Land Rights & Identity: The Establishment of the Leliefontein Mission and its impact on the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg.

A dissertation presented to the Department of Historical Studies, UCT
in fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts in Historical Studies

By

Kathryn Rawson
RWSKAT001

Supervisor: Nigel Penn

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate
Signature Removed

Date: 10 August 2017

Table of Contents

Abstract 4

Acknowledgements 6

List of Maps & Images 7

A Note on Methodology 9

Introduction 12

CHAPTER ONE: PRE-COLONIAL KAMIESBERG

1.1 The Original Occupants 21

1.2 The Little Namaqua 25

1.2.1 Land Use Strategies 30

1.2.2 Livestock 35

CHAPTER TWO: TREKBOER ADVANCEMENT

2.1 The Little Namaqua in Colonial Times 37

2.2 The Emergence of the Trekboer & the Loan Farm System 43

2.3 The First Europeans Settle in the Kamiesberg 49

2.4 Impact of Initial Settlement on Little Namaqua 51

2.5 The Namaqualand Revolt 56

CHAPTER THREE: THE LELIEFONTEIN MISSION

3.1 The Kamiesberg at the Dawn of the 19th Century 60

3.2 Introduction of Perpetual Quitrent: A Change of Land Tenure 64

3.3 Missionaries Settle at Leliefontein 66

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF THE MISSION ON THE NAMAQUA

4.1 The Impact of the Mission on Little Namaqua Land Use 77

4.2 The Impact of the Mission on Living Conditions of the Namaqua

4.2.1 1816-1850 90

4.2.2 1850-1900 95

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MISSION AS 'ACTIVE RESISTANCE'

5.1 The Role of the Mission in Securing Land 101

5.2 A Question of Strategy 107

Conclusion 122

Bibliography 125

Land Rights & Identity: The Establishment of the Leliefontein Mission and its impact on the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg

Kathryn Rawson (University of Cape Town)

Abstract:

This thesis attempts to provide an extensive historical narrative of the Kamiesberg region of Little Namaqualand in the Northern Cape of South Africa. In doing so it focuses on the indigenous occupants of the region, a group of Khoikhoi pastoralists known as the Little Namaqua. The Little Namaqua were few in number, but a people rich in cattle, who occupied the area from the Groen River in the south to the Buffels River in the north for approximately the past 2000 years. Through the use of archaeological sources, written testimonies of 17th and 18th century travellers and the colonial archive this paper offers an in-depth analysis of both the pre-colonial and colonial occupation of the Kamiesberg.

The patterns of transhumance adopted by the pre-colonial Little Namaqua were put under severe pressure at the dawn of the 18th century with the arrival of the first wave of European farmers known as *'trekboers'*. Here, the Namaqua's notions of shared land-use and territoriality were confronted with the differing European perceptions of private land-ownership and property rights. Thus began the process of Namaqua displacement and land-encroachment at the hands of the *trekboers* who often settled around favourable watering points. This, paired with the ills of illegal cattle trading and the smallpox epidemic of 1722, resulted in both a cattless and a virtually landless Little Namaqua by the dawn of the 19th century. With few other alternatives, many enlisted into the workforce of European farmers or fled further north over the Orange River. Others instead opted for the protection afforded to them by a mission station. It is this group of Little Namaqua, those under Chief Wildschut, who form the basis of this research.

By 1816 the Little Namaqua under Wildschut had invited the Wesleyan missionary, Barnabas Shaw, to establish a mission station at Leliefontein. The early years of the mission station, 1816-1850, were prosperous as both agricultural yields and livestock numbers increased rapidly. The latter half of the 19th century however saw the station in decline. This thesis argues

that the virtually unprecedented move on the part of Wildschut and the Little Namaqua to invite a missionary to settle on their lands was a highly strategic one on the part of the Little Namaqua. The establishment of the station not only allowed them to hold onto land which would have otherwise been pilfered from them but it also provided them the necessary protection against the mischiefs of neighbouring farmers. Records suggest that the Little Namaqua were fully-aware of the consequences and benefits of this decision and thus this thesis posits that far from the victimised and marginalised people that history has moulded them to be, the Little Namaqua were instead a people with strategic foresight and thus should be credited with the agency that their actions necessitated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the two years it took me to undertake and compile the research presented in this thesis I received much support and encouragement from several parties – to whom I am extremely grateful. To the staff of the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town as well as those at the National Archives in Cape Town who helped source and secure the necessary documents. To Melanie Guestyn of the National Library of South Africa who directed me toward the *Methodist Church Archive Collection* and so patiently dealt with my queries and requests. To the Methodist Church of South Africa for so kindly allowing me access to the hidden treasures within the boxes of the *Methodist Church Archive Collection.* Much thanks is owed to distinguished Namaqualand archaeologist Lita Webley who offered hours of her time to both advise and guide me in my research and unpack basic archaeological principles over cups of tea.

I owe much to the community of the Kamiesberg and more specifically those living in Kharkhams who so selflessly gave up their time to tell me their stories and show me their land. Corneels Links, Nama leader and Chair of the Kamiesberg Heritage Foundation, acted as both guide and friend and played an invaluable role in my several trips to Namaqualand.

Much credit is due to my supervisor, Professor Nigel Penn, who so many years ago first opened my eyes and sparked my passion for uncovering the untold stories of the Khoisan lives on the frontier of the Cape Colony. He so patiently dealt with my endless emails and drafts and always guided me in the right direction with both enthusiasm and kindness.

Acknowledgement must be made of my close friends and family who listened to my never-ending historical rants and offered much support and encouragement throughout the process. To my parents, for allowing me the space and opportunity to pursue my passion and to my friends and family who allowed me to escape to my 18th century bubble whenever necessary. Finally, I owe most to God who sustained and led me throughout the duration of my research – to Him this thesis is dedicated.

LIST OF MAPS & IMAGES:

Figure 1.1: 'Map of Namaqualand and the north-western Cape' from Penn, Nigel. *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern frontier in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 219.

Figure 1.2: 'The Kamiesberg region of Namaqualand, highlighting the Leliefontein Communal Area' (Map data 2016 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google)

Figure 1.3: 'The location of the Leliefontein Communal Area in the Kamiesberg mountains of Namaqualand, Northern Cape Province of South Africa' from Samuels, M. I. 'Pastoral mobility in a variable and spatially constrained South African environment', p. 19.

Figure 1.4: 'Approximate location of Khoikhoi before European contact' from Elphick, R.H., *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa*, p. 51.

Figure 1.5: 'Gordon's Depiction of the Little Namaqua (1780)' from Gordon, R.J. *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786*, vol. 1, P.E. Raper and M. Boucher (eds) (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1988), p. 377.

Figure 1.6: 'Reverend Barnabas Shaw.' Painted by J. Jackson by appointment of the Wesleyan Book Committee 14, City Road. Engraved by W.T Fry. circa. 1860.

Figure 1.7: 'Reverend Jacob Links' in W. J Mears. *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism.* (Rondebosch: Methodist Missionary Department, 1957).

Figure 1.8: 'The Route to Naamrap, South Africa.' In Shaw, B. *Memorials of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970).

Figure 1.9: 'Depiction of the Wesleyan Missionary Settlement among the Little Namaqua' from Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1820, p. 157.

Figure 1.10: 'Map of Leliefontein' by W.F von Ludwig, June, 1856, G60- 1890, appendix I.

Figure 1.11: ‘The Leliefontein Mission, circa 1829.’ INIL 11392, HR Moffat Album, South African National Library.

Figure 1.12: ‘Missionary village in the Kamiesberg’ Sketched by G. Thomson, January 1827, in Thompson, G. *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, Part 2 & 3. V. Forbes (ed.), (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1968).

Figure 1.13: ‘Transhumance patterns, past and present, within the Leliefontein Reserve.’ In Webley, L. E., ‘Archaeology and ethnoarcheology in the Leliefontein Reserve and surrounds, Namaqualand.’ (Unpublished M.A thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1984).

Figure 1.14: ‘Inhabitants of the Leliefontein Mission, circa. 1880.’ INIL 11394, HR Moffat Album, South African National Library.

Figure 1.15: ‘A group of Leliefontein Namaqua. (Back row: Frederick Smit, John Dirk, Peter Links, Johannes Boyse. Front row: Jacob Jagers, Barnabas Shaw Links [Brother of Jacob Links], Jan Kriel.}’ Photo by Mr. A. Withinshaw in Cheeseman, T., *The Story of William Threlfall: Missionary Martyr of Namaqualand, with some account of Jacob Links and Johannes Jager.* (Cape Town: Methodist Publishing Office and Book Room, 1910.)

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

> *'The voices of the dead have thus already passed through the imperfect medium of historical sources before experiencing a reconfigured resonance through the medium of the historian. These multiple distortions are, of course, inevitable and part of the fabric of history. The historian can only attempt to salvage scraps of the past from the experience of temporality.'*[1]

The historian attempting to piece together a coherent and honest narrative of the lived experiences of the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg is faced with a series of obstacles. Most notably – there remains little, if not any, first hand written testimonies of the Little Namaqua themselves. Lacking an alternative, the historian is required to intricately recover the voices and neglected experiences of the Khoisan scattered amidst the surviving records of state, colonist, traveller and missionary. While the investigation and findings presented in this thesis are built upon these colonial sources, great care has been taken to consider the limitations of the records in question.

First and foremost, the 18th and 19th century Dutch state archival records housed at the Cape Archives are in their very nature concerned with state issues – finance, law, policing and governance. These documents include legal papers, letters written by officials, journals and court records. Khoisan voices are most often 'captured' in these records in their capacity as victims or subjects of the state. The Little Namaqua entered the colonial records of the court on several occasions as they sought out the protection of the authorities against illegal cattle trading, theft and unlawful land occupation. Here the 'voices' of the Little Namaqua should be considered in the context of 18th and 19th century court-room procedures which so often tainted the evidence to reach a desired outcome or influence the court. Testimonies of the Little Namaqua were recorded by court-room scribes and then duly translated into Dutch. This left these initially 'pure' voices susceptible to two phases of possible intentional, or unintentional, distortion at the hands of the state. Thus the 'voices' of the Khoisan within the state records are very seldom authentic. That being said, these records are able to provide the discerning historian with a wealth of useful information. As Penn explains, 'Documentary evidence, with its distortions and selections, is itself an indicator of what was becoming lost in the past while

[1] N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern frontier in the Eighteenth Century* (Cape Town: Ohio University Press, 2005), p. 8.

the present was being made. Thus even the gaps in a history based on documentary evidence can be revealing, gesturing mutely to that which vanished most permanently, most decisively.'[2]

The testimonies of travellers into the Namaqualand region in both the 18th and 19th centuries proved vital to the understanding of both the pre-colonial and colonial Little Namaqua as well as their livelihoods and land use strategies. Unlike the archival records of the colonial state, the records of travellers, anthropologists and missionaries offer a more in-depth understanding into the ways of life of the Little Namaqua as well as the systems they utilised to both understand and make meaning of the world and events around them. These representations however were not without bias. Many of them were instead imbued with European myths of Khoikhoi savagery and inferiority. The uncivilised, wild and inhumane representations of the Khoikhoi were emphasised through both illustrations as well as descriptions of these unknown peoples. It was not uncommon for the Little Namaqua to be likened to animals, in their appearance, habits and gestures. Van der Stel, in his journey to the region in 1685, noted:

> 'After that he presented them with a little brandy, with which they made merry, dancing, singing and shouting in a very queer fashion, resembling nothing so much as a herd of yearling calves just turned out of the cowshed. It was undoubtedly, as they themselves confessed, the only happy day they had had all their lives… [a]ll this passed off very decently, considering that they are savages ... and when the comedy was ended the feast duly began.'[3]

The official records of the Wesleyan Methodist Church as well as the personal writings of their missionaries are similarly littered with notions of Khoikhoi immorality and inferiority. In his personal journal, Reverend Barnabas Shaw, the first missionary to reside at Leliefontein, describes his first days in Namaqualand:

> 'Though surrounded by Namacquas, we were truly solitary, as many of them spoke a language which we could not understand. All our earthly friends were far hence; our fellow-travelers had left us, and we could not refrain from weeping in this wilderness of savages.'[4]

Furthermore, Shaw described the Little Namaqua as 'idle', 'heathen', 'indolent,' and

[2] N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier*, p. 3.
[3] G. Waterhouse(ed), *Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand 1685-6* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co, 1932) p. 128; p. 134-135.
[4] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970) p. 79.

'benighted son's of Ham.'[5] This refers to the commonly held 18th century European belief that many indigenous Africans were in fact the cursed sons of the biblical Ham. This notion was long used to justify European superiority, colonialism, slavery and exploitation.

Derogatory and condescending representations of Khoikhoi aside, these records of both missionary and traveller cannot, unfortunately, be considered in isolation. Instead they should be rightfully contextualised in the socio-political climate of the Cape Colony and Northern Frontier at the time. While some travellers were independent in their endeavours, many were authorized by the the colonial state. Similarly, both the records and the work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society should be understood and interrogated with both their implicit and explicit connection to the colonial objective in mind. The London Missionary Society, who too were active in the Namaqualand area in the early 19th century, commented on the evident connection between the missionaries at Leliefontein and the said colonial objective:

> '…it has, however, afforded us much satisfaction, to learn that two commissioners, appointed to survey and report of the state of the colony, had visited it [the Leliefontein station] and expressed to the government the persuasion they entertained, that the exertions of the missionaries would prove one of the most powerful means of civilising the natives, and tranquillizing the colony.'[6]

While the weight of the bias and limitations of the above-mentioned sources may seem overwhelming at first glance there remains increasing value in the brief glimmers that they offer the historian into the lives of the historically marginalised. Treating these records with due care and discernment, this thesis has attempted, as accurately as possible, to recover and present the stories and lived experiences of the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg.

[5] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 83, p 90.
[6] London Missionary Society, The Report of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1814, as cited in C. J. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2010), p. 201.

INTRODUCTION

A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY

The establishment of the Leliefontein Mission Station amongst the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg in 1816 was an event which would dramatically alter the course of their history. A group of pastoral Khoikhoi which had for centuries past occupied vast expanses of land would, for the following century, be contained inside the limited boundaries of the station in an act that would, paradoxically, secure their access to land for generations to come. The analysis of the interaction between the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Little Namaqua at Leliefontein offered in this thesis fits into the pre-existing historiography of the impact of missionary activity on the northern-most frontier of the Cape Colony in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Martin Legassick's *Politics of a South African Frontier* serves as a foundational resource to those attempting to understand the inner-most workings of the northern frontier zone and its place in South African history. The term 'frontier' as used in this thesis can be most accurately described as an area, 'where different cultural traditions come into contact and interact under conditions where no political community is able to establish an unchallenged legitimacy of authority.'[7] Furthermore, one cannot begin to dive into the history of colonist and Khoisan relations on the northern frontier without consulting the considerable contribution offered by Nigel Penn's *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist & Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th Century*. On the importance of the frontier in South Africa's history, Penn so aptly explains: 'It was on the frontier that truly vital issues were decided in a relatively short space of time. These issues were no less than who, and under what conditions, should own the land and who, and under what conditions, should labour for whom.' [8]

In analysing the nature of 18th and 19th century missionary activity in the northern frontier and across the Orange River, the work of Legassick proves to be invaluable resource. In his analysis of the Griqua societies of the Orange River, Legassick maintains that supremacy was

[7] *M. Legassick, The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840.* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010), p. 318
[8] N. Penn, 'Pastoralists and Pastoralism in the Northern Cape Frontier Zone during the Eighteenth Century' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986), p. 66.

established (over the Sotho-Twsana, Kora and 'Bushmen') through the utilisation of the both the missionary presence and the commando system. For the Griqua, their connection to the missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS), who had first entered the region in 1799, was vital in securing access to firearms and gunpowder as well as strengthening links with the government authorities at the Cape. Similarly, Tilman Dedering's *Hate the Old and Follow the New* has done much to add to the understanding of the interaction between early missionaries and the societies across the Orange River. Building on the claims made by Legassick, Dedering unpacks the process by which Khoikhoi and Oorlam groups utilised the missionaries available to them in order to facilitate upward social mobility which was ultimately vital to their survival in a hostile and ever-changing frontier.[9] Here we see the missionary as intermediary between state and 'native', a position which garnered them much support and hostility from both sides. As Isaac Hughes explains, 'We missionaries are blamed by the Natives as forerunners to them of oppression and destruction from the hand of our fellow white men. The Colonists, on the other side blame us as sacrificing their interests for favour of the natives…'[10]

It is the controversial and paradoxical nature of missionary intervention in the indigenous societies of South Africa that have caused them, in the historiography of South Africa, to receive such polemical representations. Over the decades missionaries have been represented as both glorified humanitarian and agent of empire. Initially, the role of missionaries was an exalted one as they were perceived to have been agents of civilisation and goodwill, instructing the 'heathens' in religious doctrine and bringing not only spiritual enlightenment but cultural improvements. In this role, the missionaries were commonly referred to as 'philanthropists', 'humanitarians' or even 'emancipationists.' As time passed however, the veil of sacrosanctity, which had for long concealed the true nature of missionary intervention, was torn. Nosipho Majeke (Dora Taylor's pen name), in *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*, can be credited with much of this revelation. Majeke argues, as the title of her book suggests, that missionaries in South Africa were instead 'agents of conquest' who not only played a key role in the subjugation of indigenous societies but had the common aim of confiscating their land and establishing 'white supremacy.'[11] Majeke goes on to offer an insightful illustration:

[9] T. Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia*
[10] Hughes, June 12, 1851, as cited in, *M. Legassick, The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840,* p. 331.
[11] N. Majeke, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Cape Town: J. W. Jagger Library, 1984), p. 6.

> "At the outset, the missionary approaches the chief humbly, Bible in hand, and asks for a small piece of land to set up his mission station. At his heels hastens the trader, the purveyor of cheap goods. Thus the Bible and the bale of Lancashire cotton became the twin agents of a revolutionary change. The peaceful penetration by the missionary and the trader –sometimes the missionary turned trader- is followed in due course by an 'agreement' between the chief and the Governor, whereby the British becomes the 'friend and protector of the chief'. But this 'agreement' is actually the precursor of British interference, of war and the looting of cattle, and it ends with a so-called 'treaty' in which the chief 'agrees' to the seizure of a large piece of land belonging to the tribe. In return, he receives a magistrate as well as a missionary, who is much less humble than he was when he first arrived to beg land of the chief."[12]

For the majority of cases of missionary intervention in South Africa, the pattern presented in the above illustration is perhaps more accurate than not. The events leading up to the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission Station however demand a more nuanced handling and understanding of missionary activity. It is the fact that Chief Jantjie Wildschut of the Little Namaqua himself instigated and requested the service of a missionary, and the subsequent establishment of a mission station on lands legally registered for the use of the Little Namaqua, that throws a curveball to historians who occupy opposing ends of the spectrum discussed above. This case study thus necessitates a more nuanced approach to dissecting missionary activity, an approach which has most recently been spearheaded by the likes of John and Jean Comaroff. In their two-volume study, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* the Comaroff's focus on the interaction between convert and missionary and in doing so consider the ways in which indigenous societies both adopt and reconstruct symbols of Christianity and Capitalism. In doing so, the Comaroff's maintain that these symbols, goods and texts are not only consumed but are ultimately reconfigured. While this is at times done in 'open defiance' it is also achieved through 'strikingly imaginative acts of cultural subversion and re-presentation; sometimes in silent, sullen resistance.'[13] It is this approach, which unlike its predecessors, best fits the case study of Leliefontein.

With this in mind, and with an awareness of past representations of missionary intervention and activity in the area, this thesis attempts to analyse the impact of missionary activity on a community which has as of yet received little attention in the historiography. Veering clear of

[12] N. Majeke, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*, p. 7.
[13] Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa.* Volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. xii.

deeming missionary involvement in the area as either unambiguously 'positive' or 'negative', this thesis instead follows the path set out by the Comaroff's in focusing on the interaction between missionary and convert and its subsequent role in redefining and remoulding culture and consciousness.[14] In doing so, this thesis will argue that while the settlement of missionaries at Leliefontein transformed the culture and economy of the Little Namaqua, the birth of the mission station and its utilisation by the Little Namaqua begin to paint a picture of a Khoikhoi people who were not the victims that history has presented them to be, but were instead the strategic benefactors of the missionary enterprise.

THE KAMIESBERG - THE HEART OF NAMAQUALAND

A land of mountains and scorched up plain
Where there is nothing to do but pray for rain
Parched and barren and choked with sand
Lonely deserted Namaqualand

With a long white road, that winds its way
Where the dust-storms blind and the sand-whirls play
And the mirage flickers on every hand
Of the pitiless path through Namaqualand [15]

The history of the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg cannot be understood in isolation from the geography and climate which for centuries dictated their every move and decision. As Ellen Churchill Semple, father of environmental determinism, so rightly said, 'man is the product of the earth's surface, she has entered into his bone and tissue, into his mind and soul.'[16]The Kamiesberg mountain range has long been referred to as an oasis in the midst of the inhospitable semi-desert region of Namaqualand. The word 'kamies', meaning 'to gather', was given to the mountainous region by one of its earliest known inhabitants – the Little Namaqua.[17] The area's increased elevation welcomes perennial springs of fresh water which decorate its

[14] Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, p. xii.
[15] An extract from a poem written by Namaqualand prospector Fred Cornell in 1920, as cited in, P. Jowell & A. Folb, *Into Kokerboom country: Namaqualand's Jewish Pioneers* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2004), p. 72.
[16] E. C. Semple, as cited in J.A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland, 1750- 1940' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1942), p. 4.
[17] N. J Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913' (Honours Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1976).

round granite tops. Additionally, its altitude contributes to its relatively cool and moderate micro-climate while deeming it fertile and suitable for grazing. The Kamiesberg is situated in the centre of Namaqualand's three geographical zones with the Sandveld to the west and the plains of Bushmanland to the east. The western Sandveld, otherwise known as the coastal belt, has been described by Scully, in his poem 'Namaqualand', as 'a land of deathful sleep' which so aptly describes the waterless region dominated by heavy sand dunes.[18] The Bushmanland plateau to the east however is defined by its extremely low rainfall and vulnerability to episodic droughts. The Kamiesberg thus straddles two rainfall zones – the winter rainfall zone to the west (and on the mountain itself) and the summer rainfall zone to the east.[19]

For many centuries past, its location, favourable climate and grazing have placed it at the epicentre of pastoral cycles of transhumance. If winters in the Kamiesberg became too cold or snow-ridden, pastoralists could escape to the Sandveld where grazing was often possible during these months. Alternatively, if summer rainfall blessed Bushmanland to the east, these frequently inhospitable plains would become suitable for the grazing of livestock.

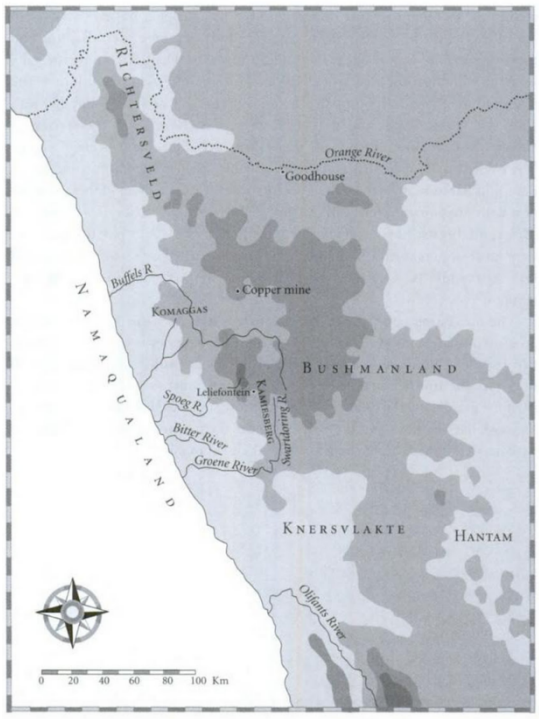

Figure 1.1 Namaqualand and the north-western Cape.

[18] J.A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland, 1750- 1940' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1942), p. 4.
[19] C. J. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909' .

The Kamiesberg is a semi-arid region known to experience extended periods of low rainfall and drought. The winter rainfall area to the west receives approximately 180mm of rainfall per annum while the summer rainfall area to the east receives an average of 250mm of rainfall per annum.[20] While these statistics represent low rainfall volumes, they are notably greater and more reliable than rainfall in other semi-arid areas of Namaqualand. Adding to the advantageous climate of the Kamiesberg region, the proximity of the Atlantic Ocean on the west coast allows for a much needed moderation of both winter and summer temperatures.

Figure 1.2 The Kamiesberg region of Namaqualand, highlighting the Leliefontein Communal Area. (Map data 2016 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google)

In the past the region presently known as Namaqualand was often referred to as 'Little Namaqualand' while the area to the north, over the Orange River, presently known as Namibia, was referred to as 'Great Namaqualand'. The Kamiesberg is situated in the very heart of Little Namaqualand, north of the Groen Rivier and south of the Buffels Rivier. To the south of the Kamiesberg one can find a stretch of land (about fifty miles after the Olifants Rivier) known as the Knersvlakte which became the absolute bane of every 18th century traveller's journey to Namaqualand from the Cape. While the missionary Schmelen described it as 'a howling wilderness', Afrikaans journalist Birkby described it as 'a land of heartbreak'.[21] The origin of the meaning of 'knersvlakte' has differing interpretations. While some believe it to describe the gnashing (*kners* meaning to gnash) of teeth of the early European pastoralists who crossed

[20] C. J. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909'.
[21] J. A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland, 1750- 1940', p. 4.

the area, others claim the name to have originated from the Dutch word *knecht* – pertaining to the male servants who were freed from their services and allowed to settle in this area during the Dutch colonial period.[22] The harshness and struggle which characterised 18th century life in Namaqualand is evident in many place names - most notably Bitterfontein (bitter fountain), Aggeneys (agony), Poffadder (venomous snake), Houmoed (keep courage) and Moedvelore (courage lost). Place names in the Kamiesberg region however propagate its oasis-like character with their references to water – Spoegrivier, Nourivier, Klipfontein and Rooifontein are just a few examples. Some would claim that the name for the Kamiesberg itself is derived from the Nama word for water - */gammi*.[23]

Today the Kamiesberg is home to the Leliefontein Communal Area which at an estimated 192 00ha is divided into ten village commons.[24] These ten villages include Spoegrivier, Kheis and Klipfontein in the lowlands (about 250m above sea level); Leliefontein village[25] in the uplands (about 1350m above sea level) ; Rooifontein and Kamassies on the eastern plateau (about 800 m above sea level) and Kharkams, Tweerivier and the western parts of Nourivier and Paulshoek on the Kamiesberg escarpment. Individually these village commons vary in size, between approximately 12 000ha and 25 000ha. The Leliefontein Communal Area is surrounded by 84 farms. Seven of which are communal farms owned by the local municipality while the 77 remaining are privately owned farms.[26] The average size of the neighbouring communally owned farms is 6283ha while the private farms average at 1615ha. The seven communal farms were acquired for the residents of the Leliefontein Communal area through the Land Reform Programme of South Africa between 1998 and 2001 while the other two communal farms are utilized by the residents of Garies (a town bordering the Kheis village commons).

[22] T. Lebert, 'Land Tenure Reform in Namaqualand: Elite Capture and the New Commons of Leliefontein.' (Mphil Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2005).
[23] M. B Swarts, 'Institutions and organisations for sustainable management of ephemeral wetlands in communal areas: Case study of Leliefontein Communal Area, Namaqualand '(MA Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2013).
[24] M.I. Samuels, 'Pastoral mobility in a variable and spatially constrained South African environment.' (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, South Africa, 2013).
[25] Both the Leliefontein Communal Area as well as the Leliefontein village are often referred to as 'Leliefontein'. This thesis will however differentiate between the two as done above.
[26] M.I. Samuels, 'Pastoral mobility in a variable and spatially constrained South African environment.'

THE PEOPLE

Today the Leliefontein Communal Area is located within the Kamiesberg municipality of the Namakwa District in the Northern Cape Province. Leliefontein is home to a total population of 10 187, the majority of whom are descendants of the Little Namaqua Khoikhoi and San who are known to have occupied the area for approximately the last 2000 years.[27] The results of the latest census in the municipality, taken in 2011, indicated a total population of 10 187 living in a total of 3143 households. Those living within the Kamiesberg municipality, as well as Namaqualand as a whole, are some of the poorest communities in South Africa crippled by high levels of unemployment and poverty.[28] Namaqualand as a whole has a human development index of 0.34033 – an amount substantially lower than the rest of the country.[29] The census of 2011 additionally displayed a 1% increase in the unemployment rate since 2001, pushing the unemployment rate to 31%. Furthermore, there has been a 24 % decrease in the average household income. These hardships have hit the youth, between the ages of 15-34, the hardest with 40.4% of them being unemployed in the Kamiesberg region. Increasingly the inhabitants of the Kamiesberg have been forced to rely on government welfare to meet their needs.

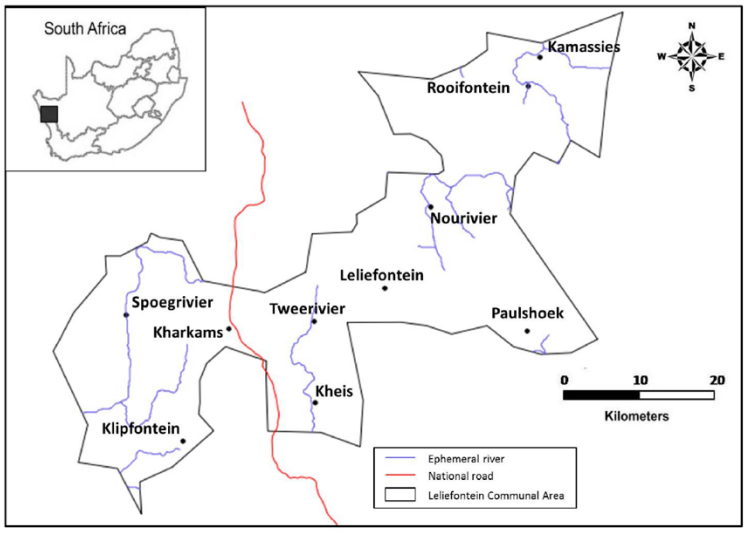

Figure 1.3 The location of the Leliefontein Communal Area in the Kamiesberg mountains of Namaqualand, Northern Cape Province of South Africa.

[27] R. F Rohde, M.T. Hoffman, N. Allsopp. 'Hanging on a wire – A historical and socio-economic study of Paulshoek village in the Leliefontein communal area of Namaqualand.' PLAAS Research Report No. 4, (PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, Bellville, 2003.)

[28] R.F Rohde, M.T Hoffman, "One hundred years of separation: the historical ecology of a South African 'Coloured Reserve' ". *Africa* 78, 2008, p. 189-222.

[29] R. F Rohde, M.T. Hoffman, N. Allsopp, 'Hanging on a wire – A historical and socio-economic study of Paulshoek village in the Leliefontein communal area of Namaqualand.'

The increase in both unemployment and population rates have caused many to become more reliant on livestock products, such as meat and milk, and agriculture for their subsistence. These livestock herds consist of small stock such as cattle and sheep. Cattle and donkeys are also found in some herds but are usually free ranged. Livestock also serve as an investment for these impoverished communities as they can be easily sold for cash in times of economic turmoil. Communal land in the Kamiesberg is also used for other activities such as the harvesting of firewood, the collection of medicinal plants, food gardening and the harvesting of reeds. 12 % of the total area is utilized for dry land cropping, mostly on the deeper soils of the valley bottoms. Individuals can access these croplands by paying an annual rental fee. Commonly crops grown in the area are oats, wheat and grain which are used as a food source or sold – on a very small sale. Other crops such as straw, barley and rye are grown and used for livestock fodder.

CHAPTER ONE: PRE-COLONIAL KAMIESBERG

1.1 THE ORIGINAL OCCUPANTS

Before the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 indigenous populations occupied vast expanses of what later became known as the Cape Colony. These indigenous populations comprised of both pastoralists and hunter-gatherers whose relationship remained fluid and fluctuating until their eventual dislocation and breakdown with the arrival of European settlers. While historical accounts refer to these semi-nomadic pastoralists as 'hottentots', and hunter-gatherers as 'bushmen', this thesis will instead refer to them as 'Khoikhoi' and 'San'. The word 'Khoikhoi' is of the Namaqua dialect and broadly speaking translates to 'men of men', while the word 'Kwekwena' has the same meaning in the Cape dialect.[30] The term 'San' was one used by the Khoikhoi themselves to describe their hunting and gathering neighbours.

While these two people groups can be broadly differentiated according to their economic means of subsistence an in-depth enquiry into their origin and relationship is necessary. The following myth regarding the origins of the Little Namaqua Khoikhoi was relayed to Reverend Kronlein who in the mid-nineteenth century worked as a missionary amongst the Great Namaqua:

> In the beginning there were two. One was blind, the other was always hunting. This hunter found at last a hole in the earth, from which game proceeded and killed the young. The blind man, feeling and smelling them, said, 'They are not game, but cattle.'
>
> The blind man afterwards recovered his sight, and going with the hunter to this hole, saw that they were cows with their calves. He then quickly built a kraal (fence made of thorns) round them, and anointed himself, just as Hottentots (in their native state) are still wont to do.
>
> When the other, who now with great trouble had to seek his game, came and saw this, he wanted *to anoint himself also. 'Look here!' said the other, 'you must throw the ointment into the fire,*

[30] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), xv.

> and afterwards use it'. He followed this advice, and the flames flaring up into his face, burnt him most miserably; so that he was glad to make his escape. The other, however, called to him: 'Here, take the kirri (a knobstick), and run to the hills, to hunt there for honey'. Hence sprung the race of Bushmen.[31]

Another, more incomplete, version of the above myth was relayed to Robert Gordon in 1779 by a Little Namaqua known as Kasaap.[32] The similarities between the two myths however point toward a common belief of a shared ancestry between hunter-gatherer and Khoikhoi groups in the Namaqualand region. The majority of archaeologists are generally in agreement with the above claim, believing that hunter-gathers in northern Botswana, who spoke a dialect of Khoe, acquired an amount of livestock and subsequently moved southward approximately 2000 years ago.

The divergence between the Khoikhoi and the original hunter-gatherer groups, otherwise known as 'the pastoral revolution', is believed to have taken place in the Namaqualand region during the period 1900 to 1300 BP.[33] This could explain how by 1488 the Khoikhoi had acquired livestock and moved southward to the Mossel Bay area where they were found by Bartolomeu Dias.[34] The pastoral revolution possibly explains the tangible variations between Khoikhoi and San societies. The sustainable supply of a cows milk diet has been used in part to explain the taller physique of the Khoikhoi (noted by early travellers) while also explaining the support of an ever increasing population and immense territorial expansion.[35] The pastoral revolution also heralded the change in Khoikhoi culture, intrinsically interlinked with economic changes – wild-animals furs were replaced with the skins of calf and sheep while the greasing of the body with animal fat became a more common feature. The accumulation of livestock became the very epicentre of Khoikhoi society and values.

---

[31] W.H.I Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa; or Hottentot fables and tales* (London: Trubner & Co, 1864) , p. 83-84.
[32] A.B Smith & R. H. Pheiffer, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: Notes on the Khoikhoi'. *Annals of the South African Culture History Museum*, 5:1, 1992.
[33] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa' (Ph. D Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992). p.11.
[34] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa*, p. 12 .
[35] *Ibid.*

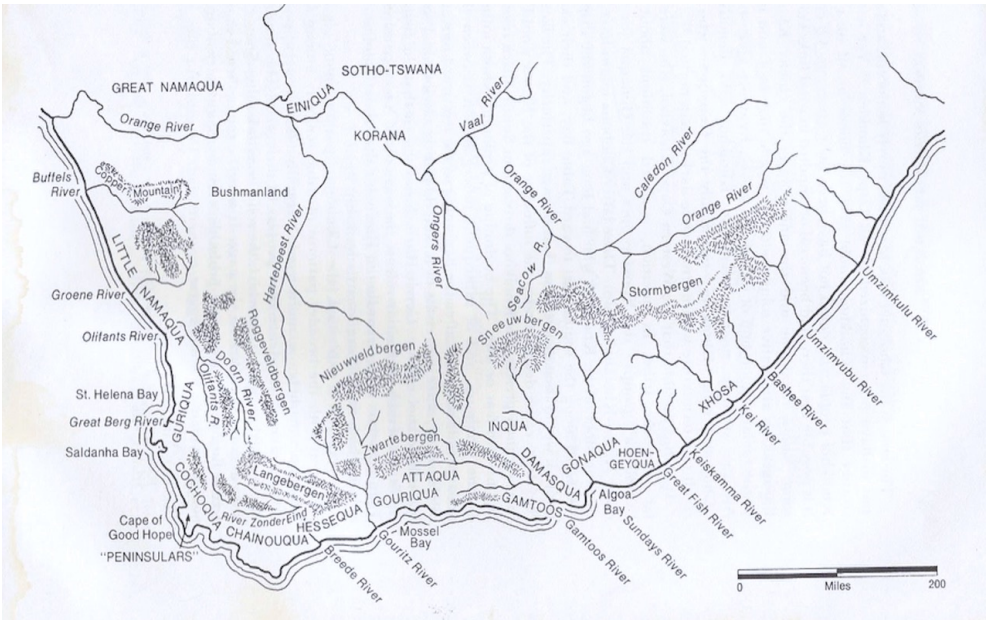

Figure 1.4 Approximate location of Khoikhoi before European contact.

The historiography of the relationship between these hunter-gatherer and pastoralist groups was altered radically by the input of historian Richard Elphick whose theory of the 'ecological cycle' suggested a fluid relationship between the economies and thus identities of these groups.[36] Elphick ultimately critiques the notion of 'two distinct and nonoverlapping economies' as a flaw made by scholars overly eager to organise and simplify with the harrowing result of distorting 'historical reality'.[37] He instead argues that the historical record provides cases of hunter-gatherers acquiring livestock and pastoralists losing livestock and resorting to hunting and gathering. Elphick refers to the loss of stock and the reliance on hunting and gathering as the 'downward cycle' while the acquisition of stock and conversion to full scale herding is deemed the 'upward cycle'. Marks also contributed to this shift in thinking, arguing that 'there is little to distinguish a landless and cattleless Khoi from a Bushman, or a Bushman who has acquired cattle from a Khoi'.[38] While there is merit to this notion, the likes of Susan Newton-King have problematized it - claiming that it 'incorrectly posits the superiority of pastoralism.'[39]

[36] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa.*
[37] *Ibid*, p. 25.
[38] S. Marks, 'Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in the *Journal of African History*, 8 (1972), p. 57.
[39] S. Newton-King, *Masters and Servants on the Eastern Cape Frontier 1760-1803*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 28.

Others in the archaeological discipline have since critiqued and ultimately opposed Elphick's theory. Parkington claims that the lifestyle of hunter-gatherers, which he and others have termed 'soaqua', is in every way distinct from that of the Cape Khoikhoi.[40] He goes on to define soaqua as 'not having cattle, stealing, not having huts and wearing less attractive clothing'.[41] Parkington *et al.* later refines the analysis and suggests that, 'the terms Khoi and Soaqua (San) are in fact structural categories defined in terms of one another, each the negative of the other.'[42] While Parkington does not refute that social pressures such as Dutch encroachment and settlement caused several Khoikhoi pastoralists to resort to a hunting and gathering lifestyle he argues that these hunter-gatherer Khoi differ inherently from the original Soaqua. Using archaeological evidence he thus argues that the biggest obstacle to the 'easy transition of individuals from hunting and gathering to herding is in fact the reciprocal sharing ethic which is embedded in the social fabric of southern African hunter-gatherers.'[43] More simply, these hunting and gathering people find it extremely difficult to accumulate large numbers of livestock due to their social obligations to share.

Smith is perhaps the strongest critic of Elphick's theory and has instead punted the view of 'reasonably strict ethnic barriers'.[44] In doing so he argues that 'hunters do not conserve or store food, nor do they deal with surplus as a basic criterion of accumulation and prestige, nor do they have hierarchical social organisations.'[45] More importantly Smith states that the social relations of pastoralists differ drastically from hunter-gatherers as the accumulation of stock is linked intricately to the 'social needs of people and animals, such as inheritance or bride-wealth payments where animals are an integral part of symbolic or exchange systems.'[46] There is however evidence that Khoikhoi pastoralists had more complex systems of political organisation – possibly due to their 'reliance on a more sustainable resource' in the form of

[40] J.E Parkington, 'Soaqua and Bushmen: hunters and robbers' in Schire, C. (ed.) *Past and Present in hunter-gatherer studies*. (New York: Academic Press, 1984).
[41] *Ibid*, p. 159.
[42] J Parkington, R. Yates, A. Manhire, & D. Halkett, 'The social impact of pastoralism in the southwestern Cape.' *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 5, 1986, p. 317.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] A. B. Smith, 'Review of 'Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa' in *Social Dynamics* 11(1), 1985, 90; A.B. Smith. 'Competition, conflict and clientship: Khoi and San relationships in the western Cape.' In Hall, M. & Smith, A.B. (eds). Prehistoric pastoralism in southern Africa: 36-41. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series*: 5, 1986; A.B Smith. 'Seasonal exploitation of resources on the Vredenburg peninsula after 2000 B.P.' In: Parkington, J.E. & Hall, M. (eds) *Papers in the Prehistory of the Western Cape, South Africa*: 393-402. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 332, 1987; A.B Smith, 'The origins and demise of the Khoikhoi: the debate.' *South Africa Historical Journal* 23: 3-14, 1990; A.B Smith. 'On becoming herders: Khoikhoi and San ethnicity in southern Africa.' *African Studies* 49(2):51-73, 1990; A.B Smith, K. Sadr, J. Gribble & R. Yates. 'Excavations in the South-Western Cape, South Africa, and the archaeological identity of prehistoric hunter-gatherers within the last 2000 years.' *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 46:71-91, 1991.
[45] *Ibid*, p. 89.
[46] A.B Smith, 'The origins and demise of the Khoikhoi: the debate.' *South Africa Historical Journal* 23, 1990, p. 8.

milk from their cattle.[47] An increase in herd numbers created an overwhelming need for additional labour and ultimately led to the formation of a client relationship with some San. There is however some evidence of intermarriage between the two groups yet wives were only taken from hunter-gatherers and not vice versa.[48] Smith claims that these circumstances, as well as the difficulty for hunters to acquire stock, caused the San to 'co-exist, albeit in an inferior position, with the Khoekhoen for 2000 years without losing their identity'.[49] Additionally, the Khoikhoi control of the landscape through the herding of livestock further marginalised the hunter-gatherers through time. The arrival of Europeans however, Smith argues, catalysed a shift in the relations between these two groups. This shift will be considered in Chapter Two.

1.2 THE LITTLE NAMAQUA

'…they are rich in cattle, and very tall in stature, almost half giants, dressed in fine prepared skins…a people who carry on trade with other tribes residing further inland.'[50]

What can be agreed upon is the fact that there was in fact a 'migratory shift' by Khoikhoi populations from the northern Botswana region down into South Western Africa.[51] Elphick argues that these Khoikhoi originated from hunter-gatherers who acquired cattle from Bantu speaking herders and later moved southward in the search of grazing. From this central point of dispersion, two routes of Khoikhoi expansion are believed to have developed – one in the westward direction, and one in the southward direction. Those Khoikhoi who subsequently occupied the Western region are believed to have split into three riverine tribes – the Korana, the Einiqua and the Namaqua. Those Khoikhoi pastoralists who expanded southward however, settled in the South-Western Cape and are known as the Cape Khoikhoi. Together, these four tribal clusters roughly made up the population of Khoikhoi pastoralists occupying the Southern African region, namely; the Korana, the Einiqua, the Cape Khoikhoi and the Namaqua.

---

[47] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa', p. 29.
[48] A.B Smith, 'Competition, conflict and clientship: Khoi and San relationships in the western Cape.' In Hall, M. & Smith, A.B. (eds). Prehistoric pastoralism in southern Africa: 36-41. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series*: 5, 1986.
[49] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa', p. 29.
[50] D. Moodie, *The Record; or, a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa,* part 1 (Johannesburg: 1959, originally printed 1838). 'Extracts of Memorandum left by Commander J. Van Riebeeck – May 5 1662'.
[51] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa,* p. 14.

While these 'tribal clusters' cannot be viewed in isolation, as they were inter-connected by trading routes, the focus of this research is the group of Khoikhoi pastoralists known as the Little Namaqua who occupied the Kamiesberg region of Little Namaqualand. While this thesis will refer to them as the 'Little Namaqua', they are also commonly referred to as the Nama, Namaqua Khoi, Nama Khoikhoi, Klein Namaqua and other variants. Some early sources refer to them as the 'Amaqua' yet these references seem to discontinue from 1780 onward. Some argue that it is plausible that the Namaqua were still in the process of their movement southward when interrupted by the sudden arrival and settlement of *trekboers* in the eighteenth century.[52]

In 1779 the story of the origin of the Little Namaqua was relayed to Gordon by Kasap through the following anecdote:

> …there was an old but sprightly woman from Great Namaqualand who had strayed from her country looking for food. She was named *Kouws* who then lived alone and sought her food in the veld. Then, long afterwards an old but sprightly man also strayed from his country in the same manner and he found that woman and then married her. The man's name was *Koebeseeb* and all the Little Namaqua are descended from them, and all the Little Namaqua are called after them, one half *Kobbequa* (Koebeseebqua?) and the other *Kaus ku* (*Kouws kwa*?) after the man (woman?).[53]

The Little Namaqua are one of two sub-groups of the Namaqua, the second being the Great Namaqua who lived northward over the Orange River. Evidence seems to suggest that these two Namaqua groups were not isolated from one another but instead during much of the 18th century were known to have interacted.[54] When Gordon visited the Little Namaqua in the Kamiesberg in 1779 he was informed that they and the Great Namaqua were one and the same people. Furthermore, when Wikar visited the area in 1778, he noted that the Little Namaqua were commonly involved in trading with the Great Namaqua to the north.

[52] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa,* p. 136.
[53] A.B Smith & R. H. Pheiffer, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: Notes on the Khoikhoi'. *Annals of the South African Culture History Museum*, 5:1, 1992, as cited in, L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa,' p. 34.
[54] N. Penn, 'The Orange River Frontier Zone, c.1700-1805.' in Smith, Andrew B (ed.). *Einiqualand: Studies of the Orange River Frontier*. (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1995).

Barnard postulates that of the above mentioned sub-groups, each '…is divided into several tribes, and a tribe is believed to number all the patrilineal descendants of its putative founder. Each tribe, in turn, is divided into several patrilineal localized clans and each clan into patrilineally organised extended families.'[55] From this, one could assume that clans, or part thereof, were divided into kraals which were then led by a specific chief or captain. While theoretically ones' rise to chieftainship was hereditary, in practice it was decided along the lines of wealth. Wealth, and ultimately political power, was thus dependant on wealth in cattle. Other leadership qualities did however play a supplementary role, such as hunting and cattle raiding skills.[56] The chief or captain has often been referred to as *kawaup/ghawaup/kawaub.*[57] Similarly , being wealthy in Namaqua society has also been likened to being 'a fat man' – *gou-aob*.[58] Other external indicators of chieftainship include a larger hut and the application of greater amounts of animal fat to the body. Early travellers provide accounts of a Namaqua tradition in which a wealthy Namaqua promotes his wealth through the use of a milk-drinker. This individual is isolated from the rest of the society for a year and fed a diet consisting of milk alone. A year later, the individual is revealed to the rest of the community – his size declaring the wealth of the individual providing him with milk.[59] The role of the chief was to preside over any disputes, to grant permission for the veld to be burnt in order to support new grass, to demand portions of game obtained on hunts and to see to the needs of strangers passing through the land.[60]

Webley suggests that the basic unit of production within Namaqua society is the nuclear or extended family.[61] This includes three generations, namely; the father, married sons and their offspring. These domestic groups are believed to thus maintain control of the resources, mainly livestock, and ultimately 'control the means of production.'[62] These domestic units however do not operate in isolation to one another, instead they form what has been called 'camps' in

[55] A. Barnard, 'Australian models in the South West African Highlands'. *African Studies* 34(1):9-18, 1975, 9.
[56] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa.*
[57] A.B Smith & R. H. Pheiffer, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: Notes on the Khoikhoi',1992, as cited in, L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa', p.. 41.
[58] T, Hahn, *Tsuni-llGoam: the supreme being of the Klwi-Klwi* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 13.
[59] A.B Smith & R. H. Pheiffer, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: Notes on the Khoikhoi'; Mossop, E.E., *The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) and the journals of Jacobus Coetze Jansz (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791)* VRS No. 15 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).
[60] C. Wandres, 'The law of the Naman and Bergdaman; by the Rhenish missionary at Windhoek.' (Unpublished pamphlet: Cory Library, Grahamstown, 1908.)
[61] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa.'
[62] *Ibid,* p. 43.

pastoralist literature. These camps are comprised of several domestic units who pool their resources and live together for parts of the year – usually the winter months.

Figure 1.5 Gordon's Depiction of the Little Namaqua (1780)

The Little Namaqua are known to have inhabited the region of Little Namaqualand, from the Groen River in the south to the Buffels River in the north, congregating on the foothills of the Kamiesberg. There has however been mention of them as far south as the Olifants Rivier valley. On the 30th of January 1661 Pieter Cruythoff led an expedition northward toward the Namaquas. Under-surgeon, Pieter Meerhoff, second in command to Cruythoff, kept a diary of their expedition in which he details an encounter with a kraal of Namaqua settled near the Olifants River.[63] The kraal comprised of 72 huts, which are reported to have been occupied by 700 people. Additionally, the group of Namaqua owned approximately 4000 cattle, 300 sheep as well as goats. A year later, Cruythoff encountered several Namaqua kraals north of the Olifants River, consisting of 85, 53 and 11 huts. Even further north he found kraals of 5, 16 and 75 huts. [64] Jonas de la Guerre found Namaqua kraals in the same area in 1663, which he later identified as a high mountain – most likely the Kamiesberg. Its was in the Kamiesberg where he encountered a kraal totalling 28 huts, and a small distance away found the kraal of the Chief of the Namaqua with 80 huts. In 1682 Olof Bergh journeyed to Namaqualand and is

[63] D. Moodie, *The Record; or, a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa, part 1* (Johannesburg: 1959, originally printed 1838).
[64] E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, *Reiz en in Zuid-Afrika in de Holladsche Tyd*. Deel II. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff., 1921)

reported to have found the main body of Little Namaquas near present day Garies, situated in the heart of the Kamiesberg region.

Simon van der Stel's 1685 expedition to Namaqualand, in search of copper, further confirmed the concentration of the Little Namaqua in the Kamiesberg.[65] The expedition met the first of the Little Namaqua just north of the present-day town of Garies where they found a total of three kraals. Here van der Stel was met by a Namaqua chief known as Nonce who later introduced him to five other chiefs in the area, namely; Oedesson, Harramoe, Otwa, Haby and Ace. From van der Stel's observations of dispute management, he suggested that they were all of equal rank. The Little Namaqua directed van der Stel and his expedition toward the best paths and fountains, a fact used by Heese to claim that the Namaqua were accustomed to using virtually the whole of Namaqualand (apart from those areas occupied by San) as their '*uitlegveld*'.[66] Furthermore, more than a century later, Hendrik Hop encountered a kraal of Little Namaqua at Klipvalley (between present-day Garies and Kamieskroon) and was subsequently visited by several Namaqua from neighbouring kraals.[67] According to Hop, the land of the Little Namaqua stretched from the Groen River in the south to the Orange River in the north.

The Little Namaqua's pre-colonial occupation of Little Namaqualand has been corroborated by the archaeological evidence available. Lita Webley's archaeological research in the area provides evidence which 'clearly supports a long tradition of herding in the region', most notably the remains of sheep found at Spoegrivier Cave near the present-day Namaqualand National Park.[68] A total of 21 sheep bones were carbon-dated and confirmed the presence of sheep in the area approximately 2100 years ago.[69] The cave was however abandoned approximately 1300 years ago which Webley believes to be due to the increased aridity in the area at the time. Furthermore Webley suggests that the presence of sandstone pebble at the site of the Spoegrivier Cave, resembling the //*khom* stones (used as skin-scrapers) 'indicates a link between contemporary herders in Namaqualand and those occupying the site of Spoegrivier

[65] G. Waterhouse (ed), *Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand 1685-6* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co, 1932)
[66] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland'.
[67] E.E. Mossop, (ed.) The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) and the journals of Jacobus Coetze Jansz (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791) VRS No. 15 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).
[68] L.E Webley, 'Archaeological evidence for pastoralist land-use and settlement in Namaqualand over the last 2000 years' in *Journal of Arid Environments*, 70, 2007, p. 629.

Cave some 1300 years ago.'[70] Similarly the remains of sheep bone, stone, pottery and ostrich eggshell fragments excavated in the area known as Jakkalsberg near the Orange River suggest the areas' occupation by sheep herders around 1300 BP. Further evidence suggests that pastoralists herding both sheep and goat were present in the Bethelsklip area in the Kamiesberg as early as 800-360 BP.

1.2.1 LAND USE STRATEGIES

It was not only the location of the Little Namaqua that Olof Bergh noted in his travels to Namaqualand in 1683, but also their apparent seasonal migration. On the 1st of October 1683 Bergh, 'saw that the people of the kraal were leaving for the mountains and going towards the east side with all their cattle.'[71] What Bergh was observing was a pastoralist cycle of transhumance practiced by the Little Namaqua. This saw that the Little Namaqua migrated seasonally in order to exploit the seasonal variations in rainfall and ultimately grazing. While summers would be spent near the permanent waterholes on the Kamiesberg mountains, migrations would occur into Bushmanland in the east during the winter months – to exploit the grassy riches of the area's summer rainfall while escaping the cold and often snowy winters on the mountains. Alternatively, winters could also be spent southward in the warmer climate of the '*onderveld*', otherwise known as the Sandveld, for the lambing of stock. While these cycles would be seasonally regular and predictable, irregularities such as drought and warfare could alter them drastically. It it thus understandable that the single most noteworthy constraining factor for these prehistoric pastoralists was the availability of surface water.

Evidence from Van Meerhoff's travels to Namaqualand in 1661, two decades prior to Olof Bergh's trip, seems to emphasise that the Little Namaqua also moved more sporadically and frequently in addition to their larger scale seasonal migrations. Van Meerhoff noted that within a day of meeting the group of Namaqua along the Olifants River they had already begun to move a further 5kms in an east-south-easterly direction. A further two days later, on the 25th of February 1661, they were reported to have moved another 16 km to another camp. It is believed that Chief Akembie and the group of Namaqua moved frequently in order to find suitable

[70] L.E. Webley, 'Archaeological evidence for pastoralist land-use and settlement in Namaqualand over the last 2000 years' in *Journal of Arid Environments*, 70, 2007, p. 634.
[71] E.E. Mossop, *Joernale van die landtogte van die edele vaandrig Olaf Bergh (1682 en 1683) en van die vaandrig Isaq Schrjver (1689),* VRS No. 12 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1931), p. 167.

grazing for his cattle.[72] Van Meerhoff's extensive records of the movements of this group of Namaqua in particular allowed Robertshaw to estimate how far they moved between camps. He calculated that they moved in 22km, 26km, 48km, 26km and 32km intervals between camps.[73] Their stays at these campsites ranged between two nights and four days. Robertshaw claims that these seemingly continuous movements were necessitated by 'large herds of domestic animals which ate out all the grazing in the neighbourhood in a very short time.'[74] Webley warns however that these patterns of movement are not the norm as Akembie at the time had been residing in a defensive position along the Olifants River in order to avoid an anticipated attack at the hands of the Cochoquas. While periods of instability, such as war and drought, are often deemed an interruption to the transhumant patterns of the Little Namaqua, it cannot be denied that overall variation occurred within these cycles. For example, it is known that when travelling through the Knersvlakte, groups were required to move rapidly in order to avoid over grazing of the land.

What is noteworthy here is that the reports of early travellers seem to suggest that the population numbers of the Little Namaqua were fairly low, estimated between 5000 and 10 0000, although some, the likes of French missionary Father Tachard, reported it to have been as low as 2000 in 1658.[75] When taking into consideration the size of the region occupied by the Little Namaqua, an estimated 47 000 square kilometres, one can deduce that they were sparsely distributed. While they are known to have populated the largest territory of all Khoikhoi groups in Southern Africa, their population density was most certainly the lowest. When considering the arid environment and sporadic rainfall of the Namaqualand region it thus makes sense that these herding groups would have needed access to greater tracts of land in order to exploit the regions resources seasonally. In stark contrast, Cape Khoi who occupied the Southern Cape and experienced the area's more reliable rainfall were able to occupy a much smaller tract of land.

From the above we can deduce that the Namaqua Khoi were both a nomadic and pastoral society, which ultimately means that they sought 'to maximize production by a seasonal

[72] H.B. Thom, *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol 2. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society 1954).
[73] P.T. Robertshaw, 'Coastal settlement, freshwater fishing and pastoralism in the later prehistory of the Western Cape, South Africa.' (Unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Cambridge, 1979).
[74] *Ibid,* p. 100.
[75] L.E Webley, 'Archaeology and ethnoarcheology in the Leliefontein Reserve and surrounds, Namaqualand.' (Unpublished M.A thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1984); R. Raven-Hart, *The Cape of Good Hope 1652-1702. The first fifty years of Dutch colonization as seen by callers.* 2 Vols. (Cape Town: Balkema, 1971).

exploitation of natural resources and their movements are thus largely related to seasonal cycles.'[76] In order for the Namaqua to prosper, full control over the land in question was thus vital. If they were at any time denied access to any section or resource of the land, the entire cycle of transhumance would be disrupted and ultimately their survival threatened. From this we can begin to see how the arrival and settlement of *trekboers* in the 1700s catalysed the disruption and collapse of the very foundation of Namaqua society.

While the Namaqua did not perceive this land as private property, per se, there was however a notion of territoriality amongst them. This made allowances for other societies to enter the area in question, on the grounds that these visits were both temporary and the visitors recognized the superior rights of the area's original inhabitants through the payment of a tribute.[77] These temporary visits often occurred in times of war or drought and understandably only occurred if surplus resources were available. Another benefit of allowing temporary visitors into one's territory was that in future times of war or instability, the host society could make reciprocal demands on their visitors.

Similarly, San also occupied certain regions which overlapped with the Namaqua as they themselves followed a different version of seasonal movement. The game hunted by the San also followed similar seasonal movements to the livestock of Namaqua pastoralists as they searched for areas of favourable grazing and water. While this presented an issue of competition, it necessitated a form of coexistence between the two societies. For this reason, San were known to have occupied the more mountainous expanses of land or areas less suitable for pastoralism, most notably; the dry and inhospitable Hardeveld and Sandveld to the west of the Kamiesberg mountains, and Bushmanland to the east.

The two groups lived interspersed with one another in general harmony for much of the 17th century. Early accounts of travellers passing through the area suggest that some groups of San were involved in a client type relationship with the Little Namaqua - the San taking care of Namaqua stock in return for their protection. Penn too argues that the San of the Sandveld and Olifants River were clients of the Little Namaqua.[78] Penn justifies the above claim by pointing

[76] N.G. Penn, 'Pastoralists and Pastoralism in the Northern Cape Frontier Zone during the Eighteenth Century' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986), p. 63.
[77] *Ibid,* p. 63.
[78] N.G Penn, 'The frontier in the western Cape, 1700-1740.', Parkington, I.E. & Hall, M. (eds) *Papers in the prehistory of the western Cape. South Africa*: 462-503. B.A.R. International Series 322, 1987.

to instances in the minutes of the Council of Policy where the Dutch refer to 'the Little Namaqua and *their* bushmen'.[79] The exact use of the Dutch pronoun being '*haare* Bossiesmans'. This arose through a case in October 1712, when a *trekboer* by the name of Jacobus Overny spread a rumour that 5000 Namaqua were congregating on the Orange River in order to attack the colony. Overny had previously journeyed to the Little Namaqua in an attempt to trade elephant tusks but while there 'he had stolen five heifers from the San *of* the Little Namaqua'.[80] Overny is believed to have created this rumour in order to protect himself from the Little Namaqua whom he believed would seek revenge on him by stealing his cattle. He was instead punished for raising the alarm unnecessarily and banned from grazing his cattle out of the sight of the Castle in Cape Town. The official record of the Council of Policy describes how a year prior to Overny's raid, the Little Namaqua 'had suffered from some hostile acts between themselves and *their* bushmen and had taken away the cattle of the latter'. What is clear is that the conflict between the Little Namaqua and *their* San had been resolved by the time of Overny's raid to the point that, through Overny robbing the San, he was ultimately committing a hostile act against the Little Namaqua.

While the above case has been extracted from the colonial era Smith maintains that the fact that the Khoikhoi relied on a more sustainable resource, milk from their cattle, ultimately promoted greater population growth and the development of more complex political organisations which, he argues, in turn created a need for additional labour to care for their ever increasing herds. This resulted in a client relationship with neighbouring San and eventually created an emerging class structure. Smith ultimately posits that the San 'co-existed, albeit in an inferior position, with the Khoekhoen for 2000 years without losing their identity.'[81]

Ethnographic observations of the Little Namaqua begin to hint at notions of land rights as they suggest that while the whole 'tribe' owned the land in question, individual domestic units had usufructuary rights to their specific settlements and grazing grounds.[82] The land 'could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it held to belong to the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable.'[83] The right to grazing was thus a common one. If

[79] N.G Penn, 'The frontier in the western Cape, 1700-1740.', p. 469.
[80] *Ibid,* p 469.
[81] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa,' p. 29.
[82] C. Wandres, 'The law of the Naman and Bergdaman; by the Rhenish missionary at Windhoek.'
[83] I. Schapera, (ed.), *The Early Cape Hottentots Described in the Writings of Olfert Fapper [1688], William ten Rhyne [1686] and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek [1695]* (Cape Town, 1933)

an individual sought to alter the natural state of the land – for example by burning the dry grass– they first had to gain the consent of the chief. While many believe old and dry grass was burnt to improve pasturage for the stock, Webley posits that it was instead done to attract game.[84] Similarly, groups of families could sink wells together yet the wells remained the property of the group as a whole – the 'tribe'.

While no tangible markers of boundary lines were used before the arrival of Europeans, a certain group's predominance in a specific area for an extended amount of time ultimately secured their rights to the land. The lack of visible boundary markers could be perceived as a strategic move, taking into consideration the non-fixed patterns of transhumance observed by the Little Namaqua. While some years could see certain areas regularly visited and grazed, other years could see them left empty for extended periods of time. Furthermore, the unpredictable weather patterns and drought in the area meant that boundary lines were often being shifted accordingly. Ultimately the uncertain environment necessitated a 'loose system' open to adaptation on an annual basis.[85] While there is however 'no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories' we do have access to records which detail the movements of the Little Namaqua – believed to be a 100km annual transhumance orbit.[86] Laidler goes into greater detail:

> In the Khamies oasis there was also a seasonal movement. The mountain's top, about 5000 feet above sea level, is so cool and beautiful in summer, is bitterly cold and wet in winter, so, as the springs there always sufficed for the summer time, the Namas trekked as soon as winter appeared, to the lower levels at Kharkhams, and along the banks of the Spoeg, Buffels, Groen and other rivers to the west, whose source lies in the Khamies Mountain. This ceased circa 1800.[87]

What can be agreed upon, however, is that the Little Namaqua were sparsely distributed over an area of approximately 47 000 square kilometres. While no evidence exists to point toward a fixed notion of territory or boundary maintenance, one can postulate that had boundaries

[84] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa.'
[85] J. Bregman, 'Land and Society in the Komaggas region of Namaqualand'(MA Thesis, University of ape Town, 2010), p. 23.
[86] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1965), p. 286; L. Webley, 'Pastoralist ethno-archaeology in Namaqualand' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986), p. 57.
[87] P.W. Laidler, 'The Seasonal Migrations of the Cape Hottentot,' in *Man*, 36 (April 1936), p. 61.

existed they would have been flexible. The harsh and unreliable climate and environment necessitated the area's inhabitants to follow a seasonal orbit of transhumance. While the majority of the pastoralists moved between the Kamiesberg mountains to the Sandveld in the west, others orbited between the Kamiesberg and Bushmanland in the east. It has been suggested that a typical unit of Little Namaqua herders in the Kamiesberg made use of a 100km orbit of transhumance.[88] Furthermore, the restrictive climatic and environmental factors in the area necessitated a fair amount of flexibility in the movement of the Little Namaqua. As Webley so aptly describes, 'the degree of flexibility in the herder movements is in direct proportion to the predictability of their resources.'[89] These resources include access to grazing and surface water and are the most crucial factor influencing livestock movements and thus population movements.

1.2.2 LIVESTOCK

In a society without explicit private land ownership, the possession of livestock became the most valuable form of private property. While most Khoikhoi groups herded mainly cattle and sheep, the Little Namaqua were distinct in that they had acquired goats from the Tswana (who they called *Birina*, translating to 'goat people').[90] The Little Namaqua were known to have herded the *Namaqua Afrikaner* sheep, unlike the *Ronderib Afrikaner* which were preferred by the Cape Khoi. The Namaqua Afrikaner is known to be a hardy sheep, able to survive in areas of low rainfall and thus suited well to the Namaqualand environment. It is worth briefly noting that according to Oedasoa, one of the Cochoqua chiefs, "the Namaquas had large numbers of livestock, but their tribe was not nearly as numerous as his…" In the evenings, cattle would be herded and kept within the boundaries of the circular formation of huts and it has been noted that the legs of the animals were tied in order to prevent their escape. At approximately 7:00AM in the morning the herds would be driven out to pasture and would be brought back in at around 5:00PM or 6:00PM in the evening.[91]

Livestock in Little Namaqua society served many purposes – economic, political and social. While they were chiefly a mobile source of food it would seem surprising that neither sheep

[88] L.E. Webley, 'Archaeology and ethnoarcheology in the Leliefontein Reserve and surrounds, Namaqualand.' (Unpublished M.A thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1984).
[89] *Ibid,* 196.
[90] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa.*
[91] *Ibid.*

nor cattle were slaughtered for consumption on a regular basis. The slaughtering of stock was instead a symbolic act, performed to celebrate special occasions such as weddings or as sacrifice in times of illness. Milk obtained from livestock was however more readily consumed. Cows are known to have been milked both morning and evening, while surplus milk was stored in cowhide sacks. Often, leftover milk was vigorously shaken into butter which was then smeared onto the body, along with the fats of wild animals, as an external indicator of wealth, prosperity and security. While the herding of the livestock was undertaken by the men, it was the women who took care of the milking. The women were also known to gather wild fruits and tubers which were often roasted or prepared on the fire.

Livestock also played an important role in both the creation and the maintenance of social relationships. What is important to consider here is that while wealth is measured by one's livestock numbers, wealth is not only externally displayed by livestock but instead by the application of fat. For this reason, surplus livestock of a wealthy owner was often hired out to less wealthy individuals within the community who herded them in return for a percentage of their yield. Here surplus stock is used 'to create networks of stock associations'.[92] While some argue that the loaning out of livestock was done as a form of insurance against drought or disease, Webley maintains that it is more likely to have been a method to build up networks of alliances.[93] An individual with several networks or alliances could in turn exert political influence and could potentially become captain of a kraal. Those who chose not to loan out surplus stock, instead made use of client herdsmen or stock assistants.

These pre-colonial patterns of transhumance which had for centuries past been vital to the pastoral subsistence of the Little Namaqua were soon to be interrupted by the eventual arrival of colonists into the area in the early 18th century. The settlement of colonists, and eventually missionaries, in the area would forever alter the livelihoods of the Little Namaqua as they were pushed onto more marginal tracts of land, stripped of the majority of their cattle and ultimately their independence.

[92] L.E. Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa', p. 52.
[93] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER TWO: TREKBOER ADVANCEMENT

"It was on the frontier that truly vital issues were decided in a relatively short space of time. These issues were no less than who, and under what conditions, should own the land and who, and under what conditions, should labour for whom." [94]

2.1 THE NAMAQUA IN COLONIAL TIMES

Since the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie) settled at the Cape in 1652 mention had been made of the Namaqua to the north. As early at March 1661, reference of the 'old Namakwas' located south of the Olifants River is made in Jan Van Riebeeck's journal.[95] Van Riebeeck goes on to describe the Namaqua as a people who are 'dressed in skins, make baskets, and casks, large and small, as in Holland, in which casks they preserve their milk; they eat with spoons made of tortoise shell, and have, indeed, fixed houses, which they do not move from place to place.'[96] Additionally, in 1660 Van Riebeeck's translator, a Khoi woman called Krotoa but known to the Dutch as Eva, makes mention of the Namaqua having access to 'gold and precious stones'.[97] For years the Namaqua were believed to have held the key to Linschoten's fabled river of Vigiti Magna and the Empire of Monomotapa.[98] This, and their perceived value as trading partners, resulted in five major expeditions in an attempt to make contact with the Namaqua between the years 1659 and 1664.

The 1660 expedition of under-surgeon Pieter Meerhoff, under the command of Pieter Cruythoff, has provided the most comprehensive description of a Namaqua settlement available to date. While Meerhoff and Cruythoff did not reach the Kamiesberg, they did however make contact with a kraal of Little Namaqua near the Olifants River. Meerhoff describes the Little Namaqua during his first encounter with them as having 'shields of dry hides' and 'a skin hanging from their left arms, bows and arrows on their shoulders, and in

[94] N. Penn, 'Pastoralists and Pastoralism in the Northern Cape Frontier Zone during the Eighteenth Century' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986), p. 66.
[95] H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope.* (Cape Town: W. A Richard & Sons, 1901), 10 Maart 1661.
[96] D. Moodie, *The Record; or, a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa, part 1* (Johannesburg: 1959, originally printed 1838), 225, 'Extracts from the Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck, December 16, 1660.'
[97] *Ibid*, November 14, 1660.
[98] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa.*

each hand an assagay'.[99] Once further acquainted with these Namaqua, Meerhoff made contact with their chief, a man between the age of 60 or 70 years known as Akembie who is described to have been 'like a giant' who 'speaks in well considered arguments.'[100] These Little Namaqua were reported to have lived in traditional huts covered in mats known as a *matjieshuis*. A total of 73 huts in a circular shape were counted, with three huts located just outside the kraal which apparently belonged to the cattle-less messengers of the chief. This kraal alone is believed to have consisted of approximately 300 men and 400 women and children who herded a total of 4000 cattle and 300 sheep. Meerhoff also provides a physical description of these Little Namaqua:

> They wear all kinds of fine dressed skins, as, tigers', leopards', rabbits', gaily ornamented with copper beads. Their hair is like that of the Cape Hottentots, but some have locks as long as a Dutchman's, which they fill with copper beads all round their heads. On the neck they wear necklaces in 15 or 16 folds; many having round plates of copper hanging from the necklaces. On their arms they wear many rings of ivory and copper indiscriminately; and round the waist 30 or 40 turns of strings of beads of copper and iron mixed, a piece of flat ivory is suspended before their private parts, and plated thongs studded with beads, round their legs.[101]

Another interesting facet of Namaqua society emerged from Meerhoff's account of his expedition. Upon making first contact with the Namaqua in 1660 he learned that they were in fact at war with Oedasoa, one of the Cochoqua chiefs (also known as the Saldanhars). This came to light after Meerhoff invited Chief Akembie of the Namaqua to the Cape, an invitation which was refused on the grounds that Akembie would have to first make peace or battle with Oedasoa. Animosity between the two groups is believed to have originated through the initial conflict between Oedasoa and the Chariquriquas, after Oedasoa had seized all of their cattle. While this act of cattle theft would usually not have been deemed acceptable, in this case it was, as the cattle in question were his own which he had hired out to the Chariquriquas to graze. After they had appropriated the cattle as their own, Oedasoa intervened and recaptured the cattle by force. The aggrieved Chariquriquas proceeded to the Namaqua who not only gave them cattle to graze as tributaries, but took on their conflict with Oedasoa as their own.

[99] D. Moodie, The Record; or, a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa, part 1, 'Diary kept by Pieter Meerhoff, 18 February 1660.'
[100] *Ibid,* '19 February 1660', '20 February 1660.'
[101] *Ibid.*

The terms of this war are interesting. They not only highlight the deeply interconnected nature of these Khoikhoi groups in the 17th century but also contradict claims of Namaqua isolation. The Little Namaqua were in fact a rich and widely feared figure in the Khoikhoi political arena. What is also worth noting is that after this expedition, Meerhoff took it upon himself to resolve animosity and garner peace between the Namaqua and Chief Oedasoa – a feat that he succeeded in achieving.

A year later, on the 21st of October 1662, Pieter Cruythoff returned on a thirteen person expedition to seek out the Namaqua and the great river Vigiti Magna.[102] Upon crossing the Olifants River the group set off further inland where they eventually made contact with the Little Namaqua, who at the time claimed to be at war with enemies they called the Numakee. Here Cruythoff encountered kraals of 53, 11, and 83 huts north of the the Olifants River and a further 5, 16 and 75 huts were discovered further northward.[103] The Namaqua sought out their assistance against the Numakee in return for guiding the group to the great river. The request was however denied by the Dutch group, due to lack of resources, and ultimately resulted in the Namaqua forbidding the expedition to pass through their territory to the river. Cruythoff subsequently found a different route to the river and continued on his journey against the wishes of the Namaqua. After a few more days the Dutch group were surrounded and attacked with assegais and arrows, being severely wounded by a group that Cruythoff believed were Soaquas. This was the last straw for the aggrieved group of Dutchmen, who subsequently turned around and began their journey back to the Cape.

The claims of both Meerhoff and Cruythoff regarding the presence of the Namaqua in the Kamiesberg are corroborated by Jonas de la Guerre who in 1663 also claimed to have found kraals in the area – most notably a kraal of 28 huts nearby the kraal of the Chief of the Little Namaqua which consisted of 80 huts.[104]

While mention has been made of the Little Namaqua in numerous accounts of travellers, both independent and state-linked, their distance and arguably isolation from the concentration of Dutch settlers in the Cape in the late 1600s meant that they remained, for the time being, relatively unaffected by the presence of Europeans. The initial impact of Dutch settlement at

[102] D. Moodie, *The Record*, 'Extracts from Journal of Commander Wagenaar, 1st February 1663.'
[103] E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, *Reiz en in Zuid-Afrika in de Holladsche Tyd*. Deel II. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff., 1921).
[104] *Ibid.*

the Cape was however felt more harshly by local Khoikhoi groups living in the direct vicinity of the Castle and settlement. It is however worth noting that due to the Company's reliance on the Khoikhoi's livestock for meat, they were strategically instructed by the Heren XVII, governing body of the VOC, to foster a peaceful and symbiotic relationship with local Khoi. These instructions were reasonable as although the Europeans had greater access to gun-powder they were still greatly outnumbered by Khoikhoi groups in the area. While meat could be obtained from the cattle and sheep of Khoi, in order to supply passing ships with sufficient amounts of food and water, the Company resorted to farming their own wheat and vegetables. To do this most efficiently, in 1657 the VOC released a number of employees in order to create a class of fully independent farmers – from here on referred to as *freeburghers*. These farmers were granted land which they deemed 'unoccupied' to begin the growth of their crops. The extensive farming methods of the *freeburghers*, in response to restrictive environmental factors, meant that the boundaries of the colony were extended under Governor Simon van der Stel to include Stellenbosch, Paarl, Franschoek, Drakenstein, Tijgerberg and Wagenmaakers Valley.

While these *freeburghers* were mostly left to their own devices, they were however initially prohibited from trading livestock with Khoikhoi groups. These restrictions were put into place as early as 1652 in order to not only avoid a potential price increase, but also to protect the supply of meat. It is clear that there was a perceived risk of these *freeburghers* exploiting their unlimited access to Khoi livestock and ultimately decimating the supply of meat in the colony. Furthermore, allowing *freeburghers* to partake in the livestock trade could unintentionally encourage them to venture further inland in search of stock – an activity that could not be adequately monitored by the VOC and could ultimately lead to lawlessness in the interior. Penn argues that even if the potential lawlessness and theft instigated by an open livestock trade did not materialise, too great a focus on pastoral activities could 'jeopardise the entire settlement for, in place of a class of sedentary agriculturalists, there would be created a class of roving herders, continually in search of better nourishment for their animals.'[105]

From 1658 to 1700 the livestock trade between *freeburghers* and Khoi remained closed. These efforts however did not manage to curtail incidents of illegal trade and manipulation – arguably due to the VOC's poor enforcement of the ban. Those who were found guilty of illegal trade

[105] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995), p. 50.

were met with various degrees of punishment. Initially they were fined up to 25 rixdollars and had their animals confiscated but later they were met with much harsher punishment in the form of beatings and banishment. A Jan Jorgen, for example, was found guilty of trading at least fifty cattle illegally and was duly deprived of all his property, scourged and banned from the colony.[106] Incidents and convictions such as the above were not rare and can be found littered across the records of the Council of Justice. Livestock trading was to be left in Company hands and was to have a devastating impact on local Khoi groups. In his time as Commander of the Cape, Simon van der Stel had overseen over forty trading expeditions and as early as 1680 the effects of the livestock trade on the Khoi had been felt. The Khoi began to show an increased reluctance to depart with their livestock and ultimately could no longer supply the Company with their annual requirement of between 3000 and 4000 sheep. While this can be seen to indicate the already apparent over-exploitation of the Khoi and their stocks, it in no way slowed down the trade in livestock. This was due to van der Stel's ruthless response. While he made sure to focus on increasing the Company's self-sufficiency and clamp down on illegal traders he simultaneously became more destructive in his methods of procuring livestock from Khoi. In 1693 Captain Dorha of the Chainoukwa, one of the VOC's regular livestock suppliers, refused to continue the trade of livestock. In response to this, Van der Stel sanctioned a full scale attack on Dorha's kraal, capturing the captain, killing many of his men and stealing almost all of his cattle and sheep.

While the great distance between the Little Namaqua and the Cape meant that they were largely unaffected by the initial trade in livestock and the harsh grips of the VOC, it did not however pardon them completely from the reach of van der Stel who in 1685 led the first successful European expedition into the heart of the Kamiesberg region in pursuit of the area's copper potential. Van der Stel found a total of eight or nine kraals – a figure much larger than those of previous travellers. Elphick offers two possible explanations for this: either the Dutch were penetrating even further into the Kamiesberg region or the Namaqua population was growing. It was most conceivably a combination of both factors.

Van der Stel's treatment of the Little Namaqua did much to alienate and create animosity amongst them, mostly notably through his attempts to assert Company authority over them. On the 5th of October 1685 Van der Stel was met by Chief Noncé who travelled to meet him on a

[106] R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa.*

pack-ox, accompanied by many other Namaqua, eleven cows and another ox carrying his baggage. Noncé attempted to gift Van der Stel with six sheep, but the act of generosity was instantaneously declined. In response Noncé, 'implored the Commander to accept them, saying that he had plenty of cattle to barter and that he was not one of those who wished to make war.'[107] Most importantly however, Noncé added that, 'he was master here and Honourable Commander was master at the Cape.'[108] These comments were enough to infuriate Van der Stel who was quick to threaten to march to the kraal of Noncé and, 'see who might be master' – a 17th century rendition of '*I'll show you whose boss'*.[109] Furthermore, Van der Stel interfered severely with the internal affairs of the group, going so far as to force members to recognise the particular Chief of his liking and even persuading Chiefs to punish Namaqua who had personally offended him. While these initial attempts at subordination were comparatively mild they foreshadow the proceeding centuries of Namaqua oppression and destruction at the hands of the Dutch. Van der Stel tested the quality of the copper of the Koperberge before beginning his journey back to the Cape.

Simon van der Stel, and his severe response to the illegal trade of livestock, was succeeded by his son, Willem Adriaan van der Stel in 1699. Willem Adriaan reluctantly opened the livestock trade in February 1700 at the instructions of Heren XVII and much to the disapproval of his father. The opening of the livestock trade coincided with yet another bout of territorial expansion as Willem Adriaan van der Stel began to settle colonists in the Land of Waveren – more commonly known as the Tulbagh basin. While at the time, the area was believed to be uninhabited, in reality it was regularly occupied by the Cochoqua Khoi who followed a cycle of transhumance. Both the opening of the livestock trade and the further expansion of the colonists into the interior had severe affects on Khoi groups and sparked five years of Khoisan resistance – details of which are beyond the scope of this thesis.[110]

[107] G. Waterhouse, (ed) *Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand 1685-6*, p. 130.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] Details of which can be found in N.G. Penn. 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815.'

2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF THE TREKBOER & THE LOAN FARM

After peace had been made with resisting Khoisan groups in in November 1705 it was deemed safe for colonists on the frontier to graze livestock north of the Berg River near the area of Piketberg. Records indicate that the first grazing permits in the area were issued in the years 1707, 1708 and 1709.[111] What is worth noting here is that these early grazing licenses did not contain precise details of location, but instead a more vague indication of the area. Furthermore, grazing rights in the same vicinity were often granted to a handful of farmers and thus could be deemed communal. Overall these early grazing licenses were incredibly vague, with no limit to the amount of land at the license-holder's disposal. The only restriction laid out by Willem Adriaan van der Stel, who issued the first grazing licenses within the colony, was that 'they should take care not to disturb anyone already settled there.'[112]

Grazing permits continued to be granted in the area until 1714 when the loan farm system, otherwise known as the *leningplaats*, was introduced. This system saw a complete transformation in land tenure practices – access to land was no longer a privilege, but instead demanded payment. *Freeburghers* now had to pay an annual fee of twelve rixdollars to the Company in order to secure their land. The size of such a farm was approximately 2420 hectares which was calculated by half an hour's walk from a central point. Penn explains however that in reality, as long as a neighbours territory was not infringed upon, one could use as much land as they were able to control and maintain.[113] Similarly, Barrow notes that 'partly by accident, though frequently by design, the stakes are so placed that, on an average throughout the Colony, the farms are twice the distance, and consequently contain four times the quantity of land allowed by Government.'[114]

The distance between neighbouring loan farms however was a more flexible issue. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the loan farm system was in its formative years, an hour's walk was deemed the minimum space necessary between neighbouring loan farms.[115] In reality however this was more of a guideline. What trumped the significance of distance between farms was the quality of the pasture and the availability of water in the vicinity. If a

[111] N. G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815', p. 71.
[112] P.J. Van der Merwe, *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1843*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), 62.
[113] N.G. Penn. 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815.'
[114] J. Barrow, *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, part II (London, 1804), p. 380.
[115] P.J. Van der Merwe, *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1843.*

new loan farm infringed upon the available pasturage of an already existing license-holder, the latter had the right to lodge a complaint. For example, in 1779 an Anthony Rink complained that Pieter Roussouw, who had began leasing a nearby farm had harmed him 'as much for pasture as for water' for his livestock. The *landdrost* of the Swellendam district, Van Ryneveld, launched an investigation into the matter and found that although the two farms were approximately an hour's walk from one another the 'poor condition of the pasture' on Rink's farm as well as its insufficient supply of water meant that 'when Rink requires it, he is not only forced to water his livestock from the river where the farm of the defendant is situated, but even has to transport his own drinking water, and he would find it impossible to exist without such water.'[116] It was thus recommended that Rossouw's lease be immediately withdrawn. We can see here that the assessment of a particular farm's self-sufficiency in regard to water and grazing were dealt with on an individual basis, taking into consideration the uniqueness of each case.

As can be seen from the above, early loan farms did not have formal boundary lines or even a predetermined size. As other farmers were granted leases in the area however, it was only inevitable that farms began to take on more fixed boundaries as they competed for grazing rights surrounding their homesteads. The land in between two neighbouring farms ultimately had to be divided. As Van der Merwe explains, "Thus, with the increased population density over a period of time and under the flexible system of grazing licenses, there naturally came into being - through the division of pasture between farmers – fixed 'farms', the shape and size of which were determined solely by the nature of the ground and the location of other loan farms in the immediate vicinity of the established homestead."[117]

It was often the case, specifically in the arid Namaqualand region, that farms did not have neighbours bounded on all sides but rather several hours away. In this case it is perceivable that loan farm tenants could not decipher where his loan rights ended and unallotted areas of crown land began. It was also in the favour of these loan farmers that fixed boundaries between their farms and crown land did not exist as it allowed them to continue to make temporary use of the unoccupied land.

[116] C 547, Letters Rec., van Ryneveld (Swellendam) to Governor, 16 August 1779, as cited in, P.J. Van der Merwe, *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony*, p. 74.
[117] P.J. Van der Merwe, *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1843*, p. 74.

In determining a suitable location for a loan farm, the most import factor to take into consideration was the presence of a permanent water source. These factors arguably undermined other more seemingly fundamental factors – such as whether the land in question had been previously inhabited or made use of by indigenous groups. While every single loan farm lease under the reign of the VOC included the stipulation – 'to be careful that they are not obtrusive to some already settled there'- it would seem that this clause inherently excluded the area's indigenous Khoikhoi inhabitants. Here Penn suggests that it is by no means coincidental that the introduction of the loan farm system occurred so shortly after the outbreak of smallpox in 1713 which 'swept aside the last remnants of cohesive Khoisan societies in this area.'[118]

The loan farm system has often been compared to that of the freehold farm and ultimately criticised for its lack of security of tenure. Arguments in favour of the above have however been deemed erroneous as in practice, most loan farms were ultimately deemed the inalienable property of their owners. Very little could result in the confiscation of property or the eviction of farmers – unpaid rental went almost unnoticed by the state for vast periods of time. In 1793 for example, of the 1959 loan farms occupied in the colony a sum of 324 067 rix-dollars was owed in overdue rental.[119] From this one can deduce that the average loan farm was in approximately seven years worth of arrears. Although these loan farms were not legally the inalienable property of their tenants we can see how the government's laid back stance could have caused tenants to feel greater security in their possession of the land. Furthermore, the farms soon began to assume their own value, completely separate to their annual rental fee of twelve rixdollars. When a farm was transferred to new owners, they were seen to be paying predominantly for the *opstal* – the fixed improvements on the farm. Over time the loan farm system became accompanied by notions of private and exclusive land ownership and ultimately saw the commodification of land – an idea which was alien to indigenous Khoi groups who perceived the land as well as its resources as communal property.

This new breed of colonist who began the rapid expansion of the colony are known as *trekboers*. The *trekboers* were semi-nomadic pastoralists, much like their newly acquired neighbours – the Khoi. While some argue that these colonists were drawn into the interior by commercial opportunities, others more accurately suggest that they were forced out of the Cape

[118] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815', p. 72.
[119] C 217, Resolutions, 21 July 1793, p. 32, as cited in P.J. Van der Merwe, *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1843*, p. 75.

due to lack of available funds to purchase a freehold farm.[120] What should be considered here however, is the apparent attraction of pastoralism itself in the frontier zone. The rapid reproduction rates of both sheep and cattle meant that a farmer with a large enough herd could be almost self-sufficient. Penn suggests that 'so rapid was the advance of the frontier and so great the increase in the number of *trekboers* that, for much of the eighteenth century, the acquisition or maintenance of subsistence level flocks and herds was of much greater priority than the sale of meat to the Company's butchers.'[121]

The northern frontier zone was defined by its seasonal variations in rainfall, grazing and water sources. Due to this, much like the area's indigenous inhabitants, these early *trekboers* had no choice but to adopt a transhumant lifestyle in order to ensure that their flocks had access to both fresh water and grazing annually. These new arrivals managed to marry notions of private land ownership – the loan farm – with their semi nomadic lifestyle. Loan farms were claimed at very strategic locations within the cycle of transhumance – near watering points. By laying claim to farms on two watering points, a farmer inevitably had access to the areas of the grazing between them.

Before continuing, it is important to briefly consider the notion of the 'open' and 'closed' frontier. This concept of the differing phases of the frontier was introduced by Giliomee who explained an 'open' frontier as one defined by a balance of power between two or more co-existing groups in competition for resources.[122] The frontier was thus 'closed' when the balance of power was tipped in favour of a particular group and ultimately one society became dominant over another. This is important as during the open phase of the frontier there is sufficient evidence to believe that *trekboers* initially shared both resources and land. Penn argues that while a loan farm was often registered in the *Oude Wildschut Boeke* in the name of one man it does not necessarily mean that the farm was utilised by one domestic unit. Instead, groups of *trekboers* were known to graze their herds communally for mutual protection as well as pool their resources such as water and grazing. The closing of the frontier however, triggered by overpopulation and overgrazing, resulted in greater competition for resources and understandably stricter perceptions of private land ownership. One can imagine that this

[120] N.G Penn, 'Pastoralists and Pastoralism in the Northern Cape Frontier Zone during the Eighteenth Century' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5, (June 1986).
[121] *Ibid,* p. 63.
[122] H, Giliomee, 'Processes in development of the southern African frontier.' In Lamar, H. & Thompson, L. (eds.) *The Frontier in History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

resulted in a sharp increase in boundary disputes and the records corroborate this. Penn claims that up until the end of the eighteenth century the region of Namaqualand was relatively 'open'.[123] This he believes to be due to the fact that the *trekboers* were initially greatly outnumbered and thus could not effectively evict the Little Namaqua from the land. From approximately 1790 onward however, the frontier began to close.

While the first half of the eighteenth century saw the Kamiesberg region relatively untouched by European settlement, the land to the south of Namaqualand was completely under Dutch control by 1740. According to Valentyn, as early as 1705, a group of Namaqua are reported to have visited the Castle at the Cape. This visit surmounted in the Dutch officiation of three Namaqua captains – Plato, Jason and Vulcan. [124] By 1750 the majority of Khoisan captains to the south of Namaqualand were made to accept a VOC staff of office and were thus figuratively in the hands of the Dutch.

Lack of European settlement in the area prior to 1750 did not however exonerate the Little Namaqua from the indirect effects of Dutch colonial expansion in the form of smallpox and cattle raiding. The first smallpox epidemic hit Namaqualand in 1722 and lasted until approximately 1724. Elphick and Giliomee claim that more than half of the Little Namaqua population succumbed to the devastating epidemic.[125] The majority of the survivors understandably fled northward across the Orange River, while others remained in the Kamiesberg mountains. In 1724 Rhenius, son-in-law of the before-mentioned Olof Bergh, travelled to the smallpox-ridden Namaqualand and recorded the devastation he experienced. Just a few days after crossing the Olifants River, Rhenius met four 'hottentots' who claimed to be from 'the craals of the Amaquas.'[126] These Khoikhoi informed him that, '…among the Amaquas there was a sickness to which they gave the name of (small) pocks. Of this many had died, it was brought to them by a Hottentot who had visited some friends among the Briquas and all the kraals had been smitten with the sickness except the one to which he belonged.'[127] It was for this reason, the Khoikhoi in question claimed, that he and his companions, were on their way to the Piketberg area, in an attempt to escape the epidemic. Interestingly enough these Namaqua also informed Rhenius about an apparent decrease in livestock numbers which he

[123] N.G. Penn. 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815.'
[124] F. Valentyn, *Beschryvinge van Kaap der Goede Hoope, met de waken daar toe behoorende, door Francois* Valentyn, 1726. 2 vol. English translation R. Raven-Hart, 1973. VRS 2&4. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1973), p. 14.
[125] R.H Elphick, & H. Giliomee (ed), *The shaping of South African society, 1652-1820* (London: Longman, 1979).
[126] E.E Mossop, (ed.) *The Journals of Brink and Rhenius.* VRS No. 28. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1947), p. 135.
[127] *Ibid.*

explained as being a result of internal warfare but in retrospect it was most probably also greatly affected by trade with the Dutch. Continuing their journey into Namaqualand, Rhenius commanded the four Namaqua to accompany them.

After passing the Doornboschrivier, now known as the Groen River, Rhenius questioned the four about the exact location of their kraals. In response the Namaqua answered that 'they lay dispersed here and there among high mountains and that it was not possible to arrive there with the wagons.'[128] It soon became clear that these Namaqua were not, as they had previously claimed, on their way to Piketberg but had instead been sent by their kraals to distinguish whether the group of Dutch posed a threat to them. Here they explained the devastating effects that the cattle trade had had on them – 'for two successive years we had cleared them out of all their cattle; that they were no more inclined to trade with the Company…'[129] Over the next few days Rhenius sent out several of his Khoikhoi servants to nearby Namaqua kraals in order to present them with gifts and initiate bartering. It is not surprising, taking into consideration the previous statements of the Namaqua, that in total all of these attempts only produced a meagre fourteen heads of cattle (three of which were lean, three old and four in poor condition). Rhenius' servants returned from several different kraals with similar news – '…they…had found most of the kraal folk sick and with no other cattle'; 'the Bushmen had carried off one of their cattle-kraals and they were now in no condition to trade with us'; 'the people were smitten by a foul stinking sickness…and some were dying daily. Rhenius duly returned home, unable to trade successfully with the Namaqua.

What is clear from the records of Rhenius is that by the 1720s the Namaqua Khoi population were not only devastated by smallpox, but also by Dutch trading expeditions and hunter-gatherer thievery. The most notable illegal Dutch trading expedition took place in 1738 and was spearheaded by ten colonists accompanied by few Khoisan servants.[130] The group travelled into Namaqualand and even ventured as far north as the Orange River area. Over 1000 cattle were reportedly stolen from both the Little and Great Namaqua. Upon their return journey to the Cape, the group also attacked the kraal of Little Namaqua captain Arisie, killing his wife and wounding their baby. These acts of criminality against the Namaqua Khoi were brought to the attention of the Dutch authorities at the Cape by Plato, Vulcanus and Arisie of the Little

[128] E.E Mossop(ed.), *The Journals of Brink and Rhenius.* VRS No. 28, p. 137.
[129] *Ibid*, 139.
[130] N.G. Penn. 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815.'

Namaqua who made the painstakingly long journey to the Cape by foot. Their efforts were feebly rewarded as only 279 of the 1000 stolen cattle were recovered. It has been noted that from the 1720s onward, the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg had been the main source of cattle in the colony.[131] This however was short-lived, as cattle numbers of the Little Namaqua soon dwindled and colonists were forced to search elsewhere for supplies.

2.3 THE FIRST EUROPEANS SETTLE IN THE KAMIESBERG

Before 1750, Europeans entered Namaqualand as livestock traders, travellers, raiders and ivory hunters. February and March of 1750 however saw the first loan farms registered in the area. The first farms were claimed at 'de Leliefontein' and 'Groene Rivier' under the names of Jan Overholster, Jan Meyer and Jan Venter.[132] 'De Leliefontein' is described to have been 'over the Oliphants en Doorn Rivier.' A year later in 1751, a Rudolph Brits is recorded to have registered 'Schoenmakersfont' at 'de Leeuwen Valley'.[133] Heese claims that Brits' loan farm is the present day farm known as 'Henkies' which is located near Goodhouse.[134] It is no surprise, considering the area's favourable environmental conditions, that the Kamiesberg itself was the location of the first European loan farms in the Namaqualand region.

The records seem to suggest a pause in the registration of loan farms for the next ten years before the 1760s brought a new wave of registrations. February of 1761 saw the registration of 'de Esels Jagt' and 'de Leeliefontein', described as 'over de Oliphants Rivier aan de groene Rivier boven op die berg', in the name of Jan van Aarden. In the following month 'de Welkom' and 'Avontuur', 'booven de groene Rivier op de Kemisberg', were registered in the names of Gerrit Cloete Jacobsz and Gerrit Cloete Gerritsz. In April of 1761 Hendrik Beukes registered 'de tweefontein' which was 'boven de Kamiesberg' as well as 'de vuijtkomst' which was 'onder de Kamiesberg'. [135]

March of 1766 saw the registration of 'Silverfontein', located 'aan de Kamiesbogen over de Groene Rivier', by a certain Nicolaas Smit. Two years later, Hendrik Beukes first leased the

[131] *M. Legassick, The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840.* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010).
[132] CA, RLR, 12, 3 Feb. 1750, p.115; 6 Feb. 1750, p.116; 21 March 1750, p.124.
[133] CA, RLR, 6 March 1751, p.193.
[134] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland', p. 40.
[135] CA, RLR 16, 17 Feb. 1761, pp.129-130; I April 1761, pp.143-144; RLR 19, 24 March 1766, p.112; RLR 20, 20 April 1768, p.35; 22 Oct. 1768, p.87; 16 Feb. 1769, p.119; 27 Feb. 1769, p.121; RLR 21, 22 Feb. 1771, p.160; 5 Oct. 1771, pp.228-229; 7 Oct.1771, p.230.

farm 'Modderfontein' in the Kamiesberg area while Petrus Johannes Van den Heever leased 'Renosterfontein' near the mouth of the Buffels Rivier. In February of 1769 a Justus Engelbrecht registered the farm 'Tweefontein' located beyond the Groen Rivier while Hermanus Engelbrecht leased 'Uitkomst' situated between the Spoeg and Groen Riviers. On the 22nd of February 1771 Jasper Cloete registered 'Avontuur' on the Spoeg Rivier. Later in that same year Pieter van den Heever first loaned the farm known as 'Vredelust' which is described as being in 'Pedros Cloof' in the Kamiesberg region.

Penn states that, 'We can be sure that these farms were registered some time after actual occupation of them and that they represented only a fraction of the presence of European *trekboers* in the vicinity.'[136] Gordon's visit to the area in 1779 confirms this as he recorded the presence of no less than nineteen stock farms in the Namaqualand area north of the Groen Rivier – in contrast to the sixteen loan farms officially registered in the area at the time. [137] While the archival records provide us with a fairly accurate glimpse into the European occupation of the land at the time, it is by no means complete. As early as the 1720s European colonists; in the form of hunters, deserters, bandits and runaways; were known to have frequented the area. These vagabonds were, in most cases, living in poverty and thus could not have afforded the fees attached to registering a loan farm. The distance of the Kamiesberg from the authorities at the Cape meant that the process of land occupation was relatively unsupervised and thus these first-comers could get away with occupying the land illegally for decades.

The early loan farm records and grazing licences, which can be found in the *Oude Wildschut Boeke*, also shed light on the status of the Little Namaqua amidst the influx of farm registrations in the area. As previously mentioned, the farms 'de Esels Jagt' (now 'Eselsfontein') and 'de Leeliefontein' (now Leliefontein), were originally registered to Jan van Aarden in February 1761. By October 1771 they had however been granted to Hermanus Engelbrecht. By 1772, Governor Van Plettenberg had been notified that in fact the farm 'Eselsfontein' had already been granted to a Dirk Coetzee while the farm 'Leliefontein' had for decades been home to the kraal of Chief Wildschut of the Little Namaqua. Plettenberg was quick to rectify the error, instructing Engelbrecht to vacate the two farms: 'I have been informed that the use of one of

[136] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815', p.286.
[137] R. J. Gordon, *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786*, vol. 1, P.E. Raper and M. Boucher (eds) (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1988), p. 291.

these places was allowed by the late Governor Tulbagh to the farmer Dirk Coetzee, and that the Hottentot Captain Wildschut has lain with his kraal on the other. I have there, thought fit to revoke the grant of these two loan farms.'[138] The Governor went on to instruct the *landdrost* of the Stellenbosch district to see that the inhabitants 'continue respectively to enjoy the undisturbed use of those farms.'[139]

The registration of a loan farm in the name of a Khoikhoi chief is in itself unprecedented in the history of the Cape. What is even more fascinating, highlighted from the above case, are the lengths gone to by the colonial authority to both recognise and protect the rights of the Little Namaqua to the land, albeit only a miniscule portion of the land once used by the groups prior to European encroachment. According to Gordon, 'Jantjie Wildschut' was the name given to Chief Noebee of the Little Namaqua by the Dutch.[140] The authority of Chief Wildschut of the Little Namaqua was further established and recognised by the Dutch government as they presented him with a staff of office, a cane with a brass top.[141] These copper or brass-headed staffs were reportedly allocated to Khoisan captains who were under the subjugation of the Company. What is clear is that Van Plettenberg and the authorities at the Cape maintained an air of respect for Chief Wildschut and through their formal recognition of the right of the Little Namaqua to the land were attempting to foster the goodwill of the Little Namaqua. The suggested underlying reasons for this however are mere speculation. While many would propose it was a simple attempt at appeasing the Namaqua in order to protect the newly-settled colonists in the area others would argue that 'it is unlikely that this attitude stemmed from a perception of vulnerability of the colonial position in the far north-west.' [142]

2.4 IMPACT OF INITIAL SETTLEMENT ON LITTLE NAMAQUA

The initial impact of these newly settled Europeans on the indigenous Little Namaqua population was threefold. Firstly, it led to the creation of a new society with the emergence of '*Basters*'. Secondly, it led to the displacement of Khoi groups through the loss of both land and livestock. Finally, it caused a shift in the relations between Little Namaqua groups and neighbouring San bands.

[138] D. Moodie, *The Record,* Part III, p. 10-11.
[139] *Ibid*, 'Letter from Plettenberg to Landdrost of Stellenbosch, 31 Jan. 1772', p. 10-11.
[140] R. J. Gordon, *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786,* 25 July 1779, p. 250.
[141] V. Forbes, & J. Rourke, *Paterson's Cape Travels 1777 to 1779* (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1980.)
[142] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1815', p. 287.

When Gordon frequented the area in 1779 he observed that the majority of European stock famers in the area had relations with Namaqua Khoi women, sometimes two at a time, who he heard 'they marry according to their custom.'[143] While at the Cape, such behaviour would have been severely frowned upon, in distant Namaqualand social norms became readily warped. White farmers in the Kamiesberg led very similar lives to their Namaqua counter-parts. Living a semi-nomadic lifestyle warranted the use of the *matjieshuis* – a domed hut comprised of reed mats -by both *trekboers* and Namaqua Khoi. The Namaqualand *trekboers* not only shared their huts with Namaqua women but in many cases also shared their farms with groups of Namaqua. While miscegenation had been occurring in the area as early as the 1740s, the influx of settlers into the area from the 1750s onward ensured that these relations became 'the rule rather than the exception.'[144] The intermarriage between these two pastoralist groups led to the birth of a new society who have come to be known as '*Bastaards'* or '*Basters*'. The children of Khoi mothers and European fathers would almost always take on the surnames of their fathers in an attempt to take on the dominant culture of their fathers. For these reasons, very few *Basters* entered Namaqua Khoi society. They were however, unable to enter European society either. The context of Namaqualand however, initially provided an appropriate middle ground for these new societies to prosper. Closer to the Cape, it was virtually unheard of for *Basters* to acquire loan farms. Namaqualand's apparent isolation however allowed for loan farms to be more readily registered in the names of *Basters*. Thus baptised *Basters*, namely; Kok, Diederiks, Brand and Meyer, registered loan farms in their names in 1793.[145] Those who hadn't registered farms in their own names were able to rather effortlessly occupy farms in their father's names.

Heese notes that the typical surnames of *Basters* in the area were: Engelbrecht, Beukes, Cloete, Mostert, Bok, Brand, Meyer, Morton, Roussouw, Van Royen and Bezuidenhout.[146] Upon further inspection one could note that these surnames barely differed from common *trekboer* surnames in the area. More distinctive surnames were those given to the *Baster* offspring of foreign deserters and knechts, namely ; Bensch, Clause, Diergaardt, Diederiks, Eyman, Korter, Model, Owies, Otto and Zaal.[147]

[143] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1815', p. 274.
[144] *Ibid*. p. 288.
[145] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland.'
[146] *Ibid*, p. 80 – 85.
[147] *Ibid.*

As time went on however it became more challenging for *Basters* to acquire land. Thompson notes that unsympathetic *veldcornets* played a key role in making sure that *Basters* were unable to acquire new farms. Those who were successful were however awarded the least suitable tracts of land. Lichtenstein, who travelled into the area in the early 1800s, noted that *Basters* 'ended up with the least desirable, often unregisterable, land within the colony or else with land outside the colony.'[148] George Thompson's travels to the area in 1824 confirmed this. Amongst the hills of the Kamiesberg Thompson met a 'Bastaard-Hottentot', alternatively known as a 'Griqua', by the name of Dirk Beukes who occupied the farm 'Riet-Fonteyn'.[149] Dirk Beukes is reported to have owned large flocks and herds and to have cultivated a substantial amount of land. Beukes was known to have seven or eight brothers who all occupied properties in the Kamiesberg area. Dirk Beukes and his family were thus considered by Thompson as more of a 'substantial boor than a degraded Hottentot'.[150] The apparent prosperity of the Beukes family and their ability to secure land in the Kamiesberg was unfortunately the exception rather than the rule. As Thompson explains;

> 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…if any of them occupy and improve a vacant spot within the limit, they are always liable to be disposed by some boor obtaining a grant of it from the Government, who thus reaps the fruit of all their improvements and industry.[151]

Furthermore, as tension between Khoisan resisters and colonists increased on the northern most frontier, many *Basters* were expected to serve on commando duty. This, paired with the fact that land had become almost unobtainable for *Basters* by the end of the eighteenth century, caused many to trek further out of the colony toward the Orange River. What is worth briefly noting at this point is that while the border of the Colony remained at the Buffels River, as early as 1750 farms were registered over the border.

It has been recorded that many *Basters* traded much of their livestock for horses and ammunition, allowing them to take up a life of robbing, hunting and raiding for their

[148] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815', p. 160.
[149] G. Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, Part 2 & 3. V. Forbes (ed.), (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1968), p. 72.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Ibid.*

subsistence. As early as 1777 these activities began to have an adverse impact on Little Namaqua groups. On the 1st of June 1777 two Little Namaqua captains, Wildschut and Grootvogel lodged a complaint to Governor O.M Berg. The captains reported that they had been viciously attacked and their cattle stolen by 'Bosjeman Hottentots' who they believed were working for a certain 'Bastaard Adam Boer'.[152] Adam Boer worked as a *knecht* (farm manager) on 'one of the farms of the *burgher* Pieter van den Heever.'[153] Van den Heever, who has been previously mentioned as the owner of 'Renosterfontein' near the mouth of the Buffels River, clearly laid claim to several farms in Namaqualand as the farm Adam Boer worked on is recorded to have been located 'between the Great River and the Copper Mountains.' It is worth noting here that in 1779 Gordon reported Van den Heever's farm 'Renosterfontein' as being deserted.[154] Governor Berg duly instructed the *landdrost* to return the stolen cattle to Wildschut and Grootvogel and to question Adam Boer. This case is not only indicative of the criminal acts committed against neighbouring Little Namaqua but also sheds light into the unique nature of Namaqualand society at the time. If anything the case highlights the fluid and fluctuating nature of social relationships. Perhaps, only in the crucible that was 18th century Namaqualand, could a *Baster* in the service of a European conspire with San against the Little Namaqua. To add yet another level of complexity, the Little Namaqua chiefs in question had been accompanied by a *Baster* when lodging the complaint to the Governor. What is however even more interesting, considering the socio-political history of the Little Namaqua, is that this case provides yet another example of the authorities at the Cape taking steps to protect both the interests of Captain Wildschut and the Little Namaqua.

With the majority of European settlers, and *Basters* to a much smaller extent, occupying the better-watered regions of the Kamiesberg, Namaqua Khoi groups were slowly pushed into the less-appealing and marginal tracts of land. The devastating impact of the cattle trade, both legal and illegal, on the Namaqua Khoi, has already been discussed. Elbourne aptly explains the cattleless and landless condition of the Namaqua Khoi by the end of the 18th century:

> From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, despite often intense resistance, successive Khoisan communities found it impossible to preserve land and cattle before what would prove the inexorable process of white outward expansion. Although a declining number of individuals

[152] D. Moodie, *The Record,* Part III, p. 10-11.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] R. J. Gordon, *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786*, vol. 2, p. 257.

> hung on in pockets of unsurveyed land well into the nineteenth century, the Cape Khoisan as a whole had lost their political independence and much of their cattle by the 1800s.[155]

Here one can recognise the interconnected nature of both land and livestock in the lives of not only the Namaqua Khoi, but any pastoralist occupying Namaqualand in the eighteenth century. Without access to sufficient water sources and suitable lands for grazing it became almost impossible to possess livestock and maintain a pastoral lifestyle. Penn confirms that by the 1770s 'it became virtually impossible for the Khoikhoi to retain even a vestige of their own livestock since with limited access to essential resources and decreasing control over the labour of their own family members (which was appropriated by the *trekboers*) their herds and flocks could no longer reproduce themselves.'[156] Gordon's travels to the Kamiesberg in 1779 confirm this. At the time the kraal of the reigning Chief of the Little Namaqua was recorded to only have consisted of nine huts while the population of the Little Namaqua as a whole were estimated at a feeble 400.[157]

The loss of both land and livestock caused many Namaqua Khoi to venture into Bushmanland in the east in search of grazing which ultimately led to increased tension between the Namaqua Khoi and neighbouring San groups. As previously discussed, the beginning of the eighteenth century saw these groups forming a symbiotic relationship of sorts, with the hunting and gathering San working as clients of the Namaqua Khoi and tending to their livestock in return for their protection. The end of the 18th century however saw a shift in these relations catalysed by the dramatic reduction in Namaqua livestock as well as the pressure exerted by settling *trekboers*. These factors resulted in an increase in competition for resources between the two groups. The tables had turned. San groups no longer required protection from the Namaqua but instead, the Namaqua found themselves seeking European protection against the San. Hendrik Hop's expedition to the Little Namaqua in 1761 provides evidence of both the condition of the Little Namaqua at the time and the shifting social relations between the two groups. On Tuesday the 22nd of September, Carel Frederik Brink, Hop's scribe, noted that:

> The aforesaid Little Namaquas who inhabit this land are of a nature most lazy and timorous. Owning few cattle, they live in great poverty, but notwithstanding this, are continually harassed

[155] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*. (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), p. 78.
[156] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1815', p. 215.
[157] R. J. Gordon, *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786*, vol. 2.

> by the Bosjemans who rob them both of life and stock. In this way, this people becomes weaker and poorer from time to time. It is to be feared that in course of a few years they will at last be extirpated by the said robbers.[158]

Furthermore, after hearing of Hop's plans to visit the Great Namaqua across the Orange River, several Little Namaqua requested to accompany the expedition to visit their friends amongst the Great Namaqua. On Tuesday the 29th of September, Brink recorded that 'about one hundred Little Namaquas, men, women and children' accompanied them, fearing that had they attempted the journey alone 'they would be murdered by the Bosjemans.'[159]

2.5 THE NAMAQUALAND REVOLT

The second half of the eighteenth century saw an influx of Khoikhoi, *Basters* and Oorlams from other parts of the Colony into Namaqualand. These groups had been driven northward by the increasing levels of exploitation and persecution at the hands of Europeans. Penn argues that during this time the remoter regions of Namaqualand still offered the prospect 'of a life free from exploitation.'[160] Before this influx, the Kamiesberg region had maintained a form of equilibrium. While the European farmers certainly occupied the finest land in the region there were still relatively few of them compared to other areas in the colony. For this reason, it is believed that by the 1790s 'the colonial presence in Namaqualand seemed a lot less overbearing than elsewhere.'[161] This finely balanced equilibrium however, was soon to be overturned and the closing of the Namaqualand frontier catalysed.

In October of 1797 Andries Craaij of the Netherlands was appointed as *veldwachtmeester* of Namaqualand, more specifically the Kamiesberg, much to the dissatisfaction of the majority of the Namaqualand *trekboers.* As a foreigner, it was believed that the man had little understanding of the situation in the Kamiesberg at the time. Craaij's appointment was not only deemed unsuitable by many locals but has since been recognised as a contributing factor to the subsequent disorder to hit the area in the 1790s. Shortly after his appointment Craaij, with the help of other colonists, began visiting Namaqua kraals with the intention of confiscating guns and ammunition. In one instance, Craaij frequented a kraal of approximately thirty Namaqua.

---

[158] E.E. Mossop, (ed.) *The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) and the journals of Jacobus Coetze Jansz (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791), p.* 29.
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 361.
[161] *Ibid.*

He subsequently confiscated more than six flintlocks and compelled them to 'leave their kraal and their property in the Namacqua country.'[162] We've already seen that the Namaqua were extremely swift in their lodging of complaints of ill-treatment and this case was no exception. By October of 1797 several Namaqua complained directly to the governor at the Cape regarding their ill-treatment at the hands of Craaij. [163] The feelings were reciprocated as Craaij, in a letter to the *landdrost* in the same year, complained of the insolence of the Namaqua in the area.[164]

While *Veldwachtmeester* Craaij continued to 'stir up a hornet's nest' amongst the Little Namaqua, *trekboers* in the area were being readily driven off their farms and raided by uprising Namaqua and San, led by Claas and Piet Barend. General Craig, British Commander at the Cape, reported that: 'The inhabitants of the Namaqua Country have been exposed to plunder and devastation by a party of lawless vagrants consisting of wild Bosjesmans and Hottentots, who have stolen their cattle, burnt their houses and forced them to retire as far as the Green River.'[165] Another distressed *trekboer*, J.A Van der Heever complained to *Veldwachtmeester* Craaij that he too had been driven off of his farm by a group of 'Bossiemans' and that his return to the Kamiesberg would be impossible unless Craaij took greater steps to secure the area.[166] Similarly, in July 1798, J.A van der Merwe wrote to the the *landdrost* complaining that his farm 'de twee fonteyn' had been burnt to down by 'murderers' who had subsequently prevented him from using his second farm 'de silver fonteyn' since 1796.[167]

To add to the hostilities already created by the influx of *Basters* and Oorlams as well as the confiscation of firearms from the Namaqua, the government went a step further to unintentionally foster animosity between colonists and Little Namaqua. In 1798 the authorities attempted to record the names of those Namaqua not in the service of *trekboers*, living in independent kraals. This was an attempt to tighten the reigns on an increasingly volatile Kamiesberg. It is not surprising that these attempts at recording names were interpreted by the

[162] CA, BO 150, Barnard to Van der Riet, 27 October 1797, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 363
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] CA, 1/STB 10/165, Craaij and Bezuidenhout to Landdrost, March 1797, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 364.
[165] CA, BO 147, Craig to Van der Riet, 5 August 1796, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 362.
[166] N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851,' p. 362.
[167] CA, 1/STB 10/165, J van der Merwe to Landdrost, 18 July 1798, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 363.

Little Namaqua in the most sinister of manners. The Namaqua believed that their names were being recorded by the authorities in preparation for their eventual enslavement. They reasoned that 'as long as they were a freeborn nation, they would defend themselves to the last or flee rather than be made a slave.'[168] Thus in December of 1798 kraals in the area united and launched a wide-scale attack on five farms in the area. Livestock, gunpowder and ammunition were looted and in one case the overseer of the farm brutally murdered. The group of Namaqua insurgents went so far as to threaten to drive the Europeans over the Olifants River. The Namaqua in the area still heavily outnumbered the Europeans and if they were successful in encouraging passive farm labourers to join their ranks they would be strong enough to mount an insurrection. For this reason, farmers in the area chose not to immediately mount a commando in retaliation but instead stayed put to protect their farms, and more importantly their farm labourers from intimidation. Instead, *Veldcornet* Van der Westhuysen sent out an immediate plea for reinforcements to assist in quelling the revolt. He claimed that without immediate assistance it would be impossible to protect 'our women and children and our provisions…our lives, yes, everything would be lost.'[169]

By the beginning of 1799 *Veldcornet* Van der Westhuysen had not received the promised reinforcements and thus resorted to a peace-offering. He duly met with a group of 50 armed men and negotiations commenced. Upon later investigation it was found that not only did *Veldwachtmeester* Craaij actually threaten to enslave the Namaqua but he had also completely misunderstood, be it intentionally or unintentionally, the instructions handed to him regarding the recording of names. He had in fact been instructed to record the names of those Khoikhoi or *Basters* living with *trekboers,* not those living independently.

February saw the arrival of the promised reinforcements in the form of a commando of 68 men. On the 24th of February the commando made contact with a group of San, Namaqua and Oorlam rebels which resulted in two of the rebels being shot and the rest fleeing to a kloof at the Buffels River. Here, a commando member by the name of Owies attempted to approach and make peace. Owies' attempts were not welcomed and he was stabbed in the back with an assegai by one of the San. Shortly after the murder of Owies however, a colonial messenger was able to negotiate peace safely. The stolen ammunition and livestock were to be returned

[168] CA 1/STB 10/151, J.C van der Westhuysen to Landdrost, 10 December 1798, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 364.
[169] *Ibid.*

and the Namaqua rebels were ordered to return to their kraals. While some rebels accepted these conditions, others escaped over the Orange River with their stolen goods. It is worth noting that those who escaped were deemed by Van der Westhuysen as 'schelme' of a 'mixed nation of Bushmen and other Oorlams,' while those who returned the ammunition and returned to their places of abode were believed to be the trustworthy Kamiesberg Namaqua of Captain Wildschut's kraal.[170] The second half of 1799 saw a few more sporadic outbreaks of violence in the area.

What is most interesting about the uprisings in Namaqualand in the waning years of the eighteenth century is that they saw the temporary unification of Namaqua Khoi, San, *Baster* and Oorlam groups against a common enemy – the *trekboers*. Surmounting pressures in the area caused by increased land hunger and competition caused widespread displacement, with Oorlam groups displacing Namaqua groups who subsequently displaced groups of San. Colonial attempts to assert their authority and control over the area however, successfully resulted in the unification of these groups and their eventual rise to revolt.

Barrow's visit to the area in 1799 offers insight into the state of the Little Namaqua at the end of the eighteenth century. He noted that at the time the Namaqua population had decreased drastically, only consisting of four 'hordes', all of which were still concentrated in the Kamiesberg area while the area between the mountains and sea remained virtually unoccupied.[171] Barrow also remarked that the Namaqua's destructive addiction to alcohol, paired with their fear of San raids and the increasing settlement of *trekboers* would ultimately lead them to be in a complete state of servitude within a decade.

[170] CA, 1/STB 10/151, Van der Westhuysen to Landdrost, 7 March 1799 as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851,' p. 368.
[171] J. Barrow, *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, part II (London, 1804), p. 388.

CHAPTER THREE: THE LELIEFONTEIN MISSION

"Desolate and inhospitable as is this tract of country, it was nevertheless sufficiently tempting to the Christians, to occasion the dispossession, and ultimate extinction of a Hottentot tribe, called the Amaquas, who formerly occupied it."[172]

3.1 THE KAMIESBERG AT THE DAWN OF THE 19TH C.

The dawn of the nineteenth century saw Commissioner De Mist, of the Batavian Republic (1803-1806), partake in a colony-wide tour in order to gain first hand experience of problems faced by the colony. In doing so De Mist acknowledged that the district divisions of the time did not provide for the efficient administration of the colony and thus recommended the establishment of a new district in the north-western region.[173] While Jan Disselsvlei (Clanwilliam) was initially identified as the most suitable region for the new *drostdy*, it was later decided that it would be more appropriate to establish one at Tulbagh.[174] In October of 1804 the Batavian government announced the establishment of the newest district. It has been noted that while this was greatly beneficial to the inhabitants of the Roggeveld, Bokkeveld and Hantam, it was not as beneficial to those further north in Namaqualand and the Onder Bokkeveld.[175] For these reasons an '*onder-landros'* was appointed in Clanwilliam in 1808. Thus from 1808 until 1822 Namaqualand fell under the authority of the Tulbagh district and its inhabitants no longer had to travel the painstakingly long journey to Stellenbosch to deal with the authorities, but could instead make use of the Clanwilliam *onder-landros* which was approximately 150 miles closer.

In 1804 Hendrik van der Graaf was appointed as *landdrost* of the newly established district of Tulbagh and when the British returned to governance in 1806 Van der Graaf retained his post. In May of 1809 van der Graaf wrote to Governor Caledon at the Cape to propose an expedition to the area of Little Namaqualand as well as the northern-most boundaries of the colony.[176] Van der Graaf explained the need for the expedition in order to investigate the state of the farms

[172] G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, p. 79.
[173] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland', p. 155.
[174] J. P Van der Merwe, *Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek: 1803-1806. (*Swets & Zeitlinger: 1926) p. 132.
[175] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland', p. 155.
[176] CA, Archives of the Magistrate, Worcester (1/WOC) 17/2, Uitgaande Brieven 1808-1809, Landdrost to Governor, 23 May 1809, as cited in N.G Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c.1851', p. 471.

and lifestyles of the frontier farmers as well as their relationships with neighbouring Khoikhoi groups. Furthermore, Van der Graaf urged that the reported division and hostility between Khoikhoi and colonists in the Namaqualand area necessitated a visit to the region. Penn notes that, 'there were, however, other good reasons to visit the frontier districts. The *drostdy* was being inundated by an increasing number of requests and complaints concerning disputes over land and farms. Furthermore, many people were occupying government land and farming it without having taken out the ground on loan or paying the due rental for it.'[177] Much to Van der Graaf's surprise, Lord Caledon responded to his proposal with much enthusiasm and authorised the expedition with specific instructions for Van der Graaf to focus on the possible influence that missionaries may have in fostering peace in the region, as well as possible locations for prospective mission stations.

On the 10 of August 1809, Van der Graaf's expedition left Tulbagh. By early September the group reached the Kamiesberg. Here Van der Graaf was met by a certain German missionary of the London Missionary Society (LMS), Johannes Seidenfaden. Seidenfaden had previously worked in Great Namaqualand which he described as 'the worst, the most barren and sterile in the whole southern part of Africa.'[178] A disillusioned Seidenfaden returned briefly to the Cape in 1808. En route, in October of 1808, he stopped in the Kamiesberg where he was approached by Little Namaqua who, he claims, had previously asked him to establish a mission station in the Kamiesberg. Seidenfaden also had the support of Cornelius Kok who enthusiastically offered his loan-farm, 'Silwer Fontein', as a potential location.[179] According to Seidenfaden, Guido Links, the brother of Jacob Links, of the chiefly family of the Little Namaqua also urged him to settle in the Kamiesberg. Upon his return to the Cape, Seidenfaden was granted permission by Governor Caledon to establish a mission station in Leliefontein. Van der Graaf however, did everything in his power to prevent this. Before embarking on his tour of Namaqualand, he informed the authorities that he would need to survey the area of Leliefontein before giving Seidenfaden official permission to settle. It is with this backdrop that Seidenfaden and Van der Graaf came to meet in the Kamiesberg in September of 1809.

[177] N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern frontier in the Eighteenth Century* (Cape Town: Ohio University Press, 2005), p.275.
[178] CA, ZL 1/3/4, Translation of J. Seidenfaden's Journal, 26 June 1811 as cited in Penn, Nigel. 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in N. Penn, Murderers*, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).
[179] *Ibid.*

In early September, Van der Graaf summoned Seidenfaden to the farm of *Veldcornet* A. van Niekerk near the coast. Seidenfaden, who had been staying at the farm of Cornelius Kok since August, travelled for two days before arriving at the destination. Upon arrival, Seidenfaden was met by a commission of enquiry of sorts, where his recent behaviour was scrutinised and surrounding farmers given the opportunity to provide evidence for or against him.[180] It is here where we begin to see how unpopular Seidenfaden had truly become. Not only had he been accused of ivory trading in the past, heavily frowned upon by the LMS, but he had also fathered an illegitimate child with the Khoikhoi wife of one of his followers. With an already tarnished reputation it is understandable that the evidence presented at Van der Graaf's commission did even more to disqualify him as a suitable missionary for the Kamiesberg. The majority of the surrounding white farmers presented evidence to accuse Seidenfaden of inciting the Little Namaqua to violence and criminality. These farmers also had reason to oppose the establishment of a mission station as they believed it would attract Khoikhoi labourers away from service in their farms. In making their arguments, the colonists argued that Seidenfaden was attempting to dispossess Chief Wildschut and the Little Namaqua of their legally obtained land at Leliefontein and Langeklip – a rather hypocritical notion at best.[181] Van der Graaf himself showed concern that the establishment of a mission station in the Kamiesberg would attract both Khoikhoi and *Basters* from across the Orange River and would ultimately result in lawlessness and a threat to the security of colonists in the area.

In response to the above accusations Seidenfaden argued that any claims of him dispossessing the Little Namaqua of their land were completely unfounded as he had been invited to settle at the request of Khoikhoi captain Links himself.[182] Furthermore, he claimed to have the support of both Sebastiaan and Cornelius Kok. Van der Graaf had seemingly been pushed into a corner by these denials and with no other option opted into garnering the support of Chief Jantjie Wildschut of the Little Namaqua. In doing so, Van der Graaf managed to persuade Wildschut to state that he had not been consulted nor involved to any extent in the decision to allow Seidenfaden to establish a mission station at Leliefontein. Here we begin to see evidence of what Penn has deemed a 'power struggle' amongst the Little Namaqua.[183] While on the one

[180] N, Penn, 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in Penn, Nigel. *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).
[181] Langclip no longer exists but is reportedly near Vygemondsberg, close to Twee Riviere.
[182] CA, ZL 1/3/4, Seidenfaden's Journal as cited in Penn, Nigel. 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in N. Penn, Murderers, *Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).
[183]N, Penn, 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in Penn, Nigel. *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015), p. 192.

hand the Chiefly Linkses as well as the Koks seemed to be in favour of the missionaries, Chief Wildschut on the other hand was often regarded as 'more easily dominated by the white colonists.'[184] It is worth briefly noting here that Chief Wildschut who had previously been granted the land at Leliefontein by Governor Tulbagh had recently died and been officially succeeded by Chief Jantje Wildschut on the 9th of May 1809.

It seemed, that no matter the evidence presented before him, Van der Graaf would do everything he could to ensure that a mission station could not be established in the Kamiesberg. On the 5th of September 1809 a letter was delivered to Seidenfaden to inform him that permission to grant a mission had been refused as Leliefontein had been reserved for the Little Namaqua. Van der Graaf claimed that the government would not allow the creation of a mission in the very centre of a colonial settlement or one at the expense of the Khoikhoi.[185] He subsequently requested that the missionaries remove themselves from the area with immediate effect. In doing so, Van der Graaf made reference to Governor Janssens' edict, a law dating back to the Batavian Republic of 1805 which saw that no new mission stations be permitted within the boundaries of the colony. Duly informed of Van der Graaf's decision, Governor Caledon expressed surprise at the *landdrost's* interpretation of a law which he deemed to have been made null and void since the capitulation of Janssens to the British in 1806. Caledon however conceded to Van der Graaf's wishes but added that, 'since much public advantage might derive from missions please point out to Seidenfaden another place, either within or without the colony, for a mission.'[186]

What is clear from the above is that while Governor Caledon appeared indifferent to the specific location of mission station, Van der Graaf, like many colonists in Namaqualand at the time, remained heavily opposed to the establishment of a mission station within the boundaries of the colony and more specifically in the Kamiesberg. This opposition was deeply rooted in the perception, on the part of the colonists, that the establishment of a mission station would directly interfere with their supply of Khoikhoi labour. This is to be understood within the context of labour relations in the colony at the time. It is believed that the abolition of the slave trade throughout Britain's colonies in 1807 catalysed a widespread labour shortage in the Cape.

[184] N. Penn, *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives,* p. 192.
[185] CA, ZL 1/3/4, Van der Graaf to Seidenfaden, 5 September 1809, in Seidenfaden's Journal as cited in Penn, Nigel. 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in N. Penn, Murderers*, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).
[186] N. Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815,' p.476.

Whether the shortage was as in reality as dire as many colonists perceived it to have been is up for debate. What cannot be denied however is the fact that the perceived 'labour crisis' dominated the mind-sets of colonists and employers alike and ultimately governed their actions. Macmillan notes that following the abolition of the slave-trade, '…the shortage became so acute that at last the Hottentots, hitherto despised and neglected, came to be regarded as the obvious source from which to replenish the labour supply.'[187] The shortage in labour supply caused severe disgruntlement amongst the colonists who at the time were arguably the most powerful group within the colony. The labour crisis thus posed a threat to both the economic and political stability of the colony and needed to be remedied urgently. The Hottentot Proclamation of 1809, otherwise known as the Caledon Code, did just this. The Proclamation introduced a series of pass laws which saw that all Khoikhoi within the colony were to have a fixed place of abode and were to carry a pass when travelling through districts.[188] These provisions were introduced as a means by which to coerce the wandering Khoi into the service of the colonists. One should be wary however, as considered by J.S Marais, to draw too direct a connection between the perceived labour shortage in the Cape and the introduction of the Caledon Code as, 'Hottentot labour did not suddenly become desirable in 1807. It had been desirable all along.'[189] This is perhaps even truer for the more northerly parts of the colony, such as Namaqualand, where Khoikhoi labour had always superseded that of slaves. With this in mind one can begin to understand why colonists in the Kamiesberg region, and the likes of *Landdrost* Van der Graaf, believed the establishment of a mission station for the Little Namaqua to have been a direct threat to their already vulnerable labour supply.

3.2 INTRODUCTION OF PERPETUAL QUITRENT: A CHANGE OF LAND TENURE

The emergence of missionary activity in the North-Western parts of the colony coincided with, what Theal would suggest to be, 'a great improvement in the system of land tenure in the colony.'[190] This improvement came in the form of the Perpetual Quitrent system, as proclaimed by Sir John Cradock – Governor at the Cape – on the 6th of August 1813. This system replaced

[187] W.M., Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey*. (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), p36.
[188] G. M. Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, VII: May 1809 – March 1811 (London, 1897-1905), Proclamation by the Earl of Caledon, 212.
[189] J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People*, 1652-1937 . (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 122.
[190] G. M. Theal, History *of South Africa; 1795-1872*, Vol. 1 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915), p. 264.

the Loan Farm system which Cradock found to be riddled with weaknesses.[191] Cradock believed that the Loan Farm system did not offer absolute legal security of possession which he claimed discouraged occupants of the land from making improvements. As mentioned before, the system saw that all loan farm tenants paid the same rental without consideration of the quality of their land. Furthermore, Cradock believed that the ill-defined boundaries which supplemented the loan farm system led to unnecessary border disputes between neighbours. Finally, fault was also found with the ways in which loan places were divided up upon the death of the tenant. Farms could not be divided among heirs but instead, when a parent died, the land was sold and proceeds distributed equally among children. Cradock believed that this prevented inhabitants from forming long-term attachments to the land while simultaneously scattering the population sparsely over a vast area of the land.

Cradock's answer to the many inadequacies of the Loan Farm system was the system of Perpetual Quitrent which duly supplanted it. These new Quitrent Title farms were limited to 3000 morgen in size and the rental amount varied in accordance with the quality of the land. Records show that quitrent could in some instances be fixed as high as 250 rix dollars a year – a steep sum in comparison to the loan farm's 12 rix dollar annual rental.[192] Each farm was to be individually and professionally surveyed at the expense of the tenant and a diagram of the land was to be duly registered at the deeds office.

Pressure was placed onto occupants of loan farms to convert their tenure to Perpetual Quitrent.[193] This was done by prohibiting alienation of any part of a loan farm until it be officially surveyed. Furthermore, the government reserved the right to increase the rental of loan farms at their discretion as well as the right of resumption. Cradock's administration believed this change in land tenure to be greatly beneficial to the colonists yet in reality the change was received with a great sense of dissatisfaction by the farmers. They believed that the previous Loan Farm System had provided them with sufficient security of tenure as well as the advantages that they required. It is understandable that the large expense attached to surveying their land as well as the increase in rental left a bitter taste in the mouths of the colonists. While the Quitrent System allowed farms to be divided among an occupant's children, in reality it seemed that farmers preferred to give each child a loan farm of their own

[191] G. M. Theal, History *of South Africa; 1795-1872*, Vol. 1, p. 264.
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Ibid.*

rather than a portion of a Quitrent farm. The process of conversion from Loan farm to Quitrent farm was a slow one. It has been recorded however that no new loan farm grants were made thereafter and thus the majority of the occupied land in the colony was held as Quitrent farms.

Above all else, what the introduction of the system of Perpetual Quitrent did most was to highlight the importance of the surveying of land in order to officially secure one's claim to it. This was a notion which today may at best seem logical but which was in the early 19th century rather revolutionary. Land surveying was now increasingly significant and necessary to colonist, missionary and Khoikoi alike in the Namaqualand region. As will be seen in the chapters which follow, it was a necessary, albeit costly, step to successfully securing one's rights to the land.

3.3 MISSIONARIES SETTLE AT LELIEFONTEIN

On the 20th of December 1815 a young Reverend Barnabas Shaw and his wife, Jane Shaw, set foot on decks of *The Eclipse* which would set sail for a gruelling four months before arriving at the Cape on the Reverend's 28th birthday – the 12 of April 1816. Barnabas Shaw, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Shaw, originated from a farming family in Elloughton, Yorkshire. Of the four children born to Elizabeth Shaw, only Barnabas and his older brother James survived. A childhood spent on his father's farm meant that Barnabas gained a practical knowledge of agriculture where, Mears' claims, 'unconsciously, he was being prepared for the work which lay before him in Namaqualand.'[194]

Upon arrival at the Cape, Shaw's dreams of preaching to slaves and soldiers were abruptly dissolved when Lord Somerset refused him permission to officiate as a Wesleyan minister. This is to be understood in the religious context of the Cape at the time. For many years, the Dutch Reformed Church had been the dominant denomination, as had Dutch ideas and language. The British administration, cautious to hamper to the whims of the Dutch Reformed Church, supported the arguably narrow-minded and conservative beliefs of the earlier regime. Despite this, a rather rebellious Shaw, began to preach illegally to the soldiers at Simon's Town and Wynberg. His attempts at ministry were however further curtailed. As Shaw explained, 'not being able to preach to the heathen here, and there being so many different tribes who

[194] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism.* (Rondebosch: Methodist Missionary Department, 1957), p. 6.

desire preaching in the interior of this country, I could not rest. Life was quickly passing away and I appeared to be doing nothing.'[195]

Shaw's restlessness at the Cape proved to be fertile soil to the proposal of the Rev. Henry Schmelen of the London Missionary Society regarding a possible mission to Great Namaqualand. Rev. Schmelen had been visiting the Cape accompanied by a dozen Namaqua whom he had spent several years with in Great Namaqualand. Shaw initially proved hesitant to the proposal, after all they had not yet received permission from the committee, nor did they have the finances to support such a journey. Furthermore, Mrs. Shaw remained in a delicate state after giving birth to a daughter, who died soon after birth, en-route to the Cape. It was however the final words of Jane Shaw, in a moment of her husband's self-doubt, that set them on their trajectory to the mission-field of Namaqualand: 'We will go with you, the Lord is opening our way to the heathen.'[196] In his application for permission to proceed beyond the boundaries of the colony Shaw received further opposition from Lord Somerset who, after refusing his application, strongly urged Shaw to instead consider a location within the colony.[197] Somerset's request for the establishment of a mission within the colony borders is in stark contrast to the actions of both Caledon and Van der Graaf, almost ten years prior. In a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1817, Lord Somerset justifies his decision:

> That English establishments should exist upon the border, not liable to colonial laws and regulations, cannot be satisfactorily explained to the colonists, who are themselves strictly prohibited from passing that frontier, which they daily see the native Bastaards do unrestrained, and to which their slaves desert with impunity. I own I am disposed to think that no further encouragement should at present be given to missionary establishments beyond the boundary… The missionaries settled beyond the Colony do not consider themselves liable to colonial interference…It should clearly be made known to them that they must be liable to the same laws and regulations as are binding upon the other British settlers in this province…and that they are amenable to Colonial Law.[198]

The establishment of a mission within the borders of colony was thus a more favourable alternative as it was ultimately still under the authority and jurisdiction of the colonial government. Additionally, a state authorised mission could arguably be deemed as an extension

[195] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism*, p. 13.
[196] *Ibid*, p. 63.
[197] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970) p.72.
[198] G.M. Theal, *Records of the Cape colony from November 1815 to May 1818*. Vol. X1 (London, 1897-1905), p. 254-255.

of government control over an area which was both geographically distant and increasingly unstable. The state's ever-changing stance on mission activity in the early years of the 1800s is best described by Freund:

> To the extent that they created new communities, the missionaries represented a threat to Cape employers that their labourers would desert them and find champions for their grievances. As a result, despite widespread belief that Christians must work for the conversion of the heathen, the mission stations evoked much opposition among employers. Moreover the government, increasingly anxious to support the farmers, came into conflict with the missionaries. At the same time both government and employers could appreciate the advantage for the colony if the mission stations could add to the stability of the social order. As a result of these ambiguous attitude, phases of co-operation between government and missionaries were juxtaposed with phases of conflict.[199]

Despite the Governor's initial refusal however, and following numerous appeals on the part of Rev. Shaw, Somerset eventually conceded – granting Shaw the necessary passport to proceed beyond the boundaries of the colony. Somerset believed that Methodism, with its politically conservative ethos, would do little to stir up disturbance or ill-will among the occupants of Great Namaqualand. Little did Somerset know, that Shaw and his intended mission would in fact never make it past the Colony's borders after all.

Figure 1.6 'Rev. Barnabas Shaw.'

Figure 1.7 'Rev. Jacob Links'

[199] W. M. Freund, 'The Cape Under Transitional Governments, 1795-1814' in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 –1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 340.

With wagon and oxen in tow and an inventory full of groceries and articles for bartering, the Shaws and the Schmelens left Cape Town on the 6th of September 1816. The group passed Piketberg on midnight of the 26th where they found an outspan known as '*Heere Lodgment'*.[200] This cave-like chamber has been frequented by both travellers and missionaries alike for centuries past, indicated by the numerous names cut into the walls of the cave. Here, Reverend Barnabas Shaw, future missionary to the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg, cut his name.

The group travelled along the same northwardly route which had been traversed eleven years prior by Seidenfaden and the Albrechts.[201] It is worth noting that the area, more specifically the southern portion, was much more populated than it had been in Seidenfaden's day. Similarly, in stark contrast to the years prior, the Dutch farmers along the way welcomed the group of missionaries with the most hospitable of treatment. By October they had passed the Olifants River, near present-day Clanwilliam, before entering the increasingly arid Knersvlakte. Just north of the Olifants River the path was known to have split into two paths. The first path leading south west over *'sendelingsdrif'* while the other led to Little Namaqualand.[202] It is here at the forked path, on the evening of the 4th of October 1816, that an event took place which would arguably forever alter the course of the history of the Little Namaqua with repercussions still felt today. The Shaws and the Schmelen's path happened to rather coincidentally collide with that of a party of five Little Namaqua and their chief Haaimap (Jantjie Wildschut) who had been on their way to the Cape to 'secure a teacher who could instruct them from the Great Word.'[203] The journey to the Cape was approximately 400 to 500 miles from Haaimap's kraal and the unexpected meeting with the group of missionaries en route was deemed by Shaw as 'a peculiar Providence.'[204] Shaw explains that 'had we commenced our day's journey half an hour sooner, or they theirs, half an hour later, we should have continued our route to Great Namacqua-land, and should, consequently, have missed them coming from little Namacqua-land.' [205]

This uncanny and arguably divine encounter was enough to convince the Shaws and the Schmelens to abort their planned route to Great Namaqualand and, only having made tentative

[200] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism*, p. 14.
[201] J. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans Greens, 1911).
[202] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland.'
[203] J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian missions in South Africa, p. 168.
[204] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 68.
[205] *Ibid.*

agreements, accompany the Namaqua to their winter kraal in the Onderveld of the Kamiesberg. The winter kraal went by the the name of *Naamrap*, translating to 'cattle place'. The journey was perilous to say the very least: 'So rugged was the path, so steep the ascent, so many were the large stones scattered in the way, that every moment our wagons were in imminent danger of being overturned, or thrown over the edge of some frightful precipice.'[206] Upon arrival, the Shaws were welcomed with open arms by the joyous Namaqua who 'lined the road with uncovered heads' chanting an enthusiastic '*welkom, welkom, aan dit land*.'[207] It is here that Shaw held his first service and preached his first sermon to the Little Namaqua, which he believed to have been cheerfully received.

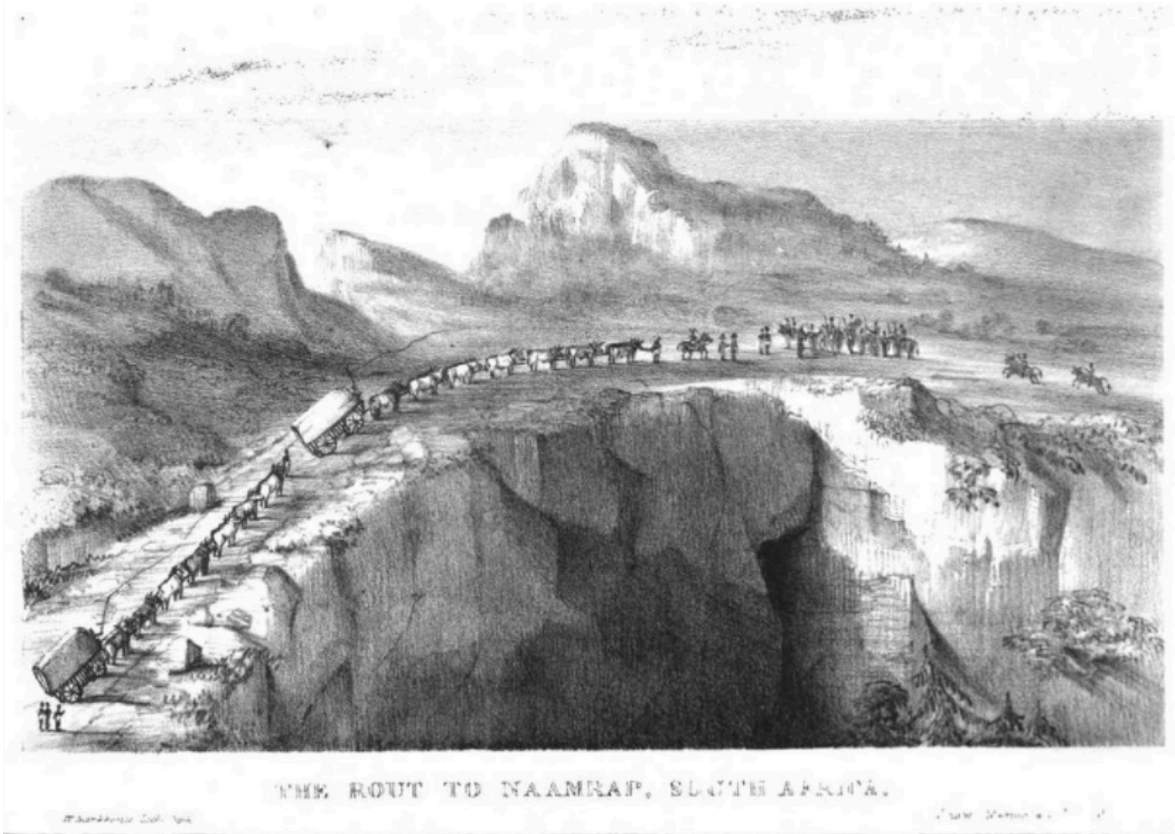

Figure 1.8 'The Route to Naamrap, South Africa.'

[206] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 69.
[207] *Ibid,* p. 70.

Before continuing to the summer quarters of the Namaqua, on the top of the Kamiesberg, a formal council was held between the chief, the Namaqua and the missionaries. Here Shaw questioned, 'Are you really willing and desirous to receive the Gospel or the Great Word?'[208] Without much hesitation, both the chief and the councillors answered: '*ik ben gewillig*.'[209] With agreements having been settled, the Schmelens continued on their journey to Great Namaqualand while the Shaws accompanied the Namaqua on their trek to the top of the Kamiesberg. The summer home of the Namaqua, Leliefontein, was reached on the 23rd after three days of often precarious trekking. The Shaws, upon arrival, had to almost immediately adapt to the living standards of the Namaqua – the matjieshuis. As Shaw notes:

> We took up our abode in a hut belonging to one of the Natives, which had neither a window, chimney, nor even a door, and withal was of small dimensions. It is certainly an advantage that we have no furniture, possessing neither chairs, table, nor even a bedstead to encumber us: yet when weary, we find no difficulty in sleeping on the floor.[210]

On the 25th of December 1816, Shaw received written permission from Lord Charles Somerset for him to remain in Leliefontein.[211] Thus, seven years after Seidenfaden's first attempts to establish a mission station in the region, the first Wesleyan Mission was established on the rock-strewn summit of the Kamiesberg mountain range. Why the Namaqua had actively sought out the service of a missionary to settle in Leliefontein is somewhat of an anomaly and will be a topic of further discussion in Chapter Five.

In their first year at Leliefontein the Shaws began the building of a more permanent and larger dwelling place for themselves. Albeit a small cottage, its construction was a laborious task considering the fact that the only suitable timber was miles away.[212] Barnabas Shaw himself saw to the felling of the trees, the sawing of the wood and the building of the cottage. Mrs. Shaw however played a vital role in laying the foundations of the house. Shortly after, the couple began cultivation of a vegetable garden, much to the curiosity of the local population. Unable to obtain corn or vegetables, they dug up an area of ground and began sowing it with lettuce, onions, radishes and peas. By 1817 the erection of the first chapel in Leliefontein began. At the time, the area was experiencing a severe famine which resulted in an incredibly slow

[208] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism*, p.15.
[209] *Ibid*, p. 71.
[210] *Ibid*, p.71-72.
[211] MSC 39, 50 (1): 'Church book of Lily Fountain' (1816)
[212] J. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. (Cape Town: Juta, 1906).

start to the construction. Those who had volunteered to assist were too hungry and weak to partake in any heavy manual labour. It is even noted that at the time many wore 'hunger girdles' which were straps drawn around their waist tightly with the intention of lessening the aches of hunger.[213] With the assistance of the chief, Haaimap, they managed to secure a donation of thirty sheep and goats from the wealthier men in the community. From this they were able to provide a meal for the volunteer labourers and ensure greater productivity in the build. The chores of building the church were divided among the community; the aged men making the bricks, the younger men quarrying the stone and cutting the timber, the women weaving mats for the roofing and the children tramping clay for mortar. The completion of the church building was celebrated with songs of praise and 'though no lofty spire rose above its roof, and no light fell on the congregation from richly painted windows, within its humble walls many a Namaqua found the Lord.'[214]

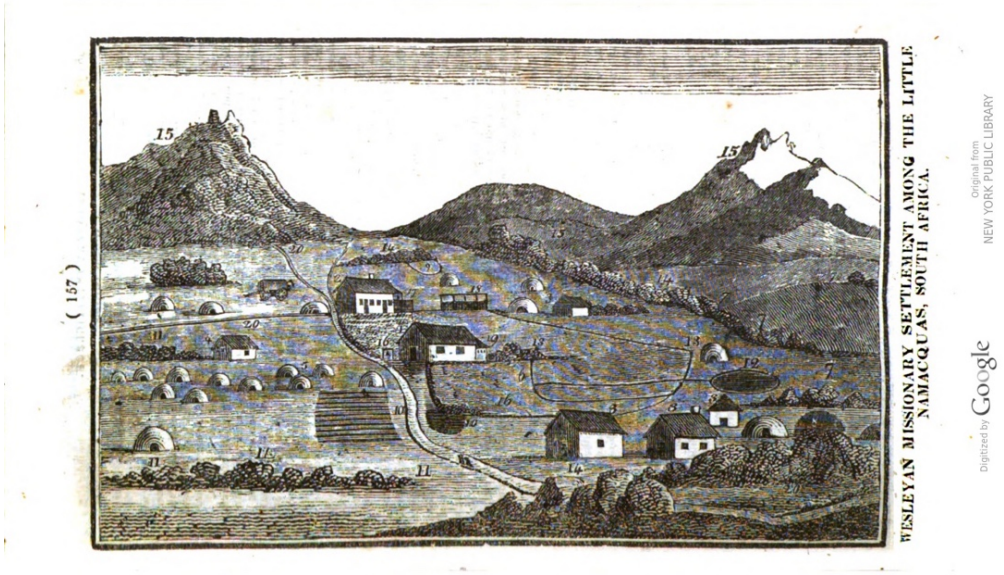

Figure 1.9. Depiction of the Wesleyan Missionary Settlement among the Little Namaqua, circa 1820.

What is worth briefly mentioning here is that during the early years of the Leliefontein mission the relations between the Namaqua Khoi and Barnabas Shaw were healthy. As described above, Barnabas Shaw and his wife Jane built their cottage without the help of the Namaqua Khoi. It was only with the construction of the first church at Leliefontein that the Namaqua willingly volunteered their labour and participated as a community in the build. This is in stark

[213] J. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*., p. 43.
[214] *Ibid,* p. 44.

contrast to the likes of Seidenfaden, who in 1812 had settled at the mission station at Zuurbraak[215]. From the outset, Seidenfaden both exploited Khoikhoi labour and expropriated their livestock and funds. Unlike the events which took place at Leliefontein, Seidenfaden demanded the Khoikoi to single-handedly construct his home without due compensation. This is one of many complaints which were eventually lodged by the occupants of Zuurbraak against Seidenfaden. [216]

Reverend Shaw preached to the Namaqua in Dutch which many of them understood from their time employed on Dutch farms. Shaw himself had only acquired a knowledge of Dutch in recent years prior. In preparation for their trip to the Cape both Barnabas and his wife Jane had travelled to London where under the guidance of Balwin Jansen, a Dutchman and author of a dictionary, they began studying Dutch.[217] Those Namaqua who were not proficient in Dutch were able to easily find an interpreter. Before the construction of the church, services only took place on the Sabbath (and occasionally during the week) under the shady branches of a mimosa tree.

It is recorded that initial sermons to the Little Namaqua were received with great attention followed by a deep sense of emotion and conviction. Shaw noted that it was not uncommon for them to fall to the ground and weep in the midst of a sermon, while many of the gospel narratives such as the healing of a once blind Bartimeus left them unable to rise. In a moment of deep distress and conviction Chief Haaimap, who Shaw refers to as Jantje, sobbed: 'All the sins I have committed from my childhood to this day are put before my eyes.'[218] Similarly, a man by the name of Hendrik wept: 'After I heard the word, such was my distress I fell to the ground, and my sins, like a great nail, seemed to fasten me to the earth.'[219] A Peter Links also added: 'I have been like a poor silly lamb that turns first to one bush and then another, and runs away from his mother. But the ewe will not forsake it, and does all she can to induce it to follow. So has the Lord cared for me.'[220]

[215] N. Penn, 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in N. Penn, Murderers*, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives.*
[216] More details about Seidenfaden and Zuurbraak can be found in N. Penn, 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in N. Penn, Murderers*, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives.*
[217] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism.*
[218] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 75.
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] *Ibid,* p. 75.

In 1817 the Missionary Committee, based in London, sent Shaw his first reinforcement in the form of Reverend E. Edwards. This greatly lessened the load on Shaw's shoulders and even more so when in 1818 Rev. J Archbell and his wife arrived to offer their services. Furthermore, in 1820 the Committee sent Rev. S Kay to settle at Leliefontein. By June 1817 the mission at Leliefontein saw the baptism of its first two converts, the first couple joined in holy matrimony and the first administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. As time passed, many of the stations 'first fruits' were moulded into school-teachers, class leaders and assistant-preachers. In his *Memorials of South Africa*, Shaw offers us descriptive sketches of the lives of these characters. The most notorious of them being Jacob Links who, in 1818, was appointed by the Conference as 'Assistant Missionary to the Bushmen.'

Jacob Links, son of the Chiefly Keudo Links, was known for his simple and yet earnest character. He is recorded to have once climbed up onto the roof of his hut in the hopes that God would hear him better from higher up. When Shaw arrived in 1816, Links was only seventeen years of age. In 1817, Jacob Links accompanied Shaw to bring the gospel to neighbouring 'bushmen' who 'knew nothing of God or a future state: man they regarded simply as beast, and they had not heard of a soul.'[221] After their return to Leliefontein, an enthusiastic and zealous Links appealed to Shaw that he be permitted to spend more time amongst the 'Bushmen'. Links duly returned to reside amongst the neighbouring hunter-gatherers with whom he wandered from place to place in a state of near-starvation. The visit was short-lived. A starving and worn out Links soon returned back to Leliefontein, where he complained to Shaw: '*Ik kan niet meer*, the bushmen have worn me out.' In 1822, Jacob Links was officially received into the Connexion as a minister of the Methodist Church – the first South African and the first Little Namaqua to enter the Methodist ministry.

Jacob's brother, a Robert Links, followed in his brother's footsteps. He set out to explore the Kalahari in an attempt to reach and preach to its 'bushmen' groups. With only a gun in hand, and a water-vessel slung upon his back, he spent weeks at a time wandering the treacherous desert. The suffering ultimately overcame him and he is reported to have died early on. A third and the oldest of the Links brothers, Peter, was a reportedly a 'remarkable man, and could work as thatcher, mason, carpenter, and blacksmith.'[222] Peter was known to have accompanied Chief

[221] W. J Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism*, p.24.
[222] J. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa,* p. 45.

Wildschut on his journey to the Cape in search of a missionary.[223] Above all of his practical skillsets, Peter was an extremely powerful preacher in the Nama dialect. He is however remembered for being viciously attacked by a lion on a hunting trip. With his arm crunched between the teeth of the beast, his brother Robert came to his rescue and sent a bullet through the head of the lion.

Another one of Shaw's better-known protégés was a close friend of Jacob Links - Johannes Jager. Jager was known to carry his bible into the lands so that any spare moment could be spent meditating in the Word of God. Unfortunately, both Jacob Links and Johannes Jager, became more renowned in their passing. Rev. Links and Jager accompanied Reverend Threlfall on a missional trip to Warm Bath in Great Namaqualand. While the group safely reached Warm Bath in August of 1825, they were soon fatally attacked by one of their Nougaap guides who had conspired with two others to murder the missionaries on their investigative tour.[224]It has since been suggested that the murderers were incited by the desire to steal the pack-oxen and goods of the group. The three slain missionaries, Rev. Links, Johannes Jager and Rev. Threlfall were the first martyrs of the Methodist Church in South Africa.

[223] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa.*
[224] T. Dedering, 'The Murder of William Threlfall. The Missionaries in Southern Namibia and the Cape Government in the 1820s', *South African Historical Journal*, 24, 1991, pp. 90-111.

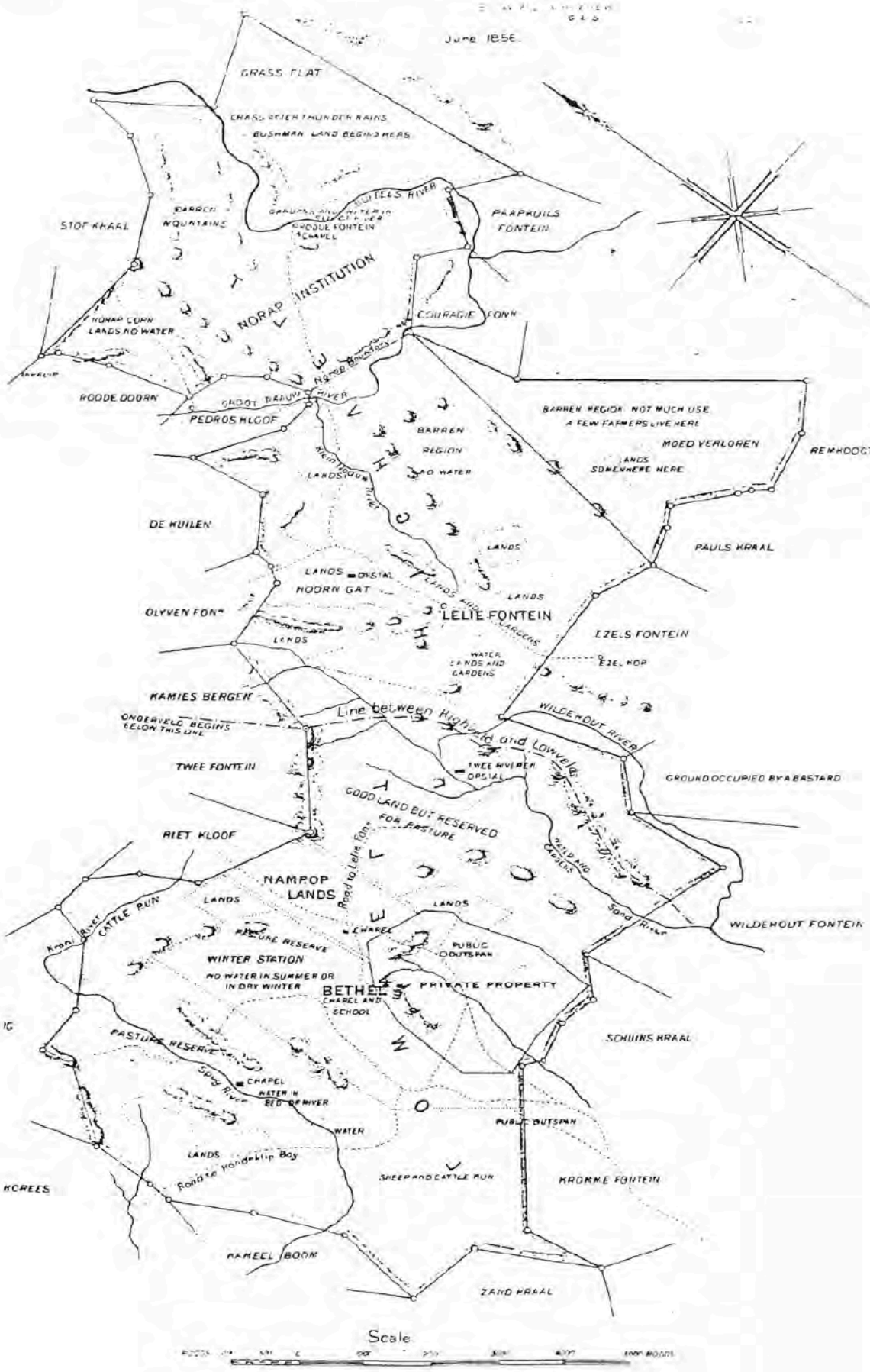

Figure 1.10. 'Map of Leliefontein' by W.F von Ludwig, June, 1856.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF THE MISSION ON THE NAMAQUA

"He who goes to convert a wandering tribe, must either collect them together for this purpose, or himself become a wanderer. If he collects them together, he must show them some method of obtaining subsistence, that they may remain with him."[225]

4.1 IMPACT OF THE MISSION ON NAMAQUA LAND USE

Much like the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyans firmly believed that education and religious teaching went hand in hand. Religious custom in Namaqualand at the time saw a specific level of education and literacy as a prerequisite for church membership. While this was certainly true of the European and *Baster* populations one could maintain that such an ethos would too have been foundational to the evangelical pursuit of the Little Namaqua.[226] Education thus from the very start had been deemed vital to the functioning of Leliefontein as a mission station. In the early days at Leliefontein, education was left solely in the hands of an already overworked Rev. Shaw. While the arrival of Edwards and Archbell did much to ease the load of teaching and preaching responsibilities it was the assistance of Shaw's protégés, the young and enthusiastic Namaqua assistants previously mentioned, that became vital to the functioning of the schools on Leliefontein. The likes of converts such as Jacob Links and his descendant Barnabas Shaw Links took on much of the responsibility of scholastic education which in turn allowed the missionary to focus solely on religious instruction.

The increasingly important role of indigenous converts who became 'assistant missionaries', teachers and preachers, the likes of Jacob and Peter Links for example, was evident not just at Leliefontein but at several early mission stations across the Cape. Further north over the Orange River at Griquatown, Andries Waterboer was at the age of 25 "set apart as a 'native-agent' of the LMS."[227] According to Schoeman, 'native agents' were those of indigenous descent who were 'publically set apart as assistant Missionaries.'[228] Waterboer was later described by James Read as 'the first Hottentot preacher that ever appeared in a pulpit.'[229] He was however,

[225] W. J. Mears, *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism*, p.17.
[226] J . A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland.'
[227] K. Schoeman, *The Early Mission in South Africa, 1799-1819*. (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2005), p. 218.
[228] *Ibid*, p. 219.
[229] *Ibid*, p. 218.

accompanied by three other assistant missionaries who had been selected by the LMS, namely: Jan Hendricks, Berend Berends and Pieter Davids. These 'native agents' or 'assistant missionaries' were instructed to assist the white missionaries and, according to Schoeman, 'were intended to have some status in the mission community.'[230] Similarly, Trüper offers an in-depth insight into the life of Zara Schmelen, 'missionary assistant' and the Khoikhoi wife of missionary Johann Schmelen.[231] In doing so she considers the important role that the assistant missionaries played as intermediaries between the missionaries and the Khoikhoi. The assistants, Trüper maintains, "translated the concept of the missionaries' worldview into that of the Khoikhoi. Through them, the promise of Christianity took shape."[232]

Figure 1.11. The Leliefontein Mission, circa 1829.

At Leliefontein the functioning of both scholastic and religious education became increasingly dependant on these missionary assistants. Three different types of schools functioned at Leliefontein during much of the nineteenth century. The first being the '*doopklas*' or Baptism Class.[233] Doopklas only took place during the evenings and on Sundays and was left to the instruction of the missionary. The second type of school was the Day School which by the 1830s was completely under the control of the Namaqua teachers. The curriculum covered

[230] K. Schoeman, *The Early Mission in South Africa, 1799-1819*,, p. 152.
[231] U. Trüper, *The Invisible Women: Zara Schmelen, African mission assistant at the Cape and in Namaland* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2006).
[232] *Ibid*, p.3.
[233] J . A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland.' p. 218.

spelling, reading, writing and singing. The third type of school, created specifically in response to the seasonal migration of the Namaqua, was the 'Outside School'.

It all too quickly became clear to Rev. Shaw that the greatest obstacle he would face in his attempts to both convert and educate the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg was their transhumant lifestyle. The toils and pains suffered in the construction of the first church on the Kamiesberg mountains proved redundant when, during the winter months, the entire population of Leliefontein moved to their summer outposts – as they had for centuries past. The response of the missionaries to the above debacle was all-encompassing. On the one hand, they indirectly attempted to promote a more sedentary lifestyle through the introduction of agriculture. While on the other hand, they introduced a series of outstations in both the summer and winter grazing areas in the hopes that the missionaries and educators would move with the people seasonally.

The concept of being bound to the soil via agriculture was one completely foreign to the pastoralist Namaqua. To induce them to settle and become agriculturalists, Rev. Shaw made a plough. In preparation for this, Shaw had brought with him plough shares, coulters and tools from Cape Town. Little had he known that those years toiling tirelessly on his father's farm in Elloughton had been unconsciously preparing him for his work at Leliefontein. It was there that he had first gained a practical knowledge of agriculture which included the handling of the plough, scythe and sickle. Rev. Shaw notes in his *Memorials* how astonished and awe-stricken the Namaqua were as they watched on while he made the plough: "When the bellows was blown, and the fire began to blaze, they laid their hands on their mouth in wonder but when the iron was taken out, and the hammer applied, the sparks dispersed them, and they ran in all directions, shouting, '*Neen, neen, myn lieven tyd. Ik heb nooit iets desgelyks te voron gezien*,' &c. (Wonderful, wonderful; I never saw any thing like that before; the fire flies after us, &c.)"[234] Upon the completion of the first plough, their astonishment resumed: "'*Kyk, kyk zyn mond*,'&c., (Look, look at its mouth, how it bites and tears up the ground.)"[235] It wasn't long before six ploughs were made and put to work.

[234] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 100.
[235] *Ibid,* p. 87.

It has been reported that before Shaw and his wife left Leliefontein in 1826 more than 2 000 bags of wheat were grown in the area on an annual basis.[236] These claims have been reconciled by the testimonies of travellers in the area. On the 21st of August 1824 traveller George Thompson arrived at Leliefontein Mission and was received by 'two native teachers,' as Shaw was on journey to the Cape at the time.[237] Thompson offers a useful commentary which sheds light on both the success of agriculture on the station as well as the continued system of transhumance practiced by the Namaqua. Thompson notes that,

> The extent of land cultivated here is very considerable. About ninety *muids* of wheat had been sown this season, covering from three to four hundred acres; and from which, if the season were tolerably favourable, a return of from thirty to fifty fold was anticipated.[238]

While the harvest in the early days of the station was prosperous, it was clearly not enough to permanently attach the Namaqua to the soil:

> Three-fourths of the inhabitants were at present dispersed with their flocks and herds at various outposts of the mountain glens. When collected, they amount to about 400 souls, consisting principally of Namaqua Hottentots, intermingled with several families of the mixed or Bastard race.[239]

What could not be overcome, however prosperous agriculture at Leliefontein had become, was that the lack of availability of suitable grazing lands demanded the Namaqua occupants of the mission station to continue in their seasonal movements. The winter months continually saw occupants trekking down to the lower more temperate regions and church attendance understandably declined as a result. It was always around May when the Namaqua would vacate to the warmer Onderveld and in most cases they would only return at the end of the subsequent harvest in January. These seasonal shifts severely interrupted the missionary attempts at education and deemed 'continuous progress as almost impossible.'[240] Teachers and missionaries alike soon became disheartened as students so often returned having completely forgotten their previous teachings. This necessitated a more fervent effort on the part of the

[236] J. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa.*
[237] G. Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, p. 74.
[238] *Ibid,* p. 75.
[239] *Ibid.*
[240] J. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*, p. 49.

missionaries and teachers to migrate alongside their congregation and set up permanent outposts.

The challenge that the transhumant lifestyle of the Little Namaqua posed to the missionaries was not a unique to Leliefontein, but was experienced by other missionaries in neighbouring regions. Missionaries at Pella, namely Schmelen, Ebner, Helm and Sass, faced similar difficulties. Ebner explains:

> The children were taught singing, spelling, and reading; some of them also learned to write in the sand. A few got as far as to be able, even though infirmly, to write letters on paper. However, since the Namaquas live on milk and on hunting, their children have to move around with them. Because of this, they soon forget, what they have learnt.[241]

Similarly, Dedering notes how those missionaries who settled near Warmbad in September 1806 were too confronted with the seasonal migrations of their potential converts.[242] In response, the residing missionaries opted for a division of labour. While one missionary remained at the station in Warmbad to attract a greater following and see to the daily needs of the station, others instead accompanied their wandering converts.

At the Leliefontein Mission, the first winter outstation was introduced at Bethel in the Onderveld, near present day Kharkhams. The Nama name for Bethel is *!namarop* which is the same winter residence frequented by Wildschut and the Shaws in 1816 before their trek up to the summer residence in the mountains.[243] Webley notes that the seasonal movement between Leliefontein to Bethel in the Onderveld covered a distance of approximately 23 km each way and a vertical displacement of 1000m (4 200 ft.).[244] In June of 1817 Rev. Shaw paid his first pastoral visit to those families of Leliefontein who had travelled to Bethel at the foot of the mountains during the winter months. The journey was a hazardous one. Shaw describes how, 'on climbing these steep ascents, I found great assistance in laying hold of the long tail of my African horse, when, through fatigue he was unable to carry me.'[245] It was however only under

[241] Ebner, 1829, as cited in, U. Trüper, *The Invisible Women: Zara Schmelen, African mission assistant at the Cape and in Namaland*, p. 28.
[242] T. Dedering, Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia. (Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997).
[243] M. Attwell, 'Leliefontein, Namaqualand: Transhumance and the Architecture of the Matjieshuis', *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 63, (3&4) 2009.
[244] L.E. Webley, 'Ethnoarchaeological research among descendants of Khoikhoi herders in the Steinkopf and Leliefontein Communal Reserves.' (Unpublished report for the Human Sciences Research Council, 1987).
[245] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 102.

the supervision of Mr. J. Jackson, a successor of Rev. Shaw and Rev. Edwards, that the first winter church building and school room were built at Bethel. The buildings were constructed of wood and ultimately found themselves vulnerable to destruction by white ants. Jackson was also responsible for the construction of a series of large dams at Bethel with the function of collecting rainwater. Henceforth began the tradition of orbiting between Leliefontein in the summer months and Bethel in the Onderveld during the winter months. Shaw however also recorded that others travelled briefly into the area known as Norap which is located in the dry north-west.

In a letter dated the 2nd of September 1819, Shaw describes his pastoral visit to a group of Namaqua residing on the fringes of Bushmanland to the east:

> August 11. About 2 P.M. arrived at a place in the Bushman land, where many of our people have taken up a temporary abode. The poor creatures were exceedingly glad to see us, and flocked around us with their usual salutation. The children and adults, who are learning to read, were called together to know if any improvement had been made. Their eyes sparkled with joy at the idea thereof, and all possible haste was made in bringing their books. Those who needed spelling books or alphabets, had been given, and the joy manifested in receiving them was a sufficient reward for al the labours bestowed upon them. Preached to them in the evening; and one of the interpreters being present, all would be able to understand.[246]

Years of low rainfall and drought in the Onderveld resulted in near empty dam-levels and a severe lack of water supply for suitable grazing. This led to the establishment of a second and much larger outstation and school at Spoegrivier. Soon after, outstations were established at Nourivier, Norap, Tweerivier and Kharkhams (which had replaced Bethel).[247] Later the outstation of Moedverloren was established near Paulshoek which became well known for its *matjieshuis* church services under the supervision of a Namaqua teacher and his wife. While the daily functioning and education at these outstations were chiefly the responsibility of Namaqua lay preachers, they were regularly frequented by the missionaries themselves. These congregational outstations formed the nuclei of the ten communal settlements in the Leliefontein area today.

[246] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1820, p. 152.
[247] M. Attwell, 'Leliefontein, Namaqualand: Transhumance and the Architecture of the Matjieshuis'.

Reverend William Morley Crampton, a missionary at Leliefontein in the early twentieth century, has commented on the unique nature of Leliefontein:

> As far as I know there is no other mission station in South Africa where the outstations are, for the greater part of the year, of greater importance than the main station. The people at the outstations must be visited as often as possible and except during the summer months the missionary is away from Leliefontein almost every second Sunday.[248]

The outpost at Bethel fell increasingly vulnerable to drought and unable to support the livestock of the community it became completely redundant altogether. The winter station was soon abandoned as occupants moved away and school populations ultimately declined. The school too was inevitably abandoned and the outpost as a whole was soon replaced by one established at Kharkhams with Barnabas Shaw Links as its schoolmaster.

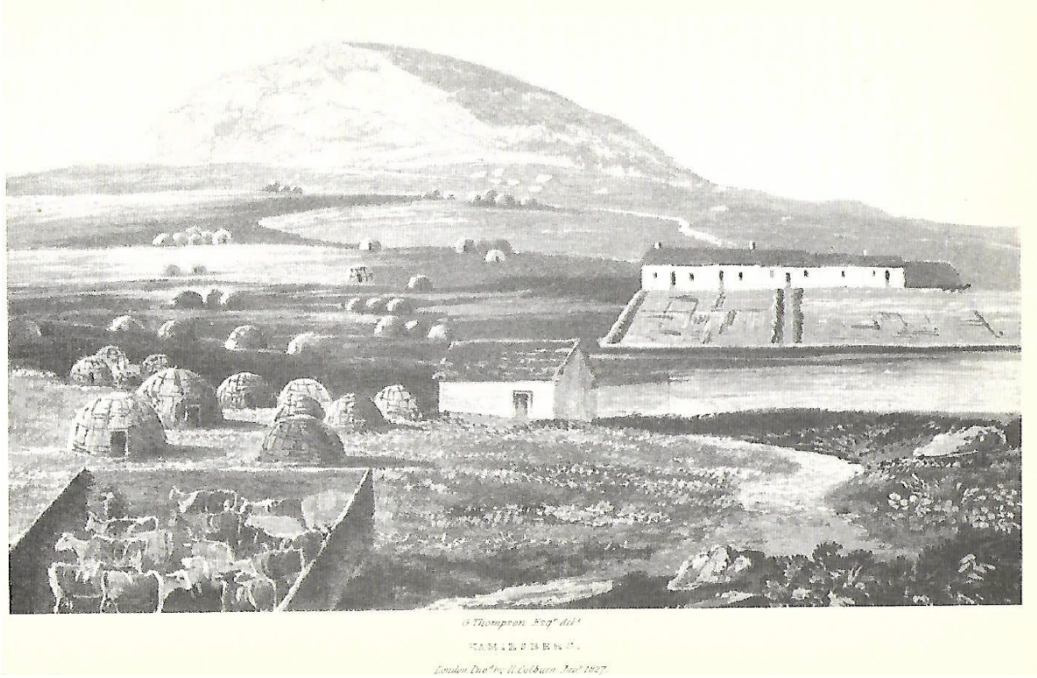

Figure 1.12. 'Missionary village in the Kamiesberg' Sketched by G. Thomson

These transhumant patterns, as they had always been, remained under the discretion of the Namaqua chief throughout the first few years at Leliefontein. Authority however was soon transferred to the resident missionary. A once fervent Chief Haaimap (Wildschut) was ageing

[248] W Morley-Crampton, 'Among the Namaqua of the far North West': Slide lecture dated 2 September 1915. Typescript copy. (Cory Library, Grahamstown.)

and rapidly losing control of his followers. Evidence of Wildschut losing his hand over his people can be seen as early as 1817. During the building of a chapel at Leliefontein Rev. Shaw 'called up the chief and his people together, in order to stir them up to diligence and perseverance.' Shaw recounts how, 'the chief said, that many of the people would not obey him, and some had nothing to eat, and were wearing their girdles of hunger – that he would willingly supply them with food while building, were it in his power, but could not, having himself but little.'[249] A concerned Rev. Shaw brought his concerns regarding the aptitude of Wildschut to the attention of Lord Somerset who took immediate action. In January of 1825 the *landdrost* of Clanwilliam instructed J.H Aggenbach, *Veldcornet* of Namaqualand, to visit Leliefontein in order to explain to its population the transferal of leadership:

> His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to order that all the affairs of the Wesleyan Institution, on Lily Fountain should be under the management and direction of the superintending missionary there sanctioned.[250]

Furthermore, the order specified that the resident missionary now had full jurisdiction over the reserve with the right to allow new members to join and evict current members. He would also be given the power to give out portions of land for the sowing of corn and growing of gardens. Finally, the missionary was given permission to erect substantial dwelling houses according to his plans and discretions. The proclamation also made allowances for the Namaqua to make use of any of the unoccupied ground surrounding the institution in order to graze their cattle without hindrance from the surrounding farmers.

Shaw immediately appointed a board (or *Raad*) of four parishioners to regulate affairs of the reserve, with himself residing as chairman. The board later expanded to eight and then twelve members, including Namaqua members who were given the title of '*Corporals*'.[251] Heese argues that although these early boards of governance were by no means faultless, they did much to create a sense of responsibility among many of the Namaqua.[252] What should be briefly noted here is that while the majority of the occupants of the mission station were Little Namaqua the station was also home to other minorities. A census undertaken by resident missionary Rev. John Bailie in January 1853 indicates that of a total adult male population of

[249] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p.98.
[250] CA, 1/WOC 11/6, Colonial Office to Landrost of Worcestor, 24 December 1824.
[251] J. A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland', p. 147.
[252] *Ibid.*

268: 225 were Little Namaqua, 26 were *Basters*, 6 were emancipated slaves and one was an 'Africaner'.[253]

It cannot be denied however that the introduction of the *Raad* and the transferal of authority to the residing missionary indirectly stripped the Chief of the Namaqua of his sovereignty. Henceforth, the *Raad* not only governed activities within the mission station but also dictated the patterns of transhumance which had for centuries past been under the jurisdiction of the Chief of the Namaqua. Each winter the *Raad* declared which boundaries would be open for pasturage thus completely controlling the seasonal migration of the Namaqua. These boundaries would be altered annually and were entirely dependant on the availability of pasturage. Article 14 of the Rules and Regulations of Kamiesberg Wesleyan Missionary Institution states that:

> It being necessary for all the people to move from Lily Fountain to Bethel every winter, they shall do so at such time as the Council directs, after the usual ploughing season, and return again to Lily Fountain at such time in the spring as the Council may think proper to fix for getting in the harvest, and to prevent the destruction of the standing crops, the Council shall decided what number and description of stock is to be taken to the Station, as also to make provision for the remainder of the stock left in the onderveld.[254]

The *Raad* not only assumed authority over the seasonal migrations of the members of the missionary institution but also over the distribution of land within Leliefontein itself. Only upon application to the council could a member of the station acquire a field or plot of land for cultivation. If successful, the applicant would receive a maximum of four *morgen* of land. Those able to prove to the council that they had the means to cultivate a greater area of land could apply for an extension to the initial four *morgen*. The grazing of livestock was also under the jurisdiction of the *Raad*. Members were required to gain permission from the council before moving their livestock from one part of land to another. A specific tract of land was set aside seasonally for the grazing of milch cows and draft oxen. Those who negligently allowed their livestock to unlawfully graze upon these restricted parts would be fined to the value of one sheep.

---

[253] MSC 39, 52 (8): 'List of the Adult population attached to the Institution of Lily Fountain, Khamiesberg – showing their Race, date of admission, the quantity of their stock, and the sum subscribed by each towards the expenses of measuring the lands of the institution.' (31st January 1853)

[254] MSC 39, 52 (1): "Rules and Regulations of the Wesleyan Missionary Institution called Lily Fountain, Khamiesberg, Namaqualand South Africa." (Revised 1857), p.6-7.

In September of 1821 two neighbouring farms, 'Hoorngat' and 'Twee Rivieren' were purchased for approximately 6360 rix dollars by the Wesleyan Missionary Society and transferred in trust.[255] The members of Leliefontein contributed toward the purchasing of the two farms – an amount totalling to approximately a quarter of the original purchasing price. As the farms were purchased under Quitrent Title, the Wesleyan Missionary society paid the annual quitrent. As the inhabitants of Leliefontein had contributed to the acquisition of the farms they had always deemed the land as their own. The farms were utilized for communal farming while some lands were set aside for the resident missionary to supplement his income through cultivation and the rearing of stock. Later in the nineteenth century a dispute between the missionary society and the Namaqua on the station arose as the society attempted to retain the title deeds to the farms and subsequently began driving the people off the farms.[256] The Namaqua argued:

> The Missionaries came here to teach us about God. They came with only a Bible. Today they have two farms (6 400 morgen) they have a hundred head of cattle, a thousand small stock, horses, carts, dwelling houses, gardens, -all got from us; and now they are demanding the Churches which we built and the ploughing lands which we work to keep our Churches going.[257]

The biggest threat however to the land security of the Namaqua of Leliefontein during the first half of the nineteenth century were the ever encroaching farmers who settled around the perimeter of Leliefontein. Leliefontein had yet to be officially surveyed and thus it could not be legally proven that surrounding farmers were occupying lands which rightfully belonged to the station. The expenses of surveying lands were liable to the occupants of the land and for decades past was unaffordable for the occupants of Leliefontein. In 1853 however resident missionary Rev. John Bailie, faced by seemingly compounding quarrels with neighbours regarding boundary lines and landmarks, initiated the surveying of the grounds. Bailie collected contributions from the occupants of the station toward the costs of measuring the lands. From a total adult male population of 268 he collected a total of 377 pounds. Rev. Bailie subsequently appealed to have the land which had been 'assigned to the natives' granted either to individuals

[255] G60 – 1890: 'Report on the lands in Namaqualand' by Mr. S Melville, Second Assistant Surveyor-General, 30th June 1890, p.15.
[256] MSC 39, 52 (7): 'Transcribed interview between the Prime Minister and a Deputation from the Wesleyan Church, on Friday, the 20th March, 1914 regarding the Claims of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Regard to Leliefontein Reserve.'
[257] *Ibid,* p. 15.

or Trustees for the community.[258] His appeals however were denied as the process was considered expedient and 'the right of occupation up to definite limits' could instead be granted to the people through a Ticket of Occupation. This would see that 'every object will be gained which could be gained by a grant to Trustees.'[259]

Thus on the 31st of May 1854 Leliefontein was issued with a Ticket of Occupation by Governor Cathcart. A Ticket of Occupation was at the time a form of leasehold which had similar ramifications to a title-deed. The Ticket of Occupation essentially had two, arguably contradictory, functions. Firstly, it endorsed the rights of the Little Namaqua and their descendants to the land:

> This is to certify that the Land represented by the annexed sketch framed by Mr. Land Surveyor Cloete and supposed to contain about 219500 (Two hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred) Morgen more or less, situated in the Division of Clanwilliam, partly in the Field Cornetcy of Kamiesberg and known by the name of 'Lilie Fontein' shall not for the present be alienated but shall be held for the use of those families of the Tribe of the Little Namaqua Hottentots and Bastards of Aboriginal descent who are in the occupation thereof at this date, and of others of the same description who, having left the said land, may return thereto…[260]

While protecting the Little Namaqua's ancestral rights to the land in question the Ticket of Occupation simultaneously sanctioned the authority of the reserve and the land to the resident missionary and the *Raad*. Furthermore, it also safeguarded the Wesleyan Mission Society's rights to both the land and the buildings upon it: 'Nothing therein or herein contained shall affect the occupation by the Wesleyan or other Missionary society of these Churches, Schools, or other buildings which may have been or may hereafter be by them built on the said Land.'[261]

What the official surveying of the lands and the Ticket of Occupation did manage to achieve however was the successful marking of the Leliefontein boundaries. This however was not enough to effectively safeguard the reserve lands from the ever drifting beacons of surrounding farmers. Disputes surrounding borders did not immediately dissipate. Heese claims that with regards to Leliefontein the origins of the majority of the border disputes could be found in the

[258] MSC, 39, 52 (9): Correspondence (1952-9): Letter from Colonial Office to Rev. Bailie, dated 26 March 1853'.
[259] *Ibid.*
[260] MSC 39, 52 (3): 'Ticket of Occupation 1854.'
[261] *Ibid.*

unsatisfactory manner in which the loan farm boundaries were drawn up.[262] By 1886 the compounding land disputes became unmanageable and in an attempt to solve them the *Raad* appointed a select committee to define the boundaries of the land and protect them from encroachment.[263] It is reported however, that this committee offered little resolve. In October of 1887 a Petrus Links, of Namaqua descent, claimed that a Mr. Jan Struder, owner of the farm 'Karagiesfontein', had adjusted his beacons further into the grounds of Leliefontein and had subsequently impounded the cattle once belonging to the burghers in the area.[264] The committee began investigations into the allegations and found that both Mr. Struder's chart and Leliefontein's chart indicated that the beacons were in the wrong area. The committee subsequently ordered Struder to duly shift his beacons back to their original location – an order which he refused. Unable to do anything more, the dispute was shelved by the committee. This is one of several instances in which the land originally belonging to the reserve became engulfed by surrounding farms. Furthermore, through personal communication with a Mr. Meissenheimer, Price (now Attwell) maintains that he claimed that during his lifetime, 'the boundaries of the institution had, in certain places, moved in as much as four to five miles.'[265] As Shaw himself notes, by the nineteenth century, 'the harmless Namaquas considered the Dutch farmers as the most acceptable neighbours in the world; till most of their cattle, and many of their best fountains of water, were wrested from them.'[266] The most important fountains to the Namaqua had been incorporated into newly settled Europeans farms, namely; Botuin, Outuin, Olynfontein and De Kuilen.[267]

The permanent boundaries set into place by the reserve as well as growing land alienation meant that patterns of transhumance became increasingly restricted. While the Leliefontein Mission was situated on the tract of land legally registered in the name of the Chief, Haaimap, in reality the Namaqua had for centuries past utilised a far greater expanse of land – which their transhumant lifestyle necessitated. The establishment of the station as well as the increasing settlement on surrounding farms thus had arguably devastating effects on the Little Namaqua. Leliefontein had ultimately been encircled by Europeans farms on its western, northern and

[262] J. A. Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland'.
[263] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913' (Honours Thesis, University of Cape Town), p. 41.
[264] C2 -1888: Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Lands in Namaqualand set apart for the occupation of Natives and others, 29 June 1888, p. 11.
[265] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913.', p. 41.
[266] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 20.
[267] L. E. Webley, 'Ethnoarchaeological research among descendants of Khoikhoi herders in the Steinkopf and Leliefontein Communal Reserves.' (Unpublished report for the Human Sciences Research Council, 1987.)

southern borders. Its eastern border into Bushmanland however remained open as the area was deemed Crown Land until the 1930s. The official surveying of the lands and formalisation of the boundaries that accompanied the Ticket of Occupation ultimately 'put an end to the larger transhumance cycles of the Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg region.'[268] The Little Namaqua who were once accustomed to occupying approximately 47 000 square kilometres of land were now restricted to the 1880 square kilometres of the Leliefontein Mission station.[269] Not only that, but their movements on the said land were now at the discretion of the residing missionary and the *Raad*.

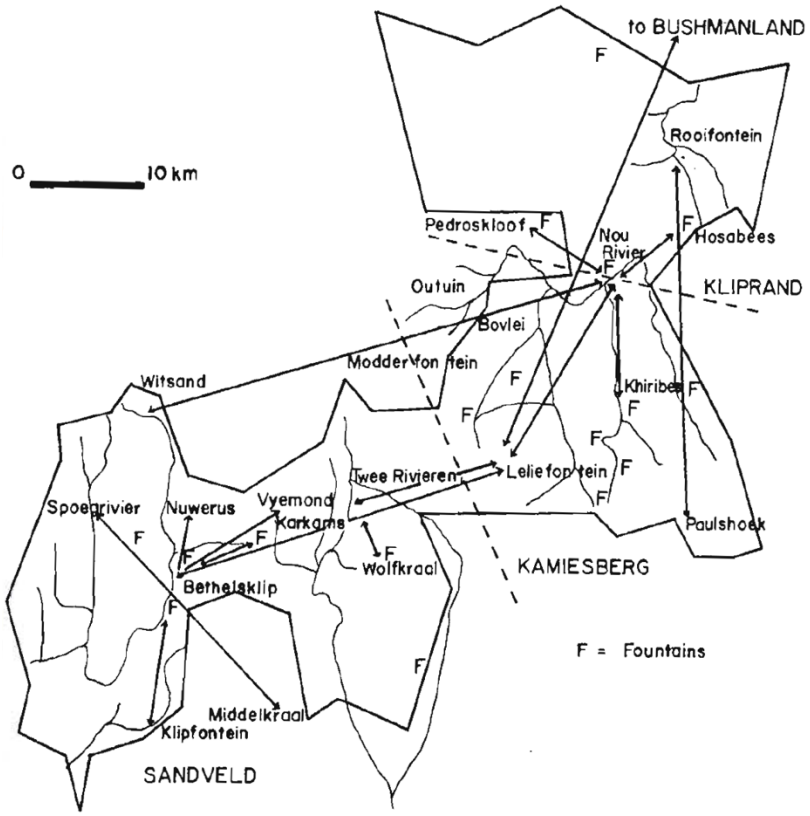

Figure 1.13. Transhumance patterns, past and present, within the Leliefontein Reserve

[268] L. E. Webley, 'Archaeology and ethnoarcheology in the Leliefontein Reserve and surrounds, Namaqualand.', p.72.
[269] J Deacon, 'The Later Stone Age in the southern Cape, South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Cape Town, 1982); 1 Square Kilometre = 116,7 *morgen*.

4.2 IMPACT OF THE MISSION ON LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE NAMAQUA

4.2.1 1816-1850

The first half of the eighteen century on the Leliefontein Mission Station has been perceived by the likes of Kelso as a time of 'increased prosperity'.[270] The 1850s onward however, was a time that instead became defined by poverty, famine and eventually starvation. Ultimately the newly confined nature of the reserve paired with the aridity of the land as well as the newly established reliance on agriculture resulted in overpopulation and overgrazing within the reserve. Furthermore, these conditions caused an increased vulnerability to periods of climatic stress. While this chapter, in striving for succinctness, attempts to separate the impact of the establishment of the mission station on various aspects of Namaqua life, in reality these aspects (land use and living conditions) cannot be divorced. They are instead intricately connected which will be seen in the examples to follow.

The initial and arguably short-lived prosperity on Leliefontein is evident in both the increase in agricultural yields as well as livestock numbers. It can be argued that these improvements resulted in an overall improvement to the material circumstances of the Little Namaqua on the station. The introduction of agriculture initially allowed the Namaqua to continue their seasonal migrations during the winter as the preparing of the grounds and sowing of seeds were usually undertaken in the months of May and June, before they departed on their winter migration, while the harvesting took place between November and January, once they had returned to Leliefontein.[271] These crops initially included wheat, barley, various fruit trees (peach, fig and vines) as well as numerous vegetables (beans, potatoes, carrots, turnips etc.).[272] While the pastoral Namaqua did not rely on the harvests as their primary source of subsistence it did however supplement their pastoral lifestyle.

Evidence seems to indicate that the Namaqua of Leliefontein initially perceived agriculture as a beneficial addition to their livelihoods. Jacob Links had the following to say:

[270] C. J Kelso, '*On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909'* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2010), p. 168.
[271] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1820.
[272] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* ; Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1817.

> Brothers, let me ask again; before you had the gospel, what did you know of ploughing and sowing? What of making gardens, and partaking of the fruit thereof? What did you know of reaping cornfields, of thrashing the sheaves, of baking cakes, and of eating loaves of bread? What did you know of religious teaching…You knew nothing of them; but we see great things today, we have our teachers, we have the great work, and we have a school for our children.[273]

Early records suggest that the introduction of agriculture in Leliefontein was reasonably successful. As early as 1824 Shaw noted that while large quantities of crops where being harvested, there remained room for even greater harvests had there been an available market:

> The extent of land cultivated is very considerable: about ninety muids of wheat had been sown this season, covering from three to four acres, and from which, if the season were favourable, a return of from thirty to fifty-fold was anticipated. Were there any accessible market for the surplus produce, a much larger quantity might be raised; but as there are at present no means of disposing of any large quantity of grain, the cultivation is necessarily confined to the immediate wants of the inhabitants[274]

Furthermore, in the same year, Shaw recounts the sowing of corn and barley:

> We have sown seventy-five muids of corn, barley &c. and made many alterations as to the extent of the gardens; so that, according to the present expectation, the people of Khamies Berg will not only be able, by the blessing of God, to remain a much longer time together on the mountain, but, at the season when the cold forbids their stay in so elevated a position, they may remove directly with their Missionary to the plains below, and by so doing possess the means of constant instruction.[275]

From the above we can deduce that not only were early harvests successful but they also managed to adapt to the transhumant lifestyle of the Little Namaqua on the station. These records indicate a harvest of 90 *muids* of wheat which totalled 8165kg as well as 77 *muids* of corn and barley, amounting so 6804kg. Furthermore, in 1832, it was reported that a total of 100 *muids* and 9072 kg of wheat, rye and barley were sown: 'The quantity of wheat, rye, and barley sowed last season, collectively, was nearly one hundred *muids*, or about three hundred

[273] J. Links, as cited in B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 232.
[274] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 100-101.
[275] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 1824, p. 46.

Winchester bushels; covering nearly four hundred acres of land. The produce of our land is small, and I do not think that we average a return of more than fifteen fold.'[276]

Alexander's visit to Leliefontein in 1836 is considerably telling in terms of the prosperity of agriculture on the station, both communally and individually. He recorded that 'The Namaquas of Lily Fountain had sown latterly about 100 *muids*, or 20 000lbs of wheat annually, and had raised from this 15 000 or 20 000 *muids*.'[277] This yearly harvest would have totalled approximately 1 360 777kgs – 1 814 370kgs of wheat. Alexander also recounted meeting an individual who himself grew 40 *muids* of corn, totalling 3629kgs, annually.[278] These reports are corroborated by Thompson who frequented the station in the same year and, as previously mentioned, reported that , 'The extent of land cultivated here is very considerable. About ninety *muids* of wheat had been sown this season, covering from three to four hundred acres; and from which, if the season were tolerably favourable, a return of from thirty to fifty fold was anticipated.'[279]

Much like the prosperity of agriculture at Leliefontein during the first half of the nineteenth century, livestock numbers on the mission station were also on the rise. In Chapter Two we saw the negative impact that *trekboer* encroachment and livestock trading had on the livestock numbers of the Namaqua toward the close of the eighteenth century. The first half of the nineteenth century however, much to the surprise of historians and environmentalists alike, saw a vast increase to the livestock numbers of those on the station. As early as 1822 it was reported that the Namaqua on the station, '…have cattle in abundance, so much so that the place is not large enough to feed them.'[280] A man by the name of Robert Kaffir is recorded to have individually owned between three and four hundred sheep.[281] By 1832 the community collectively owned total of 3000 sheep, 3000 goats, 150 horses, 125 oxen, 250 cows and 10 pigs.[282] Although these figures are derived from the records of the Wesleyan Missionary Society themselves they are corroborated by evidence provided by travellers in the area. When visiting Leliefontein in 1836 Sir James Edward Alexander explained:

---

[276] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1832, p. 524; Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1832, p. 49.*
[277] J.E Alexander, *Expedition Of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, Vol 1. (Cape Town, Struik, 1967), p. 58.
[278] *Ibid.*
[279] G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, p. 74.
[280] Freyer, as cited in B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 99.
[281] *Ibid,* p. 75.
[282] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1832, p. 524.

> Mr. Edwards was absent at Cape Town when I arrived at the station, and a thin-looking corporal (Buchas) received me. I thought that he was very poor from his appearance, and I intended offering him the head and liver of a sheep I was about to kill, to keep him from starving, when I found, to my surprise, that he grew forty muids of corn annually, had a span of fourteen oxen, a wagon, twelve horses, and seven hundred sheep and goats.[283]

The census undertaken by Rev. Bailie in 1853 indicates that in total the adult males of Leliefontein owned 2198 cattle, 399 horses and 9685 sheep and goats.[284] Upon closer inspection a comparison of this 1853 census and that of 1832 allows one a more detailed analysis into the true state of livestock ownership on Leliefontein. Between the years 1832 and 1853 the total livestock ownership increased by 86%: from 6375 to 11 870 sheep, goats and cattle. What is important to note here is that these livestock were privately owned by members of Leliefontein. In 1853 the largest number of livestock owned by a single individual, a John Saul, was 739.[285] Others owned between 10 and 500 livestock at any given point.

Community-owned livestock numbers however are also recorded to have increased from 375 to 2185 during the years in question. This amounts to a total increase of 483%. Noteworthy here is the impact of recently settled *Basters* and emancipated slaves on the livestock numbers within the reserve. These newcomers totalled 42 individuals in 1853 and laid claim to 3231 sheep and goats and 480 cattle. This led to an 88% increase in the total numbers of sheep and goats on the reserve. While this group can in part be held accountable for the increase in livestock numbers between 1832 and 1853 they are not solely responsible. Those Namaqua born into the Leliefontein community held ownership of the majority of the cattle which increased by 73% over the years in question. Overall, the Namaqua laid claim to 68% of the total livestock population on Leliefontein, while the newcomers (*Basters* and emancipated slaves) owned 32%.

Kelso maintains that through actively seeking out a missionary and ultimately securing their tenure over the land 'the Namaqua were able to decrease the amount of exploitative trade that took place amongst them.'[286] Here she refers to the previous devastation and livestock loss caused by the cattle trade towards the close of the 18th century. During this time the Namaqua

[283] J.E Alexander, *Expedition Of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, p. 58.
[284] MSC 39, 52 (8): 'List of the Adult population attached to the Institution of Lily Fountain…'(31st January 1853)
[285] *Ibid.*
[286] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909,' p. 157.

so often traded their most valuable asset, their livestock, for non-productive items such as tobacco, dagga and alcohol. Through the establishment of Leliefontein the Namaqua were increasingly able to resist the livestock trade:

> In formers days, many of them were much imposed on, by persons who failed not to take every advantage of their ignorance, and to use ever artifice to obtain their cattle, for articles of but little real value, and to them rather injurious than serviceable; but now they traffic on better terms, by which of course, their comfort and happiness are greatly promoted. They have been collected together, and form a sort of village, which, for the number it contains, though not in the mode of its formation, may be compared to many in England.[287]

It is then no surprise that, in the earlier days of the station, many of the surrounding Dutch farmers, willing to trade, become disgruntled by the Namaqua's sudden unwillingness:

> The Boor's son sat on a stone a short distance therefrom, not being sufficiently humble to sit in the same place with Bastards and Hottentots; his mother and sister looked out of the door of the dwelling-house on hearing us began to sing, but did not come, because, to use their common expression, 'The English man has made the Namacquas too wise'. That is, the Namacquas will no more exchange their cattle for brandy, tobacco, &c. as formerly, nor will they believe the idle stories of the Boors respecting Missionaries being sent to gather the heathens together, and then send them as slaves to another land.[288]

While the early nineteenth century remained prosperous for those Little Namaqua on the mission they were not completely safeguarded against climatic elements such as drought. The most severe droughts hit the Kamiesberg from 1824-1827 and 1834-1836. Kelso notes however that the Namaqua at Leliefontein showed a great 'resilience and capacity for coping and recovery' during these early droughts.[289] The first severe drought led to the 'poverty of a large portion of the Namacquas' as crops of corn were reported to have failed.[290] Haddy, missionary at Leliefontein at the time noted, 'you have heard how much the country has suffered from the late drought, the crops of corn have greatly failed again the last summer: many whose principal dependence is on the produce of the land, are reduced to great want and distress.'[291]

---

[287] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1826, p. 634-635.
[288] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine,* 1819, p. 312.
[289] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909,' p. 163.
[290] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Missionary Notices*, 1827, p. 388.
[291] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 107-108.

Most definitive of these early droughts however were the Namaqua's rapid recovery. By 1828, a mere year later, the prosperity of the station was proclaimed: 'In short, I may affirm, with the greatest propriety, that I never saw the station in a better state than at present. In reference to temporals, we are in a state of improvement; the harvest this year has turned out better than last; our people are daily employed in gathering its fruits.'[292] Similarly, the Namaqua recovered just as rapidly from the drought of 1834-1836. The post-drought prosperity of the station can be seen in the records of Alexander who in 1836, immediately after the drought, noted the successes of both agriculture and livestock rearing.[293]

The Namaqua were able to so effectively cope and recover from these periods of drought through scattering alongside their cattle. In both 1821 and 1824 records indicate that the Namaqua of Leliefontein were greatly dispersed. Similarly, during later droughts of 1844-1845, it has been recorded that many Namaqua travelled into the fringes of Bushmanland while others headed toward the coast to fish. The nomadic lifestyle as well as the wide-ranging transhumance of the Namaqua were thus vital in their coping strategies and ability to rapidly recover during periods of drought and instability.

4.2.2 1850-1900:

While the earlier half of the nineteenth century saw the Namaqua population of Leliefontein prosper in terms of agricultural yields and livestock numbers, the second half of the century saw their rapid material deterioration to a point of impoverishment near the century's close. Kelso claims that while periods of climatic stress such as drought were continuous throughout both halves of the century, it was instead the Namaqua's altered coping strategies which led to their increased vulnerability during the second half.[294]

This period became defined by an increased reliance on agriculture, more specifically wheat and barley. It was this increased dependence which, in the highly variable climate of the Kamiesberg, ultimately caused the Namaqua to become more vulnerable to drought. In 1874, the Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand observed that those Namaqua residing on the mission stations were much more vulnerable, and ultimately affected the most, by drought due to their

[292] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Missionary Notices*, 1828, p. 484-485.
[293] J.E Alexander, *Expedition Of Discovery into the Interior of Africa.*
[294] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909'.

increased dependence on agricultural produce.[295] Neighbouring European farmers however, who had adopted the transhumant lifestyle of the Namaqua, were better equipped to deal with these periods of climatic stress. Kelso comments on the irony of the situation the Namaqua found themselves in:

> It is ironic that the population of the mission stations who had been entirely nomadic before colonisation became more vulnerable to the climate through the 'improvements' introduced by the colonisers, whereas the colonising farmers took on nomadic pastoralism as the best way to survive in Namaqualand. The trekboers relied on winter grazing in Bushmanland as the Namaqua had once done while the Leliefontein inhabitants enjoying all the benefits of agriculture and 'civilisation', became increasingly vulnerable to what had always been an unreliable climate.[296]

Thus, the increased dependence on agriculture for subsistence in the highly drought prone area of the Kamiesberg was one of the primary causes of the rapid decline in living standards and material wealth during the second half of the nineteenth century. In a state of famine, following the droughts of 1866, the population of Leliefontein were not able to independently recover as they had done before. Instead they relied on assistance from the government. Seed wheat was provided for the Namaqua of Leliefontein during the drought years of 1866; 1875; 1883; 1886 and 1896-1897. The most severe droughts occurred between the years 1881 and 1883. In 1881 the Civil Commissioner wrote to the Secretary of the Relief Committee regarding the the poor harvest of 1881: 'I know that the last three harvests have either been very indifferent, very bad or total failures.'[297]

Several years of drought left the people, '…destitute, with no harvest, and except for a few emaciated oxen, none of the animals on which their existence depended.'[298] Livestock numbers took a turn for the worst which can be seen as a result of the periods of drought and famine as well as the population increase on the station. Between the years of 1826 and 1928, a period of just less over a century, the population numbers increased from 700 to 2500.[299] This population increase paired with the restricted nature of the lands available to the Namaqua ultimately led

[295] 1/SBK 5/1/6, Letters dispatched by the Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, 1874-1878.
[296] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909', p. 171.
[297] 1/SBK, Letters dispatched, Civil Commissioner – Mr J. Ellis, 9 March 1883.
[298] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p.70.
[299] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1826, p. 635; C. J Kelso, *On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909*, p.170.

to even greater vulnerability during seasons of drought. From 1853 to 1905 the numbers of cattle belonging to the occupants of Leliefontein declined drastically, from 2185 to 1400. Numbers of small stock such as sheep and goats however seem to have increased from 9685 to 12 400.[300] The small stock numbers remained more stable than those of larger stock as, during periods of increased rainfall, they were seen to reproduce and ultimately increase more rapidly.

Livestock were also affected by illness which occurred frequently between the periods of 1857-1866. Lung sickness was specifically responsible for a great decrease in cattle in 1857, 1858 ad 1866.[301] The introduction of copper mining in the region also coincided with the decline in large stock numbers which could be due to the damaging effects of transport riding to and from the copper mines. Copper mining in the Namaqualand region commenced in the 1850s with the first mines being established at Spektakel, Springbokfontein (Springbok) and Concordia. The greatest obstacle to the success of the mining was the vast distances that the ore needed to be transported, to Hondeklip Bay, before being dispatched to England. This issue was enflamed by the fact that the ore was being transported before being processed and thus was extremely heavy in its raw form.

This obstacle did however present the Namaqua of Leliefontein, and surrounding missionary institutions, with a potentially profitable opportunity. Many of the Namaqua occupants of Leliefontein thus began to utilise their cattle to transport copper ore. These efforts were initially extremely lucrative for the Namaqua but ultimately led to the spread of lung sickness amongst their cattle and inevitably caused greater livestock loss. Thus, those cattle involved in transport riding were the worst affected by lung sickness. The copper boom in Namaqualand was however short-lived and while transport riding initially offered the Namaqua short-term benefits it ultimately had only negative long term effects on the population. Many have since attributed the overall decline and impoverishment of the Leliefontein Namaqua to the destructive consequences of transport riding:

> 'From all accounts, this institution [the Leliefontein mission], though suffering heavily, like all the farmers in this division, from repeated drought, was in fairly flourishing condition until the opening of the copper mines. Since that date there seems to have been a more or less general

[300] MSC 39, 52 (8): 'List of the Adult population …' (31st January 1853); G60 – 1890, Report on the lands In Namaqualand by Mr. S. Melville, Second Assistant Surveyor-General, 30 June 1890.
[301] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1860.

> decadence in this and the other older missionary institutions, induced by the high prices then paid for riding copper ore to Hondeklip Bay. They went largely into this business, which, from the difficulties of the road and the absence of grazing veldt and water along the route, entailed heavy losses amongst their draught cattle, which was not recouped by their profits on the freight. This far oftener found its way to the canteen than in the replacement of their oxen, so that, year by year, the wealth that this institution once had, in abundance of stock, became expended and the people largely demoralized.'[302]

Overpopulation, crop failure, drought and overgrazing ultimately left Leliefontein unable to support its inhabitants as effectively as it once had:

> In addition Leliefontein became 'closed in' as farmers settled permanently around them. The Nama were forced to confine their nomadic habits to a definite area and despite the relatively large size of the reserve, the inevitable results of being a 'closed in' pastoral people began to appear. There was overpopulation, over-grazing and the soil was worked to the point of exhaustion.[303]

While these conditions are by no means different to those of the first half of the eighteenth century, it was the resilience of the Leliefontein Namaqua and their ability to recover after droughts that had so drastically changed by the second half. The severe drought of 1881-1883 highlights this. In the years succeeding the drought, more specifically 1885-1887, the area in question finally experienced normal rainfall rates while 1888 saw extremely high rainfall.[304] Despite this, the population of Leliefontein were not able to fully recover as they had done so before. Henry Tindall, previous missionary at Leliefontein, reported on this:

> It is now nearly nine years since I left the Kamiesberg. At the time of my departure the people were enjoying the fruits of several good seasons, and their stock had largely increased, but during the severe droughts of 1881-1883, many of them lost nearly all they had, and have not since recovered from their former position.[305]

[302] G41 – 1889: 'Namaqualand, Correspondence and report relative to Lands set apart for occupation of Natives and others,' November, 1888.
[303] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p. 61.
[304] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909.'
[305] AG 1538, *Mission Stations Namaqualand Diverse Matters*, Tindall, Stellenbosch, 13 June 1890.

Similarly, the drought years of 1893 and 1897 were also succeeded by years of good rainfall in 1898 and 1899.[306] Despite this the Leliefontein Namaqua were unable to recover and ultimately remained in a position of distress and starvation well into the 20th century. The droughts experienced in the area during the second half of the century were by no means more severe, in frequency or duration, than those of the first half. From this one can deduce that it was not the droughts themselves that led to the decline of the community but instead other socio-economic factors which caused Leliefontein to become increasingly vulnerable to droughts and ultimately unable to recover. While one cannot deny the damaging effects that climatic fluctuations such as drought can have on a community, they are but a catalysing force which 'intensifies the effects of the the unsustainable livelihood adaptions of the community.'[307] In the case of the Namaqua on the Leliefontein Mission these unsustainable livelihood adaptions came in the form of an increased dependence on agriculture and limited access to land. Transhumance patterns of previous centuries became increasingly restricted during the latter half of the nineteenth century. During these years, the records only make mention of Bethel, Norap, Rooifontein, Uitkomst, the Onderveld and Bushmanland being used as winter grazing locations – all of these limited within the boundaries of Leliefontein.[308] While records of the early 1800s show that the Namaqua often migrated as far as the coast, as they adopted fishing as a coping strategy during droughts. These accounts disappear during the late 1800s. Furthermore, the area of Bushmanland was being occupied by an ever-increasing number of famers during the winter times and thus resulted in heavy grazing during the dry-season.[309] By the end of the nineteenth century the Little Namaqua were ultimately 'dispossessed, and for the most part transformed into a landless, impoverished underclass that was scattered as servants on settler farms.'[310]

The second half of the eighteenth century and the decline of the Leliefontein Namaqua also coincided with an extension of colonial authority over the lands and its people. May of 1870 saw the passing of Act 10 which called for the establishment of rules for the efficient management of communities which were not subject to Municipal Regulations, more specifically for Mission Stations. While rules had been drawn up for Leliefontein previously,

[306] C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909.'
[307] *Ibid*, p.185.
[308] CA, PWD 2/5/288, Namaqualand: Distress Measures for Relief, 18 May 1897; CA, 1/SBK 5/1/2, 21 October 1862, as cited in C. J Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909'.
[309] *Ibid,* p.184.
[310] J Sharp & E. Boonzaier. 'Ethnic Identity as Performance: Lessons from Namaqualand' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1994, p. 407.

under the authority of the Ticket of Occupation, Act 10 of 1870 gave these regulations the colonial government's 'stamp of approval'. This meant that those found guilty of contravening these rules would be disciplined by the Resident Magistrate rather than the missionary. Decisions made by the Leliefontein *Raad* now carried the authority of the colonial law. The Village Management Act of 1881 (Act 29 of 1881) however repealed Act 10 of 1870 and ultimately began the transfer of control from the missionary to the magistrate. The magistrate now replaced the missionary in its role of presiding over the *Raad* and was now responsible for overseeing the list of registered occupants as well as punishing those who violated the rules of the reserve. These changes in governance, made during a period already stifled by drought, poverty and disillusionment, led to greater 'deterioration and chaos' within Leliefontein.[311] As Charles Sculley, Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, explains, this left the resident missionaries in a position of little power:

> The missionaries in charge of Leliefontein and Komaggas are probably the most to be pitied. They have no practical authority…The slightest attempt making towards progress on their part is met by opposition and petty annoyance. They are expected, solely by moral force to control a people, the majority of whom are indolent.[312]

Act 29 of 1881 was eventually repealed by Act 29 of 1909, known as the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act. This was arguably the final nail in the coffin of missionary control over Leliefontein as it saw the complete separation of power between church and state, bringing the Leliefontein Mission completely under the control of the state. A land once governed for centuries past by the Namaqua Chief had, in just less than a century, been expropriated by church and finally state.

[311] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p.45.
[312] A7-1896: Report of the Select Committee on Namaqualand Mission Lands and Reserves, 17 June 1896, p.12.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MISSION AS 'ACTIVE RESISTANCE' – REIMAGINING KHOISAN AGENCY

'In the conditions of anarchy which had accompanied the disintegration of traditional societies along the river, conversion to Christianity offered social, political and economic advantages.'[313]

5.1 THE ROLE OF THE MISSION IN SECURING LAND

The case of the Leliefontein Mission in the Kamiesberg is a unique one for two overarching reasons. Firstly, it is one of very few exceptional cases in which a Khoisan individual, in this case Chief Wildschut of the Little Namaqua, secured rights to a tract of land. Secondly, it is virtually unprecedented for Chief Jantjie Wildschut (Haaimap) to have actively sought out the services of a missionary and to subsequently have invited him to establish a mission station on the lands legally registered in the name of the Little Namaqua. These arguably extraordinary circumstances have received polarised, albeit limited, critiques in the historiography of the Leliefontein Mission and of the Little Namaqua. While some believe Wildschut's decision to seek out the services of a missionary to have been an incredibly strategic move to secure Namaqua access to the land, others believe the move to have been considerably detrimental to the independence of the Namaqua.

What we do know is that by the dawn of the nineteenth century those Khoikhoi still living within the boundaries of the colony had few options available to them:

> Before the advent of the whites, a clan which had fallen on hard times had four possible courses of action: its members could trek away to a new region; they could revert to a San hunting existence; they could offer to herd for a wealthy chief; or they could try to recover their position through war. When Khoi society began to crumble before the Dutch advance, a very few Khoi chose the first alternative, namely to trek inland. Of the vast majority who remained, only a few became San – at least among the Peninsular and Nearby Khoi. This was because the Dutch offered them attractive terms along the lines of the third alternative: they could herd cattle for the conqueror, thus earning their keep and possibly enough stock to restart their own herds and

[313] N.G. Penn, 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815', p. 23.

> flocks. In traditional Khoi society this process of rallying around the strong was the beginning of recovery; in this case, however, Khoi society virtually lost those men who chose to work in the colony.[314]

Those Khoi who chose not to flee or opt for a hunter-gatherer lifestyle had little alternative but to enlist in the labour force of the colonists. As previously mentioned, the Hottentot Proclamation of 1809, did much to institutionalise this process. This ultimately saw the immobilisation of the Khoi as they were both stripped of their independence and reduced to a state of 'de facto slavery.'[315] While the Caledon Code legally afforded Khoisan in the service of colonists protection against ill-treatment, in reality these policies were not as actively enforced as far out as Namaqualand. Alexander, in his visit to the Kamiesberg in 1836 (several years after the proclamation of the Caledon Code), reported various injustices that he had witnessed at the hands of the Dutch farmers. Most notably, the ill-treatment of Khoisan labourers in the area:

> One farmer will not allow his Hottentot shepherds to sleep during the winter's frost and snow in mat houses: they lie out unsheltered, and only defended from the bitter blast by a few bushes placed to windward of their lair. 'For,' says the compassionate Boor, 'if the *schelms* were to sleep in huts, they would let the sheep all run away. [316]

Alexander continues to explain that the vast distance between Namaqualand and the Cape, where the seat of government resided, allowed for grave injustices to take place without little state interference. A letter from Leliefontein to the Cape, he reports, took up to four months to be delivered as it often spent long intervals in the homes of *veldcornets* before being passed on.

The Caledon Code of 1809 was however not applicable to those Khoikhoi residing on mission stations throughout the colony. With this in mind, there remained another possible response at the hands of the Khoi which Elphick does not consider – the utilisation of the protection afforded to them by a mission station. In the case of the Namaqua, they not only utilised this protection but actively sought out the services of a missionary in order to establish a mission

[314] R. H. Elphick, *The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations*, (University Microfilms, Michigan, 1972), p. 280.
[315] R. Ross, *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, (South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994). 95.
[316] E Alexander, *Expedition Of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, p. 71.

station. Kelso argues that by constituting themselves as a mission station the Namaqua Khoi sought to 'actively retain control over their livelihood and means of production...'[317] Furthermore, Kelso maintains that, 'this allowed them to retain their access to land and the opportunity to perpetuate their existing nomadic pastoral existence and secure their livelihoods in a hostile environment. At the same time, they actively embraced certain changes, such as agriculture.'[318] It is this that Kelso deems to be an act of 'active resistance' in which the Namaqua Khoi were not passive recipients of their destiny but instead took strategic steps to secure their access to land – both present and future.

While we as historians can never fully know the true intention behind Wildschut's decision to invite Shaw to reside and evangelise at Leliefontein, we can however identify the strongly strategic implications of this decision. Ultimately the missionary provided an increasingly necessary link between the Namaqua Khoi of Leliefontein and the colonial government at the Cape. The role of the missionary as intermediary is by no means unique to the context of Leliefontein but instead has characterised much of the missionary activity in the colonial context:

> For many of those directly colonized or living on the periphery of white colonization, missions were an important vector of contact with the British imperial centre. Missionaries could liaise with imperial and settler governments. They were also potential intermediaries in trade, including the crucial arms trade for those beyond the formal boundaries of empire. Missionaries were, as well, sources of useful information about European technology, culture, and religion. Such information could be used to protect societies against imperialist incursions, as much as to internalise the dictates of cultural colonialism.[319]

Legassick, in his analysis of the Griqua and their interaction with missionaries on the middle Orange, considers how missionaries were not only political agents but were also utilized by the Griqua as a means to secure access to both firearms and gunpowder.[320] Since these Griqua groups relied on a raiding economy, taking the form of the commando system, in addition to hunting and trading in ivory, for not only their subsistence, but to maintain political control over the area, their reliance on the missionaries and thus their indirect connection to authorities

[317] C. J. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909', p.146.
[318] *Ibid.*
[319] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853.*(Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), p. 13.
[320] M. Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840.*

and trade at the Cape was foundational to their way of life.[321] On several occasions William Anderson, missionary to the Griqua at Klaarwater (Griquatown), frequented the Cape in order to secure supplies of gunpowder for the occupants of his mission. As early as 1801 Anderson was granted a supply of gunpowder for the supposed purpose of protecting the mission institution.[322] This supply was exhausted by 1805 as it was predominately used by the Griqua for hunting. Later, in both 1806 and 1809, Anderson is reported to have visited the Cape to secure future access to ammunition and gunpowder. Legassick explains:

> The Bastaards who invited the missionaries to the middle Orange apparently wanted to retain, and even strengthen, certain kinds of links with the colony…They wanted access to the Cape Town market and a legal means of procuring arms and powder. They also wanted to sustain their status as Christians, since, in colonial eyes, church membership had a close correlation with citizenship. In this sense they saw the missionaries as something like representatives of the colonial government, expecting them to ensure their equality of status with colonists. [323]

Similarly, the colonial government at the Cape made use of the missionary as intermediary. This became increasingly evident as early as 1814 when missionary William Anderson was ordered to enlist Griqua recruits for the Cape Regiment. His attempts at doing so however failed abysmally. It is this role, as intermediary between Namaqua and state, that Shaw himself acknowledged in a letter to the Wesleyan Missionary Society as early as 1820:

> Secondly, missionaries have to do with secular affairs on their people's account. Our poor Namacquas, whose forefathers were once possessed of vast herds of cattle, by which they could well subsist, and live in the enjoyment of their animal food, their bowls of milk, and sacks of honey, are now surrounded with indigence and want. But who has impoverished them? White men -men called Christians, but totally unworthy of that sacred name-. Such was the meanness of the Dutch Government, little more than half a century ago, that its agents were employed to bring strong drink the to Namacqua Land, for the purpose of intoxicating the natives, and procuring their cattle; the effects of which are felt in no small degree by the present generation: for those traders in brandy and tobacco, not only drove away their cattle, but soon afterwards encroached upon their country, and took from them by far the greater part of their land also. Who now pities this poor and injured race? Who cares either for their souls or bodies? The

[321] T. Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia*.
[322] M. Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840.*
[323] M. Legassick, 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The rise and decline Griqua people' in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 –1820* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 377.

> merciful Father of the spirits of all flesh, and those who experimentally know his name: these are the people who send and support missionaries among them, and who expect that their missionaries will exercise bowels of compassion towards them, by attending to their worldly as well as spiritual interests, and by adopting, as far as they have, the ability, whatever may contribute to their happiness and improvement, convincing them hereby, that missionaries are the true friends of man…[324]

As previously mentioned, as early as 1817, merely a year after the establishment of the mission station at Leliefontein, the residing missionaries, in their role as intermediary between Khoi and state, were instrumental in lobbying for access to greater tracts of land from the colonial state for the benefit of the Little Namaqua.[325] Similarly, it was the success and progress of the mission at Leliefontein that in 1824 prompted the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, to grant the Namaqua an even greater tract of land surrounding the station.[326] Furthermore, the Ticket of Occupation for the Little Namaqua of Leliefontein would most likely not have been granted in 1854 had it not been for the efforts and contribution of Rev. Bailie, resident missionary at the time, who acted as intermediary between the state and the Namaqua to secure their legal occupation and rights to the land.

Furthermore, not only did the presence of the missionaries enable the Leliefontein Namaqua access to greater tracts of land but also simultaneously protected them against the ills of encroaching farmers. In two instances, Alexander takes note of the protection afforded to the Namaqua through the institution of the mission station. The first in regard to land, and the second in regard to physical ill-treatment at the hands of farmers. While neighbouring farmers had for many years permeated the boundaries of the land legally registered to Wildschut's Little Namaqua, Alexander notes that:

> The people would be more under the control of the missionary; and of course no white man would be allowed, on any pretence whatever, to use their watering places or occupy their grazing grounds.[327]

[324] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1820, p. 153.
[325] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1818.
[326] MSC 39, 45, (15) Newspaper Clippings: *The Methodist Churchman* newspaper, November 22, 1915.
[327] J.E Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, Vol 1), p. 101.

This is to be understood against the backdrop of unlawful land appropriation at the hands of both European colonists and state authorities which became rampant in the Kamiesberg area at the time of Alexander's visit in 1836. Alexander describes an instance in which a *veldcornet* in the region, whom he chose not to name, appropriated for himself eight loan farms. Five out of the eight loan farms in question were usurped illegally. According to Alexander, it would have taken an individual approximately two days, with access to two sturdy horses, to traverse the lands unlawfully claimed by this functionary. Similarly, a scenario is recorded of yet another *veldcornet* in the region obtaining land illegally:

> The following case of a certain field-cornet and his sons, exhibits the manner in which these gentry sometimes procure their places. An old farmer had occupied a loan place from government for twelve years. He died in the beginning of 1836, leaving a son Erasmus, who was lame, and who had no other means of subsistence than grazing cattle and sheep on the farm. Girt, the field-cornet's son, comes and turns his cattle on the place; Erasmus complains to Girt's father, who says that Erasmus must leave the farm; that it was only a loan place; and that he, the field-cornet, being a government *dienaar* (officer), can do what he likes with the land.[328]

The most common, and equally dishonest, mode of gaining access to greater tracts of land in the area was undertaken through falsely claiming that one's loan farm had no access to water. In such a case, a farmer would then extend his land to an area which he claimed, again fraudulently, to have a fountain. By doing so, the farmer in question would secure himself access to more land. Alexander refers to the above methods of illegal procurement of land as 'the greatest of injustices' which were not unique to the Kamiesberg region alone, yet were increasingly common during his visit.[329] Had the Namaqua of the Kamiesberg not been afforded the protection of the mission station and had the Ticket of Occupation not been procured for them by the resident missionary one could assume that they would have lost the majority, if not all, of their lands to the malicious and corrupt devices of both the land-hungry local authorities and neighbouring farmers.

Similarly, as considered by Alexander, the Little Namaqua of Leliefontein were also afforded protection against the physical ill-treatment of these classes. It is then by no means surprising that colonists in the area looked upon the missionaries with grave displeasure:

---

[328] J.E Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, Vol 1, p. 68.
[329] *Ibid.*

> One of the worst characters, and perhaps the most mutinous and disaffected to the English government, in the sub-district of Clanwilliam, is a field-corporal. He is loud in his abuse of the English, even before Bastaards and Hottentots. He complained: '*Ver doem de* government! It pressures us in every way; we *de armen boeren* (the poor farmers) pay for everything. And now we cannot lift a hand to a Hottentot *baviaan* (ape) without having to go before the magistrate for it. In the old times we could do what we liked with them, and no one meddled with us; now, with the government and the *zendelings* (missionaries), we can get nothing done – *Der Duivel!*'[330]

5.2 A QUESTION OF STRATEGY

With the above in mind it becomes ever-tempting for the the historian, in hindsight, to ask the question – could the Namaqua Khoi of the Kamiesberg have known what they were doing when they invited Barnabas Shaw to establish a mission station at Leliefontein? If so, one could even go a step further and ask, had they known the implications of their decision, if this was a strategic act of resistance in an attempt to secure their protection and rights to the land?

What is notable is that the records of the Wesleyan Methodist Church highlight two other instances in which indigenous communities in the vicinity sought out the services of a missionary. In 1821 it was reported that a group of *Basters* residing approximately 75 miles north of the Kamiesberg requested a missionary to reside with them.[331] Additionally, in 1835 the captain of the 'Bondel Swarts', a Dutch speaking Nama group, frequented the Leliefontein Mission in order to request the services of a missionary.[332] From this one can assume that these groups were well aware of the beneficial nature of a missionary presence in a time of increasing vulnerability on the frontier. Similarly, Elbourne notes that instances arose in which groups residing beyond the boundaries of the colony initiated requests for missionaries.[333] Shaw himself recounts an instance in which, during a pastoral visit to Bethel, a Namaqua belonging to Bethany appeared who had 'come far out of his road to hear the gospel of Jesus.'[334] According to Shaw, 'he said to our people, that he had come to seek some refreshment for his soul, as he had great need of it, having travelled so many weeks in the wilderness without any

[330] J.E Alexander, Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, p. 73.
[331] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1822, p. 607.
[332] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* 1835, p. 37.
[333] E. Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853.
[334] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 126.

instruction…he said the surrounding tribes were anxious to have the gospel sent…'[335] Elbourne explains that 'this had a great deal to do with the power balance of open frontier zones: among other things, missionaries were seen as agents of communication with the colony, as protectors in some minimal sense in ongoing power struggles among small groups, and as potential gun-runners. The missionary was thus a power-broker far more outside the colony than he was within.'[336]

What cannot be denied however was that the request for a missionary at Leliefontein was not without context and consideration. After all, the Little Namaqua, under the initiative of Chief Links had been seeking out the services of a missionary as early as 1809 when Seidenfaden was initially approached. We know that this early request was a controversial one as Chief Wildschut claimed to have not been included in the decision-making process. While details surrounding the probable power struggle between Links and Wildschut are somewhat elusive, we can however assume that the idea of establishing Leliefontein as a mission station had been a topic of interest in chiefly Namaqua circles for several years before its eventual realisation in 1816. In the meanwhile, missionaries from the London Missionary Society became active in nearby Steinkopf in 1809 and Pella in 1812 - which could not have gone unnoticed by the neighbouring Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg. We can see evidence of this in Shaw's description of his initial meeting with Wildschut near the Olifants River:

> Having crossed the Oliphant Reveiere, (or Elephant River), while travelling on our way, Oct. 4, about 8 P.M. we were met by six Hottentots, on their way to Cape Town. We soon found out that one of them was the Captain of the Little Namaqua kraal, and the others were some of his people accompanying him to the Cape, in search of a Missionary. See here a heathen chief taking a journey on foot, between 3 and 400 miles, in order to seek a Leeraar (or Teacher) for himself and his people. As we were sure he could obtain no Missionary in Cape Town, and looking upon it as a particular Providence that we had fallen in with him in so peculiar a manner (there being many different roads leading to the same place) we proposed to him that I should remain at his kraal, which was about nine days' journey from the place where we met. He appeared highly delighted with our proposal, and said that the reason of his going to Cape Town in search of a Teacher was, he had heard a little of that which was good, (I suppose a Missionary on his journey had spoken at the kraal), but he longed to hear more. During the time of our

[335] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 126.
[336] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853,* p. 174-175.

> religious worship he wept much; while brother Schmelen spoke (though he could not understand) of Jesus the Good Shepherd, the tears streamed down his cheeks, and during prayer he laid with his head bowed upon the ground, and his groaning of spirit (had it been heard by the friends of those outcasts of society in England) would have fanned that flame of zeal which had already been kindled in their hearts.[337]

A slightly different account of this same meeting can be found in Shaw's *Memorials* which sheds further light on the intentions behind Wildschut's request:

> On leaving the banks of the Elephant River, we commenced our journey in the Karree or arid desert. When we had travelled for a short time, it was announced that the chief of the Little Namacquas and four of his people were approaching. We immediately halted and entered into conversation with them, when they proposed that we should remain together for the night. This request was complied with, and the chief stated, <u>that having heard of the Great word, and other tribes having received it, he was also anxious to have it</u>; and had commenced his journey in search of a teacher.[338]

As mentioned previously, the intention on the part of the Little Namaqua to establish a mission station had been in place prior to the service of Chief Wildschut. Moreover, Chief Wildschut did not act alone in deciding to make the request in 1816. It is reported that before the coincidental meeting with Shaw, Wildschut had consulted with many of the leading men of his council and, after hearing of the success of missionaries over the Orange River, had begun their journey to the Cape in search of a missionary.[339] Once meeting with the Shaws and the Schmelens it is recorded that on the 15th of October 1816 a council was held between an assembly of Little Namaqua and the missionaries in order to discuss the parameters of the Shaw's proposed settlement at Leliefontein. The following are but a sample of the questions considered:

> Have you plenty of water, and a suitable place where gardens may be made, and cultivation attended to?
> 'Ja Mynheer' (Yes, Sir.)
> Will you assist in the erection of a place for public worship, where you may assemble to hear the word of God?

[337] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1817, p.235.
[338] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 87.
[339] *Ibid*, p. 313.

'Ja Mynheer' (Yes, Sir.)

As the Missionary cannot live in huts like yours, will you assist him to build a dwelling-house, to make gardens, and in doing any other work?

'Ja Mynheer' (Yes, Sir.)

Are you really willing and desirous to receive the Gospel or the Great Word?

'Ja Mynheer' (Yes, Sir.)[340]

Figure 1.14. 'Inhabitants of the Leliefontein Mission, circa. 1880.'

Considering the Griqua's more explicit utilisation of the missionaries to secure access to firearms it is not far-fetched to assume that the Little Namaqua, who resided further south and obtained access to missionaries far later than the Griqua, would have been fully aware of the advantages that accompanied the establishment of a mission station. Ursula Trüper, in her analysis of missionary activity in Great Namaqualand, maintains that, 'the missionaries proved useful in many ways…In addition, missionaries had abilities in which far-sighted chiefs were interested. They were able to teach their congregations to read and write and to speak Dutch

[340] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 90.

and English, the languages of the potential trade partners and the authorities.'[341] This mind-set, held by both the Griqua and the Little Namaqua, was one commonly held by indigenous groups at the time. Jean and John Comaroff, in their analysis of missionary activity amongst the Sotho-Tswana argue that the missionary was deemed, by indigenous societies, as a prized resource:

> The Europeans did not merely bear valued goods, however; they also gained repute for their technical skills – in irrigation and the sinking of wells, for example- and for the patent superiority of their guns in a theatre of spears. As a result, they themselves became a prized resource and, before long, chiefs were actively engaged in competing for them- and in preventing others from doing likewise, often by resort to malicious slander.[342]

While wrestling with notions of motive and strategy behind the establishment of the mission station, we cannot merely ignore that there may too have been spiritual factors contributing to the decision. Both the records of the Wesleyan Missionary Society as well as the accounts of travellers are littered with narratives of conversion and spiritual encounter amongst the Little Namaqua. Barnabas Shaw himself recorded several instances of repentance and spiritual revelation experienced by the Namaqua:

> I met the females in the afternoon. I trust some are getting established in the truth. Bernice said: 'I not only feel peace with God, but a peculiar sympathy for those who have not heard the Gospel: I long that they should hear it.' Lena: 'I was greatly profited by hearing of Mr. Wesley's words, which he spoke…They made me wonder exceedingly; yet I feel my unworthiness and sinfulness, and adopt the same language, and at the same time rejoice in the love of God.'…Robert: 'I formerly thought myself good, but the Lord showed me that I was a great sinner: I formerly hated all men; but now I love them.'…Bobus: 'I have not much to say, yet I am thankful that I have experienced more of the goodness of God this year, than ever I did before. I have had great trials, and we have had a great drought in the land, but I feel no inclination to murmur or complain. I can bear all and am perfectly satisfied with all, through the grace of God.'[343]

Elbourne and Ross have contended that Khoikhoi groups in particular were able to easily understand and adapt to Christian principles and thinking as they were, from the outset, akin

[341] U. Trüper, *The Invisible Women: Zara Schmelen, African mission assistant at the Cape and in Namaland*, p. 20.
[342] John Comaroff. & Jean Comaroff. 'Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa.' In *American Ethnologist*, Vol 13, No.1, 1986, p. 3.
[343] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1826, p.345.

to their pre-existing belief structures.[344] The Namaqua in particular had their own former understandings of both a supreme 'god' and a 'devil.' They had for centuries past both worshipped and prayed to a supreme being whom they called '*Tsuni-//goam'* while they had feared an evil force known as *'Gaunab.'* [345] In addition, Khoikhoi groups maintained a deep connection to a spiritual realm characterised by folktales, sacred dancing, mythical figures and prophesies. Price (now Attwell) adds that biblical themes and symbols such as 'harvests', 'shepherds', 'lambs' and 'land' were also familiar to the pastoral Little Namaqua and thus easily adopted. [346] Elbourne and Ross however consider that 'those Khoisan who were already partially acculturated, and whose economic independence was largely eroded, responded more readily to the agenda of the missionaries than did members of more intact societies. On mission stations such Khoisan could regain a measure of authority over their lives.'[347]

While we are in no position to question or debunk the legitimacy of the testimonies or conversions of the Leliefontein Namaqua, we are able to acknowledge the advantages that conversion to Christianity offered the Namaqua Khoi during a period of increasing unrest and instability. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, before the establishment of Leliefontein Mission Station, Christianity was not merely a religious doctrine but was also a social marker of political status in the Cape. As Elbourne explains it had 'long been used to draw distinctions between colonizer and colonized.'[348] Similarly, Christianity drew the lines between the increasingly blurry 'white' and 'black, 'master' and 'servant'. Religious difference between Christian and 'Heathen' had long been used in the Cape to justify both racial subordination and forced labour. For these reasons, many Dutch farmers did all that they could to ensure that their labourers -whether slave or Khoisan- were not able to access Christianity, which ultimately threatened their fragile hierarchical relationships.

Shaw relates the story of Diana, a Khoikhoi labourer in the Tulbagh district who was illegally held as a slave. As was the norm at the time, for Khoisan labourer and slave alike, Diana was barred from being present when her employer would read biblical texts aloud.[349] Diana, desirous

[344] E. Elbourne, & R. Ross, 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony.' In Elphick, R. and Davenport, R. (eds.) *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
[345] *Ibid* p. 33.
[346] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p. 17.
[347] E. Elbourne, & R. Ross, 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony.', p. 35.
[348] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*, p.378.
[349] Ibid, p. 188.

to hear even a portion of the Word, would enter the room and begin to wash the feet of the family while the reading took place. When her true intentions were discovered, she was forbidden from being in the room altogether. It is recorded that Diana resorted to listening to the muffled citing of scripture through the closed door. On one occasion, Diana was churning butter when her mistress was seated nearby reading the New Testament. Upon hearing the verse: 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;' Diana could not help but exclaim, 'What is that? Whose words are these? Can they be true?' To which, her mistress replied: 'They are not for you.' Shaw later explains that it was Diana's knowledge of the Gospel and faith in God which prompted her to escape to the magistrate of Stellenbosch where she was later justly liberated.[350]

This story is by no means an exceptional one. Alexander explains a similar situation in which an old Namaqua woman with spectacles, 'had lived with a farmer who would not allow his people to hear the family worship which he occasionally held.'[351] He notes that, this woman would 'listen at the window, and behind the door, and thus learnt something by stealth.'[352] Desirous to hear more of the gospel, the woman came to visit the missionaries at Leliefontein and at her advanced age learned to read and take delight in the religious text. We can thus understand why so many European farmers, both in the Namaqualand region and throughout the colony, were so greatly opposed to the establishment of mission stations and evangelism to the Khoisan. Similar sentiments can be traced in a letter written by Jacob Links to the Wesleyan Missionary Society on November 19 of 1819:

> Before our English teacher came, we were all sitting in the shadow of death. The farmers around us told us that if we prayed they would flog us. Some of them threatened to shoot us dead, should we Namacquas call on the name of the Lord. They said we were not men but baboons, and that God was blasphemed by the prayers of the Namacquas, and would punish us for it.[353]

The context of isolated Namaqualand was however unique. Its distance from the Cape meant that the majority of European frontier farmers as well as their children were not able to access structured education and religious instruction. Once again both scholastic education and religious teaching could not be separated as education (in this case, reading and writing) was a

[350] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 335.
[351] J. Alexander, as cited in B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 169.
[352] Ibid.
[353] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p.112.

requirement for both baptism and membership to the church. While these standards were not as stringent in Namaqualand, they did however exist. On the frontier farms of Namaqualand, parents played the primary role as educator unless they were financially capable to hire a teacher from the Cape. For example, Gerrit Cloete hired a George Willem Pruyser for a period of ten years while Josias Engelbrecht hired Johan Hendrik Smit.[354] Heese argues that both education and Christianity in the 19th century Kamiesberg had a social function in both establishing and maintaining superiority to 'natives' through baptism.[355] We know already that the boundaries of ethnicity in Namaqualand by the early 19th century had already become blurry with the rise of inter-marriages and children of mixed race. This created an even greater vulnerability on the part of frontier farmers who so desperately clung to available markers of social distinction in order to maintain their dominance over a servile class. Elbourne thus argues that, "in a climate of social anxiety, at a time of economic difficulty and ethnic warfare, few white farmers in the late 1790s and early 1800s proved in a mood to forego their own chances for priests and schoolteachers in exchange for missionaries to the 'heathen.'"[356]

Ultimately both the education and conversion of the Little Namaqua was seen as a direct threat to the ever vulnerable power dynamics which existed in Namaqualand at the time. The following conversation between Little Namaqua preacher Jacob Links and a Kamiesberg farmer took place in the 1810s and was recorded by Barnabas Shaw:

> *Boer*: What sort of singing and praying is this that you have had? I never heard anything like it, and cannot understand.
>
> *Jacob*: I think, Master, you only came to mock us, as many of the farmers say we ought not to have the gospel; - but here is a chapter (John iii) pray who are the persons that must be born again? (Handing the Testament).
>
> *Boer*: Myne oogen [sic] zyn niet goed…so that I cannot see very well, but I suppose Jesus Christ.
>
> *Jacob*: No, master, no such thing; - Jesus Christ says were are all sinners, and that we must be born again in the Spirit, or we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.
>
> *Jan Links*: But, master, you once told me that our names did not stand in the book, and that the gospel did not, therefore, belong to us Namaquas. Will you now tell me master, whether the name of Dutchman, or Englishman is to be found in it? (No answer).

[354] J.A Heese, 'Onderwys in Namakwaland, 1750- 1940.'
[355] *Ibid*, 53.
[356] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853,* p.112.

> *Jacob*: Master, you who are called Chrisi mensche (Christians), call us heathens. That is our name. Now I find the book says, that Jesus came as light to lighten the Heidenen (Gentiles). So we read our names in the book. (Farmer silent).
>
> *Hendrik Smit*: That master cannot understand many things in the book, is not strange; Paul says, 'The natural man recieveth not the things of the Spirit of God.' 1 Cor. ii,14.
>
> *Boer*: Who is then the natural man?
>
> *Hendrik*: All men in their sinful and unregenerate state, so that we can only understand spiritual things by the help of the Spirit of God, &c.
>
> *Boer*: Ik ben geen zendeling (I am no missionary), therefore cannot explain scripture passages.
>
> *Jacob*: But, master, do you ever teach your slaves and servants anything of the gospel?
>
> *Boer*: Neen, volstrekt niks (No, certainly nothing at all), for were they taught, it would make them equally as wise as myself.[357]

This conversation is indicative of several realities of conversion and status in 19th century Namaqualand. What is clear is that the Dutch farmer was not fully literate and his knowledge of the scriptures was ultimately based on a folk or oral understanding. This is, somewhat ironically, in glaring contrast to Jacob Links, Hendrik Smit and Jan Links who not only seemed to have a deeper knowledge and understanding of the Bible but one based on the written text itself. Furthermore, the conversation highlights the vulnerability experienced by the farmer and the need to thus ensure that his labourers remained ignorant to Christianity in order to safeguard his superiority and dominance over them as master. Finally, the conversation illustrates both the political and social power that both education and conversion wielded as a weapon in the arsenal of the oppressed. More simply, Christianity, "was seen as a means of mobilizing power which many in the twentieth century might term 'spiritual', but which was thought of at the time as having concrete material implications."[358]

While education and conversion to Christianity were key in redeeming the social status of the Namaqua it should be understood in the context of the fragile 'ethnic' boundaries of power and identity which existed between *Baster* and Namaqua within the Leliefontein Mission at the time. Records show that those who identified as *Baster* were favoured over those who identified as Namaqua.[359] Members were often penalised and punished by school-teachers for

[357] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p.100-101.
[358] E. Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853,* p.378.
[359] J Sharp & E. Boonzaier. 'Ethnic Identity as Performance: Lessons from Namaqualand'

speaking Nama in public and those who identified as *Baster* were often favoured in job applications. These beliefs were ostensibly founded in the unabashed racial hierarchy of the time: the *Basters* were deemed a better 'breed' as they were 'part-white'.[360] Furthermore they were believed to be more trustworthy, sober and hardworking than the the Little Namaqua. What is contentious here is that the boundary between what it meant to be Namaqua and what it meant to be *Baster* in the 19th century was by no means fixed. These identities were instead being constantly renegotiated by means of physical appearance, religion and culture. Moreover, these identities were also being reconfigured in terms of the socio-political context of the time. Identifying as *Baster* undoubtedly carried many more advantages and thus many Little Namaqua did all that they could to shed themselves of any Namaqua cultural markers – a process Sharp has noted as 'denigrating indigenousness'.[361] He explains:

> From the nineteenth century onwards, people themselves suppressed the Nama language in favour of Namaqualand's lingua franca (Afrikaans), relinquished customs that were seen to be distinctively Nama, and sought to win acceptance as members of social categories that had higher status. In the nineteenth century, the higher status category was 'Baster.[362]

A similar process of upward social mobility was taking place in pre-colonial southern Namibia during the mid-1800s. Tilman Dedering considers how, just north of the Orange River, the once apparent distinction between Nama and Oorlam began to blur. This was directly related to the co-operation of these indigenous societies with nearby mission stations. Those Nama who successfully made use of the firearms, ammunition, trade links and European goods provided by the missionaries were able to effectively climb the social ladder and merge into organised social units. These social units later became known as Oorlam 'tribes' and formed the newly created 'social elite.'[363] The ever-blurred distinction between Nama and Oorlam was thus difficult to discern as it was based on cultural factors rather than racial ones. Dedering explains that, 'in the absence of competing colonists and traders, it was the missionaries who played a crucial role in creating the environment where Africans entered new avenues of social mobility, became actively involved in reconstructing their world-views and/or succumbed to forces that radically altered their living conditions.'[364]

---

[360] J Sharp & E. Boonzaier. 'Ethnic Identity as Performance: Lessons from Namaqualand' p 408.
[361] *Ibid,* p. 409.
[362] *Ibid.*
[363] T. Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia*, p. 20.
[364] *Ibid.*

Despite this, what is certain is that while the mission stations catalysed a renegotiation of identities and their cultural markers, in the case of Leliefontein they also, almost paradoxically, played a vital role in securing and preserving Khoikhoi identities. The region of Little Namaqualand is known to this day to have the best preserved Khoikhoi identity. It is also the only region in South Africa in which a Khoisan language, Nama, is still spoken. Penn maintains that, 'without access to land and security of tenure-land rights- it is unlikely that the colonial Khoikhoi would have been able to preserve their identity at all and would have disappeared into the amorphous underclass of farm labourers…thus, the preservation, and in some cases, re-creation, of Khoikhoi identity is closely intertwined with the history of missions and the processes and conditions under which those missions came to acquire land.'[365] Having access to both the land and the mission station, facilitated the maintenance of a degree of economic independence as well as a cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. The *matjieshuis* for example, as discussed in-depth by Attwell, is a 'domestic remnant' which survived centuries of missionary and colonial intervention and to this day remains a mighty symbol of Namaqua Khoikhoi identity.[366] The preservation of Khoikhoi identities was not only evident in the case of Leliefontein, but increasingly at the nearby mission station at Komaggas. The mission station at Komaggas was formally established in 1828, more than ten years after Leliefontein, and its origins suggest that word had spread - the acquisition of a missionary was vital to the survival and prosperity of the Khoikhoi and *Basters* of Little Namaqualand. It was this that prompted Jasper Cloete of the Komaggas to request a missionary from the London Missionary Society. On the advantageous nature of the missionary presence in Komaggas, Penn comments:

> It was not only the fact that the Christian faith seemed to offer spiritual consolation and status enhancement (if not equality) simultaneously. Missionaries, it was hoped, would also provide legal and political protection against settler encroachment at the same time as they regularized trading links with the Cape…It should however be noted that in the historical context of the times they had no real alternatives and that, ultimately, their survival as a community did indeed depend on colonial protection. Khoikhoi, San and 'Bastaard-Hottentots' without such protection disappeared into the ranks of landless labourers on colonial farms…[367]

[365] N.G Penn, 'Land Rights, Missionaries and Surveyors: Khoisan Identity and the Komaggas Community' in Fisher, R. (ed), *History of Surveying and Land Tenure. Collected Papers Volume Two. Surveying and Land Tenure at the Cape 1813 – 1912.* (Cape Town: Institute of Professional Land Surveyors and Geomatics, 2004), p. 152.
[366] M. Attwell, 'Leliefontein, Namaqualand: Transhumance and the Architecture of the Matjieshuis', p. 99.
[367] N.G Penn, 'Land Rights, Missionaries and Surveyors: Khoisan Identity and the Komaggas Community', p. 156.

While it is clear that conversion to Christianity and knowledge of the biblical texts had several material benefits for the Little Namaqua. Price (now Attwell) adds that, "the Nama valued education of a 'Western' kind for it gave them relief from a crushing sense of inadequacy in their relations with the Trekboers."[368] An anecdote recounted by Barnabas Shaw amusingly illustrates this:

> A farmer declared to me that he believed the Namaquas were only a species of wild dog and had no souls; I therefore called Jacob Links, who was with me at the time, and offered to prove, that Jacob, though a dog, could both read and write better than the farmer.[369]

Figure 1.15. A group of Leliefontein Namaqua. (Back row: Frederick Smit, John Dirk, Peter Links, Johannes Boyse. Front row: Jacob Jagers, Barnabas Shaw Links [Brother of Jacob Links], Jan Kriel.)

Kelso claims that while 'the reason for the Namaqua's desire for a Christian teacher are unclear, and while they may have included religious conviction it is more likely that the Namaqua sought in a missionary protection for their livelihoods, systems of food production, control over their land, consolidation of the group and representation of their interests to the colonial

[368] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p. 28.
[369] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 90.

government.'[370] With the scarcity of the evidence available to the historian, we can never truly know if the Little Namaqua were aware of the social and political benefits that conversion to Christianity would afford them nor can we know if their request for a missionary was founded in a pre-existing knowledge of these or other advantages received through the establishment of the mission station. We can however begin to pose the question and dabble in the unknown but altogether likely instance in which a group of widely oppressed, dispossessed and marginalised peoples took the reigns in utilising and ultimately subverting, what could arguably be deemed as, a branch of the colonial state to not only increase their social status but secure their access to their land for both present and future generations. In doing this, we begin to debunk the commonly held simplistic notion of the Namaqua Khoi, or any indigenous group for that matter, as a mere 'victim' of an all-encompassing strategy of colonisation. Instead, as Jean and John Comaroff suggest, colonialism more rightfully plays itself out 'in a plurality of forms and forces – its particular character being shaped as much by political, social and ideological contests among the colonisers as by the encounter with the colonised.'[371]

Whether the establishment of the mission station did in fact secure the Little Namaqua access to land that would have otherwise been further encroached by *trekboers* and European settlers is however a contentious issue in the limited historiography of the Leliefontein Mission. Lita Webley maintains that the establishment of the Leliefontein mission station led to the 'final decline of the Namaqua people'.[372] Similarly, The Surplus People's Project (SPP) argues that the encroachment of settlers forced many Khoi to become dependant on mission station protection for access to land. In doing so they argue that, "While reserving this land for a particular group of people may seem to indicate that they have been assured of the right to the land, this impression disguises the dispossession which took place."[373] The SPP do however recognise that in the case of Namaqualand, the presence and control of the missionaries during the 19th century meant that land was not divided up into private farms.[374] Herein lies the nuanced approach necessary to fully grapple with the impact of the establishment of Leliefontein Mission on the Namaqua Khoi.

[370] C. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-190', p. 143.
[371] Jean and John, Comaroff. *Ethnography and the historical imagination*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 211.
[372] Lita Webley, 'The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992), 316.
[373] Surplus Peoples Project, *Land Claims in Namaqualand* (Cape Town: Formeset Printers, 1995), 8.
[374] *Ibid,* p. 8.

While we cannot deny that by the end of the 19th century the Namaqua Khoi ended up living a 'wage dependant lifestyle' defined by 'poverty and landlessness', we can begin to acknowledge the benefits of protection that the station did have to offer an increasingly vulnerable group of individuals during a time of land-grabbing and plunder.[375] Price(now Attwell) argues that, 'Without the authority of the missionary and the communal system of land tenure that the missionary endorsed, the lands would gradually have been alienated from the Nama and Basters by white *trekboers* moving north in search of new and better land.'[376] Kelso takes it a step further in suggesting that Chief Wildschut's invitation for missionaries to settle in the Kamiesberg was an act of 'active resistance' as it ultimately secured access to land for the Namaqua Khoi.[377] This is something that we as historians can be sure of. Had the Leliefontein Mission not been established and a Ticket of Occupation not been awarded, the lands occupied by the Namaqua would have slowly, or perhaps even rapidly, been stripped from them. Even with the protection afforded to them by both the missionary presence and Ticket of Occupation, land and border disputes were common. That being said the boundaries put into place by the Leliefontein mission included but a mere fraction of the total lands once utilised by the transhumant Little Namaqua. Once again, herein lies the complexity of the case. While the Ticket of Occupation certainly secured the Little Namaqua access to a tract of land which would most likely have otherwise been encroached upon it was simultaneously an 'instrument of their dispossession.'[378] Before the settlement of Europeans in the area and the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission, the Little Namaqua had made use and claimed ownership of the vast tract of land between the Groen River (some would argue as far as the Olifants River) in the south and the Buffels in the north.[379] After the Ticket of Occupation was awarded to them in 1854, they legally not only owned none of the land, but only held the right to communally occupy a very small portion of it.

What makes the case of the Leliefontein Mission so unique and perhaps an anomaly to the historian is its birth - a Namaqua Chief actively requesting and inviting a missionary to settle on his lands. It is this defining feature which makes the history of Leliefontein so different to that of the other reserves in the area. Unlike other reserves, the Namaqua Khoi did not lose power to *Baster* pioneers but instead actively sought out missionary intervention. Carsten

[375] Surplus Peoples Project, *Land Claims in Namaqualand* , p. 9.
[376] M. J. Price, 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913', p. 14.
[377] C. Kelso, 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909', p.145.
[378] J. Sharp, 'Land Claims in Namaqualand: The Komaggas Reserve' in *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 21, No. 61, September 1994, p. 406.
[379] B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa,* p. 38.

posits that, unlike other mission stations, the missionaries operated within an already existing framework on land already granted to Chief Wildschut.[380] The parameters of the relationship between Namaqua Khoi and missionary in the Leliefontein reserve was however, not clear cut. While Carsten notes the distinctiveness of the case, he also suggests that missionaries at the Leliefontein reserve had more political power than those in other communities, ultimately displacing the authority once held by the Khoi captain.[381]

[380] W.P. Carstens. *The Social structure of a cape coloured reserve* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1966)
[381] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Both the historical record as well as the archaeological record point toward the pre-colonial occupation of the Kamiesberg region by the Little Namaqua, a group of Khoikhoi pastoralists, who occupied the area for at least the last 2000 years. While most would suggest the territory of the Little Namaqua to have spanned the Groen River in the south to the Buffels River in the north, others have argued it to have expanded as far south as the Olifants River, with several pre-colonial sightings of Little Namaqua groups recorded in the area. The records of travellers and missionaries alike indicate that although the Little Namaqua occupied a vast area, they were not densely populated. This could be understood in the context of the exacting environmental conditions of the area. The semi-arid nature of the land, paired with its location straddling two rainfall zones, necessitated the Namaqua to adopt a transhumant lifestyle. While the Little Namaqua were not great in number, they were rich in cattle and as a group were both feared and revered by neighbouring Khoikhoi groups in the Cape.

With the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century the Little Namaqua, due to their distance from the Cape, were initially spared from Dutch forays. It was not long however before the group became affected by the ills of cattle raiding and trading, both legal and illegal, and the widespread devastation at the hands of smallpox. It was however only with the advance of the *trekboers* in the early years of the 18th century and their settlement in the Kamiesberg, that the way of life of the Little Namaqua became changed forever. The registration of loan farms on the most fertile of lands, and those near vital water fountains, ultimately began to interrupt and restrict the migratory movements and patterns that had been necessary for the existence of the Little Namaqua for centuries past. The registration of the loan farm 'Leliefontein' in the name of Chief Wildschut was vital in securing a fraction of the land once utilised by the Little Namaqua - but would fall short in providing legitimate, sustainable protection.

By the dawn of the 19th century the Little Namaqua were largely displaced, cattleless and in a position of increasing vulnerability to ever-encroaching *trekboers*. Unable to rely on their former lifestyle for subsistence many had little other option but to enlist in the labour force of nearby farmers. Others, more specifically those under Chief Wildschut, instead sought out the services of a missionary to settle at Leliefontein and establish a mission station for the Little Namaqua. The establishment of the Leliefontein Mission in 1816 under Reverend Barnabas

Shaw offered both several advantages and disadvantages to the livelihoods of the Little Namaqua. The presence of missionaries offered the group greater security to combat the temptations of trading with nearby *trekboers* while protecting them against farmers attempting to occupy their lands illegally. Furthermore, the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission allowed the group to legally secure access and rights to their lands through the Ticket of Occupation. In order to more effectively introduce education and religious instruction, the missionaries attempted to initially restrict the constant movements of the group through the introduction of an agrarian lifestyle. Initially, both agricultural yields and cattle numbers increased impressively. It was however not enough to tie the wandering Khoikhoi to the land. Hence, the resident missionaries and teachers began to join the Little Namaqua on their seasonal treks to the winter outposts.

The benefits offered to the Namaqua by the mission station were numerous - yet one cannot ignore the overt drawbacks. While the mission station and Ticket of Occupation secured the Namaqua legal rights to their land, it was but a portion of the land once utilised by the group. These restrictions ultimately led to overgrazing and overpopulation as both population and stock numbers increased. The interruption to the extent of the previous transhumant orbits meant that the Little Namaqua were not able to as readily combat environmental fluctuations such as drought – as can be seen in the second half of the 19th century. Finally, the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission ultimately saw the Namaqua chief lose power to the residing missionary and finally the state. It would be irresponsible on the part of the historian to adopt a simplistic, linear view on the overarching impact of the Leliefontein Mission on the Little Namaqua - touting a narrative of positive or negative impact in exclusivity. Instead, perhaps it is more constructive to recognise that while the impact was diverse in nature, the series of events that led to the establishment of the mission station was grounded in single-minded intentionality on the part of the Namaqua. For a people accustomed to victimisation and marginalisation, the establishment of the Leliefontein Mission Station was a bold marker of agency.

Yet while the Namaqua evidenced a rare and unequivocal agency in their efforts to secure the mission, the more interesting enquiry is whether the motive for this decision was as self-evident as a first reading of written testimonies might suggest - a quest for faith and salvation - or perhaps just as nuanced and diverse as the impact the mission station itself would ultimately exact on the Little Namaqua.

Had the Little Namaqua remained passive and not taken active steps to secure the mission, one can be sure that their grip on their lands would have loosened far more rapidly, exposing them to the realistic threat of complete disbandment, becoming increasingly engulfed by the colonial workforce. Of course, one must accept in one's bid for impartiality that we cannot presume to have known the mind of Chief Wildschut all those years ago. What history records falls short of this claim. However, it is not without reason or cause to take the view that a people under clear and present threat might not limit its pursuit of salvation to sources of only a spiritual kind. The pragmatic benefits offered by a mission station to a people under threat might at best have been relayed by neighbouring Khoisan groups and at worst have been reasonably intuitive. After all, there was a patent link between Christianity and upward mobility at the time, not to mention a kind of 'comfort' in the substance of the Christian message. The role of a familiar and benevolent intermediary in engaging a distant oppressor would also not have gone unnoticed.

While not discounting the clearly expressed spiritual motives for establishing the mission, perhaps history would do well to credit the Little Namaqua with a measure of agency, foresight and pragmatism that is typically not ascribed to victims of colonial oppression in the historiography of the colonial Cape. After all, while the welfare of the Namaqua people was not holistically secured, there is a curious irony in the fact that they were able to leverage a mission station, so frequently deemed an instrument of colonial oppression, to secure their lands and protect their way of life, even if only in part. The Little Namaqua of the Kamiesberg, as the English idiom goes, chose the lesser of two evils.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. CAPE ARCHIVES DEPOT, CAPE TOWN (CA)

RLR *Receiver of Land Revenue*

RLR 1 Licences: Hunting and Grazing, 1687-1712

RLR 2-8 Licences: Grazing, 1712-1730

RLR 9-37 Licences: Loan Farms, 1730-1793.

1/SBK *Magistrate of Springbok*

1/SBK 5/1/2 Letter Book: Letters Dispatched by the Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, 1861-1863

1/SBK 5/1/6 Letter Book: Letters Dispatched by the Civil Commissioner of Namaqualand, 1874-1878

1/WOC *Magistrate of Worcester*

1/WOC 11/6 Letters Received, 1824.

AG

AG 1538 Mission Stations Namaqualand Diverse Matters, 1905.

B. GOVERNMENT BLUE BOOKS

G41 – 1889: 'Namaqualand, Correspondence and report relative to Lands set apart for occupation of Natives and others,' 10 September 1888.

G60 – 1890: 'Report on the lands in Namaqualand' by Mr. S Melville, Second Assistant Surveyor-General, 30th June 1890.

C. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

SELECT COMMITTEE REPORTS:

I. C2 -1888: Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Lands in Namaqualand set apart for the occupation of Natives and others, 29 June 1888.

II. A7-1896: Report of the Select Committee on Namaqualand Mission Lands and Reserves, 17 June 1896.

D. METHODIST ARCHIVES

MSC 39, 50 (1): 'Church book of Lily Fountain' (1816)

MSC 39, 52 (1): 'Rules and Regulations of the Wesleyan Missionary Institution called Lily Fountain, Khamiesberg, Namaqualand South Africa.' (Revised 1857)

MSC 39, 52 (8): 'List of the Adult population attached to the Institution of Lily Fountain, Khamiesberg – showing their Race, date of admission, the quantity of their stock, and the sum subscribed by each towards the expenses of measuring the lands of the institution.' (31st January 1853)

MSC 39, 52 (7): 'Transcribed interview between the Prime Minister and a Deputation from the Wesleyan Church, on Friday, the 20th March, 1914 regarding the Claims of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Regard to Leliefontein Reserve.'

MSC, 39, 52 (9): Correspondence (1952-9): Letter from Colonial Office to Rev. Bailie, dated 26 March 1853'.

MSC 39, 52 (3): 'Ticket of Occupation 1854.'

MSC 39, 45, (15) Newspaper Clippings: *The Methodist Churchman* newspaper, November 22, 1915. Tribute written by William Eveleigh

E. PRINTED ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Leibbrandt, H. C. V. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope.* (Cape Town: W. A Richard & Sons, 1901).

Moodie, D. *The Record; or, a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa, part 1* (Johannesburg: 1959, originally printed 1838).

Theal, G. M. *Records of the Cape colony from February 1793 to April 1831*. 35 Volumes (London, 1897-1905).

F. PRINTED CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Alexander, J.E. *Expedition Of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, Vol 1. (Cape Town, Struik, 1967)

Barrow, John. *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa*, part II (London, 1804).

Gordon, R.J. *Cape Travels 1777 to 1786*, vol. 1, P.E. Raper and M. Boucher (eds), (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1988).

London Missionary Society, *The Report of the Directors of the London Missionary Society*, 1795-1814.

Morley-Crampton, W. 'Among the Namaqua of the far North West': Slide lecture dated 2 September 1915. Typescript copy. (Cory Library, Grahamstown.)

Mossop, E.E., (ed.) *The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) and the journals of Jacobus Coetze Jansz (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791)* VRS No. 15 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1935).

Mossop, E.E., (ed.) *Joernale van die landtogte van die edele vaandrig Olaf Bergh (1682 en 1683) en van die vaandrig Isaq Schrjver (1689),* VRS No. 12 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1931).

Mossop, E.E., (ed.) *The Journals of Brink and Rhenius.* VRS No. 28. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1947).

Raven-Hart, R. *The Cape of Good Hope 1652-1702. The first fifty years of Dutch colonization as seen by callers*. 2 Vols. (Cape Town: Balkema, 1971).

Schapera, I. (ed.), *The Early Cape Hottentots Described in the Writings of Olfert Fapper [1688], William ten Rhyne [1686] and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek [1695]* (Cape Town, 1933).

Shaw, B. *Memorials of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970).

Thom, H.B. *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol 2. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society 1954).

Thompson, G. *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, Part 2 & 3. V. Forbes (ed.), (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1968).

Valentyn, F. *Beschryvinge van Kaap der Goede Hoope, met de waken daar toe behoorende, door Francois* Valentyn, 1726. 2 vol. English translation R. Raven-Hart, 1973. VRS 2&4. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1973).

Waterhouse, G. (ed) *Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand 1685-6* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co, 1932)

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Methodist Magazine*, 1817-1827; 1829; 1832;1837-1842;1860.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*; 1818-1832; 1834-1836; 1838-1839; 1846-1847.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, *Missionary Notices*, 1821-1822; 1826-1837; 1847; 1856-1859; 1864.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Bleek, W.H.I. *Reynard the Fox in South Africa; or Hottentot fables and tales* (London: Trubner & Co, 1864).

Cheeseman, T. *The Story of William Threlfall: Missionary Martyr of Namaqualand, with some account of Jacob Links and Johannes Jager.* (Cape Town: Methodist Publishing Office and Book Room, 1910).

Comaroff, Jean and John. *Ethnography and the historical imagination*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

Comaroff, Jean and John. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa.* Volume 1 & 2. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Dedering, Tilman. *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia*. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997).

Du Plessis, J. *A History of Christian missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans Greens, 1911).

Elbourne, E. *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*. (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

Elphick, R.H. *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

Elphick, R. H & Giliomee H. (eds). *The shaping of South African society, 1652-1820*. (London: Longman, 1979).

Elphick, R.H., *The Cape Khoi and the First Phase of South African Race Relations* (University Microfilms, Michigan, 1972).

Forbes, V & Rourke, J. *Paterson's Cape Travels 1777 to 1779*. (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1980.)

Godee-Molsbergen, E.C. *Reiz en in Zuid-Afrika in de Holladsche Tyd*. Deel II. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921).

Hahn, T. *Tsuni-llGoam: the supreme being of the Klwi-Klwi* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.)

Jowell, Phyllis & Folb, Adrienne. *Into Kokerboom country: Namaqualand's Jewish Pioneers* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2004).

Legassick, M. *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840.* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010).

Macmillan, W.M. *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey*. (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927).

Majeke N. *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Cape Town: J. W. Jagger Library, 1984).

Marais. J.S. *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939).

Mears, W. J. *Barnabas Shaw: Founder of South African Methodism.* (Rondebosch: Methodist Missionary Department, 1957).

Newton-King, Susan. *Masters and Servants on the Eastern Cape Frontier 1760-1803*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Penn, Nigel. *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern frontier in the Eighteenth Century* (Cape Town: Ohio University Press, 2005).

Penn, Nigel. *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).

Ross, Robert. *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, (South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994).

Schapera, I. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1965).

Schoeman, Karel. *The Early Mission in South Africa, 1799-1819*. (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2005)

Smith, Andrew B (ed.). *Einiqualand: Studies of the Orange River Frontier*. (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1995).

Theal, George M. *History of South Africa since 1795-1872*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915), Volume 1.

Trüper, U. *The Invisible Women: Zara Schmelen, African mission assistant at the Cape and in Namaland* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2006).

Van der Merwe, J.P. *Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek: 1803-1806. (*Swets & Zeitlinger: 1926).

Van der Merwe, P. J. *The Migrant Famer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657-1843*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995).

Whiteside, J. *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. (Cape Town: Juta, 1906).

B. ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

Attwell, M. 'Leliefontein, Namaqualand: Transhumance and the Architecture of the Matjieshuis', *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 63, (3&4), 2009.

Barnard, A. 'Australian models in the South West African Highlands', *African Studies,* 34, 1 (1975), p. 9-18.

Comaroff, John. & Comaroff, Jean. 'Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa', *American Ethnologist*, 13, 1 (1986), p. 1-22.

Dedering, Tilman. 'The Murder of William Threlfall. The Missionaries in Southern Namibia and the Cape Government in the 1820s', *South African Historical Journal*, 24, 1991, pp. 90-111.

Elbourne, E. & Ross, R. 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony.' In Elphick, R. and Davenport, R. (eds.) *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

Freund, W.M. 'The Cape Under Transitional Governments, 1795-1814' in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Masked Miller Longman, 1989)

Giliomee, H. 'Processes in development of the southern African frontier.' In Lamar, H. & Thompson, L. (eds.) *The Frontier in History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

Laidler, P.W. 'The Seasonal Migrations of the Cape Hottentot,' in *Man*, 36, (April 1936).

Legassick, M, 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The rise and decline Griqua people' in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1820* (Cape Town: Masked Miller Longman, 1989)

Marks, S.'Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Journal of African History*, 8 (1972), p. 55-80.

Parkington, J.E. 'Soaqua and Bushmen: hunters and robbers' in Schire, C. (ed.) *Past and Present in hunter-gatherer studies* (New York: Academic Press, 1984).

Parkington, J. Yates, R., Manhire, A. & Halkett, D. 'The social impact of pastoralism in the southwestern Cape', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 5 (1986), p. 313-329.

Penn, Nigel. 'Pastoralists and Pastoralism in the Northern Cape Frontier Zone during the Eighteenth Century', *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986).

Penn, Nigel. 'The frontier in the western Cape, 1700-1740.' In Parkington, I.E. & Hall, M. (eds) *Papers in the prehistory of the western Cape. South Africa*. B.A.R. International Series 322 (1987), p.462-503.

Penn, Nigel. 'Land Rights, Missionaries and Surveyors: Khoisan Identity and the Komaggas Community' in Fisher, R. (ed), *History of Surveying and Land Tenure. Collected Papers Volume Two. Surveying and Land Tenure at the Cape 1813 – 1912* (Cape Town: Institute of Professional Land Surveyors and Geomatics, 2004).

Penn, Nigel. 'The Orange River Frontier Zone, c.1700-1805.' in Smith, Andrew B (ed.). *Einiqualand: Studies of the Orange River Frontier*. (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1995).

Penn, Nigel. 'A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing' in Penn, Nigel. *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Colonial Cape Lives* (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2015).

Rohde, R.F., Hoffman, M.T. 'One hundred years of separation: the historical ecology of a South African 'Coloured Reserve', *Africa*, No. 78 (2008), p. 189-222.

Sharp, J. 'Land Claims in Namaqualand: The Komaggas Reserve', *Review of African Political Economy*, 21, No. 61 (September 1994.)

Sharp, J & Boonzaier, E. 'Ethnic Identity as Performance: Lessons from Namaqualand', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, No. 3 (September 1994).

Smith, A. B. 'Review of 'Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa', *Social Dynamics*, 11, No. 1 (1985), p. 88-90.

Smith, A. B. 'Competition, conflict and clientship: Khoi and San relationships in the western Cape.' In Hall, M. & Smith, A.B. (eds). Prehistoric pastoralism in southern Africa. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series*: 5, 1986, p. 36-4.

Smith, A. B. 'Comments on "Striated grinding grooves in Central Africa" by R. Derricourt', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 41(1986), p.93-94.

Smith, A.B. 'Seasonal exploitation of resources on the Vredenburg peninsula after 2000 B.P'. In: Parkington, J.E. & Hall, M. (eds) *Papers in the Prehistory of the Western Cape, South Africa*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series, 332, 1987, p. 36-41.

Smith, A.B. 'The origins and demise of the Khoikhoi: the debate', *South Africa Historical Journal,* 23 (1990), p.3-14.

Smith, A.B. 'On becoming herders: Khoikhoi and San ethnicity in southern Africa', *African Studies*, 49, No. 2 (1990), p. 51-73.

Smith, A.B., Sadr, K., Gribble, J. & Yates, R. 'Excavations in the South-Western Cape, South Africa, and the archaeological identity of prehistoric hunter-gatherers within the last 2000 years', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 46 (1991), p. 71-91.

Smith, A.B. & Pheiffer, 'R.H. Robert Jacob Gordon: Notes on the Khoikhoi', *Annals of the South African Culture History Museum*, 5, No.1 (1992).

Webley, L. E. 'Archaeological evidence for pastoralist land-use and settlement in Namaqualand over the last 2000 years', *Journal of Arid Environments*, 70 (2007).

Webley, L. 'Pastoralist ethno-archaeology in Namaqualand' in *Goodwin Series, Prehistoric Pastoralism in Southern Africa,* 5 (June 1986).

C. THESES AND UNPUBLISHED CONFERENCE PAPERS

Bregman, J. 'Land and Society in the Komaggas region of Namaqualand.' MA Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2010.

Deacon, J. 'The Later Stone Age in the southern Cape, South Africa.' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1982.

Heese. J. A. 'Onderwys in Namakwaland, 1750- 1940.' PhD. Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1942.

Kelso, C. J. 'On the edge of the Desert – A Namaqualand Story: 1800-1909.' PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2010.

Lebert, Thomas Siegfried. 'Land Tenure Reform in Namaqualand: Elite Capture and the New Commons of Leliefontein.' Mphil Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2005.

Penn, N.G. 'The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700 – c. 1815.' PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995.

Price, M. J. 'Leliefontein: Structure and decline of a Coloured mission community 1870-1913.' Honours Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1976.

Robertshaw P.T. ‘Coastal settlement, freshwater fishing and pastoralism in the later prehistory of the Western Cape, South Africa.’ Unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, 1979.

Rohde, R.F., Hoffman, M.T., Allsopp, N. ‘Hanging on a wire – A historical and socio-economic study of Paulshoek village in the Leliefontein communal area of Namaqualand.’ PLAAS Research Report No. 4, PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, Bellville, 2003.

Samuels, M. I. ‘Pastoral mobility in a variable and spatially constrained South African environment.’ PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, South Africa, 2013.

Swarts, M. B. ‘Institutions and organisations for sustainable management of ephemeral wetlands in communal areas: Case study of Leliefontein Communal Area, Namaqualand.’ MA Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2013.

Wandres C. ‘The law of the Naman and Bergdaman; by the Rhenish missionary at Windhoek.’ Unpublished pamphlet: Cory Library, Grahamstown, 1908.

Webley, L. E. ‘Archaeology and ethnoarcheology in the Leliefontein Reserve and surrounds, Namaqualand.’ M.A Thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1984.

Webley, L. E. ‘The History and Archaeology of Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Settlement in the North-Western Cape, South Africa.’ PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992.

Webley, L. E. ‘Ethnoarchaeological research among descendants of Khoikhoi herders in the Steinkopf and Leliefontein Communal Reserves.’ Unpublished report for the Human Sciences Research Council, 1987.