DIVERSIFICATION AND MOBILITY OF KHOIKHOI LABOUR IN THE EASTERN DISTRICTS OF THE CAPE COLONY PRIOR TO THE LABOUR LAW OF 1 NOVEMBER 1809

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PREFACE

Until recently research concerned with Khoikhoi in the nineteenth century tended to focus on the important labour legislation, especially on the labour law of 1809, the child apprenticeship law of 1812, and Ordinance 50 of 1828. Now the trend is to look at the available documents, for this as for earlier periods, with an eye to discover as much as possible about the Khoikhoi themselves, particularly the ways in which they responded to threats or challenges and interacted with other groups. The study which follows is devoted to the occupations which they entered into either by virtue of their native skills and aptitudes or the new opportunities which came their way.

It was intended to carry this study through to mid-century but it became clear that the subject was too large for a thesis for the master's degree. Contrary to expectation material regarding occupations, though it has been necessary to piece it together from a myriad tiny fragments, is wide-ranging and plentiful. Therefore this thesis has been limited to the period prior to the labour law of 1 November 1809 since it is not possible to pass this milestone in legislation pertaining to the Khoikhoi without a lengthy analysis of the existing body of work. There is, possibly, even more to be said about the apprenticeship law of 1812 and subsequent regulations, while analysis of the 50th Ordinance in the context of Khoikhoi and their occupations is an enormous task.

Although the subject has been thus limited, sources dating from both before and after the period under discussion have been drawn upon where useful. In the first place, conditions of the environment on the frontier as well as the practices of the inhabitants were slow to change. Thompson, following (in the 1820s) the footsteps of Lichtenstein, could say: 'To this point I had traversed a district of which the peculiar characteristics have been minutely described by Lichtenstein; nor did I perceive that any very

peculiar changes had taken place in the circumstances or manners of the inhabitants since he visited them, twenty years ago'.[1] Changes came more slowly in the regions to which Thompson referred (the Hantam, Roggeveld and Zak River) than in the eastern districts, but even there conditions relative to the present topic remained fairly static until the impact of the British settlers made itself felt in ways ranging from the growth of villages to the development of coastal shipping. Thus Burchell, Campbell, Latrobe, Pringle, Thompson and others afford valuable insights and additions to the store of information, so long as care is taken to avoid anachronisms.

In the second place, many sources dating from a later period, especially the reports of the 1811 and 1812 Commissions of Circuit and the Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1823, set out to provide histories of conditions and practices in the colony which cover the first decade of the century. These sources and the fragments of information extracted from documents more strictly of the period, when used in conjunction, often corroborate each other. By careful dating it is hoped to enable the reader to detect any errors there may be in the uses made of later evidence. It is important to state that, when discussing contracts, wages and the like, sources dating from the period 1800-09 have been strictly adhered to.

When dealing with a society where neither of the two chief classes of inhabitant (Boer and Khoikhoi) set things down in writing, one can only be grateful to the travellers who did. Barrow and Lichtenstein were both excellent observers and each, as well, accompanied officials on their rounds so that policy forms a part of their narratives. One was British, the other Dutch, and they reflect the national

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1. George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, VRS 49, p. 2.

rivalries of the age as manifested in this distant colony. Burchell was the most meticulous observer of them all, and in many ways the most satisfactory for this paper. Where others generalised about the Khoikhoi, he gave names to individuals and described their characters. The obstacles he encountered in carrying out his ambitious travel plans tend to colour his verdict on day-to-day events. Campbell was the most goodhearted and uncomplaining traveller but though sympathetic to the Khoikhoi he concentrated more on the needs of missions than the needs of Khoikhoi as persons. Latrobe was both kindly and urbane. He tended to take the hierarchy for granted and express his genuine concern for the Khoikhoi in terms of their status as servants, but perhaps no more so than most others. Pringle was a philanthropically-minded settler, Thompson a commercially-minded friend of Pringle, and so on, through Steedman, Merriman, Adams, Freeman and others who, because of increasing distance in time from the period under review, have seldom been drawn upon. Special mention must also be made of Philip, accused on the one hand of special pleading or worse but who, on the other, gained a knowledge of the frontier in some ways unique. As did the Commissioners Bigge and Colebrooke (with whom he had frequent opportunities for contact), Philip took an historical view of conditions and practices in the colony and his observations are often useful.

Theal's service in collating the Records is immense and these provide an invaluable source. Other correspondence in the Cape Archives, particularly that conducted by Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhage from 1806, with the government at the Cape and the missionaries at Bethelsdorp has been of considerable use. Most important are the archival sources consisting of opgaaf returns and labour contracts. With regard to the latter, it is difficult to know whether one is dealing with complete or partial records, that is, what percentage of the original documents has survived. Regarding the contracts made at Graaff-Reinet for the period 1799-1809 (J. 27 and

G.R. 15/43) it is generally assumed that these represent all those registered as they are numbered consecutively from start to finish.

To the works of the esteemed older historians, among whom Marais is particularly important for this subject, have recently been added many generally short but fascinating works. Some of the new information which historians such as Marks, Legassick, Atmore and Elphick have brought to light as well as the new points of view which they have contributed are referred to in the text.

TERMINOLOGY

The terms Khoisan, Khoi or Khoikhoi, and San are increasingly used to refer to the aboriginal people of large regions of the Cape, Khoi or Khoikhoi being preferred to Hottentot, San to Bushman, and Khoisan used when the two groups are taken together. Generally Khoikhoi or Hottentot is taken to refer to the cattle and sheep owning (or pastoral) people of the region while San or Bushman is taken to mean the purely hunter-gatherer section of the population. However, some researchers now believe that the links between these two groups were much closer than formerly realised - in brief, that the Khoi were in fact hunter-gatherers who acquired a pastoral culture (at a time and place as yet the subject of speculation), that they interacted in a variety of ways with the hunter-gatherers of the more southerly regions into which they migrated, and that they referred not only to hunters but also to fellow-Khoi who became impoverished (that is, lost their livestock) as San.[1]

It is not only the relationship between Khoi and San which is a subject of controversy at present. An argument developed in the pages of Cabo, publication of the Historical Society of Cape Town, between Dr. Böeseken and Professor Elphick regarding terminology, particularly over the use of Khoi or Khoikhoi.[2] Dr. Böeseken maintained that the fact that researchers in other disciplines use these terms instead of Hottentot and Bushman is no reason for historians

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1. Richard Elphick, Kraal and Castle, Pt. I, Chs. 1 and 2; Shula Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', JAH, v. 13, No. 1, 1972, pp. 58-60.
2. In the discussion in Cabo it appeared that agreement had been reached on the use of 'San' but Elphick has devised a new terminology to distinguish several classes of persons hitherto called San, Kraal and Castle, Note on Terminology, pp. xxi-xxii.

to do so. Proof that these people had used them to designate themselves was lacking, while travellers, settlers and so forth had called them Hottentots and Bushmen.[3] Professor Elphick argued that Khoikhoi had indeed used this name for themselves, within the historical period, and that on this and other grounds it was to be preferred.[4]

I find Khoikhoi (or Khoi) and San more appropriate for the early period of contact with Europeans, not simply because these terms have less derogatory connotations than 'Hottentot' and 'Bushman' but also because 'Khoisan' expresses the close links between the hunter-herder and hunter-gatherer peoples. The difficulty comes in the later period (certainly from 1800 onwards) when Khoi were mainly to be found on farms (along with San in certain areas) and racial mixing progressively touched all those hitherto regarded as 'pure'. Though the terms 'Bastard' or 'Bastard Hottentot' were used, little care was taken and Hottentot became an umbrella word for 'persons of colour', until at last dropped by and large for the label 'coloured people'. Thus, round about the turn of the century, the term 'Hottentot' acquired a real historical significance, designating members of colonial society who could no longer be identified, either linguistically or socially, as 'Khoi' or 'San' or even 'Khoisan'. It is used in this sense, interchangeably with Khoikhoi (or Khoi) as convenient, in the discussion which follows.

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3. A.J. Böeseken, 'The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan', Cabo, v. 1, No. 1, Aug. 1972, pp. 5-10; Ibid., v. 2, No. 2, Jan. 1974, pp. 8-10; 'On Changing Terminology in History', Ibid., No. 3, Nov. 1975, pp. 16-18.
4. R.H. Elphick, 'The meaning, origin and use of the terms Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan', Cabo, v. 2, No. 2, Jan. 1974, pp. 3-7; Ibid., No. 3, Nov. 1975, pp. 12-15.

NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

ANN	Africana Notes and News
AYB	Archives Year Book for South African History
Bel. Hist. Dok	George McCall Theal (ed.) Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten
CA	Cape Archives
CGH	Cape of Good Hope
Col. Sem. Papers, ICS	Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London
JAH	The Journal of African History
JICH	The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History
OHSA	The Oxford History of South Africa
Plakkaatboek	Archives Commission, Kaapse Plakkaatboek
QBSAL	Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library
Records	George McCall Theal (ed.), Records of the Cape Colony
SAJE	The South African Journal of Economics
SAJS	The South African Journal of Science
SESA	Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa
VRS	Van Riebeeck Society

Short Titles

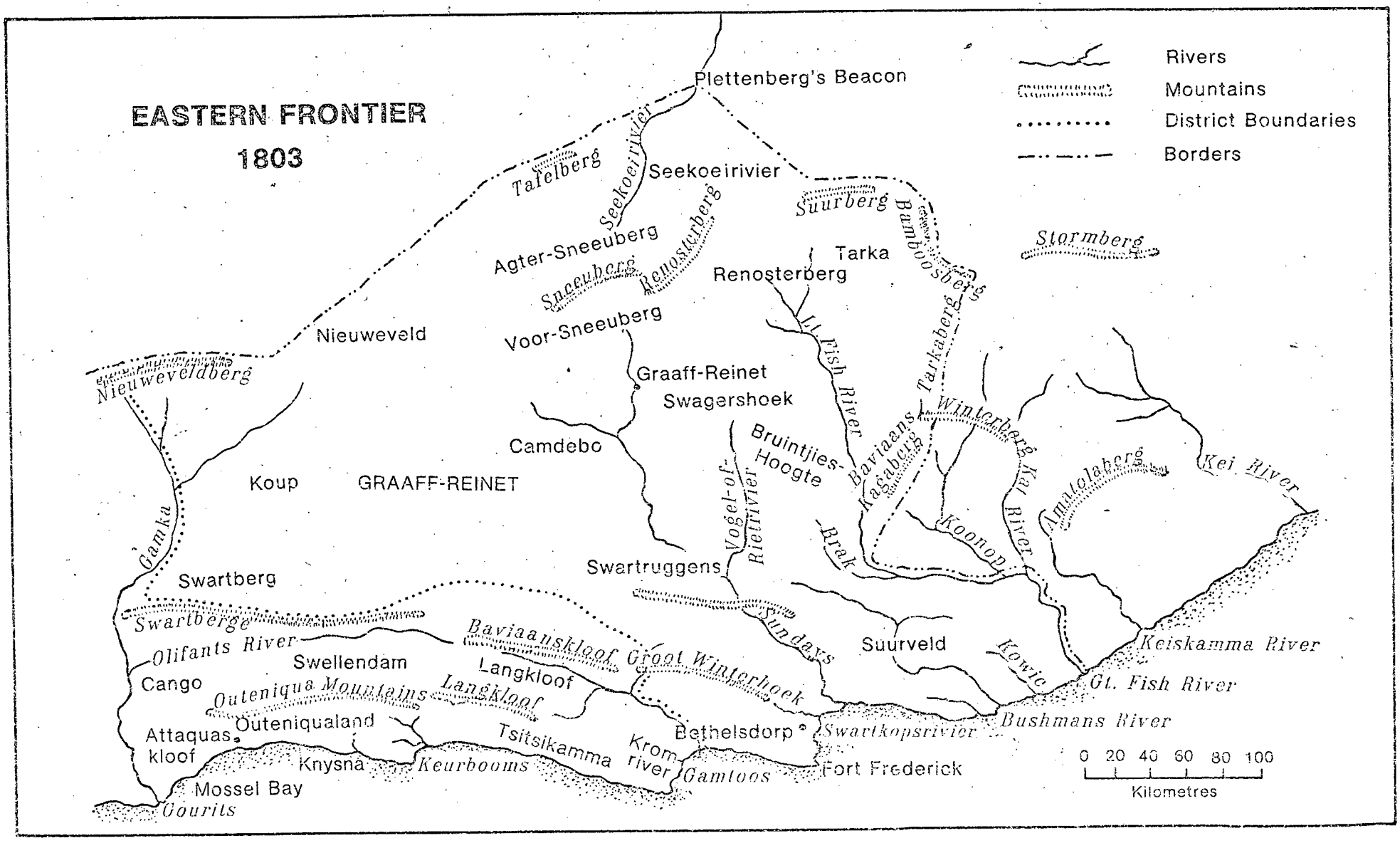
In the footnotes, the first reference to any work gives author/editor and title in full. Thereafter, if there is no danger of confusion, the work is referred to by the surname of the author/editor and an appropriate short title, or the short title only if the author is named in the text. The

following short titles are used:

Adams, Private Buck Adams	Buck Adams, The Narrative of Private Buck Adams ... 1843-1848
Atmore and Marks, 'Imperial Factor'	A. Atmore and S. Marks, 'The Imperial Factor in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century; Towards a Reassessment'
Barrow, Travels	John Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa
Beinart and van der Merwe, 'Social and Occupational Mobility'	W. Beinart and Hendrik W. van der Merwe, 'Introduction to the Project on Social and Occupational Mobility Among the Coloured People of South Africa: Changes in the Occupational Structure of the Coloured People c. 1920-1970'
Bird, State of the Cape	W. Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822
Burchell, Travels in the Interior	William J. Burchell, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa
Campbell, 1813	John Campbell, Travels in South Africa
Chase, Cape of Good Hope	John Centlivres Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay
Christopher, 'European Concept of a Farm'	A.J. Christopher, 'The European Concept of a Farm in Southern Africa'
de Mist, Memorandum	J.A. de Mist, The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist
de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regimente'	Johannes de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap, 1781-1806'
Freund, 'Eastern Frontier'	William M. Freund, 'The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony During the Batavian Period (1803-1806)'
Grosskopf, Rural Impoverishment	J.F.W. Grosskopf, Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus
Hodgson, 'Hottentots in South Africa'	M.L. Hodgson, 'The Hottentots in South Africa to 1828: A Problem in Labour and Administration'
'Johan Schreyer's Description'	Johan Schreyer, 'Johan Schreyer's Description of the Hottentots, 1679'
Katzen, 'White Settlers'	M.F. Katzen, 'White Settlers and the Origin of a New Society, 1652-1778'
Kotzé (ed), Letters	D.J. Kotzé, Letters of the American Missionaries, 1835-1838

Kruger, *Pear Tree*	Bernhard Kruger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*
Latrobe, *Journal*	C.J. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*
Legassick, 'Frontier Tradition'	Martin Legassick, 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography'
Lichtenstein, *Travels ... 1803 ... 1806*	Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa, In the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*
Marais, *Coloured People*	J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*
_____. *Maynier*	_____. *Maynier and the First Boer Republic*
Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance'	Shula Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'
Merriman, *Cape Journals*	N.J. Merriman, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855*
Neumark, *Economic Influences*	S. Daniel Neumark, *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836*
Orpen, *Reminiscences*	Joseph Millerd Orpen, *Reminiscences of Life in South Africa from 1846 to the Present Day*
Paravicini, *Reize*	W.B.E. Paravicini di Capelli, *Reize in de Binnen-Landen van Zuid-Africa*
Philip, *Researches*	John Philip, *Researches in South Africa*
Pike, 'American Visitor'	Nicholas Pike, 'An American Visitor to the Cape in 1866'
Pringle, *Narrative*	Thomas Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*
Reyburn, 'Cape Frontier History'	H.A. Reyburn, 'Studies in Cape Frontier History'
Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact'	H.M. Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact Between Black and White, a Preliminary Survey'
Sales, *Mission Stations*	Jane Sales, *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852*
Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*	I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*
Smith, 'Frontier to Midlands'	Kenneth Wyndham Smith, 'From Frontier to Midlands: A History of the Graaff-Reinet District, 1786-1910'

Steedman, Wanderings and Adventures	Andrew Steedman, Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa
Stockenstrom, Autobiography	Andries Stockenstrom, The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstrom
Stow, Native Races	George W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa
Theal, History	George McCall Theal, History of South Africa
Thom, Skaapboerdery	H.B. Thom, Die Geskiedenis van die Skaapboerdery in Suid-Afrika
Thompson, Travels and Adventures	George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa
van der Merwe, Die Trekboer	P.J. van der Merwe, Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie
van Pallandt, General Remarks	A. van Pallandt, General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope
van Reenen, Joernaal	D.G. van Reenen, Die Joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, 1803
Venter, 'Die Inboekstelsel'	P.J. Venter, 'Die Inboek-stelsel, 'n Uitvloeisel van Slawerny in die Ou Dae'
Walton, Water-mills	James Walton, Water-mills, Windmills and Horsemills of South Africa
White, 'Firearms in Africa'	Gavin White, 'Firearms in Africa: An Introduction'


EASTERN FRONTIER
1803
Rivers
Mountains
District Boundaries
Borders
Plettenberg's Beacon
Tafelberg
Seekoerivier
Seekoeirivier
Agter-Sneeuberg
Sneeuberg
Renosterberg
Suurberg
Bamboosberg
Tarka
Renosterberg
Stormberg
Nieuweveld
Nieuweveldberg
Voor-Sneeuberg
Graaff-Reinet
Swagershoek
Fish River
Tarkaberg
Camdebo
Bruintjies-Hoogte
Baviaans
Kaga berg
Winterberg
Kei River
Amatolaberg
Koup
GRAAFF-REINET
Gamka
Vogel-of-Rietrivier
Brak
Koonap
Swartruggens
Swartberg
Swartberge
Olifants River
Baviaanskloof
Groot Winterhoek
Sundays
Suurveld
Kowie
Keiskamma River
Swellendam
Langkloof
Cango
Outeniqua Mountains
Langkloof
Gt. Fish River
Outeniqualand
Attaquas-kloof
Tsitsikamma
Bethelsdorp
Swartkopsrivier
Bushmans River
Knysna
Keurbooms
Krom-river
Gamtoos
Fort Frederick
Mossel Bay
Gourits
0 20 40 60 80 100
Kilometres

CHAPTER I

THE LEGAL BACKGROUND

> The Aborigines race of this Country - the Hottentots - must be considered and treated as free People, who have a legal right of residence in the Colony, and who must therefore, the same as all other free People, be protected in their persons, property and possessions.
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> Art. 26, Ordinance for the Administration of the Country Districts, 23 October 1805.[1]

In the Remonstrance presented to the Dutch East India Company in 1649, in which it was proposed that a refreshment station be established at the Cape, friendly treatment of the aborigines was recommended and the principle that Hottentots were 'free People' was asserted soon after the settlement was founded. When van Riebeeck proposed enslaving them he was overruled by the Company's directors, who anticipated that 'interference with the native would only result in friction and war which would dissipate their resources'.[2] It was also true that enslaved Khoikhoi could, compared with imported slaves, 'easily have deserted to the hinterland'.[3] The Dutch required servants but the Khoikhoi by and large clung to their independence. Thus in 1658 slaves were brought in to meet the need for labour and the Khoikhoi were, for the time being, left free to serve the Company by bartering cattle. This was a practical alternative to forcing Khoikhoi, most of whom were still able to pursue their traditional and preferred way of life, into servitude.

Chiefs or 'captains' were recognised by the Company

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1. Proclamations, Advertisements and other Official Notices published by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806-1825, p. 736.
2. M.L. Hodgson, 'The Hottentots in South Africa to 1828: A Problem in Labour and Administration', SAJS, v. 21, 1924, p. 595.
3. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance', JAH, v. 13, No. 1, 1972, p. 64.

and 'presented with a copper-headed staff with the Company's mark',[4] a practice perpetuated under British administration into the nineteenth century.[5] Such a staff, though the symbol of independence, really signified Dutch suzerainty which was typified by interference in disputes between hordes and in the installation of chiefs. Later, as recorded by Sparrman, it was expected that a captain must even '"be a spy on the other Hottentots"'.[6] Very often chiefs or headmen who co-operated with the Dutch did so in the hope of overcoming a rival or hostile neighbour through the alliance.

This system had an effect which Barrow noted: 'by the number they created of these captains, the ruin of their respective hordes was much facilitated'.[7] But as Marks has pointed out, co-operation was only one of several responses to the Dutch intruder: some resisted, a few were assimilated, while others removed themselves to the interior.[8] Elphick believes that in the western Cape the period of true independence ended as early as the 1670s by which time several strong chiefs, who died, had been succeeded by weaker men, and failure to find the aboriginal 'potentates', so long imagined to inhabit the interior, had diminished the stature of all Khoikhoi chiefs in Dutch eyes. Most conclusive was the military dominance achieved by the Dutch.[9]

In 1688 it was decreed that free burghers were not to arm their slaves, a policy which was confirmed in 1794:

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4. Monica Wilson, 'The Hunters and Herders', OHSA, v. 1, p. 67.
5. G.McC. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, v. 6, p. 251 and v. 7, p. 242. See also pp. 128-9.
6. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance', p. 76, citing A. Sparrman, A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.... from 1772 to 1776, v. 1, p. 240.
7. John Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, v. 1, p. 93.
8. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance', p. 77.
9. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, pp. 189-90.

'None of the inhabitants shall allow his slave to carry a gun, not even after their cattle, unless in the presence of the master, under a penalty of one hundred rixdollars'.[10] Spilhaus gives this as a reason why Khoikhoi were preferred as herdsmen who (particularly on the frontier) must be armed to protect the farmer's stock from marauders.[11] As the graziers multiplied, so did the need for stockmen and what must have seemed natural, to engage Khoikhoi pastoralists in the type of employment they knew best, appears to have been thus reinforced by policy. In other words, this ruling affected to some degree the division of labour between free Hottentot servants and slaves. In 1700 the first contract to supply the Company with meat was awarded to a burgher, Henning Huising. Thereafter dependence on the Khoikhoi supplier was destined to dwindle, while dependence on the Khoikhoi servant as herdsman was certain to increase.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Khoikhoi were identified as free, in the sense that they were not to be enslaved, and independent, in the sense that those with access to grazing land still roamed as hordes whose chiefs could obtain official recognition. However, the peculiar position of the Hottentot in relation to the law under Company rule has been the subject of dispute. According to Macmillan they were 'outside the law', until, after 1795, it was admitted that 'The theory that the Hottentots were an independent people, outside the Colony and beyond its laws, could not suffice when the great majority of them were either the actual servants of the colonists, or else wanderers on colonial land'.[12] But

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10. Records, v. 9, p. 154, Statement of the Laws of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope regarding Slavery by the Fiscal D. Denyssen, 16/3/1813. See also Kaapse Plakkaatboek, v. 4, p. 250, Art. 29, Bepalings i.s. gedrag van slawe, 20/8/1794. The provision 'unless in the presence of the master' does not appear in the plakkaat.

11. M. Whiting Spilhaus, South Africa in the Making, 1652-1806, pp. 58-9.

12. W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, p. 35.

Marais took issue with this, citing the instructions to protect Khoikhoi given Maynier, in 1793, and also the opinion of Theal.[13] Theal believed 'They were regarded as subject to the colonial courts only in cases where the interests of white people were affected'.[14] But since, in fact, the chiefs had little power even where Khoikhoi still lived in kraals, 'it became a necessity for the European courts of law to take cognisance of such crimes as murder and assault committed by one Hottentot against another not on a reserve' though 'in general petty offences among themselves went altogether unpunished'.[15] In the records he had come upon instances where 'heavy sentences' were imposed on'European criminals' who had mistreated Khoikhoi, proving that 'the courts of law were open for their protection'.[16] Thus it appears that the Khoikhoi might from time to time, in however haphazard a way, receive the protection of the court regarding criminal offences. However, in civil matters - for example, claims for debts or wages not paid according to agreement - it would appear that the Khoikhoi had no recourse. Not that the matter had been ignored altogether: in 1748 Commissioner Nolthenius gave support to the principle that 'geen boer die reg gehad het om 'n Hottentot vir niks te laat werk nie, terwyl, as hy dit tog probeer, die Hottentot die reg gehad het om sy meester aan te kla'.[17] According to Boeseken there were instances when Khoikhoi were upheld in such complaints but they must have been rare. Why else would Maynier, forty-five years after, feel called upon to say '"I will and

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13. J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, p. 111. For Maynier's evidence regarding his instructions see Records, v. 4, p. 286, Provisional Justification of H.C.D. Maynier, April 1802.

14. Records, v. 10, p. 408, Theal, Digest of the Records.

15. Ibid., p. 409.

16. G.McC. Theal, History of South Africa, v. 4, p. 117.

17. Anna J. Boeseken, 'Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse en die 18de Eeuse Samelewing aan die Kaap', AYB, 1944, p. 77.

shall open my court to the heathen"'.[18] This question was raised by the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch in 1797 when a Hottentot named Cobus attempted to sue his mistress for non-payment of a debt. Here the Landdrost differed from his court, who refused to entertain the case, but it is clear that such a suit was novel since the central government was asked to give a ruling as to whether this case should or should not come before the court.[19]

To what extent was 'recognition' written into 'the law of the land' prior to 1795? Various regulations reflected concern for the treatment of Hottentots by irresponsible persons. In 1708 a plakkaat decreed that 'niemand met quaad opset deese inlandsche natie off Hottentotte en zal vermoogen te slaan of smijten'[20] while another in 1727, forbidding cattle barter with Hottentots, referred to the fact that 'der Europeërs weereloose menschen, door slaan en stooten, ja selfs met moord en doodslag, het haare door geweld af te dwingen ende te ontrooven'.[21]

As time went on, regulations touching upon Khoikhoi as servants found their way onto the books: laws for apprenticing children and for restricting freedom of movement. In 1775 Plettenberg issued a proclamation concerning children of Hottentot mothers and slave fathers, according to which these children, if not removed by the mother before eighteen months of age, 'should be apprenticed

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18. J.S. Marais, Maynier and the First Boer Republic, p. 71. There had been a time, in the seventeenth century, when those Khoikhoi 'who were Christian, Dutch-speaking, and had become "assimilated" were subjected to Cape laws', M.F. Katzen, 'White Settlers and the Origin of a New Society, 1652-1778', OHSA, v. 1, p. 216.

19. CA, B.O. 50, pp. 33-4, Landdrost and Heemraden to General Craig, 6/2/1797. See also Marais, Maynier, p. 73.

20. Kaapse Plakkaatboek, v. 2, p. 5, Bepalings i.s. skepelinge wat by die Kaap aandoen, May 1708.

21. Ibid., pp. 129-30, Verbod op veeruil met die Hottentotte, 4/4/1727.

to the owner of the farm on which they were living until they were twenty-five years old'. A register of such apprenticeships was to be kept by the secretary to the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden, and 'apprentices were to be properly fed and clothed, and ... otherwise well-treated'.[22] This permission had been sought by slave-owners who saw these bastard children of their slaves, reared on their property, slipping from their grasp as labourers. Before long the system was expanded to permit purely Hottentot children to be apprenticed if, for example, they were deserted or orphaned or if a parent was said to have requested it.[23]

On 29 June 1787 a plakkaat aimed at controlling 'the irregular way of living of Hottentots' was issued. Khoikhoi and 'Bastard Hottentots' in the vicinity of the Cape were obliged to register their names and whereabouts, and inform the authorities whenever they changed their abode. Failure to do so left them liable, if caught wandering, to be taken into the Company's slave lodge and put to work with the slaves on public works for a two month period.[24] Commissioner Bigge, in his report on Hottentots and Bushmen, cited this prohibition on Hottentots freely changing their abodes, which required them to carry passes.[25] It was easy to present passes as a protection to Khoikhoi when, in any case, they stood to be detained by anyone who intercepted them when travelling without one. Thus on 4 December 1797, the Landdrost of Swellendam put out a

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22. Theal, History, v. 4, p. 168.
23. P.J. Venter, 'Die Inboek-stelsel, 'n Uitvloeisel van Slawerny in die Ou Dae', Die Huisgenoot, 1 June 1934, p. 25. The issue of apprenticing Khoikhoi children was raised again in 1810, CA, STB. 1/29, pp. 221-5, van der Riet to Truter, 1/4/1810. See also Marais, Coloured People, p. 112, fn. 3, p. 113, fn. 2, and p. 118, fn. 3.
24. Plakkaatboek, v. 4, pp. 8-11, Onreelmatige lewenswyse van Hottentotte, 29/6/1787.
25. Records, v. 35, p. 308, 28/1/1830.

regulation requiring that Hottentots sent on errands, or on legitimate trips to the drostdy or to Cape Town, be equipped with passes to prevent their being detained by colonists, on the pretext that they were vagrants or deserters, thus depriving the real master of his labour and the Hottentot of his freedom to return from where he had come.[26] On 2 July 1798 the Landdrost and Heemraden of Graaff-Reinet enacted a regulation similar to that of 1787 enacted at the Cape.[27] As an instrument of control the pass system suited farmers and government alike: it tackled the problem of 'roving' and served to stabilise the labour force. As has been shown, this system was initiated before 1795, and elaborated thereafter.

Hodgson describes five classes of Khoikhoi within the Colony at the close of the 18th century - by which time the days of free roaming were over.[28] These classes were: a) those 'in kraals under government-appointed captains' to whom the Government afforded 'a nominal protection', requiring no duties 'save maintenance of peace';[29] b) dispossessed Hottentots turned vagrant (increasingly the objects of official attention); c) children of slave fathers and Hottentot mothers to whom the 1775 proclamation applied; d) captured runaways (who had joined enemies over the border) and other malefactors, who were given over as labourers to farmers at the discretion of 'the local authorities'; e) 'the class of free Hottentot hired by the farmers', representing 'the majority' by this time.[30] There was yet another class - those permitted to settle at mission stations - which was destined to increase

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26. CA, SWM. 1/3, pp. 330-2. This regulation also touched on wages, proper treatment, and the right to leave an employer when the contracted term was completed.

27. CA, G.R. 1/2, p. 174.

28. See below, p. 26, for the evidence of Barrow and others. See also H.B. Giliomee, Die Kaap Tydens Die Eerste Britse Bewind, pp. 268-9.

29. 'Hottentots in South Africa', SAJS, v. 21, 1924, p. 601.

30. Ibid., p. 602.

in the coming decades. It is the group of free Hottentots engaged permanently in farm labour, as well as those of other classes who moved in and out of the farm labour situation, whose status in law is of most importance for this paper.

On 24 February 1800 Major General Francis Dundas wrote his answers to certain questions put to him by the Governor, Sir George Yonge, and concluded with his own 'observations', among them the following:

> 5thly. Every impartial Spectator is convinced that the present condition of the Hottentots is deplorable. The system of having their Names, Time of Service, Wages agreed upon, and their Master's name inscribed in a Book to be kept at the respective Drostdies will certainly be attended with excellent effects. Regulations respecting their treatment and for restraining the Farmers from bestowing corporal punishment upon them ad libitum, and for forcing their Employers to pay them their stipulated agreement may also be carried into effect, and I have no doubt that by judicious management the Hottentots will prove most useful and industrious Servants, nor will they then have that inducement which they at present have to leave their Masters at every opportunity.[31]

Dundas had already, a few weeks earlier, instructed Maynier to keep a register of Khoikhoi who took service with farmers,[32] a step which Marais says 'marks the beginning of masters' and servants' legislation in South Africa'.[33] His recommendation to Yonge was followed, just four days later, by a proclamation calling for an 'Opgaaf or Return' of property and stock possessed by the 'inhabitants' (a word generally signifying white settlers) and asking also for 'a Return of what Servants they have in their Employment, whether white persons or Hottentots, what their names are, sex and age, their Native Country,

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31. Records, v. 3, p. 67.

32. Ibid., p. 53, Dundas to Yonge, 20/2/1800. For the register itself see CA, G.R. 15/43.

33. Maynier, p. 118.

and upon what terms they are employed, and for how long a time'.[34] (Cognisance was taken also of Khoikhoi living in kraals, as follows: 'The People of Colour, Bastards, and other Hottentots, if not in any Person's employment, but living by themselves, are hereby ordered and commanded to give in their names to their respective Magistrates, in order that a List may be made of them likewise'.) Hodgson has described this as 'a proclamation which may have aimed at a closer assimilation of the position of the Hottentot to that of the white settler in respect of duties as well as rights, than that implied in the mere registering of contracts'.[35] When Theal tried to define the distinction in law between white and Khoikhoi[36] he mentioned that Khoikhoi 'paid no taxes, and could not be called out for public services as white men were'.[37] Certainly about this time Khoikhoi owners of livestock who resided on the farms of the Boers were called upon to pay tax,[38] a definite step towards 'a closer assimilation' of their position to that of whites 'in respect of duties'. But perhaps Hodgson refers here to the stricter observance of the terms of contracts on the part of both the parties to them.

Towards the end of 1801 van Ryneveld, the Fiscal, put forward his plan for 'amending the interior Police in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope'.[39] He proposed recognition for three classes of Khoikhoi: those serving the Boers, those living in kraals and those at mission stations, each category to be licensed or registered. All others, i.e. 'wanderers and vagabonds', were to be apprehended and strictly dealt with and the pass system was to

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34. Records, v. 3, p. 68, Proclamation, 28/2/1800.
35. 'Hottentots in South Africa', p. 605.
36. See above p. 4.
37. Records, v. 10, p. 408, Theal, Digest of the Records.
38. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 116. For dating of this document see below p.90. Khoikhoi residing in kraals did not pay tax, see comment by Theal on the 1805 census, p. 27, fn. 23, below.
39. Records, v. 4, pp. 88-96, 31/10/1801.

be strictly applied. Some of his proposals (there were others besides the foregoing) were carried out by enactments in the second British occupation.

On 21 February 1803 the government of the Cape was restored to the Dutch. Less than two months later, de Mist drafted a new law regarding contracts of hire with the Khoikhoi,[40] which was published on 9 May.[41] The intention and terms were spelt out in these documents and in a letter written by Janssens from Algoa Bay on 12 May.[42] Printed contract forms, to be filled out in triplicate, were now required in addition to the register. It was to this plakkaat that Lichtenstein referred when he said that 'The Dutch Government has recently prohibited all ... societies of free Hottentots within the boundaries of the colony, unless they can prove that they have some means of gaining their subsistence'.[43] Thus the screws of control were tightened in a way which 'prefigured British vagrancy laws'.[44] Janssens' letter contains several suggestions for the protection of the Hottentots not incorporated in the plakkaat itself, and it is not clear how these protective features were to be implemented and enforced. All the same, as Hodgson says, the 'closer assimilation' of Khoikhoi and burgher, begun in 1800, had been carried a step further since the new legislation 'pointed in the same direction'.[45]

Subsequently the Batavians embodied a clear statement of their intent regarding protection of the 'persons, property and possessions' of Hottentots in their 'Ordinance

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40. CA, B.R. 3, pp. 108-12

41. Plakkaatboek, v. 6, pp. 24-5, Indiensneming van Hottentotte deur middel van huurkontrakte, 18/4/1803. See also CA, B.R. 115.

42. G.McC. Theal, Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten over Zuid Afrika, v. 3, pp. 221-2.

43. Henry Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806, p. 69. See also Hodgson, 'Hottentots in South Africa', p. 604.

44. William M. Freund, 'The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony During the Batavian Period (1803-1806)', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 639.

45. 'Hottentots in South Africa', p. 605.

for the Administration of the Country Districts'.[46] The Khoikhoi now enjoyed theoretical recognition of their 'civil existence as Free Persons', but would continue for some time to come in a state, as the Commission of Inquiry put it, of 'civil subjection to the Inhabitants of the Country'.[47]

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46. See heading to this chapter and fn. 1.
47. Records, v. 35, p. 148, Report upon the Police, 10/5/1828.

CHAPTER II

GRAAFF-REINET DISTRICT C. 1800

Graaff-Reinet

On 13 December 1785 the directors of the Dutch East India Company gave consent to the formation of a new administrative district at the Cape, to be called Graaff-Reinet after the Governor and his wife. It was the fourth such district, the others being Cape (1652), Stellenbosch (1679) and Swellendam (1745). To the east and south this new unit was bounded by the Tarka and Fish Rivers and a stretch of coast between the Fish and Gamtoos River mouths. To the north the boundary was undefined but a fixed point was provided by Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe River and thus the farmers of the Sneeuwberg and Rhinocerberg were included. To the west the boundary with Stellenbosch was drawn from the Nieuwveld Mountains along the Gamka River to the Zwarteberg, and with Swellendam District along the Zwarteberg to the Gamtoos. These boundaries were published by plakkaat on 19 July 1786.[1]

Two farms belonging to Dirk Coetze, near the source of the Sundays River, were selected for the drostdy where M.H.O. Woeke, appointed Landdrost in December 1785, took up his office. In 1800 Frans Reinhard Bresler, who had been appointed by General Craig in 1796, was Landdrost. He was assisted by a court of six heemraden, regarded as representatives of the burghers at the local government level.[2] The district was divided into wards, each under the control of a veld cornet called upon by the landdrost to perform this duty.

The old sheep and cattle tax, levied on the graziers 'from time immemorial',[3] was levied also in Graaff-Reinet,

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1. Theal, History, v. 4, p. 238.
2. Katzen, 'White Settlers', OHSA, v. 1, p. 227.
3. Records, v. 9, p. 395, Report of Sir John Truter upon Certain Taxes, 16/2/1814.

the tax being 16 stivers (1s. 4d.) per hundred sheep and 1 stiver (1d.) per head of cattle per annum.[4] By a proclamation of 5 March 1798 (extended to the country districts by proclamation on 7 April 1798), a so-called 'street tax' had been imposed, calculated simply as one-half the amount of the sheep and cattle tax payable by each individual. In the country districts, where there were no streets, this tax was used to erect and repair public buildings, among other things.[5]

Slaves, horses, cattle and sheep were objects of value signifying a farmer's wealth. Land, which on the frontier was held almost entirely in loan places, counted for little in this reckoning. In its report, the first Commission of Circuit stated that the farmer's ability to pay (in this case, for the education of his children) should not be calculated on 'the number of places and erven' he had but on 'the number of sheep and black cattle' he possessed.[6] Barrow observed that with the Boer, cattle were 'his wealth' with which 'he portions off his children'.[7] In fact, the sheep and cattle tax paid by the grazier, though it does not tell the whole story, is the handiest indicator of wealth.

Between 1799 and 1803 the district was involved in a dangerous and disruptive war with the Xhosa, who were joined by several hundred Khoikhoi, many of whom were armed and knew their way about the Colony.[8]

It is hard to square Theal's picture of desolation in mid-1799 - almost the whole District overrun and 'nearly all the horses, horned cattle and sheep ... in the hands of

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4. Ibid., p. 393. See Theal, History, v. 4, p. 240, for sterling equivalents.
5. Ibid., p. 370.
6. Ibid., v. 8, p. 297, Report of the 1811 Commission, 28/1/1812.
7. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 332.
8. For a chronological summary of events in this war see Appendix.

the Xosas and Hottentots'[9] - with the actual figures for stock and produce in 1800:

Table 1 : Opgaaf

1 Muid = 1 Sack or 3 Buckets or 4 Schepels // 1 Leaguer = 126 gallons

	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Muids of Wheat	Muids of Barley	Leggers of Wine
1798[10]	7 392	118 306	780 274	11 283½	5 193¼	187 5/16
1800[11]	4 722	81 819	782 001	9 865	4 534	133¾

At this stage of the war it seems more likely that a relatively small number of farmers had lost a great deal while others continued unmolested. Of a Bruintjes Hoogte farmer Barrow wrote, 'The very man who was most active in promoting a Kaffer war, according to his Opgaaff, had between 800 and 900 head of cattle, and more than 8000 sheep, all of which, in their late disturbances with the Kaffers, he very deservedly lost'.[12]

Occupation of the Land

The Graaff-Reinet opgaaf for 1800 shows 1023 male taxpayers and there were in addition 30 widows paying tax.[1] Yet only 255 of these 1053 taxpayers are shown as having one or more loan places (presumably registered in their names).

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9. Theal, History, v. 5, p. 60 and Appendix.
10. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 115, cited Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 82.
11. Ibid., J. 118.
12. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 78. It is not clear at what stage of the hostilities this farmer suffered his losses.

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1. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.

Table 2

Boers with Loan Places, Graaff-Reinet District, 1800 Opgaaf[2]

178	Boers	held	1	farm	= 178
54	"	"	2	farms	= 108
20	"	"	3	"	= 60
2	"	"	4	"	= 8
1	Boer	"	5	"	= 5
255	Boers held				359 farms

By far the greatest number are shown as living with other Boers.

Table 3

Distribution of Tax-Paying Boers, Graaff-Reinet District 1800 Opgaaf[3]

255 Boers held farms
703 woond by other Boers
53 woond op die plaats van other Boers

756 Boers lived on farms held by other Boers
24 Boers lived regt aan t'veld, etc.
11 Boers held erfs in the dorp
1 lived in the Drostdy
1 had gone to Stellenbosch
5 had nothing indicated regarding their whereabouts

1 053 taxpayers

According to Barrow there were 'about 700 families'[4] and 492 loan places[5] in Graaff-Reinet District in 1798. He states that the 492 farms were registered in the office of the Receiver of Land Revenue but a quick count of farms reflected on the 1798 opgaafrol[6] reveals 351 or so. The fact is that accurate figures are difficult if not impossible to obtain.

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 74. Presumably Barrow based the number of families on the number of married men. The 1798 opgaaf shows 940 men but only 689 women; thus 700 approximates the number of married men.
5. Ibid., p. 85.
6. CA, Opgaafrolle J. 115

Though land policy is not within the scope of this paper, the situation with regard to land occupation on the frontier was so crucial to the fate of the Khoikhoi that it seems worthwhile examining it briefly. Loan places over and above those mentioned in the main section of the opgaafrolle had of course been allocated, for example, to taxpayers separately listed such as those not actually resident in the District, former Company servants and 'Gedoopte Bastaarden'.[7] But the actual number of loan places in Graaff-Reinet District at any one time may be impossible to establish.[8] According to Smith, referring to the First British Occupation:

> The British administration appeared uncertain of the number of loan farms in the colony, and Sir George Yonge in January 1801 thought that there were about 3 500 loan farms. Barrow's figures, that the number of loan farms registered in 1798 was 1 832, of which 492 were in the Graaff-Reinet district, appear more correct. The opgaaf for 1798 showed 940 men and 689 women in the Graaff-Reinet district, so it would appear that many colonists did not have registered loan farms. This was borne out by the statement of the meat contractors in 1791, that there were some 700 households in Graaff-Reinet, and somewhat more farms. It was probably only the best farms, with good supplies of water, that were registered in order to prevent others from registering them.[9]

From this it would appear that Smith takes the butchers' statement to mean that each of the 700 households occupied a loan farm and that some held more than one, but that only certain of these, the ones with the best water supplies, had been registered. This is a very different picture from the one indicated by Table Nos. 1 and 2. Certainly there would have been many unregistered farms, and the frequency with which travellers came upon un-

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7. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
8. What appears to be an accurate record for the year 1792 shows 557 registered farms, see CA, G.R. 14/17. Similar documentation could not be found for other years.
9. Kenneth Wyndham Smith, 'From Frontier to Midlands : A History of the Graaff-Reinet District', Ph.D. Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1974, p. 72.

inhabited structures on cattle places indicates the extent to which farms, whether registered or not, were resorted to only at certain periods of the year. It is the concept of a 'household' per farm which is in question.

Paravicini mentions meeting the heemraad Barend Jacobus Burgers on the 'Buffels River' who handed him

> the list of the loan places (in Graaff-Reinet district) as requested by the Governor in the meeting at Graaff-Reinet, and indicating their location and occupiers. He remarked that more accurate information would be found in the government records in Cape Town, since the entry of "ordinances" of loan places had been inadequate during the past years, owing to the lack of orderly conduct of affairs at Graaff-Reinet.[10]

But Smith states that 'Neither could full details be obtained in Cape Town, and there was no way of knowing if the persons under whose names farms were registered were still occupying them'.[11]

In the discussion which follows an effort has been made to assess population, that is, of Boers and their servants, on the farms but the constant movement from place to place of persons and their livestock is perhaps the most important fact of all. No doubt many taxpayers reported as living with other Boers were absent for considerable periods, occupying farms which they unofficially but effectively regarded as their own.

Barrow attempted to express the discrepancy between registered farms and land actually appropriated by the Boers, saying that on average 'each family may command 57 square miles of ground, which is more than six times the quantity regulated by Government'.[12] In recent times Reyburn has taken pains to investigate this matter of

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10. W.B.E. Paravicini di Capelli, Reize in de Binnen-Landen van Zuid-Africa, p. 261.
11. Smith, 'Frontier to Midlands', p. 73.
12. Travels, v. 2, p. 74.

'illegal occupation of unallotted land',[13] producing figures for various frontier veldcornetcies during the period 1812-14. Discrepancies ranged from one in two-and-a-half to one in ten, this being the ratio of families possessing legal title and paying rent against the total number of families in the various regions. By implication the majority squatted illegally on loan places which they had not registered. But the opgaaf-rolle for this period do not, as does the roll for 1800, indicate who lived upon the farms of other Boers.[14] The impression given by a study of them alone could therefore be misleading. It may be that some designated as families who woond by or woond op die plaats van other Boers[15] actually occupied the 'waste land' between the measured farms. To the extent that this happened it would appear, from the manner in which entries were made in 1800, that Boers occupied such land under the eye of the holders of registered loan places and that a rough sort of hierarchy therefore existed.

Altogether it would seem that there existed on the frontier a situation more complex than that of one tax-paying household per farm (which might be legally or illegally occupied) and more hierarchical than is usually acknowledged. In effect, however, by a combination of formal and informal arrangements, the Boers used at will all the land of the District which was fit to use, with no idea of reserving or making available any for the Khoi-khoi. Other aspects of land use and sharing will be dealt with later in this discussion.

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13. H.A. Reyburn, 'Studies in Cape Frontier History: I, Land, Labour and Law', The Critic, v. 3, No. 1, October, 1934, pp. 41-2.

14. See CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 73, J. 140 and J. 142, for example.

15. In 1800, and by inference at later periods.

Farm Populations

The frontier Boer is generally conceived as living a life of isolation on his vast farm, with only his family, servants and perhaps a schoolmaster or knegt for company. This stereotype may conceal some significant variations. For example, we find the widow of Daniel Blom the elder, with two loan places registered in her name, having three married sons living on her farms, one son-in-law, and a former Company servant, J.B. Blom, who perhaps was also a son.[1] Similarly the heemraad Stephanus Naude had nine taxpaying families and two single men besides his own immediate family (wife and two sons) living on one or the other of his two places.[1] In neither case is it clear how these persons were distributed between the farms in question but their labour force, stock and produce are shown below:

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1. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.

Table 4 : Sample Farm Populations

	Taxpayer	Children	Slaves[2]	Hottentots	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Muids of Wheat	Muids of Barley	Tax[3]
										Rds.
A.	Wed. Blom	-	1 adult F. 2 child F.	3 male 5 female	1	155	1 750			9-0-3
	L. Blom	1 son	-	-	5	36	434			2-1-4
	C. Blom	1 son 2 daughters	1 adult M.	2 female	2	12	557			2-0-5
	B.P. Blom	-	-	-	2	28	357			1-6-1
	J.B. Blom	-	-	-	2	-	103			5-2
	S.J. Jacobs	1 son			1	62	523			3-0-2
					13	293	3 724		Total:	18-6-5
B.	S. Naude[4]	2 sons	10 adult M. 5 " F. 2 child M. 6 " F.	24 male 28 female	27	906	3 792	200	50	15-6-0
	J.F. Naude	2 sons 1 daughter	-	2 male 6 female	3	122	606			4-4-3
	P.A. Coetze[6]	-	-	-	-	-	-			5-2[5]
	G.L. Coetze[6]	2 sons 2 daughters	3 child M.	2 male 2 female	6	10	1 056	50		5-6-3

2. For the 1800 opgaaf (J.118) slaves were reported in four categories, adult male, adult female, child male, child female, but Khoikhoi in only two categories, male and female.

3. Sheep and cattle tax is shown here: 6 stivers = 1 schelling; 8 schellings = Rd. 1.

(fns. 4., 5. and 6, see below p. 21)

Table 4 : Sample Farm Populations (cont'd)

Taxpayer	Children	Slaves	Hottentots	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Muids of Wheat	Muids of Barley	Tax
									Rds.
Dirk Coetze	1 son	2 adult M.	6 male 7 female	8	212	1 045			7-7-1
J.C. Coetze	4 sons 1 daughter	4 adult M.	5 male 8 female	22	286	1 661	28	10	11-4-0
J.H. Coetze	-	-	-	4	34	43			6-5
J.Steinberg	6 daughters	-	2 male 4 female	2	63	659			3-4-1
J.P.Erasmus	2 sons 2 daughters	-	2 male 6 female	2	65	970			4-4-4
N.J.Grobler	4 sons 3 daughters	-	10 male 10 female	7	143	1 041			6-3-4
I. Marais	4 sons 3 daughters	-	2 male 3 female	1	68	508			3-0-5
C.J. Elof	2 sons 1 daughter	-	1 male 1 female		62	332			2-3-1
				82	1 971	11 713		Total:	66-4-5

4. On 6 November 1801 Stephanus Naude and his wife were murdered. His wife, Anna Elizabeth Olivier, had been married to Dirk Coetze Sr. previously.

5. It appears that a basic tax of Rd.0-5-2 was levied on all burghers whether they possessed sheep and cattle or not.

6. The wife of G.L. Coetze was a Naude; the wife of J.P. Erasmus was a Coetze

It was of course quite usual for sons or sons-in-law to remain on a parent's farm until sufficient wealth had been accumulated to branch out on their own, or for young men, arriving on the frontier to seek their fortunes, to spend a period with an established farmer for the same purpose. Very likely, in 1800, some farms sheltered refugees from the recent disturbances, while in addition some young farmers would have postponed the decision to strike out independently. Nevertheless it seems true to say that the idea of one family per farm of 3000 morgen, taken as typical, conveys a false picture. Thus de Mist in his Memorandum argued for smaller farms than those currently 'given to one single farmer to be cultivated'.[7] To be sure they were given in the name of one but the idea that they supported only one is fallacious. This situation persisted: Pringle refers to a throng of people, apparently a very extended family, counting stock on a farm where he visited[8] and in 1830 Steedman visited a farm in Longkloof where five brothers lived with their families.[9]

In the case of Naude we see 12 adult white men, 10 wives, 23 sons and 19 daughters giving 64 in all. There were also 16 adult male slaves, 5 adult females, 5 male and 6 female child slaves, 56 male and 75 female Khoikhoi, making 227 individuals in all on two farms. Looking further we find 10 'baptised Bastaards' also residing with Naude,[10] bringing the total to 237. In the case of the Blom household we find 5 adult white men, 5 women, 3 sons and 2 daughters, that is, 15 whites in all, plus 2 adult and 2 child slaves, and 10 Khoikhoi, a total of 29 persons on two farms.[11] No wonder

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7. J.A. de Mist, The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist ... 1802, p. 208. Italics mine. de Mist appeared to feel even 1000 morgen was too great a size but the Memorandum was written before his arrival at the Cape.
8. Thomas Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, p. 59.
9. Andrew Steedman, Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa, v. 1, p. 317.
10. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
11. Comparing the Naude and Blom households and using tax as the index we see the size of the establishments maintained by one well-to-do and particularly prominent individual and by one moderately well-off farmer.

Paravicini remarked:

> The households here in the country are unusual. The colonists have numerous families and a multitude of slaves (and) so-called free Hottentots. One hardly takes a step without being surrounded by a number of children and maids of every age and colour.[12]

The Third Frontier War created an abnormal situation, more so in its second phase between 1801-3. In his Joernaal Dirk Gysbert van Reenen lists several hundred farmers driven from their loan places around 1801 and among them appear to be a fair number who were still sitting pretty in 1800 - Isaak van Heerden, Barend Jacobus Burgers, Wed. Daniel Blom, W.A. van Heerden, to name a few.[13] These dislocations, temporary in most cases, did not overturn but rather exacerbated more normal conditions.

The above discussion has been entered into for the following reasons: to illustrate the concentration of boers on loan places, and to begin with as clear as possible an idea of the population structure of the farms; also, for the relevance this will have at a later point in the discussion regarding the concentration of Khoikhoi on farms. For the burghers the place of an established farmer was a launching pad for young, would-be farmers, enabling them to establish themselves and their families on their own loan places in the short or long run if this was what they desired. This was not the case with the Khoikhoi.

Other Classes of Frontier Dwellers

In addition to the main opgaafrol for the year 1800 there was another for a category of Boers designated 'Ingezeetenen die zich onder de Colonien van Zwellendam en

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12. Reize, p. 224.
13. Without doing a thorough check of loan place registrations and their localities it is difficult to be certain that the same persons are referred to on van Reenen's list and on opgaafrol J.118 since sometimes several share the same name and spellings are far from consistent.

Stellenbosch bevinden', in other words taxpayers who did not actually reside in the District.[1] These totalled 131 (121 men and 10 widows) who between them held twenty-one loan places.[2] They reported a labour force of two male slaves, 108 male and 98 female Khoikhoi. The wealthiest of these absentees, P.A. Myburgh, held five farms and accounted for 29 of the male and 28 of the female Khoikhoi. Three burghers from the main opgaafrol, as well as one retired Company servant,[3] are recorded as occupying farms registered in his name.

Besides the Boers - the aristocracy of their society[4] - there were other classes of individuals on the frontier. One of these, the military, need not be considered here. There was, however, a class of retired Company servants, former soldiers and sailors in the main, totalling 67 men (only 16 reported having wives).[5] Between them they employed 53 male and 61 female Khoikhoi. Some of these lived in Graaff-Reinet dorp where they practised trades, served as knegts[6] and so forth; others lived among the farmers as schoolmasters or servants, some practising a craft. Three only, who appear to have married the daughters of Boers, had loan places. Frederik Willem Zagener, a former sailor, is shown as farming on his own account, with two loan places registered in his name in 1800. Besides four male and one female adult slaves he had 12 male and 14 female Khoikhoi living with him.

Yet another class consisted of 'Gedoopte Bastaarden'.[7] In 1800 there were reported 30 men, of whom 15 were married, with 26 male and 33 female children. Apparently one only of these, Jacobus Jordaan, had his own loan place. Another,

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1. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
2. When loan places recorded against the names of absentee taxpayers, retired Company servants and baptised Bastards are added to the original total, the new total is 385.
3. Gerrit Helmse. See CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
4. P.J. van der Merwe, Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie, p. 191.
5. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
6. Only 5 knegts were reported in 1800, 2 being employed by the Landdrost.
7. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.

Jan Balie, lived with his wife and three sons on a farm of Stephanus Naude.[8]

We thus arrive at a frontier population for the year 1800 consisting roughly as follows:

Table 5

Frontier Population in 1800

'Christians'		Khoikhoi		Slaves	
Taxpaying Boers:		With Boers :		With Boers :	
men 1 023		male	3 404	Adult male	462
widows 30	1 053	female	3 645	Adult female	411
Their wives	727			Child male	109
" sons	1 238			Child female	92
" daughters	1 243				
Retired Company servants[9] :	67	With Company servants :		With Company servants :	0
Their wives	16	male	53		
" sons	23	female	61		
" daughters	9				
Baptised Bastaards[10] :	30	With Bastaards :		With Bastaards :	0
Their wives	15	male	33		
" sons	26	female	37		
" daughters	33				
		On farms of Boers living outside the District[11] :		On farms of Boers living outside the District :	
		male	108	Adult male	2
		female	98		
	4 480		7 439		1 076

The total population for the District was thus 12 995, a drop from 14 173 in 1798.[12] This decrease occurs entirely in the category of Khoikhoi, who numbered 8 947 in 1798,[13] as

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8. Another Bastard, Adam Hendrik Rooy, was reported as living with his wife, 1 son and 2 daughters with Jan Balie and hence with Naude, accounting for the 10 Bastards shown as residing on Naude's farm in 1800.
9. The group referred to by Barrow as 'Servants, schoolmasters with their families', Travels, v. 2, p. 81.
10. The group referred to by Barrow as 'Persons of color and their families', Ibid.
11. Not included in list of 'Christians' as not physically resident in District.
12. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 83.
13. Ibid.

the numbers of Christians and slaves increased in the same period. Sir George Yonge commented on these figures when he wrote to Henry Dundas on 18 February 1801 to inform him that Graaff-Reinet had settled down:

> The number of Occupiers are now about 12 000, of which about 7 000 are Hottentot Servants, besides Slaves. This Number is rather more than there was before the Troubles except about 1 600 Hottentots, which I am sorry to say The Troubles have certainly driven away and destroyed.[14]

The above population figures can be assumed to be incomplete.[15] Nomadic families of Boers, the 'trek menschen' or 'wandering men' referred to by Lichtenstein,[16] may not have been counted. Certainly there must have been women who were neither wives nor daughters of Boers, nor tax-payers in their own right, and hence not counted. Xhosa, Gunekwebe and Gonas lived in the Zuurveld and some worked on farms, but were not counted.

As for the Khoikhoi, elsewhere in the Colony small pockets still lived in kraals. We have seen how the Proclamation of 28 February 1800 called for 'The People of Colour, Bastards, and other Hottentots, if not in any Person's employment'[17] to give in their names for the opgaaf. In 1801 van Ryneveld proposed that all kraals should be registered and issued with special licences,[18] but apparently Graaff-Reinet District had none. Barrow remarked that though twenty years earlier there had been many kraals, some with hundreds of Hottentots, beyond the Gamtoos, by 1797 no kraals remained in the whole of the District, nor even 'a score of individuals

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14. Records, v. 3, p. 427.
15. With regard to population figures for this period, reference is made in the Introduction to the Index to Opgaafrolle in the Cape Archives to a comment in the South African Commercial Advertiser, 9 September 1829, that since these returns were for tax purposes, under less than strict supervision, they cannot be taken as entirely accurate, CA, 1/5, Opgaafrolle, p. 2.
16. Travels, ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 66.
17. See above p. 9.
18. Records, v. 4, p. 91, Plan for Amending the Interior Police, 31/10/1801.

who are not actually in the service of the Dutch'.[19] Those few were supported by 'the chace' and the earnings of their children who were in service.[20] Stow quotes Lt. Paterson as stating that there were no Hottentot tribes in the Zuurveld in 1779.[21] In the preface to his Researches, Philip contrasted the happier situation of certain Hottentots 'allowed to live after their ancient manner' in the western Cape, where slaves were plentiful, with that of Hottentots in the east where 'the natives were more dreaded, and, therefore, more hated and oppressed',[22] evidently meaning they were forced in a more thoroughgoing manner to give up an independent existence.

Undoubtedly as a result of the 'Troubles' referred to by Yonge a number of Khoikhoi, formerly on farms - those whom van Ryneveld, a little later, wished to control by requiring that all Hottentots be registered either with farmers, in kraals or at the mission 'schools' - were roaming at will. Barrow, despite his use of the opgaaf figures for his calculations, estimated the actual number of Hottentots in Graaff-Reinet District at 10 000.[23] Thus many were deemed to be in the District who had not been counted. But when every allowance is made for shortcomings in the statistics, it may yet be claimed that they are adequate for the present purpose, which is to explore the degree of success competing groups, but especially the Khoikhoi, met with in exploiting the opportunities and resources of the frontier.

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19. Travels, v. 1, p. 93.
20. Ibid., p. 99.
21. G.W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa, p. 204.
22. John Philip, Researches in South Africa, v. 1, p. xvii. Writing to the Directors of the London Missionary Society in November 1826 Philip stated that after 1800 there were not only 'several Hottentot kraals on the River Zonderend' but also others in Uitenhage, possibly referring to kraals established under the auspices of government by the Stuurmans and others who had been rebels during the Third Frontier War, and which therefore did not exist in Barrow's time, Records, v. 30, p. 157.
23. Travels, v. 1, p. 113. Commenting on the 1805 census returns Theal said that the number of Hottentots in kraals, or of San wandering about, was unknown as 'these people paid no taxes and therefore no notice was taken of them by the census framers', Records, v. 5, p. 135.

CHAPTER III

FARM KHOIKHOI

Distribution of Khoikhoi on Farms in Graaff-Reinet District, C. 1800

Taking the number of Hottentots reported in the 1798 opgaaf, namely 8 947, and dividing them by the number of families, calculated at 700, Barrow arrived at an average of about thirteen per family throughout the District.[1] This is true enough but does not contribute much to an understanding of how Khoikhoi were actually distributed on the eastern frontier.

In 1800 Hottentots were designated on the opgaafrolle by sex only, and not by age as were the slaves.[2] Thus one finds the headings 'Hottentotten, gr. & kl.' and 'Hottentottinen, gr. & kl.' Using the figure of 7 049 Khoikhoi reported by tax-paying inhabitants on the main opgaaf roll in 1800, and taking 725 as the number of families, we get something under ten as the average per family. This total of 7 049 Hottentots consisted of 3 404 males and 3 645 females, distributed as follows:

Table 6

Distribution of Khoikhoi on Farms in 1800

Farmers with:

30 plus	20 plus	15 plus	10 plus	5 plus	4	3	2	1	0	
5	14	30	56	140	59	58	117	186	388	male
5	18	30	61	154	71	71	92	129	422	female

Those having no Khoikhoi at all, male or female, numbered 325. The majority of this group of taxpayers (i.e. 227) were bachelors.[3] Nevertheless, a fair number were married men

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1. Travels, v. 2, p. 120.
2. By 1802 or thereabouts Khoikhoi as well as slaves were broken down into four groups: males over and under 16 years of age, females over and under 14. See, for eg., J. 122.
3. Leaving about 70 bachelors who did report Khoikhoi servants.

(Barrow's 'families'),[4] many of whom, it would appear, lived with a father or father-in-law. We have seen how, on the farms of Stephanus Naude, all but the two single men reported numbers of Hottentots, amounting to 131 (56 male and 75 female). On the Blom farms, however, two married men as well as one who was unmarried had no Khoikhoi to report, and the total was 10 only (3 male, 7 female). On average then, regarding Khoikhoi per 'family', we find fourteen plus[5] per family among the Naude/Coetze cluster but only two-and-a-half[6] among the Bloms.

A more useful analysis of the distribution of Hottentots appears to lie in the correlation of numbers of Khoikhoi with the wealth of the farmers. In aggregate the tax paid by the Naude/Coetze cluster comes to Rds. 66-4-5 whereas that of the Bloms is Rds. 18-6-5. Looking at individuals within these clusters we find also a fairly consistent though not exact correlation between numbers of Khoikhoi and wealth as reflected in tax paid. The correlation could be even closer than it appears since we do not know from available records the ages and therefore the likely usefulness of the Khoikhoi reported.[7]

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4. Ninety-eight 'families' in all.
5. Nine families into 131 Khoikhoi.
6. Four families into 10 Khoikhoi.
7. It is not clear how this difficulty can be overcome with regard to individual returns but some clarification is possible if figures for a slightly later period are used. By 1806 a new district, Uitenhage, had been carved out of Graaff-Reinet (including also a portion of Swellendam) with Khoikhoi as below:

Male		Female		
Over 16	Under 16	Over 14	Under 14	
1436	1110	1625	1116	Graaff-Reinet, per J.127
595	593	854	626	Uitenhage, per J. 394
2031	1703	2479	1742	= 7 955: Area roughly equivalent to Graaff-Reinet, 1800.

It may be assumed the proportion of younger to older Khoikhoi was not much different in 1800, i.e. 57% adult to 43% juvenile.

Taking thirty Khoikhoi (male and female combined) more or less arbitrarily as constituting a large number per taxpayer, it is found that 51 out of the total of 1 053 reported having more than 30 Khoikhoi on their farms. Almost without exception[8] these taxpayers were holders of one or more loan places. Again, almost without exception,[9] the tax they paid was substantial. There are anomalies: at one extreme was L.C. Janse van Vuuren who reported the most Hottentots (64) yet kept only 1 horse, 125 cattle and 150 sheep, paying tax of Rds. 3-0-5 only and reporting no agriculture; at the other was Francois du Plessis who as taxpayer ranked fifth, paying Rds. 28-0-5, yet reporting only one Hottentot, a male (though he had as well 4 male and 2 female adult slaves). But there is overwhelming evidence that Boers of substance (i.e. those who paid the most tax and held registered loan places as well as those who filled the highest offices, namely Landdrost, heemraden and veld commandants) were Boers who had many Hottentots on their places and that a fairly close correlation existed between wealth and the presence of Khoikhoi right down the scale to the youngest unmarried burghers, most of whom had no Khoikhoi servants at all.

Absorption of Khoikhoi onto the Farms

The inference to be drawn from the foregoing figures is the mutual attraction between farmers rich in sheep and cattle, and Khoikhoi. We may ask, by what mechanism did they come together?

Undoubtedly a number of Khoikhoi servants accompanied the trekboers on their northward and eastward migrations[1] but

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8. Five exceptions, two living on loan places of absentee Boers.

9. Six exceptions, paying less than Rds. 10 in tax.

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1. Van der Merwe refers to testimony given in 1778 by Khoikhoi who had accompanied Boers across the Fish River, Die Trekboer, pp. 163-4.

the majority of farm Hottentots would, by 1800, naturally consist of Khoikhoi found in the areas where the trekboers settled. We have already seen Barrow's remarks on this subject.[2] van Reenen, when he accompanied Janssens and his party to the east in 1803, met Klaas Stuurman, one of the rebel captains, who had once lived on a farm at the Gamtoos River mouth belonging to van Reenen's father. But afterwards this farm had been given on loan to another colonist so that Stuurman and the others had to move, a process repeated many times for van Reenen remarks, 'since that time nearly all the kraals owned by the Hottentots had become occupied on ordonnance by the colonists'.[3] As a result the Khoikhoi 'no longer had grazing for their cattle and found themselves compelled to enter into service with the inhabitants'.[4] That this process was not unrelated to the wealth of at least certain Boers is reflected in the following observation by van Reenen:

> They no doubt had to take their few head of cattle along with them and now all depended on whether they took service with people who were fair-minded enough to protect and respect their scanty property or with folk who, with greedy eyes, sought to appropriate the little still remaining to these poor creatures.[5]

Cuyler described some European settlers as 'Deserters or Runaway Sailors, people of desperate means and bad conduct, who to acquire property, no doubt cheated the original native of his cattle'.[6]

Van der Merwe stresses the symbiotic aspects of Boer/Khoikhoi relations, claiming that the latter had a profound influence on trekboer expansion: firstly, by guarding stock and performing other duties, for very low remuneration; and secondly, by helping to protect the colonists, so that very often a young Boer chose to settle in the vicinity of a Hottentot kraal.[7] This appears to be at variance with

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2. See above, p. 26.
3. Die Joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, 1803, p. 83.
4. Ibid., p. 85.
5. Ibid.
6. Records, v. 21, p. 339, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
7. Die Trekboer, p. 145.

Philip's assertion, quoted above,[8] that Hottentots were especially harshly put down and forced into service in the east, as compared with the western Cape (out of fear of them as of other aborigines on the frontier) but quite possibly both motives operated at different times in different circumstances. So, for a variety of reasons, Khoikhoi were absorbed onto loan places by the Boers.

Khoikhoi as Cattleherds and Shepherds

With regard to animal husbandry as practised by the Khoikhoi before the colonisation of the Cape, much useful information has been provided by other researchers,[1] some of whom have commented also on the ways in which the trekboers capitalised on Khoikhoi know-how. Neumark has characterised the role of the pastoralist Khoikhoi in frontier expansion as follows: in the first place, Khoikhoi were owners of cattle, so essential for transportation as well as for food, and of sheep as well, and so were a source of supply; secondly:

> of no less importance was the fact that the colonists had found in the Hottentots careful shepherds and herdsmen. The Hottentots also proved to be skilled trainers of draft oxen. Indeed it was with the assistance of the Hottentot herdsmen and shepherds, trainers of draft oxen and wagon drivers, that the vast territories of the interior could be utilised. Without the Hottentots no such rapid expansion of the colony could have taken place.[2]

The expertise of the Khoikhoi in the management of sheep and cattle was constantly remarked. In extolling a servant, Joseph Orpen spoke of the 'fine art' of shepherding and of how the shepherd must combine a knowledge of 'animals, quality of pasture, nature of bushes, and ways of sheep'.[3]

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8. See p. 27.

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1. I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, pp. 292-300; Wilson, 'Hunters and Herders', passim; Elphick, Kraal and Castle, pp. 57-62.
2. S. Daniel Neumark, Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836, p. 74.
3. Joseph Millerd Orpen, Reminiscences of Life in South Africa from 1846 to the Present Day, p. 10.

Buck Adams remarked that 'The Hottentots are first-rate hands at driving cattle',[4] while Burchell wrote, 'They are excellent shepherds, and in the management of oxen are admirably expert'.[5] W. Bird reported that, 'The Hottentots, both men and women, are shepherds, ox-herds, leaders of waggons; and the men drivers of them: and these duties are so absolutely required in the colony, that the greatest distress to the community would follow, were this class entirely domesticated'.[6] He goes on to speak of 'the inimitable skill and inclination of this tribe to tend and to drive cattle'[7] as well as sheep.[8] These are references to their services to farmers - the great reliance placed on them, by virtue of these same skills, on expeditions will be discussed elsewhere.

It is clear from the foregoing that Khoikhoi were particularly fitted because of their own experience as pastoralists to take charge of the herds and flocks of the colonists. Earlier it was shown how the regulations forbidding arming of slaves militated against this class of servant being utilised as herdsmen, though it did occur as will be seen below. Nevertheless there were yet other factors tending to earmark herding as work for Hottentots. For instance, Grosskopf alleges that the Khoikhoi, 'with their precarious and primitive mode of life, were generally very glad, for the sake of the regular rations, to enter the service of Europeans as shepherds. And in any case nobody could consider the herding of livestock, under South African conditions, as an elevating task for civilised men'.[9] Leaving aside the judgement expressed in the first sentence quoted, what may Grosskopf have had in mind in the second?

The first thing that strikes one about herding on the

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4. Adams, Buck, The Narrative of Private Buck Adams ... 1843-1848, ed. by A. Gordon-Brown, p. 176.
5. William J. Burchell, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, v. 1, p. 33.
6. W. Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, p. 67.
7. Ibid., p. 68.
8. Ibid., p. 67.
9. J.F.W. Grosskopf, Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus, p. 34.

frontier is the danger, present almost continuously in the vicinity of the San and reaching extremes at the time of frontier disturbances in the vicinity of the Xhosa. But apart from that was the day-to-day hardship of the work. Commenting on work performed by slaves (referring presumably to the western Cape where slaves were plentiful and arming less essential), the Commission of Inquiry said it 'consists of Labour in the Vineyards or in the ordinary operations of Agriculture, of which the herding of sheep and cattle and the driving of waggons are attended with the most fatigue'.[10] In other words, the jobs generally undertaken by Khoikhoi in the interior were, of all species of agricultural labour, the most fatiguing.

This is interesting because it is received wisdom that Hottentots were unsuitable for most agricultural labour, not only temperamentally and culturally but because they were too slightly built to perform heavy work. This opinion was expressed by Janssens in 1806 when he said: 'The Hottentots, who are eminently good at cattle-breeding, who are good soldiers and indefatigable walkers, hate hard labour and their physique is not suited to it either; their fine, supple bodies show this'.[11] The Commission of Inquiry took this view. On one occasion it stated that, 'From weakness of constitution they are rarely fit for the labours of agriculture'.[12] In his final assessment of their condition, Bigge wrote that they were employed in herding cattle and driving wagons, both 'essential to the success of all agricultural operations', but in the 'lighter operations of tillage' only, for though not lacking in 'intelligence and address, their physical strength, habits and constitution' precluded heavy work.[13] Thus the

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10. Records, v. 35, p. 372, Report upon the Slaves, 5/4/1831. Italics mine.
11. P.J. Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century, Appendix 2, p. 83, Treatise, 10/5/1806.
12. Records, v. 27, p. 423, Report on Finances, 6/9/1826.
13. Ibid., v. 35, p. 319, Report upon the Hottentots, 28/1/1830.

contradiction of a race unable to perform the 'heavy' labour of agriculture, yet constantly employed in those aspects of it 'attended with the most fatigue'! The answer probably lies in the distinction between endurance and physical strength. It was repeatedly demonstrated that the Khoikhoi, though small and slight of physique, were capable of outstanding feats of endurance, a characteristic which made possible their employment in the most fatiguing work, so long as it did not require brute strength.

Lichtenstein has thrown a little light on the routine of herding, describing how on the farm of van der Westhuizen in the Karroo the herds, along with the family and other servants, took part in devotions before receiving 'their portions of raw meat'[14] and driving the flocks into the fields. Then, when 'the flocks returned home in the evening, and had been counted over', the shepherds 'received their evening rations'.[15] Bird referred to the herding of oxen, sheep and goats over farms 6000 acres in extent and the necessity to drive them 'at least twice to water' daily.[16] Often goats accompanied the sheep, to keep them from straying,[17] and were required by the Khoikhoi to 'head the flocks' when driving them to Cape Town. According to Burchell, two or three Hottentot shepherds with dogs could manage flocks so large they were 'like an inundation' or 'an army invading the country', and 'seldom returned home without bringing under their arms a lamb or two which had been dropped in the course of the day'.[18] Typical flocks were of '2 to 5000 sheep and from 1 to 200 head of horned cattle', Cuyler said, speaking of Uitenhage District in 1810.[19]

Hottentots took almost complete charge of the flocks,

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14. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 356.
15. Ibid., pp. 356-7. Thomas Pringle described how a Boer family inspected herds and flocks, expertly noting any losses or damage done without actually counting, Narrative, p. 59.
16. State of the Cape, p. 93.
17. Ibid., p. 98.
18. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 242.
19. CA, UIT, 15/1, Cuyler to Alexander, 7/6/1810.

so Lichtenstein observed,[20] and this arrangement must have persisted because the Commission of Inquiry commented that farmers tended to entrust their cattle to 'a few ill-paid Hottentot Herdsmen'.[21] From Cuyler we learn that 'The Boers assist in herding their own Cattle, that is those who have no Hottentots or Slaves remain constantly with their Flock during the whole day, and those whose circumstances allow them to have Hottentots and Slaves visit their flocks two or three times a day'.[22] Cuyler was trying to reassure senior officials that adequate precautions were being taken at a time when Xhosa thefts were particularly frequent, that is, just before the Fourth Frontier War. But certainly the Boers stepped into the breach when they had 'no Hottentots or Slaves': in 1811 Veld Cornet Nel reported to Cuyler that 234 cattle had been stolen even though 'guarded by three farmers on horseback'[23] and at more or less the same time it was reported that a young Boer had been killed by Xhosa while 'herding a number of cattle'.[24] Poverty could also lead to graziers being 'obliged to herd their Cattle themselves, with their Children'.[25] Andrew Steedman, the traveller, tells of a Sneeuwberg family whose servants had deserted them and who tended their own livestock,[26] and again of the utter misery of a family where the 14-year-old son had to stay up all night to guard the sheep in their kraal.[27] Smith has collected several additional references to Boers and their families tending their own herds and flocks.[28] Clearly Boer families did tend their livestock without assistance, but this was

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20. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 364.
21. Records, v. 21, p. 304, Report, 25/5/1825.
22. Ibid., p. 336, Enclosure 9, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
23. Ibid., v. 8, p. 114.
24. Ibid., p. 88, Capt. Hawkes to Cuyler, 24/6/1811.
25. Ibid., v. 29, p. 478, Evidence of C.H. Olivier, a Farmer from Graaff-Reinet, 12/12/1826.
26. Wanderings, v. 1, p. 135.
27. Ibid., v. 2, p. 7.
28. For eg.: V.C. Barend Vorster who asked to be relieved of his duties as he had no servants to tend his animals, CA, G.R. 14/107. Cited in 'Frontier to Midlands', pp. 346-7.

almost always an indication of deprivation - poverty, or the desertion or unavailability of servants - or of especially dangerous conditions. Grosskopf, explaining the Boers' attitude to what has been called 'Kaffer work' maintains that they willingly performed all sorts of work when required to do so and that 'Only herding of livestock was the usual work of coloured persons'.[29]

Bird's remark, that 'The Hottentots, both men and women, are shepherds, ox-herds, leaders of waggons', has been cited.[30] Orpen mentioned seeing a Khoikhoi female as herd[31] and Major Fraser informed Colonel Cuyler during the 5th Frontier War that a Hottentot girl, herding with her mother, was killed while the mother, hiding in the bushes, escaped.[32] Thus Khoikhoi of both sexes performed this function.

Despite the prohibition on arming slaves (except in the presence of the master) which would seem virtually to preclude their use on the frontier as herds, we know that they were armed and sent out with livestock. In 1811 Cuyler reported that 'a slave man herding sheep of P.B. Botha was stabbed and his gun taken by the Kaffers',[33] and in 1819 it was reported that two slave herds, belonging to different masters, had been killed and their arms stolen.[34] But although slaves could be armed and used as herds in defiance of the law and even though Khoikhoi had just engaged in a devastating alliance with the Xhosa against the frontier Boers, we find van Reenen claiming that it was unwise to arm or even to keep slaves in the vicinity of the Xhosa: not only did they 'often assassinate and rob their masters' but 'often they desert, taking with them the arms with which they have been supplied for the protection of the livestock entrusted to their care, and then join the Kafirs ... The Hottentots are faithful, are good

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29. Rural Impoverishment, p. 171.
30. See p. 33.
31. Reminiscences, pp. 58 & 59.
32. Records, v. 12, p. 132.
33. Ibid., v. 8, p. 57, Cuyler to Bird, 6/5/1811.
34. Ibid., v. 12, pp. 177-8, Fraser to Cuyler, 2/5/1819.

shots, and the farmer has nothing to fear from them'.[35] Collins also commented on the demand for Khoikhoi in the grazing districts, 'who are there preferred to slaves'.[36]

San were eagerly employed. According to Barrow, Sneeuwberg Boers preferred San as Khoikhoi were not only 'now so scarce' but 'must be paid wages'.[37] The 1811 Commission of Circuit reported that San 'serve as herds with fully as much care and attention as the Hottentots themselves'.[38] Two years later it was claimed that 'Bosjesmen' were superior to Hottentots as herds 'on account of their great fidelity'.[39] In 1827, Uitenhage inhabitants spoke highly of Gonas, saying 'they have always been found very useful and faithful as herdsmen'.[40] Following the Third Frontier War, when Khoikhoi had deserted in large numbers, there was a demand for Xhosa herdsmen and although their employment was discouraged[41] by 1810 'some thousands' were in service to the Boers.[42] Later on Fingoes, Tambookies, Mantatees and others would be employed to ease the shortfall of Khoikhoi herdsmen, or (as the 1813 Commission of Circuit suggested in the case of the San) out of preference. Nevertheless, as Burchell remarked, shepherds were 'seldom of any other race than Hottentots'.[43]

These Khoikhoi herds, Burchell goes on to say, were seen 'always armed with a gun'.[44] Collins referred to the heavy expense for powder which farmers incurred due to the need to arm herds and place 'trap guns for beasts of prey, etc.'.[45]

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35. Joernaal, p. 289.
36. Records, v. 6, p. 351, Report, 30/5/1808.
37. Travels, v. 1, p. 248.
38. Records, v. 8, p. 305.
39. Ibid., v. 10, p. 94, Report of 1813 Commission of Circuit.
40. Ibid., v. 34, p. 369.
41. Paravicini, Reize, p. 242.
42. CA, C.O. 2572, No. 11, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 18/2/1810.
43. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 238, footnote.
44. Ibid.
45. Records, v. 6, p. 352, Report, 30/5/1808.

Barrow remarked that it was essential to arm Khoikhoi when San were about[46] and found that in the Sneeuwberg every man had to go armed whatever task he was performing.[47] Stockenstrom defended the practice of arming Khoikhoi herds, saying 'the mere knowledge of the presence of such protection was sufficient to prevent the robber ever coming near the flocks'.[48] This is at variance with Cuyler's description of how even periodic visits of armed Boers to their flocks during the day did not suffice for the Xhosa hid while the Boer was there 'but the moment he has rode off a few hundred yards' they dashed out and murdered one or even two armed herds with their assegais.[49]

Certainly herds were extremely vulnerable and Smith conjectured that the 276 '"colonists"' shown as murdered between 1786 and 1795, on a 'table compiled in 1836', were 'probably mainly Hottentot herdsmen'.[50] Lichtenstein reported the mass murder of livestock and Hottentot herders by bushmen on a Bruintjes Hoogte farm.[51] Xhosa also were an ever-present danger and a stepped-up rate of herd killings together with cattle thefts was likely to be the prelude to another frontier war.[52] Cuyler, in a circular to his veld cornets, urged caution in bad weather as well as fine 'as it is well known that Kaffers steal most in dark, rainy weather'.[53] Barrow alleged that frightful tortures were practised by San on Khoikhoi herdsmen.[54] After visiting the Hantam, Major Collins wrote that the San often struck at 'close of day' when herds were returning with their stock to the farm houses: once

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46. Travels, v. 1, p. 46.
47. Ibid., p. 203.
48. The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., v. 1, p. 106.
49. Records, v. 21, p. 336, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
50. 'Frontier to Midlands', p. 35; Marais, Coloured People, pp. 17-19.
51. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 362.
52. See Fraser to Cuyler, 29/1/1819 in Records, v. 12, pp. 132-4.
53. CA, UJT 15/1. Circular dated 17/5/1810.
54. Travels, v. 1, p. 242.

they had 'despatched the herdsmen' they drove off the cattle under cover of darkness.[55] He also asserted that herds were often murdered when they 'fall asleep, which frequently happens, in consequence of being overcome by the heat of fires or the immoderate use of dacha'.[56] The 'cunning' of San and Xhosa, as well as wild beasts, in awaiting their chance for a killing, was an occupational hazard for Khoikhoi herdsmen on the frontier. Collins summed up their miseries, saying 'they are exposed to suffer, not only the severest hardships from excessive fatigue and inclemency of weather, but also the most imminent dangers from the Bosjesmen and beasts of prey'.[57] Yet as Bird stated, their services were absolutely essential to 'Cape comforts' and the food supply of the colony, especially Cape Town.[58]

Another hazard of herding, perhaps of more day to day concern than these physical dangers, was the possibility of having wages stopped or deducted due to loss or injury to stock.[59] Ever present was the danger of being detained by the farmer on this account. As Collins noted:

> Much evil is occasioned by masters selling liquors to their servants, in part payment of wages, and that practice should be strictly prohibited; but the measure which I conceive of the first importance to the protection of the Hottentot and the improvement of his situation, is a sacred observance of his annual engagement. A Hottentot can now seldom get away at the expiration of his term. If he should happen not to be in debt to his masters, which he must have more caution than is characteristic of his race to prevent, he is not allowed to take his children, or he is detained under some frivolous pretence, such as that of cattle having

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55. Records, v. 6, p. 342, Report, 30/5/1808.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p. 351.
58. State of the Cape, pp. 67-8.
59. See Barrow, Travels, v. 1, p. 97.

> died through his neglect, and he is not permitted to satisfy any demands of this nature otherwise than by personal service.[60]

Responsibility for property which, if lost or damaged for whatever reason must be compensated for, presents difficult problems when applied to penniless persons whose only resource is labour. This will be referred to below.

Neumark has drawn attention to the unique aspects of the relationship between colonists and indigenous peoples at the Cape: 'the native races not only provided the sheep and cattle - they either had to be induced or coerced to part with them - but they also proved good shepherds and herdsmen for their European masters. This, indeed, was a position for which there is hardly any parallel in colonial history'.[61] Among the 'native races', the Khoikhoi may be said to have been the exemplars of this relationship.

Khoikhoi, Slaves and General Agriculture on the Frontier

It has been mentioned above that Khoikhoi are generally said to have been unsuitable for most forms of agricultural labour on grounds of temperament, physique and habits deriving from their traditional mode of life. For example, P.L. Cloete, a farmer of the Western Cape, testified in 1826 that he employed 20 or so Hottentots 'who are absolutely indispensable as herdsmen and waggon-drivers; but who cannot be brought to enter willingly in the hard labour of the fields'.[1] Certainly in the Western Cape a rough division of labour appears to have been established, with slaves undertaking the heavier 'operations of tillage' and Khoikhoi the jobs of herding and driving wagons. The situation on the frontier was somewhat different.

van Pallandt, though fulsome perhaps in his praise of Khoikhoi character, nevertheless gives a credible account of

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60. Records, v. 7, p. 111, Report, 6/8/1809.
61. Economic Influences, pp. 175-6.

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1. Records, v. 29, p. 442.

some jobs undertaken by them:

> It is they who cut the wood for their masters in the impenetrable forests, as this work is even too arduous for the slaves and only to be accomplished by the wiry arm of the Hottentot. When long and tiring journeys of several months' duration are undertaken, it is they who are entrusted with the supervision and security of the wagons, which are used to come into the town. To Hottentots are entrusted the safety, kind treatment and the feeding of the oxen, while the master keeps away from it all by riding a few days' journey ahead or coming on behind. It is they who look after the vast flocks of their masters and defend the animals against the raids of the Kafirs or of the Bushmen, showing wonderful alertness and courage. It is they who plough the fields in the interior and who reap the corn in harvest time. And it is with ill-treatment and contempt that these fine and worthy subjects are repaid.[2]

van Reenen has been quoted above, explaining why Khoikhoi made more satisfactory servants than slaves, especially in the vicinity of the Xhosa. He argued that Hottentots 'should be exempted from further military service because they could be employed far more usefully in the service of general agriculture, as they were formerly'.[3] It is clear that by 'general agriculture' he meant every sort of agricultural activity for he opposed missions also, on the grounds that Khoikhoi had 'contributed far more to the well-being of this country by herding and rearing cattle and tilling the land', before the Baviaans Kloof mission was founded.[4] Dr. Philip quoted a letter of Lt. Col. Reynolds about recruiting Griquas for the Cape Corps, in order to spare Colonial Khoikhoi whose removal from the farmers would be to 'the prejudice of cultivation'.[5]

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2. A. van Pallandt, General Remarks on the Cape of Good Hope, p. 20. Italics mine.
3. Joernaal, pp. 287-9. (Pages 287-9 represent two consecutive pages of English text since alternate pages carry the text in Dutch.)
4. Ibid., p. 21. Italics mine.
5. Researches, v. 2, p. 61. Italics mine.

How much cultivation took place in the mainly grazing districts?[6] Themes recurring as regularly as that concerning the notorious idleness and 'vagrant disposition'[7] of the Khoikhoi are those concerning the idleness of the frontier Boers and their loathness to engage in agriculture. Spilhaus suggests that the fact that 'The Hottentots were skilled cattle-men and shepherds, but knew little of agriculture'[8] had the effect of influencing farmers, who regularly left most work to their servants, to prefer cattle-running to agriculture. Certainly the policies of the Dutch East India Company which stifled enterprise in agriculture played a large part in turning potential cultivators into graziers. Then, once this trend had been established, the need for pasturage[9] fostered trekking ever further afield. van der Merwe has demonstrated the link between hunters and graziers (who might also be cattle-traders), citing the old Registers where grazing and hunting licences were often issued simultaneously to the same person.[10] Neither hunters nor cattle-traders could readily combine their callings with cultivation, but they could easily become stock farmers. Thus emerged the trekboere, many of whom had (more or less) permanent habitations on the frontier by 1800.

Grosskopf denies that the frontier Boers eschewed cultivation and depended on an 'exclusive meat diet', claiming that they ploughed and planted their gardens whenever climate and the water supply permitted.[11] All the same, for various reasons 'field husbandry' was 'reduced and performed with less care'.[12] The opgaafrolle for 1800 call for returns of wheat, barley and wine production only, so give no indication

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6. Environmental factors are referred to below.
7. Records, v. 34, p. 369.
8. South Africa in the Making, p. 354.
9. In the western Cape, a winter rainfall area, pastures dried up during the hot summers.
10. Die Trekboer, pp. 46-7.
11. Rural Impoverishment, p. 34.
12. Ibid., p. 36.

of domestic horticulture, comprising the vegetable gardens and fruit trees which would have afforded variety in diet. Wheat was of course essential for making bread, the lack of which was so often lamented by travellers.

The number of variables make it difficult to assess the degree to which cultivation could be practised, assuming the will to do so. Grosskopf has pointed out the great importance of rainfall - not only the amount per year but the distribution during the year, as well as from year to year - to any agricultural operation.[13] As for the charge that Boers were too lazy to build dams and construct irrigation ditches, Neumark has defended their economic logic: so long as land remained plentiful it made sense to take the stock to fresh grazing rather than go in for expensive improvements on the home farm.[14] All the same, so long as the farmer roved, agriculture was bound to suffer. The variables referred to above would have included farm location and rainfall as well as the availability of servants, all of which makes it difficult to impute either indolence or energy to individual Boers, or to the farming population as a whole.

The servants available to frontier farmers in 1800 were chiefly slaves and Khoikhoi. Of slaves there were 462 males and 411 females (873 adults), plus 201 male and female children.[15] Barrow, busy with his averages again, observed that there was only about one per family in the District of Graaff-Reinet,[16] but here again it makes sense to look at the actual distribution. Examining the opgaafrol for 1800 it is seen that 37 Boers (out of 1 053) held 305 adult slaves (out of 873),[17] in other words, 3.15% of the Boers held 34.93% of the slaves. Around 790 Boers had no slaves at all.[18] Stephanus Naude had the largest number of adult

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13. Ibid., pp. 46-8.
14. Economic Influences, p. 158.
15. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
16. Travels, v. 1, p. 113. Around 110 Boers owned a single adult slave (62 male, 49 female) in 1800.
17. Based on how many Boers held 6 or more adult slaves.
18. These were mainly Boers without loan places recorded against their names.

slaves, namely 15, but 6 to 8 was a more usual number among the larger slave holders. Referring to Op Sneeuwberg in 1808, Smith comments that 'the distribution of slaves was uneven' and that they were 'concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest inhabitants',[19] which appears consistently to have been the case.

There seems no clearcut proof that slave ownership was the key to cultivation on the frontier in 1800, a year when total production amounted to 9 865 muids wheat, 4 534 muids barley and 133¾ leggers wine.[20] Rather there is firm evidence that farm ownership, slave ownership, numbers of Khoikhoi, stock ownership and cultivation, in other words, all the marks of prosperity and well-being whether taxable or not, were united in a small proportion of the total number of Boers (remembering that most of the others were not necessarily 'poor', but only young and not yet come into their own). One hundred and fifty slave-owners had no wheat, barley or wine to report, though their slaves may have been occupied with other kinds of crops. On the other hand, more than eighty non-slaveholders reported production in these three categories.

Several of the larger producers were among the large slave-owners and also had a number of Hottentots on their farms, for eg.:[21]

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19. 'Frontier to Midlands', p. 336, per G.R.14/107.
20. It is possible, for example, that some farmers were wealthy enough to maintain fairly large households of domestic slaves, who would not have been engaged in the farming activities on which the production of that wealth depended, which would in turn affect the picture of Khoikhoi activity.
21. That the 8 Boers named represent significant producers by Graaff-Reinet standards will be seen by the fact that they produced 1 122 out of 9 865 muids, or 11.37% of the total wheat production.

	Adult Slaves	Khoi-khoi	Muids Wheat	Muids Barley	Leggers Wine
Stephanus Naude	15	52	200	50	5
Barend Jacobus Burgers	13	25	200	200	0
Petrus Jacobus Pretorius	9	36	190	100	0
Nicolaas Smit	7	22	200	30	8
Certain farmers with few slaves and many Hottentots, for eg.:					
Isaak van Heerden	2	49	60	9	0
Joh^{s}. Jacobus Kruger	3	42	98	55	0
were respectable producers when compared with certain Boers well supplied with both slaves and Khoikhoi, for eg.:					
Marth^{s}. Wessel Pretorius	12	50	94	0	3
while a well-to-do farmer who had no slaves at all, but 24 Hottentots, matched these last three in production:					
Petrus Pienaar	0	24	80	52	0

Grosskopf has asserted that slaves were not suited to areas given over to pastoral farming. In the first place they were very expensive, and in the second this type of farming did not 'afford opportunities for steady and regular labour' - referring presumably to the fact that opportunities for cultivation were so uncertain. For the grazier it made economic sense to 'try to achieve the greatest possible results with the least labour'.[22] Barrow gave as his opinion that slaves were inferior to Khoikhoi in intelligence and temper (though far better treated!).[23] These points coupled with those made by van Reenen seem to suggest that frontier Boers might have been glad to divest themselves of slaves rather than acquire them. However, the hold they had on their slaves undoubtedly weighed heavily in view of the fluctuations in the supply of Khoikhoi. Stockenstrom, in describing the hardships experienced because of the Third Frontier War, states that, 'The Colonists were, moreover ... constrained to forego the hired services of the Hottentots, and to purchase slaves at a very high price, or let their establishments fall entirely to the ground'.[24]

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22. Rural Impoverishment, p. 34.
23. Travels, v. 2, pp. 93-5.
24. Autobiography, v. 1, p. 23.

The lack of documentation is particularly severely felt in connection with the role of Khoikhoi in agriculture, apart from herding and wagon-driving.[25] One may suggest that in enumerating the activities carried out on farms, one is naming also the jobs performed by Hottentots. van Pallandt's observations (1803) have been quoted above,[26] and Freeman (1849) gathered as much from 'labourers of the coloured class' whom he met. To him they expounded their side of the labour question, claiming 'that all the agricultural work in the colony was performed by them' since 'the farmers themselves never put their hands even to a spade'.[27] The concomitant of Boer 'indolence' was the availability of servants (who on the frontier were usually Khoikhoi) to do their work for them - which is the other side of the coin[28] whereby Boers did in fact perform all sorts of labour in times of dire necessity. It is not clear to what extent Boers worked together with their servants: Pringle (hardly a typical Boer) mentioned working with Hottentots to construct a mill[29] and to plaster his home.[30] These are jobs where instruction or close supervision would be required and it seems likely that farmers left their servants to carry out the routine aspects of farm labour.

There is ample evidence that Khoikhoi did participate in planting and harvesting the farmers' crops. Much is found in the reports and correspondence of the missionary societies who continually gave out figures showing how many able-bodied men were away on the farms, particularly in these peak periods of the agricultural year. The first Commission of Circuit stated that 'In the neighbourhood of Genadendal the Hottentots, besides the cultivation of the ground for their own subsistence, hire themselves in the ploughing and harvest time to the

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25. Wagon-driving, though mentioned specifically as a major contribution made by Khoikhoi to agriculture, will nevertheless be dealt with in the chapter concerning expeditions as so much of the available information has been supplied by travellers.
26. See above pp. 41-2.
27. J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p. 39.
28. As described, for eg., by van der Merwe and Grosskopf.
29. Narrative, p. 65.
30. Ibid., p. 112.

Farmers in the neighbourhood. The same is also to be seen at Bethelsdorp'.[31] The Commission of Inquiry felt that mission stations served a useful purpose by domiciling Hottentots, so that men were still available in these busy seasons, yet neither they nor their families languished between-times as 'indigent retainers' on the farms.[32]

At Groenekloof in 1816, agriculture was 'yet conducted after the Hottentot fashion' according to Latrobe, who described their method of sowing corn:[33]

> Their manner of doing it is singular. They first cast the corn upon the waste, then plough over it; but as they seldom plough as much land as they overcast, the seed, thus exposed during the night, becomes the prey of birds or field-mice, which they patiently suffer. When I represented to them the injury they sustained, they insisted upon it, that it must be so done in this country, and endeavoured to explain the reason, which I must confess myself too dull to have comprehended.
>
> The harrow they use is a triangular frame, formed of three pieces of wood, furnished with teeth, four or six inches asunder, and doing very little execution. But prejudice defends even this bungling contrivance.[34]

Since the Khoikhoi were not agriculturalists, but acquired their knowledge from the Boers, it is more than likely that this was a method some had learned on the farms.[35] And like the Boers, they were reluctant to adopt new methods, or new machinery (or, for that matter, exchange the familiar animals such as fat-tailed sheep for more efficient substitutes).

Pringle contrasted his party's method of ploughing with the local method:

> My father and brothers, with their Roxburghshire ploughman, ploughed and sowed with wheat the

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31. Records, v. 8, p. 304, Report of 1811 Commission, 28/1/1812.
32. Quoted Philip, Researches, v. 1, pp. 371-2.
33. By 'corn', wheat is probably meant.
34. C. I. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816, pp. 316-7.
35. Burchell remarked that the Boers 'are very bad gardeners', Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 118.

> first cultured land on the location on the 1st of September. It was tilled with a Scotch iron plough, without wheels, guided by one man and drawn by two oxen, - to the great admiration of our Hottentot guard, who had never before seen any other plough than the enormous and unwieldy Dutch-Colonial implement of tillage, which has only one handle and no coulter, and is usually drawn by eight, ten, or twelve oxen, and managed by three or four men and boys.[36]

According to the Commission of Inquiry, Khoikhoi 'sometimes acquire sufficient skill to handle a plough'[37] and Barrow reported once seeing a 'poor schoolmaster' who was 'driving the plough, whilst a Hottentot had the more honorable post of holding and directing it'.[38]

Although accounts afford scanty detail regarding agricultural work actually performed, it is safe to say that Khoikhoi planted and reaped wherever such activities were carried out on the frontier. To summarise a few of the figures given above: of the 195 or so Boers who reported cultivation of wheat, barley and wine in 1800 in Graaff-Reinet District, 82 (42%) were not slave-owners, while only 113 or so of the 263 slave-owners (43%) reported any activity concerning these three important crops. It seems clear that Khoikhoi participated in cultivation, while slave ownership was no guarantee that cultivation would take place.[39]

Other Farm Skills

According to the 1811 Commission of Circuit, the farmers 'almost all only want the Hottentots for taking care of their cattle, for the milk, butter, boiling of soap, &c'.[1] Besides

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36. Narrative, p. 46.
37. Records, v. 23, p. 214, Report, 30/9/1825.
38. Travels, v. 1, p. 33.
39. Generally speaking the largest producers were slave-owners, the same persons who were in every respect better off than the average, as has been noted above.

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1. Records, v. 8, p. 302.

the task of herding, there were numerous other jobs connected with animal husbandry, including slaughtering and the utilisation of animal by-products. Kraals had to be constructed, very often of the 'thorny mimosa'.[2] At times kraals must be guarded at night: van der Merwe mentions how the Khoikhoi assisted the trekboere by tending fires around the kraals to keep wild animals at bay.[3] Pringle describes how the herds brought the livestock in from the field, driving wethers into one kraal, ewes, ewe-goats and lambs into another, and cattle into a third.[4] According to Lichtenstein, there might be seven or eight classes of livestock, each with its own kraal not far from the farmhouse.[5] Travellers marvelled at the height to which dung was allowed to accumulate in the kraals - up to 10 or 20 feet according to Barrow[6] who deplored the failure to use this manure to enrich the soil.[7] He was horrified to see that new-born lambs and calves sometimes quite unnecessarily perished, smothered in the mire of these neglected pens.[8] Paravicini wrote that near the Bushman's River he saw 'an enormous heap of cattle-dung which had been on fire for four months, forcing the occupier to leave the farm. We were told that such a dung-heap could smoulder for a year and such a farm could not be lived on in this time'.[9] In the Sneeuwbergen he found the farm of Fredrik Willem Zagener abandoned 'since his kraals had caught alight'.[10] But in this region, as in others where there was little wood for fuel, dung

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2. Pringle, Narrative, p. 58.
3. Die Trekboer, p. 145.
4. Narrative, p. 59.
5. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 107.
6. Travels, v. 2, p. 119.
7. Pringle claimed seeing mounds 15 to 20 feet in height, Narrative, p. 58.
8. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 119.
9. Reize, p. 244.
10. Ibid., p. 261. See also Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 170 and Latrobe, Journal, pp. 224-5.

was often burned instead. Barrow saw farmworkers, in springtime, cut the dung in the kraals into 'long squares' which were left to dry and then stacked for winter burning.[11]

According to Pringle, herdsmen did the milking of the cows,[12] and Barrow reported that Khoikhoi females, not overclean, often had charge of the dairy.[13] Butter was churned from whole milk, and not from the cream alone,[14] a circumstance which Barrow blamed (together with the neglect of sanitation) for the poor quality of the butter, though Bird (writing at a later date) claimed that it was good.[15] In a Boer farmhouse Pringle noted 'an immense churn, into which all the milk saved from the sucking calves was daily poured, and churned every morning'.[16] Lichtenstein (quoting Barrow) gives an idea of the quantities involved, saying 100 lb. of butter per week was obtained from fifty cows at the best time of year.[17] The butter had to be salted and packed into wooden kegs for the journey to market. de Mist refers to barrels, 'each weighing 500 pounds', and the fact that a farmer might bring three in one load to Cape Town.[18] It came as a surprise to travellers to find the Boers, owners of cattle, so often without milk, even for their tea and coffee, but this happened when cattle were sent away to graze, or when cows dried up because their calves stopped sucking.

Slaughtering was a daily occurrence on many farms as one, two or more sheep might be needed per day to feed farmer, family and servants.[19] A variety of valuable by-products

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11. Travels, v. 1, p. 202. See also van Pallandt, General Remarks, p. 25.
12. Narrative, p. 59.
13. Travels, v. 1, p. 85.
14. Ibid., pp. 84-85; see also Bird, State of the Cape, p. 98.
15. Bird, State of the Cape, p. 98. Robert Percival goes into considerable detail regarding butter at the Cape, An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 206-7.
16. Narrative, p. 55.
17. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 5.
18. Memorandum, p. 245.
19. Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 363; Pringle, Narrative, p. 55.

thereby came to hand, which had to be dealt with fairly promptly if they were not to be wasted. The first of these were skins (not only of sheep but also of game when killed). Schapera has described the method of preparing skins practised by the Cape Khoikhoi and by the Nama, which involved much hard labour in pounding and the rubbing in of fat.[20] To tan them, skins were 'steeped in red lye' made of acacia (mimosa or Karroo-thorn) bark which gave a red colour to the leather.[21] It was a process witnessed by every traveller, not only on the farms but on trek where sheep invariably accompanied an expedition and game was an important item of food supply. Orpen mentions seeing hides tanned in a vat of quagga skins[22] while Burchell both described and depicted a tanning vat.[23] Latrobe bought a tiger skin which had been well tanned by a Hottentot: 'I gave the poor fellow the sum he asked and richly deserved'.[24]

Prepared sheepskins had many uses: with the hair on for the kaross and kombers; with the hair removed[25] for men's jackets, women's dresses and petticoats, and especially 'trowsers' for which Burchell reported it was 'every where in general demand'.[26] Pringle bought 'a travelling jacket and trowsers of dressed springbok skin, the latter to be faced with leopard-fur', for Rds. 13.[27] According to Spilhaus, leather for these garments was 'cured by the Hottentots'.[28] In the case of Pringle's fancy outfit we are told that a particularly industrious housewife was responsible for it[29]

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20. Khoisan Peoples, p. 310; see also Latrobe, Journal, p. 272 and heading to Ch. 17, p. 271.
21. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 311.
22. Reminiscences, p. 9.
23. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 243 and 252.
24. Journal, p. 247.
25. Process described by Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, pp. 310 and 311.
26. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 243.
27. Narrative, p. 56.
28. South Africa in the Making, p. 207.
29. Narrative, p. 56.

but not, one feels safe in saying, without much work on the part of her servants.

Shoes or sandals (adopted by the Boers) and hats of leather were traditional items of Khoikhoi apparel which they manufactured on the farms. Pringle saw windows closed at night, 'each with an untanned quagga skin'.[30] The making of whips was an art,[31] as was the cutting of thongs, used 'to supply the place of cordage'.[32] Harness was usually home made. Sacks and bags of sheepskin were needed for a multitude of uses: honey, for example, was collected and stored in such bags, also milk, water, meal, buchu and so on. This is not an exhaustive list of the purposes for which leather was needed, but enough to indicate the dependence on sufficient hands to prepare it. Hides and skins were important items for export, in a Colony still with few resources or manufactures for which there was a demand.[33] When the merino began to replace the hairy indigenous sheep on Cape farms, sheepshearing became a job for Khoikhoi (or 'Coloured') farm labour.

Sheeptail fat was another valuable by-product, used in place of butter for cooking, for making candles, wagon grease and so forth, but especially for soap. Barrow wrote that 'almost every farmer' made soap[34] and a 'large iron-pot for boiling soap'[35] was basic household equipment. We have it from the Commission of Circuit that Khoikhoi labour was employed for this task.[36] The tails of the indigenous Cape sheep were 'a lump of soft clear fat' weighing 6 to 8 lb. on average[37] though tails of 12 to 16 lb. and even up to 35 lb. in weight were reported.[38] Buck Adams claimed to have seen

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30. Ibid., p. 54.
31. Described below, pp. 99-100.
32. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 323.
33. Bird, State of the Cape, p. 118.
34. Travels, v. 2, p. 330.
35. Pringle, Narrative, p. 55.
36. See above, p. 49.
37. Records, v. 15, p. 286, Memorandum by C. D'Escury, 1823.
38. 'Johan Schreyer's Description of the Hottentots, 1679', ed. by R. Raven-Hart, QBSAL, v. 19, No. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 59 and fn. 19.

'some hundreds' of 'tail trucks' used to support these heavy sheeptails.[39] Neumark has remarked on the economic significance of the fact that this fat was found in conjunction with an alkali suitable for soapmaking, namely salsola, which the Khoikhoi called canna and the Boers kannabosch.[40] Barrow described the method followed by the Boers: the ashes of the salsola were mixed with sheeptail oil and boiled 'slowly for five or six days' to make 'an excellent white soap'.[41] Burchell observed 'a large iron cauldron of boiling soap' which was 'standing over the fire' in a farmhouse kitchen[42] and elsewhere saw soap hardening in piles for the 'next annual journey to Cape Town'.[43] He testified to its economic value in evidence submitted to the House of Commons in 1819, saying the 'farmers kill their sheep and consume them on every occasion more for the sake of getting the fat, of which they make soap, which they carry to Cape Town'.[44] Neumark has stressed the importance of soap as an article of trade and source of revenue for the Boer,[45] and thus its significance for the frontier economy.[46]

Candles were another important item of domestic manufacture, though less suitable for trade. According to Neumark they were difficult to transport and so seldom brought from the interior.[47] Barrow remarked that sheeptail fat was 'too oleaginous' to be used 'alone as tallow'[48] and thus it

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39. Private Buck Adams, p. 81.
40. Economic Influences, p. 87.
41. Travels, v. 1, p. 43. Robert Percival described Cape soap as like 'bluish spotted marble', An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 199.
42. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 198.
43. Ibid., v. 2, p. 113.
44. Ibid., v. 1, Report of Evidence Given ... Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, 28/6/1819, p. 22.
45. Economic Influences, pp. 79-80.
46. Ibid., pp. 84-7.
47. Ibid., p. 80.
48. Travels, v. 2, p. 323.

was usually mixed with some other substance such as goat tallow.[49] According to Burchell the eland was the only antelope 'yielding a hard fat from which candles may be made'.[50] Beeswax was also available. Frequently, however, wax from the wax myrtle was used: Barrow saw it sent to Cape Town 'in large green cakes'.[51] Waxberries (Myrica cordifolia), found in sandy coastal areas of the Cape, have a coating of white wax which, according to Chase, 'is extracted by boiling them in water, straining the decoction, and suffering it to cool. It is of a greenish colour, and possesses the hardness, without the tenacity of bees' wax. When made into candles it gives a very fine light'.[52] That Khoikhoi mastered this process, along with other skills required on the farms, is certain: Latrobe saw Hottentot women from Groene Kloof mission boiling berries in an iron pot suspended over a fire, skimming the wax off the surface with a spoon.[53] However, the waxberry, since confined more or less to coastal regions, would have been seldom seen on the frontier farms where animal tallows were used in candle-making. Burchell tells how his Khoikhoi servant Gert Roodezand was employed making candles, in that case under difficulties since, due to the heat, the melted tallow would not congeal.[54]

The foregoing has pertained to uses made of animal by-products in the main. According to Walton, at the Cape 'The corn-mill and the tannery were the only evidence of industrial enterprise for over two hundred years, and even they were largely domestic in character, catering only for the needs of

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49. Neumark, Economic Influences, pp. 62-3.
50. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 311.
51. Travels, v. 2, p. 332.
52. Cape of Good Hope, p. 154.
53. Journal, pp. 350-1.
54. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 332.

the owner and his immediate neighbours'.[55] It cannot be said how many water-mills there may have been in Graaff-Reinet District in 1800 but in 1813 Campbell saw a 'small stream which turns a flour mill' close by the Buffalo River.[56] Latrobe at the same period described a horizontal water-mill near Uitenhage which he said 'is common here'.[57] Earlier and for many decades afterwards, in fact, it must be assumed that the rotating hand-mill was usually found on frontier farms. Adams tells of handmills 'for grinding wheat' plundered from Boer farms in the late 1840s[58]. This type of grinder was described by Burchell[59] who saw Khoikhoi using one at Genadendal in 1811, and he put his own servants to work grinding meal at the Griqua villages, Klaarwater[60] and Kloof.[61] Handmills made slow work of grinding: Burchell speaks of two men taking two days to grind 'a bushel of flour',[62] though this he blames on a faulty mill as well as dilatory millers.

The basic milling devices known to the indigenous peoples of southern Africa were versions of the non-rotating hand-mill.[63] The Khoikhoi as a purely pastoral, not a cereal growing people would have had no tradition of grinding grain but the art of grinding (for eg. ochres, medicines, snuff) was known to them: Schapera mentions hand grinders among the stone articles they manufactured.[64] As has been seen, colonial Khoikhoi operated rotating handmills and it may be assumed they were instructed in whatever functions the farmer

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55. Water-mills, p. xix. Wagon-making must surely have been another example of industrial enterprise.
56. John Campbell, Travels in South Africa, p. 128.
57. Journal, p. 213.
58. Private Buck Adams, p. 65.
59. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 113.
60. Ibid., p. 379.
61. Ibid., v. 2, p. 4.
62. Ibid., v. 1, p. 379.
63. Walton, Water-mills, p. 3.
64. Khoisan Peoples, pp. 314-5.

wished them to undertake in connection with more advanced milling techniques. Pringle tells how, 'with the aid of one of the Hottentots', his brother built a watermill on the model of a simply constructed mill seen on a neighbour's farm.[65] The neighbour's mill could grind 'about a bushel of wheat in eight hours'.[66]

The sacks in which meal was stored were 'often made from the skins of goats, the skin being removed with a minimum of incisions' and any holes mended,[67] another job at which Khoikhoi would have been adept. They were accustomed to sew with sinew[68] when manufacturing leather goods. Pringle mentions flour being 'conveyed by a little wooden spout into a leathern bag'.[69]

Threshing (or, more often, treading)[70] had its place in the farm calendar wherever wheat was grown. Implements used on the threshing floor were made of wood, not iron, due to the danger of damaging the surface. Such tools were made on the farms and 'probably constitute the most distinctive assemblage of all South African rural craftwork'.[71] Khoikhoi were experienced fashioners of wooden utensils, making milk pails, bowls and dishes, spoons, pestles and mortars, sticks and kirris for their own use,[72] and may well have been employed in making threshing implements. Animals used to trample out the wheat had to be taken in charge: van Reenen stated that mares were preferred but thereby spoilt for breeding as such hard work 'brings down the foetus'.[73] Latrobe

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65. Narrative, p. 65.
66. Ibid., p. 60.
67. Walton, Water-mills, p. 96.
68. Burchell, Travels, v. 1, p. 214; Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 310.
69. Narrative, p. 60.
70. See Records, v. 35, p. 264.
71. Walton, Water-mills, p. 16.
72. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 314.
73. Joernaal, p. 271.

saw horses driven at 'a sharp trot' to tread out grain - a wasteful process since the straw was ruined.[74]

There were other outdoor tasks in which the participation of Hottentots has been mentioned. Hans, a 'Bastard Hottentot' who testified in the Slagter's Nek affair, said he had been employed by Fredrik Bezuidenhout not only in tending cattle but also 'draining water'.[75] Campbell speaks of a house built with the help of Khoikhoi, saying 'Their hands were the only trowels used',[76] and they helped Pringle to plaster his home.[77] They took readily to thatching as well. Pringle tells how a Hottentot built hyena traps,[78] and they helped him construct a wolf-trap out of 'large stones and timber'.[79] Traps might be of the fence and pit or falling trap varieties known to Khoikhoi[80] or trap-guns of the sort referred to by Collins[81] when he explained how much powder farmers required to arm herds and place 'trap guns for beasts of prey'. When Khoikhoi helped the Pringle party with road-building they demonstrated what Pringle took to be their own method of breaking rocks, by first firing and then throwing on cold water.[82] It is not clear whether this was in fact a technique carried over from their culture[83] or whether they had learned it from other colonists. Latrobe watched Khoikhoi break rocks for the new church at Groene Kloof, who worked

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74. Journal, p. 251.
75. Records, v. 11, p. 14.
76. Campbell, 1813, p. 117.
77. See above p. 47.
78. Narrative, p. 136.
79. Ibid., p. 65.
80. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 303.
81. Records, v. 6, p. 352.
82. Narrative, pp. 156-7.
83. According to Dr. Parkington, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, they might have observed the effect of rain falling on rock after a veld fire (Private Conversation).

with 'zeal and spirit', adding, 'There was indeed a good deal of amusement connected with it, which, with them, is a great stimulus to exertion'.[84] That Hottentots gave invaluable assistance in the defence of Boers' property is a well-documented fact[85] but does not form part of the discussion of farm labour.

And what of Khoi women? It has been shown that they were employed to guard livestock, but of course they also served the housewife. van Reenen mentions a 'young Hottentot girl who worked in the kitchen and attended to the household duties' at one farm he visited.[86] According to Lichtenstein, male slaves were employed as cooks where families owned slaves but in poorer sections of the Colony Hottentot girls did the kitchen work.[87] van der Merwe mentions this.[88] On a poor farm two Khoikhoi girls cooked mutton for Burchell.[89] Juli, one of his male servants, took over the job of cook while on trek: Burchell claimed that the Hottentot method of cooking meat was to boil big chunks until overcooked and hard.[90] In any case, he asserted, Hottentots were 'always bad cooks'.[91] Much later Merriman met a farmer with a 'Hottentot lad' as cook.[92] But on Lichtenstein and Burchell's evidence we may take it that Hottentot women were frequently employed as cooks in the frontier districts.

The end-of-day footwashing ritual practised in Boer homes was frequently remarked upon and Lichtenstein described how a Khoikhoi woman brought in a tub for this purpose.[93] Women also did the laundry. Latrobe tells how Sister Schmitt saw

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84. Journal, p. 323.
85. For eg. Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 34.
86. Joernaal, p. 227.
87. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 82.
88. Die Trekboer, p. 233.
89. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 177.
90. Ibid., p. 262.
91. Ibid., p. 88.
92. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855, ed. D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthew, p. 110.
93. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 357.

to 'our linen' at a Boer's homestead 'with the help of the maids',[94] while Adams tells how a young servant 'of the purest Hottentot breed' helped him with his washing.[95]

Other domestic tasks may also have fallen to the lot of women, for example the plucking of feathers from geese to make pillows and mattresses. According to Bird, all farms had geese, often seen with 'featherless breasts' since there might be three pluckings in a 'warm season'.[96] Soap and candle-making, discussed above, were the main occupations of the graziers' wives[97] and doubtless they employed female Khoikhoi for these purposes. Fruit drying was practised wherever vines and trees bore fruit. In the Long Kloof, Barrow saw raisins made by immersing bunches of grapes in 'a strong solution of wood ashes' and leaving them to dry on 'a stage covered with rush matting'.[98] (The production of matting was itself a domestic skill in which Khoikhoi women were well versed.)[99] At Genadendal Hottentots dried peaches for winter.[100] Barrow mentioned raisins, almonds and dried fruit, especially apple slices which could be used for tarts, as valuable items of farm produce.[101]

Perhaps the best known of all domestic scenes is that depicted by Daniell and described by Barrow, in which the Boer housewife, shown drinking coffee, has 'a little black boy or a Hottentot wholly naked to attend her with a small branch of a tree or a fan made of ostrich feathers to flap away the flies'.[102]

Khoikhoi as Hunters for the Boers

The extraordinary skill which Khoikhoi demonstrated in

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94. Journal, p. 135.
95. Private Buck Adams, p. 82.
96. State of the Cape, p. 101.
97. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 119.
98. Ibid., v. 1, p. 384.
99. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 313.
100. Campbell, 1813, p. 19.
101. Travels, v. 2, pp. 326-8.
102. Ibid., v. 1, p. 31.

the use of firearms has not been explained so far as can be discovered. Their dexterity in throwing stones and spears had been noted[1] and perhaps the keen eye which they certainly possessed was the chief factor in this instance of ready mastery of a more sophisticated tool. Lichtenstein remarked that Hottentots were good shots[2] and their excellence as hunters was endorsed by one and all, Barrow telling of 'an old Hottentot' who could bag 'a beast for every ball'.[3]

Neumark has claimed that 'The abundance of game on the frontier farms and ... beyond ... undoubtedly played an important part in the expansion movement'.[4] Certainly game permitted the grazier to spare his herds and flocks and yet feed his household. Boers formed hunting parties with Khoikhoi attendants, or sent out their servants to kill game, and Barrow noted that the regularity with which farmers on the frontier could send out Hottentots to shoot springbok guaranteed their food supply.[5] This was important to the poorer Boer pastoralists, as it had been to the Khoikhoi themselves in their days of free roaming with their flocks. Plentiful as game usually was, however, it was not entirely reliable and scarcity following a scourge of locusts or drought was a serious setback for many.

The fact that many farm Khoikhoi, who deserted and joined the Xhosa during the 1799-1803 War, took with them firearms used by them when guarding stock or hunting added considerably to the menace these combined forces presented. Thus Major Dundas reported to the Governor that the farmers were distressed by the desertions as the Hottentots 'are accustomed to the use of fire arms and excellent Marksmen'.[6] White has pointed out the opportunities for practice in the use of fire-

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1. 'Johan Schreyer's Description', QBSAL, v. 19, No. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 62 and fn. 47.
2. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 207.
3. Travels, v. 1, p. 118.
4. Economic Influences, p. 64. The link between hunter and trekboer has been mentioned above p. 43.
5. Travels, v. 2, p. 124.
6. Records, v. 3, p. 51.

arms gained by those engaged in hunting or in protecting crops and livestock[7] - opportunities enjoyed by a fair number of Khoikhoi farm workers. According to Maynier the Khoikhoi 'confederacy' consisted of approximately 700 men who had with them some 300 horses and 150 firelocks.[8] Khoikhoi fought on both sides in this Frontier War and much reliance was placed by the colonists on loyal Khoikhoi who assisted them as marksmen.[9]

It has already been mentioned that the Boers required good supplies of gunpowder in order to arm their herds and set trap guns;[10] it was needed also for hunting and for defence. As Caledon explained to the Colonial Secretary in 1809, 'the supply of Gunpowder to the Colony at large is entirely from the King's Stores, the Sale in any other manner being strictly prohibited. By the additional price of 3 Skillings being charged on each pound Government is reimbursed the expenses'.[11] Barrow gave Rds. 20 as the average spent by Boers on powder and shot per annum.[12] The difficulty of obtaining sufficient powder would have been one reason, among others, for the strict control practised by farmers in counting out musket balls and expecting an equivalent number of animals shot or the balls returned.[13] According to Neumark, illicit dealing in guns and gunpowder in the east was negligible when compared to the situation in the north where the Griquas formed a defensive buffer as well as a source of meat for the Colony.[14]

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7. Gavin White, 'Firearms in Africa: An Introduction', JAH, v. 12, No. 2, 1971, pp. 178-9.
8. Records, v. 4, p. 291, Provisional Justification, April 1802.
9. Marais, Maynier, pp. 125 and 127.
10. See above p. 58.
11. Records, v. 6, p. 508. By Government Advertisement of 10/10/1806 the price of gunpowder 'issued to the Farmers' had been raised to 'Six Skellings per pound', Ibid., p. 46.
12. Travels, v. 2, p. 123.
13. See Neumark, Economic Influences, pp. 64-5, quoting Thunberg.
14. Ibid., pp. 122-3. A plakkaat forbidding the sale of guns or ammunition to Hottentots and Bastards had been published in 1792, Plakkaatboek, v. 4, p. 105.

From time to time the Government moved to control and limit hunting, partly to protect the game in the more settled regions and partly because, as the Commission of Inquiry noted, unrestricted hunting encouraged 'idle and wandering habits in the labouring classes'.[15] In 1801, when a serious bread shortage prevailed, limitations on hunting previously imposed[16] were lifted as the unimpeded right to hunt would enable farmers to 'bring into the Stores of Cape Town a very considerable quantity of Grain',[17] demonstrating the dependence on hunting even of farmers in the settled, agrarian regions. A proclamation in 1814 imposed closed seasons in certain areas (exempting only 'Boers or other free persons ... for their own travelling consumption'),[18] placed a total ban on hunting by slaves in these areas, stipulated the size of shot issued to herdsmen and shepherds, and decreed that Hottentots hired as 'gamekeepers' might shoot only on their master's lands.[19] Regarding such controls the frontier was generally excepted or permitted to follow a less restrictive course.[20]

As was the case with Khoikhoi employed to tend livestock, Khoikhoi employed as hunters could find themselves in disputes concerning responsibility when things went wrong. A Boer once consulted Latrobe on a point of English law:

> One of his Hottentots had shot his neighbour's bull, mistaking him in the dark for a wild buffaloe. The neighbour required, that he should pay the damage, which he refused, on the ground that he had not shot it, and the Hottentot had nothing to pay. We told him, that in England, a master was responsible for the deeds of his servant, and the Hottentot having done it, while employed by him, and with his gun, we thought, that he would ... do best to compromise the affair, and pay for the bull.[21]

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15. Records, v. 33, p. 45, Report upon Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, 18/8/1827.
16. Records, v. 3, pp. 195-7, Proclamation of 15/7/1800.
17. Ibid., pp. 478-9, Proclamation of 30/4/1801
18. Ibid., v. 10, pp. 136-40, Proclamation of 29/7/1814.
19. Ibid., p. 138.
20. See Maynier's explanation regarding the way he adapted the game law of 15/7/1800 to frontier conditions, Ibid., v. 4, p. 316, Provisional Justification, April 1802.
21. Journal, pp. 242-3.

Conditions for Khoikhoi on the Farms

An opstal was described by Lichtenstein: 'About the dwelling-house stand a number of smaller buildings, simply constructed, which are partly for the slaves and Hottentots, partly for workshops and store-houses. Near these are the folds for the different sorts of cattle called here kraals'.[1] On the farm of a wealthy Boer in Graaff-Reinet District he saw neat dwellings.[2] Barrow wrote of Hottentots having 'little straw-huts near the farm-house',[3] Pringle mentioned their 'reed cabins',[4] and Beelaerts van Blokland, a member of the 1812 Commission of Circuit, referred to a Hottentot's 'straw hut' nearby a farmhouse[5] - evidently similar to the traditional huts built by the Khoikhoi. This would follow from the fact that housing was not necessarily provided by the farmer, servants being left to construct their own shelter.[6] Graziers themselves frequently built huts on the Khoikhoi pattern[7] and Barrow tells how the 'house Hottentots' sometimes slept in these huts with the family. Certainly they might feel at home in the kitchen for Burchell tells how some slept 'in the chimney corner' while two young girls cooked mutton for him.[8]

In his report regarding the condition of the Hottentots and Bushmen, which appeared only in 1830, Bigge stated that, in general, 'They rarely inhabit the dwelling-house of the farmer, but are crowded in miserable huts by themselves, where they indulge in the pernicious and filthy habits of their natural state'.[9] Philip, in a memorandum sent by the

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1. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 107.
2. Ibid., v. 2, p. 18.
3. Travels, v. 1, p. 96.
4. Narrative, p. 52.
5. Records, v. 9, p. 346.
6. Barrow, Travels, v. 1, p. 96.
7. Ibid., v. 2, p. 117.
8. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 177.
9. Records, v. 35, p. 319.

London Missionary Society to Bathurst referred to the gregariousness of the aborigines who 'talk incessantly' and 'naturally dislike being alone, because they can have no society in the families of their masters'.[10] Several points emerge from these brief references to the way Khoikhoi were housed on the farms: straw houses, so convenient in the days of free wandering, may have been less salubrious in the altered circumstances of farm existence; also, there was the problem on one hand of overcrowding, but on the other of loneliness aggravated perhaps by the particularly 'gregarious' character of the Khoikhoi.

It was typical (and sometimes still is) of farm and domestic work that for servants there were no fixed hours and a state of round-the-clock availability was taken for granted. Burchell describes his arrival at a Veld Cornet's 'habitation' where all were asleep but two Hottentots, at their hut, who helped unyoke the oxen and built a fire.[11] Yoking and unyoking oxen, making fires, fetching horses and saddling up were jobs for which they might be required at any time.

Mutton formed a basic item of diet for farmer and servants as has been seen,[12] with game consumed whenever possible to conserve the flocks. Pringle said that 'the flesh of old ewes', otherwise quagga flesh, was staple food for Khoikhoi on farms,[13] while Barrow gave goat meat as typical fare, with farmers reserving the 'choice pieces' for themselves.[14] Buffalo meat, though tough, was also salted for them.[15] The L.M.S. Directors thought it unreasonable for Boers to demand service as repayment for maintenance of Khoikhoi dependants since the farmer provided them with little or nothing: 'The Hottentots have generally a few cows of their own, upon the

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10. Ibid., v. 30, p. 175.
11. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 237.
12. See above p. 51.
13. Narrative, pp. 237 and 246.
14. Travels, v. 1, p. 68.
15. Ibid., p. 81.

milk of which, together with the bulbous roots they collect, with the butchers meat they are able to kill, they commonly live'.[16] Travellers were intrigued by so-called 'Hottentot bread', a root like a large turnip which was cut into pieces and roasted in embers for eating.[17] The question of food impinges on the question of wages and will be discussed again under that heading. For the same reason, clothing will be discussed along with wages.

'Miserable', 'neglected' and 'wretched' were the words often used to describe the appearance of Khoikhoi attached to the Boers,[18] and their condition was said to be worse than that of the slaves.[19] Burchell spoke of 'greasy, dirty servants' and 'squalid Hottentots' sitting around the fire in a farmhouse kitchen.[20] On poor farms the Hottentots and their huts bore a particularly neglected air.[21] To some this was plain evidence of Khoikhoi indolence and lack of progress in civilisation, to others of the Boers' inhumanity. Their fondness for wine and brandy, tobacco and dagga, was believed to be exploited by the farmers, heedless of the resulting degradation. Barrow wrote that the Boers seduced the Hottentots with drink and tobacco, irresistible 'among all people in a rude state of society'.[22] Collins noted that Khoikhoi in the Zwarteberg 'who have mostly been enticed from the service of travellers in the hope of being plentifully supplied with the wine which some of the farms there produce' were 'badly fed and are ill-treated'.[23] Barrow believed that the Khoikhoi

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16. Records, v. 30, p. 154.
17. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 147.
18. Campbell, 1813, p. 328; Latrobe, Journal, p. 193.
19. Pringle, Narrative, p. 247; Latrobe, Journal, p. 193.
20. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 238 and 239.
21. Ibid., v. 2, p. 177.
22. Travels, v. 1, p. 373. Similar problems occurred among poor farm labourers in Britain. See review of Victorian Country Parsons by Brenda Colloms where it is stated, 'it did not surprise him that, when labourers were so dependent on the parson's charity, they also filched the farmer's corn. As for drunkenness, the system of payment in cider simply encouraged it', Country Life, 6/10/1977, p. 959.
23. Records, v. 7, p. 121, Report, 6/8/1809.

were decreasing in numbers, in part due to 'poverty, scantiness of food, and continual dejection of mind' because of ill-treatment.[24]

According to this writer, farmers beat and cut their servants with sjamboks which were 'tough, pliant and heavy almost as lead' and he described what he called 'flogging by pipes'. Boers were also guilty of 'firing small shot into the legs and thighs'.[25] But a burgher testifying before Commissioner Bigge complained that '"the maidservants provoke our wives so much, that it is impossible to keep house with them"' and asked for permission '"to thrash the Hottentot maidservants"'.[26] Sachs has observed that, to the farmers, 'A thrashing swiftly delivered seemed far more appropriate than punishment after a time-consuming trial at a distant court-house, especially since fines could not be met and imprisonment deprived the farmer of his labour'.[27] However, as Legassick has pointed out, it is by no means proven that there was a higher incidence of 'physical violence and assault' in the frontier areas, despite these attitudes and the real problems besetting the administration of justice, than there was in the rural areas of the western Cape.[28]

Whereas Barrow leaves the reader with the impression that cruel punishments were widely practised, Collins could assert that farmers generally 'behave in the kindest manner to the Hottentots, who show them an attachment ... not a little extraordinary'.[29] Janssens and de Mist, initially influenced by Barrow, altered their views after visiting the frontier but nevertheless believed that the Boers were fundamentally oppressive to the Khoikhoi.[30] According to Marais, 'The

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24. Travels, v. 1, p. 94.
25. Ibid., pp. 94-5.
26. Quoted by Stockenstrom, Autobiography, v. 1, p. 220.
27. A. Sachs, 'Enter the British Legal Machine: Law and Administration at the Cape, 1806-1910', Col. Sem. Papers, ICS, University of London, v. 1, p. 14.
28. Martin Legassick, 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography', Col. Sem. Papers, ICS, v. 2, p. 19.
29. Records, v. 6, p. 351.
30. Theal, Bel. Hist. Dok., v. 3, pp. 218-22.

documents compel the assertion that harsh and unjust treatment of Hottentots was fairly widespread in Graaff-Reinet',[31] and he cites overwhelming proofs taken both from the correspondence of local officials and the considered opinions of leading men, such as Janssens, spanning a twenty year period (1790-1810).[32]

In labour relations the temperament of the employer was seen as an important factor since the Khoikhoi were 'not fitted for impatient masters'.[33] Burchell claimed that they were 'well-disposed to engage themselves in the employ of the English, whom they consider to be their protectors and friends'.[34] Bigge concurred that the 'character' of the master was important but in this matter of preferred employers he made his often-quoted remark that Hottentots preferred to work for Boers for low wages than for the English who paid more 'but exact more labour'.[35] Philip, quoting a Hottentot, had another version of this preference for Boer over Briton: the Boer was dangerous but, like the buffalo, only when you got in his way; the Englishman was not only dangerous but also cunning, like the lion, so there was no escaping.[36]

A thoroughgoing discussion of conditions on the farms would involve a study of evidence in court cases and the like which is not possible here. Thus this sketchy review must stand, complete with contradictions, to represent one more segment in the total picture.

Contracts

It has been mentioned how, when Dundas appointed Maynier Resident Commissioner of the country districts on 25 December 1799, he instructed him to keep a register of Hottentots in

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31. Maynier, p. 74.
32. Ibid., pp. 74-7.
33. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, Hints on Emigration to the CGH, 1819, p. 33.
34. Ibid.
35. Records, v. 35, p. 315, Report, 28/1/1830.
36. Researches, v. 2, p. 439.

service with the Boers, together with their terms of service.[1] Prior to this all contracts were arrived at by oral agreement. Maynier's register carries 25 agreements dated 1799,[2] and 379 for the following year, 1800.[3] According to Marais, 'only contracts between Boers and rebel Hottentots returning to their service appear to have been registered', adding, 'Not much more could have been done owing to the size of the district and the dearth of officials'.[4] Possibly some of the boldest of the malcontents, who had actually become rebels (according to Maynier those who remained in service in 1799 were 'not at all well disposed'),[5] were induced to return to service by the new policy, a definite gain for the authorities. But a close examination of names on the register shows that more than 100 of them were women, an additional 20 or so were young boys deemed to be 15 years of age or under, and a few at least were men of sober character known to local officials.[6] The effectiveness of the register as an instrument to restore law and order thus remains a moot point. As regards its value as an instrument to ameliorate the condition of Khoikhoi hired to farmers, a comparison of the number registered with numbers on the farms tells a good deal of the story. Allowing Marais's point (see above), one must see its merit as an important step in challenging the '"violent prejudices" of both master and servant' against such a beneficial scheme.[7] That such a small beginning could and did have a

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1. It was Dundas's belief that this system should be adopted by the other districts as well as by Graaff-Reinet, Records, v. 3, p. 67.
2. CA, G.R. 15/43. The first entry is dated 24/11/1799. Several contracts, dated retroactively to 1799, are found among the contracts for 1800.
3. Ibid. Subsequent contracts, up to 2/5/1810, are found in J. 27.
4. Coloured People, p. 115, fn. 5.
5. Records, v. 4, p. 291.
6. For eg., Cupido Kakkerlak who is referred to again on p. 90.
7. Marais, Maynier, p. 118. For the difficulties experienced by Maynier in initiating the register see the answers given by Somerville to questions put by Maynier on 5/5/1802, CA, C.J. 3232.

ripple effect, to the benefit of Khoikhoi on the farms, is demonstrated by the case of Letta, cited by Marais.[8] Letta, age 15,[9] informed Maynier that she worked without wages. On the same day that Maynier entered her into his register, he wrote to her master, Barend Grijling, as follows:[10]

> De Achtb. Heer Commissaris door de Hottentottinne Letta vernoome, hebbende dat zy zonder loon te trekken in uwe dienst staat, heeft goed gevonden door't de express ordre den regering is, dat deese schepzels voor hunne dienste moeten beloond worden, en dezelve Jaarlyks 12 speenoyen by te zetten, te meer daar zy betroggel (sic) by u ter woon in dienst te willen blyven. U E. zal dierhalwen verpligt zyn van genoomd Hottentottinne Letta voor haar dienst voor een Jaar de genoomd 12 Speenooyen te geven of zo het dezelwe by u niet konde verdienen huur alsdan te laaten gaan.[11]

In this manner was the intent of the government conveyed to a frontier Boer.

The desire of officials such as Dundas to regulate relations between farmers and their Khoikhoi servants in order to secure fair treatment for the latter was beyond question, especially as they were convinced that this was essential to the restoration of peace and order. The difficulty came in doing so effectively. The register itself called for the name of the employer, name, sex and age of the servant, the term of the contract, and the wage, whether in cash or kind. Thus the servant might be assured of a wage, however low, and he might call upon the authorities to intervene if detained beyond the term of his contract. Detention beyond the contracted time was a common practice and one most often cited as a grievance.[12]

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8. Ibid., p. 119.
9. Letta may have been among the rebels since there were women and children in addition to the estimated 700 men.
10. Marais provides an abbreviated translation, Maynier, p. 119.
11. CA, G.R. 16/1, Letter 363, 24/2/1800.
12. For official attention to this grievance see CA, SWM 1/3, pp. 330-2, Resolution of Swellendam Landdrost and Heemraden, 4/12/1797; also Theal, Bel. Hist. Dok., v. 3, pp. 221-2, Janssens to de Mist, 12/5/1803.

It might be justified on the grounds of debts owing to the employer[13] or of losses and damage to his property. Philip complained (in 1826) that the Khoikhoi were paid 'a pittance', yet were 'made responsible for all the property of their masters entrusted to their care':

> If on a journey a Hottentot loses an ox or a sheep, if it is by the severity of the weather, or if he loses a tarpot, a thong, the lash of a whip, or anything belonging to his waggon, it is placed to his account, and instead of receiving wages for a journey or for any given period of servitude, he is generally presented with an account of losses of this description, which leaves him greatly in debt to his master.[14]

In fact, the question of liability as between master and servant was a virtually unregulable factor in the contract situation, given the absence of effective agents for impartial justice on the frontier. An example may be taken from the correspondence of Landdrost Cuyler (by which time the contract system, as amended and tightened up by the Batavians, had been several years in operation). On 23 March 1808 he wrote to the Landdrost of Swellendam stating that John Marthinus, a 'Garrison waggoner', complained that Stephanus Strydom of Long Kloof 'forcibly keeps his Wife, Children, and Cattle' from him. According to Marthinus, an accident had befallen one of Strydom's oxen, yoked to a wagon he was driving, by which the ox was killed. Marthinus offered to replace the ox with one of his own but Strydom declined, saying it was no fault of the Hottentot as 'he had no leader' at the time of the accident. But when Marthinus's contract was up, Strydom claimed compensation for the ox after all: hence the detention of family and cattle, presumably until satisfaction was given.[15] Further correspondence ensued. By 26 April 1811

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13. For systems of 'debt peonage' see W. Beinart and H.W. van der Merwe, Introduction to the Project on Social and Occupational Mobility Among the Coloured People of South Africa: Changes in the Occupational Structure of the Coloured People c. 1920-1970, p. 9; also S. Trapido, 'Liberalism in the Cape in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', Col. Sem. Papers. ICS, University of London, v. 4, p. 58.
14. Records, v. 30, pp. 153-4.
15. CA, UIT 15/1.

Marthinus was still attempting to recover five heifers, which Strydom was withholding on other grounds, and we find Cuyler writing yet again to Swellendam (which by then had a new Landdrost) begging for an answer.[16]

Obviously distance and the involvement of more than one local authority were problems in this case. More fundamental was the question of liability. If the loss was due to an accident and the servant was ordinarily trustworthy and careful then the loss might have been taken as a normal hazard of the farming operation, in which case detention (in this case of family and cattle, as hostages) was per se unjust; if due to the characteristic untrustworthiness of the servant, then the desire to coerce him into further service[17] and risk further losses seems surprising. Detention was one manifestation of the ambivalence of farmers with regard to their Khoikhoi servants, affecting to despise them as lazy and fickle, careless and stupid, yet taking extraordinary steps to secure their service.

Dundas's register, though an admirable concept, hardly merited the impression of matters rectified contained in Yonge's report to London: 'The Hottentots are returning to their Habitations'[18] and 'the Boors have submitted to all the Regulations ... for the protection of such Hottentots as return to their Service'.[19] A tiny minority only of contracts were registered and good intentions, regarding upholding the terms of contract, needed on-the-spot agents of impartial justice (over and above Maynier himself) to carry them out. A policy of 'impartial justice' between Boers and Khoikhoi was, in fact, another aspect of Dundas's scheme for a general improvement in the 'deplorable' condition of the Khoikhoi,

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16. Ibid.
17. It is noteworthy that Marthinus's original offer to pay with an animal of his own had been declined. Often continued service was the only means open to the servant to meet claims of this sort.
18. Records, v. 3, p. 106.
19. Ibid., p. 107.

and he thought that a British presence on the frontier, at the new fort at Algoa Bay, would be beneficial in this regard.[20] Moreover, those rebel Khoikhoi who might be victimised if forced to return to the Boers he proposed should be settled on 'unoccupied plantations' which he invited Maynier to point out.[21] His strategy was thus multi-pronged.

At no stage, however, did Dundas's measures succeed in bringing all the rebel Khoikhoi under control and by the second half of 1801 they, under their captains, were (in the words of Theal) 'marching up and down' the district, wreaking havoc.[22] The Batavians, to whom the task shortly fell of restoring peace, blamed these continuing troubles on the oppressions practised by colonists upon the Khoikhoi.[23] de Mist and Janssens determined that in future labour contracts should be recorded not simply in a register but on printed contract forms drawn up in triplicate, for all engagements above three months.[24] Freund has suggested that the implementation of the contract system was particularly defective during the Batavian period.[25] Nevertheless the concept of protection

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20. Ibid., p. 63.

21. Ibid., p. 54; also Ibid., v. 21, p. 392. Even when maximum attention was being given to ways and means of assuring just treatment for the Khoikhoi, as at this period, a strong element of coercion was the concomitant. Thus Maynier, while enumerating the measures he had adopted to subdue and conciliate the Khoikhoi rebels, reported that he had given orders to shoot Hottentots who continued as 'wanderers', Ibid., v. 4, p. 295, Provisional Justification of H.C.D. Maynier, April 1802.

22. See Appendix. A section of the Boers had also risen in revolt against Maynier.

23. Paravicini, Reize, pp. 18-19, together with translation, pp. 223-4.

24. Plakkaatboek, v. 6, pp. 24-5 and CA, B.R. 115, pp. 73-7. On 19/4/1806 Cuyler requested his Veld Cornets to draw up four copies, one each for the farmer, Hottentot, Veld Cornet and District Secretary. Contracts must be for one year only, and 'the sum or thing be expressed, for which the Hottentot engages to hire', CA, UIT 15/1.

25. Freund, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 640.

coupled with stabilisation of the labour force had been carried a step further.

The registers and contracts initiated during this period are invaluable source materials, yet difficult to use since there is no way of judging how representative a sample of labour agreements they in fact are. Aside from culling obvious information such as wages and periods of contract, one may ask if there is, for example, evidence of continuity of service. The Blom family seem to have been particularly conscientious in registering servants. In 1797 the Wed. Daniel Blom had booked seven young Hottentots as apprentices[26] bound to serve without remuneration until they turned twenty-five. In 1801 she registered six servants, each with wages and for a term of one year. Five of these are almost certainly the same persons referred to four years before:[27]

1797[28]		1800[29]		
Name	Age	Name	Age	Wage
Fix	6	Fix	12	1 sheep & 1 cap (muts)
Slinger	7	Slinger	14	2 sheep, knife, leather jacket & pants
Tringer	12	Dringer	18	1 'beest'
Clarina	½			
Janetjie	6			
Eva	6	Eva	19	2 sheep, flint & tinder-box, & knife
Fillita	16	Philida	27	10 sheep
		Stuurman Kleinbooy	22	8 sheep, flint & tinder-box, knife & hat

The comparison of ages is itself an interesting exercise, bearing out Philip's charge (in this case, against the apprenticeship law of 1812) that Boers falsified the ages of 'children' in order to secure a longer period of service.[30] In 1802 Slinger, Eva, Dringer and Fix renewed their contracts

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26. See above pp. 5-6, and Marais, Coloured People, pp. 113 and 118, fn. 3.
27. If so, this is clear proof of the change wrought in the lives of young Khoikhoi when the register was introduced.
28. CA, G.R. 15/43.
29. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 27.
30. Researches, v. 1, p. 180.

for a further year while a 'Stuurman' was registered with Wed. Blom's son Louis, for one 'draagos'. In 1804 two Khoikhoi named Dringer and Fix - these were common names but most likely they were the same - signed on for six years each with Louis Blom, for 2 sheep or ewe lambs (speen ooyen)[31] per year plus flint and tinderboxes, knives and hats.[32]

Meanwhile, Louis Blom had been registering a girl named Caatjie, aged 19 in 1801. She appears again in 1802, 1803 (for two years) and 1805. In 1804, Charle Blom employed Louis and Caatjie (evidently another Caatjie) for two years, for 8 ewe lambs and leather clothing (velle kleederen). This pair, plus three children, reappear in 1806 and 1807, employed by Louis Blom for one-year terms.[33] Other names, though not all, are repeated from year to year, suggesting a high degree of continuity in the relationship between servants and members of this family cluster. This is interesting as an example of a fairly stable labour situation, but how typical (the fickleness of the Khoikhoi and their love of change and consequently of short-term contracts was constantly alleged) and to what extent due to satisfactory remuneration and other conditions, compared with others, would be difficult to judge.

Family groupings are also reflected in the contracts. Sometimes wife and children appear as appendages to the contract made with a male, as in the case of Louis and Caatjie.

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31. Marais translates 'speen ooyen' as ewe lambs, Maynier, p. 119.
32. In 1807 and 1808 a 'Fix' was registered in Louis Blom's name. Whether this was a different person, or whether the contract with the original Fix was renegotiated, is difficult to say.
33. Later in 1807 it appears that this same family was contracted to a former Company servant on very favourable terms (Rds. 30 for the year). Undoubtedly some contracts, for one reason or another, did not run their full course. Caatjie is here called 'Catryn'.

In other cases, obvious pairs made separate contracts, as for example Platje and Aal (with her five children) who were employed by Jan Geel.[34]

Year	Name	Term	Wages
1802	Platje	1 year	flint & tinderbox, knife, doek, hat, pair of socks ('kousyen')
	Aal	"	1 lb. beads, doek
1803	Platje	"	1 'bees', hat, pair of socks
	Aal	"	clothing
1804	Platje	"	1 'draagos', hat
	Aal	"	clothing
1805	Platje	"	Rds. 5
	Aal	"	beads, knife, 'etc.'

This couple provide, of course, another example of continuous service, on comparatively favourable terms.

Wages

The inadequacy of wages paid farm Khoikhoi, and certain reasons for this, has been explored by earlier students of this subject. In their early dealings with the Dutch, the Khoikhoi of the western Cape were slow to appreciate the value of money, caring more for it as metal than as appropriate remuneration in the way of wages.[1] Much later it was still possible for a sympathetic observer to write that he 'had often remarked the indifference with which the Hottentots regarded money'.[2] In a society where money was 'rarely handled',[3] as was true of frontier society in the early 19th century, this would be less significant if at the same time the Khoikhoi had asked for and been given payment in kind (especially in stock) commensurate with services rendered. That this did not happen was said to be due in part to the Hottentot's own character. Comparing them with the 'Kaffers', Barrow found

34. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 27.

1. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, pp. 164 and 207-8.
2. Philip, Researches, v. 1, p. 204.
3. Marais, Coloured People, p. 130.

the latter not so 'pliant nor so passive as the Hottentot' and thus they 'never suffer themselves to be duped out of their hire like the easy Hottentots'.[4] Marais quotes several spokesmen who testified that the Khoikhoi failed to bargain properly and in their own interests when entering into engagements with the Boers.[5] He appears to accept Bigge's assertion that they preferred kind masters and less taxing work to high wages where harder labour was demanded.[6]

It may have been due also to the confusing signals reaching them from the economic environment in which they found themselves, taken in the context of their own cultural heritage. They were pastoral, nomadic people, incorporated in the larger but still primitive economy of a pastoral, semi-nomadic people. In the barter economy[7] of the frontier, the symbols of wealth (sheep and cattle) were identical for master and servant. Clothing, basic tools such as knives, and certain food items had their place. Guns and wagons, invaluable aids in maximising the rewards of two familiar occupations, hunting and trade, were rapidly mastered and turned to use by the Khoikhoi. Otherwise, as Robertson has remarked, the Boers did not contribute much variety to the material civilisation of the aborigines but tended to 'have more of the same things as the Natives already possessed'.[8]

In a society where stock was valued by every sector, it is not surprising that payment in stock should have formed the chief inducement to labour. More surprising is that so many Khoikhoi worked without this appropriate mode of remuneration, or settled for such very meagre payment in it. What follows is a discussion of wages around 1800, and the effect of landlessness as a material impediment to the economic advancement of the Khoikhoi.

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4. Travels, v. 1, p. 405.
5. Coloured People, p. 131.
6. Ibid., p. 130. See above p. 68.
7. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary 'barter' involves an exchange of goods while 'exchange' may involve goods or money.
8. H.M. Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact Between Black and White, a Preliminary Survey', SAJE, v. 3, No. 1, March 1935, p. 6.

To some extent the value of goods bartered resides in the passing needs of the participants in the exchange. Thus Latrobe bartered two Genadendal knives, or 'Boschlemmers', for a 'fine fat sheep'.[9] He also persuaded a Hottentot who wanted Rds. 1½ for a 'Rhebuck' to take a Genadendal knife instead.[10] Burchell exchanged ¾lb. gunpowder for one peck of salt[11] and, on another occasion, one knife for half a gallon of the same commodity.[12] But in the farm situation we can assume that the usual articles offered as payment in kind had a generally recognised value, though it is difficult to establish what that value was in real terms. These articles, apart from livestock, consisted of beads, flints and tinderboxes, knives, doeks, hats, jackets, trousers and shirts, or an assortment of clothing designated 'een pak kleeren' (or 'kleederen').

Some clues as to their value are available, as follows:

1. Beads: The Somerville-Truter expedition of 1801-02 took for barter three kinds of beads, described as blue and white, small of assorted colours, and painted glass and China.[13] The purchase price of the beads is not given, only examples of the barter value, and the only reference to the former which has come to hand refers to the period 1824-5 when the price ranged from Rds. 4½ to Rds. 20 per pound,[14] presumably depending on size and quality.

2. Flints and tinderboxes: Tinderboxes taken on the Somerville-Truter expedition were of two sorts, double and single, with steels. Among the Kora, the expedition traded three single tinderboxes and steels per sheep.[15] Philip gave the value of a tinderbox as Rd. 1-4-0 but this was in 1823.[16] Some or other dry substance which would easily ignite was carried in the box: Burchell relates how the Hottentots called

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9. Journal, p. 136.
10. Ibid., p. 246.
11. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 466.
12. Ibid., p. 487.
13. Records, v. 4, pp. 378-9, Report, 31/8/1802.
14. Ibid., v. 20, p. 182, Return of Ivory purchased from Kaffirs, 13/3/1825.
15. Ibid., v. 4, p. 413.
16. Researches, v. 2, p. 441.

asbestos 'Doeksteen' because it had 'the singular property of becoming, on being rubbed between the fingers, a soft cotton-like substance, resembling that which they made from their old handkerchiefs for the purpose of tinder'.[17] Flints struck on steel produced a spark, necessary for the flintlock muskets then in wide use, or to light fires. According to White it is uncertain if 'gun-flints were ever cut on a commercial basis in Africa'.[18] These, along with tinderboxes and beads, were likely to have been imported items, purchased by the farmer in Cape Town or from a travelling trader ('smous').

3. Knives: The Somerville-Truter expedition was supplied with a variety of types of knife: so-called common knives with brown or yellow handles, 'best' knives with brown handles, and pocket knives in four sizes. Genadendal became a great source of knives, for Christian Kühnel, one of the three missionaries who arrived in 1792, was a cutler. Production started as soon as the smithy was ready for use, in 1797,[19] and knives sold for 8 schellings (Rd. 1) at the mission could be resold for much more elsewhere in the Colony.[20] According to van der Merwe, knives carried by the colonists were 'herneuters' (the name for those manufactured at Genadendal) which had 7-8" blades, kept in a sheath attached to the belt.[21] It seems unlikely that these superior knives were offered as wages to the Hottentots and from the variety taken on the above expedition it would appear that they were available from other sources and very likely imported. A Bastaard traded 'one ox for 6 best brown handled knives, and 6 lbs. small red, green and yellow beads'.[22]

4. Doeks and hats: Doeks were items of female apparel and hats of male. Hats might be of the broad-brimmed kind favoured by the Boers, or a sort of cap, called 'muts', made of soft material.

— difficult modes of wages

17. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 333.
18. 'Firearms in Africa', JAH, v. 12, No. 2, 1971, p. 175.
19. B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 77.
20. Ibid.
21. Die Trekboer, p. 225.
22. Records, v. 4, p. 399, Report of Somerville-Truter Expedition.

5. Jackets, trousers and shirts: Leather was used to make every conceivable article of clothing and 'velle kleederen' or '1 velle Baatje, 1 velle broek', appears often as part of wages ('een pak Kleeren' often comprising the entire annual wage of a female servant). Less frequently, in these early days, was specified 'een pak coorsaaye kleederen', coorsaaye referring, it would appear, to 'Kersey' cloth, a coarse woollen cloth perhaps first made in Kersey, Suffolk.[23] Sometimes a pair of 'kousyen' (socks) was also specified in the contract.

In the matter of livestock also it is difficult to ascribe an objective value to animals which were bartered for goods. Latrobe's exchange of two Genadendal knives for a sheep reflects the manufacturer's price of the knives as we shall see, since sheep were valued at this time at about Rds. 2 each.[24] Campbell tells how a Boer swopped an ox for a sack of wheat.[25] Wheat was valued at Rds. 5-5½ per muid in January 1801[26] which seems poor value for an ox[27] but since he was saved half the distance to Cape Town by wagon through this transaction it was no doubt well worth his while. At Bethelsdorp, Campbell questioned six Khoikhoi about their possessions, obtaining in the process information as to how they acquired them. One, William Valentyn, had given five oxen for a horse while another of the same family, John, had 'two horses, for which he had given three oxen'. John Valentyn had also given eight oxen for a wagon, which may be com-

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23. There is a reference to slaves' clothing as consisting of 'leather breeches, a kersey jacket, and a blue check shirt', Ibid., v. 8, p. 328. See also reference to 'kersey' for winter clothing, 'duck' for summer, Ibid., v. 17, p. 167.
24. See above pp. 78 & 79, also below p. 86. Additional information regarding sheep prices is given in the section headed 'Livestock as Wages'.
25. Campbell, 1813, p. 328.
26. Records, v. 3, p. 397.
27. Unless there was a major alteration in values by 1813, when this exchange took place.

pared with the cash price of Rds. 200 which Andrew Pretorius had paid a Boer for his wagon.[28] Barrow placed the value of the average new (as opposed to second-hand) Boer wagon at Rds. 400.[29]

According to Barrow, cash wages of 40 to 50 shillings per year (Rds. 10-12) were equal to about 1 ox, 2 cows or 12 sheep.[30] This seems too low a value on sheep: Barrow himself, at other points in his narrative, gives the value of a sheep as Rds. 2 to 2½[31] and again as 6 to 8 shillings (Rds. 1½ to 2),[32] while Lichtenstein calculates on the basis of Rds. 1½.[33] We shall see that 6 to 8 sheep per annum as wages was, in fact, more usual than 12. A few years later Burchell reported that a Sneeuwberg Boer would not consider it profitable to sell a sheep for as little as 'five schellings' or Rd. 1.[34] The Somerville-Truter expedition found Rds. 2 a fairly standard price for sheep[35] but obviously prices varied somewhat with the place and season.

Maynier reported the value of good milk cows (including those with calves) to be Rds. 11-12 while the value of an ox varied: oxen for slaughter, Rds. 8-10; young oxen not accustomed to the yoke, about Rds. 13; best oxen Rds. 15-20, with Rds. 18 an average price for oxen accustomed to the yoke.[36] In his calculation of a grazier's wealth, Barrow gave Rds. 12 as the average value of cattle sold[37] (thus assigning double the value cited above in his cash-stock ratio), and placed the value of a 400 lb. bullock also at

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28. Campbell, 1813, p. 89.
29. Travels, v. 2, p. 123.
30. Ibid., v. 1, p. 97.
31. Ibid., v. 2, p. 122.
32. Ibid., v. 1, p. 67.
33. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 363.
34. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 113.
35. Records, v. 4, p. 374.
36. Ibid., pp. 309-11.
37. Travels, v. 2, p. 122. Values ranged between Rds. 10-20.

Rds. 12.[38] In Burchell's experience, oxen prices ranged from Rds. 10 or 12 (at Klaarwater)[39] to Rds. 35 (at Tulbagh) which was considered exorbitant.[40]

Beef, which was seldom eaten by country dwellers, cost 'two stuivers a pound', or 'one schelling for five pounds', according to Burchell.[41] It would be well-nigh impossible to calculate the value of mutton supplied to farm Khoikhoi as part of wages since their portion of the meat was merely a fraction of the total value of the slaughtered sheep, which produced oil and skins as well as food.[42] Moreover, sheep were spared whenever game could be substituted.

A study of actual wages paid to Khoikhoi around 1800 must take account of two groups: the vast majority whose verbal agreements with their employers were unrecorded, and the 400 or so (fewer for subsequent years)[43] whose names appear on Maynier's register. Regarding the first group we have chiefly the impressions of travellers. Barrow's observations regarding farm wages have been quoted already[44] and he added that these were frequently stopped for lost stock, as well as debts incurred for tobacco or brandy. At one point he implied that the principle that Khoikhoi be remunerated was generally acknowledged for he says that Boers were keen to get San children not only because 'Hottentots are now so scarce', but also because the latter 'must be paid wages'.[45] But elsewhere he asserts that the Boer's work was done for him by Hottentots 'which cost him nothing but meat, tobacco and skins'.[46] When Burchell gave his opinion on the

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38. Ibid., v. 1, p. 67.
39. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 364.
40. Ibid., p. 134.
41. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 146.
42. See above p. 54 for Burchell's claim that farmers slaughtered primarily to get fat for soap.
43. According to surviving records for Graaff-Reinet District: 266 in 1801, 127 in 1802, 51 in 1803 etc.
44. See above p. 81, per Travels, v. 1, p. 97.
45. Ibid., p. 248.
46. Ibid., v. 2, p. 123.

Cape as a place for British emigrants (in 1819) he claimed that 'those wild tribes of Hottentots called Bushmen by the Boors', if employed as 'shepherds or house-servants' would be 'satisfied to receive as a remuneration, their food and a few old cloathes' if treated 'by the strict rule of justice and humanity',[47] which reinforces Barrow's intimation that San at least worked very often without wages. Dirk van Reenen, who blamed the retrogression of certain colonists on the fact that missions (in this case Genadendal) robbed them of the labour they needed,[48] quoted a Moravian missionary as saying Hottentots went out to work for 2 schellings per day but van Reenen had heard otherwise from the farmers who complained they asked 6 to 8 schellings per day since the establishment of the mission. Daily wages, of course, are calculated on a different basis from monthly or yearly wages where food and lodging is taken to form a part.

As for a male Khoikhoi's dependants, it seems beyond dispute that they worked for little or nothing beyond their own subsistence.[49] At Genadendal Burchell found that men at work on the farms preferred to leave their families at the mission station so long as they had provisions there, as at the farms 'they hardly ever receive any other wages for their work, than their daily food'.[50] Collins' findings (which could apply either to registered or unregistered Khoikhoi) were as follows:

> In the distant parts of the colony a male Hottentot seldom receives more in the year than twelve or fourteen Rix-dollars, which may be paid either in money, clothes or cattle. A female obtains much less. A great deal is said by the inhabitants of the expence of maintaining the children of these people; but I think, without foundation, for a child can scarcely crawl before it is turned to some purpose.[51]

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47. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, Hints on Emigration, p. 36. The question of absorption of San onto farms and the distinction, so far as it existed, between San and Khoikhoi cannot be gone into here.
48. Joernaal, p. 21.
49. See above, pp. 75 & 76, for examples of Louis and Caatjie, Platje and Aal.
50. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 114.
51. Records, v. 7, p. 111, Report, 6/8/1809.

'Much evil', he believed, 'is occasioned by masters selling liquors to their servants, in part payment of wages'.[52] Frequently farm surpluses were given out in a manner which suggested 'perks' in lieu of wages. Describing his arrangements with the Hottentots on his farm, the butcher at Graaff-Reinet (in 1826) told of two men (who received cash wages), 'two Boys who work', and a family of ten to whom he gave food and clothing, and 'besides, they make as much butter as they choose, and have the fat of the Cattle slaughtered'.[53] Overall one sees the picture as: no wages for workers designated San, little or none for Khoikhoi dependants, minimal wages as a rule for females, and remuneration ranging from meat, tobacco and skins to cash amounts, rarely exceeding Rds. 12-14 per annum, or the equivalent in kind, for men.

What does the register reveal? Of 379 contracts recorded for the year 1800, 66 indicate that a money wage, ranging from Rds. 6 to 25 for a one-year term of service, was agreed upon (one received Rds. 36 for an 18-month contract, another Rds. 28 for one year and five months). In fact, 9 contracts only show wages exceeding Rds. 12 per annum, and the Landdrost accounts for five of these. Of the 66 instances of money wages, Bresler the Landdrost accounted for almost a third (i.e. 21), while dorp-dwellers (eg. Paul Mare) and men of the class from which officials were drawn (eg. Jacob Tregard, Jan Bastiaan Rabie, Johannes Geel) figured prominently. In 31 cases, a cash wage was supplemented by goods, for example '_kleeren_', or flint and tinderbox plus a hat, though in one instance a Rds. 6 wage was combined with 8 sheep and '_een beesten_'. Payment in milk cows or oxen was relatively rare: the first 100 contracts reveal 17 instances (generally '_een vers_' but in two instances '_2 versen_', in two others '_een vers met koeijn_', and in one '_een beesten_'). Sheep were the common currency, ranging in number from 2 to 12 (there were 2 exceptions in the sample of 100 where 20 were

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52. _Ibid_.
53. _Ibid_., v. 29, p. 477.

given) for a year's work, but concentrated in the region of 6 to 8 per annum. Frequently other items were specified - a knife, hat, flint and tinderbox, or clothing. Females were remunerated chiefly in clothing (eg. 'Els met haar kind' received each a parcel of clothing) while one, aged 12, received a knife, 1 lb. beads and two doeks. Bresler himself employed five females for a parcel of clothing each. Among females there were a very few exceptions, paid in up to 8 sheep.[54]

Records for the following year[55] reveal a similar situation: of 266 contracted Khoikhoi, approximately 58% were paid in sheep, 11% in other types of livestock, 17% in cash (about half of these in smaller amounts of cash, combined with goods), and 14% in goods only. Eight contracts recorded no remuneration whatsoever, the workers being such as 'Els met haar kind' and 'Truy met 4 kinders'. Payment in draught animals must have been extremely rare, only one being recorded in 1801.

Two things strike one about these wages. One is that they are exceedingly low. The second is the highly individual nature of the agreements. Within the range of possibilities there are intriguing permutations. To what extent these reflect the wish of the employee and to what the convenience of the employer is impossible to decide. The fact that cash wages were paid by relatively few is not surprising, given the primitive state of the economy. What is more puzzling is the skimpiness of the wages paid in sheep and horned cattle in a country where they were so plentiful.

Livestock as Wages

Atmore and Marks have referred to 'Khoisan servants, who were extremely poorly paid - not by any means all in money',[1]

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54. CA, G.R. 15/43 is the source for all information in this paragraph.

55. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 27.

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1. A. Atmore & S. Marks, 'The Imperial Factor in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Reassessment', JICH, v. 3, No. 1, Oct. 1974, p. 116.

a generalisation more than borne out by the figures given above. It appears beyond question that rates of payment in money, insofar as it was given as wages, were inspired by prevailing rates of payment in livestock and not the other way around. An attempt will be made to answer two questions: why, in a pastoral society where sheep and cattle were the tokens of wealth and also the currency in which wage payments were usually made, were these payments so meagre? Secondly, what was the relationship between livestock as wages and land?

Barrow bases his calculation of a grazier's income and expenditure on an average herd size of 170 cattle and 1 115 sheep.[2] (Here again it must be stressed that this use of averages tends to convey an impression of uniformity which one knows, and which earlier discussion shows, did not exist.) It might be appropriate at this point to compare herd sizes typical among grazier and Khoikhoi. Citing a horde of about 250 Khoikhoi men, women and children, known to van Riebeeck, Wilson finds a ratio of 'six head of cattle per person'.[3] Using the 1800 opgaafrolle for Graaff-Reinet,[4] one finds 4 231 men, women and children in possession of 81 819 cattle - an average of 19,3 per person. The grazier's herds must have seemed immense to the Khoikhoi. Wilson does not give an average for sheep kept by the Khoikhoi. Graaff-Reinet was pre-eminently sheep country and the 782 001 sheep owned by the Boers in 1800 work out at 184,8 for every man, woman and child.

Reverting to Barrow and his calculations, he claimed that the Boer could afford to part with 15 cattle (8.8% of his herd) at Rds. 12 each, and 220 sheep (19.7% of his flock) at Rds. 2 each per annum.[5] Lichtenstein, a very short while later, commented as follows:

> From two thousand sheep a thousand lambs may be calculated upon annually,[6] after allowing all

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2. Travels, v. 2, p. 122.
3. 'Hunters and Herders', OHSA, v. 1, p. 55.
4. CA, J. 118.
5. Travels, v. 2, p. 122.
6. According to Mentzel, the Khoikhoi let the rams run with the ewes, which resulted in two lambings a year, but the Boers did not follow this practice so had only one, O.F. Mentzel, Description of the Cape of Good Hope, Pt. III (VRS 25)/p. 213.

> deductions for what may die or be stolen. Six hundred wethers are requisite for feeding a family the year through, including the slaves and Hottentots, and in many a colonist's family no other food but mutton is ever tasted: four hundred will then remain for sale to the travelling butchers, which are worth about six hundred dollars.[7]

As Thom points out,[8] the two spokesmen are in close agreement regarding the number of sheep the farmer would be prepared to offer for sale each year, but differed with regard to the price.[9] The farmer could, according to the price gained on his sheep, earn a 27% to 35% return on his capital.[10] Of course, as Thom points out, the farmer had certain expenses, but he also had other sources of income, such as from butter and soap, apart from the fact that certain primary needs were satisfied by sheep culture and slaughter (for example, clothing made of sheepskins).

In Barrow's balance sheet,[11] Rds. 80 per year is allowed for 'Contingencies, cattle to Hottentots, etc' (compared with Rds. 150 for 'Tea, sugar, tobacco, brandy'). It is not clear how much of this he visualised as wages but one may surmise little, since it is at this point that he remarks that the Boer's work is done for him by Hottentots 'which cost him nothing but meat, tobacco and skins'.[12] Lichtenstein states specifically that his initial figure of 1000 lambs per annum from a flock of 2000 allows for 'what may die or be stolen' and he allows 60% of the 1000 for domestic consumption. What other calls were there on the grazier's herds and flocks?

Most important were the prevailing attitudes and methods regarding the advancement of young, white, would-be graziers. First among these were the graziers' own sons: van der Merwe states that it was customary for Boers to give their sons

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7. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 363.
8. H.B. Thom, Die Geskiedenis van die Skaapboerdery in Suid-Afrika, p. 379.
9. See above p. 81.
10. Thom, Skaapboerdery, pp. 379-80.
11. Travels, v. 2, p. 122-3.
12. See above p. 82.

calves and lambs as a nucleus of their future herds, at an early age.[13] According to Mentzel, young men might start out as knegts, or overseers, not performing physical labour themselves but managing the slave and Khoikhoi labour, not receiving a salary but building up their own herds - in other words they were regarded more as partners of the graziers themselves.[14] Henning, quoting Lichtenstein,[15] tells how former soldiers and sailors who married Boer daughters acquired animals by managing stock belonging to the wife's family or friends and keeping half the yearly produce. This was the aanteelt system, an arrangement entered into by the Boer for sharing the future produce of his stock in return for certain services. The wage payment of Khoikhoi servants in stock may be regarded as a version of this system, minus the impetus which a real interest in the advancement of the junior partner gave to such arrangements when entered into with sons, sons-in-law and other burghers.

Grosskopf provides considerable information concerning concepts of land occupation in the early days when land was plentiful. A man might prefer to attach himself to a farm holder, possibly less wealthy than himself, rather than become a land-owner in his own right. In this way he avoided the annual recognitie fee or quitrent, had fewer cares and was not tied down while at the same time no stigma of 'social or economic inferiority' was entailed. In fact, he felt '"equally boss"' with the owner.[16] Thus one Boer obtained a 'concession' on another's farm and Grosskopf states: 'With a small population, where the majority were acquainted with or related to one another, this concession could readily be obtained and no conditions were laid down by the owner'.[17] Nevertheless the persons obtaining the concession did render certain services on a basis mutually understood. The position of a son or son-in-law might be somewhat different from that of other species of

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13. Die Trekboer, p. 179.
14. Description of the Cape, Pt. III, pp. 99 and 111.
15. C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet, A Cultural History, 1786-1886, p. 17.
16. Rural Impoverishment, pp. 38 and 39.
17. Ibid., p. 125.

concession holders but in general arrangements were based on this system.

Those without land of their own grazed their animals on the 'joint undivided pasture' of the owner or 'on neighbouring farms'.[18] If arrangements made between Boer and bywoner were generally amicable, the same cannot be said of relations between neighbouring Boers: Lichtenstein tells of the squabbling which took place over 'common fields' between loan places.[19] Land might be 'plentiful' but land with any merit as pasturage was jealously laid claim to. The amount of pasturage needed depended on factors of vegetation and rainfall, some being more suited to horses and cattle and some to sheep.[20] One cow, ox or horse could be equated with 20 sheep, according to D'Escury.[21] The Commission of Inquiry contrasted a requirement of 5 acres per ox or cow where lands were under cultivation against 10 to 12 acres per ox or 6 sheep on the 'unimproved pasture lands' of the Colony.[22] In the Zuurveld, it was stated, 20 acres were needed for each head of cattle (1823).[23] Writing to the Colonial Secretary in 1810, Cuyler said that a Boer with '2 to 5 thousand sheep and from 1 to 200 Head of horned Cattle, must have a very extensive range to feed his flock'.[24] In the early decades of the century, before the beginnings of a scientific approach to land use, a simple statement of need, such as this, sufficed in place of any sense of pastoral economy. There is nothing to indicate self-imposed restraints on the multiplication of livestock and the only penalty was the tax levied on additional stock returned.

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18. Ibid., p. 121.
19. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 108. For a discussion of the typical round farms and the resulting wasteland between, see van der Merwe, Die Trekboer, pp. 79-106; also A.J. Christopher, 'The European Concept of a Farm in Southern Africa', Historia, June 1970, pp. 93-9.
20. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, pp. 76-81.
21. Records, v. 14, p. 229, Rules regarding Value of Land, 27/12/1821.
22. Ibid., v. 27, 417.
23. Ibid., v. 16, p. 431, Lt. T.C. White to Commissioners of Inquiry, 14/11/1823.
24. Ibid., v. 21, p. 336.

Thus the need for pasturage was infinite. The danger of overgrazing is seldom mentioned with regard to the frontier situation where land was 'plentiful' but it was, after all, what the unremitting demand for unhindered access to fresh pasturage, as needed, was all about.[25] On the scale of priorities entertained by the burghers, the pasture needs of the Khoikhoi occupied bottom place. This was also the case regarding allocation of stock which they could spare. On both counts it followed that they would limit Khoikhoi property in livestock to the barest minimum needed for their subsistence on the farms,[26] and to satisfy official demands that wages be paid as these were pressed upon them.

Around 1800 there were numbers of farm Khoikhoi in Graaff-Reinet District with livestock, totalling 144 horses, 7 573 cattle and 30 650 sheep.[27] Returns of Khoikhoi-owned stock were made for tax purposes by the farmers with whom they lived, and they paid tax at the same rate as the white graziers. Stephanus Naude, for example, reported 318 sheep and 118 cattle belonging to 14 (or so it appears) Khoikhoi.[28]

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25. For reference to worn out, overgrazed farms see Wilson, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Eastern Cape Frontier', OHSA, v. 1, p. 253.

26. See above, p. 65-66.

27. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 116.

28. Jacob Nieman reported 4 Khoikhoi, whose possessions totalled 6 horses, 21 cattle and 60 sheep. One of these Hottentots, Cupido Kakkerlak (4 horses, 16 cattle, 15 sheep), appears in 1801 per CA, J. 27, No. 530, as contracted to Jacob Nieman in a unique wage agreement: 'Voor zaad koorn en garst en zal teffens de vryheid hebben om te zaaiyen'. The dating of J. 116 is uncertain, for though given as 1798 in the Index, CA Opgaafrolle, 1/5, the roll itself has written on it: 'Opgaaf rolle, undated, Landdrost Bresler's signature outside'. On 1/1/1800 Cupido (and Vigilant) Kakkerlak were contracted to Bresler himself for one year, CA, G.R. 15/43. Perhaps he was with Nieman before the rebellion in 1799, was induced to work for Bresler in 1800, and returned to Nieman in 1801; alternatively, the fact that he was with Nieman in 1801, per CA, J. 27, indicates that the correct date for J. 116 is actually 1801. Cupido Kakkerlak went to Bethelsdorp with van der Kemp, appears at the head of the list of persons admitted there, per CA, J. 395, and became a well-known and widely travelled lay preacher.

The livestock belonging to these Khoikhoi may have consisted in part of animals preserved in their possession even while they themselves were absorbed onto the farms;[29] it would have consisted also of stock earned as wages. Numbers were small compared with the size of flocks and herds belonging to the Boers, and small also compared with earlier times among the Khoikhoi themselves.[30] Two of the most prosperous Khoikhoi had 2 horses, 40 cattle and 194 sheep in one instance, 15 cattle and 217 sheep in another.[31]

What were the implications of landlessness for Khoikhoi who owned livestock? Chase states that native servants, who often preferred to be paid in cattle, were 'invariably' permitted 'to accumulate and depasture without charge a small stock as a foundation for their future independence'.[32] This custom, as applied to the Khoikhoi c. 1800, had limitations: in view of their landlessness, there was little hope of their future independence. The Commission of Inquiry, writing of a period when the Hottentot labour law of 1809 was still in force, said as follows:

> It has been stated to us that a Hottentot who has property in cattle and sheep cannot be considered in a state of vagrancy, and cannot be taken up, but it was admitted at the same time that this circumstance would not give him protection if he did not possess land upon which his cattle and sheep might graze.[33]

At more or less the same time, Philip railed against the landlessness of the Hottentots which doomed them 'to a perpetual state of servitude', asking where they could keep their cattle, their 'chief property'.[34] It was even, he claimed, difficult

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29. See above, p. 31.

30. See above, pp. 85-6.

31. The former, Piet Stamper, was contracted to the wealthy farmer Barend Jacobus Burgers d'oude in 1801 per CA, J. 27, No. 437, the same Boer who reported the stock which he held, per CA. J. 116. Further comparisons might make it possible to date J. 116 correctly. Stamper engaged to work for Burgers for Rds. 12 and clothing.

32. Cape of Good Hope, p. 246.

33. Records, v. 35, pp. 148-9, Report upon the Police, 10/5/1828.

34. Researches, v. 1, p. 151.

to stimulate Khoikhoi to learn trades when deprived of reward in the form of land, which they must have for their cattle, their traditional ideal in property.[35]

Prior to the application of the 1809 labour law[36] the Khoikhoi faced the same problem: they could go with their livestock to a mission station[37] if permission to do so could be obtained, or perhaps escape over the border, but the vast majority lived out their lives on the farms. Colebrooke expressed one aspect of the problem when he wrote that while the Boers had land the Khoikhoi

> for the most part have been excluded from these benefits, and have acquired stock which they have been allowed to graze on the Farms where they have served, subject to the losses and depredations to which, from their unprotected situation, they have been too often exposed.[38]

It would seem that Colebrooke refers here, not to 'losses and depredations' due to theft or wild animals, but more likely to the farmers' retention of their stock, from which they had little protection.

Bigge understood that 'the profession of the Christian faith is held to be an essential condition of free Burghership' and hence land ownership,[39] while Hodgson shows that there was an assumption, not stated in ordinances, that Hottentots were not to own land, due to the link in the public mind between landlessness and '"not being Christians"'.[40] It is not intended here to enter into a discussion whether discrimination practised against the Khoikhoi had more or less to do with Christian belief, the place of the Khoikhoi in creation (i.e., the Hottentot as '<u>schepsel</u>'), race and colour, or class. What is relevant here is the connection between land and labour. The most obvious motive of the Boers in depriving the

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35. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 376.
36. Proclamation of 1/11/1809.
37. In 1800 there was only one in the Colony, at Baviaans Kloof (later called Genadendal).
38. <u>Records</u>, v. 35, p. 205, Colebrooke to Huskisson, 14/5/1828.
39. <u>Ibid</u>., v. 28, p. 36, Report upon Courts of Justice, 6/9/1826.
40. 'Hottentots in South Africa', <u>SAJS</u>, v. 21, 1924, pp. 620-1.

Khoikhoi of land was to force them to accept employment on their farms. Once this was achieved, 'The employment of slave or Hottentot labour increased [the] urge for territorial expansion, as it made wage-labour still less attractive for Europeans'.[41] The reluctance of Boers to perform manual labour on their own farms, but still more their dislike of engaging in paid labour on the farms of others, has been thoroughly explored by other writers.[42] Philip gave another dimension to this land/labour relationship when he claimed that 'The landed proprietors of South Africa, being obliged to keep their grounds in their own hands, and not being able to let them on leases as in Europe, their value to them must depend upon the price of labour, and the number of hands they can command'[43] - hence their interest in keeping wages low.

Marais believed that the allotment of land to Hottentots 'before they had been weaned of their nomadic habits ... would have been an entirely useless expedient',[44] moreover, that it would have been difficult if not impossible to make land available to them 'Since the most eligible "places" were already occupied by Boers'.[45] He agrees with Macmillan that 'the question of land-ownership [by Khoikhoi] could hardly have been more than an academic one. They could not think in the formulae and standards of "civilised" society, of which the basis is the individual ownership of land'.[46]

Several things strike one about these arguments. Firstly, it was by no means impossible to find land for Khoikhoi occupation. In September 1804 it was decreed that abandoned loan farms would revert to the government if Boers did not reoccupy

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41. Robertson, 'Economic Contact', SAJE, v. 2, No, 4, Dec. 1934, p. 404.
42. eg. van der Merwe, Die Trekboer, pp. 174-8; Grosskopf, Rural Impoverishment, pp. 171-3; D.P. Botha, Die Opkomsvan ons Derde Stand, pp. 85-92.
43. Researches, v. 1, p. 346.
44. Coloured People, p. 114.
45. Ibid.
46. The Cape Colour Question, p. 148.

them[47] and land did become open to fresh applications in this way.[48] Farms did change hands so that continually there were opportunities to acquire land - between 1806 and 1827 Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhage, acquired 29 964 acres for himself.[49] In 1810 Cuyler wrote to Alexander, the Colonial Secretary at Cape Town, as follows:

> As this frontier is very thinly settled, I beg leave to recommend for His Excellency's consideration that an inducement should be held out to such Inhabitants in the interior of Zwellendam and Stellenbosch to settle here, allowing them rent free for a few years, and to induce them to come forward levying upon such loan places in the aforementioned districts where more than one family resides upon a place, a double rent.[50]

Still later, in 1821, D'Escury revealed the stratagems by which Boers attempted to justify land applications far in excess of grazing actually required.[51]

Moreover, it was government policy to register Hottentot kraals. Some adaptation of this system might have been possible where Khoikhoi regained their independence by means of land grants in their favour, without sacrificing the annual recognitie or taxes due the government. (The Boers were, in any case, notoriously behindhand in paying the recognitiegeld, so that 'By the late eighteenth century most stock-farmers occupied land for nothing'.)[52] It was also the avowed intention of government in the period 1802-3 to set aside land for those rebel captains and their followers who could not risk returning to live among the Boers. According to Maynier, Dundas wrote to him on 29 January 1800 asking him to 'send in a list of such places as were not then actually occupied by the Boers and convenient for the Hottentots, for the purpose that they should be enregistered at the proper office

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47. CA, G.R. 11/29, Publicatie, 3/9/1804.
48. Freund, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, pp. 638-9.
49. Records, v. 30, pp. 219-21, Enclosure 24 in Bourke to Bathurst, 29/1/1827.
50. CA, C.O. 2572, 18/2/1810.
51. Records, v. 14, pp. 226-7, Enclosure 2, D'Escury to Somerset, 28/12/1821.
52. Katzen, 'White Settlers', OHSA, v. 1, p. 211; also van der Merwe, Die Trekboer, p. 113.

in the name of the Hottentots', where they could reside 'under their own Chiefs, according to their ancient custom'.[53] It is not stated whether he actually drew up such a list and in fact only two captains (Piet, and Klaas Stuurman) were settled in this way.[54] Opposition to the idea, rather than the impossibility of finding land, would seem to have been the true impediment: the fate of the Stuurman kraal, as told by Thomas Pringle,[55] is an indication of the problems besetting, and hostility towards, such independent Khoikhoi communities. There is sufficient evidence that land could have been made available to Hottentots had there been the will to do so.

The nomadic habits of the Khoikhoi, as disqualifying them from farm ownership, also seem more apparent than real. Klaas Stuurman told van Reenen that 'formerly he had always lived on the farm of my father at the mouth of the Gamtoos River, and had been supported by him, but that since that time nearly all the kraals owned by the Hottentots had become occupied on ordonnance by the colonists. This was the chief reason why they had taken to roaming about'.[56] On the score of nomadic habits, Colebrooke observed that 'if the habits of a people attached to a pastoral life are unsettled, the observation is hardly more applicable to the Hottentots than to the Boors', adding that

> It is well known that in the instances in which they have acquired fixed property, they have shewn no disposition to quit their abodes, excepting for temporary service with the farmers, or in employing their waggons as carriers, or in other pursuits which have necessarily taken them from their homes; and occasionally to visit their Children or Parents detained in some other parts of the Colony.[57]

In his opinion, the farmers contributed to the unsettled state of Khoikhoi (and slaves also) by taking them on expeditions,

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53. Records, v. 21, p. 392, Report of the Commission of Inquiry, 25/5/1825.
54. Ibid., p. 393.
55. Thomas Pringle, 'The British Government at the CGH', New Monthly Magazine, Jan. 1828, pp. 165-72.
56. Joernaal, p. 83. This had happened in spite of the fact that van Reenen, Sr's, farm at the mouth of the Gamtoos 'was reserved for the Hottentots and could not be lawfully acquired by colonists', p. 85. Italics mine.
57. Records, v. 35, p. 205, Colebrooke to Huskisson, 14/5/1828.

to distant grazing or for hunting, and on commandos.[58] Undoubtedly Boers would have objected to Khoikhoi as neighbours, fearing they could not be contained within the measured area of a farm and take to 'roof en plundering'. After all, there were no physical obstacles to roaming for as regarded the 'extensive pastoral farms ... the right of passage and even outspanning was guaranteed to all travellers across them'.[59] These were rights enjoyed by gentleman travellers, butchers' knegts and the Boers themselves. Certainly time would have been needed for Khoikhoi pastoralists to conceptualise and assimilate the 'standards of "civilised society"', as embodied in private ownership of land.[60] But the realities of their situation regarding diminished access to land were plain to see, and Klaas Stuurman's story indicates that the first, essential adjustments had already been made.

A more justifiable fear might have been that farms allotted to Khoikhoi would become magnets to other Khoikhoi, robbing farmers of yet more labour and defeating the project since their hospitality could be carried to the point of self-destruction. Stockenstrom anticipated this problem when he made his proposals for the Kat River Settlement in 1828-9: 'I stated my determination in considering applications to make no distinction between Hottentot and English, or Dutch'.[61] Aspects of his scheme were adopted, but, according to Marais, 'with the important and wise modification that the European and the Hottentot settlements should be kept separate'.[62] Not so, according to Stockenstrom, who afterwards claimed (with reference to the self-destructive hospitality observed at the Settlement) that 'if the people had been interspersed without distinction among the other inhabitants, instead of being congregated together as they now are, the danger arising from this cause would have been greatly diminished'.[63]

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58. Ibid., pp. 205-6.
59. Christopher, 'European Concept of a Farm', Historia, June, 1970, p. 99.
60. See p. 93.
61. Autobiography, v. 1, p. 366.
62. Coloured People, p. 217.
63. Autobiography, v. 2, p. 411.

The reasons why Khoikhoi were denied land had less to do with the unavailability of farms and their own condition as nomads and more with the motives actuating colonists and government. It may have been true, as Neumark claims, that even in the 1830s, it was far less serious for a Boer to be without land than to be without livestock;[64] the same can hardly be said of the Hottentot. With no prospect of living on terms of equality on the loan place of the Boer, or receiving the smallest degree of preferential treatment in regard to the increase of his herds and flocks, i.e. his wealth, he faced also no prospect of acquiring land, 'the only avenue', according to Macmillan, 'to real independence of status'.[65] For the Khoikhoi, perpetual landlessness spelt perpetual poverty, a far cry from the prospect open to the poorest of landless Boers.

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64. Economic Influences, p. 159. See also his comment regarding land and Khoikhoi, p. 97.

65. The Cape Colour Question, p. 148.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESSENTIAL ROLE OF KHOIKHOI IN EXPLORATION AND TRADE

Khoikhoi as Wagon-drivers and Managers of Oxen

The real importance of ox wagons, and of those who understood the handling of wagons and oxen, may easily be forgotten when 'the ox wagon' is taken as a symbol - either to construct a myth about the past or represent ways of thinking about the present. For more than 200 years the ox wagon was the characteristic and indispensable conveyance in use at the Cape. It became so due to the nature of the interior and the lack of navigable rivers.[1] No traveller who wrote of his experience could easily avoid describing wagons, oxen and the art of wagon-driving since his comfort, safety and indeed the very expedition, whether for exploration, mission visiting or trade, depended on them.

A description of the kakebeenwa or tented wagon, and of other types in use at the Cape, can be found in the Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa.[2] To negotiate 'rough and trackless country' it had been necessary to devise a wagon with sufficient play in its various parts to withstand repeated and violent shocks. According to Burchell, who after four long years of travel was an authority, the 'peculiar construction of Cape waggons' was their salvation.[3] A variety of indigenous woods - ironwood, stinkwood, assegai-wood, yellowwood, quince, for example - were prized each for some particular quality for particular sections of the vehicle. Iron was required for tyres, also for the remskoen or brake where possible. The driver sat on a chest (wakis) but passengers might find 'seats, suspended by leather straps, to give them play, which, in some respects, answers the purpose of springs'.[4] A tent of matting and sailcloth, curtains

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1. Records, v. 9, p. 88, Report of the 1812 Commission of Circuit.
2. SESA, v. 10, pp. 568-70.
3. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 421.
4. Latrobe, Journal, p. 38.

fore and aft, a tarbucket, a lifter for the axles, cooking utensils and a bed-frame would in most cases complete the picture, so far as the wagon and its furnishings were concerned.

Twelve oxen or so were needed under ordinary conditions though many more might be inspanned to cross mountains or rivers. Latrobe described the manner of yoking:

> The bullocks draw by a wooden yoke, consisting of a strong bar laid across their necks, to which are fixed, in right angles downwards, four short pieces, so as to admit the neck of each animal between two of them. These are kept in their places, by being tied together below the neck with a small thong. A strongly plaited leather thong runs from the ring at the end of the pole to the yoke of the first pair of oxen, being fastened, in passing, to the middle rings of each yoke. The bullocks, by pushing with their shoulders, seem to draw with ease.[5]

As traces were not used, a span could get itself into a tangled mess in a difficult river crossing[6] but generally the method worked satisfactorily. Burchell was astonished by the speed with which his Hottentot servants learned the names and places of oxen in the team while he himself found it difficult even to recognise his own animals.[7]

On setting forth Burchell's driver loudly cracked his whip and shouted 'Loop', the usual cry to start the oxen.[8] Whips might be 30 to 50 feet in length, consisting half of 'stout elastic bamboo' and half of a lash 'tipped with a foot of leather prepared in a particular way',[9] and were designed to reach the frontmost oxen. The agter-os sjambok, a leather whip about six feet in length, was used to control the after-pair of oxen.[10] Latrobe described the way of guiding the team without reins but by means of whips and

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5. Ibid., pp. 38-9.
6. Campbell, 1813, p. 54.
7. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 175-6. He marvelled also at their ability to identify individual sheep, Ibid., p. 242.
8. Ibid., p. 169.
9. Nicholas Pike, 'An American Visitor to the Cape in 1866', QBSAL, v. 25, No. 3, March 1971, p. 122. See also Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 52.
10. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 86-7. The sjambok or horsewhip was similar but about half the length.

constant calling:

> The Hottentot driver has a whip, the stick of which is a strong bamboo, twelve or more feet long, and the lash, a plaited thong of equal or greater length. With this, to European grasp, unwieldy instrument, he not only cracks very loud, but hits any one of his bullocks with the greatest surety. But the chief engine of his government is his tongue, and he continually calls to his cattle by their names, directing them to the right or left by the addition of the exclamations of hott and haar, occasionally enforcing obedience to his commands by a lash, or by whisking or cracking his whip over their heads.[11]

Such whips were 'a boy's first plaything'[12] - hence the skill in wielding them in later life. Burchell wrote that small Hottentot boys 'are most frequently seen with a whip in their hands' and learned the use of one from infancy.[13] Whips were used to signal to scattered members of a party that the wagons were about to move on and could be heard 'to the distance of half an hour'[14] or about two miles away.[15]

The necessity to have a leader when managing spans of oxen was referred to above[16] when a driver was excused (at least temporarily) for an accident to an ox because he had no leader at the time. Latrobe observed the practice: 'A boy leads the foremost oxen by a thong fastened about their horns, and they seem to follow him willingly'.[17] Wrote a traveller: 'It is, indeed, extraordinary to see how a boy can with so much dexterity lead so long a team through heights and depths, over hills and crags, without risk either to himself or to the vehicle he has under his care'.[18] According to Burchell the Boers considered the driver's seat on a wagon as 'a post of honor' but never led oxen unless at very dangerous spots; this was a job normally left to Hottentots who, if young,

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11. Journal, p. 39.
12. Pike, 'American Visitor', QBSAL, v. 25, No. 3, March 1971, p. 122.
13. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 123.
14. Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 220.
15. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 422.
16. See above, p. 71.
17. Journal, p. 39.
18. Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 15.

were 'often quite naked'.[19] van Reenen wrote that farmers 'usually drive their wagons themselves' to the market in Cape Town[20] whereas van Pallandt, writing at the same time, claimed that the entire burden of the journey was borne by the Hottentots while the farmer rode (presumably on his horse) a few days ahead or behind.[21] A traveller would require skilled wagoners and leaders as well as Khoikhoi 'to take care of the relays' (that is, spare oxen brought to relieve the others), all of whom were 'indispensably necessary' to the expedition.[22]

Before Europeans colonised the Cape, Khoikhoi pastoralists practised castration on their bull calves. Oxen were used as pack animals, for riding and in war. Lichtenstein remarked on the success of the Kora (descendants of the Gorachouqua, Cape Khoikhoi who had retreated to the interior in the face of Dutch colonisation) in the training of oxen:

> These animals go an exceedingly good trot or gallop, and clear a great deal of ground in a very short time. There is no occasion ever to be harsh with them: 'tis sufficient to touch them with a thin osier. The rider never neglects, when he dismounts, to have the animal led about slowly for a quarter of an hour, that he may cool by degrees. The bridle is fastened to a wooden pin, stuck through the nose, and a sheep's or goat's skin serves as a saddle. On this the rider has so firm a seat, that he is in no danger of being thrown by even the wildest ox.[23]

Nineteenth century travellers saw Khoikhoi riding oxen.[24] The art of yoking had been unknown but was readily mastered.[25] Latrobe was impressed by the 'superior courage and skill of

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19. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 52.
20. Joernaal, p. 33.
21. General Remarks, p. 20.
22. Barrow, Travels, v. 1, pp. 4-5.
23. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, pp. 253-4. See Burchell for the way in which the septum was split to take the bridle and the animal trained while the nose was still sore, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 228-9.
24. See Campbell, 1813, p. 113; Latrobe, Journal, p. 213.
25. Records, v. 4, p. 312; Wilson, 'The Hunters and Herders', OHSA, v. 1, p. 56.

Hottentots' in bringing untrained oxen under the yoke.[26] Even trained oxen were not always docile but Khoikhoi knew how to subdue them when they resisted the yoke.[27]

Oxen were ideal draught animals since on trek they foraged for themselves whereas horses needed hay or corn.[28] Nevertheless the matter of pasturage was a serious concern to travellers.[29] According to Burchell most farmers visited Cape Town in March since rains provided 'a supply of pasture along the road' for passing oxen at that time.[30] Nowhere was the lack of pasture felt more keenly than in Cape Town itself. Wagons usually outspanned at Salt River on the night of arrival and the party completed its business in one day, heading homeward at once no matter how long on the road to get there. Said Burchell, 'This want of pasture around Cape Town is a serious inconvenience'.[31] The misconduct of country people who patronised the canteens when they came to market was commented upon by the Commissioners of Inquiry but, they noted, such rarely remained in town longer than 'a few hours'.[32]

Oxen could travel six hours or so,[33] then needed two to four hours to find food and rest before they worked again.[34] When the party stopped at night, slaves or Khoikhoi had the job of guarding oxen while they browsed, lest they stray or fall prey to wild beasts. Usually they roamed free being tethered only in unusual circumstances: Latrobe complained that oxen tethered to wagons disturbed his sleep.[35] Sometimes animals were kept near the wagons in kraals constructed of thorny branches collected by the Khoikhoi. One of the

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26. Journal, pp. 247-8.
27. Ibid., p. 185.
28. Ibid., p. 119.
29. Records, v. 9, p. 89, Report of the 1812 Commission of Circuit.
30. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 52.
31. Ibid.
32. Records, v. 35, p. 140, Report upon the Police, 10/5/1828.
33. D.J. Kotze (ed.), Letters of the American Missionaries, 1835-1838, p. 70.
34. Latrobe, Journal, p. 119.
35. Ibid., p. 135.

American missionaries who arrived in 1835 wrote as follows:

> According to the usages of the country it is the duty of the driver to find food for his oxen, and leave his leader with them while they feed, and every morning to see that all are in place. If the country is in good condition, at night the oxen are brought by the wagon to sleep. For the most part we were compelled by the scarcity of food to let our oxen remain in the fields at night.[36]

Khoikhoi taught oxen to return to camp when they whistled or cracked their whips - not that the oxen always played the game. His servants informed Burchell that oxen also comprehended that muskets were fired to drive off lions, hence they quietened when the guns went off - a thing Burchell says he often observed to happen.[37]

Every traveller had countless tales of departures delayed while the Hottentots searched for animals gone missing during the night. However great the irritation that they had been permitted to stray, there was admiration for the way the Khoikhoi managed to retrieve them. Their wonderful skill in tracing animals was widely commented upon[38] and they showed the same extraordinary talent regarding the spoor of wagons.[39] Similarly they were able to recognise stolen or strayed animals which had been incorporated in the herds of others, by some distinguishing characteristic not easily noticed by less expert eyes.[40]

Wagon-driving was one of the skills, like harvesting and the preparation of wine, which Khoikhoi quickly saw the value of and mastered.[41] Great reliance was placed on them for mountain and river crossings. It has already been mentioned that many oxen might be inspanned on such occasions. Many a traveller reported that the oxen were beaten with knives when

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36. Kotze, Letters, p. 70.
37. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 451.
38. See Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 121; Pringle, Narrative, p. 127.
39. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, pp. 91-3.
40. Ibid., pp. 7-8 and 148.
41. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p. 180.

the whip did not suffice to keep them moving on difficult terrain. Both Khoikhoi and Boers were accused of this sort of cruelty.[42] Campbell's servants had some oxen lie down to prevent his wagon from rolling back while others inched it forward, then all were made to pull.[43] Downhill the remskoen came into use but other tactics might also be necessary, as Latrobe observed:

> As the shaft-oxen cannot keep a waggon back on a steep descent, and a drag-chain does not always answer the purpose on these rough roads, the way of the Hottentots is, to tack down a hill. To a traveller, not accustomed to it, it appears rather dangerous to be driving among the heath, high bushes, mole-hills and ants' nests, where in England there would be a certainty of over-setting, especially in turning so suddenly as these people do. But they guide fourteen or sixteen oxen with the greatest skill.[44]

Whooping, stamping and whip-cracking were the less violent methods of encouraging the oxen.

River crossings called forth all the skill and ingenuity of the Khoikhoi. A Hottentot would go first, perhaps on horseback, to test the bottom and the depth of the water. Campbell described the whole process of getting wagons, animals and humans across the Orange (or 'Great') River.[45] Many Khoikhoi were fearless swimmers[46] though some were unused to swimming and showed anxiety during such crossings.[47] Both San and Khoikhoi used swimming-logs, described by Burchell as six or seven feet in length and about six inches thick, with a peg at one end for holding.[48] When necessary his servants built rafts, preferring green bark to thong for binding the logs together.[49] It took some ten swimmers to drag and push a laden raft across the Orange River.[50]

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42. Barrow, Travels, v. 1, pp. 133-6; Latrobe, Journal, p. 120.
43. 1813, p. 42.
44. Journal, p. 58.
45. 1813, p. 160.
46. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 318.
47. Ibid., v. 2, pp. 213 and 216.
48. Ibid., v. 1, pp. 415-6. He explains why these logs were more practical than canoes in the circumstances.
49. Ibid., v. 2, p. 11.
50. Ibid., pp. 11-13.

Lichtenstein's Khoikhoi servants stripped to lead the oxen across the Orange.[51] The whole hazardous exercise, at least in the case of strangers to the country, was left to the judgement and expertise of the Khoikhoi to manage without mishap. Failure to heed their advice might be regretted.[52] Saravicini saw 'cattle and sheep, in charge of small Hottentot herdsmen, swimming over the [Gamtoos] river in batches.'[53]

The wear and tear on draught animals could be enormous. In inhabited areas, important travellers went armed with letters of authority commanding local officials to see that Boers supplied relays of fresh oxen as needed. Khoikhoi were given the job of conducting these relays to the rendezvous, tending their master's animals while on loan ('the atelages of the day', as Lichtenstein called them)[54] and then driving them home again. Or a servant might be left behind with weak animals, under orders to catch up with the expedition when they had fattened or else wait until the party passed that way again. One does not read of Khoikhoi abusing this trust when animals were left solely in their care. They also knew certain cures for sick oxen. Latrobe said the Hottentots used a decoction from the root of the flat-thorn to cure 'the stranguary in cattle'.[55] Burchell told how they cured several of stranguary by 'removing the obstruction',[56] while his driver, Philip Willems, cured an abscess by filling it with tar.[57] Hottentots of Campbell's 'fastened shoes of skin over the hoofs' of a lame ox[58] - sore feet being another problem. It might be necessary to stop travelling on account of rainy weather since the yokes, when wet, injured the oxen's necks through chafing.[59]

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51. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 223.
52. George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, v. 1, VRS 48, pp. 66-7.
53. Reize, p. 233.
54. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 10.
55. Journal, p. 269.
56. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 175.
57. Ibid., p. 246.
58. 1813, p. 321.
59. Ibid., p. 106; J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p. 32.

Other Jobs Performed by Khoikhoi Servants

The condition of the roads, or their absence, was frequently lamented. The approach to Cape Town across ten miles of 'heavy deep sand'[1] was deplorable, causing suffering to oxen who had already endured a long journey from the interior. Burchell remarked that neither Hottentots nor the colonists seemed inclined to improve them for the community good and put up with vile roads sooner than co-operate in mending or making them.[2] He had his servants do road work, as did Lichtenstein's party which sent some ahead with spades and pickaxes to level the track.[3]

The maintenance of wagons required certain skills. Not only the roughness of the terrain but the climate contributed to wear and tear.[4] Wagon timbers shrank in dry air, which could cause iron tyres to loosen and fall off,[5] and all the joints to become loose and rickety. But when a wagon was parked for a long period it was wise to place stones under the wheels to keep them dry.[6] Burchell described how he put his servants to work mending iron-bound wagon wheels,[7] also repairing loose 'fellies' with 'small wedges of wood dipped in tar'.[8] Altogether, frequent tarring was necessary to keep wheels from cracking in dry air.[9] Generally Khoikhoi were uninstructed in the finer points of wagon maintenance, which they needed to know since their own wagons were generally old ones bought from the Boers. Burchell was annoyed that he had to wait after Dam Kok's wagon broke down and noted the Hottentots' clumsy efforts to mend it.[10] Fashioning wooden articles

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1. John George Steytler, 'Remembrances from 1832-1900', QBSAL, v. 25, No. 1, Sept. 1970, p. 23.
2. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 454-5.
3. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 210.
4. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 282.
5. Campbell, 1813, pp. 276 and 278.
6. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 355.
7. Ibid., v. 2, pp. 329-30.
8. Ibid., p. 479.
9. Ibid., v. 1, p. 489. The usual lubricant was a mixture of tar and animal fat but Barrow saw axle grease made from a type of euphorbia, Travels, v. 1, pp. 70-1.
10. Ibid., p.468.

such as juk-skeis came more naturally.[11] Lichtenstein tells of trees cut down and axle-trees made in anticipation of future need,[12] while two of Burchell's servants, Philip and Speelman, built a 'step-frame' for his small wagon.[13] Repairs to broken harness also had to be carried out.[14]

Packing wagons could require meticulous care but it seems the Khoikhoi were quick to pick up the skills required. Wrote Lichtenstein, who was part of a large and elaborately outfitted expedition: 'We had now an admirable proof of the readiness our people had acquired, by five weeks practice, in striking and repacking the tents and their furniture, for the whole business was accomplished in so short a time that it was scarcely half an hour after the resolution was passed before we were ready to march'.[15] River crossings could cause time-consuming rearrangements; thus Campbell described his crossing of the Orange: 'All were employed in elevating the baggage in our waggons as high as possible, by means of stones and timber put under them, to prevent the water reaching them'.[16] Lichtenstein complained when his bone collection was damaged, due in part to an accident and in part to careless packing as 'the Hottentots ... could not conceive that mere bones could be of any value'.[17] Burchell also had occasion to complain, of the 'dilatoriness and want of method' of his servants in packing oxen.[18]

Priorities in the choosing of a campsite were water and firewood. It was said that the oxen could smell out moisture: Buck Adams claimed that when he outspanned he followed his oxen with a kettle as 'they would be sure to find the water'.[19] It was the Hottentots' job to keep the oxen out of the water

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11. Ibid., p. 246.
12. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 238.
13. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 223.
14. Campbell, 1813, p. 265.
15. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 121. There were 12 Khoikhoi 'who acted as servants in all capacities' in the party, p. 10.
16. 1813, p. 160.
17. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 348.
18. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, pp. 213-4.
19. Private Buck Adams, p. 30.

until human needs had been met as they quickly churned a pool to mud.[20] The Khoikhoi were very good at finding water,[21] either through knowledge of the route or by reading the signs in the terrain. Burchell's Khoikhoi servants filled calabashes by swimming into the middle of the 'Gariep'.[22]

It was for Khoikhoi to find fuel and build a fire for warmth, for cooking and, at night, for keeping animals at bay. Latrobe spoke of the unusual providence of his servants in tying bushes 'behind the wagon' for fuel, by which they were enabled to have a fire in a fuelless area.[23] Perhaps they simply saw no point in such precautions when they were satisfied they would find fuel, for Burchell also remarked that his servants collected firewood in anticipation of finding none at camp.[24] Khoikhoi knew how to make fires by friction between two pieces of wood[25] but generally they were equipped with flints, steels and tinderboxes. Burchell noted the speed with which they built a fire, using rhinocerus-bush which burns when green.[26] He also observed them preserve their fire in rainy weather 'by digging a channel' to carry the water away.[27]

They quickly set to to broil meat for dinner, coffee and chops or steaks of mutton called carbonaadtjes being the usual fare.[28] Cooking was evidently another task which fell to Khoikhoi, not only when with gentleman travellers but also with the Boers: according to Chase the farmer en route to market enjoyed meals 'cooked by his driver'[29] and Buck Adams also said that 'the driver was the cook'.[30] They knew how to

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20. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 307.
21. Campbell, 1813, p. 55.
22. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 318.
23. Journal, p. 182.
24. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 237.
25. According to Merriman 'Only certain woods will do for this', Cape Journals, p. 84.
26. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 176.
27. Ibid., p. 251.
28. Ibid., p. 229.
29. The Cape of Good Hope, p. 231.
30. Private Buck Adams, p. 169.

construct an oven for baking bread. Lichtenstein wrote that such an oven 'could always be made in a very short time. Our Hottentots used to dig a hole from four to six feet in diameter, in the nearest dry bed of a river, where the soil was the most disposed to clay'.[31]

Khoikhoi servants made essential contributions to the food consumed, exploiting the countryside in their immemorial fashion. It is not intended here to describe the types, or method of collecting, veldkos. Sheep were taken to ensure the meat supply, as well as goats for milk, but there was always reluctance to slaughter these reserves.[32] As on the farms, Khoikhoi played a vital role in supplying travellers with game, though it was by no means certain that game could be found. Lichtenstein complained that the noisy method of driving the wagons, especially the cracking of the whips, frightened off the game.[33] Sometimes Khoikhoi were loaned horses to improve their chances. Burchell told how they drove their quarry as near camp as possible before killing, so as not to have to carry the meat so far.[34] Leaving the carcass in the veld, if it was necessary to get help in carrying it to camp, exposed it to being eaten by lions, hyenas and the like. Lichtenstein helped Khoikhoi cover a carcass with bushes and a white flag to flap and frighten off such opportunists.[35] Meat was cut into strips of about one inch thickness and hung on bushes to dry: it could be 'cured without salt, in two or three days',[36] unless the weather turned rainy. The hides also were preserved, or cut up for sjamboks and thongs. Burchell taught his servants how to skin quaggas so the skins could be kept for stuffing.[37]

Khoikhoi kept an eye out for tracks or other signs of ostriches. According to Barrow they knew there was a nest

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31. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 238.
32. Campbell, 1813, p. 274.
33. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 355.
34. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 312.
35. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 207.
36. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 311.
37. Ibid., pp. 452-3.

nearby if the ostriches ran around, waving their plumes, instead of running off when approached.[38] Burchell's servants Speelman and Maagers carried 26 ostrich eggs between them, using their trousers and shirts as bags.[39] Khoikhoi taught travellers 'the best' way to prepare ostrich eggs for eating: first they made a hole in one end of the shell, then buried the egg in hot ash and stirred through this perforation until it was nicely cooked.[40] Burchell saw them eat each a whole ostrich egg - equal to 24 hen's eggs - at a sitting.[41] Khoikhoi could tell fresh eggs from the others, pointing out that the eggs in a nest were for incubation whereas those lying outside were for feeding the young ostriches when they hatched and were therefore fresher.[42] Khoikhoi were not averse to cooking and eating eggs containing half-grown chicks, according to Lichtenstein who himself acquired the taste after a while.[43] Ostrich flesh was eaten and the plumes, 'their favourite ornament', worn by Khoikhoi in their hats.[44] They showed less interest in small birds.[45]

Many methods of fishing - with hooks and lines, spears, nets, baskets, weirs - were known to the Khoikhoi before their country was colonised.[46] By and large they preferred hunting: Burchell found his servants uninterested in fishing for carp in a river where they camped. Nevertheless they could and did catch fish: Khoikhoi in Lichtenstein's party helped net fish in pools in the Riet River;[47] a quarrel over the right to fish at a particular spot on the Zwartkops River once occurred between Cuyler and some Bethelsdorp Hottentots;[48]

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38. Travels, v. 1, p. 45.
39. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 279.
40. Ibid., v. 2, p. 22; Barrow, Travels, v. 1, p. 46.
41. Ibid., p. 21.
42. Ibid., p. 20.
43. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 25.
44. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 351.
45. Ibid., v. 1, p. 339.
46. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, p. 304.
47. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 181.
48. Records, v. 30, p. 202, Commission of Inquiry to Somerset, 3/1/1825.

Campbell saw soldiers catch sharks by throwing fish entrails into the sea.[49]

Khoikhoi collected honey at every opportunity, though it was considered wrong to kill the bees in order to take it.[50] It was one of the Khoikhoi's more remarkable field skills that when they heard bees humming they could, by squatting down, locate a bee 'with the eye [and] follow it to an incredible distance'.[51] To get honey where the nests were in holes they drove the bees out by building a smoky fire.[52] According to Barrow, Khoikhoi said that 'when the Doorn boom blossoms the honey is fat'.[53] It was stored in leather bags: the Somerville-Truter expedition bartered for a knapsack containing more than three gallons 'of the best white honey'.[54] When fermented, honey made an intoxicating 'beer'.

Laundering, candle-making,[55] grinding meal and shoemaking all needed doing from time to time. When one of Burchell's oxen died his servants cut the hide into small pieces for veldschoen as 'every man is his own shoemaker'.[56] These pieces were dried, greased and hammered, but used only for soles as so thick. Goat or other pliable skin was used for the uppers. Burchell observed Khoikhoi sew with sinews from 'each side of the backbone of sheep or goats', stitching entirely on the inside and so that the stitches went only half way through the sole. Another style of shoe using a single piece of hide was also manufactured.[57]

The American missionaries spoke truly when they said, 'Travelling in Africa is a busy life'.[58] The sources are

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49. 1813, p. 110.
50. Ibid., p. 339.
51. Barrow, Travels, v. 1, p. 110.
52. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 81.
53. Travels, v. 1, p. 279. Chase quotes Barrow word for word without acknowledgement, The Cape of Good Hope, p. 318.
54. Records, v. 4, p. 422.
55. Burchell's party kept its last sheep for its tallow and fat when their candles should run out, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 488.
56. Ibid., v. 1, p. 214.
57. Ibid., pp. 214-5.
58. Kotzé, Letters, p. 70.

nearly all journals of short-term visitors to the country, keen and interested observers though they were. Thus it is unlikely that the foregoing comprises an exhaustive survey of skills native to and acquired by Khoikhoi. An attempt will be made below to assess these skills as aids to their mobility in Cape society.

Khoikhoi as Guides, Messengers and Interpreters

The usefulness of Khoikhoi as guides really fell into three categories: assistance to travellers whose explorations took them beyond the settled areas, where their field and other skills were essential to survival and to achieving the aims of the journey; help given travellers within the Colony, to get from one homestead or landmark to the next; and services in the negotiations with chiefs and the military operations carried out from time to time.

Considerable faith was placed in the expertise and fidelity of Khoikhoi when trips beyond the Colony were undertaken. When Lichtenstein's party turned back from the country of the 'Beetjuans' he considered going further with some Hottentots whom he trusted to lead him deeper into the unknown.[1] Barrow was delighted when, on his journey to the Damaquas, he found a Hottentot who knew all the watering places and was keen to go with him as guide.[2] A day's trip had to be planned, as best could be, according to water sources known to the Khoikhoi, or discovered by them through conversations with whomsoever was met along the way. Campbell was surprised when his 'travelling director', Cupido Kakkerlak, permitted a twelve-hour trek but supposed it was for the best and not a sign of indifference towards the oxen: 'I believe [him] a humane Hottentot'.[3] Guides also steered clear of danger, recognising for example if elephants were nearby by the freshness of the spoor[4] or warning if there were hostile San about. Of course they did not always succeed: Lichten-

1. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 319.
2. Travels, v. 1, p. 331.
3. 1813, p. 62.
4. Ibid., p. 109.

stein, out alone with a Hottentot, saw his companion shot with a poisoned arrow.[5] Though a man might be prized as a guide he was probably not hired solely as such on these trips of long duration. Thus Latrobe remarked of Leonhard Paerl whom he placed in charge of his saddle-horses[6] that he would in addition make an ideal guide because of his extensive wanderings.[7] Burchell noted Khoikhoi ability to find the way with little information.[8] They had faith in their own methods and even when in difficulties, as could happen at night, were averse to trust in his compass.[9] A traveller in the vicinity of Angra Pequena stated of the Hottentots that their 'knowledge of travelling in such a country is truly wonderful'.[10]

Lichtenstein,[11] Thompson[12] and Pringle[13] speak of guides provided them for short stages of a journey. Pringle was astonished by the 'memory and adroitness of this race' amidst the frontier wilderness.[14] He tells of two occasions when he rode horseback while his guide trotted alongside on foot.[15] Sometimes tiny children were assumed to be capable as guides: the 'little Hottentot child' lent to an 'Indian' visitor at a farmhouse got lost[16] but the small Hottentot placed on the back of Steytler's horse appears to have known the way.[17] Khoikhoi guides led some of the 1820 settlers to

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5. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, pp. 358-9.
6. Journal, p. 126.
7. Ibid., p. 117.
8. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 236.
9. Ibid., p. 302.
10. Records, v. 13, p. 414, Capt. J.W. Roberts, 4/3/1821.
11. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 187.
12. Travels and Adventures, v. 1, p. 3.
13. Narrative, pp. 61, 89, etc.
14. Ibid., p. 83.
15. Ibid., pp. 13 and 89.
16. Alfred Gordon-Brown (ed.), An Artist's Journey Along the Old Cape Post Road, 1832-33, p. 18.
17. 'Remembrances', QBSAL, v. 25, No. 1, p. 34.

their destinations, and on other occasions showed them their way.[18] It would be wrong to imagine all were equally able: Latrobe had a guide named Solomon Pfeiffer who lost his way[19] while Thompson's guide Frederick, when he was floundering, said, 'Oh! that I had wings like a bird, that I might fly and bring from the landdrost a better guide than I have been!'[20]

Khoikhoi serving in the Cape Corps acted as guides in military operations and Corpsmen were regularly detailed to assist travellers. Merriman was allowed a couple of orderlies to show him the way to Wesleyville and wrote: 'Had I not been confident of my Hottentot's knowledge of the country I should scarcely have relished their harum-scarum mode of riding up hill and down dale'.[21]

From earliest times Khoikhoi were employed as messengers: they walked, for example, from Cape Town to Saldanha and back, 100 miles each way, in six days.[22] Lichtenstein and his party entrusted letters for the Governor and for friends at the Cape and in Europe to 'two Hottentots, who were returning to the Sack river on riding-oxen'.[23] They also found Khoikhoi were the most suitable messengers when help was needed from the Namaquas in an emergency situation.[24] Such missions could be lonely, exhausting and dangerous. Lichtenstein tells how they came upon 'the Hottentot who had been sent as envoy to the Caffre Chiefs sleeping in the field. He had fastened his necklace to a stick, and stuck up this ensign in a bush near him, as a token that he was there, lest, otherwise, we might pass him unobserved'.[25] On another occasion a man sent to fetch relays and convey a message to the San was found 'covered with arrows'. His murderers had taken his musket

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18. Merriman, Cape Journals, p. 83.
19. Journal, pp. 98-9.
20. Travels and Adventures, v. 1, p. 65.
21. Cape Journals, p. 38.
22. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p. 177.
23. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 2, p. 261.
24. Ibid., p. 270.
25. Ibid., v. 1, pp. 339-40.

and powder-horn, and 'cut the buttons from his clothes', but left behind the letters and paper money he was carrying. There was much sorrow over the loss of 'our honest servant, who was devoted to us with his whole soul, and who besides left a wife and children'.[26]

The roles of messenger and interpreter merged when, for example, the message was a verbal one for a Xhosa chief. Such missions were frequently undertaken in the service of government as is mentioned elsewhere.[27] The interpreters Herry, Eva and Doman enjoyed a special status in van Riebeeck's day.[28] At that time the language of the Khoikhoi with its 'clacking' sounds was regarded as unpleasant to hear and well-nigh impossible for a European to speak. Khoikhoi on the other hand readily learned to speak Dutch, as they did other languages to which they were exposed such as Portuguese, Malay and French.[29] In exploration and trade these Khoikhoi linguists were essential to colonists, travellers and government. The Gonaquas, a 'mixed race ... whose various sections showed different grades of intermixture according as the Kaffir, Hottentot, or Bushman element predominated',[30] made ideal messenger/interpreters where the Xhosa were concerned. The Gona formed a link between the Cape Khoikhoi who could speak Dutch and understand the Gona language, a dialect of their own, and the Xhosa whose language many of them spoke.[31] The services of Khoikhoi and Gona interpreters to missionaries will also be dealt with in the appropriate place.[32]

With the coming of the British settlers Khoikhoi interpreted in their initial dealings with the 'Dutch'. Members of Pringle's party were assisted by Khoikhoi when they went to purchase livestock from the Tarka Boers.[33] Khoikhoi some-

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26. Ibid., v. 2, p. 169.
27. See pp. 119 and 150-2.
28. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, pp. 103-10.
29. Ibid., pp. 195 and 210.
30. Stow, Native Races, p. 204.
31. Wilson, The Interpreters, p. 8.
32. See p. 179.
33. Narrative, p. 45.

times protected their employers from what they regarded as exorbitant price demands.[34] Burchell found his servant Gert Roodezand, who knew the 'Hottentot language' and had learned some Kora while at Klaarwater, very useful as an interpreter.[35] Nevertheless he distrusted his Khoikhoi interpreters when dealing with the San, suspecting that they tended to portray them in a bad light and also made difficulties with the questions he wished to put to them.[36] Barrow experienced difficulties too, attributing it more to incomprehension of 'abstruse points' than to anything deliberate.[37] As Monica Wilson has put it, 'interpreters, just because they are men between, are commonly distrusted'.[38] This element of distrust, common to travellers, government and missionaries, meant that reliance on Khoikhoi in this capacity would last only so long as alternatives were lacking. Also, the steady adoption of Dutch by the Khoikhoi as well as by many colonial San inevitably eroded the demand for Khoikhoi interpreters.

Khoikhoi Participation in Trade Conducted on Behalf of the Colonists

As guides and interpreters, Khoikhoi naturally played a major part in trade conducted by colonists. In the west 'the days of the independent Khoi intermediary were virtually over' by the end of the seventeenth century, due to the emergence of whites who took over their functions and to the general increase in the white population.[1] In the east also, for the same reasons, the Khoikhoi were gradually displaced as independent operators, losing the opportunities such individuals have for personal enrichment. Their position appears to have been unclear in 1768 when a commission 'met Hottentots who were carrying on cattle bartering with the

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34. Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p.239.
35. Ibid., v. 2, p. 398.
36. Ibid., v. 1, pp. 460-2.
37. Travels, v. 1, pp. 168-9.
38. The Interpreters, p. 20.

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1. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance', JAH, v. 13, No. 1, 1972, pp. 68-9.

Bantus, and with other Hottentots, presumably on behalf of the colonists by whom they were employed'.[2] A little later, according to Spilhaus, the authorities at Graaff-Reinet engaged 'Trusted Bastards and Hottentots' to assist in their twice-yearly barter with the Xhosa for 'slaughter stock'.[3] The trade which they carried out on behalf of the authorities or the farmers, though it may have been attractive as an activity, was not necessarily of material advantage to themselves.

Khoikhoi were hired by butchers to drive slaughter stock to the Cape. Barrow estimated about 5 000 sheep and 500 cattle in a drive he encountered, coming from the Sneeuwberg.[4] When Latrobe came upon such a cavalcade he commented that the butchers 'fetch their cattle from the interior, pay little for them, run the risk of getting them safe to town,aand sell the meat at a high price'.[5] It is not clear if the contractor himself was in the party: according to Philip, in a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, Hottentots drove 'cattle to the Cape Market'.[6] Such congregations of livestock were a temptation to thieves so the herdsmen had to be vigilant against loss both through stealth and attack.

It was the responsibility of the herdsmen to find grazing for their charges. Collins mentioned that in the Karroo the banks of certain rivers were prohibited from occupation so that 'the butchers' cattle from Graaff-Reinet may find grass on its way to the Cape'. He suggested, with regard to abandoned places, the same privileges for butchers' cattle 'as is now used in the inhabited districts through which they pass'.[7] Later on a new system was introduced to spare the cattle: they were 'grazed at intermediate places, or on farms situated near the high roads' instead of being driven 'directly to Cape Town', an ordeal by which they inevitably lost much in

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2. Neumark, Economic Influences, p. 98.
3. South Africa in the Making, p. 151.
4. Travels, v. 1, p. 39.
5. Journal, p. 312.
6. Records, v. 30, p. 153. He complained that Khoikhoi so engaged were subject to harassment en route regarding their passes.
7. Ibid., v. 7, pp. 119-20, Report, 6/8/1809.

weight.[8] As has been seen already, Khoikhoi also drove the wagons with their precious loads of soap, butter, hides and so forth for the Cape market. By all accounts 'driving or leading ox waggons' - along with herding livestock - was their particular province.[9]

Wages

There is little information regarding wages for these categories of work. It could be that, in the farm labour situation, skill in wagon-driving was the single most important qualification setting apart the relatively few, better paid Khoikhoi from the mass of others, but the proof for this or any other theory that suggests itself is lacking. More than likely Khoikhoi in the service of farmers, who fulfilled extraordinary functions in the course of that service, received little or nothing more than their contracted wage. It is not clear, for instance, whether the 'guides for hire' which Thompson was supplied by the inhabitants actually pocketed any of the hire money or whether this hiring out of their servants was simply a source of income for the farmers.[1] Comparatively high wages were offered by travellers such as Barrow and Burchell, especially as it could be difficult otherwise to persuade Khoikhoi to leave their homes and families for lengthy periods. Burchell tells of offering to pay a Genadendal resident the sum of Rds. 30 per month, 'at least six times the customary wages of a Hottentot'.[2] Such opportunities were few and far between, and not without drawbacks. In 1801 a Khoikhoi couple, Andries and Betje, who had contracted with a Boer jointly to work for a year for twelve sheep, were 'door de Heer Somerville rehuurd', perhaps to accompany the Somerville-Truter expedition, but there is nothing to show if their remuneration was improved by this

8. Ibid., v. 35, p. 256, Report of Commission of Inquiry upon Trade, 3/10/1828.
9. Ibid., p. 147, Report upon the Police, 10/5/1828.

1. Travels and Adventures, v. 1, p. 3.
2. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 115.

change of employers.[3] Apparently the Hottentots who accompanied Latrobe did so without a pre-arranged wage for their time and trouble. Without naming amounts, he simply says that the five men concerned were given about double their modest requests.[4]

By the nature of things, work of the sort described above, when performed outside the farm labour situation, was short-term and therefore often remunerated by a fee or gratuity rather than a wage. There is a reference in the Uitenhage correspondence of 1806 to a payment 'aan den Hottentot, Boesak, voor een gang naar den Kaffer Capitain Slambie' of Rds. 10, which pertains to a mission undertaken on behalf of government.[5] Similarly the government authorised payment of Rds. 10 for the Hottentot interpreter who, in 1810, helped Commandant Stoltz to capture two Khoikhoi deserters.[6] More information is available for the period after 1820 when wagoners of Bethelsdorp were contracting to carry government stores and settlers' goods. According to Philip, a Hottentot who could charge Rds. 76 to use his own wagon and oxen to cart goods to Grahamstown was paid only Rds. 7 to drive a Boer's wagon there and back.[7]

Opportunities for Mobility and Advancement

Tabler has spoken of 'The useful servants, the Gerts, Barends, Piets, Aprils, Augusts, and Klaases' who participated in exploration and trading expeditions in the interior, and 'who are now a shadowy legion'.[1] Often they remain 'shadowy' for no better reason than that their employers referred to them by their first names only, thus making it difficult to

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3. CA, J. 27, Hire Contracts for 1801, Nos. 441 and 442.
4. Journal, p. 273.
5. CA, UIT/10/1, Accounts for May 1806.
6. CA, UIT 10/1, Colonial Secretary to Cuyler, 9/8/1810. Stoltz received Rds. 50.
7. Researches, v. 1, p. 315.

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1. Edward C. Tabler, 'Non-Europeans as Interior Men', ANN, v. 13, No. 8, Dec. 1959, p. 291.

know if the 'Piet' who gave stalwart service on one occasion is the same 'Piet' referred to on the next. But there are more profound reasons why the invaluable assistants, who were sometimes entrusted with important jobs to do entirely on their own, did not blossom into entrepreneurs and independent agents.

The time would come when some missions formed a viable base of operations for Khoikhoi wagoners to capitalise on their skill: Bethelsdorp was well placed for the influx of British settlers in the 1820s and the increased traffic in government stores which arrived at Algoa Bay. This is beyond the scope of the present paper. However, it may be mentioned that cartage, as a livelihood, was at no stage secure. Regarding the state of the British settlers in 1824 the point was made that those few with good and adequate land, those with trades and those engaged in well-paid labour were making steady progress compared with those selling timber, carrying goods in their wagons or subsisting 'by other precarious occupations'.[2] Moreover, it is well to bear in mind in this, as with other potential avenues to advancement for the Khoikhoi, that one is dealing with economic opportunities which, though invaluable in themselves, could yet fail to bestow significant social advancement in colonial society. The driver's seat of a wagon could be a 'post of honor' for a Boer[3] but, when not coupled with other status-conferring advantages such as ample land and livestock, wagon-driving was a 'humble' occupation. Thus, writing of Dirk Hatta of Bethelsdorp the commentator could say: 'Hatta ... is a direct representative of the "native nobility" of South Africa. His father was one of the last of the free Hottentot chiefs who found a refuge with the Missionary Vanderkemp. Poor Hatta is now but a humble waggon-driver'.[4] The opportunities

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2. Records, v. 17, p. 222, taken from South African Journal.
3. See pp. 100-101.
4. South African Commercial Advertiser, 21/1/1824, p. 17. Hatta acted also as an interpreter, Thompson, Travels and Adventures, v. 1, p. 166.

for wagoners, particularly when they were Hottentots, to establish an independent existence are altogether complex and belong largely to a later period.

Problems (some of which have been referred to above)[5] also beset Khoikhoi desiring to conduct trade on their own account. For forty years, from the regulation of 1787[6] to the 50th Ordinance of 1828, there were legal restrictions reinforcing the practice by which Khoikhoi were forced into service, generally on the farms. As mentioned above,[7] even Khoikhoi with the means of subsistence, such as cattle and sheep, could be charged as vagrants since they held no land. Within the colony only the missions afforded room to manoeuvre but they too were severely hemmed in by restrictions and, in any case, embryonic during the period under discussion. Burchell tells of the excitement among his people over the possibility of becoming maats, an arrangement for mutual hospitality and trade with the 'Bachapins'. But it was a system presupposing a degree of independence and property or goods to barter and so it was the 'Klaarwater Hottentots' or Griquas, rather than the colonial Hottentots, who stood to benefit. Only Gert Roodezand, who had already announced his intention to abandon his Groenekloof wife and marry a Klaarwater woman, would be in a position to benefit if he carried through his plan.[8]

Nor were limitations on freedom of movement and other factors tending to tie Khoikhoi to the farms for the sake of their labour the only obstacles in the way of colonial Khoikhoi who might have wished to establish themselves as traders. The precarious peace on the frontier between Boer and Xhosa, with the additional element of restlessness among the Khoikhoi,[9]

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5. See above, pp. 116-7.
6. See above, p. 6.
7. See above, pp. 82-3
8. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, pp. 274, 400 and 555.
9. According to Atmore and Marks the outcome regarding dominance was in the balance throughout the period under discussion, until British troops tipped the balance in favour of the colonists in 1811, 'Imperial Factor', JICH, v. 3, No. 1, Oct. 1974, pp. 110-11

made frontier officials exceedingly nervous about all forms of unregulated contact between Khoikhoi (or Boers for that matter)[10] and Xhosa. In 1806 Dr. van der Kemp applied for permission for Bethelsdorp Hottentots to 'go among the Caffrees and trade for cattle', as Janssens had evidently permitted them to do, but Cuyler was decidedly opposed, saying, 'many of the Hottentots who are said to belong to the M. (sic) at Bethelsdorp live with the Boers, by which means bad use might be made of the privilege of trading with the Caffrees for cattle if granted, and would open too wide a field for defrauding that people, and perhaps embroil us in a war'.[11]

The same fears operated in connection with hunting, 'the most lucrative occupation open to the Hottentots'.[12] In 1809 Cuyler asked van der Kemp to confirm if Read had given a pass to 'Danster' so that he could 'shoot beyond the Inhabitant (sic) part of the Colony',[13] which apparently he should not have been allowed to do. Sales seems uncertain how much hunting was carried on by the Bethelsdorp people, saying 'One of the Bethelsdorp men, Hendrik Boesak, was a well-known elephant hunter, and doubtless other Bethelsdorp men participated in hunting expeditions'.[14] By this time the situation had worsened and the desire to keep Khoikhoi in check had correspondingly increased, so that we find Cuyler exclaiming, 'With respect to the Hottentots wishing to leave the Boers at this crisis, I think every possible means should be used to prevent it, as they are a faithless set and may join the Caffrees'.[15] Clearly a Hottentot who ignored this tide of

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10. See Circular to Veld Cornets of 5/5/1806, Uitenhage District, forbidding Boers and Hottentots to go among Xhosa to retrieve cattle except on authorised commandos, CA, UIT 15/1.
11. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 17/5/1806.
12. Jane Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852, p. 49.
13. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to van der Kemp, 29/4/1809. Van der Kemp also disliked hunting as it necessitated a wandering kind of life.
14. Mission Stations, p. 49. Perhaps Boesak, if he was the same man whom Cuyler used as messenger, was regarded in a special light.
15. CA UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Capt. Ord, 27/3/1809.

official opinion could only do so at his peril, and the implications for private enterprise are obvious.

The unique qualifications of the Khoikhoi as guides, interpreters and messengers diminished in value with the passage of time. This had to do with missionaries and others who learned the native languages, with improvements to roads and postal services, and to other aspects of modernisation hardly felt in the period under discussion. But there were other factors which are relevant. Once again it is important that Khoikhoi were only theoretically freemen. By and large they fulfilled these specialised functions while servants to the Boers or soldiers in the Cape Corps, in which case remuneration if any would seldom have accrued to them. It rarely happened that a reward (small as it was) such as that given 'Boesak' or an opportunity such as that enjoyed by Burchell's servants occurred.[16] He found that Cape Corps men without family attachments were eager to join his expedition rather than pursue a military life, though presumably they had opted for a spell in the Corps in preference to the other alternative (service with the colonists) mainly open to them.[17] At Graaff-Reinet where he went to recruit additional men, he nearly lost two of his best assistants: Colonel Graham pressed Philip Willem to rejoin the Corps[18] while a former master laid claim to Stoffel Speelman who, he said, had left before completing his twelve-month contract.[19] Moreover, no suitable men could make themselves available: all were in service or on commando.[20]

It is also true that the special qualifications of the Khoikhoi were special to the race rather than to individuals

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16. It is interesting to note that Burchell paid his servants in advance so they could shop before leaving Cape Town, and thus it is not clear if they received a significant sum at the end of the journey though presumably, after so long a period, they did.
17. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, pp. 66 and 160.
18. Ibid., v. 2, pp. 150-1.
19. Ibid., p. 151.
20. Ibid., pp. 140 and 149. Among the 'tronk' Hottentots from whom he was obliged to choose he did find one excellent man, pp. 160-1.

of that race. To be sure by 1800 not every Hottentot had still the requisite field and linguistic skills to be guide, interpreter or messenger but there were sufficient who had to eliminate bargaining power on these grounds alone. Essential as they were on occasion, they were almost taken for granted by employers of Khoikhoi.

There remain the other skills required in exploration and trade, many of which (hunting and butchering, wood and leather work, candlemaking and so forth) were the same skills required on the farms, as preparation for regained independence. To discuss this properly one must embark on the whole fascinating but complex question of Khoikhoi 'character'. Were they indolent and stupid or were they active and intelligent, ingenious or lacking in 'contrivance', methodical or careless, punctual or dilatory, capable of initiative or permanently in need of supervision? In other words, could they achieve a competitive standard and were they capable of reasserting their independence in the new order of things? This is a large subject - too large to do justice in this paper - requiring careful analysis of many contradictory views. And whatever the outcome one comes back to law, custom and especially landlessness as obstacles to progress.

Two things, however, may be worth mentioning at this point. One is pride in their own methods, for example, when acting as guides, which made them reluctant, for example, to learn the use of Burchell's compass.[21] The unwillingness of a conquered or subservient race to relinquish the serviceable methods or material objects of its own culture in favour of those of the dominant culture is another large subject which cannot be explored here but which is important to the matter of mobility within that culture. Secondly, there is the

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21. An interesting study might be made of the new material objects which were adopted, whether for conspicuous usefulness as with guns and wagons, flints and tinderboxes, or for reasons of status (European clothing instead of the sheepskin so despised by 'Christians'), compared with traditional articles longest retained.

system of social and economic stratification already pervasive by the first decade of the nineteenth century. Burchell noted that Cornelis Goeiman and Jan van Roye, two baptised Bastards in his employ, refused to cook food, light fires, fetch fuel and water, skin or cut up game, dry meat, grease wagon wheels, drive sheep or loose oxen, cut branches for the cattle pound at night or even care for the livestock, believing all such jobs 'beneath the character of a Christian'.[22] The stigma attached to ordinary tasks, based on discriminatory criteria, was a hindrance to Khoikhoi mobility and advancement.

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22. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 458.

CHAPTER V

KHOIKHOI IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE ON THE FRONTIER

Khoikhoi Captains

The first government men among the Khoikhoi of the eastern districts of the Cape were those men who were recognised by the Company as captains over hordes.[1] Some implications of this system have been mentioned above.[2] Legassick has said that 'it does not seem that the Company was willing to accord land-rights to individual Khoi save in exceptional cases, so that the only way in which non-whites could maintain some title to land was by accepting staffs of office as Khoi chiefs'.[3] The subordination of these chiefs to the interests of government and the colonists proceeded apace as their land, notwithstanding, was appropriated. By 1795 when the British arrived, so Philip claimed, many 'chiefs' appointed by government had actually been nominated by the nearest farmer.[4] Barrow was present when the landdrost presented a 'staff of office, a long stick with a brass head on which was engraven the king's arms' to Willem Haasbek, 'An old Hottentot' who had served as interpreter between the officials of Graaff-Reinet and the Xhosa.[5]

According to Schapera, Khoikhoi chieftainship had been political and not 'sacred' in character. It was for a chief to act as leader in war, negotiator in peace and chairman when his men met in council.[6] However, an individual's loyalty to his kinship group or clan with whom he lived and moved about was stronger than to the larger 'tribal' entity.[7] It was to the weakness of their system of chieftainship and to

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1. For an explanation of the use of the word 'horde' see Wilson, 'Hunters and Herders', OHSA, v. 1, p. 58, fn. 4.
2. See pp. 1-2.
3. Martin Legassick, 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography', Col. Sem. Papers, ICS, v. 2, p. 12.
4. Researches, v. 1, pp. 55-6.
5. Travels, v. 1, p. 93.
6. Khoisan Peoples, p. 331.
7. Ibid., p. 227.

the 'paucity of tribe-wide institutions which could hold a people together through protracted challenges'[8] that the breakdown of tribes into smaller, feebler units has, in part, been attributed. By the end of the eighteenth century, though there were large bands of Khoisan to the north,[9] the great tribes of the east such as the Inquas, Damaquas and Outeniquas had passed out of existence and the remaining hordes with their captains had, by and large, been absorbed onto the farms.[10]

Despite all the foregoing the title 'captain' carried prestige, and ancestry, where descent from former chiefs or captains was known, counted for something. As late as 1650 Freeman could write: 'Serjeant-Major Hendrick of the Hottentot Cavalry, whose rightful position was that of chief of an ancient tribe, was fit, by his talents and character, for any post'.[11] It has already been mentioned how Dirk Hatta, a wagoner (which normally signified success at Bethelsdorp) was deemed, since he was the son of a chief, to have come down in the world.[12] Kruger refers to the special status enjoyed by captains within the mission community at Genadendal.[13] Clan identities and rivalries also persisted into the nineteenth century. The well-known story of Latrobe's intervention to help settle a dispute between remnants of the Hessequa and Koopman's clan[14] is not recounted here, since it took place at Genadendal rather than in the eastern districts, but it illustrates the point.

Khoikhoi captains regained prominence during the Third Frontier War. It was then that the names Klaas and David Stuurman, Hans Trompetter and Boesak, among others, were heard in the land. The careers of these leaders have as

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8. Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p. 218.
9. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance', JAH, v. 13, No. 1, 1972, p. 74.
10. See above p. 27.
11. Tour in South Africa, p. 134.
12. See above p. 120.
13. Pear Tree, p. 106.
14. Journal, pp. 110-2; see also Kruger, Pear Tree, pp. 106-7.

yet remained largely untold and there is no place for them here. In 1802 'seven petty captains' were persuaded to lay down their arms, after which they and their followers were 'conducted overland' to Cape Town,[15] but other captains remained in the field. In 1803 the Stuurman, Trompetter and Boesak parties who were still lodged near the Sundays and Bushman Rivers became the objects of Janssens' attention. These leaders were given the options of settling down peacefully, with official recognition of their status as captains, or of being outlawed as robbers and rebels.[16] They chose the former. The Stuurmans were given land on the Gamtoos River (the Kleine River according to Maynier), Boesak, who resisted the longest, 'settled down peaceably',[17] and Trompetter joined van der Kemp's 'school' at Bethelsdorp,[18] as did most Hottentots still holding out in small kraals at the time.[19] Afterwards, it is said, Klaas Stuurman 'even aided the government in tracking down Khoi army deserters'.[20] The only other Khoikhoi captain for whom Maynier found a loan place was Captain Piet whom he settled near the Zwarteberg.[21] Thus for a few Khoikhoi only, as a result of their rebellion, the option of living under their own captains on farms in the frontier district, given them by government, had been added to the options of farm service, the militia and the mission stations (now with the important addition of Bethelsdorp).

The appointment of captains involved the government in two kinds of expense: one was the cost of the stick or other insignia of office, the other was the annual emolument paid

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15. Records, v. 5, p. 85, Theal, Digest of the Records.
16. van Reenen, Joernaal, p. 87; Paravicini, Reize, pp. 235-6 and 241.
17. Records, v. 5, p. 105, Theal, Digest of the Records.
18. In his Report of 6/8/1809 Collins cited Hans Trompetter's desertion from Bethelsdorp to the Xhosa as evidence of an 'improper connexion' between the mission Khoikhoi and the Xhosa, Records, v. 7, p. 106. For other references to suspected connections of this nature see above pp. 121-2.
19. Ibid., v. 21, p. 393, Evidence of Maynier, 25/4/1825.
20. Freund, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 639.
21. Records, v. 21, p. 393, Evidence of Maynier, 25/4/1825.

these office-holders. Under the heading 'Expenditures, Sundries', for the year 1807 one finds an entry: 'C. Bosse, for making twenty sticks for Hottentot captains ... (Rds.) 500 0 0'.[22] Again, for the year 1809: 'J. Schultze, in payment of six sticks furnished by him for Hottentot captains ... (Rds.) 150 0 0'.[23] Burchell described these staffs of office as being about four feet long and 'having a large tabular top of brass' with a few words inscribed, adding that they could be handed down from father to son and often entailed an 'annual stipend or present'.[24] Paravicini tells of San who returned such a stick, believing it would kill them, after both father and son who carried it had died.[25] Such sticks were given to Khoikhoi, San, Griquas and Xhosa. Another type of insignia was the brass or copper breastplate such as the one given Stuurman inscribed 'Klaas Stuurman, Captain of the Hottentots, Peace and Friendship with the Batavian Republic'.[26]

The system of paying a stipend to Khoikhoi captains evidently had its origin in a proposal of 1804 that they be made gifts of livestock. It was thought that such gifts would win their goodwill, allay the fear of their followers regarding recruitment, constitute a humanitarian gesture and, moreover, provide for men injured in the course of their service so that no further assistance need be supplied. On 29 August it was decided that three captains should receive livestock to the value of Rds. 80 each, the landdrosts to make the purchases on their behalf.[27] There is a reference to payments to Khoikhoi captains in the annual accounts for the year 1806[28] and the practice was continued as witness

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22. Ibid., v. 6, p. 251.
23. Ibid., v. 7, p. 242.
24. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 227. The staff he describes was carried by a Bushman.
25. Reize, p. 259.
26. van Reenen, Joernaal, p. 87. Paravicini mentions a Xhosa envoy who arrived 'wearing a brass plate with the British arms, like that of Stuurman, but smaller', Reize, p. 236.
27. Johannes de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap, 1781-1806', M.A. Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, December 1969, pp. 205-6.
28. Records, v. 6, p. 77.

items for the years 1812,[29] 1813,[30] and so on. It is not clear if at some stage cash payments were given instead of livestock: the Moravian missionary Hallbeck, commenting on the openhandedness of the Khoikhoi, cited 'A captain ... who received four hundred thaler per annum from the Government' who 'held nothing over for himself, but distributed everything among his relations and neighbours'.[31] The accounts for the year 1827 provide the following explanation of the purpose of these emoluments: 'Pay of Hottentot Captains for the purpose of encouraging them to promote the enlistment of recruits from their respective Kraals'.[32] The total of £230 was disbursed in varying amounts among five captains at what appears to have been a fixed rate of £3 per month. Certainly recruitment into the Corps was effected with difficulty in many instances and was a matter commanding the attention of government. Thus in the period under discussion, namely on 12 January 1808, Cuyler wrote to the Colonial Secretary 'with regard to the five sticks' he had been given to present to chosen captains. Among them was David Stuurman (who had succeeded his brother Klaas as captain at the Gamtoos River reserve, on the death of the latter in November 1803). Cuyler reported that Stuurman had not yet come to collect his, due to 'a trifling difference' he had with 'an officer of the Cape Regiment who was recruiting in this part of the Country about the time I was inviting him to come for the stick'.[33]

According to Theal, Caledon's proclamation of 1 November 1809 'removed all vestige of chieftainship from the Hottentots in the colony, and restrained those people from wandering about at will'.[34] The proclamation makes no mention of captains; rather, all Khoikhoi were subjected to its terms

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29. Ibid., v. 9, p. 46.
30. Ibid., p. 296.
31. Kruger, Pear Tree, p. 158.
32. Records, v. 35, p. 20.
33. CA, UIT 15/1. The following year David Stuurman was arrested and sent to Cape Town, his kraal broken up, and the farm repossessed by government.
34. Records, v. 10, p. 409, Digest of the Records.

without distinction. The power to issue passes, for example, was given to commanding officers, magistrates and their 'masters' - not to the Khoikhoi's own captains even though, as we have seen, the system of appointing captains was retained. According to Kruger, 'The Government used them to capture deserters or escaped slaves, to transport prisoners and to assemble men for the army or for public works.'[35] Thus Theal's meaning evidently was that they had lost the last remnants of volition and become, finally, government servants pure and simple.

The Cape Corps

The Cape Corps[1] had its beginning in 1793 when the Dutch East India Company 'raised a company of half-breeds and Hottentots, put them in uniform, and set them to learn to be soldiers'.[2] The emergency which precipitated such a step was the attack on the Netherlands by the French, which caused alarm at the Cape, and the fact that 'No regular troops could be expected to strengthen the garrison' there.[3] When the attack on the Cape finally came (in 1795, by the British) the corps of 'pandours', as this company was then known, stood at 210 men.[4] One hundred and fifty pandours under Commandant

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35. Pear Tree, p. 106.

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1. This Corps was designated as follows at different periods: Pandours, 1793-6; Cape Corps, 1796-1803; Hottentot Light Infantry, 1803-6; Cape Regiment, 1806-17, and so on, G. Tylden, 'The Cape Coloured Regular Regiments, 1793-1870', ANN, v. 7, No. 2, March 1950, p. 37. The designation Cape Corps has been used throughout to avoid confusion.
2. Theal, History, v. 4, p. 298. de Villiers dates the Corps from 1781 when Hottentots and Bastards who could handle guns were called to come to Cape Town, to take part in its defence after news was received that Britain had declared war on the Netherlands. This Corps Bastaard Hottentotten was disbanded in 1782, 'Hottentot Regimente', pp. 5-13; also Plakkaatboek, v. 3, pp. 116-7, Oproep van Kleurlingskuts, 2/4/1781.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 312.

J.G. Cloete were placed at Muizenberg where conditions were very uncomfortable and morale among all sections of men under arms was low.[5] All Hottentots able to bear arms were called upon to go to Cape Town in order to swell their numbers to oppose the British.[6] Details of the initial action following the arrival of the British force can be found in Theal's History.[7] On 1 September, while negotiations were underway with the attackers, some pandours mutinied, marching armed on the Castle to lay their complaints: ill-treatment of their families in their absence, insufficient pay, personal abuse, non-payment of a promised reward, and inadequate rations of spirits.[8] They returned to camp after certain assurances were given, including a pay rise 'from eight to twelve shillings a month',[9] but were said by Theal to be 'thereafter of very little service'.[10]

The loyalty of Khoikhoi soldiers towards successive governments - Dutch to British in 1795, British to Dutch in 1803, Dutch to British again in 1806 - was each time at issue and the whole matter made infinitely more complex and difficult by the issue of Boer loyalty and, in turn, their fears regarding the behaviour of the Khoikhoi towards themselves. When numerous burghers at Graaff-Reinet refused to take the oath of allegiance required by the new British government in 1796, General Craig raised 'a corps of Hottentots ... for service in the interior. They were enlisted for a year, were provided with arms, clothing, and rations, and each man received sixpence a week in money'.[11] Stockenstrom stated that special barracks were built for them at Graaff-Reinet and that, until 1798 or so, they enjoyed 'a sort of affluence' what with being 'well fed and well paid'.[12] However, in his

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5. Ibid., p. 323.
6. Kruger, Pear Tree, p. 68; also Theal, History, v. 4, pp. 336-7.
7. History, v. 4, pp. 328-34.
8. Ibid., p. 337.
9. An increase from Rds. 2 to Rds. 3.
10. History, v. 4, p. 337.
11. Ibid., v. 5, p. 10.
12. Autobiography, v. 1, p. 24.

opinion their enlistment had been a mistake:

> It is impossible not to censure the imprudence of such a measure. How great soever might be the faults of the Colonists towards their Hottentots, this was not the way to promote better behaviour in future. At the same time that an opportunity was given to the Hottentots to gratify a spirit of revenge ... the Colonists were inflamed to a positive hatred of their former servants, and had too much pretence given for greater severity in their future conduct towards them.[13]

Certainly feelings were running high when the Dutch resumed control in 1803. Barrow believed that the Corps would not serve the Dutch, that it might 'desert in a body' and 'drive in the whole country', while the fears of the colonists had reached such a pitch that they sent two petitions: one desiring 'to surround and massacre the whole corps' and another 'to put a chain to the leg of every man, and distribute them among the farmers as slaves for life'.[14] Already, on 19 April 1802, it had been necessary for Dundas to issue a proclamation concerning the 'ill founded and absurd apprehensions' of some inhabitants regarding the Khoikhoi at Rietvlei,[15] in which he forbade 'the assembling of the Inhabitants in arms upon any pretence whatsoever'.[16] He explained that those Hottentots 'lately brought down the Country' and combined at Rietvlei with 'the old Hottentot Soldiers from Houtsbay' had been prevented thereby from joining 'the plundering Bands of Hottentots' on the frontier, which they might have done 'in order to subsist'.[17] Thus the safety and peace of the country had been preserved and the inhabitants' fears were unfounded.

Liebenberg lays the debacle largely at Dundas's doorstep, claiming he had followed a mistaken policy, enlarging the

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13. Ibid., p. 23.
14. Travels, v. 2, p. 236.
15. Rietvlei, established first as a cattle post in the seventeenth century, lay about 13 km. from the mouth of the Salt River and was about two hours' ride from Cape Town (Private conversation with Prof. Vernon Forbes). See also de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regimente', p. 109.
16. Records, v. 4, p. 280.
17. Ibid., p. 281.

Corps for the wrong reasons, namely, for the purposes of civilising the Khoikhoi and of solving his problems on the frontier instead of making an effective military unit his primary object.[18] According to him there were, in 1803, 259 soldiers plus 700 'nuttelose' women and children at Rietvlei.[19] This figure of 700 appears to refer to the 'seven petty captains'[20] and their followers, consisting of 123 men, 289 women and 252 children, whom Maynier had sent overland to the Cape.[21] This additional problem, of the soldiers' dependants, will be discussed below.

Despite all these alarms the Corps was transferred to the Batavian authorities and in 1804 was considerably enlarged by them.[22] About 800 Khoikhoi were in Batavian service by 1805.[23] Apart from one instance, when 31 soldiers deserted in 1805,[24] the Corps served the Batavians loyally. By the terms of capitulation in 1806 they had to assemble with the others at Simons Bay where they would 'afterwards be at liberty either to return to their own Country or to enter into our Service'.[25] Evidently about 500 remained[26] and presently the Corps was increased again to its former strength, for in 1807 Caledon made an earnest plea to reduce the Corps from 800 to 350.[27]

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18. B.A. Liebenberg, 'Die Kaapse Hottentotte (1795-1806), M.A. Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1941, Ch. 5.
19. Ibid., p. 89.
20. See above p. 128.
21. Theal, History, v. 5, p. 126.
22. Ibid., p. 132.
23. Records, v. 5, p. 227, Enclosure A, Baird to Castlereagh, 21/7/1805.
24. Theal, History, v. 5, p. 190. According to Freund the Batavians also experienced desertions by recruits en route to Rietvlei, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 640.
25. Records, v. 5, p. 298, Beresford to Janssens, 17/1/1806.
26. Ibid., v. 6, p. 53, Windham to Grey, 10/11/1806.
27. Ibid., pp. 181-2, Caledon to Castlereagh, 25/7/1807.

Caledon's plea originated in large measure from the demand for Khoikhoi (or Khoisan) labour on the farms. He used, in support, a letter from the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet begging that no fresh enlistments take place in his district as this would upset the system of registering 'the names of Hottentots in service of the Inhabitants, whereby Servants are secured to them for a fixed period, and these sure of their wages'.[28] A difficulty was that everyone was after the same sort of persons, namely young, strong males. In 1827 the Uitenhage Agricultural and Horticultural Society complained that agriculture suffered due to the labour shortage and that in the case of the Khoikhoi population 'a large number of its young and healthy members' was attached to the Corps.[29] Nor was the Corps the only rival for this valuable class of persons: in 1814 Cradock stated plainly to Campbell that he was opposed to the establishment of more missions, due to the needs of agriculture.[30] In the labour requisitions made by the Landdrost and others on Theopolis, for example, it was frequently stipulated that the men sent must be 'young and healthy', 'brisk', and so on[31] - precisely the kind of men needed by the missions if they were to flourish. According to Philip, men from seventeen to twenty years of age and of suitable '"constitution, strength, shape, and height"' were sought after.[32]

Khoikhoi were, in fact, 'The only regular soldiers recruited in the country' by either the Dutch or British governments.[33] Something has already been said of the recruiting

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28. Ibid., Enclosure, p. 183.
29. Ibid., v. 28, p. 365.
30. Ibid., v. 9, p. 350. Quoted also by Philip, Researches, v. 2, Appendix 4, pp. 380-1.
31. Philip, Researches, v. 2, Appendix 9, p. 397.
32. Ibid., p. 62, quoting Lt. Col. Reynold's requisition of Hottentots at Anderson's Griquatown mission in 1814, which was designed to spare the farmers of the Tulbagh District the recruitment of their farm labour.
33. Reyburn, 'Cape Frontier History', The Critic, v. 3, No. 1, October 1934, p. 45.

done by the Company prior to 1795, by the British during the first occupation, and by the Batavians. At the outset of the second British occupation it was decreed that Khoikhoi recruits should be 'paid and subsisted on the same footing as His Majesty's other Troops of Infantry'.[34] Officers were sent into the countryside to recruit on the farms, not an easy or pleasant task for them. On 18 April 1806 it was necessary for the Colonial Secretary to circularise the 'Landdrosts of the Several Country Districts' to the effect that farmers must be warned not to obstruct the officers in their work (one or two from Swellendam, who had insulted an officer, had been sent to Cape Town to 'answer for their conduct'). On the other hand, the officers were 'not to take any Hottentot from the Service of the Farmers who does not offer himself voluntarily'.[35] This difficulty in recruiting Khoikhoi from the farms persisted until at last Caledon (in the same letter in which he informed his superiors of his new Hottentot labour law) proposed that a ballot system be resorted to in future: 'The ignorance of the Hottentot and the anxiety of the Boer to retain his service, when opposed to the zeal of the recruiting Officer, gives rise to constant altercation'.[36] With regard to recruitment at the missions Philip demonstrated that, at least between Bethelsdorp and Cuyler, the system followed was for the Landdrost to request that several able-bodied men be sent to him, from whom he would make a selection of, say, three out of six.[37] It has been mentioned already that captains were expected to assist with recruitment. Lord Charles Somerset said something about the mode of recruitment when he described the rations given to the recruits' families as 'a species of compensation for the compulsory mode by which the Corps is raised'.[38]

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34. Records, v. 24, p. 436, Proclamation of 13/1/1806.
35. CA, UIT 10/1.
36. Records, v. 7, p. 174, Caledon to Castlereagh, 16/10/1809.
37. Researches, v. 2, pp. 432-3.
38. Records, v. 11, p. 157, Somerset to Bathurst, 1/9/1816.

What sort of work was performed by these enlisted men? Writing to General Grey, Colonel Graham remarked: 'The Hottentots being in every respect particularly well calculated for Sharpshooters, the Cape Regiment has from its first formation been regularly trained as such'.[39] They were also particularly well-suited to frontier defence due to their facility at penetrating thickets and following spoor, both animal and human. These were the grounds on which the retention of the Corps was favoured whenever there was a move, due to considerations of expense or the need for labour, to disband or drastically reduce it. In 1804 when the decision had been taken to move the Corps from Rietvlei to Wynberg the soldiers were employed in cutting wood and building huts at the new site. For this they were paid extra - 1 skelling per day for privates, 2 skellings for corporals, 4 skellings for sergeants - this representing a saving to government over wages required by ordinary labourers.[40]

Drivers were required by the military as by everyone else attempting movement of goods or equipment through the country. Thus in 1807 the order went out for enlistment of 'a proportion of Hottentot Drivers' together with horses for the light artillery.[41] Soldiers might be detailed as escorts or guides, or to protect farms. When the Corps was (temporarily) reduced in 1817, it was Lord Charles Somerset's intention to retain only one company '"as guides"'.[42] Corpsmen were detached in certain instances to accompany expeditions: twenty men of the Cape Regiment were in Dr. Cowan's ill-fated party from which no-one returned.[43] Soldiers of the

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39. Ibid., v. 7, p. 275, 10/4/1810.
40. de Villiers, 'Hottentot Regiments', p. 196.
41. Records, v. 6, pp. 82-3, Spicer to Grey, 24/1/1807. The case of John Marthinus, a garrison wagoner at Algoa Bay, was referred to above, see pp. 71-2.
42. Stockenstrom, Autobiography, v. 1, p. 110. According to Theal it was reformed into a corps of 78 cavalry and 169 infantry, History, v. 5, p. 327.
43. Campbell, 1813, p. 181.

Corps were also made available for commando duty, when it was likely that discharged soldiers who had taken service with the farmers would also be called upon. Some were employed as servants to officers,[44] others as servants to the mess, as bakers, butchers and the like.[45] In the periods between active duty soldiers were liable to be syphoned off as labour by whomsoever could commandeer them. Thus in 1821 it was found necessary to order that they should be employed 'in regular routine of duty' only and not detached as postmen, leaders and drivers for the engineers' department, assistants to surveyors, and so forth.[46] Landdrosts and officers in charge of such duties were advised rather to get them done in the proper way.

Barrow remarked that the Cape was unique in that government could subsist a soldier for less than the 6d. deducted from his pay for his rations.[47] It was Maynier's idea that, for the defence of Graaff-Reinet, 400 Hottentots 'armed and clothed by Government' should be stationed there, each to be given 'a daily allowance of meat and Bread for the first year', but to cultivate the ground for his future subsistence.[48] Referring to the soldiers at Algoa Bay, Cuyler reported in 1807 that due to a shortage of bread (which was due to a shortage of flour) their rations had been altered from 1 lb. bread and 1½ lb. meat per day to ½ lb. bread and 2 lb. meat.[49] The system of funding rations mentioned by Barrow must have been maintained over a period of years for in 1826 the Commission of Inquiry referred to 6d. per day, which amounted to half the Hottentot private's wages being

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44. Only non-commissioned ranks were open to Khoikhoi. The commissioned officers were whites.
45. Records, v. 17, p. 218, Major Somerset to Commission of Inquiry, March 1824.
46. Ibid., v. 14, pp. 220-1, Rogers to Jones, 28/12/1821.
47. Travels, v. 2, p. 188.
48. Records, v. 4, p. 62, in answer to questions put to him on 27/8/1801.
49. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Capt. Lawrence, 26/10/1807.

deducted for 'rations supplied to the men, women, and children'.[50]

This question of subsistence for the Khoikhoi soldier's dependants was apparently never satisfactorily resolved. van Pallandt (who praised the Corps to the skies) wrote that 'The Hottentot soldier (who is always a married man) costs, together with the upkeep of his wife and child, four sous more a day than does the soldier in our regular troops'.[51] When van Pallandt wrote, in 1803, some of these dependants were with the men at the Rietvlei camp, where they had been stationed by Dundas. A little later Percival saw almost 500 men with their families at Wynberg where they had been transferred.[52] By Somerset's time the Corps had been moved to the frontier and the dependants lived at headquarters in Grahamstown - as he put it, 'in a state of idleness, filth, and debauchery not to be paralleled'.[53] Yet only the previous year

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50. Records, v. 26, p. 459. They recommended that 'the option of receiving allotments of land should be held out to the Hottentots on their enlistment, and which they should obtain at the expiration of the usual period of service (7 years)', Ibid., pp. 457-8.

51. General Remarks, p. 22. According to van Pallandt the Khoikhoi 'entered our service on the same footing as when engaged by the British', Ibid., p. 21. It is difficult to grasp the actual procedure followed regarding rations but, piecing all the information together, it appears that though the same amount was deducted from the wages of Corpsmen as from other branches of the service, it cost more to subsist the Khoikhoi because dependants were also rationed. van Pallandt justified this extra expense on the grounds of their superior usefulness in defence and combat. Somerset justified it as compensation for compulsory recruitment (see above p. 136), also to curb desertions and reconcile them to the service, Records, v. 10, p. 374, Somerset to Bathurst, 23/11/1815. But although it cost more to subsist a Hottentot with his dependants than other classes of soldier, it nevertheless did not exceed 6d., as it was 'understood that such expense is never to exceed the regulated amount of stoppages', Ibid., v. 26, p. 459, Commission of Inquiry to Bourke, 14/6/1826.

52. Account of the Cape, p. 80.

53. Records, v. 10, p. 374, Somerset to Bathurst, 23/11/1815.

Cradock had written to Campbell praising the 'order, comfort and creditableness' of the families of the Corps 'throughout their various quarters'.[54] As was so often the case when the character and behaviour of the Khoikhoi was described, the verdict had as much to do with the motives of the judge as with the actual state of affairs: Cradock was trying to extol military service, along with other occupations, over the missions, while Somerset was putting up a case to reduce and eventually to abolish the Corps altogether. This makes the truth much harder to get at.

Very often dependants remained as burdens at the missions. Barrow found many families belonging to Hottentot soldiers living at Genadendal when he called there.[55] When the question of the Moravians' starting a new mission at Groenekloof was raised they particularly asked that they be spared having to provide quarters for soldiers' wives and children as they 'did so much mischief to our Institution'.[56] Apparently women left on their own were responsible for some of the 'mischief' among the mission's remaining men. At Bethelsdorp the soldiers 'generally leave their wives and children' at the institution,[57] and the same was true of Khoikhoi who went to labour on the farms. Advancement of these families, as well as of the missions, was hindered by the prolonged absences of able-bodied men.

Even the prospect of discharged Khoikhoi soldiers, so desirable on some grounds, could create spectres in the particular circumstances of the frontier during that first decade. On 10 June 1810 Cuyler wrote to the Colonial Secretary asking that, if the Corps was reduced as rumoured, and

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54. Ibid., v. 9, p. 350. Also quoted by Philip, Researches, v. 2, Appendix 4, p. 381.
55. Travels, v. 1, p. 310.
56. Records, v. 10, p. 262, Enclosure dated 18/2/1808, in Latrobe to Bathurst, 9/3/1815.
57. Ibid., v. 30, p. 170, Annexure No. 2, L.M.S. Memorial to Bathurst, 22/1/1827, quoting van der Kemp, 3/4/1807.

if men 'be selected for reduction as may have been recruited in Graaff Rynet and Uitenhage', they should be 'restricted from again coming into either of these Districts'.[58] He asked this for

> the good of the service and the tranquillity of this part of the colony. It frequently happens that new discharged soldiers are too lazy to work for their support and commit acts of outrage, and what I most dread in the reduction of the Cape Men, that numbers of them may go over to the Kaffers where they may induce that people to commit acts which might involve the country in a war.[59]

The options for discharged soldiers were the missions, if they had links with any, but more likely almost immediate service with the farmers as they could not, any more than other Khoikhoi, wander about at will without passes or remain for long out of employment.[60] It becomes increasingly clear that for Hottentots there were no legitimate holidays. Perhaps some of their notorious 'indolence' was a method of achieving a holiday while on the job.

The great days of service by the Cape Corps on the frontier lay in the future. Prior to the initiation of Cradock's system of frontier defence in 1811, the Corps's headquarters was at Cape Town - at Hout Bay, Rietvlei and Wynberg successively. There the bulk of the men stayed, to be marched to the frontier when needed, while relatively few were stationed at such defensive points as Graaff-Reinet and Algoa Bay. When Cuyler took up his duties as Landdrost and commanding officer in 1806, he found three corporals, one drummer and 27 privates of the Hottentot Light Infantry at Fort Frederick. These he invited to re-engage 'into our service' (referring to the transfer from the Batavians) and

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58. CA, UIT 15/1.

59. Ibid.

60. It was, of course, easier before 1 November 1809 than after but, then as later, Cuyler desired that unemployed Khoikhoi should 'find masters immediately', Records, v. 35, p. 317, Report of J.T. Bigge, 28/1/1830.

though only two agreed he expected others would change their minds for 'they will soon be tired of providing for themselves, and will be glad to engage again as Soldiers'.[61] Within a couple of weeks he had enlisted 6 Hottentots, 'all very fine fellows'.[62] As a Major in the Regiment, in command of the detachment at Fort Frederick, Cuyler had a good deal of autonomy in the enlistment and subsistence of men for the Cape Corps: when he took up his appointment, he was instructed simply to submit a return of whomsoever he enrolled, also that they should be rationed and treated 'as your own men'.[63] But recruitment for the main body of the Corps was conducted throughout the country districts, involving many of the young males. Percival, when he visited the camp at Wynberg, remarked that 'Those who had lately come from the interior ... were in a perfect state of nature'.[64] The opportunities for advancement afforded by the Corps will be discussed below.

Commandos

Khoikhoi served as government men when they took part in authorised commandos but it is not intended to treat this as an occupation. Maynier claimed that the Hottentots were 'always the first exposed to danger, and placed on the most advanced posts'.[1] Yet the Boers had resented the small share of the booty which on one occasion he insisted they should have.[2] Commando duty was really an aspect of farm service for able-bodied male Khoikhoi employed by the Boers, who could order them to go on commando if themselves called upon to provide manpower. Sometimes they comprised more Khoikhoi than

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61. CA, U IT 15/1, Cuyler to Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, 6/3/1806, Cuyler spent the first eighteen months after he took up his appointment as Landdrost (April 1806) at Fort Frederick before removing to the village of Uitenhage in October, 1807.
62. Ibid., Cuyler to Graham, 24/3/1806.
63. Records, v. 5, p. 339, Instructions to Capt. Cuyler, 4/2/1806. Later in 1806 he became a major.
64. Account of the Cape, p. 80.

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1. Records, v. 4, p. 286, Provisional Justification, April 1802.
2. Ibid.

Boers and Burchell observed that Boers on commando normally had Hottentot servants with them.[3] Commando duty was also required of Khoikhoi residing at mission stations. Thus in 1806 Cuyler ordered one of his Veld Cornets to 'command eight of his nearest neighbours and eight Hottentots out of the Missionary Institution which lays 1½ hours down the road from hence'.[4] Similar requests crop up frequently in the correspondence. Bethelsdorp as a useful reservoir of men for commando duty was stated baldly by Cuyler when he wrote: 'It frequently happens that ten or even thirty men can more conveniently be got at the Institution than at any other situation within a day's ride'.[5] Though it was alleged that, despite the disruption and danger, the Boers were often 'considerable gainers' through the commando system,[6] it would appear that little of the booty accrued to the Khoikhoi, or remuneration beyond day to day subsistence.

Despatch Riders and Postmen

During the first British occupation the post was carried to the interior by dragoons, the best time for Cape Town to Graaff-Reinet being five days. The Batavian government gave the job to the inhabitants with the result, according to Collins, that there were many delays. It could, for example, take two to three weeks for letters to reach Uitenhage instead of four days, the best time. This system of having inhabitants serve as postholders, with its problems, was retained by the British when they again occupied the Cape.[1] When Cuyler was given his instructions as Landdrost of Uitenhage District, the restoration of a weekly postal service was mentioned.[2]

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3. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, pp. 119-20.
4. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 11/4/1806.
5. Ibid.
6. Records, v. 23, p. 203, Commission of Inquiry, 30/9/1825.

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1. Records, v. 7, pp. 141-2, Report of Lt. Col. Collins, August 1809.
2. Ibid., v. 5, p. 339. It had been introduced in 1804, Marais, Cape Coloured People, p. 120, fn. 2.

Khoikhoi runners, or riders, were generally employed to actually carry the post. On 30 May 1806 a proclamation decreed that farmers should be paid Rds. 5 per month 'for the sustenance of each Hottentot' quartered with them.[3] This was followed by a notice that, as a general post had been established for the whole settlement, it was hoped that the inhabitants would see the usefulness of the service and that 'the Farmers and other Inhabitants at whose Houses the relay Hottentots are or may be hereafter stationed, will not only consider them as useful Servants to the Public, and treat them accordingly, but will also as far as in their power see that the Mails are properly forwarded, reporting all instances of neglect and delay to the Deputy Postmaster'.[4]

By 1809 postholders were remunerated at the rate of Rds. 2 per hour[5] (the roads being measured in hours for this purpose and times of arrival and departure noted). This was felt to be inadequate and Cuyler recommended to Collins that a wage of Rds. 3 per hour per month would be more appropriate.[6] Collins put this recommendation forward, pointing out that

> The horses kept for the purpose of carrying the mail must be provided with stabling and dry forage. Two are necessary at each station, and one servant at least will be required to take care of them and to take charge of the mail. It cannot be expected that letters should be taken to a greater distance than four or five hours by one postholder, which at the former rate would not amount to more than eight or ten dollars per month.[7] This was certainly not

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3. Ibid., v. 24, p. 441.
4. Ibid., v. 6, p. 40, Government Advertisement, 17/9/1806.
5. Ibid., v. 7, p. 143, Report of Collins, August 1809.
6. Ibid., p. 7, Cuyler to Collins, 19/6/1809.
7. Payment was 'per hour per month' and not 'per hour', which would have meant a very expensive service.

> sufficient payment, and no man wished to be employed on the duty.[8]

He recommended in addition that postholders should be exonerated from 'every other personal duty and from the supply of horses, waggons, labourers, &c., for the public service',[9] this to apply to those responsible for mail 'from Swellendam eastward'.[10]

The remuneration of Khoikhoi employed by these postholders appears to have been uniformly low, although higher than that paid to farm workers. Referring to a particularly difficult stretch of country, best covered by foot, Collins recommended that 'A steady, active Hottentot' might be employed and 'if paid even at the high rate of four rixdollars per month there would be a saving'.[11] The Commission of In-

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8. Records, v. 7, pp. 143-4, Report of Collins, August 1809. In 1806 Cuyler had pointed out another difficulty in the calculation of remuneration. This had to do with the direction in which the distance was measured, that is, distance was measured from west to east as if all post had to be carried from Cape Town to the interior whereas all post riders had to travel both directions. As Cuyler explained: 'the Rider who may live four Hours distance from here on the Road towards the Cape, has in Conveying my Letters to the Cape perhaps 5, or 6, Hours Journey to perform before he comes to the next Post Riders House, and this Man is only paid for the Distance from the Cape this way, this Calculation of the Batavian Govt. I conceive very eronius as even in their time, there were full as many Posts Sent towards the Cape as Came from it'. He therefore asked whether 'the two distances Coming and going to and from the Cape, Should not be added together, and then the Mean distance taken, on which the payment Should be made', CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 26/3/1806.

9. Ibid., p. 145.

10. The remuneration was later increased to Rds. 6 and then, after the arrival of the 1820 settlers and the increase in mail which resulted, to Rds. 9 on the eastern roads, including Uitenhage District, Ibid., v. 14, p. 333, Postmaster General to Colonial Secretary, 11/4/1822; also, Ibid., v. 27, p. 451, Report of Commission of Inquiry on Finance, 6/9/1826.

11. Ibid., v. 7, p. 144, Report of Collins, August 1809. It appears that the Hottentot would be engaged in lieu of a postholder for that section of the route, an exception to normal practice.

quiry stated that 'The mails throughout the Colony are conveyed on horseback by post-riders, who are generally Hottentots or slaves[12] in the service of the Boers residing near the high roads, and who are appointed "post-holders"'. These postholders had to provide 'a man and a horse' - sometimes two or three horses on the eastern road. The system was defective because the postriders 'are very inadequately paid and provided by the Boers', working sometimes for only Rds. 2 per month though 'compelled to ride with the mails in all seasons and at all hours with very little clothing'.[13] Yet a justification given by the postholders for an increase in their own remuneration (besides the wear and tear on their horses) was the high wages demanded by their postriders, at least where the going was rough.[14] In the Uitenhage correspondence there is a letter of Cuyler's concerning the 'Bastaard Hottentot Samuel' who had undertaken to serve the Boer Jan Meyer as postrider for a year, for which he would receive Rds. 15 plus food and lodging.[15] This may have been a fairly typical contract. The Commission of Inquiry was given to understand that some landdrosts required mission Hottentots to act as postriders as a 'public duty', sometimes for no wage at all, which caused them to miss out on 'other and more profitable employment'.[16] They probably meant Cuyler, since this was one of the charges that Philip and other L.M.S. missionaries made against him. There are certainly numerous letters in the Uitenhage correspondence in which Cuyler calls upon the Bethelsdorp Hottentots to perform this kind of work.[17]

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12. 'generally Hottentots', Ibid., v. 27, p. 452, Report of Commission of Inquiry on Finance, 6/9/1826.
13. Ibid., pp. 451-2.
14. Ibid., v. 14, p. 320, Landdrost of George to Colonial Secretary, 23/3/1822.
15. CA, UIT 15/1, 5/6/1811.
16. Records, v. 27, p. 452, Report on Finance, 6/9/1826.
17. For eg. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to van der Kemp, 23/6/1810, 22/1/1811; Cuyler to Ulbricht, 12/7/1811.

The postriders had to carry not only letters but also stamped paper and newspapers such as the Government Gazette. It has been mentioned that those serving as postholders lived along the high roads. For individuals off these beaten tracks to send letters they had to make contact with someone on the route: thus Burchell sent a Hottentot with letters to a farmhouse where he knew that the 'Boode' would call.[18] Special arrangements were made for the Governor when he toured the frontier, that is, dragoons were stationed on the road to convey his letters, which was very efficient compared with 'the ordinary Cape post'.[19] In 1809 Collins recommended that a new type of postbag, made of leather and secured by locks, be introduced[20] but apparently this did not happen at once: in 1813 Cuyler wrote to the postmaster in Cape Town complaining of rain damage to letters in transit and suggesting that 'the usual sheep skins bag' (which was supplemented with a canvas sack when necessary) be replaced by 'proper tanned leather postbags, such as are used on the Crossroads in England, with duplicate keys, one for each Landdrost, or post office in the interior'.[21] Mailbags were carried slung over the horses in such a way that they sometimes got thoroughly wet in river crossings.[22]

Post lost or damaged in transit was a problem. Cuyler reported that a Hottentot 'postrider of Mr. Strydom of Zwellendam' had thrown a packet into the Krom River, and might be the cause of other missing items.[23] Four years later, in what appears to be another case, though the circumstances are almost identical, he reported a missing postbag which was

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18. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 241.
19. Ibid., pp. 93-4.
20. Records, v. 7, p. 148, Report, August 1809.
21. CA, UIT 15/1, 15/4/1813.
22. Records, v. 29, p. 334, Annexure, Minutes of the Council, 1826.
23. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Landdrost of Swellendam, 20/3/1807.

found under water due, so it was suspected, to the 'roguery' of 'Strydom's Boy'.[24] Burchell mentioned a case where a Khoikhoi postman had opened letters to look for money and then thrown the letters away.[25] In 1826 the Postmaster informed the newly appointed Council that such difficulties arose as 'the duty of conveying the post is invariably entrusted to Hottentots, who are in some cases too young and in others too ignorant to be aware of the importance of the charge entrusted to them.'[26] Evidently another good intention had not been carried through for, following Collins' thoroughgoing investigation into the postal service, a Government Advertisement embodying many of his proposals had been published. This included the advice, 'The carrying of Packets and Letters shall, for as much as possible, be done by Christians, or else by Hottentots or Slaves on whom a full dependance can be placed'.[27] The Postmaster found fault also with the postholders, due to their carelessness in not having horses stabled, fed and ready to set forth at once - often they had to be fetched from fields that were two or three miles off.[28]

From the foregoing it would appear that though the delivery of post was a government service, the Khoikhoi employed as postriders were not government servants. Only the postholders were appointed and paid by government; the postriders were engaged and paid by the postholders. For the sake of an efficient service the government tried to guide the selection and working conditions of the postriders but in fact its instructions could be and were ignored.

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24. Ibid., Cuyler to Buissinne, 15/8/1811.
25. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 266.
26. Records, v. 29, p. 334, Annexure, Minutes of the Council, 1826.
27. Ibid., v. 7, p. 255, Government Advertisement, 16/2/1810.
28. Ibid., v. 29, pp. 333-4, Annexure, Minutes of the Council, 1826.

'Caffre Constables'

The so-called 'Caffre Constables' or 'Justice Kaffers' were 'the black constables of the prison, who are paid and clothed by Government'.[1] They were lodged in a special room within the prison, and were, in fact, sometimes themselves convicts. The Commission of Inquiry, in its report on criminal law and jurisprudence, referred to the employment of convicts 'as constables for the internal control and service of the District Prisons'[2] and on another occasion said these constables 'generally consist of convicts of the coloured classes'.[3] The Fiscal informed the Commission that 'if I was not allowed to employ Caffre constables I should not know where to procure persons who would perform their duties'.[4] These duties included the distribution of provisions, cooking, cleaning and generally servicing the prison,[5] but they were also called on to administer punishments.[6] Barrow once mentioned these constables, who were attached to the Fiscal's office and 'usually called Kaffers'.[7]

The Batavians' Ordinance for the Administration of the Country Districts provided for 'inferior Attendants, hitherto denominated Caffres', who were to be paid Rds. 5 per month, and to be clothed and maintained 'by the District'.[8] As mentioned above they were usually 'of the coloured classes', in other words free blacks, Malays, and Bastards as well as Khoikhoi. It is entirely likely that Khoikhoi of the eastern

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1. Records, v. 23, pp. 370-1, Huntley to Bathurst, 1/11/1825.
2. Ibid., v. 33, p. 34, Report on Criminal Law and Jurisprudence, 18/8/1827.
3. Ibid., v. 35, p. 127, Report on Police, 10/5/1828.
4. Ibid., v. 33, p. 245, D. Denyssen, 15/8/1825. Convicts 'who have conducted themselves well' were appointed, Ibid., p. 244.
5. Ibid., v. 35, p. 161, Report on Police, 10/5/1828.
6. Ibid., v. 9, p. 121, Report of the 1812 Commission of Circuit.
7. Travels, v. 2, p. 142.
8. Proclamations, Advertisements and other Official Notices published by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806-1825, p. 768.

districts served as constables during the first decade but the only references encountered have been for a later period, that is, in the 1820s. At that time it would appear that men other than convicts, for example mission Hottentots of Bethelsdorp, did duty as constables. Philip mentions two, Jan Lundard and Jakob Abel, who were sent to the Uitenhage Drostdy for this purpose in 1820.[9]

Interpreters, Messengers, Wagoners

Those interpreters referred to in the previous chapter were useful chiefly in dealings with the San, Nama, 'Klaarwater Hottentots' or Griqua, and the Kora - all those peoples living northwards of the colony who, if they did not know Dutch, spoke languages related to that of the Cape Khoikhoi. In the eastern districts, and particularly in that section of Graaff-Reinet which became Uitenhage (in 1804), a knowledge of Xhosa was frequently required and it has been mentioned that the Gona were the link between Cape Khoikhoi and Xhosa. At the very outset of his term of office Woeke, the first landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, was instructed 'to appoint two Gonaqua Hottentot "captains" as messengers and interpreters. They should be settled near the Fish and carry the Company's metal-knobbed staff of office'.[1]

Willem Haasbek, who acted as messenger, guide and interpreter prior to 1800, was a Gona.[2] Benedictus Platje Ruijter, whom Spilhaus describes as 'the last of the Gonaqua personalities', was another.[3] So was Bretagne (also 'Britagn' or 'Britannia') Jantjes who was at Bethelsdorp from 'the first establishment of it'.[4] In 1806 Cuyler sent 'Britannia' on horseback to take a message to 'Slambie'.[5] This is just one

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9. Researches, v. 2, Appendix 11, p. 418.

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1. Spilhaus, South Africa in the Making, p. 151.
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., pp. 334 and 342.
4. Records, v. 30, p. 296, Enclosure 85, Bourke to Bathurst, 29/1/1827.
5. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Capt. Gordon, 1/12/1806.

example of many such errands: in 1809 he was hard at work negotiating with 'Congo' on Cuyler's behalf, as the latter wrote to Collins.[6] In a memorandum Cuyler stated that 'This day Britagn and some of the school Hottentots returned from among the Caffrees' and that, when they had discovered that Congo had not moved away as far as he had promised to do, moreover that he was intending to come back, '8. told him he should not do this'.[7] Bretagne was also a wagondriver: it seems certain it is he to whom Campbell referred when he named the drivers, whom he engaged at Bethelsdorp, as 'Cupido,[8] a converted Hottentot ... and Britannia, a Gonacqua'.[9] No reference has been found regarding the remuneration Bretagne received for his dangerous and taxing journeys among the Xhosa but it may be assumed he was awarded gratuities similar to that given Boesak, mentioned above.[10] Apparently Klaas Stuurman, who was present, acted as intermediary between Janssens and the Xhosa chiefs.[11] When Janssens met Ngqika 'a Gonaaqua from Bethelsdorp' (possibly Bretagne) interpreted[12] and it may have been this man whom Ngqika 'immediately recollected' when de Mist sent emissaries to meet him.[13]

The use of Khoikhoi in official contacts with the Xhosa was resented by some Boers. The rebels who threatened the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet in 1801 demanded among other things that 'No Hottentot was to be sent to the Kaffirs as messenger'.[14] It was apparently true that Khoikhoi who moved among all factions were a source of rumours, sometimes unfounded and often difficult to verify.[15] The prevalence of distrust re-

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6. Ibid., 12/5/1809.
7. Ibid., 27/5/1809.
8. Cupido Kakkerlak.
9. 1813, p. 24.
10. See p. 119.
11. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 312.
12. Ibid., p. 322.
13. Ibid., p. 346.
14. Spilhaus, South Africa in the Making, p. 260.
15. See Lichtenstein, Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 329; Records, v. 4, p. 307, Provisional Justification, April 1802; Ibid., v. 14, p. 383, Deputy Landdrost of Cradock to Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 1/6/1822.

garding such 'men between' has been mentioned already,[16] but during this period there was no getting along without them. Collins, for example, took along Jan Titis, a Bastard Hottentot, as interpreter, as well as Hottentot drivers.[17]

The wagoner Jan Marthinus in the service of government has been mentioned more than once. In 1806 Cuyler addressed a notice to 'Whomsoever Concerned' regarding the desertion of Hendrick Bruintjes, a Hottentot 'waggoner of this Garrison', warning all to assist the search party and none to harbour him.[18] Military discipline, as might be expected, was strict and desertion, which was bad enough when the breaking of a service contract was involved, was a very serious offence. In 1811 a soldier of the Cape Corps, who twice deserted to the Xhosa and had committed other crimes, was hung at the Drostdy. According to Cuyler this was 'the first example of the kind which has taken place in this distant part of the Colony'.[19] Little indication of the work exacted or the remuneration given has come to light but probably they were paid at the going rate for soldiers. In time to come there would be employment for waggoners and others at the government farm (Somerset Farm) where wages, according to Philip, were comparatively good.[20]

Diversification and Opportunities for Advancement

By the first decade of the nineteenth century Khoikhoi captains were virtually stripped of their traditional powers and obliged to assume new ones favoured by government. At the best of times, though the numbers of captains created had been too numerous for the good of Khoikhoi unity and the preservation of the hordes, they had been only few in the context of opportunity. By 1809 there were still captains

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16. See above p. 116.
17. Records, v. 6, p. 340, Report, 30/5/1808.
18. CA, U IT 15/1, 2/7/1806.
19. Ibid., Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 8/1/1811.
20. Researches, v. 1, pp. 354-5.

who enjoyed the advantages of prestige and a stipend but the system was on the way to obsolescence.

Looking back on the first decade it is possible to discern certain potentially fruitful lines of diversification then opening out for the Khoikhoi, but also other, more traditional of their skills which were likely to become less essential with time and modernisation. Promising developments included the introduction to trades and the growth of missions (discussed in the next chapter), training provided by the Cape Corps, and such things as the improved postal service wherein Khoikhoi, long familiar as messengers, could find a place. Other occupations, for example guides, interpreters[1] and captains, were already marked for gradual but certain phasing out.

If few could be chosen as captains, many were called to enter the Cape Corps. To support his argument that the frontier, contrary to popular belief, actually afforded more, not fewer opportunities to blacks than the more settled regions, Legassick cites military service as an example.[2] (It is not clear if duty on commandos and assorted military levies is regarded in the same light as service in the Corps.) It has been mentioned before that British officials during the first occupation resorted to recruitment for other than purely military considerations. Thus the Governor, Macartney, wrote to Henry Dundas that 'the Hottentot is capable of a much greater degree of civilisation than is generally imagined, and perhaps the converting him into a soldier may be one of the best steps towards it'.[3] Janssens also saw the Corps as an important stepping-stone to advancement for the Khoikhoi, declaring (in 1804) that prejudice against them was declining and that 'the freedom of the Hottentots is better

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1. See above pp. 116 and 123.
2. 'Frontier Tradition', Col. Sem. Papers, ICS, v. 2, p. 11. Legassick also mentions access which some Bastards had to land in Graaff-Reinet District; see above p. 24.
3. Records, v. 2, p. 371, 24/2/1799.

guaranteed: they have been raised to the soldier class, on an equal footing with Europeans'.[4] Whatever the expectations of these early well-wishers that this upliftment would result in a general improvement in their condition, the Khoikhoi remained a depressed section of the population. Thus in 1830 Bigge could assert that the Corps and the missions were the Hottentots' only escape from servitude.[5]

Certainly there was no other occupation by which Hottentots, singly and as a 'nation', earned so many compliments. General Baird (according to Barrow) praised their intelligence, faithfulness and cleanliness,[6] Lichtenstein spoke of the Corps' good behaviour,[7] van Pallandt extolled the Khoikhoi as soldiers,[8] and later Cradock praised them[9] - to mention a few. Reverting to the belief that soldiering would civilise, one finds Percival impressed by the real talent of Khoikhoi for adopting the arts of civilisation, especially evident in their performance as soldiers.[10] After such praise the attitudes evinced towards Khoikhoi out of uniform appear the more surprising. Philip commented bitterly about a British officer who doted on every Hottentot in a regimental uniform but despised all the others, which he explained as follows: 'To the Hottentot soldier he would attach the ideas associated with British valour - with the Hottentot bondman he would associate feelings of contempt'.[11] This is at best a partial explanation. Certainly in the eyes of the frontiersmen the Corps had had a bad beginning since the pandours did duty not only against insurgent Xhosa but also against rebellious Boers.[12] Barrow, in the midst of the frontier disturbances of 1802, was strongly impressed by the awkwardness of having two opposing groups

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4. Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the Turn of the 18th Century, Appendix 2, p. 93.
5. Records, v. 35, p. 318, Report, 28/1/1830.
6. Travels, v. 1, pp. 374-5.
7. Travels ... 1803 ... 1806, v. 1, p. 305.
8. General Remarks, pp. 23 and 28.
9. Records, v. 9, p. 327, Cradock to Bathurst, 5/2/1814.
10. Account of the Cape, pp. 93-4.
11. Researches, v. 2, fn. p. 314.
12. Stockenstrom's opinion regarding this has been cited, see above pp. 132-3.

(Boer and Khoikhoi) 'each claiming protection' from the authorities.[13] When this protection was given the Khoikhoi, the original contempt of Boer for Hottentot became fused with jealousy: Maynier had to defend himself from the charge that he preferred the '"Heathens before the Christians"' when, to his mind, he afforded no more than elementary justice to both.[14] Combined with this was the genuine fear engendered by continuing unrest on the frontier. Cuyler's apprehensions regarding soldiers due for discharge, quoted above, is a case in point. A situation where men who were mainstays of the defensive system while under discipline could be suspected of going over to the 'enemy' at the moment of their discharge was obviously not conducive to their assimilation and progress.

Service in the Corps provided a new and important dimension in the lives of many Khoikhoi men. Burchell, who seized every opportunity to observe and analyse, reported a conversation with a Hottentot soldier who himself liked 'a military life' but said others disliked so 'exact and regular' a training.[15] It was certainly a departure from their old ways and an instructive introduction to the new. Philip might claim that the missions supplied the Corps with 'its most efficient men'[16] but equally it seems likely that Khoikhoi gained in 'efficiency' as well as other aspects of 'civilisation' through service in the Corps. This can only have been of value to themselves and ought to have served them well in the new world they were learning to inhabit. The difficulty came with the particular milieu in which discharged soldiers had to make their way. The Corps represented an escape from servitude; discharge, though it might be welcome after a long period of service, meant a return to servitude for those who did not resort to the desperate course which Cuyler feared, or to a mission.

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13. Travels, v. 1, p. 414.
14. Marais, Cape Coloured People, p. 113.
15. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 66.
16. Records, v. 30, p. 135, Annexure No. 1, L.M.S. Memorial, 22/1/1827.

CHAPTER VI

TRADES, MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS AND THE INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS

Introduction

The Khoikhoi, who were 'primarily herdsmen', apparently exhibited 'little respect for industrial activity'. Numerous articles were manufactured by them, there being generally a division of labour between the sexes, but there appears to have been no particular recognition for craftsmen and no regular production of surpluses for the purpose of trade. Thus Schapera observed: 'It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots'.[1] When the Khoikhoi needed copper, iron or tobacco, for example, they generally bartered with their cattle and sheep, and with the produce of their hunting and gathering activities. There were occasions as well when they bartered with manufactured goods but, by and large, these were for their own use. Khoikhoi worked with wood, grasses, shells, stone, metal,[2] the hides, sinews, horns and bones of animals, and also clay for pottery. These skills were still useful in 1800, with leatherwork, woodwork and matmaking of relatively greater importance on the farms where most Khoikhoi lived.

In his Memorandum composed in 1802 de Mist suggested certain industries, the development of which should be advantageous to the Cape, naming a printing press, ship-building, exploitation of salt pans, sawmills both wind and water driven, limekilns, smiths' forges, wagon-making, rope-making and tanneries.[3] It is interesting to compare this list with that of van der Kemp, submitted to Dundas in 1801,

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1. Khoisan Peoples, p. 317.
2. Whether or not the Cape Khoikhoi knew and worked with metal before 1650 has been disputed but it seems now to be accepted that they did, see Elphick, Kraal and Castle, pp. 63-5.
3. Memorandum, pp. 249-50.

when suggesting the foundation of a mission station for Khoikhoi. His list includes, besides '"mechanical arts"', such '"little manufactories"' as '"soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufacturing of paper, tanning, potting, brickmaking, turnery, etc."'[4] de Mist had of course the colony as a whole in mind whereas van der Kemp had to think of the more modest potential of the frontier and its people. Thus these hopes and plans display only one specific point of coincidence, that regarding tanning. A few years later Burchell named the trades required by a village at the Cape: 'a blacksmith, a carpenter, a waggon-maker, a butcher, a baker, a miller, a tanner, a soapboiler, a shoemaker and some others'.[5] A blacksmith coming out from England should bring his forge and tools, a miller the makings of an overshot water-mill, as these were not to be had in the Colony - a problem as will be seen for missions desiring to introduce these trades.

In this chapter the focus is almost entirely on Bethelsdorp, the mission station founded in 1803 by van der Kemp in what was to become the district of Uitenhage.[6] This follows from the fact that during the first decade virtually all the purposeful training of frontier Khoikhoi in trades, which could become their support in an independent existence, was carried on there. This is not to deny the educative

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4. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 16, van der Kemp to Dundas, 11/11/1801. Philip dates this letter 11/2/1801, Researches, v. 1, p. 71.
5. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 34, Hints on Emigration, 1819.
6. This new district was carved from Graaff-Reinet by the Batavians in February 1804. In October of that year a portion of the district of Swellendam was added to it.

effects of labour on at least some farms,[7] or of service in the Cape Corps, for example. But Bethelsdorp, then the only mission for Hottentots on the frontier, was dedicated in a different way to developing 'useful and industrious' men and women.

In time to come the sawyers (in not the wind and water driven sawmills), limeburners, smiths and wagon-makers so desired by de Mist for the benefit of the colony were to be produced by Bethelsdorp and other missions, and these will be referred to again. It may be mentioned in passing that an early example of a printing press was that of van der Kemp which he used in 1801 in Graaff-Reinet (where he printed a spelling table and spelling book), in 1802 at Botha's Place (the first site of his mission, where he printed another spelling book) and in 1804 at Bethelsdorp (where he produced the Bethelsdorp Catechism).[8] As for salt production, through the chance selection of the site near Algoa Bay which became Bethelsdorp, a large and excellent salt pan was to be found on the very doorstep of the mission.

Salt Collection and Salted Products

In modern societies where freezing and canning are taken for granted it is easy to forget how important salting was for the preservation of food in by-gone days. Thus we find one English officer lamenting to another: 'There is no Salted Provisions of any kind cured in this Colony'.[1] Fish and meat could be stored for future use if salt could

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7. Of the farms Marais says, 'It is true that the apprentices must have picked up some useful knowledge of the rudimentary pastoralism which their employers practised, and acquired the habit of more or less regular work', adding that 'Female apprentices probably did better than male, since they were in closer touch with their mistresses', Coloured People, p. 128 and fn. 4.

8. D.H. Varley, 'An Early Cape Printing Discovery', QBSAL, v. 1, No. 1, Sept. 1946, pp. 10-11. It is not certain that the same press was used on each occasion.

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1. Records, v. 3, p. 503, Curtis to Wellesley, 17/5/1801.

be obtained and this the farmers did, making their togts not only to trade with the Khoikhoi and Xhosa but to obtain salt from pans near the Zwartkops River.[2] van Reenen referred to this salt as being 'very pure ... snow white' and of 'an almost inexhaustible supply',[3] recommending that a salt meat factory be established there. Barrow described it as being four to five inches thick near the margin of the pan where it was 'generally broken up with pickaxes'.[4] In the 1820s salt from Algoa Bay was sent to England for testing where it was found to be as good as any salt; though 'mixed with sand' it could be purified by methods 'practised in every salt-work'.[5]

The government exercised control over the exploitation of salt pans. Those near to Cape Town were leased to the highest bidder under certain conditions.[6] In 1809 when the 'Farmer of the Salt pans' failed to bring in enough salt to supply the townspeople, all persons were advised that they could bring in salt 'duty free, and without paying any compensation' to the farmer, to make up the shortfall.[7] But as often seems to have been the case in such matters, it appears that the outlying districts were left to regulate themselves. The 1812 Commission of Circuit suggested that it was only fair that those from outside the district should pay 'a small duty'

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2. N.C. Pollock and Swanzie Agnew, An Historical Geography of South Africa, p. 64. Other uses for salt: a handful twice yearly to prevent lam ziekte, Records, v. 7, p. 125; 'The salt was sold to farmers for manure', A.D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp, p. 138; for salting butter.
3. Joernaal, p. 137. Martin describes the lake as 2 miles long and about 4 miles around, a curious elongated shape, Doctor Vanderkemp, p. 138.
4. Travels, v. 1, p. 74.
5. Records, v. 31, pp. 123-4, Wollaston to Hay, 21/3/1827.
6. Records, v. 6, p. 92, Government Advertisement, 12/3/1807.
7. Ibid., v. 7, p. 16, Government Advertisement, 7/7/1809.

when fetching salt from the pan near Uitenhage, which they did 'not only for their own consumption but for trade'. This duty would help pay to maintain the roads which they used and also compensate for the pasturage consumed by their cattle.[8]

Early on the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp benefited from the proximity of a large salt pan. Writes Jane Sales:

> For many years the farmers had been going to this area for salt, but conditions were not always satisfactory for obtaining it.[9] Some of the Bethelsdorp people began to collect quantities of salt, and sell these to the farmers when they came, or barter it for grain. Some also began to peddle it at Graaff-Reinet and to the farmers at their homes. Collins says that half the colony got its salt from this source.[10] Salt continued to be a source of income for the Bethelsdorp people ... [11]

Jan Speelman, a Hottentot of Bethelsdorp who could read and write, 'kept records at the salt pan of the farmers' accounts'.[12]

In 1811 Cuyler proposed that revenue be obtained by a tax on purchasers of the salt:

> The great Salt pan in this neighbourhood would bring in a handsome revenue ... if a duty of one Rixdollar per waggon load was paid, it would not on the average be more than half a Rixdoll. to a farmer riding two loads of butter yearly to the Cape, and less to others who are in poorer circumstances, requiring less salt; at present in the dry season the salt is gather'd or I may say monopolised by some few of the nearest farmers & the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp, principally the latter who sell it in the wet season for Rd. two or sometimes more the sack.[13]

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8. Ibid., v. 9, p. 94.
9. As in wet weather.
10. See Records, v. 7, p. 124, Report of Collins, 6/8/1809.
11. Mission Stations, p. 48.
12. Ibid., p. 74.
13. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 20/2/1811.

Campbell wrote of collecting two bags of salt from the lake where some Bethelsdorp residents still 'obtain part of their living'.[14]

Many years after, Chase cited salt as one of the most important resources of the district of Uitenhage, the pan at Bethelsdorp 'affording a very lucrative source of revenue to the Hottentots ... from its proximity to the place of export'.[15] This appears to have been true of the 1840s for Freeman, a London Missionary Society visitor to the Cape in 1849, reported that the Bethelsdorp people collected and sold about 10 000 bushels of salt in five months. This had brought in £400, divided among about forty families who thus averaged £10 each.[16] In fact

> There is not much profit in this. The time and labour consumed in obtaining it, and then the expense of carriage by ox wagons to the Bay, absorb all the gain. If the people were provident, or could be induced to keep the salt in store for a time, they might often realize double and treble the price. As it is, they overstock the market, and then obtain prices which do not remunerate them.[17]

However, this was much later. It appears that there was profit in it in the earlier period, when the chief complaint against it was the same that applied to hunting, timber selling and transport riding: these relatively lucrative occupations had the drawback that they depended on the Khoikhoi leading 'a semi-nomadic kind of life', the very thing that van der Kemp and other missionaries hoped so much to discourage.[18]

It has already been mentioned that van Reenen suggested a salt meat factory for Algoa Bay due to the large salt pans

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14. 1813, p. 97.
15. Cape of Good Hope, p. 64.
16. Tour in South Africa, pp. 65-6.
17. Ibid., p. 66.
18. Sales, Mission Stations, pp. 49-50.

there. There was another advantage which he pointed out: cattle driven 100 to 180 'hours' to Cape Town lost much weight in travelling, so it made sense to corn the meat at its place of origin.[19] It was Barrow's opinion that a salted fish industry would benefit both Boers and Khoikhoi by providing employment and food[20] and he also recommended the production of salted beef.[21] According to Chase it was Barrow's advice which inspired Frederick Korsten to found his establishment for 'the preparation of salted provisions, which the cheapness of cattle and the existence of extensive salt pans in the neighbourhood rendered so easy'.[22] Unfortunately this interesting venture only materialised in 1812, in the more favourable conditions which followed the Fourth Frontier War, and so cannot be dealt with here. This enterprise brought major changes in its wake, not least the increase in coastal shipping. In the first decade, Algoa Bay had been seldom visited except by the occasional government schooner 'about once a month, and the trade ... consisted of a few kegs of butter and a small number of bags of salt'.[23] Not only did this industry prove a stimulus to shipping, to the production of cattle and salt, and to employment for the Khoikhoi of Bethelsdorp in its various operations, but it stimulated the sawyers and coopers' trades since salted products were packed in wooden casks.

Exploitation of Timber Resources

A second resource of importance to the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp was timber. It may be remembered at this point

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19. Joernaal, p. 293.
20. Travels, v. 2, pp. 158-9.
21. Ibid., p. 291.
22. John Centlivres Chase, Old Times and Odd Corners, Port Elizabeth Series, No. 1, 1969, p. 3.
23. Ibid., p. 4.

that Khoikhoi other than those at the institution did not stand to benefit on their own account from woodcutting. Van Pallandt mentioned the 'wiry arm' of the Hottentot which was employed in cutting timber for his master.[1] Barrow, who had much to say about the depressed state of the Hottentots among the farmers, suggested that 'the same sort of encouragement ... as they have met with from the Hernhüters'[2] should be held out to others of them on unoccupied tracts.[3] If fairs were introduced, these Hottentots could participate by bringing honey and timber since they 'require only proper encouragement to become valuable members of society'.[4]

The great forest was that at Tzitzikamma 'about one hundred miles west of Bethelsdorp'[5] but Landman's Bush was nearer to hand. Certain types of wood were to be found only in the former: Barrow drew up a chart of the various woods and their uses.[6] Woodcutting, and also the sale of timber which could involve wagon trips to distant parts, had the drawback mentioned regarding salt marketing, that it took the people away from the mission for extended periods. According to Sales

> It appears that the first market for which the Bethelsdorp men became the suppliers was the building of the new drosdy at Uitenhage. This took place between 1806 and 1810. By the latter date, the Bethelsdorp men were cutting, sawing and selling wood for such distant markets as Graaff-Reinet, where at one time they sold 1000 rixdollars' worth of boards, 6000 feet of boards or five wagon loads.[7]

From time to time government moved to protect the woodlands by restricting the cutting and selling of timber. Thus

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1. See above pp. 41-2.
2. The only mission in the colony at the time of writing.
3. Travels, v. 2, p. 151.
4. Ibid., p. 157.
5. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 88.
6. Travels, v. 1, pp. 297-8; see also Chase, Cape of Good Hope, pp. 160-1.
7. Mission Stations, p. 49.

on 26 January 1801 Yonge issued a proclamation appointing superintendents of the forests in the respective districts, who were to issue licences, collect a levy on every tree felled, and enforce certain other restrictions.[8] This, according to Theal, had the effect of bringing the timber industry to a standstill and reducing the woodcutters to starvation before it was by and large revoked six months later.[9] Woodcutters were required to obtain permits and the government continued to express concern about the felling of young trees and damage to the forests.[10]

In November 1812 a proclamation to control the felling of timber in the Plettenberg Bay area provided 'That any one, black or white, who shall be found in the forests without the knowledge of the overseer shall be seized upon, conveyed to the Drostdy George, and confined on bread and water for the term of six weeks'.[11] It was the opinion of the 1812 Commission of Circuit that woods should be marked into divisions and worked one at a time to allow regeneration, cutting to be confined to December-April when the sap was 'dried up'[12] and the rest of the year devoted to sawing, working and transporting.[13] Also, it was only just (as in the case of those collecting salt) if users of these resources from outside the district should pay a small duty to compensate for use made of roads and pasture.[14]

Every restriction or duty was particularly felt as a blow by the Bethelsdorp people whose struggles to achieve a livelihood tended to be more arduous than those of other classes of frontier dweller and there is evidence of this in

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8. Records, v. 3, pp. 416-20.
9. Ibid., v. 5, pp. 72-3, Digest of the Records. Theal speaks of their sufferings and the stoppage of production as lasting for a year, although the virtual revocation took place as stated six months later, Records, v. 4, p. 10, Government Advertisement, 11/6/1801.
10. Ibid., v. 5, pp. 394-5, Instructions for the Inspector of Government Woods and Lands, 12/4/1806.
11. Ibid., v. 9, p. 19.
12. This timing seems contrary to what one would expect.
13. Records, v. 9, pp. 91-2.
14. Ibid. p. 94.

the correspondence between Cuyler and the mission. After the publication of James Read's letter of 30 August 1808, in which he made certain charges against Cuyler, the simmering grievances had a thorough exposure and the relationship between Cuyler and the missionaries was badly strained. Apparently Read objected to a practice of Cuyler's with regard to woodcutting for on 30 May 1812 Cuyler justified himself in a letter to Lt. Col. Graham, saying

> To explain this last correspondence, I beg leave to stated (sic) that for upwards of a year past I have not suffered any person whatever to cut Timber in any of the forests of this District without first receiving a permit for that purpose which permits are registered, nothing however are paid for them, but I merely did it to represent the matter at a future period as a source of revenue to government.[15]

In 1807 van der Kemp wrote to Caledon that ten or twelve Bethelsdorp men were employed in '"coopers' work, carpentering, sawing planks"'.[16] According to Sales the appearance of Bethelsdorp began to improve: 'The development of a group of skilled woodcutters and sawyers meant that boards for door frames and window frames became available, which they were not earlier'.[17] She goes on to say that 'There seems to be no doubt that the skills involved in the timber trade and men engaged in it increased considerably during the second decade'.[18] Korsten's salting industry and the growth of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage provided new outlets for them.

One example of remuneration from woodcutting has been mentioned above: 6 000 feet of board (amounting to five wagon loads) worth Rds. 1 000. Campbell tells of a Hottentot who 'with his two servants,[19] by cutting and sawing wood,

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15. CA, UIT 15/1.
16. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 47.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 71.
19. It is noteworthy that some Khoikhoi at Bethelsdorp found employment with fellow members.

earned in two weeks, some time ago, one hundred dollars' but adds that at the time of his visit such earnings were no longer possible for most as they were being 'constantly called away, during the last twelve months to public service'.[20] The advantages of the timber trade were that 'it could be carried on during the dry season when agriculture was not profitable', it provided opportunities to 'work hard for a short period of time and make a quick profit', for example 'when taxes were due', and also it had ever increasing potential due to 'the growing number of carpenters who were being trained at Bethelsdorp',[21] though this last was true mainly of the period after 1811 when William Corner, a missionary who was also a carpenter, arrived at the Cape.[22] Bigge felt that, whatever the defects of the Hottentot 'character', they had worked hard and well as woodcutters and sawyers.[23] But then woodcutting, if it was to be done at all, was hard work. The hope expressed by de Mist (and evidently by inhabitants of Cape Town as well) that power-driven sawmills be erected had come to nothing in the eastern districts for the matter was investigated at Keurbooms but, according to Paravicini, 'did not prove feasible on account of the unsuitability of the rivers and prevailing winds'.[24] Barrow called woodcutting hard work,[25] and stated that even in the fine forests at Plettenberg Bay it offered a low return.[26] As with most other things this was relative: for the Khoikhoi it provided an opportunity to be seized, despite the discouragement of regulations imposed from time to time, the necessity for which (especially as regards conservation) was probably not well understood.

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20. 1813, p. 90.
21. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 71.
22. Ibid., p. 59.
23. Records, v. 35, p. 348, Report on Hottentots and Bushmen, 28/1/1830.
24. Reize, p. 229.
25. Travels, v. 1, p. 386.
26. Ibid., v. 2, p. 70. It has already been mentioned that it was regarded, in connection with the 1820 settlers, as a 'precarious' occupation, see above p. 120.

Missionaries and their Skills

An abiding complaint against Bethelsdorp as opposed to Genadendal was the comparatively secondary importance attached to 'the mechanical arts' at the former. At Baviaanskloof (as Genadendal was known at the time of his visit) Barrow found the three missionaries to be accomplished craftsmen - one a smith (who started the successful manufacture of knives), one a shoemaker and one a tailor.[1] Collins, though he bestowed approval exclusively on the Moravian institutions, believed even they ought to limit their teaching to 'Moral and religious principles' (without reading or writing) and 'all the mechanical arts, except that of a gunsmith'.[2] In his report on the Hottentots and Bushmen, Bigge remarked that the missionaries at Bethelsdorp 'do not here work as mechanics'.[3] It was a point about which Philip, when he arrived on the scene, was sensitive. He explained the difficulties encountered in recruiting tradesmen-missionaries and claimed this was offset by success in employing suitable mechanics within South Africa.[4]

Part of the trouble regarding Bethelsdorp certainly stemmed from van der Kemp's excessively intellectual image. Also, the battles waged by him with government on behalf of Khoikhoi overshadowed whatever other work he may have had time for. He held a medical degree, had spent many years in military service, and according to his biographer had learned brickmaking before coming to the Cape.[5] Of the other missionaries at Bethelsdorp during this early period Sales tells us

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1. Travels, v. 1, p. 309.
2. Records, v. 7, p. 110, Report, 6/8/1809.
3. Ibid., v. 35, p. 340, Report, 28/1/1830.
4. Researches, v. 1, pp. 207-9.
5. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp, p. 60.

> James Read built a smith's shop in 1806 and spent much of his time doing smith's work until 1811. Part of the purpose of this was to train apprentices, but it was also a means of earning some money which went to help feed the indigent of Bethelsdorp. The primary source of work was farmers who needed iron work done on their wagons. Whether he did any work for the military I do not know. Read had originally been trained as a tinsmith, so he probably undertook that type of work also[6] ... Ullbricht was a quiet reserved man, a German, who arrived in South Africa in 1805. He was good at mechanical things, and was often at work on water-mills or windmills, first at Bethelsdorp, then at Theopolis. He had studied medicine as well as Dutch in Holland in preparation for his missionary service, and was much sought after for medical advice.[7]

Brickmaking, smithying and milling were three useful trades but the extent to which they were practised seems to have left most visitors unimpressed, at least in the first decade. The one undeniable success was the knitting school. This was started by Mrs. Tromp, wife of a missionary who arrived in 1805 with Ulbricht, but was soon taken over by Mrs. Matilda Smit, a friend of missions who had lived in Cape Town. According to Sales

> About thirty girls received yarn to knit socks, stockings and night caps, which they sold to the soldiers and officers at Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay. The income was used, first, to buy more yarn, and then to purchase cattle. The milk from the cattle provided food for the girls of the knitting school ... Its success required a certain amount of management of supplies and orders, and especially required an outlet for distribution. When Grahamstown became the military headquarters for the eastern frontier, in 1813, the number of soldiers at Fort Frederick and Uitenhage ... was drastically reduced. It became harder, therefore, for the retail end of the knitting school to be carried on.[8]

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6. Mission Stations, p. 48.
7. Ibid., p. 66.
8. Ibid., p. 45.

When Mrs. Smit left in 1807 the work was carried on with Mrs. Read (a Khoikhoi, formerly Elizabeth Valentyn) in charge. Another missionary at Bethelsdorp during this period was Erasmus Smit (1805-1814) who served as schoolmaster.

Beyond a doubt it was van der Kemp's intention to foster trades. His plans for Bethelsdorp in this respect have been cited and in 1807 he wrote Caledon that it was essential that '"the narrow sphere of activity to which our Hottentots are originally confined be extended gradually, by pointing out to them the various methods in which a man by his industry may co-operate to the welfare of society of which he is a member"'.[9] However, he went on to say, though the knitting school was thriving

> we have hitherto not been so successful in introducing other manufactures. We have but one shoemaker, ten or twelve employing themselves in coopers' work, carpentering, sawing planks, and some as smiths. Of the women, some are occupied in soap-boiling, tanning sheepskins, making candles, straw-hats, mats, etc.[10]

Inhibiting factors were the chronic shortage of funds experienced by the mission together with the poverty of the Khoikhoi themselves, the absence or fluctuations of markets (the example of Fort Frederick has been given) and the general 'lack of jobs in the Eastern Cape early in the nineteenth century'.[11]

Trades and Miscellaneous Occupations

One of the most interesting documents in the Cape Archives, where trades and missions at this early date are concerned, is the list of members of Bethelsdorp up to 8 April 1809. Names are entered chronologically according to date of admission, together with certain other information such as sex, 'nation' (eg. Hottentot, Gona), 'country'

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9. Sales, Mission Stations, pp. 46-7.
10. Ibid., p. 47.
11. Ibid., p. 45.

(eg. Colony), place of origin (eg. Graaff-Reinet, Algoa Bay, name of farmer), date of admission, period under instruction, whether baptised, and 'trade'.[1] So we see that Cupido Kakkerlak, who heads the list, was male, a Hottentot of the colony who came from Graaff-Reinet, was admitted on 31 December 1801,[2] had been 7 3/12 years under instruction, was baptised and a sawyer by trade. There were altogether six sawyers. Other trades enumerated are knitters (twenty-one in all), three soap-boilers, three bowlmakers, two turners and one each needlewoman, cooper and sawyer, 'sewster', charcoal burner, baker, 'kraal keeper', breeches-maker, shoemaker, millstone maker, smith and the mistress of the knitting school. Forty-three of these were deemed to be Hottentots and the other three a Gona and two Bastard Hottentots. More than half were women: the entire knitting school with its mistress consisted of females and the baker, breechesmaker, sewster, needlewoman and at least one soap-boiler were females also. This list makes no mention of the tanners, the candlemakers or manufacturers of mats and straw hats mentioned by van der Kemp in 1807. The list is probably incomplete, firstly due to stress laid on occupations learned at the mission as opposed to those practised on the farms, and secondly in that it comprises permanent members as opposed to those many who resided briefly, as part of the constant in- and out-flow of population.

Campbell reported that he had seen Khoikhoi busy at 'eighteen different employments', naming them as

> smiths, carpenters, waggon-makers, basket-makers, blanket-makers, (viz. of sheep's skins sewed together very neatly, bought by officers in the army, &c) tobacco pipe-makers, sawyers, turners, hewers of wood, carriers, soap-boilers, mat-manufacturers, stocking makers, taylors, brick-makers, thatchers, coopers, and lime-burners, likewise an auctioneer and a miller.[3]

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1. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 395.
2. This is prior to the actual founding of Bethelsdorp.
3. 1813, p. 93.

According to Sales he was attacked for making exaggerated claims,[4] this despite the precautions he took in stating that these 'trades' were not to be thought of in the same light as trades in England but rather as small beginnings.

Bricks both burnt and unburnt were made. Sometimes the clay of termites' heaps was used, which made sense as it was very fine and also easy to get at where the soil was rocky. Mortar was also often of clay only, since lime was 'too expensive to introduce into it'. Thus walls were not waterproof unless given a coating of lime plastering, which had to be kept in good repair.[5] In the coastal areas shells could be used to make lime, while at the Fish River there was limestone together with 'bush enough to burn it'.[6] It was probably slaked lime rather than quick lime which these lime-burners prepared. Later on, access to shells for lime, for its own use and for trade, was a major issue in the economic life of the community at Theopolis.[7] Besides brick structures, some buildings were of wattle and daub, others of stone. Masons are not mentioned among the Bethelsdorp tradesmen in this first decade but they certainly were to be found among the Hottentots with the Moravians.[8] Later they built a bridge over the Riviersonderend which had 'substantial stone piers' and was cited as evidence of increased industriousness among them.[9] Besides the brickmakers and bricklayers, masons, limeburners, sawyers and carpenters associated with building, thatchers were often needed. The work of cutting the reeds might be done by women, the work of thatching by men.

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4. Mission Stations, p. 71; see ridicule of Burchell, Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 29.
5. Records, v. 16, p. 50, Somerset to Bathurst, 5/6/1823.
6. Ibid., v. 17, fn. p. 122, from the South African Journal.
7. Ibid., v. 26, p. 388, Enclosure in Bourke to Bathurst, 23/5/1826; also Ibid., v. 28, p. 196, Memorial of the LMS Directors, 14/9/1826.
8. Latrobe, Journal, p. 346; Kruger, Pear Tree, p. 128.
9. Records, v. 13, p. 241, Latrobe to Goulburn, 4/9/1820.

Certainly there would be more to tell about the introduction of Khoikhoi to the various trades if Genadendal could be included, but a surprising amount (when its low reputation is considered) was undertaken at Bethelsdorp. Reference to needlework, milling and the smith's shop has been made already. Charcoal-burning was probably carried out in conjunction with the smith's shop, charcoal being a more suitable fuel for this purpose than wood. Smith's equipment, as has been mentioned, had to be imported and the mission suffered a setback when the ship carrying this, a new press and milling equipment (not to mention a missionary) sank on the way to the Cape.[10] However, from 1806 Read functioned as master blacksmith with 'two boys whom he was instructing'.[11] Smith's work was allied with wagon-making and repairs and thus there was a demand. Sales speculates on the marketing of goods manufactured at Bethelsdorp, guessing that the shoemaker 'may have done most of his business within the community'.[12] With soap and candles also it is difficult to know how great a quantity was 'sold in the open market'.[13]

The method of training was by apprenticeship. At Bethelsdorp, at least, the intention was to give apprenticeship its true meaning, very different from the farms where '"Apprenticeship" of course implied servantship, but carried with it no responsibility requiring the master to give the child any instruction whatever'.[14] When the carpenter-missionary William Corner arrived at Bethelsdorp he took on several apprentices: 'He provided them food and clothing, and the profits of their work went into mission funds'.[15] The way in which earnings were ploughed back into the mission, for various purposes, was shown also in the examples of

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10. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 42.
11. Ibid., p. 44.
12. Ibid., p. 49.
13. Ibid.
14. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, p. 162. Not only children but full-grown adults were apprenticed at the missions.
15. Sales, Mission Stations, pp. 73-4.

Read's smith's shop and Mrs. Smit's knitting class.[16] At Genadendal apprentices were 'paid for their labor as soon as they can earn wages',[17] and apparently this had been van der Kemp's intention for he had written to Janssens:

> As the introduction of these employments will involve the European Missionary Societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the Society, and be paid weekly for their labour; but the products of their labours should be the property of the Society, and sold for its benefit.[18]

Proceeds would be applied to mission work and benefits to the people, while 'journeymen' were to be free to go into business on their own account.

The wish to apprentice young men to skilled artisans outside the mission was present, but not feasible until the first British mechanics, brought out by Benjamin Moodie, arrived on the frontier after 1817. Even then the results were disappointing: it was too easy to use such novices for errands and other work at the convenience of the master without imparting the training which was the purpose of the apprenticeship.[19] The fact that missionaries were transferred from station to station (once these began to multiply) was a hindrance to progress, breaking the continuity or even entirely halting the instruction, while the unsettled condition of the Khoikhoi, especially the men, was chronic.

There remain a few more activities, besides salt and timber, connected with the exploitation of natural resources. Mat-making was of course a traditional craft practised by female Khoikhoi and Burchell noted the reeds favoured by them

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16. See above p. 168.
17. Barrow, Travels, v. 1, p. 309.
18. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 16.
19. Ibid., p. 74; Philip, Researches, v. 1, pp. 208-9.

for the purpose.[20] The method was not to interweave the rushes but to place them 'parallel to each other, and transversely with respect to the length of the mat' and connect them 'at every five or six inches by cords ... by means of a long wooden or bone needle'.[21] Mats were needed, among other uses, for the tented wagons - the 'tilts' consisted of a bamboo cane framework covered with mats which were covered in turn by painted canvas and sailcloth.[22] Straw-hat, basket and broom making were related activities. Latrobe was touched when given a gift of 'a roll of matting' by two Khoikhoi women.[23]

Gum, from acacias, was another resource which Burchell, the naturalist, thought could be exploited. It was a substitute for the resin of firs or pines, and he thought the 'natives' should be encouraged to collect it for barter, getting tobacco in return.[24] Apparently there was little scope for other classes of persons to make any profit out of gum collection for he concluded that though it was plentiful it was not a paying proposition 'from the scarcity and value of labor'.[25] It is not clear if the Bethelsdorp Hottentots collected gum: Sales refers to neglect by the people at Theopolis to keep at the business of gum collecting, something in which Ulbricht, when he was ill, had an interest as 'the accepted way of paying the district surgeon (the only local doctor) was in gum'.[26]

Barilla (a name for the alkali derived from the salsola plant, also from kelp) was another vegetable product which Barrow thought would have a sale in Britain but, due to the

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20. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 263.
21. Ibid., v. 1, p. 114.
22. Ibid., p. 149.
23. Journal, p. 116.
24. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 429.
25. Ibid., p. 39, Hints on Emigration, 1819.
26. Mission Stations, p. 88.

distance from the market and the 'high price of labor', would not be profitable for the farmers, though the 'Hottentots ... might be encouraged to prepare it'.[27] Mossel Bay he thought a particularly suitable spot for the collection not only of barilla but also of aloes.[28]

Aloes were in fact a comparatively successful avenue of endeavour. Their juice was used in medicine though apparently the aloes of the Cape were different from those of the West Indies and were fit 'as medicine for Horses and Cattle only'.[29] It was numbered among Yonge's sins that he had attempted to promote a monopoly in aloes,[30] but he was evidently prevented. In the vicinity of the Gouritz River, Paravicini stopped at the farm of some Snymans, 'a miserable abode inhabited by friendly and good people, who made a living by tapping the aloes which grow here in great numbers, and selling the juice at a good price in Cape Town'.[31] The region of the Zwartkops River where Bethelsdorp was situated was a good one for aloes.[32] He does not elaborate on the 'good price' but according to Barrow, writing only a short time before, the price was only 3d. per pound and an individual could only 'collect and prepare' about three pounds a day.[33] By implication this was a fairly meagre source of livelihood but, as always, depending on the circumstances of the persons who might engage in it.

Chase, writing mid-century, took the view that 'millions

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27. Travels, v. 1, p. 43.
28. Ibid., v. 2, p. 159.
29. Records, v. 21, p. 45.
30. Ibid., v. 4, p. 244.
31. Reize, p. 225.
32. Barrow, Travels, v. 2, p. 79. The myrica cordifolia from which wax for candles was obtained also grew there, see above p. 55.
33. Ibid., v. 1, p. 304. The method of preparation was to cut the leaves from the plants and arrange them in a skin, spread over a hollow in the ground, so that the stems could drain into this receptacle. The juice was then boiled in a pot until sufficient evaporation had taken place so that it would harden on cooling, SESA, v. 1, pp. 314-5.

of pounds could be obtained for export' but 'even at the missionary institutions, where hands, especially of the juvenile coloured population, are plentiful to excess, the collection of the gum, which is simple in the extreme, is, unfortunately, not sufficiently encouraged'.[34] The missions had a different story. Apparently van der Kemp 'had attempted to get the people to collect aloe juice, but the lack of things to buy in his time meant that there was little motivation to such activity'.[35] This point (for which Philip is said to be the authority) is hard to accept since money from whatever source could surely have been utilised to buy livestock, especially draught animals, and wagons, to mention only two kinds of acquisition which could elevate a man and his family to some measure of independence. However, it is claimed that it was the opening of a well-stocked shop at Bethelsdorp which finally stimulated the people to collect the juice of the aloes.[36] Evidently purchases at the shop were conducted by barter and the proprietors sent the aloe juices collected by the people to Cape Town.[37]

It has been mentioned already that Barrow thought that Khoikhoi, should fairs be established, would benefit by bringing honey as well as timber to them. He meant, evidently, that they would collect the wild honey according to their ancient practice. Burchell was surprised that neither natives nor colonists had troubled to domesticate honey bees, and were even given to destroying larvae and young bees by raiding hives in the wrong season.[38] There are numerous recorded instances of colonists and travellers bartering for honey with the Khoisan (van der Merwe speaks of beer made by the inhabitants of honey bartered from the Hottentots);[39]

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34. Cape of Good Hope, p. 163.
35. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 88.
36. Philip, Researches, v. 1, pp. 204-6; Sales, Mission Stations, p. 88.
37. Records, v. 30, p. 132, Philip to LMS Directors, November 1826.
38. Travels in the Interior, v. 1, p. 377.
39. Die Trekboer, p. 61.

the failure lay in not turning it into a regular industry. Since the lack of access to regular markets was a factor of such importance on the frontier, explaining the failure of farmers to grow more grain and garden produce among other things, it may be that Barrow's idea regarding fairs could have made a significant difference. It may be mentioned that bees' wax also had its uses, aside from candle-making: Irons tells how Khoikhoi shepherds and herdsmen, when they found honey, often kept the comb until they came to town 'when it is exchanged at the harness-maker's shops for waste pieces of leather, which they manufacture into rough shoes called Feldschoon'.[40]

'Native Teachers'

Perhaps it is fitting to end with the special group of men who qualified in the eyes of their missionaries to act as lay preachers or 'native teachers' for the propagation of the gospel. The views of van der Kemp, cited by Philip, were as follows:

> "Some of our converted Hottentots," he observes, "show a remarkable zeal in exhorting others to faith in Christ. In them this zeal is evidently an extraordinary gift of God's spirit, and their exhortations are attended with a not less remarkable success. Their external circumstances, as well as their natural disposition, seldom permit them to be at home; and it is especially poverty and want of food which compel them to wander about the country, working for their bread. In this manner they are, by necessity, itinerant preachers; but as the same necessity excludes them from instruction in reading, writing, scriptural doctrine, &c., their arguments are uniformly taken from spiritual experience, and want that strength which scripture affords; and in my eye, they are valiant champions, but without swords."[1]

Pointing out that such men, if trained, would cause 'less expense to the society' than missionaries brought from

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40. W. Irons, The Settlers Guide to the CGH and Colony of Natal, pp. 176-7.

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1. Researches, v. 1, p. 110.

Europe, he added

> "If they are to be instructed, they must stay a couple of years at home. They may live chiefly by means of cattle, and partly by exercising some mechanical art in their intermediate hours; though it will be a hard matter to dispose a lazy Hottentot to such employments, no less than to keep him at home. The name of missionary must be avoided, which would attract the attention of enemies, and be a hinderance to their work. They ought to be merely members, or officers of the church at Bethelsdorp, - as to the rest, private Hottentots, though, in fact, ministers of the gospel."[2]

As mission work among the Hottentots matured, attention was inevitably directed increasingly to the education of suitable men among them to enter the ministry.[3] But in this first decade the participation by Khoikhoi consisted mainly of the assumption of lesser duties in the administration of the mission church and school, plus informal proselytising of the sort described by van der Kemp.

Campbell and Latrobe each had experience of these preachers. Cupido Kakkerlak, a deacon in the church at Bethelsdorp who went as Campbell's driver,[4] preached on the farms where they stopped, to gatherings of as many as sixty people,[5] and also among the San,[6] Griquas,[7] and Kora.[8] Sometimes he and Hendrik Boesak together 'gave exhortations'.[9] On one occasion Cupido

> illustrated the immortality of the soul by alluding to the serpent, who, by going between two branches

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2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. See Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, pp. 49-51, 217 and 264-5.
4. 1813, p. 24.
5. Ibid., pp. 47, 48, 49, 50, 66 and 122.
6. Ibid., pp. 150 and 155-6.
7. Ibid., pp. 163 and 283-4.
8. Ibid., p. 279.
9. Ibid., pp. 80 and 130.

> of a bush which press against each other, strips himself once a year of his skin. "When we find the skin," said he, "we do not call it the serpent; no, it is only its skin: neither do we say the serpent is dead; no, for we know he is alive, and has only cast his skin." The serpent he compared to the soul, and the skin to the body of man.[10]

Cupido Kakkerlak and Hendrik Boesak, along with others such as Gerrit Samson and Joachim Vogel, became lay leaders, or deacons, at Bethelsdorp. Sales writes, 'I have not discovered when the first deacon was chosen' but evidently Samson was a deacon in 1806, Cupido in 1807.[11] The first deaconess was Mrs. Smit.[12] From 1803 Jan Stoffels had charge of the poor fund at the mission.[13] It was the lay preachers who visited Stuurman's kraal, which 'might eventually have become the site of a second congregation, but the community was broken up in 1809'.[14]

These lay preachers were also interpreters, helping overcome problems due to the language differences at Bethelsdorp and, for that matter, everywhere on the frontier where they itinerated. The Gonas in particular were unfamiliar with Dutch, so preaching was held in their language and van der Kemp 'printed an outline of the Christian faith, in the form of a catechism, in Gona'.[15] Campbell copied out 'The Lord's Prayer in the Hottentot Language'[16] while Pringle believed that he heard the Hottentot language spoken when, newly arrived in the eastern districts, he called at Bethelsdorp.[17]

It cannot be imagined that these men received any remuneration for the duties they undertook and possibly they

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10. Ibid., pp. 283-4.
11. Mission Stations, p. 38.
12. Ibid., pp. 38-9.
13. Ibid., p. 39.
14. Ibid., p. 37.
15. Ibid., p. 29.
16. 1813, pp. 388-9.
17. Narrative, p. 15.

were content with the prestige such advancement brought to them. Kakkerlak, it will be remembered, was a sawyer by trade and Boesak was 'a well-known elephant hunter'.[18] Even many years later, when a Hottentot named 'Boosman' (probably Bootsman Stuurman, another brother of Klaas) was sent among the Thembu, it was

> without gold or silver, purse or Script ... without a waggon and with only about a pail of mealies and 1 lb of coffee ... I shall never forget his leaving us, trudging after the chief with merely his blanket on his shoulder, singing and weeping as he went.[19]

Prospects

It will be remembered that the founding of Bethelsdorp had been but one of several innovations aimed at attracting the Khoikhoi away from their alliance with the Xhosa and restoring peace on the frontier. Inevitably the mission station introduced new factors into the labour situation. The well known complaint of the farmers that it deprived them of much needed labour was countered by the missionaries who pointed to the many members absent at any given time because employed on the farms. A second factor was the attempt to prepare the Khoikhoi for an independent and self-supporting existence by means of mechanical skills and trades as well as the exploitation of available resources. The avowed priority of the missionaries was instruction in Christianity and the work of conversion but van der Kemp had informed the government that 'Our intention is to discourage idleness and laziness, and to have the individuals in our institution, as much as circumstances shall admit, employed in different useful occupations'.[1]

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18. Mission Stations, p. 49.
19. D. Williams, 'The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799-1853', Ph.D Dissertation, Witwatersrand University, 1959, p. 212, citing Read to Philip, 16/9/1839.

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1. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 16.

As has been stated earlier, it is not possible to enter into the subject of Khoikhoi 'character' in this paper, nor into the question of cultural dominance and adaptation beyond the examples flowing from this topic. That van der Kemp saw Khoikhoi 'idleness and laziness' as something to combat while opposing coercion, to get them onto the farms or into military service, is an indication of the complexities. What system of values may be attributed to the Khoikhoi? Was the work ethic entirely alien? Were they - some if not all - in the process of adapting to it? Did the missionaries attach importance to the Khoikhoi's value system or seek to apply principles of justice and humanity grounded entirely on western systems of thought? What criteria apply when measuring 'progress'? Wilson warns that 'Those who talk about the process of change commonly make judgements of value, often without realising that they are doing so'.[2] Yet one must attempt to describe this process. In the present instance, the intention of the missionaries to foster industry, both as a virtue in itself and as a 'means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare of the Society, and the Colony at large',[3] may appear as the yardstick for measuring 'progress'. But it must be stated at the outset that the attitude of the Khoikhoi regarding the white man's economic practices may have been more important for the success or failure of the missionaries' projects than all the other circumstances (some of which have been hinted at already) which are cited below.

First was the absence of steady markets, a problem experienced by enterprising individuals of other classes as well as by those seeking to promote the industry of the Khoikhoi. Referring to Swellendam Paravicini said, 'It is to be regretted that this town is too far removed from the capital to bring its produce to market',[4] and even non-perishable goods presented a problem when they originated

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2. 'Hunters and Herders', OHSA, v. 1, p. 73.
3. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 16.
4. Reize, p. 223.

on the more distant frontier. A need might be perceived and the means in some measure found to meet it, yet the distances separating craftsmen from customers be so great that there was no way for the potentially profitable situation to be regularly exploited. Similarly a resource might be at hand, and the personnel to exploit it, yet the enterprise lack incentive due to the difficulties in conveying the product, obtained with howsoever much hard work, to market. Or, in the case of transport riding (described by Sales as 'an especially transient type of work')[5] there was the factor of irregular demand. The objection of the missionaries to this new species of nomadism (inherent in salt marketing and the timber trade as well) invites investigation: did the Khoikhoi perhaps favour such occupations for this very reason?

Secondly, circumstances at Bethelsdorp, both in manpower and money, were at this stage extremely straitened. The few missionaries could hardly cope with all the calls upon their energies which besides the church and the work of conversion, the school and the beginnings of industrial activity, included the demands by government for services, record-keeping and ordinary correspondence. Moreover, missionaries were sometimes unavoidably absent from the mission altogether: between April 1805 and January 1806 both van der Kemp and Read were required by the Batavians to stay in Cape Town.[6] Whenever trades showed a profit this money had to be used to buy more materials, perhaps with a little over for such pressing needs as the support of the aged and infirm (likely to be the most permanent element at the mission).

Thirdly, insecurity and fear persisted throughout the decade. At the beginning Barrow believed that the Khoikhoi were in a position to wrest their independence from the

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5. Mission Stations, p. 50.
6. Ibid., p. 30.

Boers, to whom they were superior in numbers and courage, saying 'it is their own fault if they do not'.[7] It was within their power, he thought, to force the Boers to abandon a large portion of Graaff-Reinet. Cuyler was certainly extremely nervous about the connections between the Bethelsdorp people and the Xhosa, whether through old acquaintance or through contacts arising out of hunting and trade. Distrust and anxiety on this scale inevitably resulted in attempts to control the movement of the Khoikhoi. For them the opportunities de Mist had foreseen for 'good shots among the settlers and Hottentots' to enrich themselves by means of hides, furs and tusks obtained by hunting[8] were more or less negated.

Already their freedom was severely circumscribed through the necessity to carry passes when moving about the colony. On 6 May 1809 Collins wrote to van der Kemp regarding the case of Joachim Vogel, one of the lay preachers referred to above who had been apprehended with an unsigned pass, and explained the arrangements by which he had been permitted eventually to proceed.[9] Itinerating was a hindrance to the personal development missions hoped to promote, yet the necessity to comply with such strict measures in order to conduct normal business was a hindrance of another sort, and one which the missionaries did not cease to complain of until Ordinance 50 (of 1828) was achieved.

Again, there was the question of land, for according to Philip the landlessness of the Khoikhoi was a grave impediment to their progress in trades. Pointing out that the government desired Khoikhoi to learn trades and become industrious, he commented on the reluctance to make further grants to the missions:

> it is stated, that land is not to be allotted to the Hottentots, but still they are to be encouraged to engage in trades and handicrafts. Now it is well known that the only property a Hottentot, on first joining an institution, can

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7. Travels, v. 2, p. 75.
8. Memorandum, p. 205.
9. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 395.

> value, or even desire, is cattle, and that, of course, he can only have by possessing land; if the government, therefore, deem it injudicious to allot any land to Hottentots, excepting for the support of the more aged and infirm, how is a missionary to excite that Hottentot to exertion? ... hence it is that the government have themselves defeated their intention, of discouraging idleness, of inducing the Hottentots to practise handicrafts and trades, and of rearing a supply of labourers.[10]

There is yet another factor which was present in however incipient a form in this first decade, namely the problem of competition with white craftsmen (as well as with whites exploiting the same resources such as salt, aloes and timber). In this century Margery Perham contrasted the prospects for trainees in South Africa with those of the Katanga Province of the Congo. In the latter there was a definite prospect of invading 'the preserves of skilled mechanics' whereas

> I could not help comparing in my mind what I had seen of technical instruction in South Africa where the missions try to run workshops to instruct the boys. There is in all of them an atmosphere of unreality, a lack of vitality, because there is no certainty that the boys will be able to continue that work but every certainty that they will never be able to go very far with it.[11]

In these early days the colour bar was not official policy but the sentiment behind it was present as a precursor. The process by which economic stratification came to coincide with racial stratification was already underway. Early evidence of this came with the 1820 settlers who provided a new market for Khoikhoi with skills, services or goods to offer but proved 'not an unmixed blessing':

> In the long run, ... economic competition with the whites meant that the possibility for success in the artisan class, the great goal Dr. Philip held out to the people, could only

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10. Researches, v. 1, p. 376.

11. Margery Perham, African Apprenticeship, p. 223.

> be achieved in two ways: either by 'passing' into the white group ... or working for wages so much lower than the whites were willing to do that one still got some trade.[12]

Yet another factor was the widespread suspicion concerning missionaries involved in trade. The most violent tirade was that by Yonge against the Baviaanskloof missionaries whom he accused of selling 'the Produce raised by the Hottentots Labour for their own advantage', of disposing of 'bad knives' at exorbitant prices, and of importing things such as ironmongery for the benefit of the Khoikhoi who in fact 'never hear a Word of them'.[13] The missionary William Edwards who had come to the Cape with van der Kemp was dismissed by the Society, within two years of arrival, on a charge of private trading despite his protests.[14] Burchell believed that certain missionaries had engaged in ivory trading for their own profit.[15] Justified or unjustified, allegations like this only deepened the distrust and ill-will which many bore towards missions and their works.

Virtually no evidence has come to light regarding remuneration received by artisans at this period.[16] In 1812 it was said that blacksmiths, carpenters and plumbers, if they came to the Cape, could expect to earn £2-2-0 per week[17] but this did not necessarily apply to the frontier - or to the Khoikhoi. Perhaps the first two had at all stages the most dependable livings for Philip wrote, 'Blacksmiths and carpenters may find a return for their labour in the existing state of things', but not the ordinary worker.[18]

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12. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 82.
13. Records, v. 3, p. 339, Yonge to H. Dundas, 22/10/1800.
14. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 13.
15. Travels in the Interior, v. 2, p. 399.
16. Another change stemming from the arrival of the British settlers and the effort to attract more immigrants was attention given to wages earned by the various classes of worker.
17. Records, v. 8, p. 358, Rennie to Willimott, 10/3/1812.
18. Researches, v. 1, p. 366.

Nothing has been said of the wages missionaries paid Khoikhoi personally employed by them but there is evidence that they tried to set a good example. On 15 December 1801 van der Kemp engaged Abel Franciscus for one year at Rds. 24, also Jan Speelman for six months at Rds. 8, while on 18 September 1809 Kicherer (by then the clergyman at Graaff-Reinet) engaged Klaas Pieterse for a year for Rds. 36.[19] Missionaries also employed Khoikhoi on a short-term basis whenever there were special jobs to do: Sales cites van der Kemp, in 1802, as stating, '"We pay to a Hottentot for a days work, one shilling (two shillings, Dutch) besides his victuals"'[20]

There is perhaps a tendency, under the influence of hindsight, to concentrate on negative factors when in fact the first decade seemed full of promise to those offering and experiencing the new opportunities then becoming available. Even while Cradock was defining a limited role for missions he revealed the optimism of the age with regard to the benefits to be derived from

> the introduction of Trades and Handicrafts throughout all classes, female as well as male, that would acquire money, and the means to purchase not only subsistence, but the decent comforts of life in proper habitation, apparel, and articles of the first necessity.[21]

According to Sales, some of the developments set in train in the first decade 'increased considerably' during the second,[22] and the 1820s were years of success and hope at Bethelsdorp, seeming to need only the repeal of the labour laws of 1809 and 1812 to usher in a new age of progress.

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19. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 27.
20. Mission Stations, p. 17.
21. Records, v. 9, p. 350, Cradock to Campbell, 10/2/1814.
22. Mission Stations, p. 71.

CHAPTER VII

MOBILITY: SOME INDICATORS, 1800-1809

In their interesting 'Introduction to the Project on Social and Occupational Mobility[1] Among the Coloured People of South Africa' (which deals with the period 1920-70) the authors suggest three factors which must be taken into account in an historical approach to the subject: 'economic growth, the changing demographic position, and public policy'.[2] At first glance it appears that, for the purposes of this paper, such phenomena as the founding of a mission station may require the consideration of yet other 'factors'. However, one soon remembers that the establishment of Bethelsdorp was in fact an aspect of public policy. Indeed, of the factors suggested, public policy would seem to have been the most significant but reference will be made to all three.

The first decade of the nineteenth century, so far as the eastern districts were concerned, can hardly be characterised as a period of economic growth. Important steps had been taken by the authorities during the first British occupation to abolish 'monopolies and restrictions on internal trade', and the Batavians 'followed on similar lines'. de Mist's proposals, cited in the introduction to Chapter VI, were examples of their 'interest in developing the Colony commercially in its own right as a colony of settlement'.[3] But the frontier still suffered from the 'Troubles' which had ushered in the century. Though the Batavians succeeded in 'giving the frontier a respite at a crucial time'[4] they did not succeed in eliminating the tensions which hindered enterprise. It will be remembered that though Barrow had

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1. Mobility is defined as 'upwards and downwards movement within identifiable hierarchies in society', Beinart and van der Merwe, 'Social and Occupational Mobility', p. 4.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. T.R.H. Davenport, 'The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony', OHSA, v. 1, p. 288.
4. Freund, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 645.

suggested the production of salted provisions as highly suitable for Algoa Bay, nothing was attempted until 1812, at the end of the Fourth Frontier War, when the Xhosa appeared to have been subdued.[5] Similarly with the farmers: in Uitenhage District their morale was at a low ebb by 1810 and Cuyler believed that 'from their proneness to idleness, and from the easy way in which they have acquired their numerous flocks, their only property', they would rather give up their flocks than go on tending them without servants, and going out on patrols, being convinced they would lose everything anyway in the end. Only a conclusive victory over the 'Kaffers', to be achieved by adequate government action, could rally them.[6] As for Graaff-Reinet district, Janssens had found it (this was before Uitenhage was taken from it) in a bad way, engaged still in 'perpetual strife with the Bosjesmans' on its northwest borders.[7] When Collins visited Graaff-Reinet in 1808 it was then 'a mere village, but the seat of government of the then almost boundless district of the same name, which contained no other spot deserving even the name of village'.[8] Across the length and breadth of the frontier districts, the first few years of the century were spent more in retrieving losses and achieving security than in producing visible economic growth with its concomitant opportunities for mobility and advancement.

Certain developments did take place which provided some measure of stimulus to the economy. One was the maintenance of the fort at Algoa Bay, whose soldiers provided an outlet for produce and certain goods made at Bethelsdorp. But with this in mind Cuyler was nevertheless explicit

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5. See above p. 162.
6. Records, v. 21, p. 337, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
7. Stockenstrom, Autobiography, v. 1, p. 27.
8. Ibid., p. 32.

on the difficulties facing the farmers:

> what can they do with their produce, say of corn and wine; to ride it to Cape Town, it would not pay the expences, and short of Cape Town, at present, they could not dispose of it, there being no market in this neighbourhood, except for the supply to the few Troops now here.[9]

His district, he insisted, could as yet afford the majority no 'other means of support than what they must and can obtain in Breeding Cattle'.[10] A 'growth point' was the new village of Uitenhage which, to start with, required a drostdy, a prison and other buildings, both public and private. In 1806 the suggestion was made that a large granary be established at Algoa Bay, or on the Zwartkops River, but with the curious proviso that the farmers 'be paid at Cape Town' so that the Receiver of Land Revenues could 'deduct the arrears of Rent due to Govt. and in which they wilfully fail every year'.[11] This apparently came to nothing and the next reference to a granary in any way convenient to the frontiersmen had to do with the restoration of the one at Mossel Bay by Cradock.[12] Another scheme which could have provided opportunities for some was van Hogendorp's plan to develop the Tzitzikama forest and form a village at Plettenberg Bay. Though Dutch immigrants were to be the backbone of the community it was his plan to 'attract the free Hottentots and to civilize them'.[13] This plan also failed to materialise, for lack of official sanction.

'Stagnant' is probably the wrong word for a decade in which a new commercial spirit was taking root in the colony, but on the frontier such changes were as yet scarcely perceptible. The Boers would not have seen their situation as

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9. Records, v. 21, pp. 336-7, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
10. Ibid., p. 339.
11. Ibid., v. 6, p. 72, Baumgardt to Windham.
12. Ibid., v. 10, p. 97, Report of the 1813 Commission of Circuit.
13. Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the Turn of the 18th Century, p. 72.

one of economic growth so long as the Zuurveld remained 'uninhabited',[14] - and uninhabitable because of the threat posed by the Xhosa. This climate of insecurity affected prospects for the Khoikhoi as well. Neumark depicts the decade as a low point between the 'general prosperity' of 1795-9[15] and the renewed prosperity from 1810 which accompanied the increase in British troops.[16]

Similarly, the more conspicuous changes in the demographic position lay in the future, though the fall-off in Khoikhoi labourers is demonstrable. Considerable effort was made at the beginning of this paper to establish the numbers, distribution and ethnic composition of the frontier population in 1800. In the course of the decade, Uitenhage was carved from Graaff-Reinet. When Cuyler took charge of Uitenhage in 1806 there were about 600 Boers in the district.[17] By 1809 they had increased to 648. In the same period, adult male Khoikhoi had decreased from 595 to 464,[18] whereas the same category of slaves had increased from 186 to 311. Khoikhoi men, women and children taken together numbered 1 877 in 1809.[19] In Graaff-Reinet District that year there were 1 272 tax-paying Boers, 1 328 male adult Khoikhoi and 830 male adult slaves. Taking these figures together with those of Uitenhage one finds 1 920 Boers, 1 792 Hottentots and 1 141 slaves (in each case, male adults only) in an area somewhat larger than the original district of Graaff-Reinet. Thus, for a comparison of the manpower situation:

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14. Records, v. 21, p. 338, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/6/1810.
15. Economic Influences, p. 109.
16. Ibid., pp. 125-7.
17. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 16/5/1806. According to the 1806 census there were 575, Records, v. 6, p. 75.
18. Figures for 1806, Records, v. 6, p. 75; figures for 1809, Ibid., v. 7, p. 239. The reliability of the figures becomes questionable when it is seen that in 1810 the number of male adult Khoikhoi was 679, Ibid., p. 477.
19. Besides the 464 males: 419 adult females, 624 juvenile males, 370 juvenile females.

	Taxpaying Boers	Adult Male Khoikhoi	Adult Male Slaves
1800[20]	1 053	2 051[21]	462
1809	1 920	1 792	1 141

Certainly it appears that the Boers were bound to be painfully aware of a shortage of Khoikhoi labourers if these figures are roughly accurate. As we know they tended to blame the missions (in this case Bethelsdorp), at least in part. Yet we find van der Kemp, in a letter of January 1809, providing the following account of the population of Bethelsdorp:

> if we consider that the number of Hottentots belonging to the institution, since the year 1802, is 1 267 (including women and children); from these, if we deduct 300, who are now at Bethelsdorp, about 50, who are in military service, a few who died or lately emigrated to Cafferland &c., the remaining 800 will be found in the service of the boors.[22]

If this was so then 800 of the 1877 Khoikhoi men, women and children reflected in the 1809 census of Uitenhage District were actually registered at Bethelsdorp though finding a livelihood by means of working for the Boers.

To counteract the shortage of Khoikhoi labour it is obvious that some, probably wealthier Boers acquired additional slaves. But we know that the employment of Xhosa labour also rose during this period.[23] The continuing presence of Xhosa within the Colony was a serious worry to Cuyler, as were the numbers of Gona. The ethnic omelet proved impossible to unscramble: Khoikhoi and Bastards had married both Xhosa and Gona women so that when these last

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20. CA, Opgaafrolle, J. 118.
21. It will be remembered that in 1800 Khoikhoi males were counted together regardless of age. The figure 2051 represents roughly 57% (see fn. 7, p. 29) of the total Khoikhoi male population in Graaff-Reinet in 1800, i.e. 3598.
22. Philip, Researches, v. 1, pp. 121-2.
23. See above p. 38.

two were ordered to leave the Colony the Khoikhoi and Bastard men went with them. This was also undesirable so it was necessary to permit that 'women of these nations who are now the wives of Bastards or Hottentots should reside in the Colony, but they are not to remain in the Districts of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage; and such connections are in future prohibited'.[24] This must have sounded futile even as it was written and when, shortly after, Cuyler had an appeal from a Veld Cornet as to who was and was not a Gona he could only reply, 'It is impossible for me to define who are, or are not Ghonnans, by letter, you must in this case act to the best of your judgment'.[25] In Graaff-Reinet, San absorbed onto the farms apparently came in time to be regarded as Khoikhoi for in 1807, when the landdrost (Stockenstrom, Sr.) begged that no more recruitment for the Cape Corps take place there, he did so on the grounds that 'the Hottentots at Graaff Reinet being besides mostly generated from the Bosjesmen, and only trained to be Herdsmen, they are therefore not only unqualified for the Military Service, but even hold it in detestation'.[26]

From all these sources - slave, Xhosa, Gona, San - substitutes for Khoikhoi labour were gathered. It was asserted that in Graaff-Reinet, between 1804 and 1811, the white population doubled, the slaves doubled also, but the Khoikhoi increased by one-quarter only.[27] Altogether the decade seems to have been characterised by a steady increase in population, with the Khoikhoi lagging behind the rest in rate of increase; also, by a steady process of ethnic interbreeding,

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24. CA, UIT 15/1, Circular to Veld Cornets, April 1809.
25. Ibid., Cuyler to V.C. Muller, 5/5/1809.
26. Records, v. 6, p. 183, Enclosure in Caledon to Castlereagh, 25/7/1807.
27. Ibid., v. 19, p. 249, Report on Roads by Major Holloway, Dec. 1824.

which was transforming 'Hottentots' from Khoikhoi into coloured people. Dramatic changes in the demographic position came in 1820 with the British settlers.

In the area of public policy there were significant innovations. The Third Frontier War resulted not in regained rights to the land nor independence for the Khoikhoi - an outcome which Barrow regarded (speaking before the event) as 'their own fault'.[28] It brought instead the registering of at least some contracts, the founding of a mission station for Khoikhoi, the settlement of two captains with their followers on loan places, and recruitment of certain others into the Cape Corps. All these aspects of policy have been dealt with, though something will be said of the allotment of loan places below. The British scarcely had time to see their ideas germinate before the Batavians arrived. They, like the British, fixed 'Blame for the Khoi rising ... on the cruelty of the white settlers'[29] at the same time that they took for granted 'the primacy of a white-operated colonial economy'.[30] Actuated by two concerns - protection for the Khoikhoi and protection of white economic and political interests - they subordinated the first to the second. van der Kemp tried to open Janssens' eyes to the way this worked in practice:

> you are still uninformed of the true situation of things in this country, or at least in the Uitenhage district. Not perhaps, and here and there, but very certainly and pretty nearly in all parts, does this oppression prevail; nor is it only particular inhabitants but the landdrosts themselves, from whom the oppressed ought to find protection, who make themselves guilty in this respect ... The landdrost, Alberti, has thought fit to oblige Hottentots who were free, and settled here with their wives and children, to hire themselves to the inhabitants, and with the violence of corporal punishment, by armed inhabitants, to take away

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28. Travels, v. 2, p. 75.
29. Freund, 'Eastern Frontier', JAH, v. 13, No. 4, 1972, p. 632.
30. Ibid., p. 633.

> out of their houses at Bethelsdorp others who had declared themselves not inclined to devote themselves to the military service. Hottentots, who (according to your own words) are free born, and on the ground which originally belonged to them, should be able to find freedom, security and the means of subsistence![31]

It was hoped that the Khoikhoi could be 'contented', but *imperative* that they should be 'servile' to serve the interests of the graziers in the east.

When the British returned in 1806 they continued to apply the systems initiated by themselves and developed by the Batavians. Contracts were to be registered according to the proclamation of 18 April 1803 and landdrosts were to carry out their duties in accordance with the regulations for the Administration of the Country Districts of 23 October 1805. The primacy of white interests was taken for granted, as before, and the kind of 'improvement' desired in the Khoisan was seen as possible through a prior improvement in the condition of the Boers:

> An amelioration in the state of the Hottentots and Bosjesmen has been a consideration no doubt with every Governor. Orders after orders have been repeated to ensure their better treatment. Missionaries have lent their aid, but unhappily the same state of barbarity which characterized these people for centuries still remains, and though the temporary act of a Governor may for the moment by relieving their wants bribe them into quiet, still any radical improvement in their situation must be effected through the Country inhabitants at large, and I conceive the most important step to their reformation is by an improvement in the morals and habits of the peasantry.[32]

Whatever course of action might have been desirable to government, or desired by the Khoisan at this juncture, it is explicit in the foregoing that degrees of adaptation to changed circumstances and new opportunities had not received recognition: all were said to be sunk in 'the same state of barbarity' as before.

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31. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 32, van der Kemp to Janssens, 19/4/1805.

32. Records, v. 7, p. 167, Caledon to Castlereagh, 12/10/1809.

Other aspects of public policy, especially the restrictions on freedom of movement, have been dealt with earlier. The pass system to which reference has been made reached its culmination in the proclamation of 1 November 1809, which is where this paper leaves off. This applied to movement within the colony. Over and above this were the restraints on trade or hunting beyond the frontier: permits were required of all classes of inhabitant to venture over the border but, in the case of the Khoikhoi, fear of any connection with the Xhosa meant such requests were regarded with apprehension and generally refused. No doubt this was flouted, and also punished if found out. The reduction of captains to a role consonant with the requirements of government for recruitment and the administration of justice also culminated in the 1809 proclamation. The principle that courts should be open to Khoikhoi for equal justice gained ground but reality was rather different. The inadequacy of the administrative machinery made this inevitable, however good intentions might be. Even after Ordinance 50, so it is alleged, 'a dual standard of justice based largely upon race and culture' was applied.[33]

The decision to grant land to rebel captains is one of the more interesting policy developments of the period. As early as 29 January 1800 Dundas had written to Maynier requesting him to point out farms in Graaff-Reinet where they could be settled.[34] As has been stated before, only two captains, Klaas Stuurman (soon succeeded by his brother David) and Piet, were given land by the Batavians. Thereafter, it appears, government took little interest in the affairs of these captains. Stuurman's kraal became an outstation of Bethelsdorp, visited first by the lay preachers

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33. L.C. Duly, 'A Revisit with the Cape's Hottentot Ordinance of 1828', Studies in Economics and Economic History, ed. by M. Kooy, p. 41.

34. Records, v. 21, p. 392, Evidence of Maynier, Report of Commission of Inquiry, 25/5/1825.

and later on by the missionaries. In 1808 the first baptism had taken place there.[35] But neighbours charged Stuurman with harbouring Xhosa, also with refusing to give up members of the village whose continued service was demanded by a farmer. This last was the occasion for capturing Stuurman, through a stratagem, early in 1809. In late April he and three others were marched to Cape Town[36] where he stood trial and was sent to Robben Island. Not long after, Stuurman escaped and made his way through the colony to the frontier where he joined 'Congo'; in 1816 he was recaptured and sent, in 1823, as a convict to New South Wales where he died. The kraal was broken up, some people escaping among the Xhosa, others taking service with the farmers or going to Bethelsdorp. The whole episode was fraught with complications, regarding the disposal of cattle left behind by those who fled,[37] disposal of the simple structure erected there as a shelter for visiting missionaries,[38] the acquisition of the land by Cuyler himself and the alleged pressing of some of the Stuurman children into his personal service.[39] The experiment was not repeated.

Aspects of public policy and practice which kept the Khoikhoi landless until the Kat River Settlement in 1829 have been dealt with in Chapter III. The alleged effect of landlessness on the practice of trades has also been cited.[40] Sales laments, with reason, the fact that van der Kemp; when he appealed to Maynier for '"a piece of ground given to [the Khoi] by Government as their own"', did not 'say what size piece of land might be adequate, where it was to be, and to

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35. Sales, Mission Stations, p. 37.
36. CA, UIT 15/1, Cuyler to Capt. Ord, 24/4/1809.
37. Ibid., Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 4/9/1809; UIT 10/1, Colonial Secretary to Cuyler, 2/12/1809.
38. Ibid., Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 7/7/1809; UIT 10/1, Colonial Secretary to Cuyler, 20/9/1809.
39. Pringle, 'The British Government at the CGH', New Monthly Magazine, Jan. 1828, p. 169.
40. See above pp. 183-4.

whom the title would be given'.[41] Much would have depended on the answers to these questions. Whether or not the granting of a loan place to a (seemingly) small group, as in the case of Stuurman, appeared to him a workable plan is also unknown, but it is clear that the missionaries took a continuing interest in the welfare of the settlement which the Cape government did not. So far as Britain was concerned, Duly stresses that solicitude for the aborigines was focused on alleged attempts to enslave them rather than 'the need to include the Cape Coloured, Hottentot and Bantu in a government-sponsored land system'. In fact, reforms affecting the Hottentots and these other groups 'were projects considered outside the context of land policy'.[42]

The first decade of the nineteenth century was in a sense a high point as regards diversification of Khoikhoi occupations. Traditional skills were still everywhere in demand while a deliberate policy of introducing new skills was found not only at Bethelsdorp but also in the augmented Cape Corps. The picture with regard to mobility was less promising. None of the three factors said to be critical for social and occupational mobility was auspicious. Economic growth was at a low ebb in the eastern districts. The demographic position was also unfavourable: the demand for Khoikhoi labour to perform menial tasks was apparently insatiable while the ratio of the dominant to the subservient class meant that at no stage were there insufficient of the former to fill intermediate posts, that might pave the way for promotion.[43] Hindrances to the normal process by which

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41. Mission Stations, p. 15, citing Journal of van der Kemp, 29/10/1801.

42. L.C. Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844, p. 186.

43. The fact that 'caffre constables' were usually convicts would have militated against promotion within the prison system even without other barriers, such as race.

'Artisan occupations often provide the channel for mobility into the employer class' have been discussed.[44] The role of public policy has also been explored, with emphasis on the gulf between profession and practice resulting from contradictory goals. At the same time, 'occupational criteria cannot alone provide the key to social stratification and mobility'[45] - a fact which inevitably broaches considerations of Khoikhoi character, cultural rivalry and the sources of discrimination. When these are taken into account it may be that neither the hopefulness nor the despair expressed by well-disposed commentators during the decade was soundly based. A separate study might bring to light convincing indicators of the directions sought by Khoikhoi themselves, just as the sources have yielded unexpected wealth with regard to occupations.

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44. Beinart and van der Merwe, 'Social and Occupational Mobility', p. 6. See final pages of Chapter VI above.

45. Ibid., p. 3.

APPENDIX

THE THIRD FRONTIER WAR[1]

1799 March - Ndlambe crossed Fish River; many Zuurveld farmers fled (p. 57).

May - Khoikhoi who had deserted farms formed bands under captains such as Klaas Stuurman, Hans Trompetter and Boesak, allying selves with Xhosa (p. 59).

July - combined Khoikhoi/Xhosa force crossed Gamtoos River and drove Boers out of Longkloof; on the 29th, Landdrost Bresler 'reported that the Hottentots and Kaffirs were in possession of nearly the whole district of Graaff-Reinet' and 'nearly all the horses, horned cattle and sheep were in the hands of the Xosas and Hottentots'. (p. 60)

August - Khoikhoi/Xhosa force attacked military camp at Ferreira's farm near Algoa Bay (p. 61).

16 Oct. - end to hostilities announced; Khoikhoi/Xhosa retained Zuurveld (p. 62).

1800 - 'The upper field-cornetcies were again occupied by farmers' (p. 86) but country adjacent to the Xhosa and Khoikhoi kraals was virtually abandoned.

1801 July - farmers 'who had formerly occupied farms in the Zuurveld, together with those of Bruintjes Hoogte and the fieldcornetcy of Zwartkops River' arrived at Drostdy and demanded removal of Maynier.[2] (p. 87)

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1. All page references cited in this chronological account are in Theal, History, v. 5.
2. Maynier was appointed Commissioner of Stellenbosch, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet in December, 1799.

Oct. - second attempt on Drostdy by rebel Boers (p. 88).

Nov. - 'Bands of Hottentots were marching up and down' and 'the country between Algoa Bay and the drostdy quite deserted' (p. 89); van der Kemp was invited to settle with Hottentots near Algoa Bay (p. 91).

1802 Feb. - Commandant Tjaart van der Walt with 66 men attacked kraal at Roodewal, across Sundays River (p. 92); Klaas Stuurman led counter-attack and recovered cattle and guns (p. 93).

May - all Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet farmers required to take field against Khoikhoi/Xhosa forces who had 'recently been unusually active' so that many farmers 'had been robbed of the whole of their cattle and movable property' (p. 94). Klaas Stuurman asked to know conditions[3] for submission (van der Kemp acting as intermediary) but declined those offered. (p. 95)

June-Aug. - burgher forces attacked Khoikhoi/Xhosa along Sundays River. On 8 August Commandant van der Walt shot dead; burgher forces dispersed (p. 96).

Sept. - Maynier persuaded 'seven petty captains' of the Khoikhoi to submit; they and their people 'conducted overland' to Cape Town (p. 96); 'The Kafirs and Hottentots had now the country along the coast from Fish River to Plettenberg's Bay entirely at their mercy' (p. 97).

Oct. - band of Khoikhoi under David Stuurman overtook fugitives en route to Knysna and murdered several; 'All farms as far west as Kaaiman's River, near the present village of George, were then laid waste' (p. 97)

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3. Theal describes these conditions as 'very favourable', History, v. 9, p. 438.

1803 Jan. - large commando assembled (p. 97).

20 Feb. - Xhosa agreed to end hostilities but remained in Zuurveld; Khoikhoi agreed to 'abstain from vagrancy and robbery, on condition of not being attacked' (p. 98).

May-June - General Janssens met Klaas Stuurman; Stuurman given tract of land on Gamtoos River; Boesak also settled down (p. 125); some Khoikhoi settled under van der Kemp near Algoa Bay; Janssens met Xhosa chiefs as well; Fish River declared boundary but Ndlambe and others remained in Zuurveld (pp. 127-8).

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