See Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.317,pp.500-2; and III,p.73,pp.80-1 pp.162-3 and pp.165-6. The volume of exports was never constant nor the supply regular. See also AnnaBöeseken: Op.cit.,pp.245-6. In the East Indies the prices paid were 'ridiculously low', thus benefitting Cape farmers little or not at all. Theal: Op.cit.,III,pp.165-6. It was a waste burden of de Mist's criticism of the V.O.C. that in forbidding free trade it had allowed chronic overproduction to develop. "The balance between production and consumption is bound to be upset when freedom to trade is allowed". de Mist: Op.cit.,p.175. He also said that farmers - having no reliable market - often only grew enough for their family needs. Thus when some natural disaster struck - drought or blight or locusts - the Cape was helpless. Grain was actually shipped from the Netherlands to the Cape in 1786. The droughts of 1726 and 1738, for example had been devastating, as had the locusts swarms in 1659 and 1746. See Walker: Op.cit.,p.61, and Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.80. de Mist quickly analyzed the political implications of economic conditions. Earlier, in the 1730s, Mentzel
(continued on next page)

Surat or Persia and "Batavia and Ceylon" both definitely refused to touch Cape wine", though there was some export of this item.⁸

Overproduction is a condition generally associated with either low demand, or the absence of markets, or both. This was the case at the Cape in both respects. There was little demand for its produce apart from that of the V.O.C. and some friendly other fleets passing to and from the East. Their needs could be met from quite early on, and systematically from the start of the 18th century. The non-farming population at the Cape and the garrison and Company employees were able to get all they needed from the ranchers and western agriculturalists. There were few times of boom, - as during the 1758-63 Anglo-French war in India, when large numbers of French troops and ships were frequently at the Cape.⁹ Otherwise there were no local markets or outlets for agricultural produce. The sheer distance, moreover, of the Cape from either European or Asian markets meant that transportable produce, like grain or wine, would in any event have sold dearly because of the transport costs in free and open trade, and other produce would not have survived the journey.

But there was no free trade. The quite considerable agricultural potential of the Cape was frustrated not only by the absence of local demand or inland markets and the transport problem,

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7. (continued from previous page) had observed that there was great poverty amongst settlers in the 'Houteniqua land' (about 200 miles east of the Cape). "The real cause of the lack of necessities and conveniences for the scattered colonists is that the latter cannot easily find a market for their products. For lack of markets, a great deal is wasted and much that could be put to good use is not valued...." A Geographical and Topographical Description, III, p.90.
8. Leo Fouché:(ed.): The Diary of Adam Tas, p.355. In 1690 the Batavian authorities actually refused to buy Cape grain though were compelled to do so by the Directors. See Neumark: Op.cit., p.27.
9. Walker: Op.cit., p.89; and Neumark: Op.cit., p.29 and Theal: Op.cit., III, p.107.

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but also by the iron-hand of monopoly and control which the V.O.C. imposed on burger trade. Almost everything which was sold (at least officially) to ships or their crews, or indeed to the local population at the Cape, had to go through those burgers who had the local commodity licences, and who, under Adriaan van der Stel, became a clique of corrupt officials and landowners, and their burger cronies.¹⁰

It is necessary to make some comment here on the forms of landholding that existed at the Cape. These had direct implications for the structure of group relations and underpinned the political economy. They influenced the geographical spread of the population, thus having obvious consequences for the relations between the expanding arc of colonists and their dependants and the Khoi groups onto whose terrain they moved. As will emerge later, in this chapter, cultural relations were deeply implicated in and interwoven with the broad division of labour. The pattern of landholding thus acted over a period to establish the broad underlying framework through which social relations of a cultural and class kind were expressed.

Three main forms of landholding existed at the Cape.¹¹ First, there was freehold tenure which was largely confined to the

10. Fouché: Op.cit., passim.

11. G.C.Botha: "Early Cape Land Tenure" and "The Dispersion of the Stock farmer in the Cape colony in the 18th Century"; H.M.Robertson: "Some Doubts Concerning Early Land Tenures at the Cape", and Katzen: Op.cit., p.210. All are useful, but there is still a need for careful re-examination of the sources in archives for an analysis of the shape and distribution of land and the conditions of its tenure.

peninsula and the closer western districts, in the areas of initial settlement. It had been initiated there with the establishment of the free burgers. Secondly, there was the loan-farm type of tenure. In general this involved a burger selecting a piece of land (usually for grazing in the 18th century), applying to the Council of Policy for permission to occupy it, and it was then granted to him for a six-month or annual period.¹² Under the loan-farm system it was not uncommon for a farmer or a member of his family (elder sons for instance) to occupy two or more loan-places and even to have a freehold farm and a cattle-run (or more than one) on loan further inland.¹³ In 1714, rent (recognitie) of

12. Botha: "The Dispersion", Op.cit., p.109, and "Early Cape Land Tenure", p.83.

13. Theal: History of Africa, II, p.399. Discussing the Land of Waveren, Valentyn wrote: "There are no cattle here other than that which the freemen cannot accommodate elsewhere, for which they must get leave anew every six months". Beschryvinge van der Goede Hoope, I, p.167. He also knew ". . . . some of the burghers who had 10 or 20,000 and more sheep, which were divided up on various stock farms, some indeed very far inland". Ibid., I, pp.201-3. Another prominent Stellenbosch burgher, Steven Jansz Botma, owned a large farm, 'Welgevallen' next door to Adam Tas. Botma also had a farm 'Kloovenberg' in the Riebeeck-Kasteel area which he used as a cattle post. See Fouché (ed.): The Diary of Adam Tas, p.92, fn.122, and p.104, fn.141. It is pointed out there, in the context of a comment by Tas on the arrival of Botma's animals, that some such farmers brought their cattle in the winter months to the Cape from their cattle stations. Inland of the western Cape the winters are cold and dry, whereas given the prevailing Mediterranean climate at the Cape, there are wet winters, and hence good grazing for cattle. Farmers hence brought their cattle 'baai toe'. Later, when Stavorinus toured the Cape in 1774 he found that a particular farmer, Melk, living near the Tiger Valley close to the Town, had 7 or 8 other farms of which ". . . . some were simply destined for pasturage" and were run by 'stewards'. Stavorinus: Op.cit., II, pp.61-5.

12 rix dollars per year was levied on these loan-farms and the government claimed a tithe. In 1732 the rent was doubled, and at the same time a third form of tenure was introduced which was really an extension of the loan system.¹⁴ It involved the grant of land for a 15-year period on the payment of an annual rent, plus the usual tithe, and was called Quit-rent. After the 15-year period was up the grant could be (and usually was) renewed, but if the V.O.C. wished to retake possession it had to compensate the farmer for the opstal (that is, the buildings and out-houses he may have put up). Likewise, the farmer could not sell the land or dispose of it in parts, though he could sell the opstal and with it the entailed usufructuary rights to graze or grow crops. In practice the government rarely refused to renew loan-farm permits or quit-rent agreements. The latter system at the Cape never became a contentious issue between the colonists and the government in the way it did in the American colonies, though there were aspects of it that added to the friction originating in other matters.¹⁵ A final

14. Botha: "Early Cape Land Tenure", p.84.

15. See Beverley W Bond Jnr: The Quitrent System in the American Colonies. I am grateful to Harry S Wilson for drawing my attention to this interesting contrast between the Cape and the American colonies: it is the kind of comparative insight which emerges from his amazing fund of knowledge and the wide scan of his interest in comparative history. See also May Katzen: Op.cit, p.211, and Leo Fouché: "The Foundation of the Cape Colony, 1652-1708", pp.152-3. Bond argued that the importance of the quitrent in the American colonies arose from its significance as a means of asserting the feudal position of the crown and the proprietaries. This contrast highlights an important distinction between the metropolitan societies in the Netherlands and England in the 17th and 18th centuries, with much stronger legacies of feudalism remaining in the latter. Bond: Op.cit., pp.25-30, and p.439.

variation on the quit-rent was introduced in 1743, called Leenings-Eigendom (perpetual loan) and was designed to try to halt some of the rapid geographical sprawl by providing, legally at least, what was thought to be a more secure and permanent basis for loan-farms and quit-rent. Few graziers took advantage of it. Land was in their view plentiful enough and as they expanded into areas where Khoi had formerly moved, they shouldered them off it and, as will emerge later, absorbed them into the expanding colonial economy, made up of ranching, hunting and some trading. Also, the perpetual-loan farms are not likely to have appealed especially to veeboere since the rents were higher for the added security of tenure they were supposed to offer.¹⁶

Over the 17th and 18th century the general pattern of land-holding was that in the peninsula and western areas - where the large wine and grain farms were - land was mainly freehold. Further inland it was occupied according to one or other form of loan. Most of the land in the Cape - some 5/6ths of it - was found to be held according to the latter systems in 1813.¹⁷ The reasons for this structure of landholding are clear, and its consequences important in the political economy of the Cape.

The good agricultural land of the west was soon snapped up by the early farmers, their descendants and - though it was against

16. Botha: "Early Cape Land Tenure", p.84 and Katzen: Op.cit., p.210.

17. M.H.de Kock: Op.cit.,p.33.

V.O.C. regulations - some officials.¹⁸ By 1700, when the colony was becoming self-sufficient in foodstuffs, the largely private-owned land of the wine-farmers and grain-growers stretched some 50 miles north and east from the Cape towards the mountains.¹⁹ The farmers - especially the bigger ones, and the few officials including the Governor who had moved into the agricultural production and exchange business - dominated that sector of the economy. The Company still controlled the cattle trade but was about to open it up to burgers again. There was simply no room - especially in economic terms, but also in spatial terms (unless enormous effort and impossible sums were put into clearing more land) - for further expansion of agriculture. Labour was short. The farmers battled against over-production caused by low prices, limited demand and the restricted market, which was in part - but only in part - a consequence of the intervention in and manipulation of it by the van der Stel clique.

In any event the V.O.C. began to cut back on the granting of freehold, especially after van der Stel had been replaced. In 1708 the Council at the Cape wrote to the Seventeen saying they did not intend to grant further land in freehold to those who already

18. Fouché (ed.): The Diary of Adam Tas, p.345. He points out that van der Stel and his cronies - let alone other members of the van der Stel family - between them owned as much land as 200 free farmers, and by 1705 had cornered the market by the corrupt use of their official positions. They bought cheap and sold dear; they used inside knowledge about the arrival of the fleets and seem to have ensured that their associates amongst the burgers got the right kinds of contracts at the right time.

19. Botha: "The Dispersion", Op.cit., p.106.

held such land, lest dangerous inequality develop.²⁰ But that was rather like trying to shut the stable door after the horse had bolted. There were already substantial estates and farms in the western Cape and they monopolized the agricultural market, despite the difficulties which their owners had in extracting better terms of sale and conditions for the marketing of the produce from the V.O.C. The poor, the displaced and the less successful of all groups thus began to form and merge on the periphery.

The population grew. I shall describe the diversification in the town and proximate regions shortly, and it will be examined in more detail in chapter 7. But the main population increase occurred amongst the agriculturalists and their dependants. There was a limit to what the town could take, and thus the only direction - literally and figuratively - which farming could take was overbergh and mainly into cattle, but also hunting/trading at the edges, given that there was always a good demand for ivory, for instance, in the port. The western farmers and some of their sons and grandsons and families stayed put, consolidated their hold on the land and developed their estates. Other sons and descendants - along with new burger farmers and indeed some who chose to try to make a go of ranching - and the less successful or more socially constrained westerners drifted slowly but steadily inland. The limitations on the scope of the political economy acted thus to create an underclass constituted from various groups. As will emerge more fully in a later chapter, this class - veeboere and others - proceeded by way of loans-farms, fanning out mainly eastwards but also northwards. Often their farms were sketchily mapped, if at all, and

20. Leibbrandt: Letters Despatched 1696-1708, p.379. Letter dated 18th April, 1708.

not always registered although it had been made compulsory to do so as early as 1687.²¹

Pastoralism of that kind does not lend itself to fixed freehold farms anyway, and there always seemed to be land for the taking. There was, moreover, a demand for meat at the Cape, and hence there also took place a kind of response to that demand in the form of a 'voluntary' movement to the pastoral periphery where there was little need for initial capital, though labour was always in demand. But there, a small core of cattle and sheep (inherited from, or given by, parents, or bartered or bullied from Khoi) could quickly be built up into a good-sized herd. In turn this new material basis of the veeboere political economy and its geography made for yet further predatory and segmentary expansion.²²

This complex of economic, social and demographic factors thus both pushed and pulled burgers and cattle-men of various origins to the expanding periphery. At the end of the 17th century "... the farmers of Stellenbosch and Paarl were suffering severely from the drawbacks of close settlement".²³ In the mid-18th century, Governor Tulbagh wrote to William II of Orange, the Stadhouder, that "All arable land in the District of the Roodezand Mountains has been allocated; not even a small spring or small piece of good ground is to be found, where there is not already an owner. There is nothing really whatsoever left for any new arrivals".²⁴ People only went

21. Theal: Op.cit., II, p.324; E.A.Walker: A History of Southern Africa, p.52, fn.2.

22. P.J.van der Merwe: Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie, pp.191-2; Theal: Op.cit., III, pp.358-61, and Neumark: Op.cit., passim.

23. Fouché: "The Foundation", Op.cit., p.135.

24. H.C.Lichtenstein: The Foundation of the Cape, p.53. This was no doubt something of an exaggeration, but it helped to make the general point that no further immigration could be tolerated by that economy.

inland in search of land, he said, because they could not find a livelihood "... on this side of the mountains".²⁵ And at the end of the 18th century, Barrow noted that the wine-growers in the Peninsula and adjacent areas had the best houses, the most elegant and valuable estates and freehold tenure. Next in ranking to them, he said, on the edges of the Cape District, and in the Districts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, were the 'corn boors', some of whom held their land in freehold though many others had extensive loan-farms and were not generally as prosperous as the wine-farmers. The graziers of Graaff-Reinet "... and other distant parts of the colony" were "... a class of men, of all the rest, the least advanced in civilization. Many of them, towards the borders of the settlement, are perfect Nomads".²⁶

What happened on and behind that expanding arc in respect of the dispossession of Khoi from the land, and especially their incorporation in the various sectors of the colonial political economy will be the concern of the next major section of this chapter. But one can again see here - in respect of the landholding system and the spread of the colony - the logic of the colonial situation illustrated in yet another dimension. The downward and outward pressures created by the cramped material circumstances, and the economic policy and priorities of the V.O.C., meant that each class - with its differential access to political influence, and its social connections - pressed down upon the next through a hierarchy of landed or pastoral interests and the exercise of its political and/or coercive power. Thus, further, the system and distribution of land-

25. Ibid., loc.cit.

26. Barrow: Op.cit., II, pp.394-401.

holding in that constrained economic context shaped the broad class framework through which the relations of labour and coincident socio-cultural relations were expressed. Geographically, economically and politically this illustrates the imperial metropolis - periphery relationship.

What emerged was a social structure consisting, broadly, of the well-to-do western wine and grain farmers; an urban community obsessed with minor commercial activities, desperately trying to improve their lot; a subordinate group of skilled and unskilled, free and unfree men and women providing various crafts, skills and services for the farmers and the townspeople; a steadily expanding arc of veeboere, hunters, traders, brokers and middlemen; and a substantial urban and rural proletariat of slaves (especially in the west) and dependent Khoi.

As the settlement grew, diversification of trades and occupations did too, especially in the town and its immediate environs. There were artisans of various kinds - many emerging from the ranks of the slaves, and others from the employees of the V.O.C. There were seal-engravers, pump-makers, gunsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, sword-cutters, bakers, glaziers, coppersmiths, tanners, wigmakers, carpenters, millers, shoemakers, tailors, inn-keepers and fishermen.²⁷ But, having adopted a cheap way of ensuring its limited objectives for the Cape (namely, the employment of free burgers to provide the produce, assisted by a large pool of cheap labour), the V.O.C. rather washed its hands of the demographic, economic and political

27. See Hoge: Personalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806, passim; and Böeseken: "The settlement under the van der Stels", p.29. But the colonist population was still small. See Table II.

consequences of that development, though it issued a stream of edicts aimed at controlling what the skimpy local political and military resources of the Company simply could not cope with. Given that the Cape was, then, relatively short on capital, markets and labour, it was the land that was the plentiful factor, provided of course that the Khoi could be edged off it and/or sucked into the economy as an underclass. The process which accomplished the destruction of the Khoi was thus in part a demographically-based response of settlers making "... extensive use of the abundant factor, land", and in part a response to the high and regular demand for meat.²⁸ Combined, these factors largely account not only for the post-1700 geographical spread of the colony, as we shall see later, but also for the fact that it was to cattle-rearing, by loan-farm expansion, that the trekkers turned. Moreover, the social and political structure of the eastern-moving society of veeboere, compared with the more settled and relatively sedate existence of the western agriculturalists and townspeople, must be seen against this background.²⁹

28. Neumark: Op.cit.,p.18. Most observers noted that the demand for fresh meat was 'insatiable'. See Gie: Op.cit.,p.644. It was certainly plentiful at the Cape and regularly eaten in both town and country. See C.G.Botha: Social Life at the Cape Colony, pp.49-50, and p.86. The size of ships' crews and the number of ships calling at the Cape increased over the century, as did the supply of meat per head on board. Elphick suggests that even by the 1680s, the ratio had climbed to about 1 sheep for every 4 or 5 men on board. Elphick: Op.cit.,p.210. His counting and arithmetic is very useful in this and other respects. Mentzel found mutton to be the staple meat; O.F.Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.101.

29. This is dealt with in chapters 8 and 9.

Finally, the frequent shortage of cash - coinage - and the relative abundance of food made unfree labour cheaper. While barter was possible with the Khoi, employees and knechte wanted payment which they could spend at the Cape, or claim and use when they got back to the Netherlands.³⁰

Against this background, the unfolding structure of Cape society can be analysed in terms of the relations between the various groups as they came to be arranged in the overall division of labour through their differential incorporation in the political economy of the Cape. Which, then, were the main groups and what, in general terms, is the causal model that establishes the conceptual structure of the argument?

The plural structure of Cape society was constituted out of 5 main categories which may schematically be identified as follows: the Dutch officials, the employees and knechte of the V.O.C.; the free burgers; the Khoisan dependants, and the African and East Indian slaves, (as well as subsequent later mixtures of them all). The general tides of 17th century European colonialism and mercantilist rivalries had brought this remarkable combination of cultures together. The substantial initial institutional discontinuities between the cultures and their mutual perceptions of these, plus the specific requirements and constraints of the V.O.C. policy, plus the associated narrow limits of the Cape economy, all combined to shape relations at the Cape in unusual if not grotesque forms. Just as the destruction of Khoi societies was indissolubly

30. de Kock: Op.cit., pp.70-75. He deals with banking, currency and coinage at the Cape. See also Boxer: The Dutch Seaborne Empire, pp.88-93, on some of the methods of payment to V.O.C. employees, and what they spent it on when they returned. Also Masselman: The Cradle of Colonialism, pp.243-250. Paper currency came late and was regarded with suspicion. See Arndt: Op.cit., chapter I.

linked to the colonialism of the V.O.C. and the local forces and momentum it generated at the Cape, so too must the political economy and sociology of labour and slavery at the Cape be seen as part of the constitutive aspect of that colonialism. The process of differential incorporation involved the increasing complexity in structure as different groups - some in direct competition with each other for increasingly scarce resources in a cramped market - with differing degrees and kinds of rights and rightlessness were imported to the colony or sucked into its economy and then - given its slow growth - more or less locked into different categories and kinds of labour. In general, moreover, given the pre-democratic context and the non-democratic structure of the V.O.C. and its Cape operation, the very rough divisions of labour were associated also with differences in political rights, status and opportunity. Thus immobility in respect of either one's labour role or political status entailed immobility in respect of the other. The cramped market and limited scope for economic gain and opportunity meant, further, that there was not a great deal of 'social space' at the top. This established the structural basis for political and social exclusiveness towards the upper echelons of the society. Under such conditions of a tight and narrow market, and hence fierce competition, one would expect corruption to occur, and it did.

What is more complicating still is that not only were the constituent sectors of the society defined by their differential positions in the structure of labour and access to political influence, but there was also a rough correlation between, on the one hand, the general kind of work, status and rights they initially had - at the point of entry to the society, so to speak - and quite substantial cultural differences between the main groups, on the other hand.

The groups can be described more fully before analyzing the process of incorporation of each group and the pattern of relations between them. The main categories in the overall economic, social and political division of labour were these. First, the senior officials. They were in charge of the administration of the settlement and they included the Governor, the Secunde (deputy governor), officers of the garrison, clergymen (when there were clergymen), the Independent Fiscal, the surgeons, bookkeepers, treasurers, secretaries, upper-merchants, ordinary merchants, and any temporary visiting Commissioners or senior officials en route to or from the East. They dominated the polity and had direct but sluggish access to Amsterdam and Batavia. Though they were not permitted to engage in agriculture or ranching other than for their own domestic needs, the practice was widespread and this form of corruption was to lead to a major conflict between them and the colonists in the first few years of the 18th century. The officials controlled admission to free burger status - a status which permitted the pursuit of what little economic opportunity there was, and entailed political representation on the major institutions of the Colony. Moreover, they (the officials) controlled prices, the granting of land, the issuing of monopoly licences, and they had to sanction the intention of a burger to farm, open a tavern or to bake, and so forth. It was they who, in short, and subject to the orders from Amsterdam and Batavia, dictated - at least officially - the direction of Cape developments. Political power was concentrated firmly in their hands.

Secondly, there were the V.O.C. employees and knechts. They were at the Cape on limited contracts, were at the bottom of the

V.O.C. hierarchy and were subordinate as soldiers, sailors, functionaries or menials to the senior officials or their temporary burger employers when knecht. They owned no property in land, nor could they; they were effectively without political rights or representation of any kind, and ruthlessly subordinated to official authority and orders, and overall had neither status, nor wealth, nor influence nor opportunity: they were an underclass within the Company structure though they could not be enslaved, were not permanent at the Cape and once their contract was up (between 3 and 5 years) would return home or go on to Batavia, or attempt to move up the V.O.C. hierarchy, or become burgers at the Cape.

Thirdly, there were the free burgers. They were initially drawn from the ranks of the V.O.C. employees at the Cape. Later, officially encouraged immigration from the Netherlands (including about 200 French Huguenot refugees after 1688) swelled their numbers, as did the small but steady trickle of entrants to burger status from soldiers and sailors (mainly Germans) in the 18th century after immigration was slowed down in 1706 and formally stopped in 1717 . The main growth in the burger population - the figures for which are in Table II in chapter 5 - came from natural increase. The children of burgers (or most of them) were automatically in the same category. The status of burger was a complex one. They were able to pursue what limited economic opportunity there was, but this was tightly circumscribed by V.O.C. policies and subject to the commercial interests of the Company. Some burgers failed, and re-crossed the threshold back into employee status, or deserted.³¹ But

31. Boxer: Op.cit., p.279 on desertions. Also for references to this question in the documents, see Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.256, fn.1, and pages 197, 202, 213, 252, 367, 368 and 377 for details of desertions and return to V.O.C. employment.

they stood in a unique relationship to the V.O.C. They held land - either freehold or on usufruct - and in time accumulated a congeries of related material interests and a stake in the economy of the colony, such as it was, either in the agricultural or commercial sphere. This marked them off decisively from the employees and knechte, as did the fact that the burgers had representation on the Council of Policy, the Council of Justice, the Militia Council, the Orphan Chamber, the Matrimonial Court and the Kerkeraad (in charge of church matters).

Thus even within the above three categories one can distinguish quite important aspects of differential incorporation in respect of 'class' position, access to political authority and social esteem, though most (if not all) were within the same broad cultural category. And it was only at the rare times of grave danger to the settlement - and hence to their skins - that these categories cohered as a group with common interests.

Fourthly, in the overall division of colonial labour, the Khoisan dependants were occupying an indeterminate and somewhat ambiguous legal position between 'free' and 'unfree' labour, without any direct or indirect political rights or civic status, or access to the centres of power, except through the no doubt opaque and intermittent agency of their recognized 'captains' in the presumably very unresponsive structure of indirect rule. The steady incorporation of Cape Khoi in the encroaching and sluggish economy must be seen as a constant factor in 17th and 18th century colonialism at the Cape. They were mainly involved in cattle-related jobs on the eastern periphery, but also, from very early on, were drifting in and out of service in the west. Increasingly, they came under the political and legal hegemony of the V.O.C., and the direct power of

the colonists as their conditions became more critical and hence their dependence increased. Consequently, they were sucked in at the bottom of the Cape economy and its labour structure. Though initially they had not fallen within the scope of the V.O.C. jurisdiction it has been shown above how this happened, as early as the 1670s, and as individual Khoi came to do odd jobs around the Cape for the V.O.C. and free burgers, though not initially on a widespread or systematic basis. And although some burgers were punished for ill-treatment of the Khoi, and though the Seventeen despatched letters admonishing against cruelty, there can be little doubt that they were treated, by and large, with the characteristic 17th and 18th century contumely and roughness of Dutchmen in dominant positions abroad.

Finally, there were the slaves, drawn mainly from East Africa and the Indies. There were Company slaves, but the majority of slaves were owned by the free burgers, though bought (sometimes on credit) from the V.O.C. They were, needless to say, rightless in social, political and economic terms. Legally, they could own only a few personal possessions - like the Roman peculium³² - and they were unfree, in theory, for life. Most of the African slaves did heavy manual work, while the Asian slaves were found, in general, in more skilled roles and domestic service. There was opportunity for manumission. When it occurred - and it was not uncommon - freed slaves became free burgers, thus underlining the correspondence in practice (and the relationship) between political status and economic opportunity. But so long as they were slaves, they were without

32. M.I.Finley: "Between Slavery and Freedom", p.243; and George MacMunn: Slavery Through the Ages, p.21.

political connections or influence, enjoyed no civic status and were relegated to that condition for life, as were their children. There were some ambiguities, as we shall see, however, about the position of Christian (that is converted and baptised) slaves.

While the distinctions between the various categories of labour also correlated roughly with broad cultural divisions (regarding the officials; employees, knechte and burgers as one cultural group, but divided internally by differential access to political influence, and by 'class' position) it is important to emphasize here that each of the segments were not corporate groups either in virtue of their class position in the political economy, or in virtue of any immutable cultural-cum-ideological solidarity binding each group together. Nor can it be suggested that mobility did not take place between the categories (or some of them, and in some directions) or that the initial structure of relations, once formed, froze fast. What the breakdown of the groups does point up, however, and what the model in motion does illustrate is this: given a rough correlation between the labour location of the groups and their representative cultural characteristics, and given a severely constrained economic context, it follows that the initial labour arrangement - that is, the initial circumstances, conditions and level of incorporation of the categories - would be unlikely to undergo significant or rapid internal re-arrangement or permit substantial individual movement so long as, first, the actual economic growth of the society was as slow as it was, and hence, secondly, the real opportunities (via formal and informal modes of socialization) for mobility was so limited, and the 'social space' at the top so crowded.

Once these segments were brought together within the first 50 years - in differing numbers and distributions - those who stood to gain by the initial and prevailing arrangements (that is, the officials, the free burgers and their immediate kin and dependants) acted locally at the Cape through their collective political power to establish a 'social tariff wall'; as it were, against further admission to the dominant class within the political economy of the Cape, because its limited scope could not stand further competition without substantial cost. Now it further happened to be the case that those who were admitted (or lured or compelled) lower down in the overall socio-economic and political division of labour were, generally (with the exception of the relatively few knechte and V.O.C. employees as time went on), also culturally distinct as Khoisan, East Indian or East African. And thus (to complicate the model further), to the extent that they were lodged in subordinate labour positions - crudely, their 'class' position in terms of their relationship to the means of colonial production and exchange - this was not because of their 'colour' or 'culture' as such. Rather it was for a combination of reasons which converged in the following manner: first, because the economy could not 'tolerate' further upward movement out of the category of menial labour and admission into the dominant categories, and secondly, therefore, under conditions of such slow economic growth the formal and informal agencies of acculturation were limited and therefore, thirdly, cultural change amongst both slaves and Khoisan dependants did not happen either rapidly or on a wide scale, and thus, fourthly, most slaves and Khoisan dependants were kept out of the critically important political, economic and social

category of 'free burger' with all its relative advantages and opportunities. Moreover, to underline the point about the cramped state at the top of the social structure and within the more advantaged section in the division of labour, new direct entry - by immigration, as opposed to natural increase amongst the free burgers - was severely restrained in accordance with the expressed wishes and stated interests of both local officials and the free burger community after 1706 and again after 1717.

It must be added that during the whole period other intermediate and new sectors emerged which were the product of local intermixture. But what was being mixed? Certainly cultures; clearly colours in some instances, and possibly classes. A structural (and no doubt socio-psychological) tension was created within the society and political economy of the Cape by the overlapping continua of class and culture. These new sectors were nonetheless distributed over extant categories, or new ones - and subordinate ones, at that, like the Griqua and 'Bastaards' - were created. The status of such sectors (and individuals) was no doubt problematic and ambiguous, because their 'culture' steered them in one direction, (upwards), while their 'class position', in that economic context, drove them in the opposite direction, (downward). It will be necessary to return to this question later.

It is worth pointing out here that all this has direct and far-reaching implications for the question of so-called 'race relations' or the 'colour question' at the Cape. It may appear that the concentration of the focus on the structure of labour and slavery at the Cape has displaced the 'colour' and/or 'race' question to the margins. That is not the case. Those questions are, at best, only alternative and perhaps inadequate formulations and definitions

of the same central problem. Thus it makes sense here to indicate the approach which is being, and which will subsequently be used in respect of these matters since they are intimately implicated in the problem of labour and slavery at the Cape.

Slavery in the Americas, says Genovese, is best treated as a class question "... with a profound racial dimension".³³ Though a broadly similar approach is adopted here, the problem of course is to identify how 'profound' the 'racial dimension' at the Cape was, and indeed what it was. That can only emerge in the course of a broader analysis of emergent structure and ideology, incorporating the analysis of interaction between groups of diverse cultural and historical antecedents as they converged in a particular matrix of labour relations. In short, outside of the historical and structural context sketched above, the 'colour question' or 'race relations' has no meaning and cannot be examined independently. It may indeed constitute a 'profound dimension', brought about by, and associated with, the complex structure of economic, political and social relations established by the colonial and other contacts, and not the other way round.

Obvious as this point may be, it needs to be stressed in an era when 'colour' has tended to be examined as if it had always been somehow an autonomous causal sphere of interaction and attitude-formation, not only detached from the antecedent attitudes and perceptions, the historical and contemporary economic, military and political context of that interaction, but also from the institutional discontinuities between the major groups involved. It needs to be underlined that, since 'colour' has no behavioural

33. E.D.Genovese: "Class and Race", p.113.

correlates, to talk of 'colour' or 'race' relations does not take analysis very far. Rather, it means that other complexes of relationships between behaviours, cultures, interacting political economies, roles, groups and associated attitudes have to be identified contextually as the essence of the relations (usually called 'race relations'), and they have to be examined structurally over time if the specific and changing configurations of relations between so-called 'colours' or 'races' is to be understood in other than only the most surface and tautological terms.³⁴

Thus, excluding the officials, the four categories of labour which were employed at the Cape - the burgers, the knechte and employees of the V.O.C., the slaves and Khoisan - combined in a particular fashion. In the final analysis, what shaped the hierarchy of preference as far as the mix of elements of labour was concerned was the economic condition of the colony, though clearly availability of supply - and overall social costs as defined by the politically dominant - influenced the pattern too. The V.O.C. officials were on a tight budget, and free burgers rarely had adequate supplies of cash. Under those conditions it is clear why, in general, they preferred unfree cheap labour, or at least cheap labour. That needs to be qualified by pointing out that both officials and burgers also sought competent labour, and employees who would be both obedient and hardworking. On grounds of personal and collective security there was also a need for reliable and loyal

34. I.D.MacCrone's splendid study of Race Attitudes in South Africa (first published in 1937) remains one of the few accounts which attempts to be interdisciplinary and to locate attitudes and their formation in the specific historical context.

men. If not enough of them emerged from the garrison and the V.O.C. ranks to supervise the slaves and give numerical muscle to the commando defences and offensives of the veeboere in particular, such a class could be - and was - created, as in Brazil.³⁵

Overall, however, all these requirements, given that economy and that colonial situation converged on 'unfree' and (relatively) underpaid and cheap labour, as against free, paid labour.

In the light of this general statement of the argument, it is now appropriate to outline the purposes for which labour was required and then to analyze in turn the circumstances and conditions under which various categories were incorporated and how they related to each other. First, I deal briefly with the officials and free burgers - in relation to whose position all other categories must be seen and defined - and then the knechte. But the bulk of this chapter must be devoted to examining the mode and condition of Khoisan and slave admission to the society in the light of the above model. It will then be possible to see how the economic context of the colony and the limited possibilities for its growth conspired to expand the unfree and rightless labour force, and also to lock them, in general, in the initial circumstance and condition of their entry to the Cape political economy. For it is that process and that structure of consequential relationships which characterize, classically, the condition of structural pluralism.

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35. "In the first instance", writes Harris, "given the chronic labour shortage in 16th century Portugal, and the small number of people who migrated to Brazil, the white slave owners had no choice but to create a class of half-castes They were compelled to create an intermediate free group of half-castes to stand between them and the slaves because there were certain economic and military functions for which slave labour was useless and for which no whites were available". Marvin Harris: Patterns of Race in the Americas, pp.86-7. (My emphasis, A.L.) Some aspects of this -perhaps with less mechanistic tones of the Cape farmers 'creating' such intermediate groups - have striking parallels at the Cape. The 'bastards', so-called, certainly fell into this kind of category, though they were used as a buffer between the veeboere and the Khoisan resisters.

It was quite clear from the start that van Riebeeck did not have enough manpower to achieve the objectives which the V.O.C. had set out in his Instructions.³⁶ He had been ordered to build a fort, establish a vegetable garden, engage in barter and the pasturing of cattle and sheep, plant and tend fruit trees, provide hospital facilities for sick crewmen and at the same time ensure the adequate security of the whole operation. To start from scratch and achieve that set of objectives was clearly beyond the 120 men or so he had with him. Moreover, he soon noted that the V.O.C. employees were hardly motivated to work - except for their own survival - and showed little 'industry or application'. From the outset, thus, the labour question in that most fundamental sense was a general preoccupation of the officials, just as much as the barter in cattle.

The V.O.C. had hoped that its aims for the Cape could be achieved both quickly and cheaply. But the realization of those ends were inconsistent with these means. For not only did the V.O.C. limit the number of employees and the size of the garrison at the Cape on the grounds of expense, but it was also very slow to respond initially to the repeated requests for more labour. Within weeks of his arrival, van Riebeeck was urging more hands, of almost any kind: knechte, 'industrious Chinese' from the East, Mardijkers,

36. "Instructions for the Commanders proceeding for the service of the Company to the Cabo de Esperance" in Moodie: Op.cit., I, pp.7-9. Also W.Blommaert: "Het Invoeren de Slavernij Aan die Kaap", pp.1-5.

slaves or Hollanders.³⁷ Moreover, it had long been Company policy not to permit the enslavement of the indigenous people.³⁸ Thus, under these circumstances, local solutions had to be found for local problems with whatever labour resources could be tapped and from whatever source.

There were broadly four main possible sources. First, more employees or knechte, or 'industrious Chinese' or liberated slaves could be shipped from the Netherlands (for the knechte and employees) and/or from the East. In respect of these, however, the major disadvantage was that it was expensive because, little though it was, they would have to be paid.³⁹ Secondly, some employees (or

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37. Jan van Riebeeck: Journal, I, p. 23. Entry for 21st April, 1652. See also chapter 1 above, and Blommaert: Op.cit., passim. One instance of V.O.C. pressure on van Riebeeck to reduce the number of employees is found in van Goens' instructions to him to "... diminish the number of salaried servants". See Moodie: Op.cit., I, p. 97. Another earlier example is in the instruction from the Seventeen at Middelburgh of 11th April, 1657, that as soon as the Cape had "... a sufficient number of slaves, your garrison is to be reduced to less than 70 or 80 men...". Leibbrandt: Letters Received, 1649-1662, II, p. 10; and this again was emphasized in a letter from Amsterdam, dated 18th March, 1658. Ibid., II, pp. 264-6. In these respects one can see how V.O.C. policy and orders affected internal Cape developments, and their direction.
38. Blommaert: Op.cit., pp. 1-8. He refers also to practice in the East Indies, and the Statutes that governed practice there and the Cape.
39. Ibid., where he shows usefully how van Riebeeck carefully probed Amsterdam and Batavia trying to establish which policy appealed most to the Directors. van Riebeeck of course wanted promotion and a move from the Cape. For this reason he was concerned to keep in good standing with the Directors. They were most easily convinced on grounds of low costs. But he had to estimate what the subsequent costs of inferior or inadequate labour might be, for the V.O.C. would have had to bear those and hence his own promotion chances were directly affected. L. Leipoldt: Jan van Riebeeck, and A.J. Böeseken: Jan van Riebeeck en sy Gesin.

especially encouraged immigrants) could be given their freedom as burgers on long contracts and could be encouraged to farm on their own account, subject to strict Company control. In general the belief that where men had a "personal interest" and would search for profit, things would prosper. But the disadvantages of this plan of course were that it would have entailed an early and substantial commitment to colonization which would also have been expensive and was not what the Company had in mind at the Cape. Thirdly, slaves could be imported. This was relatively speaking a cheap policy, with a major saving on wages, "... slaves only costing their food".⁴⁰ But there would be (and later there were) costs here too. Slave systems requiring policing and many military matters and some security tasks would have to be in the hands of Dutch officials or employees.

Finally, some Batavian officials encouraged the view that some Cape 'natives' might be "... sufficiently inclined to do all kinds of work instead of slaves, and where, if possible, they should be kept by means of little presents".⁴¹

In the event, the unfolding logic of local policies and initiatives, Batavian and Dutch directives, chance happenings (like the arrival of the first slaves, captured from a Portuguese vessel) and the gradual disintegration of Khoi societies, converged on a combination of Khoisan dependants, free burgers, knechte and slaves as the sources of elements. No Mardijkers could be induced to go to the Cape from the East, nor could Batavian officials 'persuade' Chinese to settle

40. A.J.Leibbrandt: Letters Received 1649-1661, I, p.226. The Seventeen to the Cape, 30th October, 1655.

41. Ibid., I, p.84. Batavia to the Cape, 24th December, 1652, and Ibid., II, pp.2-4, from Batavia to the Cape, 31st January, 1656.

there, and they were not able to spare any slaves.⁴² But as each element in the labour mix was brought into the constitution of the society, and as each of the major tasks set out in the Instructions was attacked, so new problems were generated with direct implications for additional labour requirements. For instance, once the garden was begun, labour was needed to tend it and guard it; once a herd of cattle was built up, kraals were needed for them, as were scattered grazing posts and hence guards; and once the first free burgers were given their plots of land on the Liesbeeck river, they too needed additional labour. Given the financial constraints on the burgers, and given the tight budgetary considerations under which the officials at the Cape operated, it soon became clear that - whatever the other wider social costs and demerits of unfree and slave labour - the main general criterion for obtaining labour was a question of expense. In practice, what this meant was that both the local officials charged with implementing V.O.C. policy, and free burgers (after 1657) trying to make good, sought cheap labour. It took two forms. First they demanded and got slaves. Secondly, within the rough constraints of V.O.C. policy in respect of the indigenous people they also did everything they could to induce, lure or compel Khoi to do odd jobs for them. While knechte and V.O.C. employees were used throughout the period, their role in the composition and structure of labour relations became a minor one from early on. The figures are not accurate for every year; but there is no evidence to suggest that the number of knechte in service with the burgers was ever higher

42. Ibid., loc.cit.

than 150 at any time over the whole period, and fluctuated between 53 in 1672, 69 in 1701, 136 in 1738 and 81 in 1778.⁴³

Before proceeding to examine the conditions and circumstances of entry to the society by Khoisan and slaves, we must first deal briefly here with the main facts about the free burgers and the knechte. A detailed consideration of the burgers and their role in the political economy, is best dealt with under the heading of social and political structure in the next chapter.

The V.O.C. agreed with van Riebeeck that both ranching and agriculture might be furthered, at less expense, if free burgers were permitted, and endorsed the Cape view that "... for the sake of the profit involved some tenants (and especially the married ones) could be all the more easily induced to remain here, instead of yearning to go on to India, as they do because of the poor prospects here. Thus the free families could be offered the means of self-advancement - a policy which the Hon. Company does seem to favour".⁴⁴ Thus in March 1657 two small parties of free burgers were established along the banks of the Liesbeeck river under

43. Beyers: Die Kaapse Patriotte, Bylae H, pp.240-249, and MacCrone: Op.cit., p.75. Also see Table II in chapter 5. The total number of V.O.C. employees at the Cape at any one time was always considerably larger than this.

44. Resolution of Council of the Cape, 1st October, 1655. Journal, II, pp.345-348. The Seventeen had toyed with the idea earlier. See letter to van Riebeeck from them, of 6th October 1654. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.54. In April 1655 van Riebeeck wrote to the Seventeen again, exploring the question of 'free farmers'. He was shrewd enough to know that "... no one will readily settle in a wild and desert country" without some prospect of making good profit. Ibid., I, pp.62-6. van Riebeeck to Seventeen, 28th April 1655. The official approval by the V.O.C. for the establishment of a free burger group came from the Seventeen in a long letter of 30th October 1655, in which the general conditions of their burgership were outlined. See also A.J. Böeseken: "The Arrival of van Riebeeck at the Cape", pp.20-23; and her van Riebeeck en sy Gesin, chapter 10 and passim.

tightly limited conditions of freedom, binding them to the Cape for 20 years, and locking them to the V.O.C. in respect of almost all commercial dealings. They held their land in freehold, but were severely circumscribed as to what they could grow, from whom they could buy and at what prices and via and to whom they could sell. Van Goens, a visiting Commissioner at the Cape in April 1657, relaxed the conditions slightly. He permitted them to engage in barter with the Khoi (withdrawn in the following year) and provided for their representation on the Council of Policy.⁴⁵ From this time onwards, a steady but slow increase in the numbers of employees took place (particularly under Simon van der Stel after 1679), and between 1688 and 1700 about 200 Huguenot refugees in the Netherlands arrived at the Cape.⁴⁶ But the main rise in the burger population came from natural increase.⁴⁷

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45. Journal, II, pp. 191-3, the Seventeen to van Riebeeck, dated 30th October, 1655. See Moodie: Op.cit., I, p. 75; van Goens' instructions to van Riebeeck, dated 16th April, 1657 in Moodie: Op.cit., I, pp. 96-100; Walker: A History, p. 38; Bøeseken: "The Arrival of van Riebeeck", pp. 21-3; Theal: Op.cit., II, pp. 61-65. Theal: Abstracts, p. 36 for the reversal of the decision concerning free burgers' right to barter with the Khoi, dated 4th May, 1658 and repeated on 24th October, 1658. Ibid., p. 50. In the 18th century one finds the burger councillors playing an interesting advocacy role. Many of the petitions and individual Memorials (Requesten) to the Council of Policy were put forward by the Burger Councillors as a group in behalf of individual burgers or groups of them. See Leibbrandt: Requesten, passim. And A.J. Bøeseken: van Riebeeck en sy Gesin, chs. 11-12.
46. C.G. Botha: The French Refugees at the Cape; Walker: Op.cit., pp. 48-9, and Katzen: Op.cit., pp. 195-7. Some interesting background about and details of the Huguenot diaspora in Europe (and from there abroad) may be found in Warren C. Scoville: The Persecution of the Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720. I am grateful to Dr Roger Mettam for drawing my attention to this.
47. Women appear to have been extremely fertile and families were large. Some fascinating demographic arithmetic has been done by Robert Ross on this question. See his article on "The 'White' Population of South Africa in the 18th century", passim.

What is important from the perspective of differential incorporation is that whether their land was freehold, or held according to one of the various loan systems such as quit-rent, the free burgers/^{who}were engaged in farming - as wine growers, general agriculture or in grazing - had relatively unconstrained and undisturbed access to land.⁴⁸ The principle of usufruct meant, in fact, that they became the Cape landowners. In virtue of this they developed a set of accumulating material and ideal interests arising out of their possession of land and their goals for it, and one of these was a critical need for labour. Thus, although the initial decision to all^{ow} free burgers to operate had been taken because it was thought that production at the Cape would be more efficient and cheaper, the consequences of the decision entailed a logic that demanded yet further labour to assist them. Thus the burgers (rural and urban) were lodged at the apex of the non-official population from the start, and had access to land and an important interest in what little economic opportunity there was. They also had a representation in political circles and were able to lodge and pursue complaints, such as the various burger petitions.⁴⁹ And, particularly

48. On Cape Land Tenure, see C.G.Botha: "Early Cape Land Tenure" in his Collected Works, II; H.M.Robertson: "Some Doubts concerning Early Land Tenure at the Cape"; Katzen: Op.cit., pp.208-213. Grevenbroek, who was Council secretary after 1686 describes the relative ease with which farms of 60 acres were allotted to the burgers, in return for a 'tithe of the grain harvest'. Grevenbroek: Op.cit., pp.277-9.

49. The petition of 23rd December, 1658 was the first among many petitions and indices of the V.O.C./colonist friction. In this petition they complained about the severe restrictions which were placed on their economic prospects. Trade with the Khoi had been banned, though they'd been promised it; the prices to be paid for their produce were not stated and they feared they would be low; their expenses were heavy; the V.O.C. was not providing them with adequate protection and they requested better terms of freedom to sell their produce to the ships. Journal, II, pp.390-401. For later petitions on this question see Böeseken: Die Nederlandse Kommissaris, pp.174-6.

with respect to the more affluent amongst the burgers, they constituted the social elite amongst the non-officials, and thus were identified socially with the most prestigious colonials, the officials and senior V.O.C. servants.⁵⁰ Of course, both in the town and the country there were poor and unsuccessful burgers, who slid down the social structure and took employment with other burgers in various capacities, or trekked out to the east or deserted or left the colony. We shall look at that question in the next chapter. Here, the advantaged status of the free burger - in terms of economic opportunity, political influence and social esteem - must be the central point of analytic reference when considering the relatively disadvantaged positions and differential incorporation of knechte, Khoisan dependants and slaves in Cape society.

One partial answer to the burgers' labour problem was the use of knechte, though they were extremely costly relative to slaves or dependant Khoisan.⁵¹ Unlike the position of the indentured

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50. It is impossible to read The Diary of Adam Tas 1705-6 without getting the clear impression that, despite the sometimes severe conflicts over questions of corrupt practice (and related matters) by the officials, men like Tas mixed and mingled with upper officialdom in social and political life. Davenport has appropriately described the western Cape as being "... the home of a Dutch-speaking aristocracy before the British arrived". T.R.H.Davenport: The Afrikaner Bond, p.2.
51. In the Burger petition of 1658, for example, before slaves in any number were at the Cape, the burgers complained that their expenses - including payment of their 'servants' (knechte) - were such that they could not make ends meet. Journal, II, p.393. Commissioner Frisius recognized this costliness to the burgers of having knechte. In his report to the Seventeen he declared that it was "... desirable that the agriculturists should be provided with slaves, in order to do away with the high wages they are compelled to pay their Netherlands servants, under which they are smothered so that all their profits disappear". Leibbrandt: Letters Received, 1649-62, II, p.345. Frisius Report, dated 4th July, 1661.

labourers in the American South, the role of the knechte in the political economy and social structure of the Cape was not significant. "For almost one hundred years, white indentured servants were the principal source of manpower in the Anglo-saxon colonies. Black slave manpower was a relatively late introduction", writes Marvin Harris.⁵² The role of knechte at the Cape was in no way comparable. For this and other reasons the structure and pattern of social relations between groups at the Cape was different. Their importance and significance for analytical purposes here lies more in the fact that knecht status was an intermediate one between V.O.C. employee and free burger. For once the contract of an employee had expired he could apply to stay on as a knecht. Other knechte were V.O.C. soldiers loaned out to farmers as a temporary expedient, and paid by them.⁵³ Others still - no doubt the most unreliable - were, for example, deserters from foreign ships whom the Company would not employ at the Cape but who found "... work among the farmers to earn a living".⁵⁴ In the 1730s Mentzel observed that knechte were usually engaged for a year "... as overseer of the slaves and general estate manager" and he claimed that this "... form of employment was a stepping stone to wealth for competent men".⁵⁵

52. Marvin Harris: Op.cit.,p.83.

53. M.W.Spilhaus: The First South Africans, pp.121-2. Moodie suggests that there were two categories of 'servants': free servants, who were people discharged from V.O.C. service, and loaned servants who were undischarged soldiers. It was from the latter group that the knechte were drawn. Moodie: Op.cit., I,p.337,fn(2).

54. Leibbrandt: Journal 1662-70,pp.330-1. Entry for 30th September,1670.

55. Mentzel: Op.cit.,I,pp.164-5. "Such men frequently married their master's daughter or widow. In fact I have known cases where widows engaged 'Knechte' with a view to matrimony". Ibid., loc.cit.

In general, then, the knechte were a lesser part of the dominant category of burgers and a strategically well-placed sector of V.O.C. employees. They were not "... different in class or character from the men they worked for".⁵⁶ From that status they could move up into the burger category, or back into V.O.C. employment at the Cape or in Batavia, or they would return to the Netherlands. For the upwardly mobile employees of the V.O.C. some fairly typical routes into burger status can be found in the biographies of some of the Germans at the Cape in the late 17th and 18th centuries. Many arrived as soldiers or sailors, were then 'loaned out' as farm labourers or shepherds to burgers, or were employed by the Company in some non-military functional role - as sick-attendant, stable-boy, coachman, mason or wagonmaker (or were promoted through the ranks) for example - and then, later, granted free burger-status as either a free farmer or a tradesman of some kind.⁵⁷ Thus, Gerit Geritz arrived at the Cape as a V.O.C. soldier in 1693, was loaned as a farmhand in the same year, and became a burger in 1698.⁵⁸ Franz Joost arrived as a soldier in 1693, was first loaned as a shepherd, then as a farmhand and finally became a burger in 1699.⁵⁹ Johannes Blanckenburg moved up through the ranks: he arrived as a soldier in 1701, became a corporal in 1703, and then

56. Spilhaus: Op.cit.,pp.122. The word 'class' is confusing here. They were certainly different in class to the men they worked for. But they could move into that class with relative ease.

57. Hoge: Personalia, passim, and Leibbrandt: Requesten Vols I and II, passim.

58. Hoge: Op.cit.,p.111.

59. Ibid.,p.188.

sick-attendant from 1705-1708 and was finally granted burger status in 1709.⁶⁰ There are many other instances of this kind.⁶¹ That particular route of upward mobility and delayed direct entry to burger status in the 18th century alone accounted for about 100 new male family founders after immigration was officially stemmed in 1706. Overall, it appears that at least 882 'white' men, 140 'white' women and 217 'non-white' women married into the 'white' population between 1718 and 1777.⁶²

In formal terms, the political and legal status of the knecht was no different from that of an ordinary V.O.C. employee. But his opportunities were both different and greater. Moreover, in social terms he was in a different category altogether by contrast with slaves or Khoisan dependants, and this distinction can not be put down to 'class' position alone by any manner of means. An employee of the V.O.C. could thus move into the knecht category provided that he wished to do so, that he were thought suited, that the V.O.C. could spare him, that there was a demand for his services and that his wage could be paid by the burger. From his vantage

60. Ibid., p.33.

61. See the cases of Able (1703); 'Wilhelm Ackermann (1735); Jurgen Adelaar, as free farmer (1727); Paulus Albrecht (1748); Anton Anderson (1698); Jacobus Barck (1746); Johan Bauer as free carpenter (1766); Christian Behrens as free smith (1723); Jan Jans van Bollen from stable boy to coachman to burger (1719); Johan Eermeyer from soldier to wagonmaker to burger (1749); Heinrich Peter Hesse, from soldier to corporal to farmhand to burger tailor (in 1755); Peter Lange, from soldier to copper-smith to free burger (1761); Franz Heinrich Mark from sailor to mason to burger (1726), and many others. All from Hoge: Op.cit., passim.

62. R.Ross: Op.cit., pp.222-3; Theal: Op.cit., II, p.449. In all just over 300 family founders arrived between 1706-1750. Katzen: Op.cit., p.201, fn.3.

point as a knecht some interesting possibilities opened up. Burger status was within easier reach and land was available. If he had a particular skill (as a tailor or mason or wagonmaker) he might become an urban artisan. However, while the culture he shared with other burgers and officials established the institutionally continuous medium through which upward social mobility could more easily take place, the real chances of rapid mobility were limited for the reason mentioned earlier. As land in the west became occupied and as the economic limits of the colony became apparent, his class position, (as a landless former employee or ex-soldier or ex-sailor) in the cramped context of western Cape society, must have held him back. Thus both the generally static economic condition of the colony - particularly in the 18th century - and the conditions associated with the occasion and circumstances of his entry to colonial society will have conspired to limit his prospects and to create a 'free' urban and rural working class. In this way, and because of the drag-like effect, some such unsuccessful poor free burgers (and former knechte) might have again sought a further job with a wealthier burger, or returned to V.O.C. employment, or joined the drift of ranchers to the east as the Cape became crowded and constrained. Thus, forced downwards (or outwards), that is, some of these characters contributed not only to the eastern trekking movement, but also met with other fragments from Khoi and ex-slave groups who combined to form or create new intermediate and subordinate categories within the overall social structure, which will be explored further in the next chapter.⁶³

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63. As one among the many instance of this kind of intermediate category of a 'free' but subordinate artisan class which was also 'mixed' in terms of origins and antecedents, consider the Memorial (no 79 of 1722) by some Cape fishermen, requestion permission to fish near Salt River. The Memorial was submitted by a group of people with clearly Dutch names, but also - and without distinction by (presumably) 'free blacks' such as Jacob of Bougis, Jonker of Macassar and 'Sobinko the Chinaman'. Leibbrandt: Requesten, I, p.444. Job reservation on grounds of colour or culture does not, in South Africa, have a long legal history: its structural and class origins are however more complex.

While the upper centres of the colonial social structure were thus being established, a wider pool of Khoi labour was being tapped by the V.O.C. and burgers alike from very early on indeed. The incorporation of Khoi in the colonial economy was desultory and fragmentary at first. But - initially in the west, and then systematically through the 18th century in the east and north - their desperate dependence on the V.O.C. and colonists for food (and other items) increased as their societies crumbled and their land was expropriated.⁶⁴ They were, thus, locked into the labour structure of

64. The belief that vast land areas of the Cape had been sold by the Khoi to the V.O.C. was common amongst 17th century and 18th century contemporaries. Grevenbroek wrote that the Dutch "... now hold the Peninsula from the natives on a just title of purchase and with the sanction of law but what the just price was that passed between them and the sellers I do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating". J.G.Grevenbroek: Op.cit., pp.291-3. And it is not surprising that they were 'averse' to stating the price. The whole of the Cape was 'bought' (sic) from Schacher, a Goringhaqua 'chief' in 1672 for a nominal £800, though the goods actually transferred were worth £2.83 approximately. A similar and later 'agreement' was made with Dhow, a Chainoyqua chief, and the value of the goods were worth no more than about £6.83. "In the eyes of the Hottentots these 'sales' were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct and the 'purchase price' analagous to tribute paid for this use". This Schapera's footnote comment in Grevenbroek; Op.cit., pp. 292-3, fn.101. A Council Resolution of 13th April, 1672 set out Company intention to legalize V.O.C. control (that is, to legitimate the seizure of the land) of "... this Cape district" which earlier the officials had claimed had been "... justly won by the sword". Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.317 and p.205. Visitors in the 17th century believed that the Cape had been 'bought'. One of them, in 1685, Chevalier de Forbin, wrote: "The Dutch are masters of it. They bought it from the principal chiefs of the tribes who, for a sufficiently small quantity of tobacco and brandy, consented to go further inland". See Raven-Hart: Cape Good Hope, II, p.262. Even the often reliable Mentzel believed that the Khoi gave way of their own accord to the Dutch and were "... quite willing to accept Europeans as their neighbours". Mentzel: Life at the Cape, p.146. The myth of the 'passive host' was carried on into the 19th century by others, like Percival who said the Dutch had "without difficulty prevailed upon them to consent to their forming a colony here". Robert Percival: An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, pp.80-81.

the colony in an increasingly final way. What needs to be shown here is how Khoi (and later Khoisan and San in the north and east) were incorporated in the Cape economy, and under what conditions. Their absorption into the Cape society was a constant feature of the history of its formation: without Khoi labour it is likely that - in the east, almost certainly, and initially in the west - its limited successes could not have been achieved. For these reasons a consideration of Khoi labour in the political economy of the Cape comes logically prior to an evaluation of slavery.

As early as 1653 van Riebeeck reported that the 'beach-rangers' were collecting firewood for the cooks "... and so relieve our men".⁶⁵ The labour shortage was such that in the following year the Commander considered, in one of his wilder moments, that local Khoi could be captured, "placed in irons (and) might be used for catching seals, or labouring in the silver mines which we trust will turn out well....."⁶⁶ In April, 1655 Gijsbert Heeck - an Upper-Surgeon in one of the V.O.C. fleets - visited the Cape en route to the East and reported that Khoi near the Fort "... come there daily, and are given food when they bring stumps and tree-roots suitable for firewood"⁶⁷ This level of intermittent odd-jobbing characterized much of the first decade's 'labour relations', though the Commander was at times prepared to consider more substantial deals with different groups by which they would be permitted to live close

65. van Riebeeck to Seventeen, 14th April, 1653. Leibbrandt: Letters Despatched, 1649-1662. The 'beachrangers' were Herry's Goringhaikona.

66. Ibid., I, p. 260. To Amsterdam, dated 22nd April, 1654. van Riebeeck had thought there might be scope for a trade with the East Indies in seal skins. He also thought he had discovered silver, but this was false. Johan Maetsuyker wrote to the Cape from Batavia in December 1655, after a visit there, saying that only if silver or other precious metals were found ought the settlement to be expanded. But since that had "... hitherto been an idle hope", it was only worth keeping a small garrison there. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p. 45, p. 50 and p. 80.

67. Raven-Hart: Op.cit., I, p. 35.

to the Fort "... in friendship with us and were willing, in return for a bellyful of food, some tobacco and occasionally a little arrack, to collect firewood for our cooks and other men and do other work to the best of their ability".⁶⁸

The nature of Khoi labour for the V.O.C. began to alter in the 1660s and there are references in the documents to a fishing boat departing for Robben Island "... accompanied by 16 or 17 Hottentots, who will help the men on the island to collect shells". This reference is to "... the large boat filled with Hottentots, who had consented to collect and carry shells on the Island".⁶⁹ The range of tasks in which they were involved was increasing, particularly in respect of the Goringhaikona - the 'Strandlopers' or Herry's beachrangers. In the memorandum to his successor, Commander Wagenaar wrote in 1666 that the number of the latter had increased from 30 to 80 or more and that they were, in general, a "lazy crew" (who are much worse still, and are not to be induced to perform any work whatever), live by begging, or seek a subsistence by stealing and robbing on the common highways". Nonetheless, if promised food or drink or tobacco some would help to "... scour, wash, chop wood, fetch water, or herd sheep for our burgers, or (boil) a pot of rice for

68. Journal, II, pp.49-50. No other form of 'payment' was ever seriously considered, though sheep and cattle were later given in small numbers by veeboere.

69. Journal, 1662-1670, p.78. Entries for October 24th, 1663; 12th June, 1664 (p.112) and 18th February, 1665 (p.139). In June 1664 the Commander had 'persuaded' the Khoi to stay 3 or 4 days on the Island to collect the shells. The shells were used in lime-burning. This perhaps became standard practice in the 17th century and for that reason was not noted down later especially. Or V.O.C. slaves were taking over this kind of work. On the 7th August, 1663 Wagenaar got 15 "Young Hottentots" to help deepen the water course. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.268.

some of the soldier".⁷⁰

Some, though not all, these Khoi were Goringhaikona. After the 1659 war in which many of the Peninsula groups were involved it is likely that more Khoi became, at least, available for odd jobs in return for tobacco or rice or brandy. About 30 Khoi, in the early 1670s, were involved as 'contract' labourers to carry earth for the building of the new Fort, in return for "... two full meals of rice daily, a 'soopie' (tot of drink) and a bit of tobacco".⁷¹ And in 1674 - "in order not to interrupt the work of the Company's slaves at the new Castle, or forget the necessary labour in the large garden" - a number of Khoi were engaged ("for a trifling wage") to carry manure from the cattle kraal to the gardens.⁷² By 1672 the Hottentots-Holland (Somerset West) V.O.C. cattle post across the Cape flats had been set up, and the diarist recorded that the Governor wanted to discover if any local Cape Khoi could be "... tempted thither and thus induced to work there".⁷³ This was a

70. Memorandum from Wagenaar to van Quaelbergen, 24th September, 1666, in Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.291. My emphases (A.L.) The use of Khoi to look after cattle must have been a gamble initially, but they were an obvious choice. Elphick suggests that it was only in the 1670s and 1680s that they were entrusted with stock, but here we have an earlier statement of this practice by the Commander of the settlement. Elphick: Op.cit., p.237. Was Wagenaar mistaken or were Goringhaikona used in a limited way to tend sheep? Perhaps even then some rough distinction was made between 'loyal' Khoi and others? In the two months that he was at the Cape - Dec/February, 1657-8 - Volquardt Iversen also implied that, though it was difficult to get them to work, they could be induced by advance payment of tobacco, rice or other food into "... digging, churning, sweeping and cattle-minding". Raven-Hart: Op.cit., I, p.103. And Schreyer, in 1668 said that only hunger would force them to work. Ibid., I, p.128. This confirms in all its forms and particulars with the generalization that formally 'free' but actually 'unfree' or dependant labour commences when the indigenous people in colonial situations began to exchange their labour/food and other goods. See Franklin Frazier: Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, p.101 and passim.

71. Journal, 1671-4 and 6, p.80. Entry for 7th October, 1672. This is the earliest instance of the 'tot' system that I have come across.

72 and 73 on next page.

serious consideration - the use of Khoi labour for V.O.C. herds, though there is not much firm evidence at all to indicate how widespread a practice it became in the early days.

This kind of evidence supports the analysis in the previous chapter and above. There was a cumulative relationship between the penetrating and destructive momentum of the V.O.C. and colonist intrusion on the one hand, and the consequential Khoi availability for, and dependence on, labouring for the V.O.C. or the burgers on the other hand. What is particularly interesting and noteworthy is that the Khoi in and around the Cape were (within the first 25 years) often near to starvation. Hence their dependence and weakness was increased. So long as the burgers or V.O.C. had rice (and the other items like tobacco) with which to 'pay' those Khoi who had drifted into their service, relations were no doubt as reluctant and mutually suspicious as might be expected of that kind of dependence. But in 1678 there were a number of developments which indicate how fragile was that bond, particularly if the burgers were not able to feed Khoi cheaply on rice. Burgers were complaining to the Council that Khoi were "... openly seizing sheep and killing them, and have not scrupled even to plunder the houses of the farmers of food in broad daylight The principal cause of this thieving is that the freemen not being supplied with rice have been compelled to discharge their Hottentots, who are now in a state of starvation".⁷⁴

72. (from previous page) ...Ibid.,pp.204-5. Entry for 7th June,1674.

73. (from previous page) ...Ibid.,p.221. Entry for 11th November,1674.

74. Theal: Abstracts,p.170. Entry for 23rd April,1678. (My emphases, A.L.) On this reading 'free' and cheap labour appears to have been the most exploited and the most vulnerable, whereas a slave was something of an investment, to be protected and used as such. As we shall see, a slave could be sent out to earn cash for his or her master.

One solution, "... to remove all necessity for stealing...." the Council decided was "... to employ Hottentots to make the moat round the fortifications and to provide them with rice or hard bread".⁷⁵ By 1680, the Khoi round the Fort "... and among the burgers and who now and then perform petty services or bring trifling articles for sale" were beginning to demand payment in money "... for every little service they render" . They were then buying tobacco from the farmers and taking it inland "... trading for cattle to the prejudice of the Company". As a solution to this intrusion on V.O.C. monopoly in the cattle trade, it was forbidden to pay money to Khoi for any services.⁷⁶

One area in which the assistance of Khoi was not only needed but widely used was of course 'defence' and warfare, and helping to track down and recapture runaway slaves. Very shortly after the first batch of slaves arrived at the Cape in 1658, they started to desert. "Fresh soldiers and Hottentots have been sent out

76. Ibid., Entry for 17th November, 1680. See also Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.376 and footnotes. Not only were these Khoi in and out of the farmers' houses, but they were buying tobacco from the farmers at prices lower than that offered by the V.O.C., and thus had a marginal advantage in the cattle trade. But there were too few of them to really have an impact. The ban on monetary payment was first issued in 1677. Not unreasonably, from the point of view of the V.O.C., it was made a capital offence to exchange guns for cattle from the Khoi. Theal: Op.cit., II, p.234. In the 18th century however 'loyal' Khoi and 'Bastaards' were not only armed but known to be crack shots. In a painting by Thomas Barnes of 1863 a 'Namaqua Hottentot' is shown riding on an ox. Beside him running on foot is 'his Bushman': both are armed. OHSA I, p.62, Plate 1.

75. Ibid., loc.cit. Entry for 26th April, 1678.

daily " in order to track them and capture them.⁷⁷ In the war with Gonnema (1673-7) the V.O.C. acquired a number of local allies who had their own differences with Gonnema.⁷⁸ Ten Rhyne, who was at the Cape in the early summer of 1673, shortly after the fighting with Gonnema had commenced, characterized a particular category of Khoi "... who mingle freely with our men about the castle" as "... auxilliary troops". In 1739, when conflict broke out in the north with 'Hottentots and Bushmen', some six Khoi members of George Schmidt's congregation at Bavianskloof were 'called up' to join the commando under Kruywagen, according to the historian of the Moravian mission stations.⁷⁹ This particular labour role - as 'troops' for the V.O.C. and later as scouts and armed members of the trading and commando parties - came to be crucial, both in respect of offensive and defensive war with the Khoisan alliances and San resisters alike.

Thus, in and around the Cape, Khoi were being sucked into and trained in a variety of tasks. Moreover, the colony was expanding its geographical limits. A District of Stellenbosch was formally established in 1682, the Great Berg Valley and Drakenstein were opened up in 1687, Paarl in 1688 and Wagenmakers Vallei in 1698. In these potentially rich agricultural and viticultural areas the

77. Journal, II, pp.281-2, entry for 1st June, 1658. See also Journal, II, p.329, entry for 28th August, 1658.

78. Elphick gives a long and detailed account of the course of the war. Elphick: Op.cit., ch.VII, "The Cochoqua and the North: the Failure of Armed Resistance".

79. Ten Rhyne: "A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope", p.111. And Bernhard Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms, p.26; Theal: Op.cit., III, pp.46-9.

farmers needed, sought and used Khoi labour on a widespread basis. The general costs of Khoi labour were, overall, cheaper, and for two related reasons. First, they did not have to be bought, and secondly, they did not have to be guarded, housed or feared, which was the case with slaves at the Cape, as will be examined later. And, if necessary, they could be 'dismissed', with no obligation to feed them or be responsible to the V.O.C. for their behaviour. Moreover, it is clear from Grevenbroek's (perhaps over-enthusiastic) account that Khoi were involved in pastoral, agricultural, viticultural and domestic labour from as early as the 1680s, when he arrived at the Cape, becoming secretary to the Council in 1686 and later retiring to live as a burger at Stellenbosch from 1694. All this gave him ample opportunity to observe the situation carefully.⁸⁰ His survey of the labour position at the Cape before the end of the 17th century is worth stating in full:⁸¹

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically (sic) hire out their labour for a modest wage.... They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them Runaways, vagrants and deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine

80. J.G.Grevenbroek: "An Account of the Hottentots", see the Foreword by I.Schapera, pp.111. If Grevenbroek's account is accurate then it would seem that the involvement of Khoi in agriculture and pastoral work was occurring about 20 years before the date suggested by Elphick on the basis of the Tas Diary. See Elphick: Op.cit.,p.239. Grevenbroek's account was written in about 1690.

81. Grevenbroek: Op.cit.,pp.271-3. He does not specify what the 'wage' was. Given that cash was short, and that it was prohibited as payment, this and all the other evidence points towards payment in kind, probably for food and tobacco.

press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.

Grevenbroek considered that without this labour, "... our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields", and that payment was sometimes no more than a few scraps of food.⁸² In 1701 there were only 192 privately-owned slaves (136 males, 26 females, 14 boys and 16 girls) in the Stellenbosch district, and 79 in Drakenstein, compared with 617 at the Cape. There was a total of 539 burgers and their families at Stellenbosch and 363 in Drakenstein.⁸³ On the basis of this data and the size of the farms it is almost certainly the case that the vast bulk of rural labour in the second half of the seventeenth century was undertaken by dependant Khoi who had been drawn into service to avoid starvation, (or conflict with inland groups) and perhaps

82. Ibid., loc.cit. There is enough detail in Grevenbroek's account which is confirmed elsewhere (for example the Tas Diary) to accept the overall impression of a heavy dependence on Khoi labour given too that there was always a demand for slaves and never enough to satisfy the colonists. This was particularly so in the early days. After the beginning of the 18th century the slave population began to mount and they are likely to have been much more common. The fact that the farmers felt the pinch so much after the 1713 epidemic of smallpox also points to a dependence on Khoi labour greater than has been realised hitherto, though of course it also attacked and ravaged the slave population.

83. Beyers: Op.cit., p.240. Tas himself, one of the wealthier Stellenbosch burgers, stated in his opgaaf (census return) in 1705 that he had 14 slaves, 1 slavess, and 2 slave girls. Fouché: Op.cit., p.145, fn.210.

retained there by a supply of food, and other items such as tobacco and 'soopies'. The cumulative impression given by visitors to the Cape at the end of the 17th century confirms this in a number of respects and particulars for both town and country, though it is also clear from the accounts that most Khoi were sunk in poverty and therefore were compelled to work, in order to eat. Of those "... that live by the Dutch Town, (they) have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch there, for there is one or more of them belonging to every House. These do all sorts of servile work Three or four more of their nearest Relatives sit at the Doors or near the Dutch House waiting for the scraps and fragments that come from the table; and if between meals the Dutch people have any occasion for them, to go on Errands, or the like, they are ready at command"⁸⁴ And in the Diary of Adam Tas, written in 1705, Khoi were reported working alongside and with slaves in vine-pruning, seine-fishing, digging, running messages between farms and cutting wheat in groups of nomadic workers.⁸⁵ His entry for Sunday 20th December, 1705, includes the following relevant comment: "In the afternoon I paid off eleven Hottentots for corn cutting. They

84. Captain William Dampier: A New Voyage Round the World (1703) an extract of which is in Collectanea, p.126. He was at the Cape in 1691. (My emphases, A.L.) But see also the comments by Leguat (1698, who observed that "... Hottentots work in the Harvests, Vintages, and whatever else they (the Huguenots, A.L.) please, for a little Bread or Tobacco". Raven-Hart: Op.cit., II, pp.431-2. A similar view was expressed by Martin Wintergerst in 1699, who pointed out that "... the Dutch now rule this land up to 20 miles from the coast, where there are none but such poor black Hottentots". Ibid., II, p.463. These were Dutch miles, so the distance was about 80 English miles. Rev. Ovington who was at the Cape in 1689 said that those Khoi who could be induced to work were "... made Slaves by the Dutch", Collectanea, p.105.

85. Leo Fouché: The Diary of Adam Tas, pp.75 ff., and pp.117-125.

were about to go on from here to Mr Rochefort".⁸⁶

It was also with the help of Khoi that expeditions into the interior were carried out by the V.O.C. and colonists. They acted as messengers, intermediaries with Namaqua and Hessequa and Inqua, guides, interpreters and 'loyal' servants in conflict with inland groups. Even during van Riebeeck's time, Khoi messengers were despatched to take a note to a ship's crew at Saldanha Bay, and the officers there were asked to "...fill the knapsacks of these Hottentots with bread and give each of them $\frac{1}{2}$ a fathom of tobacco and a slice of cheese...." as well as food and drink while on the ship. They were to send them back to the Cape as quickly as possible.⁸⁷ On his first expedition in 1682, Olof Bergh took Khoi with him, though the numbers are not clear. They were used as messengers and intermediaries.⁸⁸ On his second expedition in 1683 there were 42 'Europeans' and 10 'Africans' (no doubt Khoi).⁸⁹

86. Ibid.,p.127. This is one of the few references to actual numbers. From the map it appears that Rochefort's farm was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles further back along the road towards the Cape. It is not clear how or with what Tas 'paid off' the Khoi migrant labourers. They had come to him from the farm of Heijden - some 8 miles from the Tas farm - via Rochefort's place on the 16th December. They were joined by another party of Khoi on the 17th December. It was not, therefore, the full complement who were paid off. Tas had actually sent his man 'Jacob' (a knecht?) to van Heijden on the 13th December in search of Khoi labourers to cut the corn. Ibid.,pp.117-131. van der Walt says that they offered themselves in groups as labourers before 1713, but that after 1713 their numbers were dramatically cut back and survivors moved inland, leaving small numbers at the Cape, and hence compelling farmers to turn more to slave labour. A.J.H.van der Walt: Die Ausdehnung.... pp.39-40.

87. Journal,III,p.412. Entry for 21st August,1661. The ubiquity of payment in food suggests and confirms the impression of shattering poverty and hunger among the Khoi: game probably became scarcer too. Khoi were sent as 'postboys' in September, 1665. Moodie: Op.cit.,I,p.286.

88. Journals of Bergh and Schrijver,p.91.

89. Ibid.,p.143.

Similarly, when Schrijver set out to make contact with the Inqua in 1689 he was accompanied by Khoi - referred to as "our Hottentots" in his Journal to distinguish them from clans and other wider groups met along the way. It appears that they were trusted quite closely for they were sent off to find stray or lost oxen and sheep, proved to be 'loyal' in skirmishes with the 'Hongilqua', acted as go-betweens with 'Heykon' the Inqua chief, and were sent abroad to the Fort with messages for the Commander on the return.⁹⁰

When the V.O.C. re-opened the cattle trade with Khoi to the free burgers again in 1699 (though opposed and frustrated by van der Stel who feared the competition) there was a flurry of barter activity in the east, much of it originating in Stellenbosch.⁹¹ Expeditions were sent deep into the interior. One of these, which set off in March 1702, consisted of 45 burgers and 45 Khoi. They reached Khosa country and, though they had little success there, they raided and plundered amongst Khoi hordes in the east. Expeditions of this kind would have been impossible without substantial

90. Ibid., p.209; p.218; pp.229-30; p.240; p.247; pp.251-2.

91. See Leibbrandt: Letters Received 1696-1708. Letters from Amsterdam dated 21st June, 1702 referring to their decision of 27th July, 1699. And see the arguments used by Adriaan van der Stel to close the trade again, in his letters of 14th March, 1701 and 20th March 1702, to the Seventeen. Letters Despatched, 1699-1708, pp.169-70, and p.191. Trade was closed down by van der Stel in October, 1702. Letters Despatched 1699-1708, dated 1st April, 1703. The complex reasons for this closure are spelt out in Fouché's examination of the whole van der Stel incident. Fouché: Op.cit., pp.365-375, and Theal: Op.cit., II, pp.416-7.

numbers of Khoi helpers.⁹² This form of labour, too, the Khoi performed, and it was unlikely to have been the kind of work which colonists would have entrusted to slaves, both on grounds of security and fear of the slaves attacking them, and also because Madagascan or Asian slaves would not have been of much use as interpreters or guides on such expeditions. It is, moreover, likely that the Khoi members of such parties (or the 'half-breed Hottentots' of Captain Hop's 1760 expedition) were far from passive 'servants' but active participants in raiding activity, and shared the booty.

92. Theal: Op.cit., Ibid.; Wilson: "Cooperation and Conflict", p.234. During the outbreak of conflict on the northern edge of the colony in 1701 and later, Khoi were often active members of the commando groups. Theal: Op.cit., II, pp.413-6. Thunberg later reported that there had been similar large-scale expeditions of burgers and Khoi in 1704 and 1705 again. Thunberg: Op.cit., II, p.201. In 1736 a party of elephant hunters in search of ivory "... and a strong band of Hottentots" travelled far into the eastern parts. Theal: Op.cit. III, pp.38-40. Marks makes the point that illicit trade was carried on by Khoi servants on behalf of their masters. S.Marks: "The Nguni", p.438. A number of incidents which involved Khoi serving as military auxiliaries and on commando are referred to in M.W.Spilhaus: South Africa in the Making, pp.37-8; pp.58-9; pp.100-101; p.121; p.129. And in the siege of Graaf-Reinet in 1799 slaves and 'Hottentots' were active on the side of the rebels'. Ibid., p.263, while others changed sides and joined the government ranks. On the northern frontier, colonists who were forbidden to go over the border (though some of course did) used 'Bastaard' and other intermediaries to trade north of the Orange river. They were, in short, the middlemen of the northern frontier. See Legassick: The Sotho-Tswana Op.cit. . . . pp.128-9. In the early 18th century an expedition was despatched by W.A.van der Stel under Corporal Paske to search for runaway slaves. Paske had "... 8 or 10 soldiers and 50 Hottentots" with him. F.Valentyn: Description of the Cape of Good Hope with Matters Concerning it, II, p.3.

Thus, by the end of the 17th century and early in the 18th century, the Western Khoi had been and were being steadily pulled into the Cape economy at different levels, in various capacities and for a variety of essential purposes. As labourers, interpreters, levies, domestics and also as herders it is necessary to underline their contribution to the constitution of the economy and society. Yet from the perspective of differential incorporation, their position was systematically subordinate. They were 'free' in the technical sense, though their increasing dependence on the colonists and V.O.C. meant that this was very much only a formal status. They had no rights within Cape society though they were becoming part of it; nor had they real economic opportunities. Politically, apart from the 'captains', they had no voice, and, since the hordes had been fragmented, what kind of 'representative' could there have been anyway?

As the next chapter will show, there were effectively no agencies of acculturation. Hence, given the initial (and in many respects enduring) cultural distance between them and the burgers and officials (and antipathy of the latter towards them on behavioural and somatic grounds), their social position within the structure of the society was the lowest. And in 'class' terms, being both 'free' (because theoretically they could move freely and come and go) and cheap (because in practice they were dependent, and hence could not), they got the worst of both worlds. They were 'free' yet had no rights within the polity. Burgers and officials alike had no obligations towards them, unlike towards the slaves. When times

were hard they could be dismissed and thrown back into near starvation. That kind of 'free' (but dependent) labour was, thus, both the cheapest under those conditions, and hence the least free.

As the colonists pulled and lured them into service, and as the V.O.C. used them, their condition of economic dependency, political rightlessness, cultural alienation and hence, (to the Dutch), social unacceptability, all converged to lock them into the most subordinate position, so that while they were in the society they were not of it. They were an underclass and an under-culture, and because of the latter, their mobility prospects in respect of the former, were slim.

In the early 18th century the stock farmers of the Cape began the slow eastward trekking movement which will be examined in chapter 8. These veeboere moved into Khoi territories, displacing them and hastening the collapse of their societies there. In general, the veeboere were poorer and necessarily less settled or established than the western grain and wine farmers, or the residents of the towns. Thus, their relative poverty and their mobility meant that the kind of labour best suited to their purposes would be - whether 'free' or 'unfree' - essentially cheap, reliable and formally non-slave labour. It is generally the case that nomadic people are much less likely and able to keep slaves than settled peoples.⁹³ The same goes for hunters: for how could hunting slaves be supervised?⁹⁴

93. H.J.Nieboer: Slavery as an Industrial System,xvi and pp.276-291.

94. Ibid.,pp.194-9.

Certainly in the colonial epochs this generally holds true. All of these factors - the structural limits of mobile pastoralism, a significant reliance on hunting, the kind of reluctant slaves at the Cape, the relative poverty of the ranchers (hence they could not afford to buy slaves), the disruptive effects of their intrusion into Khoi lands and the consequential impoverishment of Khoi groups in respect of their herds - converged to make Khoi dependants and Khoisan and San 'clients' and captives the ideal source of labour for veeboere. The evidence supports this in most of its forms and particulars.

Early in the 18th century, Kolbe noted that Khoi who had lost their 'subsistence' hired themselves out "... either to one of his substantial countrymen, or to an European. They serve for cattle....."⁹⁵ That form of clientage dipped quickly and easily into the condition of permanent dependence as the return to the land was foreclosed on by colonist expansion and as colonists learnt not to 'pay' their Khoi employees in cattle, or only in such small numbers that herds could not build up: for the farmers wanted and needed labour, and were prepared to keep what they could get. Kolbe also pointed out that Hessequa who entered European service "..... employ the Wages they get in the Purchase of Cattle; with which at length they return home and set up for themselves".⁹⁶ Their 'wages' included Tobacco and 'Daccha' (according to him) and it was with this, he said, that they bartered for cattle with further inland Khoi.⁹⁷

95. Peter Kolbe: The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, p.169. He was accused of plagiarising Grevenbroek. Schapera examines the evidence in his Foreword to Grevenbroek, pp.161-7.

96. Ibid., p.75.

97. Ibid., p.168.

But it was the capacity for regeneration of a herd by a family, clan or segments of a horde which declined as the colonists spread and as the herds of the Khoi diminished. Those were the two prongs of the fork that were to trap inland Khoi in subordinate and dependant labour positions as the 18th century unfolded.

They were further weakened, made vulnerable and left increasingly dependant by the ravage of the smallpox epidemic of 1713.⁹⁸ There are no figures for the number of Khoi in the western Cape at that time, and hence it is difficult to even guess at the numbers which died in the epidemic. But farmers lost much of their labour and were "... seen in the fields scything their own grain".⁹⁹ According to Theal, "... farmers who had been accustomed to employ many hundreds of them in harvest time complained that none now were to be had".¹⁰⁰ Khoi from four local kraals near the fort reported in February 1714 that barely a tenth of their people had survived.¹⁰¹

After this time in the western areas, the involvement of Khoi in agricultural and urban labour was increasingly displaced by slave labour, partly because of the effects of the epidemics, partly because more slaves became available, and partly because the settled agricultural estates required more permanent, regular and

98. Elphick: Op.cit.,pp.293-6, and comment by Thunberg: Op.cit.,I, pp.304-5. The Journal for 6th May,1713 records that "The Hottentots (are) almost exterminated by the small pox". Leibbrandt: Journal 1699-1723,p.256.

99. Elphick: Op.cit.,p.295.

100. Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.477.

101. Elphick: Op.cit.,p.295. Some 200 slaves died in that epidemic. In 1755 when smallpox struck again, 1000 slaves died. It struck again 1767. All these attacks will have seriously affected Khoi. See de Kock: Those in Bondage,pp.139-140. Also J.S.Marais: The Cape Coloured People,p.7. The Cape was so short of slaves in 1755 that the Batavian authorities sent replacements. De Kock: Op.cit., loc.cit. According to Theal 145 'Free Blacks' died in the 1767 small pox epidemic, as well as 179 'Europeans' and 251 slaves. Theal: Op.cit.,III,p.115.

and tightly controlled labour.¹⁰²

But on the periphery constituted by the expanding arc of veeboere, Khoi labour predominated, though there were some slaves. The offspring of male slaves and female Khoi were one of the categories created in the process - called 'Bastaards' by contemporaries. In the 1730s Mentzel saw Khoi looking after sheep and cattle belonging to farmers in the north and north-east, and especially in the Camdebo where there were very few slaves to be seen.¹⁰³ It is clear, too, from his general comments, that the 'Bastaard Hottentots' were coming to be regarded as a separate and rather more reliable category in the labour structure. "They can safely be trusted with weapons, for they are faithful, and they are quite as good marksmen as any European".¹⁰⁴ Later, in the 1770s, Sparrman confirmed that

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102. On the theory of this see Nieboer: Op.cit.,p.299. "And agriculture is also more favourable to the existence of slavery than cattle breeding". Ibid.,loc.cit. Later, in the 1780s, Le Vaillant observed that all round the Cape "... the planters no longer employ Hottentots as they choose rather to purchase Negroes". Le Vaillant: Travels in the Interior parts of Africa,pp.99-100. Yet when Mentzel was at the Cape in the 1730s he had found farmers "... further inland" engaging Khoi to help with the grain harvests. Mentzel: Description,Op.cit.,III,pp.165-6. Yet Khoi labour had not ceased in the western Cape. When Thunberg was at the Cape in the 1770s he found that a "... widow at the Paarl had three Hottentots in her service; they spokewith much delicacy and softness, clacking lightly and rapidly with their tongues...". Thunberg: Op.cit.,I,pp.130-1. And Lady Anne Barnard, at the end of the century, found Khoi labour still common in the western Cape. "A Hottentot child is at seven years of age employed to tend fowls, sheep, cows, and its work fully repays the expenses of its miserable board". She thought it was close to slavery. Lady Anne Barnard: "Extract from the Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope",III,p.456.
103. Mentzel: Op.cit.,I,pp.83-4. He said "... they own very few slaves. They live among the Hottentots whom they employ to look after their cattle". Ibid.,III,p.83, and also III,pp165-6.
104. Mentzel: Life at the Cape,p.151. Later, in the early 19th century GeorgeThompson said that the 'Bastaards' were regarded as "superior marksmen". Thompson: Travels and Adventures,III,p.232.

that such a 'Bastaard' could be "... trusted as a sort of overseer and can drive a wagon safely ...". There is an implication (but no more than that) in what he says that 'Bastaard Hottentots', as well as 'colony born' slaves, were being sold, for he implies that they could both fetch 500 rixdollars.¹⁰⁵

The main role of Khoi and 'Bastaard Hottentots' in the north and east was in herding and domestic labour. The travellers in the second half of the 18th century are unanimous that there was wide-scale use of Khoi labour for these purposes. Thunberg, for example, found them employed on cattle posts and by colonists. At the farm of Jacob Bota on the 'Pisang' River he found 50 Khoi in the service of the farmer.¹⁰⁶ In the 'Krommie Rivier' area - where large herds of cattle grazed - he found 'Hottentots and slaves' doing all the work. On the farm of Jacob Kok he found "The Hottentots in this farmer's service were very numerous; among these, the girls were employed in churning (butter) and were obliged to wash themselves and keep themselves clean, at least their hands and arms".¹⁰⁷ Similarly in the 'Bokke-land' he found Khoi employed as servants.¹⁰⁸ The same observations were made by Sparrman, Stavorinus, Patterson and Le Vaillant - and later again by Percival, Barrow, Lichtenstein and Latrobe. The 'chief business' of the Khoi labourers was "... in

105. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.74. This was clearly against the law, though given the slack character of law enforcement at the Cape there is no reason to believe that it could not have happened. Or was Sparrman unable, visually, to tell the difference between Cape-born slaves, and 'Bastaards'. Was there a difference?

106. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, p.89. Theal refers to Khoi based on a 'reserve' at Lilyfontein, in 1772, in the Kamiesberg who were working as herders and domestic servants. Theal: Op.cit., III, pp.190-1. Lichtenstein found this too, early in the 19th century. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., III, pp.102-3.

107. Thunberg: Op.cit., II, p.64. Sparrman found the same practice in Agter Brintjes Hoogte. Sparrman: Op.cit., II, pp.164-5. Also MacCrone: Op.cit., pp.112-3, where he quotes Swellengrebel's account of the 'frontier' in 1776.

108. Thunberg: Op.cit., II, p.155.

tending a herd of cattle or flock of sheep during the heat of the day"¹⁰⁹. Patterson described 30 Khoi in the service of farmer Jacobus van Reenen in the Bokkeveld, and others near the 'Zondereynds Berg' who "hired themselves to the Dutch".¹¹⁰ In the last few years of the 18th century, Barrow (1797-8) considered there was "not in the whole extensive district of Graaff-Reinet a single horde of independent Hottentots; and perhaps not a score of individuals who are not actually in the service of the Dutch".¹¹¹ He estimated that there were at that time about 10,000 Khoi in the Graaf-Reinet area out of a colonial total of 15,000.¹¹² And he estimated too that on average each burger family had about 5 Khoi servants for every 2 slaves.¹¹³ Given 779 male burgers in 1793 in Graaff-Reinet (and assuming each was a family head, which is actually likely), that averages out at nearly 4,000 Khoi in service at that time in that district.¹¹⁴

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109. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, pp. 204-5. See also Stavorinus: Voyages to the East Indies, I, pp. 547-8; and also Mentzel, who observed this much earlier. Mentzel: A Geographical and Topographical Description, III, pp. 83-5.
110. William Patterson: A Narrative of Four Journeys, p. 129 and pp. 13-14. See also Percival who referred to Khoi "rearing cattle for them (the farmers) assisting husbandry, and in the culture of their farms and plantations". Percival: Op.cit., p. 81.
111. John Barrow: An Account, I, p. 144.
112. Ibid., I, p. 163.
113. Ibid., I, pp. 306-7; Theal: Op.cit., III, p. 293. Barrow estimated there were about 600 slaves in all Graaff-Reinet District. Ibid., I, p. 163. The Opgaaf for 1798 showed that there were 964 slaves (including 189 children) in 1798. This makes an average of 1 slave per burger, given that there were 940 male burgers in the same year. The total 'Christian' population was then 4262, and there were 8974 'Hottentots' in the District. Barrow: Op.cit., II, p. 377.
114. Beyers: Op.cit., p. 249 for male burger figures.

If one adds to that a similar calculation for the district of Swellendam, the total could come close to 10,000, on the assumption of 5 Khoi per family there too. But there is simply inadequate data to be sure, and the variation between 50 Khoi servants (as observed by Thunberg) and Barrow's average of 5 makes any accurate calculation almost impossible.¹¹⁵

But it was not only in domestic labour that Khoi were used. From the 1750s, under Tulbagh's governorship, their dependant and poverty-stricken condition was noted. It was commented on by Beutler's inland expedition in 1752.¹¹⁶ In 1760 a burger, Coetsee, from Piketberg area, was hunting elephant north of the Orange River with 12 Khoi servants, and while there had heard about a "... tribe of black people called Damrocquas".¹¹⁷ In consequence of this an expedition under Captain Hop was sent out to try to locate them: on this expedition -as with early ones in the 17th century - the party of 17 'Europeans' was accompanied by a large band (68) of 'half-breed Hottentots'.¹¹⁸

115. Barrow estimated a 'Christian' population for Swellendam of 3000, consisting of 500-600 families. He estimated further about 2 Khoi (making about 1000-1200) and 5 slaves (making about 2800-3000) per family. Ibid., I, pp. 349-50. The Opgaaf figures for 1798 showed 3967 Christians (of whom 1070 were male burgers) a slave population of 2696, but only about 500 Khoi in service. Ibid., II, p. 369. The last figure seems low compared with Barrow's presumably visual estimate. An extraordinary feature of the Opgaaf returns is that Khoi numbers are not stated. But after the abolition of the slave trade in 1806, Khoi were sought again for "cultivation of the land". Latrobe: Journal of Visit to South Africa, pp. 127-8.

116. Theal: Op.cit., III, pp. 117-149; MacCrone: Op.cit., pp. 118-9, fn. 4. Marais: Op.cit., p. 110.

117. Ibid., III, pp. 110-1.

118. Journals of Brink and Rhenius: Op.cit., pp. 15-17.

And in the course of the fighting in the north and east of the colony against the refugee and resisting Khoisan alliances, the commandos of the farmers were heavily supplemented by 'loyal' armed Khoi and 'Bastaard' troops and often outnumbered by them. The fact of the matter is that when one of the major commando offensives against the Khoisan resisters was organized in 1774 there were at least 150 armed 'Bastaard Hottentots' to 100 Europeans.¹¹⁹ They were described as being men "... upon whose fidelity, and dexterity in the use of fire-arms, full reliance might be placed". There was, however, some caution, for when the Commando organizers requested ammunition from the Cape they also requested padlocks for the ammunition chests to be secured "... at night from the accompanying Hottentots".¹²⁰ In the last quarter of the 18th century the combined operations of these Boer/Khoi commandos was common.¹²¹

In advance of the discussion of miscegenation and social relations in the next chapter it is worth inserting a point here about the so-called 'Bastaards'. Who were they? The so-called 'half-breed' is of course as old as empire. The one area of social

119. Moodie: Op.cit., III, pp. 26-8. See also p. 22; p. 15; p. 32; and p. 63. In March, 1776 G.R. Opperman, Commandant of the north, requested "... twenty or thirty Bastards, accustomed to handle firearms". Ibid., III, p. 52. And again, in the same month: "But if you please, Mr Berghe (The Secretary at the Cape) if it be possible, please to send us some Bastaards who can handle firearms". Ibid., III, p. 54. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the commandos were in dire need of military support, and some Khoi and 'Bastaards' gave it. This is the other side of the Khoi reaction - Khoi fought for and with Burgers and Bastaards. But, by 1778 there were instances of "... Hottentots and Bastaards fit for commandos - going away to the Namaqua country to evade serving on Commando". The Field Sergeant van Zyl wanted all to be ordered out on Commando every March. Ibid., III, p. 77.

120. Ibid., III, p. 26.

121. Theal: Op.cit., III, pp. 240-1.

relations in which colonial and modern governments have had the least success in preventing and prohibiting contact has been in sexual relations. In the East Indies the complex hierarchies of mixtures - Dutch women, East Indies Dutch women, 'liblab' children, 'Mistiese' and 'Kastise' (children of Mistiese) - was noted by de Graaf, with unqualified contempt. It was their behaviour and styles of life that appalled him, but there is no indication that he inferred behaviour from 'colour'.¹²² From early on at the Cape, marriages between Dutchmen and slave women (and a very few Khoi women) took place, and illicit unions between Europeans and Khoi and slave women were common. In 1671, Commissioner Goske found that three-quarters of the children born to slave mothers had European fathers. The minister, Le Boucq, wrote anxiously to the Amsterdam classis in 1708 and spoke of the distressing religious and social condition of the colonists. He was dismayed to find that "... many men, whose wives are in the Fatherland publically consorted with black whores, nay even with Hottentot females".¹²³ The reference to 'black whores' probably referred to prostitution which operated out of the Company slave lodge. It is hard to square this kind of description - and it is a representative one - with the received view that Cape society and values were soaked in '17th century Calvinism'. A further type of miscegenation was between male slaves and Khoi women, since there was always in the 18th century a

122. N.de Graaf: Reisen van Nicolaus de Graaf, 1639-87, pp.13-14. On the Cape see Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.283. For de Graaf, it seems, their behaviour was a function of their position in the social arrangements. See also, P.D.Milone: "Indische Culture, and its relationship to urban life", passim.

123. P.L.van den Berghe: "Miscegenation in South Africa", p.68. And Theal: Op.cit., II, p.184. And Spoelstra: Bouwstoffen, I, pp.63-66. Le Boucq to Amsterdam Classis, 20th April, 1708.

higher number of male slaves than female slaves.¹²⁴ But this is only one way of conceiving of the essential character and role of the 'Bastaard', and it is too limited for the analytical purposes here. In the richly diverse composition of the Cape colonial population, formal physical appearances must have become increasingly baffling and unreliable as indices of rank, status, class or behaviour, though there were some outward signs - like dress - which helped.¹²⁵ In the interior this was even less the case, and the various names for 'mixed' groups scattered in the documents and reports point up the confusion. For the north-eastern and eastern periphery it is probably safer (and certainly more useful analytically) to conceive of this category of people not as 'racial' or biological 'bastards' but sociologically as a group defined by its social and cultural bastardy. If one asks the question: what were the characteristics of the 'bastaards' of the colony? and especially in the north and north east, it becomes clear that a social and cultural approach helps most with the answer. Some were Dutch-speaking and were referred to as 'Dutch bastaards', meaning

124. J.S.Marais: Op.cit.,p.13.

125. In October 1774 an attempt was made to impose a system of passes upon the 'Bastaards' in service, since deserting slaves were passing as 'Bastaards'. Moodie: Op.cit.,III,p.34. Again in August 1780 a proposal was put forward at Stellenbosch to impose restrictions on the free movement of 'Bastaards'. The grounds were "... the daily increasing numbers of Bastaard Hottentots", and "... the inconvenience of slaves passing for free persons under the name of Bastaards", and "... the hardship of imprisoning free persons (i.e. Bastaards) suspected to be slaves...". Moodie: Op.cit.,III,p.70,fn.2. There was clearly a problem of visual identification of some slaves and some 'Bastaards'. The implications of this will be picked up later. The logic however of the labour situation (and class interests in particular) was already sufficiently clear to strain in the direction of forcing 'free' labourers down towards the more permanently subordinate strata.

they had Dutch fathers,¹²⁶ as Percival was clear to point out.¹²⁷ Others were Christian, as Lichtenstein reported.¹²⁸ They must have been those sometimes referred to as 'Baptized Bastards'.¹²⁹ But whether they were the children of slave-Khoi unions, or Dutch-Khoi unions, or Dutch-slave unions, or the unions of children of any such (or other) union, or even 'pure' Khoi is beside the central point, whatever politically risqué fun may be had in tracing the

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126. Thunberg: Op.cit.,I,p.174; and Moodie: Op.cit.,III,p.83. Mentzel claimed that it was common for young men to get "... entangled with a handsome slave girl belonging to the household. These affairs are not regarded as serious Nothing matters, however; it is nobody's business to take matters further It does not hurt the boy's prospects; his escapade is of some amusement, and he is dubbed a young fellow who has shown the stuff he is made of". O.F.Mentzel: A Geographical and Topographical Description,II,pp.109-110. Barrow, more sensitive to the sexually exploitative content of relations between burgers and Khoi women, observed that "The Hottentot girls in the service of the colonists are in situations too dependant to dare to reject the proffered embraces of the young peasantry". Barrow: Op.cit.,I,p.148. This sexually and socially exploitative relationship is - at its core - a function of a class and power relation, not confined to the colonial situation. It occurred equally amongst the middle-class of Stefan Zweig's Vienna, for instance. In the case of young sons of well-to-do families, Viennese society "... winked one eye at a young man and even encouraged him with the other to 'sow his wild oats'". Pretty young servant girls in the house gave "... the lad some practical experience....". Stefan Zweig: The World of Yesterday,pp.76-8.
127. Percival: Op.cit., p.56.
128. Lichtenstein: Op.cit.,II,pp.302-4.
129. Moodie: Op.cit.,III,p.77. See also Sparrman: Op.cit.,pp.284-7.

ancestry of prominent 'white' South Africans today.¹³⁰ What defined the 'bastaard' was their 'loyalty' to the burgers, an identification with their interests, and their reliability in offensives and defences against the Khoisan resisters. They were that intermediate category found in most colonies of settlement. They were, in cultural terms, neither fully integrated with any of the indigenous people nor wholly acculturated with the colonists. Perhaps some spoke Dutch, had learnt some aspects of Christianity and had grown up into a style of life closer to that of the colonists than the Khoisan. Their class position, as poor, 'free', but generally landless dependants of the burgers, (Marais calls them a 'landless proletariat' along with dependant Khoi) situated them in an ideal position (from the burgers' point of view) to stand between them and the Khoisan resisters and to be trusted to participate on active service (sometimes alone) against the latter, to guide expeditions, and to identify their interests broadly with those of the colonists.¹³¹ Groups with obscure

130. van den Berghe: Op.cit.,passim; also Anon: "Miscegenation at the Cape"; and M.K.Jeffreys: "Where do the Coloureds come from". (Drum,Aug/Sept.1959). She argues that at the end of the 17th century something in the order of 15-30% of Cape marriages were 'mixed'. van den Berghe writes that "... one can safely estimate that anywhere from one tenth to one quarter of the persons classified as 'White' in the Cape Province are of mixed descent, and that almost every 'old family' in White Cape society has genealogical connections with Coloured families". South Africa. A Study in Conflict,p.56. Later, this will be looked at again. Seen as a colour question it may be misleading: seen as the intermarriage of individuals who were either forced down in the social structure (mainly males) or who filtered up (mainly females), one is better able to explain this phenomenon. The overall male-female ratio amongst the burgers is also relevant here.

131. Mentzel saw many employed as shepherds or cattle-herds. Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.216. Were they upwardly mobile people? Or were some the children of burger farmers and slave or Khoi mothers who sought to 'climb' with their father? These are impossible questions to answer but Simons has commented on the modern 'climber' in South Africa that he or she "... must adopt the habits, style of life and attitudes of the group to which he aspires". Preface, in G.Watson: Passing for White,p.vi. The point to note is that
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admixtures and complex origins such as this, deep in the 18th century, later emerged as independent 'Bastaard' communities (such as the Korana) on the Orange river.¹³² In the division of labour on the northern arc of the colony, the 'Bastaards' are best defined as that loose category who were of mixed origin and of intermediate class and cultural status. They were of Dutch, slave, Khoi or already 'Bastaard' paternity, and slave, 'Bastaard', Khoi (and rarely) Dutch maternity. They had a degree of cultural continuity and affinity with the life styles of the veeboere and hence a peculiar dependence on them. In many instances they formed a majority of the men on the commando parties. They had also acquired the essential skills of the armed trekker - on horseback and with guns, or in the kitchen and about the farm - and thus identified broadly with their interests, becoming part of extended ranching units. As such, they were an intermediate class - in the objective sense - whose position in the labour structure of the political economy, and whose culture in the colonial society, marked them off from the groups of dependent Khoi servants who could - and did - still drift in and out of service, but from whose ranks some of the 'Bastaards' were drawn. Viewed thus as a socio-cultural group - rather than

131. (continued from previous page) the class mobility is through the medium of culture. But it is also important to note that not all Khoi or 'Bastaards' on the farms were always passive: there was, for example, an uprising of Khoi in 1772 on the farm of Adriaan Louw in the Roggeveld. Nine "Hottentots in hire" deserted with 4 guns, shot another burger and his wife and daughter, took more guns, were then joined by other fugitives and took 515 sheep with them. Moodie: Op.cit., III, p.11. Letter from Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Acting Governor van Plettenberg. See also; Hodgson: Op.cit., pp.604-5.

132. J.S.Marais: The Cape Coloured People is still one of the best and most sympathetic accounts, especially chapters I, II, III & X.

simply 'racially mixed' — they can also be identified as distinct from the Khoisan resisters whom they helped the burgers hunt, kill and capture. There is nothing surprising about that in the light of recent events in South Africa and elsewhere in the colonial world. There were, for instance, as many Algerians fighting with the French (especially in the Kabyle mountains) on a voluntary basis as there were fighting against them.¹³³

There is not much evidence about 'Bastaard' women: it is certain that many married and were absorbed upwards into burger ranks through hypergamous relations.¹³⁴ This will be looked at later again when considering the manumission of female slaves and their absorption into burger society through marriage.

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133. The number of 'non-whites' in the South African police is nearly as high as that of 'whites'. See Survey of Race Relations, 1974; and John Dunn: Modern Revolutions, p.163 for the Algerian reference.
134. Sparrman refers to the children of a Dutch man in the Hottentots-Holland area and of "...a bastaard negress of the second or third generation", and a 'European' in Houteniqua district who had married an "...ugly sooty Mulatto, the daughter of a Negress. She had been the mistress of another farmer who was dead and by whom she had a couple of bastards". Sparrman: Op.cit., I, pp.284-5 and 287. Despite remarkable silence on the question of Dutch female and male slave relations, there are scattered bits of evidence to indicate that there was action on that front too. Thus the Journal entry for 1st September, 1714 recorded that "...Maria Mouton, of Middelburg in Zeeland, 24 years old, murders her husband with the assistance of her paramour, the slave Titus of Bengal". Leibbrandt: Journal, 1699-1723, p.260. Maria Mouton had "for three years already had sexual relations with this slave and she had in fact seduced him". There are a few other cases of Dutch women marrying freed slaves. See J.Hoge: "Miscegenation in South Africa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", p.115. Thunberg reported that "... the daughters of the colonists are sometimes with child by their fathers' 'black' slaves. In this case, in consideration of a round sum of money, a husband is usually provided for the girl, but the slave is sent away from that part of the country". Thunberg: Op.cit., pp.137-8. None of this seems surprising, though the explanation of infrequency (apparently) of this relation by contrast with the male burger/female slave or Khoi relations will be examined later. If the slave was only 'sent away', that was mild treatment by comparative standards — the fate of both elsewhere was more dramatic. See B.Davis: Op.cit., pp.49-51.

The need for labour by the farmers and the possibility of binding the children of Khoi mothers and slave fathers to them by some legal means was considered quite early in the 18th century.¹³⁵ In a petition (no.73 of 1721) certain farmers (named) prayed "... that such children may be, for a time, indentured to those who rear them and who otherwise would have no compensation for all their trouble and expense". It was refused, but 50 years later, in 1775, it became legal for such children to be 'apprenticed' to the farmers (on whose farms they had been born) after the age of 18 months and until they were 25. It was supposed to be illegal unless such 'apprenticeships' were registered, but abuse must have been common and the practice is likely to have been in force anyway from at least 1721, the time of the first petition.¹³⁶

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135. Le Vaillant: Op.cit.,II,p.142. This is what Hodgson has argued too by saying that the "... majority of the dispossessed Hottentots drifted into the service of the farmers and (formed) a definite class of hired labourers". Hodgson: Op.cit., p.601.
136. Leibbrandt: Requesten,II,p.518, for the 1721 petition. Also Moodie: Op.cit.,III,p.77 and Hodgson: Op.cit.,p.602. But as Theal acknowledges, "... it was not always possible to prevent ill-usage of either slaves or apprentices or Hottentots on the distant frontier". Theal: Op.cit.,III,p.168. To Percival, at the end of the century, it was clear that many farmers treated these apprentices as slaves. Percival: Op.cit.,pp.82-3. Also de Kock: Op.cit.,p.124. The 1775 regulation is described accurately by Müller in the following terms: "Slaves mixed freely with the Hottentots and so added considerably to the Coloured population In order to turn the offspring of this mixed parentage into a sound labour force, the government approved a measure which compelled children of such unions to work for a specific employer up to the age of twenty-five". Müller: Op.cit.,p.73. This marked a decisive step in the process of stalling admission to 'free burger' status, and is indicative of the economic forces at work. How can it be denied that the labour factor is central to an understanding of so-called 'race' relations, and is one of its central core features?

Finally, the last category of indigenous labour which was incorporated into the colonial economy, or parts of it, was that of the San and Khoisan resisters, particularly in the last quarter of the 18th century, as was mentioned in the previous chapter. In his letter of Instructions to Commandant Opperman, the Secretary of the Council permitted the commandos to retain captives and to "... divide them in proportions among the poorest inhabitants there in order to continue to serve them for a fixed and equitable term of years".¹³⁷ It was, however, clear to Sparrman - who described the rough manner of their capture - that these people were treated as, and regarded as, slaves, and who "... most sensibly (felt) want of liberty..." and generally attempted to regain it by making their escape.¹³⁸ And Barrow, at the end of the century, considered that these people were "... carried off into slavery..." and, if given the chance, would escape, and did.¹³⁹

There are a number of points which emerge here. The first is to underline that the seizure of Khoisan resisters was probably in part an attempt to break their resistance finally, but also an

137. Moodie: Op.cit., III, p.29. San women and children had been taken by commandos since 1715. Katzen: Op.cit., p.208, fn.2. See Böeseken: Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse, Op.cit., pp.80-81.

138. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, pp.202-4, and p.219.

139. Barrow: Op.cit., I, p.285 and pp.235-6. On that front, however, farmers later admitted that they'd been involved in killing or capturing 3,200 of these people. Marais: Op.cit., p.18. Marais makes a point which, if true, is telling. He says: "I am inclined to believe that the majority of the 276 'colonists' who were murdered by Bushmen between 1786 and 1795 were Hottentot herdsmen armed with guns Ibid., pp.18-19. The material Marais draws on includes Thompson's reports of his conversations with commando officers later in the 1820s about that period. See George Thompson: Travels in Southern Africa, Op.cit., Part Two, pp.2-14. My emphasis, A.L.

attempt to supplement labour supplies for some farmers. A second and related point, however, is to emphasise the difficulty of keeping such people against their will when they might return to a hunter-gatherer life, albeit under increasing commando pressures. It suggests that slavery (by any other name) in those relatively open, mobile and ranching conditions was difficult and, in general terms, costly. This point has implications for the understanding of Khoi labour. Those who were in service with the farmers were there because, their land having been taken, they had no real alternative. To an extent, therefore, they must have been reluctantly resigned to their servitude, for their herds had disappeared and hence the essential core of an alternative social organization was gone. Short of reverting to the desperate plight of resisting hunter-gatherers, they were thus held in captivity by the structure of their historical fate - landlessness, broken socio-economic organization, cattleless, and hungry, but able to get food in return for their services from farmers. Moreover, because they were so dependant, they were not only cheap, but safe labour. Sparrman reports, for instance, finding a farm "... inhabited only by some Hottentots, who were left there by a colonist in order to look after it".¹⁴⁰ And Khoi servants do not appear to have fled, deserted or rebelled in anything like the same way as slaves did. The slaves were regarded as a much greater security risk and had fierce reputations for violent attack and

140. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.304. (Khoi servants do not appear to have 'deserted' or fled in anything even remotely comparable to the numbers of slaves who fled, deserted or rebelled.) Thompson reported 3 or 4 'slaves and Hottentots' in charge of veldt-kornet Louw's farm at Tee Fonteyn near Clanwilliam. Thompson: Op.cit., II, p.14.

rebellion against their condition.¹⁴¹ And if many Khoi became addicted to liquor, it may be wiser to see this not as a cause of their dependant and servile circumstances, but as a condition of it.¹⁴²

There are some concluding points to be made about the differential incorporation of Khoi, Khoisan and San into the colonial society. Historically, in the west, they constituted an important and initially much needed element in the labour arrangements, and were used by both V.O.C. and colonists alike in a variety of tasks. But as more permanent and controlled labour was required - and became available - and after the smallpox epidemic of 1713, the Khoi component of the western agricultural and domestic labour force declined relative to that of the slaves. In the east, as the veeboere moved with their herds into Khoi territory, they took with them or attracted and held in their service substantial numbers of destitute and dependant Khoi, the remnants from shattered societies. Not only were the veeboere in general poorer, and thus did not have the resources with which to buy slaves, but the nature of their less settled pastoral economic life was better suited to the employment of generally safe, dependant and cheap Khoi labour. On some farms, as has been shown, there were as many as 50 such servants. There were also slaves, and from the complex sexual life of those

141. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.72. As will be shown shortly, slave revolts not only were common, but deeply feared.

142. Marais hints at this and many other commentaries make the point in one way or another.

regions, and as much from socio-economic conditions, there emerged a category of intermediate 'Bastaard' dependants too, who played a vital and active role in combatting Khoisan resistance and defending burger interests. The picture that has generally been handed down by the historians is of isolated, independant and self-sufficient farmers and their families entering the 18th century, and the "... vast, mysterious thirsty landscape of the interior", moving around restlessly, handing on their cattle to their sons, becoming imaginatively and intellectually 'inert', and identifying through their Bibles with the homeless Israelites.¹⁴³ There may be some truth in that view, but it needs to be balanced by the fact that within these wider ranching units - that is within and as part of the 'frontier' - there were Khoi and 'Bastaard' labourers on a scale which surely must have made the difference between survival and failure in all respects - hunting, herding, offensive and defensive commandos and domestic production.

143. de Kiewiet: Op.cit., p.17. After 1712, according to one author, there appear to have been few if any 'Hottentots' involved in or on the frontier at all! See du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.45-6. Walker hardly discusses the fact of Khoi labour in his standard work. A History of Southern Africa, ch.IV. There is next to nothing about this in Müller: Op.cit. While Katzen refers to the fact that Khoi and San made 'excellent herdsman', the scope and ubiquity of Khoi labour and participation in the extension, protection and constitution of the pastoral economy is not sufficiently underlined in the histories. In his now classic study, de Keiwiet, alas, paints a picture of the 18th century stock-farmer's economy as one in which self-sufficiency (meaning veeboere self-sufficiency) cattle-bartering 'with Hottentots', hunting and cattle grazing, all undertaken by clear implication by the burgers alone, became a way of life. A History of South Africa. Social and Economic, pp.10-11. I believe the evidence supports a different view, namely that the pastoral economy of the veeboere was substantially dependent on Khoi labour in a variety of crucial respects mentioned above, including defence, domestic help, herding and related tasks.

Though the 'bastards' constituted an intermediate category in the division of labour in the east, and hence a socio-economic and cultural buffer between the trekkers and the Khoi and Khoisan, the substantial balance of Khoi dependants were thus incorporated in the society- west and east - as effectively politically rightless, economically depressed and culturally alien.¹⁴⁴ What upwards mobility there was appears to have been via 'Bastaard' status and female hypergamy. Later this will be examined in the wider treatment of the relative rigidity of social structure in the overall economic context. But from the standpoint of differential incorporation, the need of the colonial political economy for labour (first in the west and then steadily in the east), and the minimal opportunities for acculturation, (thus maintaining the initial social distances), converged to freeze Khoi in the most subordinate and helpless category in the structure of labour.

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144. In 1748 it had been ordered that Khoi should be allowed to lay complaints against the burgers in the courts (something which slaves could not do). This occurred, but those who have examined the court records have found that the evidence of the Khoi litigants was not considered equal to that of the burgers. Katzen: Op.cit., pp.224-5, and Elphick: Op.cit., p.246. Elphick sees this as evidence of 'racial' prejudice emerging. I return to examine that view later.

In the constitution of plural societies, the mode of admission and the initial conditions of participation of the main groups and categories in the division of labour are crucial. Thus, in turning to examine this question in respect of the slaves at the Cape - slaves whose presence was a major factor in building the economy and society there - one central question establishes the orientation towards the evidence. What were the circumstances and conditions which were associated with the entry of slaves to the political economy and social structure of the Cape? A number of subsidiary questions order the sequence and logic of that enquiry. What was the demand for slaves? Where, in fact, did they come from and in what numbers? What were the primary political and economic conditions associated with their incorporation in the society, and did these coincide with other initial cultural differences between the slaves (a mixed group in itself) on the one hand, and the burgers and Khoisan on the other? What factors permitted or enjoined manumission and what factors hindered it? In working out the answers to these questions against the background of the economic context of the period and through its history, it will become clearer how the complex overlapping of cultural and class features defined the shape of the structurally plural society through the process of differential incorporation.

Despite quite substantial data, a definitive account of Cape slavery has yet to be written.¹⁴⁵ But, from the available evidence,

145. There is Blommaert's "Het invoeren van der Slavernij aan die Kaap" which is a useful short account describing events leading up to the arrival of the first major batch of slaves in 1658. The chapter on "Slavery at the Cape, 1652-1838" in the CHBE is next to useless for the period before 1795. Victor de Kock's Those in Bondage is a helpful compilation of facts and impressions of slave life at the Cape, though it lacks structure and hence does not add much analytically to our understanding of the formation of Cape society. Isobel Edwards' Towards
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answers to the above question can be offered in terms of the major concerns of the study, and in terms of insights and approaches from other studies in the comparative history of slavery and slave systems.

First, then, what was the demand for slaves, and where did the slaves come from? As argued earlier, the officials and later the burgers were constantly hungry for labour throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The officials did not have the labour to do what they had been instructed to do, and the burgers - once set free to farm on their own account - found themselves helpless without additional manpower. Though the Khoi and later Khoisan incorporation was gradual and intermittent at first, and was then accelerated as their societies collapsed and their dependence increased, the slaves were ripped from their own societies, transported by ship, forced into the Cape economy and held there by force, at least initially. Khoi labour, while used wherever possible, given the shortage of slaves, was not - at first - reliable or regular. For Khoi drifted in and out of service, particularly in the first half century of V.O.C. rule in the west, and later in the east. They could not be forced to work, though no doubt came under pressure. Thus, given also that knechte were too costly (and often more dangerously unreliable and reluctant, as were V.O.C. employees) and that neither they nor more colonists would solve the labour problems, the obvious solution was to turn to slaves.

145. (continued from previous page) Emancipation deals mainly with the pre-emancipation between 1806 and 1834. A recent article by L.J.Greenstein, "Slave and Citizen: the South African Case" sets out to demonstrate that Cape slavery was as unpleasant and cruel as its counter-part in the Americas and was a "complete microcosm" of it. It is not persuasive on that point. Most of the histories deal with slavery in passing, but rarely pause to examine its structural relationship with the wider society.

It is important to stress that the demand for slaves and the institution of slavery was there from the start. It remained a constant feature of the colonial economy in the 17th and 18th centuries and no special post-1717 development in Cape slavery needs to be underlined in that respect. For, despite initial reluctance the V.O.C. recognized very early on that slaves would be necessary and informed the Cape to that effect in 1656.¹⁴⁶ It was to be some years though before the slave numbers began to build up. On his departure in 1666, Wagenaar emphasized the case for an increase of the slaves.¹⁴⁷ In 1671 the V.O.C. again acknowledged the case for a supply of slaves, and in 1676 Commissioner Verburg declared it to be "... indisputable that the Cape requires more labourers, and

146. The Seventeen to van Riebeeck, 12th October, 1656. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.90. The view that it was only in and after 1717 that "... the Cape colony took the wrong turning" and that before then ".... slavery was not deeply rooted" seems odd. Walker: Op.cit., p.76. It is a view which is common. The year 1717 is seen as a 'turning point'. Katzen: Op.cit., p.201. What turned? Slaves had been coming from early on and continued to come, and both V.O.C. and colonists continued to get what they wanted. In 1657, before the slaves arrived, the Seventeen wrote to van Riebeeck stating "You are to treat the slaves well and kindly, to make them better accustomed to, and well disposed towards, us; they are to be taught all kinds of trades, that in the course of time the advantages of such instructions may be beneficial to yourselves and a large number of Europeans excused". Letters Received, 1649-1661, II, p.8, 31st March, 1657. This was before the burgers were set up. The V.O.C. was still not sure how to make the settlement perform its task, and thought at one stage in terms of a free-slave community. See Theal: Op.cit., II, p.272 for example. Nonetheless it is remarkable how the sentiments of philanthropy and self-interest coincided.

147. Wagenaar to van Quaelbergen, 24th September, 1666 in Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.293.

that without a great number of slaves, it cannot be brought to the state we would desire".¹⁴⁸ By 1677 the Seventeen accepted the notion of about 3 or 4 slaves per farmer, and within two years the Governor, van der Stel, was arguing the case for a regular slave trade between the Cape and Madagascar.¹⁴⁹ Even when, by the early 18th century, the number of slaves had risen from 310 in 1687 to 1298 in 1708, the upward demand continued to be strong. In 1699, the Governor wrote to the Seventeen saying that "... without slave labour hardly anything can be effected" and in the same year he sent a letter with a slave-buying expedition to the 'King' of Madagascar, requesting him "... to aid the officers of this vessel with good advice and assistance, and to allow them to obtain a large number of slaves; also that care may be taken that their age and sex are properly given"¹⁵⁰ In 1705 another expedition was despatched to Madagascar for slaves and rice, for "... we are greatly in want of both"¹⁵¹ Clearly, thus, from the time of van Riebeeck throughout the 18th century, the question of labour was critical, and it preoccupied the thinking of the officials and burgers, for a great deal hinged on the solution to the labour problem.

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148. The Seventeen to Hackius, 15th May, 1671. Ibid., I, p. 310. Verburg to Bax on 15th March, 1676. Ibid., I, pp. 340-1.
149. Seventeen to Cape, 18th August, 1677. Ibid., I, p. 347, fn. 1; and van der Stel to Seventeen, 23rd November, 1679. Ibid., I, p. 372.
150. The Cape to Amsterdam, 18th March, 1699; Cape Governor to 'King of Magellage and Prince of Madagascar', 18th June, 1699. In Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, p. 105 and p. 123. The slave figures are taken from Walker: Op.cit., p. 71.
151. Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, pp. 268-9 and p. 270. The Cape to Batavia, 12th June, 1705 and to the 'King of Madagascar', 15th June, 1705.

Another way in which this demand may be identified is in terms of explicit choices and preferences. Given a normative universe within which certain material and ideal ends are valued, these choices reflect the manner in which individuals and groups read and interpret the logic of their situations and estimate their own prospects within it. Thus, in the 18th century, when the local officials and free burgers were asked to express their views on the question of whether further immigration or slavery should be encouraged, their response was unanimous: slaves. In 1700, the Seventeen asked the opinion of the Cape Council as to whether they could use further immigrants, and the Governor's reply was a decisive no.¹⁵² One consequence of this was the decision of the Seventeen, in 1706, that "... henceforth no freemen shall be sent thither except by special consent and permission of this meeting".¹⁵³ But the issue did not die down: it cropped up again in 1716, when the Directors once more sought a Cape opinion on the question of immigration, and in particular as to whether there was a preference for Dutch farm-hands, agriculturalists etc. or slaves.¹⁵⁴ All the officials (except one) and the burger councillors came out decisively not only against further immigration from the Netherlands, but in favour of further slave imports. They also urged that greater freedom to trade be granted them.¹⁵⁵ This preference and demand for

152. Letters Received, 1699-1708, pp. 250-1. The Seventeen to the Cape. 23rd June, 1700; and Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, p. 164. The Governor to the Seventeen, 14th March, 1701.

153. Letters Received, 1699-1708, p. 468. Resolution dated 26th October, 1706.

154. Letter from Amsterdam, dated 24th June, 1716. In The Reports of Chavonnes and his Council, and van Imhoff on the Cape, pp. 85-6.

155. Ibid., passim. This was but one of a number of such requests for free trade. It indicates the central spur of Cape economic ideology.

slaves could be interpreted as illustrative of sloth; and there is some evidence that bears out that kind of view. But looked at closely and then seen in the historical context of that colony and that Company, imposing that battery of restraints on economic activity, what is much more plausible as a fuller explanation is that the long-standing preference for slaves reflected an accurate reading of the economic situation and a realization that further direct entry to the free burger category would be disastrous for it. Increased immigration would mean more competition amongst agriculturalists and townsmen, resulting in the inevitable failure of some, consequent poverty and a drain on the Poor Fund. The officials' concern for the costs to the V.O.C., and the burgers' concern about competition and strain on the limited market and scarce resources confirmed a resounding preference for more slaves and no further immigration of new burgers, though some filtered in via service with the Company, as mentioned earlier.

The consistency of demand continued throughout the 18th century, though burger poverty was not avoided nor the eastern trekking movement pre-empted. In the 1730s Mentzel noted that on the farms "... there is always room for more slaves" and that "... the expansion of the colony (demanded) an ever-increasing number of slaves". This was in part due to the wide range of activities which slaves undertook in the agricultural sector, as well as in the homes, the town and the trades. It was also, he suggested, due to the fact that "... agriculture at the Cape required more labour than in Europe". In 1750 the Council of Policy again asked Burger councillors of the town and Landdrost and Heemraden of the country districts for their views on immigration. They were again unanimous that "... the sending of additional families here, would,

if anything, bring ruin upon the Cape". They again appealed to ".... Your Honours for the introduction of free freight so as to find markets for the products of the country and to promote further trade". Then in 1788 a petition of Cape agricultur-
alists declared that they were in urgent need of slaves, but because the cost of purchasing them was so high they requested an increase in the price paid for their wheat and barley.¹⁵⁶

Given this context of the Cape economy, slavery was an obvious answer. The demand for slaves, to that extent, reflected a rational assessment of the constraints imposed by the situation and the V.O.C. and, given the time and place, the values of the era in no way vetoed the practice but permitted and even encouraged it. Thus the Cape did not stumble into the use of slaves. Nor was it a function of prior 'racial' attitudes or views about the appropriate rôle for the children of Ham. And it was not simply the consequence of endemic European sloth. The oft-noted decision of 1717 was no special or unique event if seen as one of many similar such declarations of local priorities and aspirations stretching back to van Riebeeck's time. Slavery was used from the start to meet specific labour problems, to assist in reaching the targets which had been set for the officials and to fulfill at least some aspirations of the burgers. It was also thought to be overall more cheap by the V.O.C. So much, then, for origins and continuity of the demand: where did the slaves come from and in what kind of numbers?

156. Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.90 and pp.126-8. He estimated that on a farm with 3000 sheep and 300 head of cattle, one shepherd was needed for every 500 sheep, hence the need for 5 or 6 slaves or 'Hottentots' at least on each farm. Ibid.,II,p.128. The 1750 enquiry and the responses of the Districts are provided in The Report of van Imhoff, Op.cit.,pp.150-4. Requesten,I, p.24. No.6 of 1788.

Slaves have usually been 'outsiders'. Israelites had non-Israelite slaves; Corinthians had Athenian slaves and vice-versa; the Romans had Germans; the Florentines had Tartars and Ethiopians; the Spanish had Circassians and Greeks; the Moroccans had European Christians and other non-believers; the Fulani-Hausa had 'Bantu negroes' and the Dutch at the Cape had Madagascans, East Africans and East Indians for their slaves. "What sets the slave apart from all other forms of involuntary labour is that, in the strictest sense, he is an outsider. He is brought into a new society violently and traumatically: he is cut off from all traditional human ties of kin and nation and even his own religion"¹⁵⁷

Thus, given his or her 'class' position - as propertyless and without political or legal rights - and given the initial (and sometimes enduring) distinctiveness of the slave in terms of culture, religion or nationality (or a combination of them), nothing could express the process of differential incorporation more dramatically than the practice of slavery itself. Its various dimensions - spelt out at the start of this chapter - all manifest themselves in the cumulatively disadvantaged status of the slave or slavess. And this was so at the Cape, as elsewhere.

Despite continual requests for slaves and repeated pleas to Batavia and Amsterdam, there were only 12 slaves at the Cape in 1657. They had all reached the Cape more by accident than design and constituted no solution to the labour problem. They included people from Batavia, Madagascar, Bengal and two Arab girls from Abyssinia, and they had arrived at the Cape as stowaways, or had been

157. Moses I. Finley: "Critique of David Brion Davis" The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, p.260.

captured en route from the East or given to the van Riebeeck family as 'presents' by visiting admirals.¹⁵⁸ In desperation, the Council of Policy decided to despatch two ships - the Hasselt and the Maria - to West Africa, to cruise along the coast to find slaves.¹⁵⁹

The Maria returned with none. Then, before the return of the Hasselt, there arrived at the Cape on 28th March, 1658 the Amersfoort with 170 slaves on board who had been captured from a Portuguese slaver off the coast of Brazil. From this time onwards, slaves began to arrive - in uneven numbers and from different places. The Hasselt turned up from West Africa with 228 Guinea slaves in May 1658.¹⁶⁰ But after this most slaves were from the East coast of Africa or the Indies, for in the following year the Seventeen instructed the Commander to cease any further voyages to Angola for slaves, not only because it was thought that the Cape at that time was well supplied, but also because Angola was part of the domain of the West India Company.¹⁶¹ In May, 1658 there were 360 members of the settlement, of whom 98 were V.O.C. slaves and 89 were slaves owned by the burgers.¹⁶² In the 1670s regular batches of slaves arrived at the Cape: 240 were taken from an English ship and 38 brought from Batavia in 1673; another 257 arrived in 1676; a further 100 Tutucorin slaves came in 1677; another 254 from Madagascar in the same

158. Blommaert: Op.cit., pp.5-8.

159. Journal, II, p.145. Entry for 20th August, 1657. They sailed on 10th September, 1657. Ibid., II, p.153. They had been delayed more than a week by foul weather.

160. Ibid., II, p.251. Also for this period see A.J. Böeseken: Jan van Riebeeck en sy gesin, p.139, and pp.160-2. The Maria had returned on 22nd January, 1658. Ibid., II, p.219. Along with the Robbejacht, she was again despatched on 5th February, 1658, "... to Angola and to explore all ports, bays, inlets, rivers etc. to see whether slaves and other commodities (sic) can be obtained for the benefit of the Hon. Company". Ibid., II, p.225. The Maria returned safely, without slaves, on the 29th May and it reported that the Robbejacht had perished. Ibid., II, pp.277-8. Also see Journal II, p.265, entry for 6th May, 1655.

161. and 162 - see next page.

year and 190 from 'Eastern islands'; some of these were sent on to Batavia and Mauritius.¹⁶³ And natural increase boosted numbers. But, as mentioned above, the demand was constant and there were never enough.

In 1669 the privately owned slaves numbered 191; in 1687 the number was 310; in 1694 it had moved up to 447.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile more slaves arrived from Madagascar, particularly in the last decade of the 17th century and the first decade of the 18th century: 119 in 1697, a further 184 in 1700 and another 202 in 1706.¹⁶⁵ And over the 18th century, the numbers increased, both by importation but

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161. (from previous page) ... The Seventeen to van Riebeeck, dated 5th September, 1659. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.190.
162. (from previous page) ... Journal, II, p.279. Entry 30th May, 1658.
163. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.324; Journal 1671-4 & 6, p.156; Ibid., p.302, entry for 18th June, 1676; V.de Kock: Op.cit., p.33. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.350 and fn.1. The Amersfoort, Wapen van Amsterdam and the Spreeuw left with a further 102 slaves for the East and it was thought that 200 more could be sent on in due course. See Journal, II, pp.256-268, entries for 8th and 9th April and 22nd May, 1658. When a cargo of 93 slaves were received from Ceylon in 1677 a commission was appointed to "... prepare a list of the most diligent and most needy farmers, to whom slaves (would) be supplied". Theal: Abstracts, p.151. Entry for 22nd June, 1677.
164. MacCrone: Op.cit., p.59; Neumark: Op.cit., p.10.
165. Letters Despatched 1696-1709, p.45 and p.133 and p.276. Letters dated 30th June, 1697, 24th January, 1700 and 16th January, 1706. These are not all, but some instances only.

mainly by natural increase, in the following manner:¹⁶⁶

<u>Date</u>		<u>Slave Numbers</u>	<u>Burgers</u>
1701		891	1,334
1706		1,107	1,107
1708		1,298	1,870 (in 1711)
1713	1st smallpox epidemic		
1718		2,436	2,145
1728		3,873	2,835
1738		5,757	3,748
1748		4,922	4,589
1753		6,045	5,533
1756-8	2nd smallpox epidemic		
1758		5,932	5,676
1768		8,207	7,818
1778		11,107	9,802
1788		14,810	12,704

In the early part of the 18th century the ratio of male to female slaves was about 7:1. This imbalance was not helped by new batches of slaves arriving with, for example, only 4 females out of 68, as in 1707.¹⁶⁷ While local slave births, or rather while the

166. V.de Kock: Op.cit.,p.237. Based on Theal's Records; Beyers' Die Kaapse Patriotte, and Barrow. This was offset somewhat by the re-export of slaves to Batavia, which however did not add up to very large numbers. Also, Böeseken: Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse, Op.cit.,pp.62-5.

167. Beyers: Op.cit.,p.240; Katzen: Op.cit.,p.205. Also, Letters Despatched,1697-1708,p.318. 15th April,1707.

number of births to slave women naturally inclined the ratio towards a more even balance between males and females, the imbalance was maintained by at least two other factors: first, the continued importation of more males than females and, secondly, the manumission of female slaves and their female offspring through hypergamous relationships, including marriage to burgers. Thus, in 1778 the ratio of male to female slaves was still high at $3\frac{1}{2}:1$.¹⁶⁸

Most Cape slaves came from Madagascar and the East African coast. This included some 280 obtained during the V.O.C.'s 10-year unsuccessful commercial establishment at Delagoa Bay, from 1721-1730.¹⁶⁹ Contemporaries at the end of the 17th and during the 18th centuries comment on the predominance of African slaves, and from the preceding account it can be seen how most came from that region. And throughout the 18th century slave expeditions to East Africa took place now and again. Visitors also referred to the scarcity value of Asian slaves, and the price of these slaves in part reflects that. Thus Dampier (at the Cape in 1691) mentioned the predominance of 'Negro' slaves', as did Leguat in 1698.¹⁷⁰ Kolbe, who was there in the first decade of the 18th century said most slaves came from Madagascar and were "..... intractable, revengeful cruel wretches".¹⁷¹ By Mentzel's time there was a well-established majority of East African slaves, though it seemed to him that labour needs in general were

168. Katzen: Op.cit.,p.205; and Beyers: Op.cit.,p.240. The implications of this for social relations and on social structure are examined in the next chapter.

169. V. de Kock: Op.cit.,p.33.

170. Collectanea,p.123 and Raven-Hart: Op.cit.,II,p.431 and p.438. To some callers it appears that all Blacks were 'Negroes'.

171. Kolbe: Op.cit.,I,pp.363-4.

being met by natural increase among the slaves. There were also slaves from Bengal, Ternate, Java 'Candia', Surat, Malabar and other 'Portuguese settlements'.¹⁷² While Madagascan slaves fetched between 100 and 150 Rixdollars each, according to Sparrman and Le Vaillant, the Malay and Indian slaves - as well as the Cape-born 'creole' slaves - were in great demand and could cost as much as 500 Rixdollars each.¹⁷³

Slaves entered Cape society under the maximum conditions of unfreedom. This marked them off from Khoisan on the one hand and the various categories of Europeans on the other. Like the classical condition of 'pure' slavery in Greece, the Cape slave had no legal personality, he could be seized as property, he had no effective economic freedom, nor did he have freedom of movement.¹⁷⁴ While Khoi could (and did) move out of service - though it must have become more and more difficult as the pressures closed in - slaves could not. Indeed, within weeks of the arrival of the first big batch of slaves at the Cape, the desertion rate was so high, and worrying to the officials and colonists, that permission was granted to the burgers to chain up their slaves.¹⁷⁵ Desertion and slave

172. Mentzel: Op.cit., II, p.125. Thunberg said that most slaves came from Madagascar when he was there in the 1770s. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, p.113. Similarly, Percival, later still, observed the same thing. Percival: Op.cit., p.287. Small ship-loads of slaves continued to be obtained from Madagascar in the 18th century, though after 1767 no further Asian slaves arrived. Theal: Op.cit., III, p.95.

173. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.74, and Le Vaillant: Op.cit., pp.101-2. De Mist also pointed to the predominance of Madagascan and Mozambique slaves in his Report. De Mist: Op.cit., p.252.

174. This was the condition of 'pure' slavery as opposed to pure 'free' status in Greece. See William L. Westermann: "Between Slavery and Freedom", p.86.

175. Journal, II, p.324, and p.337. They were released from their irons to help fight the 'Capemen'. Within weeks of their arrival the colonists returned half of their slaves saying that they could not keep or control them.

revolts were a constant fear of colonists and officials alike and the period is studded with incidents that illustrate this.¹⁷⁶ A group in 1669 deserted and had sworn that should food fail them, they would rather die, for they had been beaten and ill-treated.¹⁷⁷ In 1706 and 1707 the Journal indicated that a flurry of rebellions and revolts by slaves were taking place: slaves, according to Landdrost Starrenburg, had "... thrown aside all obedience, duty and respect; opposing with obstinate sulkiness the orders of their rulers so much so that many absent themselves from their masters during the night and congregate in the back slums of certain freemen's houses to gamble, get drunk and commit irregularities". The Landdrost asked for more "constables" and "caffers" - the latter term meaning slave assistants to the former. In 1707 a burger was murdered in an uprising.¹⁷⁸ Mentzel too talked of the "... sulky,

176. See V. de Kock: Op.cit., chapter IV, "In Search of Liberty", pp.71-85; and Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.38.

177. Journal 1662-70, p.271. In August 1673, 12 slaves deserted with the intention of returning to Angola. Journal 1671-4 & 6, p.156; 27 slaves fled in November, 1674 heading for Mozambique. Ibid., p.223. In 1705 the Commander wrote to the Seventeen saying that since slaves obtained their freedom automatically on setting foot in the Netherlands, he begged the V.O.C. to ".... have all ships examined before the men leave them" and if slaves were found to send them back to the Cape for this was "... a matter seriously affecting the Company and its people". Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, p.263. Letter dated 30th March, 1705. See also 27th May, 1705. van der Stel had been aware that fugitive slaves could destroy the colony "... for they are far superior in number to the whites". Cited in de Kock: Op.cit., p.72. In 1736 a band of runaway slaves banded together to set fire to Cape Town when one of the high south-easterly winds was blowing. Mentzel: Life at the Cape, p.100.

178. Journal, 1699-1723, p.97 and pp.144-6. Entries for 14th August, 1706 and 7th December, 1707.

savage and disagreeable...." character of the slaves, and one may safely infer that this is yet another instance of the kind of fear and anxiety about the slaves which was widespread amongst colonists, and hence communicated itself to visitors.¹⁷⁹ When he was at the Cape in the 1770s, Sparrman described in detail an incident which he heard of in which a farmer had been beheaded by his own slaves. But at least he was clear about the ill-treatment meted out to slaves at the Cape. For though slaves were not supposed to be treated harshly, argued Sparrman, "... how is a slave to go to law with his master, who is, as it were, his sovereign, and who, by the same laws, has a right (or at least may by dint of bribes purchase that right) to have him flogged at the public whipping post and this merely on the strength of the master's own testimony and without further inquisition into the merits of the case?"¹⁸⁰

179. Mentzel: A Geographical and Topographical Description, II, p.129. Particular fears (and some myths) attached to Malay slaves who would occasionally run 'amok' and were thought to be very volatile and dangerous, but highly talented. V.de Kock: Op.cit., p.159, and passim. See also Theal: Op.cit., III, pp.94-5. Sparrman claimed that 'Bugunese' slaves in particular were feared as being savage and unreliable. Sparrman: Op.cit., II, pp.342-3. "Malays are also seen here, who are the most intelligent, and at the same time, the most dangerous slaves". Le Vaillant: Op.cit., p.101. He said that he had seen ".... this crime often repeated", that is the murder and running 'amok'. Another observer said that Malays were "... treacherous and ferocious" and that a high reward was given to someone who prevented and stopped "....a Malay in the act of running a muck (sic)". Percival: Op.cit., p.289. The public image of the 'CapeMalay' has changed a bit since then. Finally in 1767, after repeated requests from the Cape Council, no further Asian criminals or political exiles or slaves were permitted to be sent to the Cape by the Batavian authorities. Theal: Op.cit., III, p.95; also CHBE., p.267.

180. Sparrman: Op.cit., II, pp.337-343. "A slave can give no evidence, nor has he the power of bearing, much less of having in his possession, any kind of firearms; by these means the slaves, who always greatly exceed the Europeans in number are kept unarmed". Thunberg: Op.cit., I, pp.114-5. My emphases, A.L.

In this, Sparrman identified that ensemble of conditions - of rightlessness, powerlessness and the absence, effectively, of legal redress, which characterized the status of the Cape slave. And in those respects, at least, the slaves were worse off than the Khoi and clearly in a different category to the knechte, though even for the latter (as with V.O.C. employees in general) all forms of punishment were extremely cruel by modern standards. In other respects - particularly amongst the domestic slaves - conditions do not appear to have been as harsh and rough. Household slaves were not always the domestici hostes.¹⁸¹

181. See Iris Origo: "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the 14th and 15th centuries." In the Netherlands itself in the 17th century the punishments for crimes and misdemeanours were pretty savage. They included branding with red-hot irons, the use of the rack (in Holland there were five recognized degrees of torture), amputations of the hand, nose or ears, the burning of the tongue, gouging of eyes, splitting of a cheek and severe whipping. See Paul Zumthor: Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland, p.55. All of these gruesome punishments were inflicted on slaves and V.O.C. employees at the Cape, so there seems to be no special reason for the condemnation of these punishments in respect of slaves as Greenstein suggests. Sparrman gives a vivid description of the impaling of a slave. Sparrman: Op.cit., II, p.340 and refers to "... spikes, wheels, red-hot pincers and all the rest of the horrid apparatus employed". Ibid., II, p.341. Stavorinus observed how a slave who had set fire to a house - was "... broken alive upon the wheel, after the flesh had been torn from his body, in eight different places, with red-hot pincers". That had been a practice in 17th century Holland. Stavorinus: Op.cit., I, p.571. It is probable that as the 18th century wore on the punishments for slaves remained the same - they could hardly have got worse. But the punishments for burgers decreased in severity. In the 17th century, however, V.O.C. employees and others were dropped from the yard a couple of times, had knives driven through their hands onto wooden posts, were branded, had their tongues bored through, were keel-hauled and flogged "... by Caffers". See the convictions and punishments reported in Moodie: Op.cit., I, pp.251-4 and pp.311-5. The similarities with 16th century treatment of slaves in Seville, Spain, are quite extraordinary. Pike describes how some slaves there were branded and others were not, how their domestic role improved their conditions and status, how they danced and entertained by playing musical instruments, how close female slaves were to their mistresses, how attempted desertion was met with the sternest and most painful forms of punishment, how manumission via paramone clauses and by Wills was common, how slaves acted as assistants to constables (as corchetes), and how difficult it was to enforce laws against heavy drinking and disturbing the peace by slaves and freemen. Pike: "Sevillian Society in the 16th Century", Op.cit., pp.344-359.

The Company slaves on at least one occasion complained to the Commander that they needed warmer clothes and blankets in the Slave Lodge; Cape slaves had no legal personality and could not sue or be sued.¹⁸² They had no political status and were, in theory, slaves for life, though there were circumstances - as we shall see - under which manumission could and did take place. Their movement was restricted not only by being locked into the Slave Lodge (in the case of Company slaves) or confined to quarters (more difficult) in the case of burgers' slaves, but control over their personal mobility increased as their numbers increased. In 1708 a plakaat was issued which made it necessary for slaves moving between the town and the country to carry a pass, and this was repeated in 1760.¹⁸³ This was not a condition which applied to Khoi or knechte, though as the labour situation deteriorated towards the end of the century, as shown above, attempts to restrict the movement of 'Bastaards' were made. The conditions under which manumission was possible and the circumstances which closed down on the opportunities for it will be examined separately below.

182. Journal 1662-70, p.319. Entry for 25th June, 1670. A similar complaint about their food and clothing was made on 11th April, 1672. Theal: Abstracts, p.126. At this stage in the history of the Cape the original position of the slave had already deteriorated for originally the Cape slave was subject to the Batavian regulations. And in the relevant Plakaat of 16th June - 3rd August, 1625, issued at Batavia (and which applied automatically therefore to the Cape after 1652, with all its amendments) slaves were permitted to complain about maltreatment, provided they were not simply being 'troublesome or obstreperous'. J.A.van der Chijs: Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, I, pp.171-2. It was in terms of this provision that Cape slaves made their formal complaints to the Commissioner at the Cape in 1670. By Sparrman's time, however, the drift was away from that kind of strict application of the limited right of complaint. Moreover, being outside the law, slaves could not marry, nor claim the right to dispose of their children. De Kock: Op.cit., p.114.

183. de Kock: Op.cit., p.78 and Marais: Op.cit., p.117.

For all intents and purposes, moreover, the slaves had no economic freedom: they were "lyffeijsenen", as the Dutch called them - extensions of their owners for life, and systematically subordinate to their interests. Yet there were a few, minor exceptions which are worth recording because of their implications later for some aspects of some manumissions. Because of the difficulty in getting fuel and good timber (timber had often to be imported to the Cape) slaves were permitted "... to earn a pittance by engaging in this labour". What they were allowed to do was to go to False Bay and bring the red alder wood to the Town. "The slaves who desired to attain independence (sic) in this manner had to pay a skilling (= 6 stuiver = $\frac{1}{2}$ 6d) to their masters for the privilege.¹⁸⁴ Many slaves took advantage of this liberty and, when weather permitted, made daily journeys across the mountains and returned with a load of timber, generally of the kind suitable for waggon-making and received about 4 skillings or less, according to quality".¹⁸⁵ Other odd jobs through which slaves could earn small sums were possible on Sundays "... on which day they are free to do what they please" said Mentzel with some exaggeration.¹⁸⁶ And there was prostitution as a source of income. The Slave Lodge of the Company operated as a brothel, and "... towards evening one can see a string of soldiers

184. Spilhaus: The First South Africans, p.142.

185. Mentzel: A DescriptionI,p.90. The same was described in the 1770s by Thunberg: Op.cit.,II,p.233. It was this which was roughly equivalent to the Roman peculium. See Note 16, above.

186. Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.124. "Many (of the slaves of the V.O.C.) earned pocket-money on Sundays or in their spare time by labour or fishing". De Kock: Op.cit.,p.41.

and sailors entering the lodge, where they mispend their time until the clock strikes 9 The Company does nothing to prevent this promiscuous intercourse, since, for onething, it tends to multiply the slave population, and does away with the necessity of importing fresh slaves".¹⁸⁷ There was cash in this for the slavesses. Mentzel further claimed that "... the loose female slaves, however, whose favours the sailors might wish to enjoy gratis say: 'Kammene kas, kammene Kunte'.¹⁸⁸

Apart from these minor, if revealing forms of entrepreneurial free-ranging by slaves, they were locked tightly into the economic structure of the colony and permitted little slack to earn on their own or to withdraw from the colony, as was the case with Khoi. More centrally, there can be little doubt that the slaves, (along with the Khoi), built, manned and sustained the Cape economy. Between them, the Khoi and the burger-owned domestic slaves, the slaves involved in agricultural labour and those owned by the V.O.C. performed almost all tasks and heavy labour that made the economy of the Cape survive, limited though its scope and expansion was. Most domestic slaves were females from the Indies, while most of the heavy labour on the farms and public works of the V.O.C. was done by slaves from East Africa. The male slaves from the Indies contributed a wide range of major

187. Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.125.

188. Ibid.,III,p.99. Mentzel was either imaginative, or crude but frank. The simple translation is: 'If you have no money, I have no'. Mentzel's grounds for this piece of information are not altogether clear. Could this however have been how 'Maria of Bengal', for instance, raised the cash to purchase her freedom for 40 Rixdollars in 1680? Theal: Abstracts,p.186. Entry for 14th March,1680. This was only one amongst many such instances.

skills - making furniture, shoes, clothes and foodstuffs, as well as playing musical instruments for the burgers. As one examines the materials and the commentaries of contemporaries it becomes plain just how dependant the V.O.C. and burgers were on slave (and Khoi) labour for the functioning of major institutions of the society and the production of agricultural and other goods. Slaves collected fuel and brought it in; they constructed the houses and built the V.O.C. buildings; they sowed and reaped and threshed the grain; they repaired walls on the farms and pruned the vines and collected the grapes for winemaking which they also did; they fished and - after instruction - tended sheep and cattle and milked the cows; they cleaned water-tanks, cooked and went out to catch seals; they assisted the 'police' and the executioner; they fought fires, dug graves and tended the sick in the hospital; they played music for the entertainment of the townspeople, and they looked after the children of their masters, including wet-nursing the young with their own.¹⁸⁹ In addition to the slaves, there was a small number of political exiles from the East, like the Mardyker (liberated slave) Abraham Abrahamsz Jutje Sait "... a Malay, and Ticon, a shaved Chinese....". They were considered 'dangerous' in Batavia and were sent to the Cape, but were not "... to be put to hard labour, but are to earn a living like other people there".¹⁹⁰ They lived and

189. It was noted that amongst the 'upper ranks' it was "the custom for every child to have its slave". Barrow: Op.cit., I, p.47. V.O.C. slaves included stevedores, bricklayers, builders, millers, potters, grooms, bookbinders, gardeners, thatchers. Boxer: Op.cit., p.294.

190. Letters Received 1695-1708, p.419. From Batavia, dated 30th November, 1707. Sheik Joseph was one of this kind of exile. His 'remains' were permitted to be returned to Macassar in 1704, according to the records, though it is still widely believed at the Cape that he lies buried there. Batavia to the Cape, dated 26th February, 1704. Ibid., p.334.

worked, thus, alongside the free burgers, and were among the first 'free Blacks', so-called, who are considered later. In advance of that it is worth simply noting here that although accurate figures for the number in that group are not available - almost by definition, because their names changed and their children were classed as burgers - the numbers may well have been a lot higher than has usually been thought, if only because some of them and their offspring (and the offspring of other so-called 'mixed' unions) were filtering up into the burger community, while others, of course, were filtering down and out. At any rate, in 1691 there were 160 'free Asiatics and negroes' who were "classified in official documents without any distinction whatever".¹⁹¹

The fact that slaves of all kinds and creeds carried out such a variety of tasks - in both town and country - was in itself a strong reason for reluctance amongst the burgers and the V.O.C. to manumit them, as will emerge, although there were provisions in the Statutes of Batavia and Dutch law in general which applied to the Cape and which obligated the colonists and officials to free certain slaves under certain conditions. It was, however, this tension - between the slave as an economically useful (and necessary, in the burgers' view) chattel, and also as having the potential human capacity for equality and free-burger status, given the attainment of certain cultural achievements - which was resolved at the Cape in favour of generally stalling and slowing down the procedures of manumission rather than speeding them up. Given, moreover, the

191. Theal: Op.cit., II, p.370. It is not at all clear how one would actually try to establish their numbers. This number was made up of 50 males, and their 50 wives plus 60-70 children. Ibid., loc.cit. Theal says they formed an 'inferior class'. This is examined in the next chapter. The interesting fact for that time however is the ratio of 'free Blacks' to burgers. There were only 386 burger owned slaves and 1000 colonists in all. That is (continued on next page)....

cramped economic conditions of the colony one can thus identify the structural context within which this process occurred.¹⁹²

Given further the historical ubiquity of slavery and slave systems it does not require that men be particularly malicious or defective in moral sensibilities for them to find it convenient to get (and keep) others working for them.

Thus, so long as there was reliable cheap labour - and efficient, skilled labour at that, for clearly it was not a majority of slaves who deserted or rebelled - who would choose to pay a craftsman or labourer? Both Mentzel and Damberger, for instance, reported how colonists with slaves - skilled and otherwise - even loaned out these people to other colonists for a small fee.¹⁹³ Damberger further reported that new or poor colonists hired slaves from the V.O.C. for about 5 years at 10 guilders per head per year.¹⁹⁴ The Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, when he first arrived at the Cape in 1739, attempted to find work in the town as a handyman or craftsman. But work was not to be had for it was all done by slaves and hence no-one would pay him for such jobs!¹⁹⁵ One can see thus

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191. (continued from previous page).. the 'free Black':slave ratio was about 1:3. In 1723 a 'Company of Free Blacks' was formed. de Kock: Op.cit.,p.219. What it did or how long it lasted I do not know. It's the only reference I have seen about it.
192. The complex tension in the history of slavery between the slave as a thing and as a human being is surveyed with great skill by D.B.Davis in The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, passim.
193. Mentzel: A DescriptionIII,pp.165-6. This was common practice in Seville too.
194. Ibid.,loc.cit. and Damberger: Op.cit., p.41. This was one way in which slave-owners could recover the initial capital outlay on the slave. Thunberg said of this process in general that "... in a few years the master gets his purchase money back again". Thunberg: Op.cit.,I,p.233.
195. B.Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms, p.19.

that if there were problems about 'free Blacks' being a drain on the Poor Fund and not "being able to earn an honest living", the causes were quite likely to have been not simple, or even generalized, sloth or chronic indolence, as de Kock suggests, but the enormous difficulties involved in getting work or setting up in some craft, or successful farming.¹⁹⁶ For most of the non-skilled 'free Blacks', the fact of the matter is that they were in direct competition with cheap slave labour in a very limited market, and for them especially the problem was really one of under-employment and unemployment unless they returned to some kind of menial, and poorly paid, low-status labour - a condition from which, in general, they had sought to escape by seeking manumission in the first place. Mentzel, for instance, referred to a slave who had been freed and had then been compelled to hire himself back to his former master to prevent his becoming destitute.¹⁹⁷ This was not uncommon.

Thus not only were slaves incorporated initially into the society as subordinates in political and social terms - though they might have been men or women of considerable skill - but it is also

196. V.de Kock: Op.cit.,p.219. As will emerge later, the town was overburdened with taverns and other non-productive enterprises, living off the passing trade. It may well be that the reported indolence of many urban burgers was also attributable to a mixture of unemployment and under-employment, as much as to the availability of slave and cheap labour. Indeed the two phenomena are closely related. The constrained and limited Cape economy affected the poor and landless free burgers in this way, especially in the Town. It took a particular kind of decision to move out into the interior into ranching. A similar feature of the scene in the Indies was noted too. In 1674 out of 340 "... gainfully employed free-burgers at Batavia, fifty-three were tavern keepers and vintners: in other words one out of every six or seven male citizens not directly employed by the Company were concerned with the sale of drink". Boxer: Op.cit.,p.234. Calvinism in the colonies is hard to discover.

197. Mentzel: Op.cit.,III,p.164.

the case that the very constraints imposed by the V.O.C. on the Cape economy meant that new freemen (whether direct entry free-burgers, or the sons of poorer burgers, or manumitted slaves) had no easy task to make ends meet. Later, it will be argued that this key economic factor can be seen to be structurally responsible for a number of other and related developments at the Cape. For example, first, one can see the unwillingness to manumit slaves as being closely related to this and the demand factor mentioned earlier, for who would employ freemen when slaves could be had for less overall cost? Secondly, the structural pressures which gave rise to the eastern trekking movement must be directly related to this economy, its constraints and possibilities. Thirdly, one can point to these obstacles to material success and upward mobility as helping to solidify the western urban and agricultural 'aristocracy', and, likewise, helping to create an urban and rural category of people drawn directly from the least successful burgers (or their sons), freed slaves, 'Bastaards' and others who came to form that critical intermediate sector - neither free nor slave, neither Khoi nor Dutch, neither Malay nor African - between the burgers proper (and veerboere), and the Khoisan resisters or the full slaves.¹⁹⁸

I shall return later to this in the discussion of the conditions which favoured or enjoined manumission, and those which held it back, including the seemingly common use of paramone conditional manumissions at the Cape.¹⁹⁹

198. On the 'bastaard' question, again, Schmidt's Moravian successors in the 1790s at Baviaanskloof noted that near the mission station there were two 'Bastaards' who had European fathers and 'Hottentot' mothers. They had houses, some cattle and arable land, but were both unbaptized and illiterate. Kruger: Op.cit., p.53.

199. The Paramone manumission was a transitional arrangement in ancient Greece whereby a slave would be given his or her freedom on the condition that he/she continued to serve the master for a given period, sometimes for life. It was "... a condition of limited slavery". Moses I Finley: "Between Slavery and Freedom", pp.242-8.

If these circumstances of systematic economic closure, as it were, and political rightlessness defined the conditions of slave entry to Cape society, and thus tended to 'freeze' the 'class' position of the slaves (and freed slaves generally, too), there were other, obvious social factors - culture, religion and language - which had accumulated in the historical antecedence of the slave. They further defined his or her distinctiveness and gave a certain sharpness to differential incorporation, relative to the dominant group; that group, that is, which did the incorporating, so to speak. These factors initially made identification easier, and hence contributed to the social definition of slaves at the Cape as also being 'heathen' or Moorish or Muslim, or in other respects non-Dutch. This helped to establish locally the ideological and normative climate which legitimated continued enslavement -or the pressuring of Khoi into barter, or labour - though the intellectual and historical basis for slavery had long existed in Europe. This climate supplemented, therefore, the local structural constraints and buttressed the emergent class interests which pre-empted widescale manumission. It was nothing new, yet it gained a particular parochial form at the Cape. Nonetheless, such cultural barriers - not colour bars as such - defined further the criteria for mobility from slave to free and the conditions of admission to free burger status, at least formally and at first. Culture was largely the medium for mobility.

Clearly the slaves from Madagascar, Mozambique or the Indies were not Dutchmen, and Dutchmen could not be enslaved; nor were they Christians, and Christians were no longer officially enslaved by Christians. Finally, there is persuasive evidence that slaves - especially those drawn from the Eastern areas where

Portugues influence had been heavy - spoke a kind of 'Malay-Portuguese' and that amongst the lower and intermediate strata of Cape society this became a kind of lingua franca.²⁰⁰ Though the Directors in Amsterdam were concerned to wipe out all Portuguese (and Catholic) and un-Christian, non-Dutch influence in their domain, they had little success in the East Indies.²⁰¹ And though there was

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200. Marius F.Valkhoff: Studies in Portuguese and Creole, and also J.L.M.Francken: "Die Taal van die Slawekinders en Fornikasie met slavinne". (The Language of slave children and Fornication with Slavesses). Valkhoff's contention is that "... it really looks as if Dutch and Low Portuguese were the main languages spoken in the colony about 1740". Ibid.,p.177. Francken's remarkable contribution to the interdisciplinary perspective concludes that his theory that "...fornication as a language-forming factor" is supported by either the view that the Dutch learnt 'Malais-Portuguese' from slaves, or that the slaves helped to create 'Krom-Hollands' (Faulty Dutch or pidgin). In 1772 Sparrman said that "... at meal times, various European dialects, together with the languages used in commerce with the Indians, viz. the Malay and a very bad kind of Portuguese, were all spoken at one time". Sparrman: Op.cit., I,p.22. Similarly, Thunberg, referring to "... slaves from Malabar, Madagascar or other parts of India" observed the same thing. Thunberg: Op.cit.,I,pp.102-3. The Instructions of van Goens to van Riebeeck in 1657 were explicit on the point: slaves should not be permitted to speak Portuguese. Moodie: Op.cit.,I,p.98. Also, Müller: Op.cit.,p.23 and V.de Kock: Op.cit. pp.51-2. The situation was similar in the Indies. See Boxer: Op.cit.,pp.250-1. Also, M.Valkhoff: New Light. on Afrikaans and 'Malayo-Portuguese', passim.
201. In Ceylon, for example, the wives of Dutchmen were often 'half-Portuguese' and both Catholicism and the Portuguese language remained strong relative to Dutch. K.W.Goonewardena: "A New Netherlands in Ceylon: Dutch attempts to found a colony during the first quarter century of their power in Ceylon", p.240. Also, Boxer: Op.cit.,pp.251-4. Some senior officials in the East thought that profit was more important than these questions. "When the Consistory of Batavia pointed out to governor-general Maetsuycker that the Laws of Moses forbade the tolerance of non-Christian religions, he simply answered: 'the laws of the old Jewish republics have no force in the territory of the Dutch East India Company". B.H.M.Vlekke: Nusantara. A History of Indonesia, p.157. And P.D.Milone: Op.cit.,passim.

no direct Portuguese influence at the Cape, it came with the slaves in their language and was yet another factor in the process of identification and differentiation in the formation of the plural society there.

Thus, in addition to their subordinate social status, and their frozen position in the political economy of the Cape, slaves were also culturally distinct, and seen to be. These two broad conditions of their participation in the society converged, through the operation of both class and material interests, and cultural exclusivity, in the formation of the structurally plural order, instituted by differential incorporation. Class and culture, in general, corresponded and overlapped in the definition and maintenance of their status, and in the fluid social circumstances such as those at the Cape - with complex illicit and licit unions, where cultures and classes overlapped and mingled - there came to be problems of defining who was whom. Except at the extremes, it became slowly but steadily more difficult to identify slave from free, 'Bastaard' from baptised slave-boys or slave-girls, and 'free Black' from deserting African slave, not to mention the darker children of free farmers, such as the two brothers whom Sparrman met and who were "... the issue of a Christian man and of a bastard negress of the second or third generation.....".²⁰² Some of the problems - but certainly not all, if indeed they were always perceived as problems - were partially overcome by denying certain visual symbols of 'free' status to slaves and by the promulgation of sumptuary laws, which stemmed from the Batavian regulations. For example, slaves were not

202. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.284.

permitted to wear shoes, nor to smoke pipes in public, nor, according to a regulation of 1766, to "... go promenading or walking about where they pleased on Sundays and Feast Days".²⁰³ As one observer - who had been in the East Indies too - commented: "As soon as a slave is enfranchised he wears shoes, stockings and a hat as a mark of his freedom".²⁰⁴ The sumptuary laws of 1755, reflecting the content and purpose of their Batavian origins - where bitchy obsession with rank and precedence, especially amongst women, was endemic - acted also to stretch out the gradations in social status at the Cape, thus creating further social distance, officially and symbolically between officials and burgers at the top, and slaves and Khoi at the bottom of the social structure.²⁰⁵ Slavesses and free female slaves were not permitted, for example, to wear certain kinds of dress, including "... coloured silk dresses, crinolines, fine lace, trimmings on bonnets, hair that has been curled, also earrings, whether made of imitation or of precious stones".²⁰⁶

The question of social and sexual relations will have to be examined more systematically in the next chapter. Here it is simply worth recording in advance of that discussion that, as the 18th century wore on, 'colour' (or broader somatic features) could not be reliable indices of class or status or culture, except at the

203. C.G.Botha: Collected Works, I, pp.295 and 297.

204. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, pp.114-5.

205. Boxer: Op.cit., pp.235-6; CHBE, p.148; Theal: Op.cit., III, p.100; and a description of some aspects of the precedence process in practice among the urban elite is given by Botha: Op.cit., I, pp.171-2.

206. From a Plakaat of 1765, cited by de Kock: Op.cit., pp.219-220. It was round about this period, in the third quarter of the 18th century that attempts were made to control the 'Bastaard' population's movements. But these visible forms of status and precedence no doubt pre-occupied the urban burgers more than the rural farmers or veeboere. See A.J.Böeseken: "The Company and its subjects", pp.57-8 for a fuller recital of the details of the sumptuary laws.

extremes, and then only sometimes: the converse, too, is true. For example, the obviously 'European' somatic norm or the obviously Khoi somatic norm - or that of the East Indian - could readily be identified, but it did not follow that any necessary valuations of attraction or avoidance were entailed. Moreover, status or class or culture could not invariably be read off from such an identification on somatic or colour grounds alone. There were, after all, 'free' Malays and 'unfree' indentured Germans; 'Bastaard' slaves and free Christian 'bastaards', and so on. Furthermore, the somatic features of the population were undergoing substantial transformations and innovations as a result of local unions of a variety of kinds, and hence colour or somatic features alone must have become increasingly unreliable in deciding who was and who was not slave, 'free', 'Bastaard' or burger, especially given the upward mobility trend amongst slavesses and their offspring.

What remains here to be examined is the question of manumission, the regulations and conditions which enjoined or favoured it, and the circumstances which constrained it.

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It has been argued with force that "... the ease and frequency of manumission would seem to be the crucial standard in measuring the relative harshness of slave systems."²⁰⁷ The problems of comparative evaluation are, however, considerable. For example, the law which operated at the Cape stemmed from and was, in general, subordinate to that of Batavia. The law there, in the East Indies,

207. D.B.Davis: Op.cit.,p.54. See also Frank Tannenbaum: Slave and Citizen,p.69 and passim.

was fashioned according to the general lines of policy formulated in the Netherlands and could be over-ridden by the Seventeen. The juridical relationship between Britain and the American colonies and states was never that tight. And the laws affecting slavery in South Carolina, Maryland, Florida, Virginia, Kentucky, etc. not only differed in certain respects between them but were not strictly subject to the overall policy of one chartered Company in Britain.²⁰⁸ For this kind of reason, generalizations about slave systems and the laws governing the policy as well as the practice of manumission need to be heavily qualified.

There is one direct comparison, however, which underlines the need to treat the principles and practice of manumission at the Cape in terms of two broad approaches. In several colonies in America, domestic manumission, for example, was prohibited; that is, it could not take effect within the colony (or state). And in Mississippi, Alabama and Maryland, manumission by Will was void. In general in the American colonies, as Tannenbaum argues, "... the presumption was in favour of slavery".²⁰⁹ No such prohibitions ever applied at the Cape, but over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries the process of manumission became more difficult. It is for this reason that the question needs to be treated in terms of two considerations, at least, as analytical starting points. On the one hand the principles governing manumission in the first instance have to be seen as unique in terms of their derivation from the decisions

208. Tannenbaum: Op.cit.,loc.cit.

209. Ibid., pp.165.ff. He shows how various states in the South - South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Maryland - in the 17th and 18th centuries denied manumission.

of the Divines at Dort, and the broader historical and political matrix of the Netherlands. On the other hand, in training the focus of analysis on what happened at the Cape, one needs to see the steady closure on manumission in terms of what may be called 'colonial drift'. This is the process whereby endogenous factors in a colony act so as to alter the practice and principles in favour of the slave-owners, against the slaves, and thus institute a range of variations in the form and content of slave conditions and the prospects for manumission from place to place, or colony to colony.²¹⁰ This latter point means that in accounting for the degree of 'drift' away from the initial centre set of principals and code of practice, the focus is on the ensemble of local economic, political and social conditions, the purpose and use of slaves, the degrees of cultural difference and so forth. The explanation, that is, for colonial drift in respect of the manumission question, and others, has to be located in the colonial situation. I have already suggested earlier that, in the final analysis, the broad economic context set the limits (without determining what occurred within them) and that this was supplemented by the continuity in cultural distinctions between the slaveowners and the slaves. In accounting thus for the process whereby manumission at the Cape became harder over the period, the

210. 'Colonial drift' can clearly also be used to explain other differences between colonies spawned by the same metropolitan power, such as differences in type of administration and social structure, depending on whether - for example - there were or were not settlers present. Students of African political history are familiar with the analytical problems involved in making these comparisons. Some say that the 'differences' made no difference.

labour shortage factors dealt with above, in that Cape economic situation, assume contextual primacy when taken together with the continuity in cultural differences between the categories. For even within the bureaucratic straightjacket of a Chartered Company as rigid and strict as the V.O.C. was, there had to be some scope for local initiative and decision-making in order to cope with contingencies and special parochial problems, particularly given the enormous delays in communications between Batavia or the Netherlands and the Cape. While the Directors could (and did) reverse Cape decisions on various matters (like the trade with Khoi in cattle) and while the Governor in Council at Batavia over-ruled the Cape or issued an authoritative view on various contentious matters, there was scope for initiative at the Cape. The question of manumission of slaves was one area in which this happened.

The direction in which the manumission question was resolved - in favour of the slave-owners - confirms one additional feature of the practice of differential incorporation and its consequences over time. The group with an initial political advantage (the burgers and officials) used that position to constrain others from gaining access to the status which not only carried that political advantage, but also therefore the entailed economic opportunity and possibility of social acceptance. In so doing, and in not actively encouraging or facilitating cultural convergence towards a common institutional core in the society (though it very slowly happened), the dominant groups wittingly or unwittingly acted to enforce and maintain the structurally plural character of the society, and thereby maintained the hierarchy from which they benefitted most. But, despite that general drive in their own emerging interests, other factors at the Cape - like the slow, informal

processes of socialization, the upward mobility of manumitted slaves, and the emergence of, say, the 'Bastaard' sector, for example - acted to corrode whatever sharp cultural discontinuities there had initially been. This made the case against manumission appear to be (as indeed it was), clearly more a question of class interest than one of the insider/outsider principal in respect of culture, religion, nationality or language. In short, an examination of the process and history of manumission procedures and policies underlines the earlier argument in a different respect that as cultural distinctions fade (or, converge) towards the middle sectors of a new society - where interaction is the most frequent, that is - class factors emerge more clearly. This leads on to two final, related, introductory points.

First, the four classical non-freedoms of the slave coincided in a remarkable way with the dimensions of differential incorporation spelt out at the start of this chapter. The severe limitations on social life and behaviour (vide sumptuary laws); tight control over, and inhibitions on, the slaves' participation in independent economic life (apart from the restricted right to accumulate peculium); total exclusion from political influence or power and the denial of legal personality to the slave, all corresponded with and identified the several dimensions (social, economic, political and legal) in terms of which various categories, defined by the possession or denial of such attributes, were differentially incorporated. For this reason, systems of unfree labour illustrate dramatically the central structural features of plural societies.

Secondly, there is a tension within slavery that most (but not all) systems of slavery have somehow had to overcome by manumission procedures. It is also present in colonial societies. If the main

criterion which identifies the slave is that he or she is an outsider, then a change in culture, or religion or nationality converts the outsider into an insider, if only in the second or third generations, and this qualifies him or her for full and equal status alongside members of the dominant group, at least in theory. This is in general true of slave societies, colonial societies and plural societies - and they are often combined. Manumission was possible on these grounds in ancient Greece, as in Rome.²¹¹ In Florence in the 14th and 15th centuries most slaves were 'outsiders' but in the end they were assimilated as freemen to Tuscan culture.²¹² In North Africa, Christian slaves were manumitted if they embraced Islam.²¹³ In theory, too, in most colonial possessions in Africa

211. See W.L.Westermann: "Between Slavery and Freedom" and "The elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece"; M.I.Finley: "Was Greek Civilization based on slave labour?" and "Between Slavery and Freedom"; Robert L.Schlaifer: "Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle". Also Mary L.Gordon: "The Nationality of slaves under the Early Roman Empire". It has been forcefully argued that colour was no barrier to manumission in Greece or Rome. See F.M.Snowden: Blacks in Antiquity, p.169 and passim. He shows that they later occupied high positions in state and society. In Rome, Terence had come as a slave from Carthage; others had arrived as slaves and became freemen in time at all levels of the society. Ibid., pp.185-195.

212. Iris Origo: "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries", p.348 and passim. While economic conditions helped or hindered the process, the fact is that in Seville too in the 16th century, and later, this process of acculturation and manumission of Negro slaves was widespread. "... Negroes and mulattoes freely accepted Christianity and Spanish culture. As a result they were eventually incorporated into the economic, social and religious life of the city". Pike: Op.cit., p.359.

213. N.R.Bennett: "Christian and Negro Slavery in Eighteenth Century North Africa", p.66 and passim.

in the 20th century, the assimilado (in Portuguese colonies) or evolué and immatriculé (in the Belgian Congo) or the 'assimilated' Francophone African 'élite' (in French colonies) or more prosaically, in the language of British colonial policy, the 'educated Native', were to be integrated equally with citizens of the metropolitan power, few though such Africans were, and rare though such practice was.²¹⁴ And at the Cape, and will be shown, as elsewhere in the domain of the V.O.C., it was officially and at first the case that no person who was or became a Christian and who spoke Dutch could be kept in slavery, and had to be freed under certain conditions. Thus on this point alone, both the theory and practice of manumission at the Cape was in stark contrast to the American colonies and states where manumission was prohibited. Moreover, by placing the question of manumission in this comparative colonial and slave context, some of the continuities and distinctions between different theories and practices emerge. For in most instances - with the exception of some of the American colonies and some West Indian islands - slave societies, colonial societies and plural societies have had some mechanism for absorbing the upwardly mobile. In general, the media through which this mobility has taken place have been a combination of culture and class, for they alone can mediate social change in a way in which physical features and colour, by definition, cannot. But even where cultural assimilation has taken place, there may remain a somatic factor which has sometimes emerged as a problem or an

214. Lord Hailey (ed.): An African Survey, 1956, pp.136-7; p.224; pp.207-9 and chapter V, passim.

obstacle to mobility, or so it has seemed. This will be examined in subsequent chapters when dealing with some of the structural implications of Cape social and sexual relations.

A final qualification concludes this preliminary discussion. As will emerge in the analysis of the process of manumission at the Cape, the formal declaration of Christian belief by a 'heathen', and the ability to speak the language of the dominant (Dutch in this case) are not, in themselves or jointly, reliable indicators of full cultural assimilation, though it is difficult to define accurately what would be. And it is necessary to bear in mind the gap between formal recognition of, and competence in, some aspects of a different culture (like language and religion) by the person who aspires to move across the cultural and class threshold on the one hand, and acceptance of him or her - in both cultural and class terms - by the members of the dominant group (or its gatekeepers) on the other hand. For that gap may explain some of the factors which tended later at the Cape to freeze even Christian Dutch-speaking slaves in slaves status, in the context of the taut political economy there, and hence in the interests of the dominant. The gap, moreover, provided a useful basis - it will be argued - for the ideological justification for the limitations imposed on manumission.

In the light of this discussion a number of questions can be posed seriatim. First, what was the official Dutch and V.O.C. policy on manumission? Secondly, was there any variation of this in the regulations of Batavia which initially had direct and immediate force at the Cape? Thirdly, what was the policy and practice at the Cape initially and what evidence is there of its implementation? Fourthly, what were the major local Cape developments which marked the trajectory of 'colonial drift' by which manumission became more

difficult, and why? Also, despite this constriction of manumission what kinds of manumission took place, under what conditions, and how? Finally, what implications emerge from this analysis which have a direct bearing on aspects of the socio-political, economic and demographic structure of the colony, to be dealt with in the next chapter?

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Long before the Synod of Dort considered the question of the relationship between baptism and slavery, the practice of keeping slaves had died out in the Netherlands, and by the 16th century hardly any 'unfree' labour remained there.²¹⁵ Moreover, as soon as one of the earliest shiploads of slaves arrived in the Netherlands, they were immediately given their freedom. "In the fall (of 1596) ships from Guinea had brought back to Middelburgh some Negroes who had probably been caught at sea. Ten Haeff, one of the burgomasters, afraid of the consequences, immediately called a meeting of the Provincial States and urged them to put the Negroes back 'in their natural liberty'. There followed a solemn manumissio vindicta".²¹⁶ In line with this policy that no slaves could be kept in the Netherlands, a Plakkaat was issued at Batavia in September 1636

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215. P.J.Blok: History of the People of the Netherlands, Vol. I, p.206; Jan de Vries: The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700, pp.23,26 and 50-55; Henri Pirenne: Democracy in the Low Countries, p.101; and J.H.Huizinga: Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century, p.17. A tough account of the decline of slavery, and the greater 'efficiency' of serfdom in western Europe is offered by two economic historians, D.C.North and Robert Paul Thomas: The Rise of the Western World, pp.20-23.
216. C.Ch.Goslinga: The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680, p.55. It is not clear what consequences Ten Haeff feared.

banning any European from taking any "...black, free or unfree..." person to the United Provinces.²¹⁷ This applied mutatis mutandis to the Cape, and it has been shown above that van der Stel invoked that principle to try to prevent slaves actually being landed from the ships there, having deserted from the Cape. So the secular authorities in the Netherlands were clear from very early on that slavery could not be tolerated in the Republic, and manumission was automatic if slaves arrived in the Netherlands.

But the early years of the 17th century saw the beginning of a vast expansion of Dutch mercantile and imperial activity. One of the prized commodities in the trade was slaves. A consequence of this development was that a dispute arose as to whether 'heathens' in the East (at first) ought to be baptised or not. The problem fragmented into different and overlapping questions. What was the position about adult 'heathens'? What about the children of 'heathens', and - because of the insider/outsider principle, and because two issues were deeply implicated with each other - what was the position about maintaining such baptised people - children or adults - in slavery?

Some aspects of this have been discussed in chapter 3. What needs to be stressed here is that when this matter was taken before the Synod of Dort, the decision of the learned gentlemen there seemed clear, yet retained some ambiguity. Perhaps this reflected something of a compromise in the charged political atmosphere that

217. van der Chijs: Op.cit., I, pp.409-410. This may be the first 'immigration act' in Europe. The policy of automatic manumission of slaves landed in the Netherlands pre-dated the much better-known English judgement of Lord Mansfield in 1771 by more than a century. On that, see James Walvin: The Black Presence, pp.25-7. In another book Walvin says that slavery was common in England in the 17th century. See his Black and White, pp.10-16. There is only the most fragmentary evidence suggesting that nothing of that kind was happening in the Netherlands at the same time, or later.

was present at the time, and also the fact that the matter was not of central importance to the current domestic theological and political debate. In the event, the Synod decreed that baptised heathens, that is, Christian 'heathens' "... ought to enjoy the self same right of freedom of other Christians, and ought not to be handed over to the power of the Heathens, either through sale or alienation from the Christian masters or the Hon. gentlemen."²¹⁸ As to the children of heathens, it was decided that they ought not to be baptised until they could read and understand the issues, and that they should be freed, provided reliable witnesses and guardians promised to further instruct them and bring them up to live as Christians.²¹⁹

These general guidelines provided the framework in terms of which a battery of specific and tighter regulations were promulgated, in the East Indies and Batavia. Christians were forbidden to sell slaves to 'Heathens' (the Chinese, for instance, were regarded as such and were active on the Eastern slave trade); every 'sale' had to be registered; Christians were enjoined to bring up their slaves as Christians and instruct them in the principles of the faith, and so on.²²⁰ But there was still room for local discretion and its consequences, 'colonial drift'.

The initial policy which applied at the Cape in respect of baptism of slaves, and its relationship to manumission, thus flowed

218. The Resolution of the Synod. It is quoted in full in C.Spoelstra: Bouwstoffen Part 2, pp.9-10, Document 169. I am grateful to Vernie February who interpreted the 17th century Dutch to me and for me. My emphases, A.L.

219. Ibid., loc.cit., and see also du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.33.

220. van der Chijs: Op.cit., passim.

from the Statutes of Batavia which in turn had been drawn up in the spirit of the Dort decision. The baptism, bringing up, and manumission of 'heathen' children, or adults, were all deeply implicated with each other. While, initially, it was not mandatory that Christian slaves be manumitted, it was customary, or at least the implication was that this would be the case. Thus a decision precisely to that effect was taken at the Cape on the 22nd March, 1666.²²¹ This had been the final outcome of a dispute in 1663 as to whether slave children could be baptised. The matter had been referred to the Classis at Amsterdam and they had replied by quoting the original Dort resolution of 1618.²²² But from quite early on there were indications of a drift away from the central principles because of local conditions and contingencies for which local regulations were needed. Thus, before the first regulations to take account of these local conditions were made in 1682, a visiting Commissioner - Goske, in 1671 - issued instructions about slaves and their children in the Lodge. He was 'scandalized', we are told, that some 75% of the children of Company slavesses had Dutch fathers. He attempted to stamp out these immoral extra-marital and casual (or

221. Theal: Abstracts, p.148. The terms of the decision were: "With reference to the doubt formerly entertained by us whether the children of slaves, being unbelievers, should be baptised, the Church authorities in India and in the Fatherland have decided in the affirmative, provided that those with whom they live bind themselves to have such children educated in the Christian religion this practice has been observed for a long time in India". Dated 22nd March, 1666. In 1676 a degree of dilution and 'colonial drift' already had appeared. A decision of 28th December, 1676 declared that Children of heathen parents were not to be baptised till their parents were, and were being being instructed in Christianity. However, "Children of mixed blood should be baptised". Ibid., p.148.

222. C.Spoelstra: Op.cit., Part One, pp.28-31; Theal: History, II, pp.150-1, and du Plessis: Op.cit., pp.34-5.

professional) sexual encounters by encouraging slaves and slavesses to be 'paired' off, as if man and wife, (for slaves could not legally marry), and to cohabit. They were, moreover, to be instructed in the Christian religion and once they were able to profess their belief, they were to be baptised and then married. Their manumission was not mentioned. As to the 'half-breed' children (32 boys and 26 girls) - whose fathers were Dutchmen - they were to be properly education and, in due course, given their freedom "... in the right of the father".²²³

223. Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.184; Cruse: Die Opheffing, p.95. They consisted of 32 boy and 26 girl slaves; Moodie: Op.cit.,I,p.309; and de Kock: Op.cit.,p.114. See also du Plessis: Op.cit., p.37. The 'half-breed' children "... on attaining their majority to become ipso facto free men and women". Ibid.,loc.cit. The application of this 'descent rule' - through the father - was varied to suit purposes and to the advantage of the owners. Thunberg claimed that "... male and female slaves, though belonging to different masters frequently cohabit together, by permission of their owners, in which case the children always become the property of him who is the owner of the female slave. Though the man, that cohabits with the woman slave, be a freed man, or even a European, still their offspring are slaves. Thunberg: Op.cit.,I,p.114. (My emphases .A.L.) The change over the century from the child following in the 'line of the father' to following in the line of the mother may be explained in terms of a shift in the bases of stratification from culture to class, given the tight economic context, but it would be hard to demonstrate that conclusively. Other factors were no doubt involved. As more settled family life developed, illicit unions and their offspring will have become more frowned upon. In any event the original practice of the child following in the line of the father contrasts sharply with the situation in mid-17th century Virginia where "... the offspring of a white man and a Negro" followed in the line of the mother. See Carl N. Degler: "Slavery and the genesis of American Race Prejudice", pp.60-61. The phrase and argument "... in the right of the father...." was used explicitly by Catharina, "... a young mulatto woman the daughter of a European and a female slave of the Company" when she sought her freedom in 1680. See Theal: Abstracts,p.186. Request dated 13th March,1680.

In general terms, this was the policy followed for Company slaves as instanced in a letter from the Seventeen to van der Stel in 1680 where it was stated that "As to the baptising of slave children, you will be guided by the practice at Batavia".²²⁴ And there is a later reference at the Cape to a resolution of the ecclesiastical council in Batavia that "... it was the custom in India (meaning the Indies, A.L.) to baptise children of unbelieving parents if the Christians who presented them for baptism bound themselves to bring them up as their own, to educate them as Christians, and, if they were slaves, to manumit them."²²⁵ Likewise, in the instructions of van Rhee de to van der Stel in 1685, one point relevant to this particular question was quite explicit. Having discovered (following Goske) that 58 children of the V.O.C.'s slavesses in the Lodge had Dutch fathers, the Commissioner stated that "... the Company can entertain no idea of keeping (them) in slavery" and instructions for their education and manumission were authorised.²²⁶ While these general principles also applied to the burgers and their slaves, the resources for educating privately-owned slaves - children or adults - were effectively nil. What education was provided for slaves was, as we shall see, almost solely provided for the V.O.C. slaves in the Company Lodge, so that even at the Cape a gap between V.O.C. and burger practice in this respect developed, and it was to

224. The Seventeen to van der Stel, 20th June, 1680. Moodie: Op.cit. I,p.376.

225. Cited in Theal: History of Africa,II,p.272. My emphases , A.L.

226. Moodie: Op.cit.,I,p.397,fn.2. See also Susan R.Ritner: Salvation through Separation,pp.50-51.

have consequences for the whole question later. It meant that even if they did have the resources - which was rare - it was simply not in the interests of burgers to educate their slave children, have them baptised and then lost as labour through manumission, unless some way could be found to satisfy official policy as well as their demand and need for labour. The most obvious way was to exert pressure, locally, to change the policy, rather than improve the practice. This is what happened between 1680 and 1792.

These provisions were given local expression in various regulations and codifications. But the general policy left grey areas. For example, prior to adulthood, the children of the Company slavesses could be (and were) retained in slavery; those slaves who were not baptised and did not (or could not) profess Christianity, or speak Dutch, remained slaves. Nonetheless, despite these qualifications and constraints on manumission, there was scope for it and it happened on a surprisingly regular basis. This was not at all like the situation in some of the American colonies and states, and thus the Cape slave system was not - on this crucial question of manumission, at least - in any way a 'microcosm' of north American slavery, though, as the evidence indicates, the period under consideration reveals a steady drift towards an increasingly tight local control of the process.²²⁷

What then were the steps which enacted the gradual closure on manumission and which tightened the provisions for it during the 17th and 18th centuries? It is necessary to outline these stages before looking at the kinds and forms of manumission which, because

227. This was what has been argued: "In fact the slave system in South Africa was a complete microcosm of that in the Americas". Greenstein: Op.cit., p.28. There is little foundation for that view.

and despite these constraints, took place nonetheless. It has long been an assumption of much South African historiography that the stiffening of slave regulations was a function of the hardening of European 'racial' attitudes.²²⁸ Early in the 18th century, according to Theal, the view was already being held that "... slavery was the proper condition of the black race".²²⁹ This view needs to be contested. It will be argued through the following evidence that the stiffening of the slave regulations, and their codification, was much more a function of two related developments. First, the need to tidy up a whole series of anomalies, (and prevent unnecessary costs to the V.O.C.), which emerged locally at the Cape, and for which neither the Batavian regulations nor the general guiding policy of the V.O.C. or Dort could have provided. Thus the scope for local Cape initiatives and political pressures by various interests came to be decisive in directing the drift away from the central initial principles of the metropole, and the emergence of the Cape variant. Secondly, it was the labour question - related to the cramped economy - which influenced the choices and preferences of burgers and officials to constrain slave manumission. And finally, the enduring cultural gap between burgers and slaves in general gave some local coherence and legitimation to the process.

228. MacCrone: Op.cit., pp.75-6; Katzen: Op.cit., p.207; CHBE, pp. 267-8; Edwards: Op.cit., pp.25-31.

229. Theal: Op.cit., II, p.465. The argument is explicit: 'colour' or 'racial' prejudice was emerging. What is the evidence for this? IF it was the case - and I argue later that this confuses one phenomenon for another - why did it happen? Stated simply as an emergent preference or predilection, one is given no leverage for explanation or understanding its structural or psychological causes. This 'residual' somatic factor is looked at in the next chapter, for it would be foolish to deny that there were negative images and stereotypes.

In 1682, Commissioner van Goens declared that no non-Christian slaves of the Company should be freed without good cause. It had been the case, according to the official statement, that "... several slaves of the Honourable Company who earned their freedom by long and faithful service have been emancipated. Some others now request the same privilege, but experience has shown that many freed slaves afterwards become a burden to the Company by not earning their food. It is therefore resolved not to emancipate them..."²³⁰ This was an early step in closing off some of the previous routes to manumission: in this case on the grounds of cost to the Company.

Three years later, the Council of Policy under the chairmanship of the visiting Commissioner van Rhee attempted to iron out further anomalies which had arisen out of the diverse origins of the slaves, and the consequences of having slave children born at the Cape. First, every Cape-born 'half-breed' could claim freedom, as of right, at the age of 25 (if male) and 22 (if female) provided he or she professed Christianity and could speak Dutch. Secondly, if the slave had been imported from abroad he or she could have his or her freedom after 30 years, as a favour, provided he or she professed Christianity, spoke Dutch and paid a sum of £8.43p. In the case of Cape-born 'negro' slaves, the same conditions were to apply when the age of 40 was reached. The stiffening of the rules thus included an additional time constraint, plus payment, on top of being able to speak Dutch and the long-standing conditions of the profession of Christianity. Moreover, it was decreed that marriage between

230. Resolution of 8th April, 1682, in Theal: Abstracts, p.200. See also Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.388, fn.1. It was further resolved that if those who were already free became "... dependant on the Company for support, they should again become slaves, it being but fair that if the Company maintains them, they should be again subject to their former bondage". Ibid., loc.cit. Also, Theal: HistoryII, p.272.

'Europeans' and 'half-breeds' was permitted. There is however no doubt that this prohibition was simply ignored: the urgent demographic pressures (and the well-attested beauty of many East Indian slaves) were too strong to be blocked by a regulation of that kind. Finally, all slave children were to be put to school. Those under 12 were to attend daily, and those over 12 twice a week, while therefore free to work the rest of the time. A male teacher - a "well-behaved mulatto" says Theal, named Jan Pasqual of Batavia, and a freed slavess, Margaret of the Cape, were responsible for teaching the boys and the girls respectively.²³¹

The effect of these regulations in respect of labour provisions are clear. Whatever other objects the regulations may have served, the locking up of cheap slave labour for longish periods of time - up to the ages of between 22 and 40, and later in the case of imported slaves - was achieved at a stroke. Moreover, with these provisions it was increasingly unlikely that private-owned slaves could satisfy the conditions in respect of Christian belief or obtaining capital to pay for their manumission, though some did. Most manumissions via that route however appear to have been of V.O.C. slaves.

As was mentioned earlier, a provision of 1708 required that slaves moving between the town and the country had to carry passes. In the same year, under the regulations issued by Commissioner Simons, it was made yet more difficult for a slave to obtain manumission from his or her private owner, even if he or she satisfied all extant

231. Theal: Op.cit.,II,pp.272-3; Walker: Op.cit.,p.72 and du Plessis: Op.cit.,p.42; Moodie: Op.cit.,p.388. Educational provisions are dealt with in the next chapter.

provisions. For now an additional factor was added which made owners pause before agreeing to manumission. The owner had to guarantee that the manumitted slave would not become a drain on the public purse - in the form of the Poor Fund - for 10 years.²³² Thus whereas up to this time the onus was largely on the slaves to achieve the qualifications, now the owner had to estimate the trade-off between freeing a slave, whom he may not have needed or been able to afford to keep, and the possible consequences of that manumitted slave becoming unemployed in the 'free' market. If the latter occurred, the owner would have to bear the cost. It may well have been the case, that, given the number of poorer burgers who were beginning to trek eastwards about this time, it was easier and cheaper for them to free a slave than take him or her with them. The costs of any consequential unemployment would have had to be born by the V.O.C. and it was this which Commissioner Simons was trying to cut out.

As will emerge shortly when looking at the various forms and kinds of manumission, it was often the case that manumitted slaves arranged for their relatives, or others, still enslaved in the Lodge, to be freed. Given the initial and consistent provision that only baptised and Christian slaves could obtain their freedom, the question of their baptism was crucial. As the 18th century wore on a number of developments in respect of manumission took place which conspired over time to limit the baptisms of slaves, and thus to preempt - from the start - any chance of a subsequent claim by the slave for manumission on attaining the other requirements. A start was

232. Theal: Op.cit.,II,p.465.

made in that direction by a provision of 1721 which forbade a Christian slave parent - who was not yet free - to stand sponsor at the font for baptism.²³³ This precedent was later to be capitalized upon.

This mass of complex regulations and provisions - which in content and effect had already drifted a long way from the original simple principles of insider and outsider (or Christian, Dutch-speaker versus 'heathen') as enunciated at Dort and in the early statements, required codification. This happened under the Governorship of Tulbagh in 1754.²³⁴ It would be tedious to relate the details, but there are some new points which emerged that are of importance, particularly as they affected behaviour through various regulations and sumptuary provisions, and reflect preoccupation with status and 'order'. Severe penalties for 'disrespect' to, or assaults on their masters were laid down; slaves were not permitted out at night after 10pm without a light of some kind; they were prohibited from singing or whistling at night to attract other slaves out, and they were not permitted to congregate in groups of more than three.²³⁵

By this time the number of slaves was considerable, and the regulations were in part a response to the problems of maintaining order. In 1760 it was again enacted that slaves moving between districts required passes and proof of identity.²³⁶ As a further

233. V.de Kock: Op.cit.,p.11. He cites a despatch dated 24th March, 1722.

234. They are summarised best by A.J.Böeseken: "The Company and its subjects", pp.56-7. Also, Theal: Op.cit.,III,pp.98-9. They were promulgated on the 5th September,1754.

235. Ibid.,loc.cit.

236. Marais: Op.cit.,p.117.

disincentive to manumission, the Cape government, following a Batavian ruling, decreed in 1765 that 10 Rixdollars had to be paid by an owner to the V.O.C. for every slave manumitted.²³⁷ The pincers of closure tightened on the slave status yet further. In 1770 it was decreed that no Christian slave could be sold, following a Batavian decree.²³⁸ There are a number of possible interpretations of this. de Kock suggests it was a humane innovation in the law. That may be so; yet it is important to note that first, it originated in Batavia and hence neither the Cape officials nor burgers can take credit for it. Secondly, it was ambiguous in effect; for while prohibiting Christian slaves from being sold, it implicitly confirmed that Christian slaves did not have to be manumitted. In any event there were few such slaves amongst the burgers and its effect was no doubt limited to the V.O.C. slaves. In 1792 this implication was to be made explicit.

In 1777 the payment of 10 Rixdollars to the V.O.C. for every slave manumitted by a burger was increased to 50 - this, no doubt to insure the Company lest such a slave become a burden on the public funds.²³⁹ And five years later, to underline the point, burgers had to undertake that any such freed slave would not become a burden on the Poor Fund for twenty years - it had been 10 years since 1708.²⁴⁰

237. de Kock: Op.cit., p.200.

238. Ibid., p.214.

239. Ibid., p.201.

240. Walker: Op.cit., p.72.

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Finally in 1792 the Stellenbosch congregation asked the Cape government whether it was possible to baptise slaves on the understanding that their manumission would not automatically follow. Both secular and Church government replied that this was in order, and the circle of closure was, in principle, complete. No matter what achievement in cultural or religious terms a slave or slavess might have attained, the power of granting freedom or denying it came to rest squarely (in the case of the free burgers, at least) with the masters.²⁴¹ Yet it appears that this was happening long before the 1790s: Mentzel observed something close to this practice in the 1730s. "It is a lamentable paradox", he wrote, "to baptize slave children, initiate them into the truth of the teachings of Christ, and yet allow them to be brought up in vice and corruption by their heathen parents and their associates. Though Christians, they remain slaves"²⁴² Elsewhere he observed that since it was a "... common and well-grounded belief that Christians must not be held in bondage ... only such children as are intended for emancipation are baptized".²⁴³ Though it clearly differed between V.O.C. and free-burger owned slaves, the close relationship between baptism and freedom was widely known. Thus Thunberg noted that "... a certain hatter in this town, who was a bachelor, had got two of his slaves with child. For the child he

241. du Plessis: Op.cit.,p.65; Susan R.Ritner: Op.cit.,p.62. It is only fair to say that though it ruled thus, the Church urged that freedom should be given to baptized slaves. Ibid., loc.cit. It is not likely that the V.O.C. followed the Stellenbosch burger in this regard, but the majority of slaves were not owned by the V.O.C.

242. Mentzel: DescriptionI,p.117.

243. Ibid.,II,p.131.

had got by one of them, he, in quality of its father, demanded baptism, and accordingly this was baptized, and consequently free; while the other girl's remained unbaptized and a slave".²⁴⁴

The evidence confirms the earlier argument. Whatever mix of motives there may have been, the effect of the changing regulations over the period acted to hold slaves in servitude and make manumission difficult. It would be fascinating to know more about the politics behind these measures, the pressures and influences brought to bear on the Commissioners and members of the Cape government and the lobbying that took place. But one can only speculate. What does emerge however is that in restraining manumission, the Cape politicians were able somewhat to maintain the levels of the labour force they had, needed and wanted. In so doing they acted to contain the segments of the plural society, which - in respect of the slaves - were defined both by their class position and their cultural/religious status. The ever-observant Swede, Sparrman, did not miss seeing this. Close to the Cape, near the Tygerberg, he sheltered on a farm from the rain. Here, he commented, with either naivety or sharp irony, that:²⁴⁵

244. Thunberg: Op.cit.,II,p.127.

245. Sparrman: Op.cit.,I,p.58. This was of course in the 1770s, before the 1792 decision. My emphases,A.L. In 1709 a Danish missionary, Johan Boving, was at the Cape for three weeks. In his view the major hindrance to the baptism and conversion of slaves and Khoi was the indifference of the colonists "... who oppose the evangelization of their slaves on the ground that those who have received Christian baptism cannot thereafter be bought and sold". J.G.Boving: Curieuse Beschreibung und Nachricht von den Hottenten, p.3, cited in J.du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions,p.48. And John Barrow made a similar point at the end of the 18th century, especially in respect of the Moravians who were unpopular with the farmers. "The Cause of the farmers' hatred for these people is their having taught the Hottentots the use of their liberty, and the value of their labour, of which they had long been kept in ignorance". Barrow: Op.cit.,I,p.355. Lady Anne Barnard said much the same thing, suggesting that the farmers were hostile to the Moravians who taught the Khoi how to be "...industrious and independent". Barnard: Op.cit.,III,pp.434-5.

I found the female slaves singing psalms, while they were at their needlework. Their master, being possessed with a zeal for religion quite unusual in this country, had prevailed with them to adopt godly custom; but with that spirit of economy which universally prevails among these colonists, he had not permitted them to be initiated into the community of Christians by baptism; since by that means, according to the laws of the land, they would have obtained their freedom, and he would have lost them from his service.

In this way, as with the manner in which Khoi were incorporated and frozen in subordinate status, the structurally plural character of Cape society was instituted and sustained in its labour arrangements.

.....

Despite this battery of constraints on manumission, many hundreds of slaves - perhaps even more - achieved their freedom through a variety of revealing ways over the period.²⁴⁶

246. The exact cumulative figures for the whole period are not as yet available, but detailed archival work might reveal better data. To suggest, however, that because there were only 1134 'Free Blacks' in 1807 (about 5% of the 'white' population) is perhaps to miss the point. Greenstein: Op.cit.,p.44. Manumitted slaves and slavesses were filtering continuously over the period into the 'free' population and hence would not have been identified always as 'Free Blacks', and the same is true of their children, indeed especially their children. It is impossible to assess quantitatively the cumulative effects of upward mobility in the course of this process, or to draw a clear line between 'Free Blacks' and free burgers. But Cruse says that only 893 slaves were manumitted during the 77 years between 1715 and 1792. H.P.Cruse: Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking, p.253. Yet there were 1134 in 1807. According to Cruse, of the 893 slaves freed, 567 were burger slaves and 32 were V.O.C. slaves who bought their freedom, though not all. For instance, Christoffel van Somosia was freed on the 27th April, 1752 for his 'services in education' in the V.O.C. Lodge. Cruse: Op.cit.,p.102. The other categories of manumissions which he lists are as follows:

(continued on next page)

246. (continued from previous page)

By whom manumitted and manner of manumission

<u>Manner of Manumission</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Wills of burgers ('white')	196
2. Wills of Free Blacks	44
3. Self-bought freedom	32
4. Slave Lodge children bought free by their mothers	29
5. Slave Lodge children bought free by 'non-white' (Free Black) fathers	4
6. Slave mothers in Lodge bought free by their children	2
7. Slave Lodge children bought free by 'whites'	19
8. Manumitted by 'white' owners	361
9. Manumitted by 'Chinese'	40
10. Slave children freed by their mothers	10
11. Slaves freed by 'Free Blacks'	<u>156</u>
Total:	<u>893</u>

Of 'foreign slaves' - i.e. non-Cape born - who were manumitted, the numbers were:

Indonesia:	140
India:	106 (Mostly from Bengal)
Ceylon:	26
Africa:	15 (Mostly from Madagascar)
Philippines:	<u>3</u>
Total:	<u>290</u>

Between 1715 and 1795 the rate of manumissions was as follows:

1715-1724	12
1725-1734	32
1735-1744	93
1745-1754	111
1755-1764	188
1765-1774	152
1775-1784	174
1785-1794	<u>131</u>
Total:	<u>893</u>

All from Cruse: Die Opheffing ... Op.cit., pp.253-271.

Dr James Armstrong of Boston University has been working on the slave figures for many years and says that no advance is possible on Cruse's figures. (Personal communication via Professor Elphick.

It is a great pity that we do not as yet have a breakdown of the figures as to male and female slaves involved. Other evidence however suggests very strongly indeed that the number of female slaves will have been much higher than the number of males.

The social implications of this and the effects on social structure will be examined in the next chapter. Here it is necessary simply to illustrate the extraordinary variety of manumissions which took place and to underline the main trends as they emerge from the evidence and, as would be expected, as the demographic and burger sex ratio demanded.

There were a variety of means to freedom, and all of these are illustrated clearly in the records.²⁴⁷ Individual slaves were able to buy their own freedom, while old and deserving slaves were given it for long and good service. Some burgers instructed in their Wills that certain of their slaves should be freed, while others freed the children or relatives of their slaves. Some slaves obtained their own freedom not only by satisfying the usual qualifications - such as being Christian and Dutch-speaking, and having two 'reliable' witnesses to vouch for their character and to stand as surety against possibility of their becoming a drain on the Poor Fund - but also, amazingly, by offering in their own place another slave or slavess. How did this come about? It is not altogether clear, but it is possible that some slaves were also in the slave-buying business and this will be touched on later. There were also many instances of different forms of paramone manumissions, whereby a slave was freed on the condition that he or she work for his or her master - or, as in one instance, serve the V.O.C. at official banquets - for the remainder of his or her life span, or for a

247. I have relied mainly here for manumission procedures and examples on Leibbrandt's two-volume précis of the Requesten; Hoge's Personalia of the Germans and his Bydraes Tot die Genealogie van Ou Afrikaanse Families; Theal's Abstracts; and the better known secondary commentaries by Francken, van den Berghe and M. Jeffreys, as well as the observations of the contemporary travellers and diarists, and also the various reports in Letters Despatched, etc.

stipulated period. In addition there were many instances of burgers manumitting their female slaves or female V.O.C. slaves - or their children - and then marrying them. Another example of this kind of emancipation - where manumission mediated the hypergamous relationship - was where a burger manumitted a slavess, who was already his wife. Certainly, as will emerge in the next chapter, there were hundreds of marriages between burgers and slavesses, as the burger male:female ratio was extremely heavily tilted in the direction of male superiority in numbers throughout the 18th century. Other slaves, who had been exiled to the Cape from the Indies, were able to obtain their freedom and return to Batavia. While there was a considerable variety, as the examples below illustrate, three trends emerge.

First, it is clearly the case that a high proportion of the slaves manumitted with either of Asian origin, or 'half-breeds'. This can be gauged from the names. The reason for the latter has already been indicated: from the 1670s it was incumbent on the V.O.C. to manumit those children of Dutch fathers and slavesses who were born in the Lodge, once they had reached the appropriate age and attained the necessary qualifications. I shall suggest in the next chapter another reason why a high proportion of those manumitted were Asian slaves or 'half-breeds'. For this relates to the second trend. On the basis of Leibbrandt's Requesten it appears quite clearly the case that a substantial majority of slaves manumitted were females: only about 35% of those mentioned in his random précis of the archives were males.²⁴⁸ In the social constitution of Cape

248. There is scope for specific research on this question. The gap needs to be filled. I believe however that the accumulation of such detailed evidence on this particular point would confirm this trend. Moreover, the number of new Dutch or German immigrants in the 18th century who manumitted and then married a slavess was considerable. See Hoge: Op.cit., passim.

society this factor was most important. Thirdly, there was a strong tendency for already freed slaves to aid or assist in the manumission of either their own relatives or other slaves, either by providing the payment or by standing surety, sometimes alongside burgers of clearly direct Dutch origin. Some examples will help to anchor these points.

Of the standard type of manumissions there are many examples. In 1672 a 'deserving' slave was able to buy his freedom for 50 reals of eight.²⁴⁹ The same was granted to Maria of Bengal in 1680, by which time the price of freedom had become 40 Rixdollars.²⁵⁰ In 1687 six "... old and worn out slaves" were released and given their freedom.²⁵¹ In 1787 Christiana of the Cape requested her freedom, affirming that she had been baptised and offered 100 Cape guilders.²⁵² In 1742, Eva of the Cape ("... late slave of the late burger Noach Backer submits that she has been manumitted by her late owner as testified by the annexed papers ...) was given her freedom in line with the Will, under the usual conditions.²⁵³ A similar manumission through the Will of a deceased burger is illustrated in the case of Fortuijn of Bengal, in 1778.²⁵⁴

In 1742, Grisella van de Kaap - "...wife of the burger Jan Stavenius ..." - sought and obtained her freedom of her 13 year old son, Jan van de Kaap who was still a slave in the Lodge. She promised

249. Theal: Abstracts, p.126. Dated 13th April, 1672.

250. Ibid., p.186. Dated 14th March, 1680.

251. Ibid., p.230. Dated 21st January, 1687.

252. Requesten, I, p.314. No.43, of 1787.

253. Ibid., p.421. No.140, of 1742.

254. Ibid., II, p.456. No.16, of January, 1770.

not only to educate him and bring him up properly but offered also in his place "... a healthy male slave named Jeremias of Ceylon." She sought freedom too for her two daughters, Maria and Johanna, both of whom were also still in the Lodge.²⁵⁵ A similar manumission of a child or relative is illustrated in the case of 'Limkoksaij' - "...a Chinaman (who asked) for the manumission of his daughter, Cornelia, daughter of Sophia of Angie, now a slave of the Company, about 18 years old ...". He offered a male slave in her place, Janmal of Sjambauwe, "... whom Surgeon van Schoor approves of".²⁵⁶ This manumission of slave relatives by freed slaves was common, as was the associated trend of Free Blacks manumitting other slaves, which appears to have been even more common. Even freed slavesses were liberating male slaves still in the Lodge, or their own slaves, as did Dolphina of Bengal manumit her own slave Marcus of Bengal, offering the necessary security; similarly David of Ceylon manumitted his slavess Agatha of Macassar, who was also his concubine; and Lucas of Bengal manumitted his 4-year old slave child in the Lodge, daughter of Maria Pilani, and offered 100 guilders for her.²⁵⁷

An instance of a slave exile being permitted to return to his home is found in the case of Abdul of Batavia "... banished hither for some crime 26 years ago, (asked) pardon and permission to return to Batavia".²⁵⁸

One of the earliest instances of a burger fleeing his wife-to-be was of course Jan Sacharias. In 1658 it was recorded

255. Ibid., II, p.469. No.95, of 1742.

256. Ibid., II, p.672. No.80, of 1737/8.

257. Ibid., I, p.386, No.111, of 1759; and No.95, of 1783, p.394; and Ibid., II, p.714, No.82, of 1784.

258. Ibid., I, p.5, No.31, of 1743.

that he and a certain Maria, born at Bengal, "...lately a slave, but whose freedom has been purchased by her future husband ..." were married on 21 July.²⁵⁹ It was very common for burgers to be found freeing female slaves: Cornelius de Vries manumitted a V.O.C. slave, Flora of the Cape; Hans Doeksteen manumitted his own slavess Dorothea of the Cape; so did Christoffel Groenewald - a married man - manumit his slavess Dorothea Magdalena of the Cape, who had been "...baptized and confirmed in the Reformed Church..."; and so did Jan Willem Hurter, a free burger, manumit a Company slave, Sophia of the Cape, and offered in exchange a "healthy male slave, named September of Malabar".²⁶⁰

It was not uncommon to have free burgers and 'Free Blacks' jointly standing surety for the manumission of slaves or slavesses, underlining the common life and citizenship amongst all free citizens. Thus Claas Coert, a burger, offered himself and a Free Black, Jan Abraham, as sureties for the manumission of the former's slave, Januarij of the Coast; likewise the 'Free Black of Ceylon', Hendrik Pietersz, sought to emancipate his slavess, Constance of Ceylon, and offered as sureties the burgers Jan van Soest and Jacobus van Graan.²⁶¹

Two final representative kinds of manumission were the self-emancipation of a slave by offering another slave in his or her stead, and paramone type manumissions. There are a surprisingly consistent number of the former recorded. Thus Anna van Christiaan Pietersz, who had been a slave for 28 years at the Cape, was baptized

259. Theal: Abstracts, p.43.

260. Requesten No.88, of 1738, p.370; Ibid.,p.389, No.70,of 1708; Ibid.,II,p.483, No.105, of 1783; Ibid.,II,p.545, No.178, of 1762.

261. Ibid.,p.261, No.145, of 1762; Ibid.,II,p.542, No.88, of 1759.

and sought manumission, offering "... in exchange for herself a male slave, 24 years old, strong and healthy, named Alexander van Malabar ...". In like fashion, Arie of the Cape in the Lodge, offered in his place another slave, Daniel of Boegis; and, similarly, Christiana Smit, having served for 20 years in the Lodge as Matron sought the freedom of herself and her daughter, offering 100 guilders and "... a strong and healthy male slave, named Apollos of Macassar".²⁶² Where and how did the V.O.C. slaves get these other slaves from to offer in their place? Some answers are suggested in a later chapter. But what needs to be remembered here is that slaves were permitted to accumulate some peculium and it is possible that they were buying up slaves from departing burgers, or veeboere wanting a quick sale before moving inland. It is a remarkable phenomenon, and what the examples appear to indicate is that in general it was female slaves obtaining their freedom (or having it obtained for them) in return for offering male slaves to the Company. The number of free burgers involved in manumitting female slaves was high. This suggests that they were extracting women from slave status for licit or illicit unions and partners in general, though clearly not all were of this kind.

There were clear cases of the paramone manumission operating at the Cape. In 1711, Armosyn, who had been matron of the Slave Lodge children, was manumitted on condition she served the V.O.C. for 3 further years.²⁶³ Similarly, Anna of Dapoer (herself a manumitted

262. Ibid., p.1, No.67, of 1715; Ibid., p.7, No.14, of 1751; and Ibid., p.247, No.87, of 1743.

263. Journal 1699-1723, p.246. Entry for 3rd April, 1711.

'Free Black'), the divorced wife of the burger Carel Meuring, sought the manumission of her slave girl, Rachel of the Cape, on the condition "that she shall serve her mistress until death". She offered herself (Anna, that is) and the Bookkeeper of the Orphan Chamber, Jan Heemvers, as sureties. And in 1768, David Malan, a free agriculturalist manumitted his slave, Arie van die Kaap "... on condition however that he shall remain with and serve them as long as he and his wife (were) alive ...".²⁶⁴

It would be tedious to relate further examples: but the main points are confirmed in the above. The names of many of the 'Free Blacks' and manumitted slaves indicate a predominance of Asian or 'half-breed' Cape born slaves. It was rare for African slaves to be manumitted it seems, but now and again the name of an African slave crops up in the material, such as Pieter of Madagascar, who was freed by his owner Johan Henricus Blankenberg in 1743.²⁶⁵ This may seem surprising given the predominance of slaves of African origin, but an explanation for this will be offered in the next chapter. Also, the other trend - the predominance of female slave manumissions - is evident, and it will be necessary to offer an explanation for why this was the case, and what happened to them.

Thus, despite the steady closure of the means of emancipation, some slaves and slavesses gained their freedom. The important questions to carry forward to the discussion in the next chapter from the above examination of slave regulations and manumissions are

264. Requesten, p.10, No.156, of 1762; Ibid., II, p.769, No.57, of 1768/70.

265. Ibid., p.75, No.43, of 1743.

what effects did this upward mobility out of slave status and into burger (male but mainly female) status have on social relations and structure? In the social constitution of Cape society and its political and economic respects, this is vital.

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This chapter has shown that, in the formation of the Cape society, the mode of entry by both Khoisan and slaves, and the conditions associated with their initial participation, decisively shaped the central structural features of the society. As one general category of 'unfree' labour, and as politically rightless, socially excluded and economically disadvantaged, they were locked into a subordinate status in class terms. Their initial cultural distinctiveness - amongst them and between them and the burgers - helped define the plural character and segments of the society. Moreover, except in the important case of slave manumissions, the emergence of the 'Bastaard' population and the slow dragging effects of informal socialization, the agencies of cultural and social change were few, and those who manned them were hardly enthusiastic. Given the overall context of economic constraints, the demand and need for labour, the compulsion and luring of Khoi into the labour force and the entrapment of slaves there too, there was little chance for social mobility or the dissolution of the barriers between the segments, though that happened at the edges of all, but especially the middle sectors. Given, finally, that economic history and those diverse origins of the groups and their associated rights or rightlessness in the overall division of labour, it is apparent how class and culture converged at the Cape to institute the structurally plural order.

It is now necessary to turn to examine more fully the social institutions and structures that emerged from, and influenced this division of social, political and economic labour.

Chapter 7

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS: THE WESTERN CAPE

This chapter is about the emerging social structure of Cape society over the period, and the social relations between and within groups that constituted it. The treatment of social structure in this separate way is of course only of analytical convenience, and it should be clear by now that it is regarded as being deeply implicated in the political economy of the society. The advantage, however, in concentrating on social structure and social relations in the constitution of a new society is that they illustrate and bring together many underlying trends which shaped the structure of corporate groups and categories, and which mediated relations between them. And the special features of plural societies are most clearly revealed in the structure of their social relations.

What is required here is a diachronic account which uses the synchronic 'snapshots' provided in the journals, reports, travellers' diaries and official documents to illustrate the major trends. The evidence of the contemporaries is of course limited with respect to exposure, interests, region, time-span and standpoint, as is any account.¹ But by using these sources and other evidence, and by looking at the society over a long period it is possible to offer a fuller account of the emerging structural characteristics.

1. The account by Leo Fouché of the state of the colony and some of its circumstances at the time of van der Stel's conflict with the burgers is a rare and good example of an attempt to construct a synchronic profile of the situation in about 1706. See Fouché (ed.): The Diary of Adam Tas. A more typical contemporary picture of the Cape - richer than average because the author visited the Cape on a number of occasions (in 1685, 1695, 1705 and 1714) - is that of Francois Valentyn in his Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop met zaaken daar toe behoorende, 2

(continued on next page)

Generally, the histories avoid giving explicit attention to questions of social structure, but offer, en passant, some general observations about the distribution of power and some aspects of social practice, for example.² Thus, in turning to look at social structure it is necessary to underline the assumption that it is both possible and necessary to identify structurally-based and related patterns over time. For if one departs from that assumption and operates as if there were no patterns or trends, or no causal, functional or dialectical relations between the parts of the social totality, then the whole thing flies apart and there is mere contingency - bits and pieces of unconnected events which cannot be rendered intelligible either in respect of a wider conceptual scheme, or even systematically in relation to each other. It is therefore useful to state briefly in advance the main features that will be examined, for they represent the major dimensions of the model of the society in motion and indicate the factors making for continuity and change. In moving thus from the examination of particular themes - like slavery and labour, or the trading-raiding syndrome - the purpose is to provide a wider picture of the plural society as a whole.

In the most general terms it can be said that there were two sets of forces pulling in opposite directions in the formation

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1. (continued from previous page) ...Vols. (Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it). It contains some of the most important data and observations about conditions between 1690 and 1715.
 2. For instance, in the chapter dealing with the Cape in the Oxford History of South Africa, there is no explicit attention given to these questions. The same is true of 500 Years and The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VIII, which deals exclusively with South Africa. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the exclusive preoccupation with chronology has this kind of effect.

of Cape society, the one making for continuity and the other making for change. On the one hand, the plurality of cultures coincided broadly with class position in consequence of the mode, conditions and point of entry of the various groups to the political economy. But the performance of the economy meant that there was little scope for altering the overall shape and pattern of the relations thus established. Economic factors, that is, made for continuity and acted to freeze the cultural groups broadly in their initial positions of entry and hence acted also to sustain institutional discontinuity at the extremes. On the other hand, given the increasingly common economy, there was very slow depluralization and integration taking place. It was accompanied by, and expressed in, the emergence of a system of differentiation and subordination of groups and categories in terms of class, status and power which was initially imposed on the prior cultural discontinuities. But these forces were, over the period, the weaker of the two.

The structurally plural order - especially in the west - combined two critical dimensions: those of class hierarchy and institutional discontinuity. At the 'top', the society was dominated by the Officials, the small elite of prosperous western farmers and burgers who were almost all of European extraction. At the 'bottom', were the formally 'free' but increasingly dependant Khoisan, who were being pulled into the most menial parts of the economy and hence relegated to, in general, the lowest strata in the social structure. At these extremes, class and cultural distinctions coincided and hence maximum discontinuity prevailed. There was also maximum somatic distance, which will be examined later. Between those extremes there were a number of categories. There were

the smaller farmers of the western Cape; in Valentyn's account, for instance, they are always there, un-named and largely unmentioned, as background, along with the slaves and Khoi labourers.³ Likewise there were the lesser urban burgers, living off their trades - or those of their slaves - but mainly by offering lodgings, food, and drink to the constant ebb and flow of sailors, soldiers and V.O.C. employees. This latter category was, in addition, a further element in the society and they were a regular but fluctuating population from the fleets of the V.O.C. and other nations which called at the Cape for anything up to 5 or 6 weeks.⁴ And there was of course the large slave population.

It was at these lower middle levels of the society that poor burgers, manumitted slaves, urban slaves, V.O.C. employees, destitute Khoi and the swell of transient sailors and soldiers of various nationalities met and mingled. In consequence of that, a greater degree of mutual acculturation took place and hence it was at that level too that the main elements of a common culture and new language were to emerge. I deal with the veeboere separately in the next chapter. All that needs to be noted here is that it was mainly from these lower middle levels that the 18th century trekkers came. On the social and geographical periphery, moreover, various combinations of classes and cultures also gave rise to new groups like the so-called 'Bastaards', and to refugee groups like the Griqua, Korana and Oorlams.⁵

3. F.Valentyn: Op.cit.,I, Chapter 3 especially.

4. Ibid.,I,p.205.

5. M.Legassick: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, Op.cit.,Chapter II especially; and also Marais: The Cape Coloured People, passim.

Despite the constraints on social change and acculturation which the restricted economic conditions placed on the society, the structurally plural colonial order was intrinsically no more static or rigid than any other society. And at the Cape there was a perceptible trend beginning to emerge which was away from structural pluralism and towards the bare outlines of a non-racial class-based society - a trend that was more marked at those middle levels. That is, behind the very slow process of acculturation there was also revealed the grid of an elementary class system, which, in the short run, would not have made much difference to the distribution of power and wealth. In the long run, however, a class system is characteristically more fluid than a caste or plural society. The reason why there is so little evidence of explicit 'colourism' in the 17th and 18th centuries is because cultural and class distinctions and discriminations largely did the work of differentiation, inclusion and exclusion. The inhabitants of the Cape did not think primarily in terms of 'colour' nor did they need to.⁶ Culture and class -

6. It has been suggested recently that "... in the eighteenth century, racial antagonisms were sharper in the slave-owning south-western Cape than in the interior". Shula Marks: "Khoisan and the Dutch at the Cape", p.450. Apart from the ambiguity which surrounds the notion of 'racial antagonism', I think that is an unsupported generalization, and I contest the view and develop the argument against it later. Marks' view is based largely on a claim by Heese, to the same effect, namely that "Die eerste aanduidings van die kleurgevoel vind ons in 1782 toe die Stellenbosch burgers weier om onder Johannes Hartogh te dien, omdat lasgenoemde donker van kleur en van heidense afkoms sou wees". J.A.Heese: Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867, pp.19-20. The evidence is simply not there to support the view, notwithstanding the ambiguous implications of 'racial antagonisms'. In any event the bulk of Heese's subsequent discussion and evidence deals with the 19th century developments. And elsewhere in the same volume he argues the contrary case for that period anyway by pointing out, for instance, that in the western districts the baptism of 'white' and 'non-white' children continued often to take place in the same building, on the same day and time, whereas on the periphery (Cradock, Somerset-East, Colesberg, etc.), there was not only fewer baptism of 'nie-blanke kinders' (non-white children) in general, but also segregated communion services. Ibid., p.52. What is that evidence of?

especially as they re-enforced each other at the extremes where they coincided - were far more salient features of consciousness and classification. Moreover, they were more efficient, appropriate and flexible principles of inclusion and exclusion. They permitted upward mobility and inclusion where it was needed or desired (as illustrated by the systematic female hypergamy throughout the period) which a colour bar would not have done. Class forces and cultural distinctions also facilitated exclusion and expulsion where necessary, such as in the general maintenance of manumitted slaves in skilled or unskilled, but landless, labour positions, the attempt to reduce or eliminate further 'direct entry' by immigrants from Europe, and the gradual expulsion of the veeboere to the periphery, though there were of course other factors involved in each of those processes.

Thus while the hierarchically plural structure of social relations at the Cape emerged with and sustained the political economy and the division of labour which most suited those who dominated it, and hence made for continuity in structure, there was also change and some erosion of the cultural segments at their edges especially. Though ultimately one must assert the primacy of the material circumstances and the relative economic stagnation in setting limits to the scope and effects of change, the elements that contributed to the emerging social patterns and changes must be briefly mentioned here. First, there was systematic female hypergamy and male hypogamy. Given the persistent imbalance in the sex-ratios - always more males than females in all non-indigenous groups - the marital, concubinage and sexual relations were characterized in general by women moving 'up' and men moving 'down', except perhaps amongst the most affluent and well-connected western farmers and burgers who came to sustain

themselves as a landed class. Secondly, despite the economic closure on Cape society, the social life of the Town especially was rich and fluid. It was socially boisterous, commercially obsessive, educationally and culturally deprived and not at all religious in the terms one might describe 20th century South African Protestant fundamentalism today, or anything like it. In the course of the 18th century at the Cape a new language began to emerge, thus emphasizing the elements of mixture, innovation and change at the lower middle levels both in the town and country.⁷ Burgers, sailors, soldiers, slaves and slavesses gambled and drank late into the night. Other burgers and their wives were actively involved in illicit smuggling or sale of wine and liquor, tobacco, ivory and hides.⁸

7. M.Valkhoff: Studies in Portuguese and Creole, and his essays, New Light on Afrikaans and 'Malayo-Portuguese'. Also J.L.M. Franken: Taalhistoriese Bydraes. I refer to these again later in a fuller discussion of the question.

8. The energy of the Cape burgers, or some of them, in commercial matters is worth stressing. They acted as very clever middlemen, using their strategic position half-way between the Indies and Europe, buying goods coming from Europe and the Indies and selling them to people going in the other direction. Thereby they "...pass on with great profit the Indian wares to those coming from Europe and the Dutch wares to those coming from the Indies, since they usually buy in the goods at half their value or even less, and re-sell them very dear to the voyagers, who are not then close-fisted (especially those who come from the Indies)". Valentyn: Op.cit., I, pp.207-9. Later, in the 18th century, Sparrman noted that there was good profit in elephant tusks. Colonists hunted the animals and gave the meat to slaves and servants. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.322. Further details on this are in S.D. Neumark: Op.cit., pp.63-68 where he deals with the volume of ivory, hides and horns which came down to the Cape. P.J. van der Merwe describes how San would join hunting parties or welcome hunters. Die Noordwaartse Beweging, Op.cit., p.72, ff.

They milked "... the poor sailors and soldiers of every penny they own ..." though there were some 'better class' burgers who did not.⁹ In a particularly revealing aside in his Diary, Tas noted that cheating went on at the highest social levels. He observed that one of his neighbours, van der Bijl, had clearly understated in his opgaaf (tax return) what he produced and the size of his herds. Tas wrote: "From this I can see that I have made my return more than half too big".¹⁰ Thirdly, the emergence of a 'Free Black' category within the burger population added variety and richness to the social composition of the 'free' community. Fourthly, there was no homogeneous and pious Calvinist community, but on the contrary a considerable plurality of religious persuasions. There were Lutherans, sympathisers with the Moravians, more Catholics than we shall every know of, and a growing Muslim community which socialized its young accordingly. Moreover, there is not the slightest evidence that the ideology of Ham prevailed at all, except in so far as it was part of the generally archaic language of religion, and then hardly used in public. The ideology which unfolded at the Cape emphasized personal material advancement ("... money, not pedigree is worshipped at the Cape..." wrote Mentzel¹¹). It also emphasized status and sustained a

9. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p.209. He said "... there are good and evil folk here as elsewhere", which is no doubt true. Thunberg found that the busiest months in the year were especially the first 4 months when 'return fleets' of various nations called at the Cape on the way back to the European summer from the Indies, while others arrived from Europe on their way to the East. Thunberg: Op.cit., II, p.117.

10. The Diary of Adam Tas, Op.cit., p.145. It is implied in the context that he would, or intended to, adjust his return accordingly at some future date.

11. O.F.Mentzel: A Description, Op.cit., II, p.145.

fiercely competitive behaviour which, in that cramped marked and social context, engendered a profound sense of social (i.e. class) distance, and utilized - for those purposes - the institutional (i.e. cultural) distances, both of which thus acted to confirm somatic distance.

All this converged to institute and sanction the structurally plural order, and helped to stretch out the hierarchy which served the wider ideal and material interests of the dominant. With their relative wealth and power they were able to buy themselves the trappings and symbols of social distance anyway. What emerges from the contemporary accounts is both a profound sense of social distance, and also a flux and merging at the lower middle levels of the society. These were both crucial elements in 18th century Cape society.

As population pressures mounted in that crowded economy, the socio-political arrangements were such as to force people into subordinate roles and positions in the social structure, and keep them there. It has been argued recently that a continual "...recasting and redefining of the lines of social stratification" took place in the 18th century. "Generation by generation, so it would seem, the poorer and less well-connected male members of the Christian community ..." were forced downwards - and outwards.¹² This demographic evidence takes on a richer and more compelling

12. Robert Ross: "The 'White' population of South Africa in the Eighteenth Century", p.230. My emphases, A.L. The term 'racial' which Ross uses seems to be confusing in this context. It will be examined again later where it will be argued that it is the operation of class and culture as variables that need to be traced. The social significance attached to somatic features should be seen as a consequence of the working out of those relations, not as the cause of them. As has been stressed before, colour or wider somatic features have no behavioural correlates, and can thus not 'cause' anything in this context, though the way they are perceived is important.

significance when located within the political economy and limiting structures of Cape society.

And so too there was initiated the migration of people from the west, forming an outward-moving arc of "... half-nomadic pioneers" who were 'jagter-veeboere' or 'veeboer-jagters'.¹³ Those small-scale 'frontier societies' will be examined more fully in the next chapter, but it is important to note here that the veeboere had and continued to have a variety of origins. The composition of the colonial society in the interior was complex and mixed, for there were veeboere of direct European parentage as well as 'Bastaards'. And there were wives and concubines of all kinds as well as Khoi, 'Bastaard' and other dependants, allies, middlemen, hunters and traders in the northeast and north. It was not the established or wealthy burgers who trekked. The contrasts between the interior and the western Cape will be described and analyzed in the next chapter in terms of the differing degrees and kinds of pluralism, in turn related to the nature of the different political economies which underpinned them.

In the light of this preliminary statement it is now necessary to examine these questions in greater detail. The central argument will demonstrate the implications for social structure of the convergence of class and cultural distinctions at the extremes of the structurally plural order, and their overlapping and mixing at the lower middle levels in the formation of the new society.

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13. van der Merwe: Op.cit.,p.359. That is, 'hunter-ranchers' or 'rancher-hunters'.

In general, and for the Colony as a whole, the pattern of relations that evolved at the Cape resembled more closely the short Dutch occupation of New Netherlands in the 17th century than the history of the Dutch presence in Batavia.¹⁴ But the western Cape - and especially the structure of rural society based on the large estates in the peninsula and its immediate environment - exhibited features which were similar to Batavian social life, and are noteworthy. They may in part be traced to some preoccupations of the 17th and 18th century metropolitan Netherlands and the influence of the Officials, and to the imbalance in sex ratios between male and female European immigrants. Following Freyre,

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14. This emerges clearly in comparing the account of Indian Affairs in Colonial New York by A.W.Trelease with Clive Day: The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java; J.S.Furnivall: Netherlands India, and B.M.Vlekke: Nusantara. The remarkable parallels between the Cape and colonial New Netherlands are exhibited in the following respects. In the New Netherlands there were radically incompatible cultures; conflict over land use; the taking of hostages by the Dutch to facilitate getting information and 'forcing' trade upon the Indians; excessive preoccupation with trade (in pelts); instructions were given not to 'give offence' to the Indians; attempts to lure the Indians into doing work for the Dutch, like building the Fort; the Dutch were "...repelled by Indians at first contact"; the objective of the settlement was trade, not colonization; the trade was carried on by means of kettles, hatchets, iron hoes, beads, cloth, rum and firearms; there were attempts made to gain control of the inland sources of peltry; the relationships between the Dutch and the Indians deteriorated rapidly as trading thrusts were made deeper and deeper into Indian country; liquor became a condition associated with the trade and used in it with inevitable effects amongst some groups; there were few Dutch pastors with little evangelical interest and closer links with the colonists; miscegenation with Indian women was widespread. Both the Cape and New Netherlands were different to the situation in Brazil. See C.R.Boxer: The Dutch in Brazil, and for Surinam see Ch. Goslinga: Op.cit., passim.

P.D.Milone has identified some typical features of the 'big house syndrome' in the Indies which make it comparable with the institution in Brazil.¹⁵ She points out the following features of the institution: mixed marriages, large manor houses, large families, hospitality, comparatively relaxed domestic slavery, and hunting and riding were the main outdoor sports.¹⁶ Most of these were found at the Cape too. Although they were not necessarily representative features of the whole society there, where they did exist they were in fact associated more with the western agricultural dominant class, though not in every form and particular, for 'colonial drift' operates in this respect too. However, Ross has shown that the families at the Cape in the 18th century were very large, and travellers confirm that.¹⁷ Though there were fierce and cruel punishments of slaves at the Cape, there is no doubt from the accounts of visitors that domestic slavery in the western areas was not as severe as agricultural slavery, or the condition of V.O.C. slaves in the Lodge for instance.¹⁸ Few travellers failed to comment

15. P.D.Milone: "Indische culture and its relationship to urban life", passim. Discussing Cape social relations in his typology of 'race relations', P.L.van denBerghe has written: "Master and house slaves lived together in the big house, played together as children, and prayed and fornicated together as adults". P.L.van den Berghe: Race and Racism, p.97.

16. Ibid., p.408.

17. Robert Ross: Op.cit., pp.228-9.

18. V. de Kock: Op.cit., passim.

on the hospitality, though this may well be a feature of all colonial societies, and their élites especially, existing thousands of miles from the metropolis, where European visitors would be welcomed for a variety of reasons including local customs, perhaps, and the colonial inhabitant's wish to please the (conceivably) prestigious visitor. It is still not uncommon today in certain circles in South Africa for there to be a fawning and quite uncritical response to visitors from 'overseas'. But in the 18th century hospitality will have been selective anyway, and rather different treatment will have been received by a traveller complete with retinue of servants and oxen, for example, and an individual Khoi family. But hospitality is a typical response in isolated communities. Certainly, hunting and riding were not only common but widespread activities amongst the colonists.¹⁹ Mixed marriages were in no way unusual and will be examined in detail later.

Thus, although colonial Cape society did not grow up in the environment of a structurally complex, culturally sophisticated and politically elaborate indigenous society - as Batavian society did in Indonesia - there were remarkable features of similarity, especially in respect of the 'big house syndrome' in the west. And though clearly not all Cape burgers in the peninsula were by any means well-endowed or owned large estates, the dominant class lived in a style common to similar élites in the casas grandes. From the latter years of the 17th century the evidence is there, and some

19. See the Oxford History of South Africa p.235,240,254 and 425. Also the rather more sporty account of horse-riding by 'A lady' in the 19th century in Life at the Cape, Op.cit., passim. In the 18th century, "... hunting was an outdoor amusement enjoyed by all who had the time and opportunity. Botha: Collected Works, I, p.223.

colonists, (according to Grevenbroek), who arrived penniless soon had well-furnished houses, thousands of head of sheep and cattle, some thirty or more slaves, large grain harvests, many ".... brimming casks of noble wine" and other forms of material wealth.²⁰ In his personal opgaaf return for 1705, Adam^{Tas} declared that he had 14 slaves, one slavess, two female slave children, 6 horses, 48 oxen, 36 cows, 25 calves, 40 heiffers, 800 sheep, 25,000 vine-stocks, 20 leaguers of wine and a substantial quantity of sown and reaped wheat, rye and barley.²¹

Some of the best evidence about the style of life and the extent and nature of the large estates established in the early years of the 18th century comes from the Tas Diary and from Valentyn's Description. It is quite clear from the former that the style of life of the large landowners was very similar to that of the owners of the 'big house', or to the landed aristocrat with a 'plantation' in settler colonies. From his Diary it can be seen that Tas divided his time between examining his fields and crops, super-

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20. J.G.Grevenbroek: "An elegant and Accurate Account ...", Op.cit.,p.279. While given somewhat to hyperbole (he wrote in Latin), Grevenbroek's account - even if 'ideal typical' and hence exaggerated - is confirmed in most respects by other evidence from more reliable sources. It is important to remember that although the local Cape economy was narrow and cramped, those who quickly came to dominate it - despite their conflict with the V.O.C. and local officialdom - were able to retain that domination, and grow both wealthy and powerful in local terms. Valentyn, for instance, noted that many who arrived poor at the Cape ".... now own noble farmsteads, which have become estates of great value, and thus many of them now have become very rich". Valentyn: Op.cit.,I,p.187.
21. The Diary of Adam Tas, p.145,fn.210.

visiting his foremen who organized the slaves and the itinerant Khoi labourers, visiting friends where they would usually drink coffee or wine and share a pipe or two, going to the Town and visiting friends or Officials there, or riding. In his Diary he commented on and added to the political gossip, and it is clear from the innuendo that he - and his fellow farmers - were engaged in quite substantial political manoeuvres aimed at stalling the corrupt practice of the Governor, which will be looked at later.²² Elsewhere, one finds Tas arranging for the burial of a drowned slave, Arij, or 'paying off' itinerant labourers. The Diary is revealing too for indicating the kind of circle of friends men like him had. Many of the names which crop up as his friends and neighbours - like van der Bijl, van der Heijden, Pretorius, van der Lit, Gildenhuijs, Pleunis, Nel, Husing, Appel, Robberts (or Robbertszoon) - emerge later in Valentyn's account as the principal holders of the "fine country estates" in and around the Cape and at Stellenbosch in particular.²³

Although there were major rifts within that class of landholders and officials (and ex-officials) over the policies being pursued by the V.O.C. and the monopoly gained over the local market by W.A. van der Stel and his clique, it is nonetheless clear that

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22. Tas was quite savage in his denunciation of the clique. Adriaan van der Stel was described as a "damned tyrant" and the minister, Kalden, was referred to as a "pharisee of a priest, Kalden". Ibid., p.139 and p.151.
23. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, pp.73-186. The names and distribution of these burgers and officials, and the location of their farms, shows up very well on the useful map (no.53) in A.J.Böeseken: Geskiedenis-Atlas vir Suid Afrika.

in broad social terms the local Cape ruling class was a corporate group made up of the big landholders, some senior officials and a few ministers. It represented, in miniature, an illustration of one of the classic political alliances of landed interests, state officials and the church, though the latter was neither landholding as such nor influential. And equally - in the differences amongst them - it illustrates one of the standard sources of tension and division in such alliances - the distribution of the spoils. Tas, for example, was on close terms with the sick-comforter ('kranzbezoeker') Simonis, and also with the Rev. Bek.²⁴ And when Valentyn wrote his account it was clear that these close ties and good relations - notwithstanding the dispute that had intervened - still existed and were in fact more deeply rooted in a set of common material interests than before. Many of the estates which he described were still in the hands of officials, despite the ruling of the V.O.C. on that question after van der Stel was dismissed. Valentyn wrote that "... in 1716 many Servants still owned estates, either in their own names or through agents, so that the Burghers then again complained ...".²⁵ Moreover, the extent and interpenetration of burger landholders with officialdom, or their descendants, was increasing and they were consolidating as a class, as some of the biographies of well-known figures of the period clearly indicate. The Rev. Bek, for instance, married the daughter of the sekunde, Elsevier, in 1707, and thus moved into some very substantial land-

24. Diary of Adam Tas, passim. (Hereafter, Diary).

25. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p.211.

holding.²⁶ (This illustrates further an aspect of the way in which intermarriage within the dominant class ensured the continued economic hegemony of the group. It may also be one of those quite rare instances of male hypergamy, if the transition from predikant to land-holder is regarded as an upward movement. It may be better to see it as a consolidation process within the class. I return to this point later.) Another example is that of O.Bergh, who was head of the military in 1695, and also a member of the Council of Policy and the Council of Justice. He owned a substantial Stellenbosch farm - 'de Kuil' - and a second farm ('Saxenburg').²⁷ The Ensign, Schrijver, who had undertaken expeditions for the V.O.C., had also become an important landowner, obtaining the farm 'Schoongezicht' when he married Anna Hoek.²⁸ Other senior officials, like Willem Ten Damme and Jan de la Fontaine both had "... very fine homesteads and country estates, each worthy of the attention of a stranger".²⁹ Another character whose life bracketed officialdom and landowning circles was Johannes Swellengrebel. He was a book-keeper and Council Member at the Cape in 1698, and later became controller of the Company grain stores. His third wife was Engela Ten Damme, eldest daughter of Willem Ten Damme. Swellengrebel, too, became a substantial landowner. In 1708-1722 he was a member of the Council of Justice, and after that he was on the Council of Policy, and was then ordered to sell a bit of his land, along the

26. Ibid., I, pp. 140-1, fn. 83 and Diary, pp. 78-9, fn. 103.

27. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p. 79, fn. 151 and fn. 155. My emphases, A.L. Fouché makes the point that the officials covered their tracks very carefully and hence it is difficult to establish clearly what they owned and produced. Diary, pp. 345-7.

28. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p. 139, fn. 69.

29. Ibid., I, p. 201. Ten Damme had been an Upper-Surgeon and de la Fontaine was a warehouse supervisor.

Liesbeeck River. He chose instead to resign from V.O.C. service and become a free burger.³⁰ Another of Tas's neighbours was van der Lith. He had started off as captain of a Dutch warship, and then became a burger at Stellenbosch in 1704 where he also was a heemraad, owning the farm 'Koelenhof', which he had bought from Bek.³¹ Another figure who was prominent at the time of the dispute with Adriaan van der Stel was van der Bijl, described by Valentyn as the 'mayor' of Stellenbosch. He had inherited the farm 'Vredenburg' from his father. But he had two other cattle posts as well, 'Babylon Toren' and 'Vyffontein' - the former in the Drakenstein District and the latter near Riebeecks Kasteel. His daughter, Gertruida, married Hermanus van Brakel who was the brother-in-law of Adam Tas.³² The circle was quite small, but tight.

These links via landholding, marriage and close attachment to the senior officials (or their descendants) or retired officials, defined very much the composition and recruitment patterns of the dominant Cape landholding class, and the evidence for that is abundant. Other characters referred to in the Tas Diary, like Pretorius, van Brakel and Appel, for instance, were not only important landholders, but had useful political positions as heemraden or members of the Church Council, or were Elders, and hence had direct access to the political resources of the colony. They were also defined by their common culture and, as will emerge, were able to attract those women, in general, that they needed and/or wanted,

30. Ibid., I, pp. 192-9, fn. 10. Also Diary, pp. 36-7, fn. 15.

31. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p. 201, fn. 49.

32. Ibid., I, pp. 137-9, and fn. 67; and Diary, p. 52, fn. 50.

usually from amongst the ranks of the élite, or they extracted other women from lower class and status positions in the colonial social structure. The ties between these people and officialdom were close. And this was not only the case in Stellenbosch. For instance, the estate of Pieter de Meyer, who farmed in the 'Hottentots-Holland' area, was near to the van der Stel farm, 'Vergelegen'. It turns out that Meyer had started life as a sea cadet with the V.O.C., and had been sent to the Cape as a bookkeeper after some time in the Indies. In 1706 he married the widow of Dominicus Blesius, who had been an under-merchant and landdrost. He became a free burger in 1708, but in 1710 he returned to V.O.C. service, being promoted from bookkeeper through to secretary of the Council of Policy in 1711. He still had his land and was ordered to sell it within 3 months in 1716, and was dismissed from the Council.³³ Closer to the town there were others, too, who were part of this small class. There was Heems, who was also a 'Town Councillor', as was Henrik Donker, who had a 'lovely estate' ('schoone plaats') near the 'Lion Hill' and had 24,000 vines. Still others, near the Salt River, close to the Town, were Meyboom, Cornelis Botma, Pieter van der Poel and Johannes Heufken who had large estates. Meyboom also became one of the principal bakers at the Town having obtained permission to open a barley-mill there.³⁴ Others, better known, like Husing and van der Heijden - both mentioned by Tas - played important roles in the opposition to van der Stel. Heijden in fact got a part of 'Vergelegen', when van der Stel was recalled to the Netherlands.³⁵

33. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p.149, fn.119.

34. Ibid., p.197.

35. Ibid., I, p.87, fn.178; and Diary, p.50, fn.46.

Thus the owners of such estates (they were valued as high as 20,000 Cape guilders) constituted the economic élite and also had access to political resources. Their class domination of the colony from late in the 17th century and in the first two decades of the 18th century was to have important implications for the shape of the social structure and its geographical distribution. There was one further feature of 'Indische culture' that Milone refers to and which emerges in Valentyn's observations. In the Indies amongst the well-off there was a fashion for cultivating and displaying elaborate and flamboyant gardens, with substantial driveways leading up to the houses.³⁶ At the home of landdrost ('Mayor') Johannes Meyor, in the Drakenstein district, Valentyn described precisely such a garden "... in which are the choicest fruits, fountains, a fishpond in the centre of a flower-garden, many aloes cut into all sorts of ornamental pyramids, choice flowers, and all kinds of rare plants and shrubs imaginable".³⁷ And there were others, as well as the long driveways with impressive gateways.³⁸ While Cape Dutch architecture clearly had something of a distinctive style, adapted to local materials and needs, there was nonetheless much in common with, and similar to aspects of, Indische culture in this respect too, reflecting common styles and preoccupations with outward symbols of wealth and status.

36. Milone: Op.cit., pp.416-7.

37. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p.159.

38. See G.E.Pearse: The Cape of Good Hope 1652-1833. An Account of its buildings and the Life of its people, passim.

During the course of the 18th century the Western Cape farmers consolidated their position. Once they had established dominance over the valuable wine and grain land, and once self-sufficiency at the Cape was achieved in respect of food, there was simply no room for further competition, or further admission to their ranks. Class closure began to operate. The problems of over-production, mentioned earlier, converged with the constraints which the presence of a small but well-established landholding class imposed on the chances of new or further successful agricultural initiative or upward mobility. The population figures confirm decisively the fact that from the early 18th century the population of male burgers in Stellenbosch, for example, remained remarkably stable. In 1706 it was 141, in 1718 it was 133, in 1728 it was 134, in 1738 it was 158, in 1763 it was 177, in 1773 it was 260, and in 1783 it was 321. That is a very, very slow population expansion. The figure stood at 141 in 1706 and had only reached 260 in 1773. Contrasted with the Cape District, where the population growth was more rapid, it was almost static. The male burger population in the Cape District was 230 in 1706, had reached 557 in 1748, and 834 in 1773. That is, it had almost quadrupled. In 1783 it was 958. The main growth areas were Drakenstein, Swellendam and then, later, Graaff-Reinet. In Drakenstein the population of male burger jumped from 142 in 1706 to 754 in 1773, not far short of the Cape figure. In Swellendam (for which figures are only available from 1748), the male burger population increased from 176 in 1748 to 597 in 1788, and in that same year the first census revealed that there were already 706 male

burgers in Graaff-Reinet.³⁹

Statistical evidence confirms what the structural analysis of class factors strongly suggests, namely, that the western Cape land-holding class, by dominating the good arable land, were able to keep it within their ranks and thus compelled the growing population of burgers and their families either to find some living in the town or to move east and north.

Clearly, though, not all the farms in the western districts were substantial. There were poor and unsuccessful farmers too, though we do not know how many of them stayed there, or went to the town, or moved out towards the periphery. But, what is certain is that it was from amongst these that the veeboere came, and later that question will be examined in more detail. Those who did not trek, either took service with the big farmers or, as Mentzel noted in the 1730s became "... blacksmiths, wagon-builders, tailors, bootmakers, carpenters and thatchers, or they kept a general dealer's and wine shop".⁴⁰ And it was amongst such skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled workers that the greatest degree of inter-marriage or concubinage with free or unfree slavesses or Khoi or 'Bastaard' women took place, and hence it would have been at those middle levels that the most acculturation and mixing took place. What shaped all these trends was not colour, but class. What complicated them was culture.

39. Figures from Beyers: Op.cit., Bylaag,H. The figures are probably lower than the actual numbers.

40. O.F.Mentzel: Description,III,p.44.

Mentzel was quick to note how poverty increased - outwardly at least - as one travelled inland. But the contrast was brought out most sharply by Sparrman, who, on one of his many trips, travelled to Paarl. On the way he found two farms, close to each other. One was clearly poor, with the house "...plastered up in a slovenly manner with clay, a heap of dirty scabby children, a female slave dragging after her a heavy iron chain fastened to one of her legs poverty dwelt in her house".⁴¹ But close by was the farm of Mr M "... who was said to be able to give each of his daughters four thousand guilders on their marriage".⁴² Further inland again, beyond the Swellendam area he found mainly cattle farms, "... where they have no other servants than Hottentots, (and) the children of the Christians frequently learn the Hottentot language more easily, and before they learn Dutch".⁴³

The contrast was noted too by Stavorinus, who was informed that "... the farthest settlers, who reside 30 or 40 days' journey from Cape Town, more resemble Hottentots than the posterity of Europeans ...".⁴⁴ On the other hand, near the Cape at the Tiger Valley he described the farm of Melk in 1774. "It lies among the mountains, upon the gentle declivity of a high ridge, and on the banks of a running stream, which he has led, along his farm, between the brick walls, like a canal, and which turns a watermill, for the purpose of grinding his own corn. His dwelling place, which

41. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.62.

42. Ibid., I, p.64.

43. Ibid., I, p.228. (This was in the Riet Valley area).

44. Stavorinus: Op.cit., III, p.444. Interestingly, this was an 'Official' view of the inland farmers. It illustrates the status/class perspectives of the western ruling group.

was a considerable size, had four or five large and handsome rooms
.... so that it more resembled a gentleman's villa than the mansion
of a farmer. Twenty-five, or thirty, paces from the corners of the
house, he had four large barns ... in which he housed his corn and
wine He had a blacksmith's and carpenters' workshop, and a
cartwright's manufactory, together with other workpeople But
few of them were European, the largest number were oriental slaves,
who had cost him a great deal of money A little higher up,
stood a range of buildings, calculated for slaves, of whom he ^{had} full
two hundred ...".⁴⁵

At the very end of the century Percival noted a feature
of Cape landed society which others before him had also observed,
and indeed which applied to Adriaan van der Stel. There was some
absentee farming. Referring to 'Wineberg' (about 7 miles from the
Town), he wrote that some of the houses and plantations of the
principal Dutchmen were there. (He probably meant there and in the
neighbouring Constantia). "Some of these colonists have residences
in town, and live here merely to enjoy the ease and retirement of
a country life ...".⁴⁶

Not all the voeboere further inland were poor, as we shall
see, and some operated enormous ranches, some of which Lichtenstein
was later to say were like "a state in miniature". Such was the
rich rancher, Laubscher, near Saldanha Bay who "... maintained a
sort of patriarchal household, of which some idea may be formed

45. Ibid., II, pp. 61-3.

46. Percival: Op.cit., p. 140.

by stating that the stock of the farm consisted of 80 horses, 690 head of horned cattle, 2,470 sheep and an immense quantity of poultry of all kinds. The family itself, including masters, servants, hottentots, and slaves, consisted of 105 persons, for whose subsistence the patriarch had to provide daily.⁴⁷ The important point that emerges here is that this farmer - as with the few others like him - was able to maintain his position because, relative to other veeboere much further inland, he was closer to the market and hence more easily obtained cloth, linen, hats, tea, coffee, sugar, spices, and other raw materials like iron, pitch and rosin.⁴⁸

It is clear from Lichtenstein's account that as one moved east and north at the end of the 18th century, so the geography, political economy and representative features of associated social structure and social relations changed. At Eerste Rivier (near Stellenbosch) he found the typical large wine farm as discussed above, complete with retinue of slaves and providing its own masons, cabinet-makers, tailors and other skills. Moreover, the farmer was close enough to the Town to make it convenient "... for the sale of his productions".⁴⁹ A little to the north at Wagenmakers Vallei (Wellington) he found fertile land with a climate well suited to fruit-growing, which it 'exports' to the town, and also some wine. There was a sizeable Huguenot population there.⁵⁰ Further north still at Roodezand (Tulbagh) there was little evidence of vines,

47. Lichtenstein: Op.cit.,p.57.

48. Ibid.,p.58. "'Tis only through the medium of these wants that a colonist is connected with the rest of the world".

49. Ibid.,II,pp.138-9.

50. Ibid.,II,p.120.

fruit or cattle, but the grain grown there was "... considered the best in the whole country". The inhabitants there had frequent contact with Cape Town and "... have more of civilization than the distant colonists".⁵¹ Finally, to the far north and then running east along the mountains in the Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, Nieuweveldbergen, Sneeuwbergen and elsewhere he located very different kinds of small-scale ranching-based societies. They are left to the next chapter.

Having examined the role of Khoi and slave labour in the political economy of Cape society as a whole, and having dealt above with the structure and spread of the western wine and grain farmers - especially the dominant élite - it is now appropriate to turn in and back towards the Town, to look at its social structure and the flow of its social life, and to identify the links between it and the surrounding western agricultural area.

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There are two central facts for our purposes here. The first is that the Town produced very little, if anything, that contributed to the material wealth of the Colony. This had direct implications for its social structure and political life. In the final analysis it was a market and an exchange. For the rest, it attempted to provide some services for the surrounding districts and to sell whatever it could to the passing fleets. Burgers jostled with each other to gain an advantage in buying cheap and selling dear, especially to the Dutchmen and foreigners who flowed through the port in waves to and from the East. Moreover, the burgers took

51. Ibid., I, p. 176.

in each other's washing, or got their slaves to do so. But in the main they had to live by taking a slice of the limited colonial cake by acting as middlemen between the producers of the country and the consumers from the fleets. There was no free market. The general principle which applied with more or less strictness over the whole period was that the retail trade in most items produced on the farms, or the performance of services, was controlled by a system of licenses or monopoly rights. They were bid for at auctions, or (in the case of services like bread-making) granted by the Council of Policy on request via a Memorial. In general, moreover, while the prices for the sale of raw produce and consumer foodstuffs to the Company and local population were fixed, that was not the case for foreigners and individual deals with sailors and soldiers on the passing fleets.⁵² This tendency to fleece the visitors was well-known amongst those who plied the eastern trade and was commented upon by most visitors.

The general principle which applied across the board was that permission had to be sought and obtained before any entrepreneurial activity could be undertaken anywhere in the colony. It was a principle which was there from the start, though not always enforcable or enforced. Thus, under van Riebeeck there are examples, for instance, of two V.O.C. servants - bakers - being given their burger papers to work as bakers provided that they sold a stipulated amount of bread to the V.O.C. (at a stipulated price), and provided they had nothing to do with the innkeepers. Given the fulfillment

52. See for instance, Walker: History, pp.54-9. A clear description was also provided by Thunberg in his observations of the working of the wine, victual, meat and grain licences system. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, pp.298-300.

of these conditions they were granted a monopoly in the sale of "... white bread, small cakes, cracknels, or anything else that bakers make ...".⁵³ This principle became the procedure by which conditional burger entry to the Cape economy was often achieved. And it did not apply only to selling bread or thatching houses. It covered all forms of enterprise. Thus in 1657, Jan Vetteinan had sought and obtained permission to practice as a surgeon, and also to open a public house and lodgings house.⁵⁴ Other examples will emerge later.

The second fact of the town society was, therefore, that its élite was made up of the senior officials, those burgers who gained, kept and prospered by holding various retail licenses (especially in respect of grain, wine, spirits and meat), and those who also had substantial landed interests, whether directly or through agents, relatives or underhand and illegally. In short, the urban élite overlapped with and in many respects was integrated with the dominant agricultural class in the colony. Some of the more affluent farmers had town houses as well; or, put another way, some senior 'Town Councillors' (as Valentyn described those who sat on the Council of Policy or other governing bodies) had material connections with the landed western class. During his visits to the Cape, the names of those who owned the more prestigious and substantial houses were often also those who had nearby estates or were connected with those who did; some were officials, or once had been, others were not. Thus there appear in his account names like Heems, Ten Damme, Touman, Hattung, the fiscal Blesius, Hendrik Bouman, Richter, Helot, van der Heijden, Pythius (an inn-keeper with useful connections),

53. Journal, III, pp. 158-9, entry for 3rd December, 1659.

54. Ibid., II, pp. 193-8, entry for 7th December, 1657.

Oortmans and others. If they were not officials, or had not been once, or were not on the various official bodies, they held large estates or had married widows or heiresses who did, or a combination of them. Once the colony had reached agricultural self-sufficiency there were no other major outlets for its produce. Thus in general, those who had initially established their control over the main means and sources of production, towards the end of the 17th century and early in the 18th century, kept it and handed it on to their heirs. Referring to some of the urban well-to-do, Mentzel observed in the 1730s that in the town there was also a small group who could be termed 'capitalists' ("nachtwerkers"). He said they "... derive their income from lending money on interest upon most advantageous conditions". They charged about 6%, and amongst them were people who lived in the town but also had country estates. The latter were worked by their slaves and managed by overseers or foremen.⁵⁵ What we have here is a ruling class, defined in its classic way as those who owned and controlled the means of production, in this instance, labour. They were supplemented and aided by direct access to local political power, and in time there was an elision of political power and dominance. Moreover, they married within the class and, in virtue of their power and wealth, had no problems in drawing into, and keeping within, their ranks the daughters of less successful members of the population. On the assumption that such men would have preferred women of their own cultures, religion and language - and

55. O.F.Mentzel: A Description ...II,p.85. He was well-placed to know.

language - and were able, because of their positions, to get them, or be got by them, (as a later illustration will show) - one can see how at that end of the social structure the power of class coincided with the preference of culture, in the formation of a corporate group.

Thus, during the 18th century it must have been almost impossible to make it to the top of the socio-economic and political structure without the possession of an estate, or a connection with a family that owned one, or via manipulation of official influence or power. The small colonial élite - though split internally and dramatically at times between those who were 'in' with a current set of officials (notably during Adriaan van der Stel's period), and those who were not - constituted the colonial ruling class, whose wealth derived directly or indirectly from their large estates, or who - as senior officials - earned substantial salaries and enjoyed the perks of office, and the status that went with it.⁵⁶

Thus, to argue that the Cape Town burgers, the officials, the settled agriculturalists and the cattle farmers of the frontier districts were distinct and unconnected categories is seriously to misunderstand the nature of the small but tight structure of the colonial political economy and the socio-political relationships which cemented the dominant class.⁵⁷ Of course, not all officials were corruptly implicated to the extent that van der Stel and his clique became; of course not all the burgers of the town had close lateral links with, or involvement in the substantial western farms;

56. Valentyn gives salaries relating to the various officials' grades and the "... many un-named perquisites ..." ('buitenvoordelen zonder naam'). Valentyn: Op:cit.,II,pp.251-3.

57. C.F.J.Müller: "The Transition,1795-1806",p.83.

of course not all the latter were linked with one faction or another among the officials or their relatives; of course there were important and significant differences between the veeboere and the townsmen. The dominant colonial élite was a small minority, and a very small one. That is precisely the point. For that is one of the main characteristics of a small colonial ruling class, controlling the major factors of production (land and labour) and either dominating or having direct access to the state machinery, and also enjoying high social esteem. This was true not only in relation to the other less successful burgers, but the population as a whole in the slowly unfolding and articulating colonial social structure, and especially in relation to the cheap free and unfree labour on whom they depended, ultimately, for the creation of the wealth. Thus conflict within the dominant group was more or less irrelevant to the lives of the majority of the population and to that extent they were rarely actively involved in those disputes, as we shall see.

It is worth recording that Mentzel identified these broad features of colonial social structure as early as the 1730s, and that Lichtenstein confirmed this picture at the start of the 19th century in a history of the Cape which he sketched out before his death and which was published only recently. Mentzel wrote: "Nobody can deny that there are rich farmers ... But anyone who imagines that all African farmers are rich and live like European noblemen would be greatly mistaken". He noted some of the prosperous free burgers of the town had "... one or more" country farms, and that they employed knechte to oversee their estates. Others, who had done well, lived on their estates. But the majority were not these.⁵⁸ Lichtenstein

58. O.F.Mentzel: Op.cit., III, pp.98-112, and II, pp.100-107; and his Life at the Cape, passim.

wrote: "Of the inhabitants in the settlement next to the Castle here the upper class also owns land. Others are small traders or shopkeepers. There are some butchers, bakers, fishermen, and some craftsmen such as smiths, waggonmakers, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors and shoemakers. But the majority earn their living by giving board and lodging to the foreigners who arrive here".⁵⁹

Thus it is to the majority of townspeople that attention must now turn. They were the ordinary burgers, passing V.O.C. soldiers and sailors (and those of other nationalities when the Netherlands was in alliance with their governments, like the French in the early 1780s), temporary employees of the Company stationed at the Cape (like Volquardt Iversen, mentioned earlier), slaves, slavesses, 'Bastaards' and - decreasingly in the 18th century - Khoi (qua Khoi) labourers.

The town looked good from a distance: "The houses in the town are thatched with reeds for the most part, but are so clean, so white, that one sees they are Dutch", observed de Choisy in 1685.⁶⁰ That was a view shared by Abraham Bogaert who called at the Cape in 1702.⁶¹ In reply to questions by Commissioner van Hoorn in 1710, Governor van Assenburg declared that the total population of the colony was 3,698, of whom 'fully five hundred' lived at the Cape and that there were 155 houses which paid 'Watch-money'.⁶² When Sparrman was at the Cape he found 'handsome' houses in the town - "... two stories high at the most; the greater part of them are stuccoed and

59. W.H.C.Lichtenstein: Foundation of the Cape Colony, p.54. This sketched history was only discovered recently in the West Berlin State Archives and translated and edited by O.H.Spohr.

60. R.Raven-Hart: Cape Good Hope, II, p.266.

61. Ibid., II, p.479.

62. Cited in Valentyn: Op.cit., II, p.239. In 1714 he counted 354 buildings. he said they were mainly brick-built and were usually one-storeyed
(continued on next page)....

white-washed on the outside ...".⁶³ And right at the end of the 18th century, Barrow stated that Cape Town "... consisted of 1,145 dwelling-houses, inhabited by about 5,500 whites and people of colour, and ten thousand blacks".⁶⁴ A feature of the town - which was also something common, given the 18th century interest in natural science, expressed too in Indische culture in the East - was the botanical gardens. Most visitors to the Cape commented on it and the careful collection of flora (and fauna) were noted and described with enthusiasm. As with so many other Cape institutions, the Gardens were tended and guarded "... by a large number of slaves ..." under a Master-Gardener and Under-Gardener.⁶⁵

In the previous chapter some of the typical routes of mobility into burger status from V.O.C. employment were described from the biographies of the Germans at the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries. And earlier in this chapter the slow but steady growth of the Cape male burger population, by contrast with that of Stellenbosch, was pointed out. The overall population of burgers, their wives, children and knechte for the Cape district (which was mainly constituted by the town), when compared to the growth of the total slave population (adults and children) was like this:⁶⁶

62. (continued from previous page) and thatched. Ibid., I, p.79. The 'Watch-money' was a tax paid by householders to contribute to the wage of the Night Watchmen who patrolled the Town. That stemmed from 1686. See C.G.Botha: Collected Works, I, pp.306-7.

63. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.10.

64. Barrow: Op.cit., II, p.342.

65. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, p.111, ff.

66. Based on Beyers: Op.cit., Bylaag H., and Barrow: Op.cit., II, p.342.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Cape District Slaves</u>	<u>Cape District Burgers and Families</u>
1706	719	780
1713	1,007	724
1723	1,958	1,131
1738	3,369	1,803
1753	3,537	2,483
1768	4,121	2,757
1783	5,792	3,340
1793	7,331	3,676
1797	11,891	6,261 ('Christians', according to Barrow)

During the 18th century, that is, the slave population steadily increased over and above that of the burgers and their families in the Town and its immediate environment which made up the Cape District, distinct from Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Swellendam. The mode of entry to burger status was, as we have seen, a conditional one. One applied for permission to become a burger and one indicated what kind of work one intended to do. From the Requesten (and Hoge's Personalialia, for instance), one can see how, over the period, men moved into a variety of more or less specialized jobs or enterprises, or simply obtained burger papers, entitling the applicant to farm, or offer his labour to others. One of the most common requests was for permission to open 'branch taps', that is public houses in and around the Town, where wine, liquor or locally brewed beer could be sold.⁶⁷ But the general run of the mill requests are illustrated by the unusually interesting Memorial of Johannes Cuijperman who "... arrived here as a soldier in 1693 ...

67. See for instance, Requesten, I, p. 67, entry for 1735/6, and I, p. 140, entry for 1783.

Entered into loan service with Henning Huising as servant and superintendent of his cattle in Groene Kloof till 1706; had then received his discharge and proceeded with Huising to Holland. In 1708 he had returned with Huising ... and again became his loan servant. In 1711 Johannes van der Heijden took him over from Huising to be servant and superintendent of his cattle in the Groene Kloof. A few months ago van der Heijden had brought him back to the Castle to serve again as a soldier; but as he is unable under the circumstances to provide for his wife and child, he begs the Council to discharge him and give him burger papers".⁶⁸ Men like that had little chance of escaping their subordinate class position. There are countless Memorials of that kind, such as that of Hendrik Ginsen who sought permission "... to become an agriculturalist ..." in 1695⁶⁹; or that of Martin Melk who asked for burger papers in 1750, having arrived as a soldier in 1746⁷⁰; or that by Barbara Meijburg - a widow - who asked permission to open a baker's shop⁷¹; or Philip Jacob Mack, who had arrived as a soldier in 1760 and, being a cooper, sought burger papers in 1766.⁷² By this means, in the 18th century, men and (fewer) women entered the town economy as independent burgers pursuing a variety of small trades or crafts such as masons, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, smiths, glaziers, confectioners, cabinet-makers, wagon-drivers, wagon-makers, surgeons, joiners, horse-curriers, coopers, painters, watchmakers, wigmakers, brickmakers, thatchers, silversmiths, prospectors and whale-blubber

68. Ibid., I, p. 232. Request No. 39, of 1715.

69. Ibid., II, p. 472. Request No. 41, of 1733/4.

70. Ibid., II, p. 753. Request No. 48, of 1750. Melk is the exception that proves the rule: he did very well in the end.

71. Ibid., II, p. 758. Request No. 101, of 1758.

72. Ibid., II, p. 744. Request No. 71, of 1776.

collectors - to mention but some of the trades that were sought.⁷³
Few of these were producers, and most were offering services to the Company, to each other, to the farmers and the passing fleets.

Given a situation of effective economic closure - the best land was occupied and monopolized by the western ruling class, no free trade was permitted and the possibilities of commercial expansion thus almost nil - the burgers resorted to every possible means of ensuring their material survival. As will later emerge under the question of their political relations with the V.O.C., the burden of their complaints hinged on the tightness of the regulations which governed their commercial life. But they got little change out of the Company. The implications for social structure of this were that they attempted to maximize their gains wherever and however they could by cheating the Company, fleecing the visitors and particularly by making as sure as they could that only the most limited upward social mobility took place into the free burger ranks, and hence competition kept to the minimum compatible with natural increase. Immigration was discouraged by the burgers. It has already been suggested that the formal procedures, at least, for manumission, tightened up over the 18th century and hence the large pool of slave labour swelled and ballooned at the bottom end of the social structure.

In day-to-day terms the majority of burgers had to struggle to survive. Some, as will emerge in the next chapter, who could not make it, began to join the slow tide of people that was edged to the periphery. Others dropped down into the ranks of a drifting lumpen-

73. Ibid., passim.

proletariat, meeting and mixing with detached Khoi, poor Free Blacks and the sailors and soldiers of the fleets, all living off their wits and what little they could earn in casual jobs. Those social relations in the 18th century town will be examined shortly. What needs to be borne in mind is that, given these material constraints, it is not surprising that the economic behaviour and ideology of the 18th century burgers of the Town developed in the way it did: they became, it was said, in general, grasping and mean, quarrelsome and deeply conscious of fine gradations in status. Such generalizations may be simplistic, but the sheer volume of comments of this kind about the Cape seem to support the argument.

Many therefore had other part-time sources of income, some legal and some not. From early in the history of the town there was smuggling and illicit dealing in liquor, and repeatedly the Governor had to issue orders forbidding it, as in 1673, 1676, and 1708; and again 1783 and 1790.⁷⁴ Complaints by the licensed wine-sellers that heavy smuggling was going on "... especially among the boarding-house keepers who in that way make a good profit ..." were frequent.⁷⁵ The licensed bakers complained too in 1727, for instance, that "... certain Burghers and Chinese (sic) were in the habit of sending their boys about the streets to sell different sorts of cakes ..." and the memorialists prayed that this should be forbidden lest it cause their business 'great injury'.⁷⁶ Other burgers

74. Journal 1671-4 & 6, p.170; and the entry for 25th June, 1676; and Journal 1699-1723, p.159, entry for 4th February, 1708. Other instances of this may be found towards the end of the 18th century, in 1783 and again in 1790. Requesten, II, p.703 and I, pp.199-208.

75. Journal 1699-1723, p.159, entry for 4th February, 1708. And in September 1707 the burger masons requested that V.O.C. servants ought no long be permitted "... to do any mason work during extra hours, as that was prejudicial to the free masons". Ibid., p.135 entry for 6th September, 1707. Almost everyone who could, offered board and lodging to visitors. This was a rather different side of the 'hospitality' coin.

76. See next page.

illegally bought the clothing which the V.O.C. gave twice a year to the slaves, and then sold it.⁷⁷ In 1717 the V.O.C. had to forbid the licensed butchers from selling meat at more than the stipulated prices.⁷⁸ And in 1727 a plakkaat forbade the private sale and importation of tobacco.⁷⁹ The officials of the V.O.C. were not without a characteristic tightness and mean-ness, given their constrained circumstances and the pressure on them from Amsterdam or Batavia to keep costs low. In a letter to the foreman in charge of the slaves and convicts on Robben Island, an official noted the death there of "... the slave convict Ary, of Bengal, (which) has relieved us from a useless eater, but you might have taken his irons off before burying him, they could have been used again".⁸⁰ These are the signs of men and women brought up with a very close eye on the profit and loss columns in a context of marginal economic expansion, and considerations of that order were dominant features of the Cape colonial ideology throughout the 18th century, as many of the visitors noted sourly.

The burgers of the Town acquired a bad reputation amongst passing fleets from as early as the last quarter of the 17th century. For example, Elias Hesse, who was at the Cape for a month in 1683,

76. (from previous page). Requesten, I, p.60, No.4, of 1727.

77. Journal 1699-1723, p.188. Plakkaat of 23rd April, 1709.

78. Ibid., pp.271-2.

79. Ibid., p.307, dated 9th April, 1727.

80. Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, p.396. Dated 5th December, 1708.

said that they⁸¹

pretty well emptied my purse of the money brought from the Indies ... since it is very costly to eat at the Cape, and those inhabitants or Freemen who seek their sustenance from the ships arriving, know well ... how to gain from them what they own. Here only money is regarded ...

That was a view endorsed throughout the 18th century and it was readily observed how all and every kind of fiddle and dodge was used to increase income. Dampier commented on it in 1703.⁸²

Kolbe declared that the 'multitudes of Europeans at the Cape' lived "... loose immoral lives". Some even bought the 'filthy and loathsome butter of the 'Hottentots' and had "... the art of purging it of its filth, and making it look pretty like the butter of Europe. The greatest part of it, so cleansed, they sell to some Masters of ships and to others who know no better, for Butter of their own milk, making a great profit".⁸³ Valentyn, as was noted earlier, thought a large number of the burgers were 'evil' in respect of lodgings charges.⁸⁴ Mentzel was even blunter, saying, on the basis of his stay there in the 1730s, that "... the fact remains that every man in the town, be he free burgher, or officials ... or free worker, yea, even a common soldier, is at the same time a huckster and a trader".⁸⁵ He noted that burgers sought and obtained permission to sell small items of food to the ill in the hospital, and these included such things as "... omellettes, pancakes, a kerri-kerri prepared with fish, jams and preserves, some fruits like guavas and Karre-milk (butter-milk)...".⁸⁶

81. Raven-Hart: Op.cit., II, p.250.

82. William Dampier: "A New Voyage round the world", p.124. He was at the Cape in 1691 and said there were about 50-60 houses then.

83. Kolbe: Op.cit., p.109 and p.172.

84. Valentyn: Op.cit., I, pp.205-9.

85. Mentzel: A Description ..., II, p.75.

86. Ibid., I, p.112.

The tight economic constraints of the colony is of course the context within which this behaviour must be placed and explained, and hence every means of increasing income and decreasing competition was pursued. As must now be clear, it was this economic structure which placed severe limits on social mobility. Mentzel noted moreover that yet another source of profit was "... the letting out of slaves for hire ..." while "... owners of carts and horses make money as coachmen, goods carriers, or wood sellers. This work, too, is usually done by slaves".⁸⁷ Given this situation, what incentive could there have been to manumit slaves?

Little had changed by the 1770s when Thunberg visited the Cape, even though his first few years there coincided with the presence of a large contingent of French troops. When his boat came to anchor "... a crowd of black slaves and Chinese (sic) came in their small boats to sell and barter, for clothes and other goods, fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit, all of which our crew were eager to procure". Once ashore Thunberg soon found what others before him had discovered:⁸⁸

Poets are said to be born so; but the Dutch here, and indeed all over the East-Indies, may be said to be born merchants; for in case the father does not trade, but carries on some handicraft business, his wife, daughter, or son must; and this is always done in a particular way of their own, and often without any regular system. There is scarce one regular merchant to be found; but everybody carries on a trade ...

Stavorinus found the same trait in the 'character' of the people - "the love of money".⁸⁹ Sparrman in the 1770s declared the townspeople to be "... indefatigable in their application to trade and

87. Ibid., II, pp. 89-91.

88. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, p. 99 and p. 117.

89. Stavorinus: Op.cit., III, p. 436.

everything that tends to their emolument ...", charging dearly for board and lodging or the hire of a horse and/or waggon. Conversation with a Cape physician became "... immeasurably more lively ..." when it turned to commerce and shipping.⁹⁰ And at the end of the century, Barrow declared that "... the minds of every class, the governor, the clergy, the fiscal and the secretary of the court of justice excepted, were wholly bent on trade (and) ... money matters and merchandize engross their whole conversation...".⁹¹

This behaviour, and the ideology which sanctioned and underpinned it, expresses precisely those values and strategies one would expect from a community which had in large measure been drawn from the Netherlands and which was sustained by ships and crews of the V.O.C. passing to and from there. Anything else would be surprising. Moreover, given that the Cape was a wine-producing district it follows that its sale and consumption would have been major commercial and social activities. Those burgers who aspired to respectability and identification with the élite nonetheless attempted to improve their circumstances by offering board and lodging, and they provided drink, often illegally. They may well have frowned on the wilder "... debauches and bacchanalia arranged

90. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.16 and pp.47-8.

91. Barrow: Op.cit., I, p.48. A man who successfully cheated was regarded as a 'slim mensch' (clever bloke). Ibid., II, p.103. Captain Robert Percival was at the Cape for 2½ months from August 1796, and later was there again in 1801. He arrived at False Bay, not Table Bay. On news of the arrival of a fleet there, he said, "... the Governor and two members of the Council posted down, and were followed by those Dutch gentlemen, who had houses there, to offer their habitation and taverns to the passengers; their pride being lulled asleep by the hope of gain. Percival: Op.cit., pp.50-1. In 1785, in the 'Hottentot-Holland' district, Josua Goubert asked permission to charge a toll on a road through du Toit's Kloof which he had built. Requesten, p.395. No.7, of 1785.

in inns, private houses and especially the Company's slave lodge
".⁹² But these latter were a major and central feature of
 social life in a sea-port. The officials did what their Instructions
 told them to do, and tried to control it somewhat. As early as
 1664 a Plakkaat was issued "... forbidding all Company's servants,
 especially sailors, soldiers and labourers, to proceed into the
 country, or go out into the forests on Sundays without consent, as
 they spend that day of the Lord in all kinds of dissipation...".⁹³
 Inns and pubs throughout the period remained open on Sundays (except
 during Services), though some control was imposed in 1756.⁹⁴ Yet
 from the 17th century and throughout the 18th century one must
 conceive of this dimension of Town social life as being bawdy, rich
 and quite free of considerations of colour consciousness. In that
 nexus of relations there was no plural society. The classic
 definition by Furnivall of such a society being one where the
 different groups "... mix but do not combine ..." makes no sense
 in respect of the fluid social life of the town, unless one places
 the most economistic definition on the nature of the 'buying and
 selling' of drink, food and sex between the participants meeting
 only in a 'social' market place.⁹⁵ In passing, this illustrates a
 development which needs to be made in respect of the conception of
 plural societies and the dissolution of their corporate sections.

92. E.C.Godée-Molsbergen: "Some Remarks on the White population
 of the Cape before the arrival of the Huguenots", p.397.

93. Journal 1662-70, p.137. Entry for 17th January, 1664.

94. G.C.Botha: Collected Works, I, p.164. By contrast with this, it
 is worth noting that it was possible for one to be charged and
 convicted for selling groceries on Sundays in the 1950s.

95. J.S.Furnivall: Colonial Policy and Practice, pp.304-7.

While economic growth can - at one end - act to dissolve some of the discontinuities, so too, in certain circumstances, can poverty act thus as a common demoninator within the framework of a common economic order. But that may be a special case.

At any rate, soldiers, sailors, burgers, V.O.C. employees, slaves and slavesses drank and gambled together, not only at taverns but at private houses. There is evidence both for early and late in the period, as two Plakkaats of 1658 and 1771 indicate.⁹⁶ In 1670 there were already 20 taverns in the Town, and instructions were issued to reduce the number.⁹⁷ The Slave Lodge was a well-known brothel - and a large one - as has already been mentioned. It was confirmed by Beeckman, for instance, who visited the Cape in 1714 and who rightly suggested that it was "... connived at by the Government...".⁹⁸ Commenting more generally on the inhabitants of the Town, George Schmidt, who started mission work amongst the Western Cape Khoi between 1737-1741, wrote that "The impiety is very great in this country, a real devil of drinking reigns Most people mock at me, but I take no heed, they do not know what they are doing".⁹⁹

In 1752 there were 6 public houses so close to the church and the slave lodge (which were within a stone's throw of each other) that the Burger Councillors feared lest fires break out and,

96. V. de Kock: Those in Bondage, pp.90-91.

97. Valentyn: Op.cit., II, p.189.

98. Daniel Beeckman: "A Voyage to Borneo in 1714", p.114. In 1757 Johann Jurgen Sets, a burger-cooper was fined 200 Rixdollars for keeping 'a kind of brothel'. Hoge: Personalia, Op.cit., p.392.

99. B.Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms, p.19.

in the raging south-easterly winds, destroy the town. Referring to the pubs they complained: "In these places all sorts of excesses are being committed by the low-class Europeans and slaves when under the influence of drink". There was a fire hazard because they walked about with blazing logs and "... coals of fire from one tap to another". They requested that any further pubs should be opened only away from that area.¹⁰⁰

Such then was the structure and tone of Town life. A small but powerful élite, merged with the senior officials and the western landholders to form the dominant class. They were defined by their control of the major economic resources, their access to the sources of political power and their cultural homogeneity. The class sustained itself by intermarriages within its ranks, or by the advantages which its power and wealth gave it in respect of drawing women up into it. There was a steadily growing burger population, and amongst its aspirant upper sections "... greater formality (governed) the interchange of visits among the ladies. Among them social distinctions are sharply graded".¹⁰¹ That stratum modelled itself on the life-style of the élite, and the sumptuary laws gave precision to the gradings. But most burgers lived by some kind of trade, commerce and brokerage, doing something on the side - like keeping boarding-houses - and providing some services. There was a fluctuating *mélée* of V.O.C. sailors, soldiers and employees - almost always bachelors - who swirled through the Town for various

100. Requesten, I, p.85. No.68, of 1752.

101. O.F.Mentzel: Op.cit., II, p.107. By the mid-18th century, all members of the Council of Policy were married to burgers' daughters. Spilhaus.: South Africa ..., Op.cit., pp.105-6.

lengths of time. And there was a substantial (and always numerically preponderant) population of V.O.C. and private slaves and slavesses (the latter in the minority, and, of the total slave number in 1715 some 10% were 'Malays',¹⁰²) who did most of the heavy labour and much of the skilled work for the burgers, V.O.C. and farmers. As the 18th century wore on there were fewer and fewer Khoi, qua Khoi, in the urban population though, as Mentzel noted in the 1730s, there was already a "very small mixed class - the mestizzos ...".¹⁰³

However a group of Khoi women prostitutes seem to have hung around town pubs and hostelries, and led 'scandalous and provocative' lives. A decree prohibiting their living on their own or frequenting public houses was issued by the Council in 1755. It appears to have had little effect in the seaport and was again officially commented on in 1786.¹⁰⁴

Despite the boisterous and bawdy social life of the town, (which in respect of its lack of piety, for instance, was not unique in the colony as a whole), the fact remains that the limited scope for economic growth and expansion, the relatively fixed structure of class relations, and the growing population all converged to generate various demographic and social forces. One feature of this was that class mobility was minimal; unless one was lucky or well-connected in the 18th century, one tended to stay in the class situation which defined the condition of one's entry to the society.

102. I.D.du Plessis: The Cape Malays, p.3.

103. Mentzel: Op.cit.,II,p.100. This 'class' was to grow.

104. J.Hoge: "Miscegenation in South Africa in the 17th and 18th Centuries", p.107.

Likewise, the distance at the class extremes in terms of cultural differences was only very gradually eroded, though it was more fluid at the middle levels. Another consequence, as will be examined in the next chapter, was that the less successful began to trek towards the north and east, as ranching emerged as a real alternative. Part of the explanation of that movement consists in the fact that as male burgers were forced downwards - and then outwards, as it were - they, and others who stayed, were necessarily involved in hypogamous social relations with manumitted slavesses, female 'Bastaards' and Khoi women. The converse of that - which must be looked at in structural terms here - was female hypergamy. It was probably the one major exception to the relatively static structure of the plural society at the Cape.

In turning to examine this process which facilitated upward social movement by many females of all groups, and hence some downward mobility by some males in most groups, there are three central points to be made. First, hypergamy and hypogamy presuppose a given hierarchy of value and rank.¹⁰⁵ The main features of this have already been spelt out. At the Cape this was constituted by the convergence at the extremes of the class dominance of the élite with its distinctive culture and hence its preferences, and the subordinate position of slaves and Khoi with their cultures. Colour was an incidental factor. Secondly, class position was

105. The best short theoretical account of hypergamy in culturally complex societies is by P.L.van den Berghe: "Hypergamy, hypergenation and miscegenation". In his discussion of these matters, van den Berghe has coined the phrase, 'Hypergenation' to refer to upwardly mobile concubinage relations since, strictly speaking, hypergamy only applies to marital relations. I use hypergamy and hypogamy to refer to all such relationships, both marital and extra-marital. A sensitive discussion of hypergamy and hypogamy in the context of the Indian caste system is in L.Dumont: Homo Hierarchicus. See also P.L.van den Berghe: Race and Racism, ch.V.

identified by the status of the males, and throughout the period there was also a predominance of males over females in all groups, except possibly the Khoisan, though there were not many males in the upper class. Thus, thirdly, males from higher positions in the structurally plural society were able to take women from their own stratum, or they had to 'extract' them from class and status positions below them. The 'lower' down the structure they were, the greater the cultural distance there would also have been. Since there were more males than females, and since the western landed and urban upper class was small, they were able to take the most eligible women from their own cultural group and hence sustain it in class and cultural terms. Since there were fewer females overall, this meant that - in highly schematic terms - a constant 'slope' was built into these Cape social relations, so that most women married up. Conversely, the rest of the males took women who were also either from the same socio-cultural group as themselves, or they married down.

Now and again some few men married 'up' - for example into the small western landed class, as was shown earlier in the case of Rev. Bek. But generally, the less successful or less prosperous men in every stratum had to marry 'down' the 'slope' or enter more or less stable concubinage relations with such women, or remain single. There are countless examples of 'European' men marrying manumitted slavesses and female 'Bastaards'. But there are very few cases of them marrying Khoi women, though illicit unions and casual and exploitative sexual encounters were common and widespread. There were, by comparison, very few instances of 'European' women marrying or cohabiting with manumitted slaves or Khoi, for they were

effectively able to choose men from their own class (or higher), and those men, in general, turned out also to be of their own culture and language. Thus, too, since many hundreds of slavesses were 'extracted' by 'Europeans', and since there were far fewer slavesses anyway, male slaves often formed unions with Khoisan women, and this was widely noted. Since many Khoisan men were killed in warfare it would be tempting to speculate - if only for the sake of the symmetry of the 'slope' - that Khoisan women not only chose and were able to move 'up', but were forced to. But it was bound to have been far more complex, random and far less neatly structured than this suggests.

It is important to stress that this overall pattern of hypergamy and hypogamy did not result solely from the imbalance of the sex-ratios in the various groups. It needs also to be causally related to the forces which operated in the structurally plural order which combined cultural and class dominance and subordination at the two extremes. This meant that there was both opportunity and incentive for women to move 'up'. Furthermore, once the males in the dominant class had taken most of the available women they needed from the upper or middle levels of the social structure, other males were compelled to find women from lower down the social ladder, at least in class terms, for some may well have chosen women from different cultures. The imbalance remained, but decreasingly so, over the 18th century and thus the process continued at the Cape and was carried into the interior.

TABLE III¹⁰⁶

<u>Sex ratios at the Cape. Males per thousand females</u>								
<u>Year</u>	<u>1718</u>	<u>1728</u>	<u>1738</u>	<u>1748</u>	<u>1758</u>	<u>1768</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1788</u>
Colony Total	2008	1742	1618	1657	1564	1523	1809	1444
Cape District	1915	1915	1444	1418	1490	1358	1429	1215
Stellenbosch	2177	2176	2023	2612	1631	1951	2056	1525 } *
Drakenstein	2082	2082	1732	1725	1595	1565	1513	
Swellendam	-	-	-	2071	1669	1661	1607	1544
Graaff-Reinet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1617

* (The figures for Stellenbosch and Drakenstein from 1788 were taken together when the Districts were merged into one, and the male figures include knechte.)

There is no way of counting the number of casual sexual encounters nor, more significantly, counting accurately the number of births resulting from those encounters within the colony as a whole over the period. But no-one seriously denies that such encounters were frequent and widespread, and very common between 'Europeans', female 'Bastaards', slavesses and Khoi women, and then increasingly amongst their offspring. Given the systematic predominance of male burgers and knechte over female burgers, given the context of the port and the tone of the town, and given that the Lodge was a brothel, this pattern was established early and must clearly have carried through to the periphery. Indeed, at a very early stage in the history of the settlement it was considered an idea to import female slaves from Angola, whom the 'agriculturalists'

106. Based on Beyers' figures. I am grateful to Mr R.Lavers of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of York for advice about the best way to express these figures accurately and for instructing me how to use the machines. The male figures include knechte.

(the first free burgers were usually called that) would marry so that they would then "... be nicely bound to the Cape for life, and be further accommodated with slaves on credit".¹⁰⁷ So, from the start nobody thought badly or uneasily about such matters. Moreover, as was pointed out in the last chapter, in 1671 Goske found that 75% of the children in the Lodge were 'half-breeds'. Simon van der Stel, on his mission to the Namaqua, had to order his men not to try to have 'carnal intercourse' with the Khoi women. In the following year a 'half-breed' woman appealed to the Council that "... under the promise of marriage she had borne ... four children ..." to one of the V.O.C. sergeants, and that he would now "... not contribute anything towards their support ...". The Council admonished him sharply, compelling him to pay up and declaring that he would never be permitted to marry anyone else.¹⁰⁸ But such an appeal and consequent formal intervention by the authorities was rare. The evidence about such encounters is strong, and continued to be so throughout the 18th century - and beyond.¹⁰⁹

The problem lies much more in the question of marriages and stable concubinage and - given the extraordinary South African preoccupation with genetic history, 'race-composition' and blood-purity - the 'race composition' (rassesamestelling) of the Afrikaners.¹¹⁰ In current social and political reality it is an important question and, for many, a critical one. The genealogical debate will never

107. Letters Despatched, 1649-1662, II, p.295. To the Seventeen, 5th March, 1657.

108. Theal: Abstracts, p.225. Entry for 1st July, 1686. There is also a recent short article by K.A.Jordaan: "The Origins of the Afrikaners", which surveys some of these points.

109. See Godée-Molsbergen: Op.cit.; R.Ross: Op.cit.; J.A.Heese: Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867; D.F.Du Toit Malherbe: Stamregister; P.L.van den Berghe: "Miscegenation in South Africa"; Anon: "The Origins and incidence of Miscegenation at the Cape"; George Findlay: Miscegenation; J.L.M.Franken: Taalhistoriese Bydraes, and especially "Die Taal van die Slawekinders"; M. Valkhoff: Op.cit.; and K.A.Jordaan: Op.cit. Also, Hoge: Op.cit.,

110. See next page.

finally be resolved because the evidence is incomplete, and there are many other problems, as Ross has carefully pointed out.¹¹¹

But the most deceptive problem of all arises from the fact that many of the genealogical accounts impose on the evidence a system of classification which derives from current social realities and preoccupations, and which simply does not tally with 17th and 18th century concerns, categories and principles of inclusion and exclusion.¹¹² For example, we have seen earlier how reference was made to the rights of a child which inhered "in the right of the father". Other demographic, social and economic factors acted gradually to change and constrain those 'rights'.¹¹³ Thus if, from a modern perspective, one defines the current group whose antecedents one wishes to trace as, for instance, "... Afrikaans - speaking whites in southern Africa ...", which is a cultural-cum-

110. (on previous page) This emerges most clearly in Heese: Op.cit.,passim; and D.F.Du Toit Malherbe: Op.cit.,passim.

111. Robert Ross: Op.cit.,passim. He points out, for instance, that there was substantial under-registration of births (and deaths) and that many women (18%) and men (21%) re-married. Many other relevant figures and data for the 17th and 18th centuries are either missing or not entirely reliable. Many unions were not solemnized and widescale concubinage took place. Ross, too, in his careful account, is concerned to ask questions about "... the 'whites' or Afrikaners in the Cape Colony in the eighteenth century". Ibid.,p.217. My concern about the constitution of the whole society is necessarily wider than that, but his material is useful and confirms a number of the arguments pursued here and elsewhere in wider terms. There were some interesting day-to-day puzzles which faced the officials as a result of the many sexual relationships. In 1714 there is an entry in the Journal which reads: "Here is a matter for natural philosophers to ponder. Today (Sunday) the Revd. d'Ailly baptized twins, of which one was fairly white and the other perfectly black. The reputed father was Pieter Daaldyn, and the mother Tamar of Madagascar, both are black". Journal,1699-1732, p.260. Entry for 16th July,1714.

112. Ross poses the question: What was meant by 'persons of European descent in the 18th century?' Ibid.,p.219. It's a good question.

113. For example, from a different perspective, Cruse says that in the 18th century illegitimate children took their mother's status and since most were slavesses, they remained slaves. H.P.Cruse: Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevoking, p.13.

'racial' definition, then one is likely to get one kind of answer.¹¹⁴ If, on the other hand, one were to ask about who composed, say, the Dutch and/or Creole-speaking population (Christian and non-Christian) at the end of the 18th century, (a cultural-cum-behavioural definition without 'colourist' implications), the answer would be radically different.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Heese finds the answer to his question as follows: by 1807 the composition of the ancestors of the 'Afrikaans-speaking whites in southern Africa' had been formed by a combination of 36.8% Dutch, 35.0% German, 14.6% French, 3.5% unknown, 2.6% 'other nationalities', 0.3% British, and 7.2% 'non-white'.¹¹⁵ Thus, if one assumes that all male burgers took concubines or married, then on Heese's evidence and its arrangement, one can conclude that there was only something like a

114. Heese: Op.cit.,p.1. In general, the smaller and more exclusive the definition of the current group whose antecedents one wants to trace, the larger will be the number of relations and relatives over time which will be discarded as not contributing to that select group. Hence, for example, Heese says that though there was much 'verbastering' (literally bastardizing) in the east, "Only where we have definite evidence that children from such extra-marital unions married whites (my emphasis,A.L.) is the coloured blood (sic) taken into the calculation". Ibid.,p.7. And broadly, one gets the answer one would expect. The genealogical detective work based on, and rechecking that of others before him is impressive. The amateur can only be amazed by the industry, yet puzzled about the intensity of the motivation. But an interesting contrast with Heese's formulation and definition of the group he was seeking to trace, is given by Cruse who rightly says that by 1750 there was a "... Hollandsprekende verskeidenheid van nie-blankes ...". (A Dutch-speaking variety of non-whites), consisting of 'detribalized Hottentots' in service with the whites, slaves in the possession of colonists and the 'halfbloed-bevolkingsdeel' ('half-blood' population). He says that they all spoke a 'sort of Dutch', lived in the same ways and places, had similar occupations and shared the culture and religion of the 'whites'. Cruse: Op.cit.,p.16. In that formulation, and the one by Heese, culture is common and the total cultural category is divided only by the imposition of a modern 'colour' classification. In the 18th century there was no such distinction and there was manifestly much cultural continuity between the 'white' and 'non-white' Afrikaners. Such distinctions were not reflected in the social reality as perceived by the 18th century inhabitants at the Cape.

115. Heese: Op.cit.,p.21.

7 per cent hypergamy rate of 'non-white' women over the whole period moving up into the 'white' category. To get it down to that figure, Heese has had to do some genealogically legitimate - though historically fancy - footwork, given his preoccupations and his starting point. He notes that there were many marriages between immigrants and slavesses in the 18th century - from Hoge's material alone one can tell that there were hundreds - and he points out that for those German immigrants with the surname beginning with 'S' alone, there were 81 such marriages. Only 3 such marriages, he argues, could have influenced the 'stock' of white Afrikaner 'blood'. "Die ander 78 kan beskou word as blankes wat daartoe bygedra het dat die hoeveelheid blanke bloed onder the huidige kleurlinge so hoog is".¹¹⁶ ('The other 78 may be regarded as whites who contributed to the high quantity of 'white blood' in the present coloured population!'). Given his question, Heese may well have come up with the nearest answer one may ever get to it. But it provides no sense - except when stood on its head - as to the pattern of social relations and the shape of the social structure in the 18th century.

If the figures in Table III above are examined, one quite straight-forward fact emerges. There were rarely, over the period, fewer than 3 male burgers to every 2 female burgers, and that probably already included some 'Free Blacks'. There were, often, times and places when and where males outnumbered females by two to one. But taking the lower figure - and allowing for the limitations in the data and the use of them here - one can reasonably argue

116. Ibid., p.14.

that, IF all male burgers took women, (and there is little reason to suppose that they didn't) then at least one-third must have taken non-burger women, either as wives or as concubines. And non-burger women were slavesses, 'Bastaards' or Khoi. Thus it is likely that such hypergamous/hypogamous relations in the reality of 18th century Cape society must have accounted for as many as (if not more than) 30% of such unions.¹¹⁷

In the Introduction to the second Edition of Malherbe's Stamregister, Dr H.F.Verwoerd wrote, "That the people remained white, in spite of the exceptional circumstances, is ... remarkable".¹¹⁸

117. Others give contrasting figures for different periods. The anonymous author of "Miscegenation at the Cape" suggested that, between 1700 and 1795, 'undeniably' 10% of all marriages at the Cape were 'mixed' ("... which is certain to err on the lower side".) The author also points out that European girls and the famous Dutch orphans of 1661 had no problems in making good and quick, upwardly mobile, marriages. Anon: Op. cit., pp.25-27. And M.Valkhoff: New Light on Afrikaans and 'Malayo-Portuguese', passim, and pp.83-4; Franken: Taal-historiese Bydraes, p.42. Though it often entailed exploitative aspects, the remarkably liberated and open sexual and social lives of the burgers and V.O.C. employees at the Cape is quite evident. According to Hoge, for instance, one of the V.O.C. constables was found in bed in the Fort with the Governor's slave-girl, in 1660. Soldiers and sailors and officers and burgers walked openly and publically with freed slavesses and other 'non-white' women "... as if they were married couples...". There was much concubinage. Hoge: "Miscegenation in South Africa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", pp.101-2. In 1678 an official Plakkaat was issued which prohibited men from keeping concubines: it had no effect whatsoever. See Jeffreys: Kaapse Plakkaatboek, Vol I, p.151. Plakkaat of 30th November/9th December, 1678. It is worth stressing that the puritanism and sexual guilt, especially in respect of cross-colour relations, is very much a modern phenomenon, notably in the 20th century of South Africa. It illustrates the powerful effects of political ideology and social pressure. It contrasts sharply with 17th and 18th century practice.

118. D.F.Du Toit Malherbe: Op.cit., v.

That is true, but partially so only. The real point to emphasize, if pigmentocratic categories must be used, is the remarkable fact rather that only some of the people remained 'white'. Likewise, when Ross writes that "... generation by generation ... the poorer and less well-connected members of the Christian community were pared off into the mass of 'non-white' underlings, for no doubt it was these people who were least able to acquire white wives", he identifies the trend in a different and more revealing way, though the concern about 'colour' probably does little justice to 18th century reality.¹¹⁹ What neither of the formulations stresses, however, is the context of social and demographic forces which pulled in opposite directions. A combination of female hypergamy and very slow acculturation amongst Khoi, slaves and emergent 'Bastaard' groups made for upward mobility, and the bare outlines of a 'non-racial' class society. But economic closure, strong cultural discontinuity at the extremes, male hypogamy and the powerfully restraining undertow of class forces combined to retain the main elements of the structurally plural features of the society at the end of the 18th century. Of the forces making for continuity and change, that is, the former were the stronger.

Whatever may have happened to them and their descendants, later and in the course of the 19th century and beyond, Asian, African and 'Bastaard' women were the legitimate and accepted wives of a significant section of the free burger population at the Cape in the 18th century and were fully part of the colonial society, though in general lodged towards the middle end of the overall social structure, as were their men. There is ample evidence to substantiate

119. Ross: Op.cit., p.230.

this and to support the notion of a hypergamy/hypogamy 'slope', though the main female categories that appear to have predominated were Asian or Cape-born slavesses, or 'mixed' female offspring. There were very few female African slaves. This confirms from a different perspective the view set out in an earlier chapter that (a) more Asian slaves were manumitted and (b) that the majority of them were females.

Moreover the powerful evidence of the linguists who have worked on the origins of Afrikaans as a language confirms from a different disciplinary perspective the view that much intermarriage and concubinage took place. Professor Valkhoff - following in the steps of Franken and Hesseling - has argued with great force that Cape society in the 17th and 18th centuries was so much integrated "... that there was a very close intercourse between the Whites on the one hand and the slaves, freedmen, freedwomen, Hottentots, Bastard-Hottentots and other 'Coloureds' on the other". Also, it was this process which partly accounted for the 'creolization' of Dutch at the Cape through encounters with the Khoi, Portuguese and Malay languages. While some of these developments must be attributed to masters, servants and slaves evolving a lingua franca of communication drawn from Dutch, Portuguese, Khoi and Malay, the evidence also underlines that these developments in language evolved in the context of the frequency of mixed unions of various kinds towards the lower middle levels of the society, and Franken has suggested that it was not confined to the Town but occurred inland as well.¹²⁰

Perhaps the most well known and best recorded marriage

120. M.Valkhoff: New Light, passim and loc.cit.; Franken: Taalhistoriese Bydraes, Op.cit., loc.cit.

between a senior official and a Khoi woman was that of the Surgeon, van Meerhof "... and the interpretes, Eva (born of Hottentot parents, but afterwards reared in the house of Mr van Riebeeck)" in 1664.¹²¹ There are very few other clear instances of that degree of hypergamy/hypogamy where a senior official married a Khoi woman, though early in the history of the settlement the structural hierarchy was not as steep as it subsequently became. But there is massive evidence of immigrants marrying slavesses, who either were already manumitted or whom they then manumitted, and also of burgers marrying or cohabiting with 'half-breeds'.¹²² One particular category for whom fairly tight figures are available are immigrants marrying into the 'white' population. Ross has counted 313 'white' women immigrants who married into the population between 1657 and 1807, and 480 'non-white' women immigrants (i.e. slavesses) who married during the same period.¹²³ A little work on the figures reveals the following. First, of all these particular recorded immigrant women, over the whole period 1657-1807, some 60% who married 'whites' were 'non-white' and 40% were 'white'. Secondly, in the shorter period 1657-1777, of those who married 'whites', 53% were 'non-white' and 47% were 'white'. This is not surprising given that after 1717 there were very few 'white' female immigrants, and that although the number of slavesses were far fewer than the number

121. Journal 1662-1670, p.111. Entry for 2nd June, 1664.

122. Hoge: Personalia ... Op.cit., passim; and Bydraes Tot Die Genealogie van ou Afrikaanse Families, passim, and other items in Note 113, above.

123. Ross: Op.cit., p.222. These are obviously not all the marriages which took place, nor does it cover all kinds of unions between immigrant women and local or immigrant males, or between the latter and additional or Cape-born women. Immigrant 'non-white' women must have almost all been slavesses.

of slaves imported to the colony, in overall terms there were more slavess immigrants than non-slave female immigrants. Moreover, these figures confirm the argument above and support the steeper hypergamy 'slope', though of course they are part of the wider process and hence taken on their own exaggerate it.

An example of at least one way in which the Dutch immigrant female could get her man and move 'up' is illustrated by an event which Valentyn described, which occurred during his 1685 visit to the Cape.¹²⁴

Before my departure there occurred a very wonderful marriage, of a certain Under-Merchant living there. On Friday afternoon about 5 there came a Barinnetje (or girl newly arrived with the fleet) to his house, where I then was among others. To this girl he, being pretty well muzzy with the Cape juice, threw a handkerchief, which she kept until the following day, when, again meeting some girls, she made them believe, and very definitely asserted, that he had given her this handkerchief as a token of engagement in the presence of all of them (though this was not the case). They pressed him to keep his word and honour this girl, who indeed had need of a good husband, since she was not well off, and marry her at once since her ship was about to sail.

They were married on the Sunday, the banns having been called once on the Saturday and twice on the Sunday.

While such girls - and the orphans that were sent out - appear sometimes in the literature as 'respectable' young ladies, it is not at all clear that this was so for all of them. Some were either very adventurous and daring, and others - described by contemporaries - emerge as tough and rough. They were able to make good marriages. In March 1668, for instance, one of the soldiers on board a recently arrived ship was discovered to be a woman who had

124. Valentyn: Op.cit.,II,p.277. My emphasis, A.L.

enlisted under the name of Hans Christoffel van Boeckwalt.¹²⁵ And in 1674 another female, Francijntje van Lint who had arrived disguised as a soldier, was asked for "... in marriage by a freeman (and was) ... at their mutual request detained on land and permitted to marry; an evident example of God's dispensations regarding all things".¹²⁶ Nicolaas de Graaf, in his Oost-Indise Spiegel expressed a very low opinion of these women, referring to them as 'Venus diertjes' (Venus animals), who got themselves onto ships for the Indies where they (like the men) hoped for great wealth and advancement. Describing their strategy at the Cape, he said that when they arrived "... they sometimes attach themselves to some Cape farmer who take them to be pure and undefiled virgins, and hence do not appear to be so bad ...". If they were not able to get a man there, he said, they attached themselves to some 'pimp or other rogue' and went on to Batavia.¹²⁷ Dutch girls and Cape-born daughters of immigrants were quickly snapped up and married young.¹²⁸ Towards the end of the period, Stavorinus wrote of the townsmen's daughters that most of "... these available and lovely girls ..." were quickly married, had children, and then "... became gross and corpulent, and lose their charms ...".¹²⁹

125. Journal 1662-70, p.240. Entry for 25th March, 1668.

126. Journal 1671-4 & 6, p.183. Entry for 2nd February, 1674.

127. N. de Graaf: Oost-Indise Spiegel, pp.20-22.

128. Ross: Op.cit., p.223, ff. Van Riebeeck had asked for Dutch girls to be sent to the Cape. Explicitly, he asked for "... at least 20 lusty farmers' or other ordinary people's marriageable daughters ...". Letters Despatched 1652-1662, III, p.115.

129. Stavorinus: Op.cit., III, p.439.

The evidence of male burger hypogamy and slavess, 'Bastaard' and 'Khoi' female hypergamy is abundant. There are literally hundreds of instances, if not more. They are illustrated by the following examples which indicate not only formal marriages and extra-marital unions with offspring but also that, in general, the men who married 'down' were not the most prosperous and well-to-do land-holders but often were plain farm-hands and semi-skilled workers of one kind or another. They are set out to indicate wherever possible the date of arrival at the Cape, the occupation on arrival, nature of occupation as burger, nature of relationship with the female, and her status. Hermanus Andresen arrived as a gunner in about 1722 and in 1740 married Agatha of the Cape, daughter of Cornelia of the Cape who was the daughter of Nansane of the Cape - they had 3 baptized children; Johan Arnold, arrived as a soldier in 1776 and three years later married Helena of the Cape, also called Helena de Jager; Johan Andreas Bamm, arrived as a soldier in 1725, became a burger baker in 1734 and had 4 children by Rachel (Anna Catherina) of the Cape, whom he manumitted - with their mother - in 1752; Johan Adam Bauer, arrived as a sailor in 1743 and became a burger farm-hand/carpenter in 1766 in Swellendam and married Johanna Cornelia a 'bastaard-Hottentot'; P.Christian Behrens arrived as a soldier in 1751 and became a pump-maker, he married Maria Amelia Schetlerin (i.e. Maria Amelia of the Cape) whom he had manumitted with her two children in 1754; Andries Beyers was a master wagon-maker of the V.O.C. who married in 1683 Catharina of the Cape by whom he had 7 children; Christian Bock arrived as a soldier in 1696 and in 1713 married Anna Groothenning of Bengal, the emancipated slavess of Hans Caspar Geringer; Jan Jans von Bollen, arrived as a V.O.C. stable-boy in 1712 and became a coachman-burger in 1719 in which year he married Anna of the Cape, also called Anna van der Heyde by whom he had 4 children; Michael Düring arrived as a soldier in 1702 and loaned as a farmhand in 1703 to Rev H.Bek, and had

a son (by Cornelia of the Cape) called Daniel who was baptized in 1704; Johan Hermann Eermeyer arrived in 1736 as a soldier, became a burger wagon-maker in 1746, and in 1748 married Sara Drost of the Cape, an emancipated slave by whom he had one daughter, Anna Sophia who married Moses Danielse of the Cape; Johan Foll arrived as a sailor and was loaned as a farm-hand in 1739-43 and married Christina Janse of the Cape in 1742; Johan Georg Frick arrived in 1752 and became a burger in 1756 in which year he married the emancipated slavess, Florentina of the Cape; Gerrit Gerritz arrived as a sailor and was loaned out by the V.O.C. as a farm-hand in 1693, becoming a burger in 1698, and had 5 illegitimate children by Susanna of Bombasa; Johan Grimm arrived as a sailor in 1763, becoming a farm-hand and then a gunstock-maker, and had 3 children by the Free Black Christina Dorothea of Ceylon; Hans Christoffel Grosser arrived as a servant in the Governor's household and had one illegitimate daughter by the Free Black, Sophia Janse; Herman Grutter arrived as a soldier in 1696, was a farm-hand until 1709 and married in 1713 Johanna Titus, daughter of Titus Jacobsz of Macassar and Johanna Titus of Macassar, and also had an illegitimate daughter by Rebekka of the Cape; Heinrich Peter Hesse, arrived as a soldier in 1730 and was loaned out as a farm-hand, became a burger tailor in 1755 and had married Maria Francina Cleef, daughter of the slavess Maria Stuart in 1731; Johannes Hoffman was a burger at Paarl in 1698 and in 1711 he married Maria Louisz of the Cape by whom he had three daughters; Johann Humann arrived as a soldier in 1703 and was loaned as a farm-hand to the Governor and later became a burger, and married Lysbeth Vion of the Cape, an emancipated slavess by whom he had 8 children; Johann Peter Kress arrived as a soldier in 1730, became a burger in 1734 and had married Rachel de May (i.e. Rachel of the Cape)

daughter of Catharina Pietersz of the Cape; Franz Lampe arrived in 1748 as a soldier, was a farm-hand until 1755, became a burger in that year and in the next year married Hendrika of the Cape, and asked permission to open a bakery in 1762; Frans Mark arrived as a sailor in 1721, was a V.O.C. mason until 1725 and became a burger in the next year, and married Christina of Bengal, an emancipated slavess by whom he had 5 children - after he died, his widow re-married the Free Black David of Amboina; Gerd Paradys was a farm-hand and mason between 1734 and 1752, and had two illegitimate children by Maria Petronella of the Cape; Johann Schroeder arrived as a sailor and was loaned as a farm-hand in 1714 and in 1728 married the emancipated slavess, Eva of the Cape; Friederich Ernst Walker became a burger in 1688 and lived at Stellenbosch until 1692 when he moved to Drakenstein and married Catherina of the Cape in 1695; and Moritz Walter, who arrived as a sailor and was loaned as a farm-hand from 1700 to 1711, and then was mentioned as a burger of Stellenbosch whose first wife was Geertruyd of the Cape and his second wife Mietje van Hoorn by whom he had two sons in addition to one illegitimate daughter by Narta of Malabar.¹³⁰

There are some similar entries in Hoge's other compendium, Bydraes Tot Die Genealogie van ou Afrikaanse Families. One example from that collection further illustrates the point that the female offspring of slavesses who married burgers seem also to have

130. These are all taken from Hoge's Personalia, Op.cit.,passim. I concentrate on these because the earlier 17th century marriages - like that of Wouters, Claesz, Sacharias, Muller and others - are better known and usually cited in passing. The 18th century was packed with instances of this kind and these data convey the sense of social richness and support the notion of the 'slope'.

sustained the upward hypergamous movement of relations. Jacob Michiels Heylon. married Johanna of Madras in the Indies. After he died she re-married Gerrit Romond and in 1708 came to the Cape. Her girl children (Anna, Catharina, Cornelia and Maria) all married recent male 'European' immigrants to the Cape, while there is no mention at all of what happened to her sons, Jacobus and Jurgen - they seem to have slid down the social structure, and possibly outwards.¹³¹

One thing is certain. In the constitution of Cape society, the social relations outlined above were not unusual. Moreover the burgers who married or cohabitted with Asian, Cape-born 'Bastaard' or Khoi women, and who lived in the colony as employees, masons, coachmen, wagon-drivers, sick-attendants or free farmers were - with their wives, and children - fully accepted members of the community. Their location was generally towards the lower end of the burger hierarchy in class terms, but above the slaves and Khoisan dependants. Overall, the colour of the dominant category was a function of the operation of economic and class forces, and cultural preferences. For the same reasons, the middle sector was a lot more 'mixed' in somatic terms, and the subordinate free and unfree category of Khoi and slaves were almost all dark. What this illustrates, furthermore, is not the causal salience of colour, but rather its secondary, consequential and contingent nature in relation to the needs of classes, and the implications of the behavioural preferences of cultural groups.

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131. Hoge: Bydraes Op.cit.,p.176. One of the figures mentioned earlier in this chapter, the 'town councillor' Guiliam Heems (or a son?), had two children by a slavess, Catharina of the Cape, who were born in 1737 and 1740. The 18th century men and V.O.C. were quite open about recording these instances. Where they were not recorded it was likely to have been because of administrative slackness.

Thus, as a result of various kinds of marital and extra-marital unions, there was some mobility into the burger category, and hence some erosion of the culturally distinctive sections at the edges, as a 'free' rural and urban working class and lower middle class emerged in the constitution of the society. On the colonial periphery, moreover, some few male burger colonists married into and lived amongst Khoi groups.¹³² But for the mass of dependant Khoisan and the slave population, the very slow rate of economic expansion - the major informal agency of mobility, socialization and acculturation - had no significant impact on changing or improving their lot, and did not work in any serious way to hasten the depluralization of the society. Cultural change was slow and patchy. As it occurred in the course of the period, however, it revealed behind it the vague outline of an emerging class system.

But if economic growth did not work seriously to bring about change, what of the two other formal modes of socialization and acculturation to a common society - religious/evangelical work, and education? There are two initial points of a comparative nature to make here. First, it has almost universally been the rule in the history of colonialism in Africa that the policy or declared intentions of the imperial power in respect of the 'civilizing mission' - the two prongs of which have usually been the church and education, often closely linked - has never been matched by practice or performance. Furthermore, the reasons for this have been similar. Primarily, they have turned on an unwillingness or inability of the metropolitan power to provide the resources necessary for the

132. M. Legassick: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana. ... Op.cit., pp. 133-9.

objectives to be reached. And local colonial or Church authorities have usually been compelled to put educational facilities at the bottom of the list of priorities, and have simply not had the material resources to do otherwise. Where there has been a significant settler population, moreover, they have rarely encouraged educational or evangelical work, on a large scale, amongst the 'natives', and have been even less inclined to bear the costs that such activity would have entailed. Secondly, however reluctant one might be to pass judgements on the value or desirability of the place and rôle of alien religious beliefs and practices, or imposed educational norms in the colonial situation, it nonetheless remains the case that once a plural colonial society has been formed, the dissolution of its corporate cultural sections into a shared culture is the prerequisite for, and condition of, depluralization and the establishment of a uniform institutional basis for a common society, though that may be achieved in a variety of ways.

In turning to examine these questions at the Cape, all these features of later colonialism in Africa can be identified. The short answer to the initial question posed, therefore, is that during the 17th and 18th centuries at the Cape, evangelical and educational work amongst the Khoisan and slaves was almost nil, the resources available for it meagre, the number of predikanten and teachers very small, the quality and commitment of these men was patchy and uneven, the actual number of baptisms and 'conversions' were very few, and the general devoutness and hence enthusiasm for such work by the burger community was limited. Thus in overall terms of expanding the community of Christians, the actual impact was marginal. While educational and religious questions clearly overlap,

it is easier to treat them separately, starting first with religion and evangelism.¹³³

As the decision of Dort had laid down, and as its explication in the Indies and at the Cape had made clear, the V.O.C. had a duty to carry evangelical and educational work into the camp of the heathens, both slaves and Khoisan. The first and most important area therefore related to baptism and conversion. The issue was decided, in principle, very early on at the Cape, according to the decision of Dort, though not without some initial fuss. In 1655, W. Barentsz Wylant - the sick-comforter or Chaplain (he was not a minister) - wrote to the Amsterdam Classis declaring his intention to pull the Heathens "... out from the Kingdom of Darkness and rescue them from the hands and bonds of Satan and bring them to the Kingdom of His Son".¹³⁴ The first permanent predikant - van Arckel - only arrived in 1665.¹³⁵ But there were some baptisms before his arrival, as recorded for instance in 1663, when "... the first of these indigenous people of the land called Hottentooijshe was given the name of Eva".¹³⁶ But in 1665, a minister, passing from Ceylon to the Netherlands, refused to baptize a slave-child. The minister, Ds. Baldaeus, claimed that he was following the policy in the Indies. The Council of Policy however reviewed the matter carefully. They found a directive from the Governor General of the Indies to the Cape, dated 25th January 1664, which had enjoined them

133. In all this I have relied on the various collected documents and the specialist histories in the following: C.Spoelstra: Bouwstoffen ... Op.cit.; Cruse: Op.cit.; Susan Rennie Ritner: Salvation through Separation; J.du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa; E.A.Tiryakian: "Apartheid and Religion"; B.Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms; B.Spoelstra: Die Doppers in Suid-Afrika 1760-1879; J.E.Hutton: A History of the Moravian Church; J.M.McCarter: The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.

134. C.Spoelstra: Op.cit., Part One, p.4.

135. J.du Plessis: Op.cit., p.32 and S.R.Ritner: Op.cit., p.16.

136. C.Spoelstra: Op.cit., Part One, p.23. (continued on next page)

to baptize and evangelize. So Baldaeus was reprimanded for being over-bearing and arrogant, his decision was overturned and Ds. Vooght - who was also en route via the Cape - was instructed to correct the error the following Sunday.¹³⁷ So the matter was settled, in principle, again.

But the practice of baptism and conversion was limited. Moreover, as was shown in the previous chapter, it did not follow in the 18th century that baptism necessarily entailed manumission. It has been estimated that between 1665 and 1731 no more than 1,121 slave children were baptized (though not immediately freed) and only 46 adults.¹³⁸ As the veeboere moved out into the interior, it is improbable that many of their slaves (they had fewer) or Khoisan dependants were baptized or provided with any education - religious or otherwise - on any significant scale at all. The veeboere themselves, as with many of the Cape population, were not particularly religious or devout and did not hold much by formal education. And there was a chronic shortage of ministers, until well into the 19th century for the burger community, so little effective socialization and acculturation can have taken place via the medium of evangelical work amongst the Khoi and slaves.¹³⁹ To be a minister was not a well-paid job either; the predikante had to rely in part on gifts of money to make ends meet.

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136. (on previous page) Van der Stael to the Amsterdam Classis, dated 2nd April, 1663. Other baptisms of slaves followed. See entries in Journal 1662-70, p.72 and p.145, for instance.
137. Spoelstra: Op.cit., Part One, pp.28-9. Ds. Overney to Amsterdam Classis, n.d. And Part Two, pp.9-10, Amsterdam Classis to Overney, n.d. This was when the full Dort resolution, mentioned in chapter 3, was quoted to the Cape. See also Cruse: Op.cit., pp.223-225.
138. J.M.McCarter: Op.cit., pp.14-15. The figures for the children look suspiciously high. I have never seen them anywhere else.
139. see next page.

The quality of the predikante seems to have been uneven, and little evidence exists of any serious evangelical work by them amongst slaves or Khoi, and the performance of some clergy amongst the burgers was slack. Adam Tas, for example, noted in his Diary on the 14th June that "Mr Bek did not give a sermon at Drakenstein because it rained too hard. The clergymen in this country are certainly fond of taking their ease".¹⁴⁰ Bek, it will be recalled, soon married into the landed class. Later, in the 1730s, Mentzel observed that "... the predikants do not take great pains to increase their flocks, for I have known whole families who had not been confirmed, that is to say, were not members of the Church ...".¹⁴¹ And at the end of the century Barrow wrote of them that "By their rank ... they are entitled to seek connections with the first and wealthiest families of the colony".¹⁴²

That was not true of all ministers. Kalden, for instance, made efforts to learn the language of the Khoi, and it was claimed that he had baptized 100 'Heathens' by 1703.¹⁴³ Likewise, Le Boucq, who followed Kalden, but was at the Cape for barely a year, wrote piously to Amsterdam expressing anxiety at the religious state of the colony. He said that in his view "It is also desirable that

139. Ritner: Op.cit.,p.19. In reply to questions by Commissioner van Hoorn in 1710, van Assenburg declared that there were only two preachers at the Cape in that year and that there was a vacancy at Drakenstein. Valentyn: Op.cit.,II,p.239.

140. Diary,pp.39-41.

141. O.F.Mentzel: A Description ... Op.cit.,I,p.130.

142. Barrow: Op.cit.,II,p.427.

143. Spelstra: Op.cit.,Part One,p.35. Cape Church Council to Amsterdam Classis,9th April 1703; and p.35, Kalden to Amsterdam Classis, 2nd April,1706. It is not clear from the document whether these were Khoi or slaves. It seems unlikely that they were Khoi, though. There are no names mentioned or any records left of such baptisms. The one noted conversion of a 'chinese' was specially mentioned in the letter of 9th April,1703. The writer said it was the first admission to the Church of such a person.

the African predikants be seriously advised to make a survey of their congregations at least four times a year and invite them to Holy Communion, which now and again was even done through drunken Churchwardens or a Hottentot with a letter; which abuse is responsible for the fact that there is found a damning unbridledness ...".¹⁴⁴ Then he left.

The only serious attempt to establish a mission amongst the Khoi in the 18th century before 1793 was the short-lived attempt by the Moravian, Georg Schmidt, between 1737 and 1741. He regarded the predikante at the Cape with despair and anger, saying that "... they did not believe in the conversion of the Hottentots and expected that nothing would come of their efforts. The attitude of the local Church Council was similar ..." and in the end Schmidt was in effect asked to leave.¹⁴⁵ For when in 1742 he baptized 5 Khoi, he was called to Cape Town from his place at Baviaans Kloof to answer charges from the Church Council that (a) he was not a member of the D.R.C. and hence could not baptize, (b) his method of baptism and dispensing communion was different to that of the D.R.C. and hence not valid and (c) that he had not baptized these Khoi men in the presence of a congregation. The upshot was that Schmidt was

*44. Ibid., Part One, p.65. E.F. Le Boucq to Amsterdam Classis, 20th April, 1708.

145. B. Kruger: Op.cit., chapter I, and p.19; J. du Plessis: Op.cit., chapter VII. According to du Toit, after Schmidt's departure the Cape Churches asked Amsterdam to send "... twee, of ten minsten, een krankbezoeker of Schoolmeester" (two, or at least, one sick-comforter or schoolteacher) to further the spread of Christianity amongst the Khoi. Nothing came of it. P.S. du Toit: Onderwys aan die Kaap onder Die Kompanjie, 1652-1795, pp.185-7. When Schmidt arrived in Cape Town in 1737 he overheard a conversation in a tavern. One man said he'd heard "... a parson has come to convert the Hottentots". His companion replied: "What! a parson! Why the poor fool must have lost his head". Cited in Hutton: Op.cit., p.243.

forced to leave, and he did. Nothing replaced his mission until the Moravians returned in the 1790s. Even then, according to Lichtenstein, their mission station was "... a subject of offence to the surrounding colonists, partly because they did not see their own strong Calvinistic doctrines taught in it, but still more, because they found themselves restrained in extending their lands, and were in some measure deprived of the services of the Hottentots...".¹⁴⁶

It has been claimed that "... the people of the Cape Colony were on the whole a religious people".¹⁴⁷ The structure of the political economy and social life which as been analyzed above and in previous chapters does not lead one to that conclusion, though generalizations about either the devoutness or lack of it for the whole community are necessarily not applicable to each and every part of the society. In the next chapter that question will be touched on in relation to the veeboere and trekkers on the periphery. But there are three related reasons why it is highly unlikely that the Cape colonists were devout, evangelical or religious in the bleak social sense that is often implied. First, as discussed in detail above, the whole tone of the town life (at least) was grasping and greedy, and early in the 18th century Kolbe, for instance, talked about the 'loose immoral lives'

146. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., I, p.188. My emphases, A.L.

147. C.G.Botha: Collected Works, I, p.211. This notion, of course, is part of the wider view which treats the Cape colonists as being influenced in belief and behaviour by Dutch Calvinism.

of the 'Europeans'. Secondly, the direct observations of visitors at the Cape specifically about religious matters confirms the view that they were not particularly devout, puritanical or even regular Church attenders. There were, moreover, very few Churches: in the Town itself there was only one Dutch Reformed Church until 1780, when a Lutheran Church was established. Thus, for the Cape district burger population alone, in the 1770s, there was only one small church for three and a half thousand burgers and their families - which leaves out of account the V.O.C. employees, soldier, sailors and others.¹⁴⁸ Thirdly, the notion of a devout and pious community is usually fused with the view that it was, in religious terms, a homogeneous community of Dutch Reformed Church Calvinists: that was far from the case. The evidence confirms all this.

One of the earliest writers on the Cape, Grevenbroek, who was there for many years both as official and burger from 1684 until his death in 1726, declared that he was ashamed to admit that his countrymen, far from being religious or evangelical in outlook, "... pay more heed to gain-getting and soft living ...", and these people, he went on, "... enthusiastic Reformers (I am tempted to call them Deformers), who have sworn allegiance to Calvin, allow nothing now to good works and everything to grace; they ascribe nothing to virtue and still less to merit ...".¹⁴⁹ Valentyn, whose visits coincided with Grevenbroek's period was yet more blunt.

148. D.R.C.Churches were established in Stellenbosch in 1686, in Drakenstein in 1691, in Roodezand (Tulbagh) in 1743, in Zwartland (Malmesbury) in 1745, and Graaff-Reinet in 1792. A Lutheran church was established in Cape Town in 1780 and the Moravians were allowed to restart their mission at Genadendal in 1792. Theal: History, III, p.375. A Swellendam Church was established in 1798.

149. J.G.Grevenbroek: Op.cit., pp.283-5. He made an exception for some senior officials.

He found no Preacher at Stellenbosch in 1700. When he attended the 'Lord's Supper' at the Castle in 1714 he found that the Church-members only totalled 40 men and 48 women, including those of the return-fleet, "... and it was entirely surprising that among those who approached the Table there was no Member of the Council of Policy Inland it may be expected to be one-half so good". He attributed this not so much to the few Preachers or their lack of 'zeal', but "... to the stupidity and indolence of the Burgers".¹⁵⁰ Schmidt, as already mentioned, was shocked at the 'impiety' of the Cape. In his description of the country cattle-farmers, Mentzel said that they seldom went to Church and, as they grew up, "... they generally forget everything about the Christian religion in which they have received some instruction from such teachers as they had; and since they neither attend Church nor receive communion, they cannot be considered part of the Christian congregation, except insofar as they have been baptized...".¹⁵¹ And in the 1770s, on a visit to Paarl, Sparrman was shown round the church there (by a Black Sexton) and concluded from its condition "... that these Boors bestowed no more pains upon God's house than they did upon their own".¹⁵²

150. Valentyn: Op.cit.,II,p.259. No doubt there were more church members than that, but the attendance at the Supper was hardly indicative of enthusiasm. In 1716 the Minister and Kerkeraad (Church Council) of Drakenstein declared that the children were growing up in such a loose way that "... very few of them care much about God or his Service ...". Requesten,II,p.735, No.152 of 1716.

151. Mentzel: Description ...III,p.119. To be fair, Mentzel said of the members of the Church of the Reformed faith that they were 'devout, pious and yet tolerant'. Ibid.,I,p1130.

152. Sparrman: Op.cit.,I,p.68.

Furthermore the community as a whole was far from being uniformly Calvinist or consisting only of Dutch Reformed Church members. There was a much richer plurality of religions and perspectives - not everyone by any manner of means had sworn allegiance to Calvin'.¹⁵³ Given the diverse religious beliefs in the Netherlands and Germany in the 17th and 18th centuries it would be surprising if it had been otherwise. It has even been suggested that there was a very considerable proportion of Catholics at the Cape amongst the Christians, both free and slave.¹⁵⁴ Certainly in 1714 Valentyn perceived "... that there are many Lutherans among the servants", and declared that William Heems, "a Papist", sat on the Council of Justice with other Lutherans.¹⁵⁵ In 1742, a petition was submitted by the Town Lutherans (signed by some 80 of them) requesting permission to have a Minister and the right of public worship.¹⁵⁶ Their request was refused, but they petitioned again (with more signatures) in 1743 and their Petition was sent to the Seventeen, who finally agreed, provided that the Lutherans bore the whole cost themselves.¹⁵⁷ And from Schmidt's experience we know that there were a number of sympathetic senior officials who were Lutherans.¹⁵⁸ Thunberg declared them to be 'numerous', though in his time they had not yet got their church building.¹⁵⁹ Finally, it is important to remember that the majority

153. The widespread belief that the founders of the Colony were all Calvinists is astonishing. See I.Hexham: "Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism", p.8, and E.A.Tiryakian: Op.cit., pp.386-7, where he says that the early Cape settlers were all Calvinist and members of the D.R.C.

154. M.Valkhoff: Studies in Portuguese and Creole, pp.166-169; and his "Catholics and Portuguese at the Cape in 1685", passim. There is little hard evidence and Valkhoff relies mainly on the conceivably exaggerated account of Father Guy Tachard's Voyage to Siam. Once again Valkhoff cleverly uses linguistic evidence for wider purposes.

155. and nos. 156, 157, 158 and 159 on next page.

of the Town population were slaves and that those from the Indies were foremost amongst them. Some were Muslims and must certainly have socialized their young accordingly. In 1823, it was estimated that of the 1551 slaves attending school, 372 of them were at a school for Moslems.¹⁶⁰

Thus, in respect of evangelical activity and religious conversion, and hence with direct implications for the maintenance of the plural society, little was achieved by one of the formal modes of socialization and acculturation. A combination of severely limited resources, a de facto lack of will or interest amongst the generally mediocre and few clergymen, a burger community which appears not to have been pious or systematically devout and which was itself split into various denominations and persuasions, and a presumably sceptical Khoi and sometimes hostile slave responses, all converged to sustain cultural pluralism, at least in respect of its religious dimensions.

Both because educational facilities were initially the responsibility of the sick-comforters and ministers, and also because of the scarce V.O.C. resources, available for providing them,

155. Valentyn: Op.cit., II, pp.159-61.

156. Requesten: Op.cit., II, p.673. And Spoelstra: Op.cit., Part One, Cape to Classis at Amsterdam, 7th June, 1742.

157. Requesten, II, pp.674-690.

158. B.Kruger: Op.cit., pp.28-29.

159. Thunberg: Op.cit., I, pp.237-8.

160. Sheila Patterson: Colour and Culture in South Africa, pp.91, ff.

what held in respect of evangelical work, held, mutatis mutandis, with regard to education at the Cape. This was true not only for the Khoi and slave elements in the colonial society, but for all groups.¹⁶¹ The provision of an equal, common and widespread system of formal education for all groups in a plural society is another means whereby depluralization can take place and whereby cultural differences may be edged to the margins of social salience. In most colonial societies the presumption behind what little formal education has been provided has been precisely that, though its rationale has more often been expressed in terms of 'civilizing missions' or the spread of Christian and/or western values. Most colonial powers have no more matched policy with practice in this respect than in respect of their declarations about evangelism and conversion. The Cape, as the earliest instance of European colonialism in Africa, was no exception.

Two principles, in general, may be said to have operated in respect of education at the Cape. The Company provided only the most limited free educational facilities for a few slaves and non-burgers, while private schools (or 'meesters' - tutors) set themselves up in business to make what money they could. The effects of this were clearly to favour the better-off burgers and to be to the disadvantage of slaves or other 'free' non-burgers, and especially the Khoi. Moreover, it is generally recognized that the quality of education at the Cape was very poor indeed, and van der Merwe makes no bones about the fact that "... tot diep in die 19de eeu ... (was)

161. The main specialist histories used here are: H.P.Cruse: Op.cit.; P.S.du Toit: Op.cit.; E.G.Malherbe: Education in South Africa, 1652-1922; M.Horrell: The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa; E.G.Pells: 300 Years of Education in South Africa.

die skool nagenoeg onbekend ..." in the interior.¹⁶² Thus formal education in no way assisted the depluralization processes, but also acted to consolidate the hegemony of the dominant class. They could not only afford to 'buy' education for their children locally at the Cape - either by sending them to school or by hiring a 'meester' - but they could sometimes afford to send them to Europe for schooling. There are a number of Memorials seeking permission to send children abroad in the Requesten, though most are from the latter part of the 18th century, and, for instance, from burger-councillors, such as Johannes Carnspeck, who in 1785, sought permission for his 17-year old son to travel to Europe so he could be "... properly educated".¹⁶³ Yet again this illustrates how class and cultural distinctions overlapped and sustained each other at the extremes of the social structure. More detailed evidence supports this way of looking at social structure.

As soon as the first batch of slaves arrived in the Amersfoort, arrangements were made to start a school for them and their children. The task was that of the sick-comforter, van der Stael, and to encourage the slaves to attend it was ordered that "... after school everyone is to receive a small glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco".¹⁶⁴ The slaves were taught the Dutch language and the elements of Christianity, and by 1661 a few Khoi

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162. P.J.van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Op.cit.,p.234. (Until deep in the 19th century, the schools were almost unknown in the interior).
163. Requesten,p.280, No.51, of 1785. Also, see No.179, of 1788, No.21, of 1790, No.92, of 1785, and No.49, of 1785.
164. Journal of van Riebeeck,II,p.258. Entry for 17th April,1658. The inducements, by modern standards - or those of the Calvinist clergymen of the Dutch ports - were most un-Calvinistic. This was not the first school. A small school for slaves had been started earlier that year but was absorbed by the second school mentioned here. P.S.du Toit: Op.cit.,p.41.

were attending. The school continued until 1663 when a new sick-comforter opened a 'public school', which had 17 pupils at first - 12 'whites', 4 slaves and one 'Hottentot'.¹⁶⁵ A new and larger school was opened in 1679 and the Commander reported that there were 32 'Netherlanders', 11 'mixed' and 5 V.O.C. slave children in attendance.¹⁶⁶ Yet another school was opened in 1685 for slave children, though burger children could attend, for a small fee. This remained the core of the V.O.C. provision for slave children's education, though burger children could and did attend. However, in 1779 it was found that no more than 44 Lodge and 40 privately-owned slaves were attending the Company school.¹⁶⁷ These numbers are derisory.

The practice that developed was for private schools to be opened for fee-paying burger children, as commercial enterprises, though slaves could and did attend provided their masters paid for them. And a private infant school was opened by 'the widow, Aagjie Keijsers' in 1690.¹⁶⁸ As the settlement spread these general principles applied in the new districts. A school was opened in Stellenbosch in 1683 and another in Drakenstein in 1700.

But overall, the circle of education did not bite deep into any group in the society, and the Khoi fared worst. In the early 18th century there were a few private schools in Cape Town, 1 slave school and, at most, 3 small schools in the country districts around the Cape.¹⁶⁹ In 1779 there were 8 elementary (private) schools in

165. Cruse: Op.cit., p.86; and A.L.Behr: Three Centuries of Coloured Education, p.68, cited in Horrell: Op.cit., p.3.

166. du Toit: Op.cit., p.29.

167. Ibid., p.183.

168. Ibid., loc.cit.

169. Cruse: Op.cit., pp.106-110. He notes that by contrast, according to Valentyn, there were about 180 schools in the Indies of which 75 were in Ceylon.

Cape Town, for instance, attended by 696 burger children (which is not the same as saying 'white' children) and 82 slave children in all.¹⁷⁰ Because educational matters figures so little in the documents, it is not entirely clear what the position was elsewhere outside the town. But there were known to be schools associated with the congregations of Paarl, Malmesbury, Tulbagh, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet. After 1806 'free blacks' and slave children were reported in the Paarl and Stellenbosch schools.¹⁷¹

In 1714 a 'Latin School' (for older children) was opened in the Town under Lambertus Slicher, and it charged fees. Few could have afforded to send their children to it, and even fewer could have seen any point in it. It folded up in a short time due to lack of support.¹⁷² From that year the Board of education, the Scholarchs, were set up under the control of the Ecclesiastical Court, (Kerkeraad) to supervise education in general and to vet those who applied for permission to open schools or act as 'meesters'.¹⁷³

Most of the teaching was done by these 'Meesters' for a living, like running a bakery or selling delicacies to patients in the hospital. Their Memorials, seeking permission to offer tuition or start schools read very much like other requests. Their quality, especially in the interior, was very poor indeed.¹⁷⁴ Typical among

170. Ibid., loc.cit.; Patterson: Op.cit., p.92. In all eight schools there were slave children present. See V.de Kock: Those in Bondage, p.106. They varied in number from 2 out of 56 pupils, to 17 out of 115, and 25 out of 136.

171. Malherbe: Op.cit., p.46; Patterson: Op.cit., p.261, fn.11. The slave children could attend these 'openbare kerkskole' (public church-schools) or might have been taught alongside the children of their masters by the 'meester'. Du Toit: Op.cit., p.185.

172. du Toit: Op.cit., p.102; Cruse: Op.cit., p.137; Walker: History, p.68.

173. Pells: Op.cit., p.12; Malherbe: Op.cit., p.35. Subsequent regulations of 1743 and 1769 further restricted the office of teacher to those who were judged competent.

174. P.J.van der Merwe: Op.cit., p.246. Olive Schreiner offers a splendid sketch of the 'meester' type in her The Story of an African Farm.

such requests was that of "Jan du Plessis; sailor; possesses the required ability to teach the young French, Dutch and English languages, and also writing and arithmetic; is a member of the Reformed Religion; begs permission to open a school".¹⁷⁵ Mentzel noted that 'well-to-do' farmers hired knechte "... for their own convenience, and school-masters for their small children ...".¹⁷⁶ By the end of the century, many observers declared the education of the youth to be "... very much neglected..." and any discharged soldier who was able to read and write "... however indifferently ... usually finds employment as a schoolmaster".¹⁷⁷ Lichtenstein wrote that those "... worn-out invalids as have talents beyond the generality of their brethren, that is to say, who can read or write, engage themselves to the peasants as domestic teachers, when they have the title of 'meester'.¹⁷⁸ But the only place where Lichtenstein found a good school was at Paarl, where among the pupils were "... the sons of some of the first families at the Cape Town ... in a spacious house with the master, and are instructed in religion, the living languages, in history, geography and some of the arts. This is the only institution of the kind in the whole country".¹⁷⁹

Cape burger society was intellectually barren. It was without newspapers, theatres, bookshops, paintings or drawings, or intellectual activity of the kind that was found in the Netherlands.¹⁸⁰

175. Requesten I, p. 375, No. 79, of 1743. There are many other examples in the Requesten throughout the 18th century.

176. Mentzel: Description ... Op.cit., III, p. 101.

177. Barrow: Op.cit., I, p. 47 and II, p. 101.

178. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., II, p. 96.

179. Ibid., II, p. 122.

180. C.G. Botha: Op.cit., I, pp. 189-190.

Sparrman felt very alone, there being no-one, he claimed, with whom he could engage in interesting conversation, and he felt in want of books.¹⁸¹ It is a remarkable fact that there is almost no written evidence (such as letters, diaries or books) surviving from the 17th and 18th centuries which can be attributed to the burgers, apart from those officials who stayed on and wrote accounts of the Cape. Given, further, the cramped economy, the tightness of the V.O.C. in respect of revenues, the small number of clergy and 'teachers', it is not surprising that neither education nor evangelical activity was widespread. Hence they contributed little to the dissolution of the boundaries between the segments. Moreover these features only confirmed the trends which have been identified in relation to other aspects of social structure. The small dominant class was able to sustain itself in cultural terms by buying its education and hence socializing its young accordingly. At the other extreme, one of the other remarkable facts is that there are very few references to Khoi being drawn into the limited educational facilities there were. While economic and class forces acted to keep them in the most subordinate positions in the political economy, educational or religious activity did nothing to hasten their acculturation and socialization to the institutions and norms of the dominant group. Between these two extremes were various middle sectors who perhaps sent their children to school for a short time, or who now and again may have had some access to a 'meester'. Thus, as the slow articulation of the social structure unfolded, 'Free Blacks', illegitimate 'Bastaards' and ex-V.O.C. employees, poor burgers, manumitted slaves - people in the middle sectors - were

181. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.47.

confirmed in their position as 'free' but 'lower class' burgers, yet who were neither slaves nor knechte. Some of them emerged later as veeboere on the periphery, or as one of the constituents of an intermediate class of rural proletarians or semi-skilled urban workers or tradesmen. While their culture was unevenly but recognizably continuous with that of the dominant group, their class position forced them relentlessly down in the society, and ultimately out to the periphery. Before turning in the last chapter to look at that movement, two short questions remain to be discussed. First, who were the Free Blacks? Secondly, what were the main political/administrative issues at the Cape?

In previous chapters and throughout the preceding discussion in this one, the 'Free Blacks' have been mentioned in a variety of contexts. There is much uncertainty about their numbers, distribution and status in the social structure.¹⁸² This uncertainty derives in part from the lack of hard evidence and data about them. But that in turn reflects decisively the weak, highly intermittent and ambiguous salience of colour - or, colour alone - in the definition of status, or in the classification of categories in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is the place to underline that point further in respect of the 'Free Blacks'.

182. There is no definitive study on the Free Blacks. It is doubtful whether the evidence or the conceptualization of them as a separate group would permit a study anyway. However, Dr. H. B. Giliomee of Stellenbosch University, Dr R.E. Elphick of Wesleyan University and Dr James Armstrong of Boston University are working in the area. Dr Elphick most generously showed me his preliminary figures and calculations of the numbers of Free Blacks and I refer to them below. According to Armstrong, it is not possible to go beyond the slave manumission figures in Cruse's account. When Giliomee and Elphick have finished their work we may know a great deal more.

Colour was not an important or even relevant principle of classification during this period at the Cape. Certainly it was not used as an official index of group membership, inclusion or exclusion as has more recently been the case in South Africa. (Interestingly, its unreliability and volatility, in the modern South African context, for use in differentiating categories of the population into 'Black', 'White' or 'Brown' sections - has given way in the last decade and a half to an attempt at a more emphatically 'cultural' - or 'ethnic' or 'national', as the official sources would have it - basis for group classification, such as 'Zulu', 'European', 'Indian', 'Tswana', and - persistently ambiguous and quite unmanageable - 'Coloured'.¹⁸³ Yet all these still remain subject to great blurring and imprecision as must any such imposed definitions and divisions on social life and social groups). Thus the causal irrelevance in the 17th and 18th centuries of colour in the definition and formation of social groups must seriously frustrate modern efforts to identify not only who the 'Free Blacks' were, but what they did and how they lived. Moreover, given the modern confusions about the salience of colour, class and culture, there is great danger of reading those confusions back into the social realities of the 17th and 18th centuries and assuming, for instance, that the 'Free Blacks' formed a corporate groups of some kind. There are no firm grounds - either conceptual or empirical - for asserting that the 'Free Blacks' formed such a group. The evidence at least

183. These questions are discussed by Graham Watson in Passing for White, passim. The definition used in educational matters - as to who could attend which school - and based on the Population Registration Act, No.30 of 1950, was: "European means a person who in appearance is, or is generally accepted as, a White person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a coloured person".. Ibid., p.40. This illustrates many absurdities. The most interesting from our point of view is the confusion which results by trying to combine a social definition with a colourist one.

indicates that much, and that they were geographically, occupation-ally and culturally spread over a number of categories within the burger population, subject to two broad qualifications. First, there appear to have been more of them in the Cape District; secondly, they appear to have been concentrated in the subordinate class range within the burger population.¹⁸⁴

Most 'Free Blacks' filtered into the burger population via manumission from slave status. But the figures for manumissions cannot be taken to represent all 'Free Blacks' at any point in time. Some females, for instance, who married 'up' may not have been recorded - at every opgaaf thereafter - as 'Free Black', but may rather have been recorded as a burger wives. Moreover, it was often the case that once baptized, former slaves changed their names or were given new names which concealed their origins. If they married amongst themselves and had children, they would not have shown up always in the opgaaf as 'Free Blacks' (or at all), but as burgers, wives, and children, without any special tags. But, as was indicated earlier, it was also indeed the case that the term 'Free Black' was sometimes used in official documents. So there is a considerable area for uncertainty about numbers, origin and distribution of these people and especially their descendants.

It is likely too that some Khoi were filtering into the so-called 'Free Black' category, and it is not at all clear what - if any - the distinctions were between them, free 'Bastaards' and others. Finally, within the 'Free Black' category there were

184. Elphick suggests that they formed 12.6% of the Cape District 'free' population in 1770, and 4.3% of the total population. Personal communication.

smaller corporate groups - such as the so-called 'Malays' or that community which defined itself as Muslim and socialized its young accordingly, and whose cultural and religious integrity survives to the present day. For all these reasons it would be unwise to treat the Free Blacks as a corporate group. The evidence suggests a great cultural diversity, geographical spread, occupational and class mix.

In the 1670s Simon van der Stel was reported to have given land to 'Free Black' farmers.¹⁸⁵ And Theal claimed that there were about 160 'free Asiatics and negroes' in the 1690s.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, amongst those who signed a letter supporting Adriaan van der Stel were 'Free Blacks' who, along with others, declared themselves "... as free burgers dwelling under the districts of the same Cape, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and elsewhere in the country ...".¹⁸⁷ Mention has also been made of 'Free Black', 'Chinese' and other 'European' burger fishermen. Political prisoners, sent from the

185. A.G.J.Crijns: Race Relations and Race Attitudes in South Africa, pp.18-19.

186. Theal: History, II, p.370.

187. H.C.V.Leibbrandt: The Defence of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, Appendix C, pp.68-72. Names such as Pieter Jordaan of Cabris, Emmanuel of Macassar, Domingo of Bengal and Corydon of Nagapatnam are amongst the signatories, and the letter was dated 18th February, 1706. The news of the letter travelled fast, for on the 21st February, Tas had heard about it and wrote in his Diary that "... a number of blacks (Swarten with a capital 'S') who had been banished and whipped, had signed ...". Diary, p.199. Tas didn't think much of the Governor who "... had to recover his lost honour at the hands of rogues". It was their status - along with others in the list - not their colour that seemed especially to annoy Tas. The distinction is important; there are other instances of it which are examined later. The preoccupation with status and precedence - emphasized all over the Dutch Seaborne Empire - and the antecedent concern with rank and propriety in the Netherlands amongst the Regents and Burgers there was no doubt imitated and copied at the Cape.

the Indies were sometimes given their freedom at the Cape and also joined the category of 'Free Blacks'. Sparrman hired a 'mulatto' guide on his trip to Paarl, who gave him to understand "... that he was no slave, as most blacks are, but was free-born by his mother's side, as her mother was a Hottentot, and her father a European (he supposed) of a tolerably good family".¹⁸⁸ The Sexton of the Church there was "... of black extraction by the mother's side."¹⁸⁹ In the 1780s, Le Vaillant wrote that when he was passing through the Camdebo area he "... arrived at a plantation belonging to two brothers who were free negroes (sic), one of whom was married to a young mulatto woman I found in them almost the same manners and the same custome as those common in the civilized world".¹⁹⁰

At the end of the 18th century, in Cape Town, Barrow stated that there were (in the Town) about 5,500 "Whites and people of colour", and that of these "... Christians or free people, 718 are persons of colour, and one thousand, nearly, are Europeans".¹⁹¹ In 1807, it has been claimed, there was a total of 1,134 Free Blacks at the Cape, of whom 605 were female and 529 male.¹⁹²

188. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.52. Sextons, said Sparrman, are "... a set of people that are more respected by the Calvinist than by us ...". Ibid., loc.cit.

189. Ibid., I, p.68.

190. Le Vaillant: Op.cit., II, p.370.

191. Barrow: Op.cit., II, p.342. Elphick's preliminary figures suggest a total of 63 Free Blacks in 1711 and 352 in 1770. For the Cape District only he suggests 42 in 1711 and 345 in 1770. That means, on his evidence, that there were only 7 Free Blacks outside the Cape District. Is that possible? It seems unlikely, but it may be that Elphick is sticking to a document-ary-based definition of who were Free Blacks, that is to say that those who were referred to as such were the only Free Blacks.

192. Greenstein: Op.cit., p.44. His figures are based on George Tompson's Travels, Op.cit., p.490.

The interesting discrepancy in numbers may well be a function of different definitions which produced different kinds of counting. But both the discrepancy and the different definitions underline conveniently the main point here. The definition of a group or community, solely in colour terms in a plural society anchored in a common political economy, is quite unreliable. The wide differences in the social (or individual) definitions of colour, and the class and cultural self-definitions of group membership make that so. Moreover, given the absence of any systematic or official colour-based system of classification at the Cape under the V.O.C., there can be no final way of telling who was and who was not in the 'Free Black' category. Nor is there any way of telling what kinds of people (and their various origins) were assimilated (definitionally and in practice) to the category of 'Free Blacks' over the period involved. Once again, any conceptual scheme which endeavours to identify and fix the Free Blacks as a tight community, corporate group or finite social stratum, defined and contained by its colour alone, has to confront and cope with the evidence of both cultural and class diversity amongst them. These factors - not colour - were ^{what} influenced where, how and when one entered the polity of burgers. Moreover, they, not simply or solely colour, shaped one's life chances. And in the 'Free Black' community there was considerable diversity in class and cultural terms - and there will certainly have been a wide spectrum of somatic types. There were farmers, veeboere, unskilled and skilled workers, rural labourers, fishermen, guides, at least one Sexton, exiled politicians and priests from the Indies as well as Muslims, Christians and others among them. Their interests and

identities did not correspond. Not only were they spread out in geographical terms (with some concentration in the Cape District), they were also distributed over different classes (with some concentration in the landless but free unskilled and skilled working class) and cultures (such as the 'Malays').¹⁹³ In the Requesten, for instance, the names of some Free Blacks (identified as such) reflect the differences in culture and religion. While there were many of the old 'slave names' (like Abraham of Macassar, Abdul of Batavia, Daniel of Ceylon, Anna van der Kaap, Januarij of Paliacatte, Johanna of Bali, and Lucas of Bengal) there were also those who had acquired or been given 'Dutch' or 'Christian' names, such as Johannes Abrahamsz, Frederick Adriaantz, Jan Abrahamse, Christoffel Daniel, Jacob Isaacksz, Alexander Benjamin, Adam Jacobse and Carel Jansz.¹⁹⁴

This discussion underlines an enduring theme of this study. What the structure of Cape society revealed in respect of this category was not the class consequences of 'race relations', but the implications of class and culture for so-called 'race relations',

193. A century later, after emancipation, this was still the case. Discussing the 'coloured people', an anonymous English authoress wrote that there was "... no sharply-defined line between class and class". She encountered both those she described as "... the Malay swells" and "Malay beauties" as well as those with "... quieter, well-bred manners among the necessarily mixed lot who attend the subscription balls...". Life at the Cape, p.6 and p.12. She described the somatic types which included 'quadroons', "... at least as handsome as gipsies", 'paler Malays' and 'negroes'. Ibid., p.83. She saw English jockeys competing without success against "... weazened little Hottentots", and she described the rich cultural traditions of a 'Malay Wedding' she attended. Ibid., p.83, p.101 and pp.55-7.

194. Requesten: Op.cit., passim.

which will be examined in the final chapter, along with ideology.

The real politics of the period are reflected in what has been described and analyzed in the previous chapters and in the preceding sections of this one. The relentless, driving, trading offensive of the Dutch; the undermining and consequential disintegration of Khoi economies and societies; the fierceness of the resistance; the incorporation of Khoisan and slaves in the political economy of the expanding colonial society; the implications of the cramped, V.O.C.-controlled economy for the social and political structure of Cape society; the dominance of the western land-owning class and the subordination of the other classes and cultural groups in it - these are the politics of colonialism at the Cape. The issues and tensions among the burgers, and between them and the V.O.C., are secondary. They revolved around who was to benefit from the working out of these deeper forces, and by how much and at what cost, and to whom. Yet, to the burgers, they were crucial issues. They have been implicit in what has gone before, and some threads need to be pulled together here.

The main target of burger complaints, and the organization of their energies was directed against the tightness of V.O.C. monopoly policy, the low prices which were offered or fixed for their produce or services, the corruption of some of the officials, the constraints on free trading - whether with Khoi or further afield - and the burgers' overall concern to limit competition. For as the V.O.C. squeezed them, so they squeezed those below them, and they in turn did the same to those below them.

The burgers did not constitute a well-organized corporate group with an identity of interests, and their various petitions and demands reflected the increasing differentiation in structure

and the divisions among them. Since the standard form of expressing complaints or grievances was by petition or by individual Memorial to the Council, it is these which highlight the really quite distinctive (and competitive) groups and their interests. Sometimes the Burger Councillors would represent a special group, or speak for them. Sometimes the petitions or Memorials, as shown earlier, came from individuals or a particular group. For instance, when the bakers objected to the slaves of other burgers selling bread in the streets of the Town, few others were involved, but the request for the enforcement of their monopoly affected others. Likewise when the grain-farmers asked for a better price for their grain, those costs - when such an increase was permitted - were passed on to the V.O.C. and other burgers. On other occasions, a few burgers (mainly of the town and with the incentive to broach the idea) requested permission to start a shipping trade up the East African coast. And when the small élite of western wine farmers and their Town allies moved against Adriaan van der Stel, not many others in the burger community were actively involved, and some were actively against them. Such partial interest groups rarely overlapped in time or on an issue - aggregation and articulation was weak and fragmentary. There was no single instance when the burgers acted in unison. The political means for doing so, in any event, were limited. Communications were slow for the most part and hence organization was difficult. But, in the main, the group which stood most to lose and most to gain, and which was always conspicuous when major issues about overall economic policy were at stake, was the dominant class of western agriculturalist, or a section of it, and their town allies. During the two particularly revealing confrontations - in 1705/6 when they moved against van

der Stel, and in 1779 when the Patriotte demanded wider political rights and economic opportunities - it was they who felt the pinch, saw the need to act, and did. The rest of the burger community, in both instances, were part of the background. The Tas episode and the Patriotte were instances of élite politics. Some specific instances will help to illustrate these threads of the argument.

One of the earliest petitions - submitted by the first free burgers - was in 1658. In it the burgers objected to being denied the freedom to trade with Khoi and resented the price that was offered to them for their corn. They wanted a fair price stated in writing "... for we will no longer believe words, we are paid on all sides with fair words, but not deeds ...".¹⁹⁵ When Adam Tas and his small group of landholders were finally forced into moving against the van der Stel clique, their complaints reflected their material preoccupations, not those of the non-landowning urban burgers. And the latter did not get involved. Tas and his group charged rightly that the Governor, his family and their allies had accumulated vast tracts of land, that they exploited V.O.C. labourers and slaves for personal gains, that they had appointed their cronies as the wine and meat contractors, that they had diverted all good timber for their own personal use, and that in general the scale of their farming operations - given that cramped market - was forcing all the others to the wall.¹⁹⁶

195. Moodie: Op.cit., I, p.151.

196. Leo Fouché (ed.): The Diary of Adam Tas, passim; M.W.Spilhaus: South Africa, chapter IV. In terms of their involvement in production of grain and wine, and the supply of meat, the officials had, says Fouché, virtually "... rendered the burgers literally superfluous". Ibid., p.365.

In 1715, shortly after the smallpox epidemic of two years previously, the grain farmers again petitioned for a price increase and a tax relief, since their expenses had risen and they had incurred "... a loss of slaves" which made their burdens heavy.¹⁹⁷ Other requests for a free trade were submitted in 1717, 1718 and 1751.¹⁹⁸ In 1719 a wider and more comprehensive petition was submitted.¹⁹⁹ In this the Memorialists noted that the burger population had been increasing. (In 1717 the burger representatives had firmly declared themselves against further immigration on the grounds that increased competition would cause great hardship). The economic conditions were tight and restricted. So they sought to establish a 'sea-trade' with East Africa, and requested permission to obtain a 'three-masted hooker' in which individuals might take out shares. Corn and wine could be exported and it would cruise in and around Sofala, Mozambique and Melinde for slaves. Their request was refused.

Petitions, Memorials and complaints of that kind continued throughout the 18th century, but to little avail. In general, however, the group that made most of the political running in respect of general policy requests - as opposed to the smaller and more individual Memorials - were drawn from the class of large farmers and the burger councillors. Thus when the Kaapse Patriotte declared their position and submitted their demands in 1779, not only were

197. Requesten: Op.cit., I, p.42, No.95, of 26th February, 1715.

198. Boëseken: Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse, Op.cit., p.174.
In the 1718 request they sought permission to trade up the East coast. Also Katzen: Op.cit., pp.201-2.

199. Requesten, I, p.48. No.60, of 18th July, 1719.

they almost exclusively drawn from Cape Town and the surrounding districts, but also they were organized by 8 burger councillors of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein who claimed to represent about 300 colonists of the Peninsula and its immediate environment.²⁰⁰ While imitating Republican rhetoric, their demands reflected nonetheless the interests of an aspirant section of the dominant class, constrained by V.O.C. regulations in respect of trade and labour arrangements, and seeking political muscle in order to protect, improve and consolidate their position.²⁰¹

Many of the requests of the Patriotte were familiar ones - more freedom of trade, a coastal shipping, permission to mill their own grain, direct access to V.O.C. ships in the Bay, and the like. But there were new political demands too. They sought representation on the Council in larger numbers, direct access to the Seventeen, legal representation in the Court of Justice and direct appeal to Amsterdam, not Batavia (articles 9-16).²⁰² They sought greater 'rights' of punishment and control of their own slaves (article 6) and they wanted no 'Chinese, Javanese or Bandits' - or foreigners like the English or French - to settle at the Cape and 'engage in trade or open shops' (articles 24 and 25).²⁰³

200. C.Beyers: Die Kaapse Patriotte; Walker: History, pp.101-2; T.R.H.Davenport: "The Consolidation of a New Society", p.287, pp.298-9 and pp.311-2; P.J.Idenburg: The Cape of Good Hope at the Turn of the 18th century, pp.21-32; C.F.J.Müller: "Domestic Strife and International Warfare, 1778-1795", passim.

201. Beyers: Op.cit., chapter 11, pp.26-38.

202. Ibid., pp.28-30.

203. Ibid., p.33.

The immediate problems stated by the Patriotte were of course relieved by the arrival at the Cape in 1781 of a French fleet. With France and England at war and the Netherlands in alliance with the French, the Cape became a handy staging point and calling place for the French ships. The local economy was immediately given a boost for a few years by the sudden, constant and increased demand for food and services, and the Patriotte movement fizzled out.²⁰⁴ But they are interesting because - as with the Tas episode of 1705/6 - they revealed deeper trends. They also indicated the preoccupations of the dominant class and thus expose the content of its politics, and especially their politico-economic ambitions vis-a-vis the official/ex-officials/landed alliance, which still dominated the society in the west and were referred to by the Patriotte as the 'Mamalukes'.

Between 1705/6 and 1779 there were of course other issues, but the preoccupations of politics at those other levels concerned taxes and tithes, parochial affairs of local government and the Cape council, the administration of V.O.C. matters and the minutiae of V.O.C. bureaucratic procedures.²⁰⁵ The vast mass of the colonial population - of all classes and cultures - were not the

204. Müller: Op.cit., p.70. The V.O.C. in Amsterdam in the 1780s gave a rather negative response to the requests.

205. For instance, Jacob Lever had to seek formal permission to "... send a small box to Holland, one foot square". Requesten, II, p.664, No.35, of 1721. And in 1781 a burger commando "... from the country districts ..." asked that they be relieved of tax burdens since they had already shown public spirit in loaning their slaves for public purposes. Ibid., I, p.119. No.71, of 13th October, 1781.

subjects of those politics but the objects. Given, moreover, that the broad features of social structure were deeply implicated in a more or less stagnant economy, there was little in the way of political movement, except by those who voted with their feet and gradually moved out of the western areas to the north and the east, thus carrying the colonial society further into the interior. Those questions are examined in the next chapter. But the substantive developments that have been discussed in the previous chapters, and in this one, provided the structural context and medium through which the competing pressures in Cape society worked and which, despite important underlying trends, made more for continuity than change. Before turning in the Conclusions to examine the broader issues of 'race relations', social structure and ideology at the Cape during the 18th century, the trekking movement which fanned out into the interior during the course of this period must be analyzed and contrasted with the west.

Chapter 8

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS: THE INTERIOR

The origins of the slow northern and eastern trekking movement in the 18th century lie in the political economy and social structure of the western Cape. All the factors which gave rise to and sustained that movement have been indicated in previous chapters. They included the tight economic conditions of the colony, the growth of population, the control of the western agricultural sector by a small group of landed burgers who had close ties with officials or ex-officials, the continuing and increasing demand for meat, the attraction of the interior as ranching land and also its possibilities for hunting, prospecting and trading, and the relatively easy access to land. The character of the society which slowly fanned out in the 18th century can best be described in terms of its degree and kind of social pluralism, and hence contrasted with the more steeply ranked structural pluralism of the western areas. Before looking at that there are some initial qualifications to be made.

First, there are inevitable simplifications in generalizing about so long a period and so vast an area. The span covers the period from early in the 1700s to deep into the last quarter of the 18th century, and includes the triangular region stretching from the western Cape to the Buffelsrivier (and beyond) in the north, the Zeekoerivier in the north-east, and the Fish river in the east.¹

1. A.J. Böeseken: Geskiedenis-Atlas, Op.cit., map no.56, "Die Kaapse Volksplanting teen die einde van die 18de eeu".

There were considerable differences in degree and emphasis with respect to economic life and socio-political structure over the area and the period in any one place or time. Moreover, an area - like Saldanha Bay, for instance - which early in the century had been on the edge of the periphery, was later in the century a relatively more settled district with tighter and more frequent connections to the market at the Cape, as Lichtenstein pointed out in his description of the wealth of one of the farmers there, mentioned in the last chapter.

Secondly, the available evidence about the whole region is much more patchy and uneven than for the west. It thus is sometimes necessary and useful to draw on early 19th century accounts to illustrate and highlight trends which the material for the 18th century does not adequately reveal.

Thirdly, there are problems about regarding the whole region as constituting a 'society' in the terms defined in chapter 2. There was no single effective authority; there was the interaction of diverse political economies and cultural systems and, overall, the relatively non-settled areas beyond the western Cape exhibited a greater degree of fluidity. That kind of region has been usefully described as a 'frontier zone', that is an area which combined relationships which were "... temporary, unstable, fluid and dynamic".² It is best to regard the history of the 18th century in the interior

2. M. Legassick: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries ... Op.cit., p.13, and his Introduction in general. While Legassick is concerned primarily with the post-1780 developments in the North, his formulation is of wider usefulness. However the central concern of his study - or rather the way it sometimes is expressed in terms of 'white supremacy and acculturation' - has limitations, as the earlier discussion of class and culture in previous chapters has already suggested. Nonetheless his dissertation is a remarkable and important contribution on a number of fronts.

as a continuous process whereby successive 'frontier zones' gave way to more settled areas as the 'frontier' moved forward. That is, there were always 'frontier zones', which accompanied the outward arc of the colonial movement, but behind these zones there were regularities which can be identified in terms of a continuum of structural types, and distinguished in degrees from the west. Thus, while the duration of the 'frontier zone' phase of colonial relationships varied from place to place at different times - as, for example, when the advance of the colonial political economy was held back by the resistance of Khoisan alliances or the nature of geographical conditions - it is nonetheless possible to discuss the main features of the society which was formed behind the frontier zone. Thus the focus here is less on the fluidity and instability of the 'frontier zone' phase than it is on the structures of relationships which were established as the colonial political economy came to dominate over Khoi and San groups in consequence of the processes that were analyzed in chapters 5 and 6.

Finally, however, the notion of a frontier of colour - which is often how the movement of veeboere has been conceived and described - must be scrapped, collapsed and reorganized in terms of different conceptual categories derived from class and cultural concerns. The notion of a 'white' frontier tide, battling against, and then subduing, 'wilde diere' and 'wilde mense' (wild animals and wild men)³ may have served modern political and ideological purposes well, but it bears no relation to the praxis of expansion in the 18th century. The process was both more complicated and less easy to

3. Leo Fouché: Die Evolutie van die Trekboer, p.2.

describe in such stark terms. For the 'frontier' consisted of a shifting, overlapping, multi-faceted socio-economic composite of the pastoral and loosely market-oriented political economy of the veeboere, as well as Khoi, 'Bastaard' and slave dependants and clients, which were all interspersed among other independent Khoi and San groups and involved in relations of both cooperation and conflict.

Thus, in the wake of these 'frontier zones', there were established relationships between and within groups, which illustrate the central aspects of social pluralism. Whereas in the west there was being consolidated the societally-extensive hierarchy of structural pluralism, in the east and north the dominant features of social structure were defined more by horizontal 'federations' of small-scale units which were involved with each other in terms of local relations of both conflict and cooperation.

The central economic facts of the interior were its pastoral basis, the consequential requirements of large tracts of land, relatively less need for capital and labour than in the west, and loose but important connections with the Cape market. The structure and scope of relationships in the north and the east tended to be more limited and smaller in scope. This was due to a combination of the organizational character of pastoralism, the thin population spread of veeboere, the great distances, the absence of effective central authority which could have regulated socio-political and economic relationships, and also partly because of the absence of outward and visible signs of hierarchy (except at and in the local extended family level).

Over the period, the trend was however systematically to

incorporate Khoi and San within the colonially-oriented pastoral economy. And though there was overlapping on the edges, the phase of relations which succeeded the 'frontier zone' stage, expressed the distinctive characteristics of social pluralism. This involved "... the organization of institutionally dissimilar collectivities as corporate sections or segments whose boundaries demarcate distinct communities and systems of social action".⁴

At the risk of simplifying the complexity of the process, it is worth suggesting that the central distinction between the 'segments' or 'systems of social action' was not simply between 'white' and 'black', or between 'Khoisan' and 'European', but was rather between those sections which were oriented to production for the Cape market and those which were not. On either side of that rough divide were very different combinations and categories of peoples, in different kinds of alliances and relationships. Thus, some 'Europeans' went and lived amongst Khoi (and Nguni and Sotho groups to the east and north). Other 'Khoi' and 'Bastaards' who were incorporated in the market-oriented pastoral economy as labourers, domestics, herders and commando fighters, were part of that latter system of socio-economic organization and social action, though they were usually subordinate and dependent within it, in both class and cultural terms. It is with that side of the divide - the society established behind the 'frontier zones' - that this chapter is concerned.

Conditions of social pluralism of that kind can not and did not last long. Given the radically contrasting ends of the

4. M.G.Smith: "Some Developments in the Analytic Framework of Pluralism", p.444.

representative societal types involved, the organization of their material interests, and the predatory expanding character of the veeboere and their descendants as they searched for more land, domination by the market-oriented and more successful groups followed. Hence everywhere but at different times, social pluralism gave way gradually to local replications of a structurally plural order. First, it was on a small-scale - at the level of the extended family and its dependants and clients - and then, much later, it became societally-extensive as consolidation took place. The structural history of the interior during the course of the geographic spread of the colonial economy describes that gradual transition from social to structural pluralism.

Furthermore, the notion that there was substantial equality amongst the farmers is not borne out by the evidence of the contemporaries. There were important distinctions in wealth, though this was not always outwardly evident. There were successful and unsuccessful veeboere. The complex of structural and other reasons which initiated and underpinned the trekking movement will be examined shortly. But any notions analagous to the F.J.Turner thesis of a "... westward marching army of individualistic, liberty-loving democratic backwoodsmen" must be dismissed.⁵ Though there were almost no schools, very few churches and hardly any formal institutions and procedures by which and through which symbols of status and

5. Frederick Jackson Turner, cited in Allsop: Op.cit., p.76. To that view, Athearn and Riegel have responded that "... if it existed, the desire for liberty was infinitesimal in comparison with the desire for wealth". R.G.Athearn and R.E.Riegel: America Moves West, p.630.

position could be displayed in terms of wealth and precedence, this must not obscure the fact that there were both well-to-do and poor veeboere.

There was, furthermore, a persistent imbalance in the interior of the sex-ratios, as was indicated in Table III in chapter 7. The social consequences over the century there of that demographic fact, coupled with the different 'classes' of veeboere, were not too dissimilar to what was happening in the western Cape. Just as in the west, the better-off veeboere in the interior were able to draw into their ranks the women of their own cultural preferences, and hence sustain - or create? - group coherence and consciousness. The other veeboere therefore, as in the west, became involved in various kinds of domestic arrangements with the Khoi, 'Bastaard' and slave women, though there were far fewer slaves in the interior than at the Cape. These less successful men were drawn into the new 'frontier zones' in the course of the 18th century and beyond, while the others remained behind in the newly settled areas of the interior where they began to form settled groups associated with the small villages that grew up alongside the centres of administration and churches which were established. A court was established at Swellendam in 1745 and at Graaff-Reinet in 1786, as the Cape government tried to exert control over the interior, and churches were set up at Rodezand (Tulbagh) in 1743, Zwartland (Malmesbury) in 1745 and at Graaff-Reinet only in 1792.⁶ Though the evidence is slim, it is reasonable to suppose that these centres gradually too became regional market centres, or at least places

6. Theal: History of Africa, III, pp. 346-7, Map X. It is most important to record one central fact of Afrikaner history - "... they did not all trek". Sir K.W. Hancock: "Trek", p. 339.

where some exchanges took place and where some services (other than religious and administrative) were provided or imposed. For instance, in the 18th century Requesten there are examples of men seeking burger papers in Cape Town in order to become smiths, wagonmakers, shoemakers and surgeons in Tulbagh and Roodezand.⁷

Thus, the overall features of the expansion of the colonial political economy based on pastoralism exhibited the successive phases, from district to district, of 'frontier zone', social pluralism and then the subsequent gradual emergence of localized structurally plural communities. Not all the veeboere were 'white' of direct European lineage, but those of them who succeeded as ranchers and established good connections with the Cape were able to consolidate their position in virtue of that, and draw women from the dominant and preferred cultural category into their ranks. Here again, though the societal hierarchies were less steep and initially reflected social pluralism, one may identify the prime importance and the mutually re-inforcing factors of class and culture. This implies the secondary, non-causal and contingent nature of 'colour' as a factor in the constitution of Cape society in the interior. For example, as a result of these developments in social structure and composition, the 'Basters', whose culture "... was neither Khoikhoi nor Dutch but is best described as a synthesis of the two traditions", were, in the 19th century, for instance, "... the Voortrekkers of Little Namaqualand".⁸ While that process of mutual

7. Requesten, I, p.85, No.85, of 1779; I, p.401, No.104, of 1789; II, pp.447, No.17, of 1751; and II, p.634, No.76, of 1752.

8. Peter Carstens: The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve, p.19. Even in the 18th century the 'pioneers' in the northern area were 'non-white', and other farmers used that area as trekveld for expansion. See Legassick: Op.cit., pp.103-4, and P.J.van der Merwe: Die Noordwaartse Beweging, pp.4-5.

acculturation and adaptation to the requirements of the environment was proceeding, especially on the outer edges of the periphery - that is in the 'frontier zones' - the factors of land-ownership and more direct access to political power and coercion enabled the more successful to dominate in the areas behind the outward-moving arc.

Moreover, some successful farmers appear to have sought political power and especially the institutions through which it could be exercised, particularly churches. When van Imhoff was at the Cape there were some groups (in Swellendam and also in the Palmiet River area, and later in the Camdeboo) who asked for churches to be built in their districts.^{8a} No doubt there were other factors involved, but one may identify in such requests more than simple expressions of faith and piety, though it may well be that too. Settled people, and usually the relatively more successful, are found seeking or shaping the institutions through which their influence can be expressed.

As the 19th century commenced there was little left of independent Khoi 'hordes' or continued transhumance. Some few 'mixed groups' formed small communities, within the interstices of the pastoral colonial economy. In 1814, for instance, a group of 257 'Europeans', 'slaves' and mainly 'Bastaards' were found living on an unoccupied farm in the Cedarberg region, and in 1820 some 40 'Bastaards' were on a separate opgaaf roll in Graff-Reinet.⁹

Nearer the Cape there were others, like the 'Hottentot Captain Stoffel Cookson' who were hard pressed to "... defend the property

8a. A.J.Böeseken: Die Nederlandse Kommissaris, Op.cit., pp.48-50.

9. J.S.Marais: The Cape Coloured People, p.12.

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rights to his inherited kraal against the encroachment of the farmers ...". Other destitute people, including Khoi, 'Bastaards' and the offspring of slaves and Khoi women, crowded for protection in the 1790s on the Moravian mission station when it opened at Baviaan's Kloof.¹⁰ But most of the Khoisan who survived were being incorporated as labourers, as we have seen.

The downward pressures initiated by the material circumstances and economic policy of the V.O.C. meant that each class or category within it - having its differential access to political influence, social connections, economic resources and coercive capacities - pressed down upon the next through the overall hierarchy of western landed power, and interior pastoral interests. As these pressures worked their way through to the interior, the groups that bore the brunt there were the weakest in class terms, or became so in the course of the formation of the pastoral economy and its associated social structures. This slow process represented the shift from social to structural pluralism in the long term, ultimately acting to align more closely the societally-extensive relations in the whole of the Cape province, and define corporate group solidarities. This illustrates M.G.Smith's observation that structural pluralism may be instituted in one of two ways:¹¹

by the total exclusion of subordinate sections from the inclusive public domain, which is then the formally unqualified monopoly of the dominant group; or alternatively by instituting substantial and sufficient inequalities of sectional participation in and access to this sector of the societal organization.

10. B.Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.53-60.

11. M.G.Smith: Op.cit., p.440.

Such 'substantial and sufficient inequalities' were noted by George Thompson in the 1820s when discussing the fate of the 'Griqua or Bastard-Hottentots' in the interior when he observed that "It is a great hardship, in regard to this class of people, that they have hitherto been systematically prevented from acquiring landed property in the colony. In consequence of this, they are generally driven beyond the boundary, and tempted to become outlaws and robbers; or if any of them occupy and improve a vacant spot within the limit, they are always liable to be dispossessed by some boer obtaining a grant of it from the Government...".¹²

The surviving Khoi and San in the Cape interior in the last quarter of the 18th century were also, of course, the groups whose economic life, culture and ideology was most discontinuous with that of 'Bastard' groups and the market-oriented veeboere, staking out land for their families, dependants and herds. Hence when conflict between their rival political economies and cultures was expressed in fighting, it was fierce and vicious on both sides. There was more than simply land at stake: incompatible ways of life and prospects for continuing them were involved, and the groups knew it. In this instance, as in others, where differences in economic life were compounded by cultural, ideological and somatic contrasts, conflict was bitter. The hate that was generated was mutual and pitiless, and had important and lasting implications for group relations, leaving bitter legacies in ideology and attitudes.

While cooperation (via trading and hunting, for instance) accompanied the 'frontier zone' and the socially plural phases of

12. George Thompson: Travels and Adventures in South Africa, II, p.72.

colonial expansion, it was the ferocious conflict and fighting that decisively marked off the subsequent process whereby, area by area, Khoisan were pulled into the political economy of the veeboere as labourers and menials, and hence forced down in the micro-social structures of the farm and its domestic economy, or the macro-social structure of the emerging society.

.....

The evidence which supports this interpretation of the processes which defined the extension and structure of the colony in the 18th century can best be organized under the following headings. First, the causes, direction and scope of the trekking movement. Secondly, the importance and relevance of the market connection - a theme which usefully also subsumes within it a discussion and critique of the 'romantic' notion of the trekkers and their ideology. Thirdly, the differences between types of veeboere - the successful and the poor - and their domestic relations. And finally, some points about the structure and variable quality of farm life, the ideology which it generated, the contrasts with the western regions and the later Trekker Republics are worth noting.

The detailed history of the slow movement out of the western Cape is well known enough not to bear repetition here.¹³ It is important however to situate that movement within the context of the political economy and social structure of the Cape as the 17th century came to an end. Self-sufficiency in food, the onset of

13. The best accounts are in A.J.H.van der Walt: Die Ausdehnung der Kolonie am Kap der Guten Hoffnung, 1700-1779; P.J.van der Merwe: Die Noordwaartse Beweging, Op.cit., and his Die Trekboer, Op.cit.; E.A.Walker: The Frontier Tradition; C.Graham Botha: "The Dispersion of the Stockfarmer in the 18th century", and J.S.Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic.

chronic over-production, the growth of the population, the turning of the cattle trade over to the burgers, the continued and increased demand for meat, the occupation of the western land by the emerging dominant class and the very slim prospects for the unsuccessful and their offspring, if they remained, except as servants and employees; these were the factors that caused and sustained the outward movement of veeboere. Whatever modern historians may read back into the movement by way of motives - that the veeboere sought 'freedom' or that they were content simply to accumulate stock for the sake of it - must be countered by emphasizing the normative and structural context, and the material objectives which influenced the movement from the start.

It was a slow start, too. The first veeboere were not independant cattle farmers who struck out to the north and east. The first cattle runs, as emerged in the last chapter, were second or third farms for the settled western agriculturalists from the Cape and Stellenbosch. Their ranches in Riebeeck's Kasteel, for instance, were looked after by their sons or their knechte or their slaves and probably Khoi herders. According to the Archive lists there were only three colonists in 1716 who lived exclusively by cattle rearing.¹⁴ Thereafter, a second wave of men moved lock, stock

14. van der Walt: Op.cit.,p.24. In the 1770s, Sparrman came across farms in the east - near Keurbooms River, for instance, which were "... inhabited only by some Hottentots, who were left there by a colonist in order to look after it". Sparrman: Op.cit.,I,p.304.

and barrel to the periphery and began to ranch. The closer to the Cape, the more likely were the farms to have been secondary to agricultural and viticultural pursuits. The further inland the more full-time the rancher, and the exclusive business of the farmers was cattle and sheep, especially after 1717.¹⁵ The attraction of the interior for cattle-ranching had been noted (with some concern by Adriaan van der Stel) in 1705, for he feared the competition that would ensue (and it did) when the V.O.C. permitted the burgers to trade freely with the Khoi. But in an official letter to the Seventeen in 1705 it was noted that people who went inland for their cattle found better pasture, the sheep and cattle grew fat, the meat was better and cheaper. "If these people were now ordered to return", the letter continued, "they would not know what to do with their cattle, as the lands about Drakenstein, Stellenbosch and the Cape have all been given out and occupied without possessing any suitable pasture. The consequence would be, that cattle, instead of multiplying and getting fatter, would become lean, and die of want, to the great loss of the people, and inconvenience of the Company, for meat would naturally become dearer".¹⁶ The opening of the cattle-trade to burgers up to 1727 from 1700 (with a short formal break imposed locally by van der Stel between 1702 and 1705) gave impetus to the movement.

Once unleashed, once the momentum had been gained and once the norm of large ranching areas had been established, the forces

15. van der Walt: Op.cit.,p.27.

16. Letters Despatched,1696-1708,p.261. Dated 28th March,1705. People were already being "obliged to go very far with their cattle for food, to scatter themselves far and wide inland".
Ibid.,pp.256-7.

that were generated could not without difficulty be reversed. They sustained the movement throughout the century. For instance, in the report based on his 1743 visit, Van Imhoff showed that he saw the problem from the point of view of the V.O.C., as the dispersion quickened. Attached to his report are the views of the Landdrost and Heemraden of the recently established district of Swellendam. They pointed out that many of the inhabitants there maintained themselves "... principally on stock-raising" and that therefore the area could not tolerate further immigration, thus echoing an earlier Cape view. Moreover, men were seeking land yet further afield, "... for the average families here are becoming so large that it is already difficult without prejudicing one or the other to make application for a farm on loan tenure". It already took six weeks to get to Cape Town with wagons.¹⁷ Thus the economic and demographic logic of the situation - despite the sparseness of the population spread - continued to establish and sustain new bases for the outward movement of trekboere from area to area. And, as they moved, frontier zone gave way to social pluralism and then incorporation and hierarchy. By the 1770s farmers were again complaining to the government in the northern areas that there was lack of good land for farms and they looked yet further north.¹⁸ The Khoisan resistance in the last 30 years of the century on the whole of the northern periphery was such as to contain any such ambitions on a large scale. Indeed they drove farmers and their dependants and servants

17. Report of Van Imhoff, pp.154. Views of Swellendam Landdrost and Heemraden, 5th January, 1751, to Governor Swellengrebel. In The Reports of Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape. Freehold was suggested as a means of keeping people attached to one place.

18. P.J. van der Merwe: Die Noordwaartse Beweging, p.15.

out of many areas such as the Nieuweveld, Koup and Tarka. Despite the insecurity of the area from the standpoint of the veeboere, a small number of groups moved out of the Sneeuwberge still further north. One such group were the van der Walts and associates who reached the Renosterberg in the late 1780s, but the full colonialist expansion was fought off by Khoisan resistance until early in the 19th century.¹⁹ The whole process was defined by those features that have been the substantive concern of previous chapters: the 'transfer' of cattle and sheep from Khoi to veeboere, the conflict between competing socio-economic systems, and the incorporation of Khoisan as labourers and dependants within the political economy of colonial pastoralism with its predatory expansion onto the land of the latter, thus foreclosing on their transhumance, curtailing severely the food-gathering and hunting basis of their economies, and preventing the regeneration of herds.

While these factors underpinned the expansion of the colonial economy, with the polity lagging in its rear, the direction which was taken can be simply stated. Broadly speaking, the lines of communication with the Cape were extended further and further to the north-west and the north-east. After 1700, the veeboere began moving northwards to Groenekloof, the Bergrivier and 24-Rivers area;

19. Ibid., pp.19-24; Marks: "Khoisan Resistance", pp.73-4. So bitter and filled with vengeance was the fighting that appalling atrocities were committed on both sides. By 1778 the Governor van Plettenberg agreed that 'systematic eradication' ('uitroeiing') would have to be adopted as policy, and a policy of genocide followed after 1779. The Khoisan resistance matched this. According to van der Merwe, shepherds were tortured, nails pulled out and men were scalped. Cattle were not only driven off, but tethered in waterless places to die, or slaughtered on the spot. One instance cited by Lichtenstein was of 40 head of cattle, 200 sheep and a number of Khoi shepherds being slain. There was "chroniese privaat-oorlog tussen Boer and Boesman" (There was chronic private war between Boer and 'Bushman'). In van der Merwe: Op.cit., pp.29-62.

by 1717 there were ranches in the Piketberg and by 1725 there were small groups in the Olfantrivier Valley. By the late 1730s, a few had begun ranching in the Doorn River area. Thereafter, the movement further north to Kobiskow, and on to the Orange, was slow. As groups moved north-east from that general northerly direction they entered the Bokkeveld and Roggeveld regions and then the Nieuweveld (which was very dry). From there a 'second' eastern migration developed, and the Sneeuweberge were reached in the 1770s.

Two parallel easterly movements - along the coast and through the southern reaches of the Karoo north of the Langeberge - brought veeboere to the Breede River in 1727, the Gouritz in 1729, the Great Brak in 1730 and the Gamtoos River by 1765. By the late 1760s some easterly coastal trekkers had turned north and joined up with the Karoo movement and the 'second' eastern migration in the Sneeuwbergen.²⁰ Groups spread out then through the Camdebo and around Bruintjes Hoogte, and further to the East even to the Fish and Bushmans rivers.²¹

The composition of the society in the interior varied from place to place over the period, but included more slaves nearer the Cape and more Khoisan and 'Bastaard' dependants further inland. In chapter 6, the analysis of the labour arrangements which prevailed from area to area made that clear. More precise statistical evidence confirms the point. It also underlines the fact that 'pure' slaves - held in coercion and utterly against their will - would have

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20. P.J.van der Merwe: Op.cit.,pp.1-7; C.G.Botha: "The Dispersion ...", Op.cit.,passim.; Böeseken: Geskiedenis-Atlas, maps 55, 56, and 57. Before 1730, says Botha, farms had been issued in Paarl, Stellenbosch, Malmesbury, Piketberg, Robertson, Tulbagh, Riversdale, Bredasdorp, Mossel Bay, George, ClanWilliam, in the Koue Bokkeveld and at Zwartberg (Caledon). Many places of course were occupied without formal permission being obtained. Beutler found, in 1752, veeboere in the Mossel Bay area. Ibid., pp.109-110.
21. J.S.Marais: Op.cit.,pp.1-3.

been impossible to retain long for labour or domestic purposes given, first, the 'open' conditions of the interior and the character of ranching as an economic pursuit, and given, secondly, the classical features of slavery as outlined earlier. To a quite considerable extent, therefore, the few slaves and the rest of the servants and dependants must have come in time to identify with the veeboere, partly through acculturation - which was very slow - and partly through an emerging identity of interests, differential as they were.

According to Gie, some 80% of the slaves at the end of the century in the colony were in the western areas.²² That is quite likely to be an underestimate. For instance, in 1788 there were only 445 slaves (male, female and children) in the Graaff-Reinet district out of a colonial slave total of 14,810 - that is Graaff-Reinet slaves represented 3.1% of the total, though they constituted approximately 14.0% of the Graaff-Reinet population, excluding Khoi.²³ According to Barrow's account of the opgaaf for 1798, there were some 964 slaves in Graaff-Reinet out of a colonial total of 26,254 - that is 3.7%.²⁴ By contrast with other districts, that was very small indeed. In the same year the Cape and Stellenbosch districts together had a slave component which represented about 62.5% of the total population.²⁵ But Barrow also said that the opgaaf revealed

22. S.F.N.Gie: "The Cape Colony Under Company Rule, 1708-1795" p.165.

23. Based on C.Beyers: Op.cit., p.249.

24. Based on Barrow: Op.cit., II, pp.342-377.

25. Ibid., II, p.377. It is impossible to know how reliable such figures are. At best they indicate a contrast between the components of the colonial society in the west and the interior. In 1798 the total 'Khoi' population in the Colony was estimated at 14,000. Gie: Op.cit., p.165.

that there were some 9,000 'Hottentots' in Graaff-Reinet at the end of the century.²⁶

Not all these Khoi were, however, in service with the farmers, though most were in the process of gradually being forced into the local domestic and pastoral economy as was shown in chapter 6. As the trekking movement proceeded from place to place, and as 'frontier zones' gave way to local patchworks of social pluralism, relations first of uneasy symbiosis were followed by various forms of clientage, and ultimately the incorporation of such Khoisan in extended familial and ranching units took place. The conception that gives most coherence to the overall process of social formation and composition is of a steadily articulating societal framework behind the 'frontier zones' and the areas of fighting, but which was inclusive of veeboere of various degrees and kinds of institutional and normative compatibility, as well as Khoisan clients and dependants and 'apprentices' - as the euphemism has it - living amongst disrupted and disintegrating communities of still independent Khoi and San. The elements of differentiation and stratification that were emerging in the areas of colonial dominance were based on degrees of both institutional (that is 'horizontal') discontinuity, and also the wealth and control of land, (loosely, 'class' in terms of vertical incorporation). In respect of institutional discontinuity, the two extremes were the dependant Khoisan herders and domestics on the one hand, and those who controlled the land and hence the economy on the other hand. Both cultural and class factors may again be identified at work here and of course they overlapped, especially in

26. Barrow: Op.cit., loc.cit.

the incorporative process. I return to examine those features of social structure/dealing with the question of the market connections between the interior and the Cape, and the now rather dubious notion of a homogeneous community of individualistic, self-sufficient, Bible-bearing, democratic, egalitarian and 'white' veeboere.

In describing and explaining the dispersion of the stock-farmers in the 18th century, historians of South Africa have had a field-day in the generation of myths about the causes and conditions of the trekking movement, and about the values and ideology of the people who constituted it.²⁷ More often than not, these accounts contain strange confusions and contradictions. While many note the economic factors involved in the trekking movement, they then proceed to imply that the trekkers and veeboere declined into a self-imposed economic self-sufficiency while retaining or evolving individual or collective group self-definitions based on Biblical analogies. The ideological and behavioural caricature of the veeboere which emerges from those accounts combines, for the 18th century,^{is} a mixture of rural idiocy, utter economic isolation, Old Testament strictness and modern 'racial' attitudes. In practice, I will suggest, the veeboere and their societies, were in general far more human and lively than the caricature suggests, and also that they were much more implicated in the overall political economy of the colony. Some examples, first, of the kind of stereotype which has been developed in the histories will help to provide the basis for the contrast.

27. Two major exceptions are Neumark whose work has been referred to before and is cited again later, and Shula Marks' chapter in the recent Cambridge History of Africa, Vol 4, where she avoids perpetuating these myths.

Though it may have started before 1843, an early formulation of the myth is contained in some lectures given in that year by Henry Cloete. He attributed the dispersion in part to "... the inherent roving disposition of man in general, but more particularly of those descendants of Saxon origin, to whom, 1,000 years ago, the wide range of the European continent was found insufficient to gratify their wandering propensities".²⁸ A less meta-historical and elliptical view was taken by Theal. While he noted the underlying economic and demographic factors, he paid scant attention to the market connections between the interior and the Cape. While the colonists were "... uneducated in book lore ..." and their "... faculties were dormant ..." they nonetheless had "... a latent brain power ..." that marked them off from those of 'barbarian descent'. "They were simply Europeans of an advanced type who had adapted themselves to a rough environment". Moreover, while they were often quiet and contemplative, they knew little of the affairs of Europe, for those matters did not come within their experience. The veeboere "... was living under skies as those under which Abraham lived, his occupation was the same, he understood the imagery of the Hebrew writers more perfectly than anyone in Europe could understand it for it spoke to him of his daily life".²⁹ A variation of the 'white man's burden' theme was taken up by Leo Fouché when he lectured that the

28. Henry Cloete: Five Lectures on the migration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ...,p.3.

29. Theal: History of Africa,III,pp.366-370. He talks of the "... continuous roll of thunder which was the voice of the Lord", and "... skies like brass and of earth like iron ... and of swarms of locusts before whose track was the garden of the Lord when he spoke of these things he (the boer) could be eloquent enough, but they were not subjects for conversation with casual visitors". Ibid.,p.370.

role of the trekboere was "... om die land skoon te maak vir die witman wat achterna kom ...".³⁰ (To make the land clean for the whitemen who came after them). C.Graham Botha said the grazier was regular in worship and that the Bible was often the only book in the home. Through the Bible, said Botha, the cattle-men identified with his Biblical predecessors. There was much piety, and independence and love of liberty were ideals.³¹ In his account of the period and in his discussion of the 'frontier tradition', Walker noted the 'prime causes' for the dispersion were related to economic factors and especially the demand for meat, but he also wrote that one of the most important ideological aspects of the expansion was the veeboere "... denial in the sight of God and man of all equality between white and non-white".³² In the first few pages of his economic history of South Africa, Goodfellow gave emphatic expression to the degeneration theory of economic life of the grazier by saying that he would "... accumulate cattle and sheep and goats and horses, more for the satisfaction of being able to count a large number of head of stock than because he attached any market value to them".³³

30. Leo Fouché: Op.cit., p.11.

31. C.G.Botha: Collected Works, I, p.229. "Religion had a deep-rooted hold upon them and their trust in God was implicit. This piety had a marvellous effect upon those living inland It would have been such an easy matter to have imitated the mode of living of these barbarians (the 'natives', that is, A.L.)". Ibid., loc.cit.

32. Eric A.Walker: The Frontier Tradition in South Africa, p.13. The same sort of thing has been argued by P.J.van der Merwe. He has rightly emphasized that "... in die geskiedenis van die verspreiding van blankes (sic) in die binneland van Suid-Afrika lê ekonomiese faktore aan die oppervlakte ...", but in his account the emphasis is again on the notion of a 'white' frontier line of civilization. That is only part of the story. Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis, p.172, and passim. (In the history of the dispersion of whites in the interior of South Africa, economic factors were superficially apparent ...).

33. D.M.Goodfellow: A Modern Economic History of South Africa, p.2.

And de Kiewiet took up that theme by arguing that when they entered the 18th century interior, the farmers "... left the current of European life and lost the economic habits of the nations from which they had sprung". Moreover, they allowed "... their imagination to lie fallow and their intellects to become inert", yet they "read their Bibles intensively ... which spoke the authentic languages of their lives ...".³⁴

The religious theme has been picked up and stressed by many historians before and since then. Isobel Edwards claimed that the farmers "... began to imagine themselves as the chosen people. The curse of Ham was an immediate reality, while the tennet of pre-destination served to establish the innate superiority of the white man".³⁵ Pells has written that they wanted to govern themselves, as they pushed further into the 'unknown', and they were intense in their desire to worship as they chose, and to enjoy 'civic freedom'.³⁶ Tiryakian has found in the trekboer the South African equivalent of 'the rugged individualist' who looked to the Bible as his source of religion and carried it everywhere with him.³⁷ For van Jaarsveld, Calvinistic Protestantism "... helped them (the veeboere) to prevent bastardization with the non-Europeans ..." and the Old Testament played an important role in the "... maintenance of white civilization in the interior".³⁸ Even in the early 1970s these themes and myths are still being recycled into dissertations and articles.³⁹

34. C.W.de Kiewiet: South Africa,p.17. It would be interesting to know how many were literate.

35. Isobel E.Edwards: Towards Emancipation,p.21. (My emphases,A.L.)

36. E.G.Pells: Op.cit.,p.4.

37. E.Tiryakian: "Apartheid and Religion",p.391.

38. F.A.van Jaarsveld: The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism,pp.11-12.

39. See for instance, SusanRennie Ritner: Salvation through Separation,pp.22-32.

Against this extraordinary weight of historical interpretation - and the ubiquity of these related notions in the 'idealist' tradition of explanation of process and structure - it is necessary to oppose a rather different view, based on the preceding argument about the socio-economic and normative context of the Cape from which the trekkers and their dependants came, and which sustained the movement, as well as the evidence of contemporaries who described the varied structure of social life in the interior and the market connections which make it, finally, realistic to conceive of the Cape as increasingly coming to constitute a single - though internally diverse - society.

The notion that the 'frontier economy' was isolated, self-sufficient, and cut off from its antecedents has been carefully and systematically countered by Neumark.⁴⁰ His thesis is that it "... was to a considerable extent a market-bound exchange economy..." and that the veeboere needed those links in order to obtain many items including guns, powder, iron, tea, sugar, coffee and some clothes.⁴¹ He has also shown with great force that the initial capital required to set up as a grazier was minimal compared with the capital costs involved in starting out as an agriculturalist or wine-farmer. Moreover, the need for meat and slaughtered stock rose during the 18th century, especially during the two 'meat booms' of the 1740s and the 1780s which were related to foreign wars, the presence of more ships at the Cape and hence increased demand.

40. S.Daniel Neumark: Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836, passim.

41. Ibid., IX. In 1795 when the rebellion at Graaff-Reinet took place, the colonial government threatened to cut off the ammunition supply of the region, and the farmers responded by saying that they would cut off the cattle supply. This illustrates nicely the extent to which the colony had become a society at large with interdependence and exchange connections between the extremes. Legassick: Op.cit., p.165.

There is some evidence to indicate that the 'second' eastern migration in the 1750s was in part related to this. Also, there appears to be some correlation between the sustained increase in demand for meat at the Cape and the expansion in the period between 1768 and 1773. In those years, for instance, the majority of farms granted were new farms, especially in the Bruyntjes Hoogte area, Camdebo and in the Zuurveld, east of the Gamtoos. But between 1774 and 1778, when Khoisan resistance was beginning to reach a new level, the minority of farms issued were new and the rest were changes in residence. Often some individuals were taking two or more farms.⁴² That the connection remained important was reflected in the 1780s again when veeboere were vacating farms in the north and ranching suffered severely. One consequence was that the price of slaughter cattle at Cape Town was becoming 'onbetaalbaar duur'.⁴³ (Impossibly expensive). Moreover, for most of the period, the price of meat charged to foreigners was five times that charged to V.O.C. ships or the local inhabitants, so there was certainly an incentive to get cattle and meat to the Cape.

However, this must be qualified by three points. First, the veeboere were not all directly involved in such exchanges (except illicitly), as they had to sell to the licensed contractors and that

42. Moodie: The Record, III, p.73.

43. P.J.van der Merwe: Die Noordwaartse Beweging, p.16. This scarcity of meat was reflected in the Requesten. The 'butcher contractors' reported it in July 1783, blaming also "... the heavy supplies to the Company's establishment, the French Auxilliaris and other Foreigners in general". The graziers were asking to be paid in 'silver coin', they said, which the butcher contractors had already bought at 25% premium. Requesten, I, p.137. No.100, of 15th July, 1783.

price was fixed. Secondly, not all veeboere made regular trips to the Cape. Probably very few did, especially since the return journey from inland, such as the Camdebo, for instance, took at least two months. Those that were closer to the Cape could do so more readily, or else they had a chain of farms, such as one 'rich farmer, Leiste' mentioned by Lichtenstein. He had joined the V.O.C. 30 years earlier and had done very well since becoming a free farmer. "Besides 'Gelukwaard' (his farm in the 24-Rivers area) he had an estate in Zwartland, which facilitated his trade with the Cape Town, and several places in the Roggeveld".⁴⁴ Deep in the Bruyntjes Hoogte area Lichtenstein came across substantial cattle runs, and mentioned the other crucial factor that linked veeboere in the interior to the Cape, the 'travelling butchers' who bought the cattle and then drove them to the Cape.⁴⁵ The role of the 'smous' (the itinerant trader) is better documented for the

44. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., I, p.71. (My emphasis, A.L.) Cattle were brought to the Cape in the Spring (Sept/Oct) when they were fatter and stronger. Ibid., I, p.25. Lichtenstein also found that "... many persons of property at the Cape Town have considerable estates in the same spot (Swellendam, A.L.) principally for the great advantage which this circumstance offers". Ibid., I, p.202. And Thunberg emphasized both the wealth of some farmers and the market connection when he wrote of both the north-west and south-east areas of the colony that the "... farmers ... abound in cattle (and) are now capable of delivering as many soever may be wanted". Thunberg: Op.cit., III, pp.156-7. Other stock was brought to places like Groene Kloof, north of Cape Town where it was fattened up on the lush grass there before being taken into the Town for sale or slaughter. Lichtenstein: Ibid., I, p.28.

45. Ibid., I, p.447.

19th century.⁴⁶ But, given the largely commercial and normative context at the Cape, and the captive market for the sale of meat to ships' crews at high prices, these characters - or the butchers' agents - must have been active from the second half of the 18th century when distances became too great for individual farmers, or even groups of them, to drive their cattle regularly to the Cape. The predecessor of the 'smous' had been the 'totganger', the ivory hunter and illicit trader of cattle with Khoi groups who may well have combined a number of these roles and who knew the routes. That connections via such characters existed is confirmed by a Plakkaat of 1774, issued by van Plettenberg, which banned such activity, since it had been discovered that "... for some time back some persons have made it their business to wander about everywhere in the interior, from one District to another, with goods and merchandise, conveyed on wagons, cars, horses or pack-oxen, thus also causing many irregularities in the said districts". The Plakkaat declared that⁴⁷

henceforth no one shall proceed with any goods or merchandise, conveyed on wagons, cars, horses or pack oxen, into the interior, or ride about with the same for sale to the inhabitants, whether for cattle or any other article, either in the Cape District or in those of Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, or Swellendam....

In the nineteenth century, the smous was based on towns of the interior and the east coast, like Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown.⁴⁸

Thirdly, there is no reason to expect that all veeboere in the interior were well set-up, or usefully connected via chains of farms, or were able to generate enough surplus to make it worthwhile to

46. Neumark: Op.cit., chapter 13. And L.M.Thompson: "Cooperation and Conflict: The High Veld", p.407.

47. Moodie: Op.cit., III, p.24. Plakkaat dated 5th April, 1774. (My emphasis, A.L.)

48. Neumark: Op.cit., p.151.

engage in long distance trade on a commercial scale. As will later emerge, there were rich and poor farmers, and one needs to stress variety rather than homogeneity in class and culture.

There were other items that farmers sold to Cape Town, many of them derived from the pastoral economy, and which could be loaded on to wagons and taken down to the port. These included butter, tallow, sheep's tail fat, as well as ostrich feathers, ivory, hides, horns, soap, candles and berry wax. Neumark points out that up until 1750/60 soap was imported from Europe, but then it ceased, and production of soap only commenced in the 1830s. It would appear that veeboere production filled that gap, for farmers in the interior had ample fat available, and access to the soda ash.⁴⁹ Both Macmillan and Marais have also noted the significance of the market connection.⁵⁰

Contemporaries were fully aware of this factor in the dispersion and were constantly referring to the need for a coastal shipping service in order to facilitate the trade and improve the economic condition of the colony. These ideas are not likely to have been theirs alone, but must have reflected the views expressed to them by men in the interior. In the 1730s Mentzel reckoned that the potential of the eastern areas was considerable.⁵¹ And he reflected how useful it would be if there were better access to markets for farmers along the east coast.⁵² In the 1770s, Stavorinus suggested that storehouses be built at places like Saldanha Bay and

49. Ibid., chapters 7,8 and p.87 especially.

50. W.W.Macmillan: The Cape Colour Question, p.20 and Marais: Maynier, Op.cit., pp.3-4.

51. Mentzel: Description, III, pp.85-9.

52. Ibid., III, p.90.

Mossel Bay to serve the interior and that a coastal shipping trade be introduced. "It is certain that if the conveyance of produce to the Cape could, in this manner be made easy, it would afford a considerable advantage to the Company, to the colonists of the district, and to others situated over the mountains."⁵³ Some of the better-off farmers, Sparrman noted, "... make from one thousand eight hundred to three thousand five hundred pounds of butter a year. This quantity is carried to the Cape in one or two journeys and is sold at the rate of from three to six stuivers a pound".⁵⁴ He noted the itinerant meat agent too, saying that in respect of the cattle, "... the butchers' men go about, buying them up, and afterwards drive them in flocks consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes even thousands, to the slaughter houses at the Cape, about the times when the fleets are due. A great number of the peasants of this country are termed grazing farmers or graziers, the chief, and sometimes the whole of their income depending on the breeding of sheep".⁵⁵ In his journey through 'the Houteniquas' he noted the sluggish 'circulation of trade' by waggons. Moreover he too recommended that "... by opening all the harbours, trade, manufactures and agriculture..." would expand. Timber (still imported mostly from Europe), corn, butter and other items could be shipped by a coastal traffic."⁵⁶ Shortly after him, Le Vaillant urged that a harbour be built at Plettenberg Bay, so that the good timber of the region could be sent to the Cape.⁵⁷

53. Stavorinus: Op.cit.,II,p.81. He referred to corn, wine, tallow, as being important commodities for trade.

54. Sparrman: Op.cit.,I,p.245.

55. Ibid.,loc.cit.

56. Ibid.,I,pp.263-265.

57. Le Vaillant: Op.cit.,I,pp.209,ff.

Barrow was explicit in the matter of Sneeuwberg economic life; there they cultivated "... corn mainly for home consumption; their cattle are reared for the market".⁵⁸ His careful observations included the view that the butter from that region was "... much sought after in the Cape, where it is brought in considerable quantity, salted and put up in casks".⁵⁹ In 'Agter Sneeuwberg' the inhabitants made soap from sheep tail fat and ashes of the salsola plant. "Cattle and sheep are purchased by the butchers on the spot; but the soap and butter are carried in wagons to the Cape".⁶⁰ In Swellendam District the "... revenue of the farmers are principally derived from timber, grain, butter, soap and dried fruits".⁶¹

Early in the 19th century, Lichtenstein encountered a Mr van Reenen in the Hantam area (about 200 miles directly north of Cape Town) who had 'an excellent stud farm' with more than 300 horses which he sold to people in the vicinity and elsewhere.⁶² By Lichtenstein's time, a coastal traffic had been introduced and he found timber being sent to the Cape from Plettenberg Bay.⁶³ Butter was taken to Cape Town annually from Bruintjes Hoogte and "... a handsome capital is in time amassed".⁶⁴ In the Koubo or 'New-field' area, he encountered a farmer, Mr J.J.van Aschwege who had a fertile farm and many products, but he confined himself "... principally to the breeding of cattle and sheep; from these his income

58. Barrow: Op.cit., I, p.249. (My emphasis, A.L.)

59. Ibid., I, p.250.

60. Ibid., I, p.310.

61. Ibid., I, p.350.

62. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., I, pp.113-6.

63. Ibid., I, p.240.

64. Ibid., I, p.447.

is chiefly derived ...". He also sent dried fruits and raisins to the Cape.⁶⁵

What we have here is a very different picture of the ethos and condition of the society formed by veeboere, Khoi and 'Bastaard' dependants and labourers in the wake of the outward arc of the colonial penetration of the interior. Instead of self-sufficient 'white' veeboere, content to gaze on their herds and listen to the thunder of the Lord, we find a society emerging which was based on a pastoral political economy and linked in important and significant ways to the Cape. The argument could be taken further into the 19th century, revealing a continuation of some trends. It has been pointed out that when the Trekkers departed from the Cape colony in the 1830s "... they hoped to become independent of the Colonial commercial network by gaining access to ports beyond the sphere of British control and dealing with Dutch and other non-British traders; but they failed".⁶⁶ It is sufficient to note their hope, not their failure. Later, in the Transvaal, President Burgers sought to connect the Republic with Delagoa Bay by rail, but was unsuccessful.⁶⁷ The economic basis of the outward movement, and hence the entailed features of economic and market-oriented ideology of the trekkers, thus, must again be underlined.

Not all trekkers were successful and, over the 18th century (and beyond), internal differences emerged in respect of control of pastoral wealth and land. These divisions within veeboer

65. Ibid., II, pp. 26-44. In the Bokkeveld region Lichtenstein found that soap, leather and various kinds of beans and peas ('pulse') were being sent to the Cape. Ibid., I, pp. 154-60.

66. L.M. Thompson: "Cooperation and Conflict: The High Veld", p. 407.

67. L.M. Thompson: "Great Britain and ^{the} Afrikaner Republics, 1870-1899", p. 294.

society in the interior further suggest that the notion of an egalitarian and homogeneous society has little foundation, and that 'class' divisions within the society were opening up, and this had implications for later developments. They acted to force less successful veeboere (of various colours and mixtures of cultures) out into the interior once again, and to take women from Khoi and 'Bastaard' categories, reflecting again the hierarchy and primacy of class and culture. Some of the observations of contemporaries reveal the more diverse and plural nature of the society, and also call into question the notion that in the "... unmysterious, thirsty landscape ..." as de Kiewiet describes it, the trekkers evolved a devout and Bible-based ideology which enjoined a divide between corporate groups of 'white' and 'black', heathen and Christian.

Mentzel observed that, in the 1730s, "... rural existence is not yet very Arcadian ...", but pointed out that there were a few "... old established farmers that are well to do, who possess more than a thousand head of cattle and a few thousand sheep and sell so much fat mutton yearly that they can pay for their other necessities". Others were very poor, but the contrast was evident.⁶⁸ The younger sons, however, of rich farmers did not have an easy time; for the eldest inherited the farm, and the youngest "... has to go out and make good on his own, turning usually to cattle-farming and finding a place in the country where he can do this".⁶⁹ Mentzel was not impressed with what he learned of the religious devotion "in the rural areas of Africa". "The sabbath is celebrated only by laziness

68. O.F.Mentzel: Op.cit., III, pp.84-98.

69. Ibid., III, pp.110-112.

and rest from work. Seldom is a book of sermons or some other spiritual work opened at some farmer's place on Sunday, and very rarely does one find a Bible among them. Fortunate are the slaves whose masters still have so much religious feeling as not to grudge them their Sunday's rest".⁷⁰

In the 1740s Governor General Van Imhoff found that there were only 3 clergymen amongst 4,000 colonists, that there were no schools in outlying areas and that many farmers were a few days' journey (at least) from the nearest churches.⁷¹ He was astonished at the "... groote sorgelsheijd en onweetenheijd" (improvidence and ignorance) of inland farmers, and he feared "... dat het aldaar eerder na eene versameling van blinde heijdens als naa een Colonie van Europeërs en Christenen komt te gelijken". (He feared that in a short while the place would soon be like a gathering of blind heathens rather than a colony of Europeans and Christians).⁷²

The emergence thus of a 'poor white' category was already widespread and apparent in the 18th century, and not so 'obscurely' as de Kiewiet suggests.⁷³ The Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch in 1751 expressed their views about the state of the District and the dangers of further immigration to it. They said there were many people in dire poverty and who "... from time to time ... got so badly into arrears that it is difficult to see how they will ever be in a position to settle with their creditors.... Some of the settlers, seeing no chance of earning a living ... have already been

70. Ibid., III, p.15. It may well be that this view of the veeboere is no more representative than its opposite, and that is precisely the point.

71. J. du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions, Op.cit., pp.46-7. Van Imhoff ordered that more schools and churches be built. Nothing happened.

72. Cited in A.J. Böeseke: Die Nederlandse Kommissaris, Op.cit., p.48.

73. de Kiewiet: Op.cit., p.18.

driven ... to removing a considerable distance inland ...".⁷⁴ In the 1760s, while he was Fiscal at the Cape, Jan Willem van Cloppenburg recommended that not only should no more farms be given out, but that the poor should be compelled rather to work for the rich. If Batavia sent fewer slaves that would happen.⁷⁵

And according to Stavorinus, the officials regarded many of the colonists in the interior "... both in their manner and appearance ..." like 'Hottentots' rather than Christians.⁷⁶

While this reveals as much about the attitudes of the western élite to the veeboere as it does about the diversity amongst the latter - thus exposing important aspects of the overall ideology and social structure - it also reveals that in respect of dress and mode of life in the interior there was successful mutual borrowing by veeboere from Khoi, as there was the opposite.⁷⁷

On his travels in the 1770s Sparrman noted distinctions in wealth and housing in the interior and he hired "... a drunken European who was not ashamed to offer himself to be my servant after having acknowledged that, in company with my Hottentot, he had

74. Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch to Governor Swellengrebel, 11th September, 1751, in The Report of Van Imhoff, pp.152-3. It has been argued that similar factors were involved in the Trek of the 1830s.

75. A.J.G. van der Walt: Die Ausdehnung, Op.cit., p.72. He also suggested that 'Hottentot' conditions on V.O.C. stations should be improved so that they would not want to go to work for the farmers, thus forcing the farmers to employ poor burgers.

76. Stavorinus: Op.cit., II, p.57.

77. The acculturation worked in 'both' directions in the North, and certainly everywhere else. Veeboere adopted Khoi ways, folk medicines and the use of things like rush matting on the floors of houses, dried meat, etc. Legassick: Op.cit., p.90. Khoi, 'Bastaard' and others quiddy learnt how to use guns and how to communicate in 'low' Dutch as well as take to European clothes and trade goods. Ibid., pp.98-9. Franken says that Portuguese as a general colloquial language was used in the first half of the 18th century, "... ook in die binneland". (Also in
(continued on next page)

been getting drunk with the contents of my brandy cask".⁷⁸ In Agter Bruyntjes Hoogte he was informed that if he wished to settle there, he could. First, he would look after the cattle of a farmer and then have some young cattle as reward, after which he could set up on his own. Clientage, that is, operated as an institution amongst veeboere, too, underlining again the variations in wealth and status rather than the homogeneity of the community in class terms in the interior.⁷⁹

By the end of the 18th century and in the early years of the 19th century the structure of class differentiation within the society in the interior - or parts of it - had become so clear that Lichtenstein was able to talk explicitly about class relations. Describing the District of Swellendam, he wrote that⁸⁰

... there is a much greater difference between the higher and the lower class of inhabitants, between the masters and the servants, both in their dress and in their habits, than in many other parts, particularly in the Roggeveld. The great trade in cattle, which places the farmers in affluence, and the more frequent intercourse with the Cape Town, which gives them more idea of polished life, has induced a sort of luxury and refinement among the higher classes, to which the lower classes, who gain their livelihood chiefly by cutting wood, cannot aspire ...

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77. (continued from previous page) ... the interior). J.L.M. Franken: Taalhistoriese Bydraes, p.42. Elsewhere, Stavorinus reported Colonel Gordon's observation that "... the furthest settlers, who reside 30 or 40 days' journey from Cape Town, more resemble Hottentots than the posterity of Europeans, (and) ... they were dressed in the Hottentot fashion". Stavorinus: Op.cit., III, p.444.
78. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.175. At Riet Valley, as mentioned earlier, he described farms which, by contrast with others, were 'opulent and well-bred'. Further north he had found children speaking the Khoi language.
79. Ibid., II, p.169. Earlier in the century, Mentzel had noted that "... as soon as a daughter is born to a well-to-do farmer there (at the Cape), he gives her a young cow and an ewe ... all the animals which are descended from the original cow and lamb ... are carefully saved; and if you consider how a herd commonly increases, in the course of eighteen or twenty years, (continued on next page)

Elsewhere in the interior he came across the typical 'patriarchal kind of establishment' since there, the population was more sparse and the whole was composed of different 'small societies'.⁸¹

Finally, the beliefs about strict distinctions between white and non-white - if they existed in such simplistic forms - were not expressed in practice either amongst the better-off or poorer sectors of the society in the interior. On the contrary, life was characterized by close physical and social relations in domestic and economic contexts as much in the interior as in the west. In the outlying areas of the Cape district, Lady Anne Barnard described typically mixed households, and extended familial structures, in the Breede River area for instance. There she observed all members of the family, including 'black slaves' and 'Hottentot' women working and living close to each other.⁸² And Lichtenstein said that it was "... not an uncommon sight to see all the women of the house, the mother, daughters, female slaves, collected together sewing, knitting, or executing several kinds of fine ornamental work".⁸³ In an earlier chapter the combined structure of the commandos in the north and the dependence on Khoisan labour was pointed out, and this all underlines the argument about the inclusive socially plural and articulating hierarchy of the society of the interior.

79. (continued from previous page) you will understand how it is that a girl who has been fortunate with her cattle is able, when she marries, to bring to her husband a very respectable herd". O.F.Mentzel: Life at the Cape, p.49.

80. (on previous page) ... Lichtenstein: Op.cit., I, p.204.

81. Ibid., II, p.139.

82. Lady Anne Barnard: Op.cit., III, pp.435-452.

83. Lichtenstein: Op.cit., II, p.140.

In the 1820s - to use an illustration from well beyond the period, but which may reveal trends in the north from the 18th century - Thompson described one of the contrasts between the west and the Roggeveld area by pointing out the wide-scale use of 'Bushmen' as domestics and farm labour. One farmer, a certain Nel, informed him that "... when taken young, (they) make good and active servants ...".⁸⁴

The evidence about piety and/or religious devoutness of the veeboere is patchy and uneven, to say the least. We have noted the observations on the Cape in the previous chapter, and pointed to the astonishment of Van Imhoff as well as Mentzel's rather dismissive remarks about the religious condition of the colonists in the interior. Though he did not travel inland and was at the Cape for only a few months, Percival claimed that the devoutness was "... in great measure mere outward appearance".⁸⁵ Thompson found the veeboere to be "... savage, indolent and unprincipled..." and said they were hard drinkers if they could get hold of liquor. Despite that, they were hospitable, shrewd, prudent and good-humoured. The poorer 'corn boors' near Agulhas were 'rude, knavish and immoral' and his views on the Town burgers were in line with what others found. But there were farmers inland who were devout. Pringle, in 1822, came across a 'large and well-endowed family' and he was pleased to see that "... slaves and Hottentots, belonging to the household were also freely admitted ..." to the daily worship.⁸⁶

84. George Thompson: Op.cit., II, p.4.

85. Percival: Op.cit., pp.273-4.

86. Thompson: Op.cit., II, p.98.

The claim that the veeboere identified with Biblical figures and saw themselves as a new 'chosen people' is, for the 18th century, more a figment of historical reconstruction than a reality, just as is the associated claim that the salient principles of inclusion and exclusion were based on colour. The extraordinary poverty of the evidence on the 'chosen people' claim must, in this instance, be taken to support the view that it did not exist in any strength at all. Though one can understand the wish of modern historians to identify continuity in ideological and sociological patterns throughout South Africa, there is simply no persuasive evidence to support such a view about religious or theological definitions of the social situation in the 18th century Cape. While the roots of the 'Dopper' Church may in some sense be regarded as stretching back to the late 18th century, its foundation and formation was fundamentally a feature of the political and religious disputes and differences of the 19th century, well beyond the borders of the Cape colony. The same is true of so-called 'racial attitudes' which emerged in different historical contexts and structural relationships north of the Cape colony, or in the Eastern Cape later. Moreover, the puritanical and exclusive tones of its creed did not evoke responses in the Cape nor express the ideology of the colonists there.⁸⁷ If they "... believed they were a new Israel encountering the children of Ham in their search

87. B.Speolstra: Die Doppers in Suid Afrika 1760-1899, passim;
T.R.H.Davenport: "The Consolidation of a New Society", p.277;
L.M.Thompson: "Cooperation and Conflict: The High Veld", pp.427-8;
The Cape Synod condemned the Great Trek of 1836. Müller: Op. cit., p.137 and p.182; and S.R.Ritner: Op.cit., p.46 . She says: "The unquestioned policy accepted by the DRC at the Cape during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries was the equality of all baptized Christians in all spheres of church activity: common worship, common administration of the sacraments, including shared communion". Ritner: Op.cit., p.46. All the authorities on the Church at the Cape, including historians of the DRC are unanimous on that point of official policy.

for Canaan..."⁸⁸, why did they not give names to places where they settled which reflected such concerns? There is certainly far more evidence of that kind of identification in America, and much later for South Africa in the 19th century. The names which the 18th century trekkers gave to rivers, mountains and new areas in the Cape were, in general (and with the major exception of Calvinia) remarkably prosaic, reflecting direct descriptive responses to the physical environment, or the memory of political figures. The naming process in the 19th century and beyond reflected far more the concern with struggle, aspects of Biblical identification and self-definition - hence names like Vryburg, Pilgrims Rest, Volksrust, Bethlehem, Edenburg, and so on. But even then it was not a dominant feature of the period.

In the light of this discussion about the conditions in the interior and against the background of earlier argument about Cape society, its mercantile context and the people who were filtering into it throughout the 18th century, any conception of a homogeneous, 'white', isolated, devout, economically self-sufficient and egalitarian 'frontier society' must be abandoned. The economic, demographic and ideological conditions which have been spelt out suggest a very different kind of society. The society of the interior was both more complex and diverse than has conventionally been suggested, and the people who constituted it deserve a rather less gloomy and puritanical record. Instead of uniform isolation and self-sufficiency, one finds a variety of market connections, the persistent pulse (despite some poverty) of a commercial ideology and an ability to shift goods a long distance. Instead of an

88. Ritner: Op.cit., p.25 and the references in Notes 29-38, above.

exclusive 'white' trekker community one finds an inclusive society, incorporating 'brown' trekkers in the north and illustrating interesting expressions of acculturation ('bastardization') within the expanding arc of the colonial political economy. Instead of a uniformly religious veeboer community, there is ample evidence of patchiness and diversity, including some "... inanity of mind ... (and) ... ignorance", a smattering of education, and also devoutness and regular worship.⁸⁹ Instead, moreover, of puritanism there are important indications of a rather more lazy, relaxed and less observant style of life. Instead of a socially egalitarian society one finds an emergent social structure characterized by quite distinctive class and status levels - some rich and some poor, some well-connected to the Cape, some relatively more isolated, some with chains of farms, some being forced to work for others or trek yet further afield. And instead of a community obsessed by an identification with Old Testament figures, one finds an expanding society with little 'civic responsibility', often 'quarrelsome' and very practical and pragmatic in the way they perceived and named aspects of their physical environment.⁹⁰

As a result of this fluidity, and indeed defining it, the social structure of the interior of the Cape in the 18th century and beyond came to be not too dissimilar to the developments already

89. Barrow: Op.cit., I, p.377. It is often asserted that, for example, "... at least twice in a man's life, at his baptism and marriage, he had to make the long journey to the Cape; at the great gathering of the church, the Nagmaal, the ties were further consolidated". Marks: "Khoisan and Dutch at the Cape", p.450. It is not likely that everyone made those journeys. We know that there was considerable under-registration of births and deaths. Moreover, many Christian trekkers, like the Basters and others - who must be seen as part of the colonial society - certainly did not make those journeys.

90. Lichtenstein: Foundations ... Op.cit., pp.44-46.

sketched for the western areas. At the extremes, class and cultural distinctions converged. Moreover, given the relatively few Asian slaves in the interior and the predominance of Khoisan servants and herders (as well as those not yet incorporated), somatic distance was also greater. But in the middle and lower levels of the society there was mixing of cultures and peoples. To suggest that these latter were somehow not part of the Cape colonial society is to distort fundamentally the salient lines of inclusion and exclusion forged by the forces of colonialist expansion, and hence is to misrepresent the social reality of the time.

Within the areas of the interior that were secured for the colonial advance, the slow pressures of class differentiation and cultural subordination replaced the 'frontier zone' phases and the bitterness of the fighting. On the northern and north-eastern periphery this process was delayed until the first quarter of the 19th century, but then commenced and merged with other developments. Somatic differences were of course relevant, but on their own, provide no guide whatsoever to the structure of social relations in the wider society, its spread or its contrast with the 'other side' of the frontier. Placed within the context of demographic, socio-economic and political structures, the significance of the somatic differences becomes clearer. Broadly, they followed the contours established at the Cape with the somatic contrasts being most marked at the social extremes. But this has to be explained not in terms of those contrasts themselves - which is tautologous - but in terms of the operation of class forces and cultural preferences. Menial jobs (like leading oxen, according to Sparrman) were "... looked upon in the lowest light imaginable".⁹¹ The least

91. Sparrman: Op.cit., I, p.174.

successful were forced into such roles and held there by the slow pace of economic growth, despite the gradual processes of acculturation.

In short, no ideology of 'colourism' could or did arise out of somatic distinctions as such; they had no behavioural correlates, though somatic norms formed an initial part of culturally-conditioned preferences, and as such cannot be ignored. But 'colourism' could only emerge - if it emerged as such at all - in the actual process of social relations, which are attributes of class interactions, and the consequences of incompatible or mutually jarring behavioural forms which are the expressions of cultural differences. And yet, given the appropriate demographic factors and human needs, even these were overcome in solemnized and extra-marital unions of various kinds. While the consequential processes of acculturation and somatic convergence tended to float people (especially women) upwards in the social structure of the plural society, the effects of class pressures pushed or held them down. The fact that a core of 'white' farmers, burgers and trekkers remained both in the west and in the interior must be attributed in any given area to the outcome of the tensions between these class and cultural forces, in the light of the demographic factors, and especially the fact that most 'white' women were drawn into, or retained in the ranks of the dominant strata in the society.⁹²

92. On some interesting comparative points about Black-White sexual relations in the slave South in America, see D.J.MacLeod: "The development of Racial Prejudice in the Revolutionary and early National South", pp.5-9. He says: "Whatever the 17th century connections between the development of slavery and the existence of patterns of racial prejudice, by the mid-18th century a close identification of racial and economic and social subordination had been achieved". Ibid., p.10. It was never that clear at the Cape.

The notion of a 'white' frontier in the Cape must be abandoned, and can best be replaced by a conception of the kind of mixed and complex socio-cultural formations which have been outlined here. Moreover the view that farmers in the 18th century denied equality between 'white' and 'non-white' implies far too prematurely that they thought or saw the world in terms of such a simplistic dichotomy. It may well be that the reason for that common stereotyping of Cape society in the 18th century can be attributed to the telescoping of that period with developments that were beginning at the end of the 18th century and occurring much more decisively in the 19th century, beyond the Cape society. That is no part of this study. But it is important to note some broad contrasts. The Cape was very different in structure from those areas where colonists lived as small minority communities amongst Nguni and Sotho societies in the first half of the 19th century. The process of subordination of the Khoisan and their incorporation within the political economy and social structure - both domestic and colony-wide - had distinctive implications for an inclusive society. Likewise, the importation of slaves and their differential incorporation in the western colonial economy had effects on social structure and ideology which contrasted sharply with those caused by the relative and continued independence of Nguni and Sotho polities and cultural systems outside Boer societies in the 19th century and, in some cases, beyond it. Under the latter conditions a more sharply defined cultural and somatic distinction and sense of exclusive corporate group solidarity amongst colonists lasted for longer and was underpinned by contrasting and competing socio-economic systems, though that was of course to change after the discovery of gold and diamonds.

In short, in the interior as in the western areas, colonialism and cultural diversity at the Cape in the 18th century had established the basic framework of relations which constituted the principal features of the society and indicated the lines of its structural development. That the trend from 'frontier zone' to social pluralism to structural pluralism to a 'non-racial' class-based society was, in the end, distorted and diverted from emerging fully in the late 19th and 20th centuries is not a matter to be explored here. But it is worth stating, if only in that bald form.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS: CULTURE, CLASS AND COLOUR AT THE CAPE

Each of the previous chapters has generated progressively inclusive conclusions in respect of the substantive issues pursued in this study. In this concluding chapter it is necessary to draw these together in underlining some of the general themes and arguments that have been developed. Finally, I shall examine briefly the implications of this approach for the analysis of 'race relations' at the Cape, and indicate some of the explanatory advantages which have derived from the methodology adopted here.

It has been an operational assumption of the argument that the material context and broad economic structure of a society both generates imperatives for its members and also sets limits, broadly speaking, to what they can do to achieve them. Moreover, there is always a complex relationship between the economic structure of a society, its social and political institutions and the ideology which expresses and sanctions them. Rather than seeing the economic context as 'determining' the social and political relations, or the ideology, as the mechanistic interpretations of Marx claim, it has proved more useful to see it as placing constraints on the possible, yet generating imperatives or requirements which men must pursue. This has been illustrated in respect of the European antecedents of Cape society in the history of the Netherlands and the emergence of the V.O.C. It was also implicit in the analysis of Khoisan societies and the relationship between their economic structures and their systems of social and political relations.

Moreover, it has been central to the argument about the constitution of the new society at the Cape that the political economy there had far-reaching implications for social structure and social relations, and that only when analyzed in that context can sense be made of the developments there in the 17th and 18th centuries.

A further consequence of that procedural assumption has been to underline the inadequacy of the 'idealist' tradition in much South African historiography, especially in the causal weighting given to 'Dutch Calvinism' in shaping attitudes and relationships at the Cape. The entailed implication for the analytical programme has been to emphasize the historical and structural context in order to understand the patterns of social and political relations, and I shall return to this question in respect of so-called 'race relations' later in this chapter, and also indicate some methodological consequences.

A second major theme which has been developed through the preceding argument has been to underline the fact that the Cape and its history must be viewed from within the wider context of the imperial spread of Dutch power in the 17th century. In short, the material interests which emerged in the course of Dutch history created and sustained a mercantile empire and unleashed the forces of colonialism on the Cape. The consequences were far-reaching and the implications for indigenous Cape societies were direct. This is an early example of the process of the 'development of under-development'. For it was in the specific historical context of the colonial relationships thus established, and in response to the economic requirements of the metropolis, that diverse cultures and political economies were brought into sustained contact and interaction with each other at the Cape. In the process of differential

incorporation, the unequal and structurally plural society was instituted there. Deep penetration and destruction of the societies at the Cape and the unequal relations established there illustrate the classic features of colonialism, which "... rapidly transformed the undevelopment of African society into the under-development of colonial society".¹

Precisely because of the complexities of the interaction which ensued, it has proved both necessary and useful also to derive additional analytic categories from pluralism which enriches and make coherent the explanation of the constitution of that society. Given the initial context of the metropolis-satellite relationship, it has been shown how the material interests of the V.O.C. and then the burgers acted to establish a combined military, economic and political momentum which drove deep into the structure of Khoisan societies at the Cape and shattered them. In part due to the distribution and numbers of the Khoisan, in part due to the superior weaponry of the Dutch, in part due to the structural looseness of Khoisan societies and hence their relative vulnerability to penetration and division by external forces and pressures, these societies were destroyed or disintegrated, though not without struggle and resistance and not without holding up the colonial thrust, especially in the last quarter of the 18th century.

1. E.A.Brett: Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa, vii. John Rex also observes that in analysing the 'Social Institutions of Colonialism', it is important to focus on "... the social relations of production, as well as the larger social structure, (which) are based upon the coercion of one group by another, a state of affairs which is most likely to come about in conditions where one group on a lower technological level than another is conquered by the other". John Rex: Race Relations in Sociological Theory, especially chapter (2) on "The Social Institutions of Colonialism: Conquest and Unfree Labour", p.32.

Behind this outward and destructive colonial movement, linking the interests of the Seventeen and their shareholders to the fate of the Khoisan, and simultaneously with it, there was built a new society, characterized by new and unique institutions and structural relationships. Its specific form at the Cape has been analyzed in terms of the antecedents and cultures of all groups, the particular constraints imposed on it by the V.O.C., and the local economic factors. But in the initial and enduring organization of its division of labour were the central causal features of Cape social structure. The manner in which various categories and groups were differentially incorporated in the labour arrangements of the Cape political economy, and the conditions associated with their entry - as slaves, 'free' Khoi labour or burgers - had long-lasting implications for Cape society. A hierarchy of cultures was forged in the configuration of a structurally plural order, which also expressed, and contained, the prime elements of a system of stratification based on class and status, and related to the ownership of land, the control of labour and access to political power and influence.

While the economy of the Cape remained sluggish, the scope for depluralization and the clearer emergence of this class system was slim. The continuity in structure imposed by these economic forces, however, was offset in important and revealing ways by mobility between sectors, both upwards and downwards. On the one hand there was the manumission of slaves, (small though the numbers were), into the free burger category, but also and more especially there was the systematic hypergamous movement of women from lower strata of the plural social structure into higher ones.

On the other hand, given that constrained economic context and the early establishment of dominance over it by the western wine and grain farmers, the less successful burgers and 'free' people of a variety of origins were driven (or held) down in class terms, and outwards in geographical terms.

On the periphery and in the interior there was replicated - but more slowly and on a smaller scale - the successive stages of 'frontier zone', social pluralism and local configurations of structural pluralism. In these lower-middle and outer reaches of the society there was more mixing and integration than at the two extremes, where class differences were underlined by sustained discontinuities in culture. But as the very slow process of acculturation towards a common culture, religion and language took place in the context of an increasingly common economy - in both geographic and societal terms - there was beginning to emerge behind this configuration of structural pluralism the elements of a class system. The underlying trend in the Cape was systematically in that direction, and this was the outcome of the gradual depluralization process which of course went on well beyond the 18th century. While the extremes of Cape social structure continued to reflect maximum cultural distance, class distinctions and somatic contrasts, the middle levels of the society were undergoing slow but steady integration in respect of all these factors. Hence it is plausible to argue that the intermediate sectors expanded in both directions - upwards and downwards - as more common elements began to emerge in a common society. I shall examine the implications of this for so-called 'race relations', 'race attitudes' and ideology shortly.

A final concluding point about this question should be

made here. It is beyond the scope of this study to go further into these developments at the Cape in the 19th and 20th centuries, or to discuss the implications for the Cape of events to the north and east. Yet it is important not to let the history of northern developments in the 19th and 20th centuries obscure or confuse the persistent trends in structure at the Cape which were systematically towards a 'non-racial' class society and away from the structural pluralism which characterized the 18th century. A class-based society may not be 'better', but it is most certainly different, as are its politics.² The later history of the Cape - especially in the light of the concentration of some 90% of the so-called 'Coloured' people in it - revealed decreasing degrees of pluralism and increasing expressions of class. By contrast with the north, moreover, there were, in consequence of that, far less intense expressions or forms of hostility or exclusion on cultural or somatic grounds, for continuity in respect of both those factors was much greater. This is not a defence of the notion of the 'liberal Cape' - the conceptualization of Cape society in the 19th century and later in those terms has never been satisfactory. Nor is it to claim that there was a uniform increase in egalitarianism. That was not the case. However, the structural basis for an increasingly common culture was being established, and it would have made for (and did make) a more typical class-system, had the impact of events further north/^{not} constrained that, and then imposed an explicit colour bar on Cape society. While relations in the town came to be more representative of the features of such a class system, the rural areas of the

2. Some aspects of 19th century Cape politics which illustrate this point in respect of class forces are indicated by S. Trapido in his discussion of "The Origins of the Cape Franchise qualifications of 1853", passim.

Cape retained strong elements of both paternalistic and almost 'feudal' relations. There is nothing unique about such a combination of features, and the feudal analogy has an interesting expression, for example, in the use of the term 'boy'. Adam Tas referred to his labourers as 'our boys' (knaapen), and later, in the 19th century and beyond, the terms 'jong' and, especially, 'meid' (roughly, 'boy' and 'girl' servant) emerged in respect of 'Coloureds' at the Cape.³ The use of terms of that kind illustrate how social distance is maintained between people of different status and class position in the context of an increasingly common culture and often intimate and close physical proximity. In feudal society, according to Bloch, "... it was natural for the master to call those whom he (had) constantly about him his 'boys'".⁴

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3. The Diary of Adam Tas, p.91; and Marais: The Cape Coloured People, p.5. Viewed in terms of a 'race relations' perspective, this fits with the model of such relations which van den Berghe has called 'paternalistic'. It involved a sharp definition of roles, the maintenance of division of labour quite tightly, while social distance was elaborated in "... an etiquette involving non-reciprocal terms of address, sumptuary regulations and repeated manifestations of subserviance and dominance". Also associated with this type of relations is widespread miscegenation with the offspring either being held down in the social hierarchy, or creating a new 'marginal' group. P.L. van den Berghe: Race and Racism, p.27. Seen in this 'race relations' framework, these relations are stripped of the wider socio-economic context and that is its major shortcoming. But van den Berghe is aware of it and attempts to locate the model in such contexts. See also, John Rex: "Race as a Social Category", p.151.
4. Marc Bloch: Feudal Society, Vol I, pp.155-6. A further point of comparison can be made by referring to Redfield's discussion of this kind of question in 'primitive' and 'civilized' groups. "... As local groups came into persisting relations of usefulness to each other, we may be sure that the distinction between an in-group and everybody else became complicated into a series of distinctions in which grades of nearness and farness came to be recognized. Robert Redfield: "Ethnic Relations, Primitive and Civilized", p.29.

What are the implications of all this for the analysis of so-called 'race relations' at the Cape? All through this study the italicization of the terms has implied that the use of 'race relations' and 'race attitudes' are seriously misleading ways of conceptualizing social interactions and attitudes at the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is the place to underline the point and expand the argument.

It has been said that to talk about 'race relations' is not so much to describe an aspect of social reality but is a recommendation to view it in a particular way.⁵ Nowhere is this more applicable than to South Africa, both in relation to its present problems and to most aspects of its history. The very concept of 'race' is, in any event, confusing and misleading, for it ambiguously assimilates the dimensions of, at least, colour, culture and ethnicity - along with uncertain biological implications - into one clumsy term. Since these factors vary independently anyway, the term is of little analytical use, even as a shorthand, for it conceals more than it reveals.⁶

5. Nigel Harris: "Race and Nation", p.24.

6. Marvin Harris surveys the usages in "Race", in the new International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol 13, pp.263-269. The relationship between 'race' and 'class' in colonial and other contexts is discussed also by Philip Mason in Prospero's Magic, passim. "Races have been classified on the basis of skeletal form, muscular type ... pelvis, shape of women's breasts, chest measurements, brain morphology, inner organs, sense organs, general physiognomy, colour of hair and eyes, texture of skin and hair, mouth, lips, alveolae (teeth cavities) and various combinations of units. The fact that so many attempts have been made to prove the reality of race differences may be taken as evidence of the uncertainty of any one or small group of these units as diagnostic signs". M.H.Krout: "Race and culture: a study in mobility, segregation and selection", p.177.

Thus to talk of 'race relations' or 'race attitudes' is to reduce into simplistic dichotomies what were, in practice, much more complex phenomena. At each stage in the history of interaction at the Cape - from the earliest contacts to systematic colonial penetration - the variables of culture and class have emerged as of primary importance. As far as attitudes are concerned, it was shown in an earlier chapter that from deep within the Middle Ages in Europe, and then in the Netherlands, the way in which groups perceived each other involved much more than simple impressions of, and responses to, physical or broader somatic contrasts. Rather, what emerged were impressions of the wider ensemble of cultural and contextual factors, including behaviours, languages, habitat and the related economic and political systems of the peoples involved. Specifically, the relations between groups at the Cape were not relations of 'race'. They were primarily the relations between the behavioural correlates of diverse cultures, religious beliefs and practices and - in the accelerating process of the formation of the new society - increasingly also relations deriving from class and/or material interests and the consequences of demographic tensions, or varying combinations of them all. Instead, that is, of 'race relations', we have identified the often independently varying and contradictory relations of a sexual, social, domestic, economic, political, diplomatic and military kind.

It is precisely because of these complexities associated with colonial situations and the formation of new societies in them that the blunt and telescoped implications of 'race relations' is of little use in explaining very much. Rather, by concentrating on the imperial economic context, and downward and outward pressure of the

V.O.C., the emergent local burger interests, the large bulge of subordinate 'free' and unfree labour, and the social relations of both the Town and the country, it has been possible to show how emergent class forces worked through the medium of cultural diversity, and shaped the society accordingly. The analytic framework, combining marxism and pluralism, thus established an operational matrix for the specification of the main forces and factors involved in this process. As cultural differences began to fade, what emerged was the retaining structure of class relations established in the division of labour.⁷ That this happened generally also to leave 'whites' in the upper strata of the society and 'non-whites' in the lower strata was a secondary consequence of the initial coincidence of class position and cultural hierarchy. What this illustrates historically is therefore not the causal primacy of 'colour' or 'colour consciousness', but rather the contingent nature of colour in the emergent structure of social relations, as the outcome of a long historical sequence, which continued in the 19th century and beyond, and was complicated by other exogenous factors.

Does this mean that in dismissing the notion of 'race relations' as simplistic and reductionist, one is dissolving 'racialism' into the categories of class and culture? Did somatic differences play no part at the Cape in the perceptions by groups

7. This illustrates historically a point made by Reuter in respect of 'race relations' and the division of labour, namely that such a division of labour gives expression to 'racial differences' and often defines the relations. Moreover, such relations often tend to persist "... beyond the time when it ceases to be an efficient system". E.R.Reuter: "Competition and the Racial Division of Labour", pp.52-3. My argument has stressed the convergence not of race and class, but culture and class in shaping social structure.

of each other and in influencing their choices and behaviours?

This is the point at which to introduce the notion of the 'somatic norm image' and its correlate, 'somatic distance'.

This concept, defined and elaborated by Hoetink, provides a useful analytical tool for making some finer distinctions with respect to inter-personal and inter-group relations within the context of what he calls the 'segmented society' and which has been described here as the 'plural society'.⁸ Clearly they give sharper edge to some of the work done on the question of 'social distance' and help to place the cultural and social definitions of, and reactions to, alien groups in a tidier conceptual framework for specific historical contexts.⁹ The earlier discussion of European responses to Africans in Africa, as contrasted with their responses to them in Europe, hinted at some of this. Clearly, it has direct bearing for Dutch-Khoisan relations in particular.

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8. H.Hoetink: The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations. He defines a segmented society as one "... which at its moment of origins consists of at least two groups of people of different races and cultures, each having its own social institutions and social structure ...". Ibid.,p.97. A similar emphasis on the social definition of 'racial' images is stressed by Blumer who underlines the importance of the process "... by which racial groups form images of themselves and others". H.Blumer: "Race Prejudice as a sense of group position",p.218. Also Krout: Op.cit.,p.189.
9. See for instance, W.I.Thomas: "The Psychology of race prejudice"; Robert E.Park: "The Concept of Social Distance"; Emory S. Bogardus: "Social Distance and its Origins", and "Measuring Social Distance", and "A Social Distance Scale", and "Changes in Racial Distance"; also Peter L.Berger: "Identity as a Problem in the sociology of knowledge" and "Towards a sociological understanding of psycho-analysis"; W.O.Brown: "The Nature of Race Consciousness"; H.C. and L.M.Triandus: "Race, Social Class, Religion and Nationality as Determinants of Social Distance". Also Michael Banton: "Sociology and Race Relations". They are all, of course, entering the problem area when a given structure of social relations in its wider context has already been established. But some of the studies on changes in social distance indicate the volatile character of perceptions and the powerful influences of immediate events in shaping perceptions and attitudes to groups. Certainly at the Cape the speed with
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Hoetink defines the 'somatic norm image' as "... the complex of physical (somatic) characteristics which are accepted by a group as its norm and ideal", and he defines 'somatic distance' as "... the degree to which the difference between two somatic norm images (or rather between one's own somatic norm and another physical type) is subjectively experienced".¹⁰ In a sensitive discussion of these questions he points out how individuals and groups bring to plural societies their antecedent somatic norm images and how, in plural societies, the young are socialized into consciousness of, and preference for, such norms. Often, moreover, the norms of the dominant - light skins and straight hair, for instance - become adopted by the subordinate, or some of them. It is important to note that a great deal more than colour is involved in the notion of the somatic image, and that it includes a wider complex of physical features. So long as these norms are inculcated, or remain in one group, and hence are passed on from generation to generation, the prospects for the emergence of a genuinely common society with common norms and institutions are not good. And the continuation of rival or contrasting norms sustain at a particularly acute level some preconditions for the plural society, just as the consciousness of corporate group membership undermines the possibility of the emergence of a common sense of citizenship or comradeship in the wider society.

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9. (continued from previous page)'good' Khoi became 'bad' Khoi can be quite closely correlated to their performance and/or behaviour vis-a-vis the Dutch and whether they served them well or not. Herry's fate illustrates this point.
 10. Hoetink: Op.cit., p.120 and p.153. He says it is a norm because "... it is used to measure aesthetic appreciation" and an ideal because "...usually no individual ever in fact embodies the somatic norm of his group". This of course draws heavily upon Weber's notion of the 'ideal type' for the purposes of social analysis.

The relevance of these considerations for the formation of Cape society is apparent. It has been argued that in the constitution of that society there was, especially at the extremes, not only maximum class distance between the dominant western class and the 'free' Khoi labourers, but also maximum cultural distance. The concept of somatic distance adds to our understanding of the complexity of the cumulative social distance involved, and the problems of reducing it. The evidence of European contempt for Khoi behaviour and styles of life was complemented by the experienced somatic distance. The same was true of Khoi reactions to Europeans. But that was not consistently the case nor was it permanently the case. What needs to be grasped are the forces making for exclusion and discontinuity, and the forces making for inclusion and continuity; the forces, that is, of both continuity and change, of class protectiveness and cultural preference at the top, and of acculturation and common experiences in the middle and lower levels of the society. What needs also to be stressed was the structural context within which there was a fatal accumulation on top of each other of class, cultural and somatic variables at the extremes of the structurally plural order, with intermediate and independently varying combinations of them at the middle levels, both in the west and in the interior.

But there were other categories emerging in the colonial society and other groups being pulled into it. There is no evidence that Europeans at the Cape experienced the inhibitions of severe somatic distance in relation to the slavesses from the East, or in relation to local Cape-born girls of various mixed unions, and there is no evidence that any of these women were described in what we

would recognise as 'racist' or 'colourist' terms.¹¹ And clearly, somatic distance proved to be no insurmountable barrier in the absence of women of a preferred somatic norm, and many slavesses were regarded as great beauties.¹² Concubinage relations between European men and Khoi women were common and there were some celebrated marriages, though overall there were very few.

So while it would be foolhardy to ignore the fact of somatic and cultural preferences in the Cape plural society which brought together such contrasting somatic and cultural types, it would be equally foolhardy to assume that either these distances were not narrowed or that the society was undergoing no changes in these respects. As was argued earlier there was a slow process of acculturation especially at the middle and lower levels of the society, and the overall structural shape of Cape social relations was gradually shifting in the direction of inclusion and integration with respect to culture, while being stretched out in terms of class. That was the context within which the somatic factor operated. Treated independently of these shifting and overlapping processes it is quite impossible to make sense of it.

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11. Racialist beliefs have been defined as "... any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis for invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races". van den Berghe: Race and Racism, p.11.
12. "In general, when human beings have the power, the opportunity and the need, they will mate with members of the opposite sex regardless of colour or the identity of grandfather. Whenever free breeding in human populations is restricted, it is because a larger system of social relations is menaced by such freedom". Marvin Harris: Patterns of Race in the Americas, pp.68-9.

Furthermore, in the emergence of a very wide category - the so-called 'Cape Coloured People' - and in the emergence of a wide range of somatic types throughout the whole society, it is quite evident that the initial somatic contrasts, too, were becoming less sharp and more varied, especially in the west.¹³ And the elements of the emerging common culture were therefore necessarily beginning to erode and dissolve the different social and cultural definitions of somatic norms, which had originally been anchored in quite distinctive and contrasting cultural and normative universes.

The conventional view that 'racial attitudes' hardened, or that 'kleurgevoel' (colour feeling) began to emerge both misses the point and misconstrues the processes at work. That view is based on the premise that a simplistic colour dichotomy emerged in both social structure and in the social consciousness.¹⁴ I have shown that not to be the case in respect of structure. Instead of in-groups and out-groups based on colour, there was a complex hierarchy of cultural and class factors, and it was they which acted through differential incorporation to distribute categories and individuals in different strata of the social structure. It was

13. At the end of the 18th century, in expressing her intention to sketch some of the types at the Cape, Lady Anne Barnard wrote: "I must try to catch a face of every caste or nation here; the collection cannot be short of twenty". Lady Anne Barnard: Op.cit., III, p.376.

14. For example, Heese: Op.cit., p.19; and P.J.van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Op.cit., pp.255-7. Leo Kuper discusses the question of "Race Structure in the Social Consciousness" with care and sensitivity to the structural and historical context and the relevance to political issues. Furthermore, it has often been pointed out that 'race' as a social category (or anything like it) was hardly in use in Europe before the 18th century. Indeed "... before the eighteenth century physical differences among peoples were so rarely referred to as a matter of great importance that something of a case can be made for the proposition that race consciousness is largely a modern phenomenon". T.F. Gossett: "Race: the history of an idea in America", p.3. See also Hannah Arendt: "Race Thinking before Racism", passim; and F.G. Detweiler: "The rise of modern race antagonisms", p.741.

they, moreover, which sustained the continuities in differentiation, and also mediated the processes of acculturation and change, the limits of which were ultimately set by the material and economic context.

The bifurcated world-view which divides people into 'black' and 'white', and which has been regarded as such a pronounced feature of 'white' South Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries, was not a salient feature of the 17th and 18th centuries. Rather, the political economy of the Cape provided the context in which the slow societal changes from deep within the 18th century began to reveal an increasingly clear class system in the 19th century and later, with profound but decreasing cultural and somatic dimensions in its origins, its history and its legacies.

To understand these structures and institutions in the constitution of a society is to go some way towards understanding the elements of its ideology. The complex relationship between the ideas, beliefs and concepts of a society, on the one hand, and its socio-economic and political institutions on the other hand, means that one must proceed with caution in analysing ideology, for such categories "... are in themselves, in a sense, institutions amongst others ...".¹⁵ Of the terms used in social analysis none is perhaps more unstable and loose, however closely defined, than 'ideology'.

15. E.Gellner: "Concepts and Society", p.115. Gramsci, too, made a similar such point, though from rather a different perspective. See chapter II, note 45 above. A thoughtful note on 'ideology' is contained, too, in J.Mohan: "A Whig Interpretation of African Nationalism", p.406.

It is often used to imply something identifiable and concrete when, in practice, ideologies are rarely held or articulated in detailed and explicit form. Ideology is no more the 'superstructural' reflex of the material or cultural 'base' than it is an autonomous causal sphere of neatly articulated and coherent ideas and beliefs. Ideology and structure are, rather, deeply implicated with each other and changing over time. This is nowhere more true than in respect of the formation of plural societies where there is often more flux and contrast, where emergent ideology is more diffuse and uncertain and where any generalizations will apply only unevenly to different sectors of the society at different times and in different places. As was suggested in chapter 2, it is more useful to conceive of ideology as a two-way prism: it refracts the purposes and interests of groups onto reality, thereby affecting it, and it mediates the groups' social interpretation of that reality. Accordingly, ideology must be seen as being bound up in the structures and institutions of a society and its cultures, and the changes within them.

As the structure of Cape society became increasingly differentiated and varied in social, political and economic terms - as the preceding discussion has shown - so too did the ideology that accompanied that process become more complex and varied. There was unevenness and patchiness within the ideology of the dominant or defending groups from area to area. For instance, where social distance was less, at certain levels in the Town, different ideas prevailed by contrast with those areas where social distance and cultural contrasts were greater, and where material rivalry and open conflict was sharper. In general, the burgers and other members of

the dominant categories did not hold to a 'racist' ideology. That they were contemptuous of Khoisan culture is clear, that they treated their Khoisan servants often cruelly and with harshness is evident, and that they were remorseless in punishing disobedience by their slaves is well known. But that does not add up to a 'racist' ideology or to 'racial hostility'.

As was argued in chapter 3 there is almost no evidence to support the view that during this period the burgers came to regard people of colour and the indigenous people either as animal-like or as "... die afstammelinge van die vervloekte kinders van Cham ..." (the descendants of the cursed children of Ham).¹⁶ Speculations about the place of the Khoisan in some 'great chain of being' was confined to outsiders who either never lived at the Cape or only touched there briefly. In the increasingly common society of the Cape where burgers were involved in close physical and social relationships with Khoisan and imported slaves, where domestic arrangements of concubinage were widespread, and where alliances for hunting, trading and fighting were common, it would be unlikely anyway if such absurd ideas would have emerged. If a defence was required for holding Khoisan in subordinate positions, the justification in terms of conquest and victory was more than adequate, as noted in chapter 4.

Apart from some ruminations as to Khoisan origins (such as that of Ten Rhyne in 1686¹⁷), and a brief mention in the Church

16. P.J.van der Merwe: Die Trekboer, Op.cit.,p.257. It is strange that he makes this quite unsupported point when shortly before he has suggested, rightly, I think, that 'estetiese gronde' (aesthetic grounds) may have played an initial and enduring part in the formation of interpersonal and group attitudes.

17. W.Ten Rhyne: Op.cit.,p.93.

Council letter of 1703 there appears to be only the flimsiest and quite unconvincing evidence that a full-blown racist ideology incorporating Ham - or anything else - existed or had developed within Cape society by the end of the 18th century.¹⁸ Those Khoisan who remained outside the colonial society, however, and who resisted its expansion with such fierceness - especially after 1770 - may well have provided the basis for a severely negative stereotyping of the kind that Lichtenstein encountered when he visited the Cape in 1803-6. He reported that some colonists regarded the Khoi as "... outcast heathen, cursed by (their) Hamitic origin. This origin ... was quoted in a learned way as an excuse for the harsh treatment of the Hottentots".¹⁹ This illustrates not so much an endemic 'racism' but the more common phenomenon whereby enemies or awkward or challenging groups are rendered inhuman and beyond the pale, thus justifying inhuman or genocidal treatment of them.

At the end of the 18th century there were some moves by some Church councils to segregate their churches, but it was an uneven movement and was opposed by the Cape Synod. Both William Patterson and Le Vaillant noted that the Warm Baths near Bott River were segregated: one bath for Europeans, the other for "... slaves and Hottentots".²⁰ But those categories clearly reflect class and

18. C.Spoelstra: Bouwstoffen, Op.cit., Part One, pp.14-16. Letter dated 4th April, 1703 from the Church Council at Drakenstein to the Amsterdam Classis. The Council wrote: "It was desirable that it please our Almighty God and Shepherd of the flock to bring the old inhabitants of this land (the Hottentots) into the fold of Jesus Christ, so that also Cham may no longer be a servant of servants ...". Amsterdam commended the Council. But this is the language - the abstruse idiomatic language - of religion and evangelism; it is not the language of social definitions of groups.

19. Lichtenstein: Foundations, Op.cit1, p.45.

20. Patterson: A Narrative of Four Journeys, p.12.

cultural exclusiveness, not segregation on grounds of colour.

And those kinds of incidents are more than balanced by the fluid 'non-racial' relations in the town.

As was argued in chapter 8 the inclusive character of Cape society contrasted radically with the later situations where trekkers generally formed small communities amongst Nguni and Sotho societies in the first half of the 19th century. It was in the structural contexts of these latter conditions that the bitter and severe tones of the 'Doppers' began to emerge and that some elements of later exclusive 'racist' ideas began to circulate. But even there, it could be argued, the element of perceived cultural distance was a major part in the social definition of the situation.²¹

Rather than a blanket ideology of emerging and increasing 'colourism', pious and puritanical Calvinism, and dour and egalitarian simplicity, the ideology that developed at the Cape over the period expressed other features and these were more clearly aligned with the representative institutions and relationships of the new society, varying in degree and intensity from east to west. The ideology emphasized acquisitive and material norms and behaviours; it was hardly puritan; there was no complex system of justificatory ideas in respect of the treatment of people of colour, for they were fully part of the society at most levels. Yet it gave rise to quarrelsome preoccupations of precedence and status which, along with residual cultural discontinuities, were able to effect and

21. The importance of the differences in structural context in shaping patterns of social relations and attitudes is well surveyed by P.L. van den Berghe: "Racialism and Assimilation in Africa and the Americas", passim.

legitimate the stratification processes of inclusion and exclusion. It was also the case that, given the antecedents of all groups, initially sharply contrasting somatic norm images gave rise to somatic distance, which accumulated along with cultural differences and class distinctions in a hierarchy of values and preferences. But as cultural and somatic differences came to fade and mingle, there emerged an increasingly common culture and ideology, stratified increasingly by the workings of class forces in the west and, much later, the imposition of 'colourist' norms which, to the present, remain quite unmanageable and unstable.

Finally, what are the implications for methodology? It was suggested in the first chapter that one of the major weaknesses of much South African historiography on the Cape was its preoccupation with chronological reconstruction at the expense of explanation of structural relations between parts of the emerging social whole. It was argued, moreover, that an alternative approach to that kind of empiricism was to start by putting a series of questions to the history, and by offering a conceptual framework and set of explicit operational assumptions in terms of which the answers could be provided and the analysis carried forward. In that way, it was claimed, a fuller and more rounded explanation of the constitution of Cape society would emerge, and an account of its structural developments made clearer.

The framework - incorporating marxism and pluralism - was set out in chapter 2 and the remainder of the study was devoted to putting it to work. This has made it possible to relate the various processes to each other through the analytic framework, rather than

just describe sequences of events.²² Hopefully more life and understanding has been given to the history of the Cape. But, in addition to the deployment of the analytical framework, it has been necessary also to operate at a generally more abstract level than is normal in the histories. Thus what has been gained in terms of the wider explanatory objective has been offset by some loss of detail. I have tried to compensate for that wherever possible by using extended footnotes to expand on the data where their inclusion in the body of the argument would have been distracting.

A further implication for methodology is to suggest that a flexible use of historical materialism has provided much explanatory momentum when used without the wooden determinism that is often associated with its cruder formulations. Despite the unfortunate paragraph in the "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" where Marx talked about the 'mode of production of material life' determining social consciousness, the more flexible view of historical process in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" is worth re-stating in terms of what has been argued in this study.²³

22. Of course the historians do more than that. They select and arrange the evidence according to some criteria (mostly implicit, in South African historiography) and hence provide one kind of explanation. But, overall, in this tradition, the emphasis is on linear causal sequences rather than structural elucidation.

23. Karl Marx: "Preface to 'The Critique of Political Economy'", in Marx and Engels: Selected Works, I, pp. 362-3; and "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Op.cit., I, p. 247.

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

The complex allusions to material circumstances, contingent factors, given predispositions and past goals, and the clash of diverse meanings, interests and current purposes, is a much richer starting point than the one-way causality of materialist determinism, or 'idealism'. In standing between and drawing on both "... classical materialism and classical idealism", Marx stressed the interplay over time of ideology and social structure.²⁴ In the famous 3rd Thesis on Feuerbach, Marx rejected the crude positivist and materialist view which held that circumstances changed men.²⁵ At the same time in rejecting classical idealism - in the form of either the 'cunning of reason' or Hegel's Spirit - Marx argued that "Ideas cannot carry anything out at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who dispose of a certain practical force".²⁶

From this perspective, historical materialism as a rough term to describe a methodological starting point, with important implications for the selection and deployment of evidence, makes certain assumptions and asserts certain principle points. It asserts

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24. Shlomo Avineri: The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, p.69. See also George Lichtheim: Marxism, ch.2.
25. The relevant part of the Thesis reads: "The materialistic teaching on the changing of circumstances and education forgets that circumstances are changed by men ...". K.Marx: "Theses on Feuerbach", translated by N.Rotenstreich in his Basic Problems of Marx's Philosophy, pp.23-6. Marx referred to crude determinism - in the form of Comte's positivism - as "... trashy positivism". See Lichtheim: Op.cit., p.27, n.
26. K.Marx: The Holy Family, p.160, cited in A.Giddens: Capitalism and Modern Social Theory, p.211.

the centrality of human agency; but it does not assert or predict what that agency will produce. It asserts that men are always to be found in particular historical and cultural contexts, which establish constraints on what is possible and provide opportunities also for innovating and changing the circumstances. It asserts further that in new circumstances men perceive and construct their social reality in terms of prior ideologies and categories of thought and the cultural institutions familiar to them, and in terms of which they also confront and change their circumstances. In changing their circumstances, they alter - or re-align- their ideology accordingly, for structure and ideology are bound up with each other. Thus, new possibilities and dimensions are incorporated in it. Finally, on the hoary old question of 'base' and 'super-structure', historical materialism, as it has been used here, asserts not that the economic and environmental context determines but only that it sets limits to the possible in terms of both socio-political relations and the ideology which express and sanction them. That cultures and normative universes of radically contrasting kinds were part of the historical circumstances for all groups involved in the constitution of Cape society means only that, in drawing on the analytic categories of pluralism, we can handle more variables in explaining that history, but can thereby explain it more clearly.

What all this means, furthermore, is that the analysis of these related questions of economic context, political and social structures, contrasting ideologies and institutional arrangements, and the categories of perception and preference of all groups at the Cape, has called for what is sometimes referred to as an

'interdisciplinary approach'. More accurately, the argument has drawn on contributions which the necessarily partial perspectives within the various disciplines have made. The scope and nature of this study required precisely such a use of the secondary material as well, for the argument has aimed at producing a wider and more integrated perspective. It is this which may be described as the 'theoretical convergence'. That is, "... a fusion of elements that creates a new perspective from which to approach familiar material".²⁷

If it has achieved that objective, at least, then it will have fulfilled one of its initial purposes.

27. Gerald Studdert-Kennedy: Evidence and Explanation, Op.cit., p.217.

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