

MISSIONS AND EMANCIPATION IN THE SOUTH WESTERN CAPE :
A CASE STUDY OF GROENEKLOOF (MAMRE), 1838-1852.

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ABSTRACT

While the past decade has seen a proliferation of studies of Cape slavery, there has been very little research directed at the immediate post-emancipation period. This study seeks to examine the consequences of emancipation for the former slaves who settled at the Moravian mission at Groenekloof. This was situated in the wheat-producing Malmesbury district of the Cape Colony.

The dissertation takes the form of a case study of nearly 700 people and focusses on the period from December 1838 to December 1852. Mission records are used as a way of identifying the origins of newcomers to the mission as well as of the social groups in which they arrived.

The structure and ethos of the mission is explored as a context of the new lives constructed by the former slaves, and aspirations of ex-slaves concerning marriage and family life are examined.

In addition to mission records, court records and government commission reports are used in an investigation of the working lives of the former slaves. It becomes evident that mission-based casual labour rather than peasant production provided their main form of income. The impact of emancipation on the working lives of women is touched on, and levels of poverty and wealth in the Groenekloof community assessed.

Dependence on casual labour meant the continuation of

ties with colonial farmers, some of whom benefited from the reservoir of mission labour in close proximity to them. The nature of the former slaves' working lives on the farms and relationship with their masters is examined.

Finally, consideration is given to the significant number of newcomers who lost or abandoned their base at the mission. Personal, economic and political motives for this are considered. It is concluded that the Groenekloof community, comprising both Khoisan and former slaves, was forged as members together resisted proletarianization; as they created a network of family and church relationships under the tutelage of their Moravian teachers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CA	-	Cape (Government) Archives
HA	-	Moravian Archives, Heideveld, Cape
<u>M & S Addenda</u>	-	CGH, <u>Master and Servant Addenda to the Documents on the working of the Order in Council of 21 July 1846.</u>
<u>M & S Documents</u>	-	CGH, <u>Master and Servant: Documents on the Working of the Order in Council of 21 July 1846.</u>
<u>PA</u>	-	<u>Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the United Brethren established among the Heathen.</u>
RNB	-	Groenekloof Rough Notebook, 1828-1843
SAL	-	South African Library, Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION

I cannot pass over in silence the great event, which, by the bodily emancipation of the slaves, has proved the blessed means of bringing so many bondsmen of Satan into the liberty of God.¹
(Genadendal missionary)

On 1 December 1838, the formerly apprenticed slaves of the Cape Colony were finally free to leave their masters and mistresses. This 'great event' resulted in the 'bodily emancipation' of some 25 000 people in the western Cape, 12 000 of them in the Cape district alone. Of the 25 000 emancipated, it is estimated that about 7 000 were able to leave the farms, 3 000 choosing to settle on the region's mission stations.²

At the same time the new district of Malmesbury was demarcated. It comprised fifteen field cornetcies hitherto in the Cape district and north of the Cape flats but excluded Koeberg and Blaauwberg. Also included were five western Stellenbosch and two Worcester field cornetcies.³ Captain J.M.Hill, former special magistrate (appointed to supervise

1. D.W.Suhl, Genadendal, 2/12/1852, PA, XX, 1853, p.461.

2. J.N.C.Marinowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour in the Western Cape, 1838-1888, with special reference to the wheat growing districts', (Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1985), pp.25 and 33. The term 'emancipation' in this dissertation refers to the final freeing of slaves after a four-year period of apprenticeship to their former owners.

3. CA, 1/MBY, 6/1/1, pp.134-135, 'Report of the Resident Magistrate of Malmesbury', Malmesbury, 5/12/1844.

apprentices), became Malmesbury resident magistrate.⁴ The Moravian mission institution at Groenekloof fell under his jurisdiction.

The dissertation takes the form of a rural case study. Its purpose is to explore the consequences of this 'bodily emancipation' for those former slaves who moved to the Groenekloof Institution in the period December 1838 to December 1852. What, in practice, did 'freedom' mean for them? The intention is to interpret as far as possible the experiences of the freedmen and -women rather than focus on the consequences of emancipation for government, farmers or missionaries, much though their position should be illuminated in the process.

The choice of period is determined by two related factors. The first is that this is the time at which, as a consequence of emancipation, exceptional numbers of newcomers moved onto and away from the mission. Thereafter the Groenekloof population stabilized. The second is that after 1852, with the new Cape constitution (1853) and subsequent Masters and Servants legislation (1856), a new dispensation came into existence. In this greater power fell into the hands of a colonial government sympathetic to farmers' interests. By this time, after a decade and a half of freedom, the former slaves had merged with the free 'Hottentots' to the extent that it is both inappropriate, and in fact impossible, to continue a study of former slaves as distinct from the

4. CA, 2/12-2/13, Inventory of the Archives of the Magistrate of Malmesbury, p.1. Hill was succeeded as magistrate by W.F. Bergh, who presided from 1/9/46-11/2/1856.

'coloured' working population as a whole.

The decision to base this study on a mission is partly practical. In the absence of slave testimony, the historian is forced to turn to farmers, missionaries and government servants in order to come indirectly to the slaves. The missions tend to have substantial records - and the Moravian records for Groenekloof (known as Mamre from 1854) are no exception.

This does not set out to be a history of the Groenekloof mission; the mission is featured as the context and catalyst of attempts by ex-slaves to reorder their lives independently of their former owners. It will be argued that in moving to Groenekloof the almost 700 newcomers contributed to the making of, and experienced freedom as part of, a distinctive community, both Khoisan and slave in origin. The mission provides a geographical point of reference and starting point from which to explore the question, 'what is it that makes a community?' Is it the material resources offered by the mission? Is it the experience of a common threat? Is it the imbibing of a common culture?

The Groenekloof mission is strategically positioned for a rural case study, located as it was on the western perimeter of the grain and mixed farms of the Swartland. By the 1840s the market in land had been boosted by the surveying of open land adjacent to the mission, this being sold along with government-owned farms at Groenekloof.⁵ Robert Ross has

5. CA, M 4/196, Registration Plan of Government farms at Groenekloof; CA, ILW 33, 'Plan ... of land surveyed on request of Messrs van Breda, Blankenberg and Buysken ...', September 1838.

pointed out that farmers in this part of the Cape had long been dependant on the Cape Town market and many were part of an agrarian elite in an increasingly stratified society.⁶

Helen Bradford for one has taken issue with this being equated with the establishment of capitalist relations of production in agriculture, although she suggests that if there is anywhere in South Africa where agricultural capitalism was established early, it was in the south western Cape where Khoisan populations had long been dispossessed.⁷ Nigel Worden concludes that 'in the middle of the [nineteenth] century the region was not yet one of capitalist agriculture with a wage-labour force'.⁸

It is then as a section of a society in transition, from slavery to 'more fully fledged capitalist relations'⁹ that the study may illuminate the rural history landscape. It does not, however, attempt to take further the debate on the capitalization of agriculture.

The main value of the study lies in the simple fact that there has been, to date, no detailed study of the immediate

6. R.Ross, 'The First Two Centuries of Colonial Agriculture in the Cape Colony : A Historiological Review', Social Dynamics, vol.9, no.1, June 1983, pp.40-43.

7. H.Bradford, 'Highways, Byways and Culs-de-Sacs: the Transition to Agrarian Capitalism in Revisionist South African History', Radical History Review, 46/7, 1990, pp.69 & 82-84.

8. N.Worden, 'Adjusting to Emancipation: Freed Slaves and Farmers in mid-nineteenth century South-Western Cape', in W.G.James & M.Simons (eds) The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape (Cape Town, 1989), p.31.

9. R.Winstain, 'The 1841 Cape Masters and Servants Ordinance and the Structure of Post-Emancipation Social Relations in the Arable South Western Cape, 1841-1848', (B.A Hons dissertation, UCT, 1990) p.28.

post-emancipation lives of the former Cape slaves. The work which exists, beginning with J.S Marais' chapter 'Aftermath' in The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, tends to focus on control of labour and touches to a greater or lesser extent on the impact of emancipation on agricultural production.¹⁰

As a detailed case study, in which the focus is narrowly on the experiences of residents of a single institution, this dissertation has the advantage of being able to test some of the generalizations which have been made about the post-emancipation rural experience. It is also possible to explore further those questions which have been raised about the immediate pre-emancipation concerns and experiences of slaves.

What, then, are some of the issues which should be taken up from the historians of Cape rural slavery and the post-emancipation period? They fall broadly into two categories: those relating to the culture and community life of former slaves, and those relating to their working lives.

In the two studies which first brought Cape slavery into the mainstream of historical debate, both Nigel Worden and Robert Ross highlighted, amongst much else, the

10. (Johannesburg, 1962). More recently, and in the only full-length study of rural life in the immediate post-emancipation period, John Marinkowitz's 'Rural Production and Labour' deals with these issues in the context of wheat farming in the western Cape.

Pamela Scully has vigorously opened the debate about the nature and meaning of family life in the post-emancipation period, but the full impact of her research awaits the completion of her doctoral thesis. P.Scully, 'Liberating the Family', (unpublished paper presented at 'Cape Slavery - and After' Conference, UCT, August, 1989); 'Private and Public Worlds of Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, c.1830-1842', (unpublished paper, University of Michigan, 1991).

individualization of Cape slaves in the period of Dutch rule.¹¹ Unbalanced sex-ratios and infertility, for example, impeded the growth of slave families, as did lack of legal protection via legitimate marriage. Rural isolation and exclusion from participation in any major religious community left most rural slaves atomized and with only their masters' culture to absorb.

Evidence emerging from studies of Cape slavery and apprenticeship during British rule (1806 onwards) indicates that even before the abolition of slavery, family and community life independent of masters was becoming more of a possibility; indeed it was something to be protected by slaves and apprentices.

Robert Shell has recently argued that by the early nineteenth century the creole slaves on western Cape estates were seldom sold separately, but bequeathed as a group with the property.¹² This suggests that the basis may have existed for rural slave community to evolve as relationships between slaves on a single farm and possibly between farms were cemented.

Mary Rayner, John Mason and Pamela Scully have demonstrated that legal structures set up by the British government in order to enforce ameliorative measures were used by slaves to protect and establish rights, particularly to

11. N. Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa (Cambridge, 1985); R. Ross, Cape of Torments (London, 1983).

12. R. Shell, 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1658-1830', (unpublished seminar paper presented to History Department, UCT, 23/8/1991).

slave family life.¹³ Scully, in particular, suggests that securing the independence of the family from farmers and farm labour was a priority for apprentices (1834-1838) and freed slaves; that independence was both emotionally and economically defined for them by this means. She suggests that legal marriage of slaves was important to them for its part in achieving this independence.

Judy Katzenellenbogen's dissertation, 'An Historical Demographic Investigation' dealing with Mamre in the period 1837-1900, is more strictly demographic than historical, but provides a link between the social relations and the material context of the mission. She indicates that conditions favoured a rise in birth rates and decline in deaths rates for people settling at the mission from the 1830s onwards.¹⁴

With regard to their working lives, missions have been seen as enabling former slaves to resist proletarianization after emancipation in one or both of two ways. The first was by becoming casual labourers whose wives and daughters largely removed themselves from farm labour. John Marinkowitz has presented a clear case for the choice of emancipated slaves in

13. M. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves: the Failure of an Export Economy and the Ending of Slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834', (Ph.D thesis, Duke University, 1986);

J.E. Mason, 'The Slaves and their Protectors: Reforming Resistance in a Slave Society, the Cape Colony, 1826-1834', Journal of Southern African Studies, vol.17, no.1, March 1991;

Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds'; 'Liberating the Family'.

14. J. Katzenellenbogen, 'An Historical Demographic Investigation into Mortality in Three Historical Birth Cohorts Born between 1837 and 1900 in Mamre, with Special Reference to Life Expectancy', (M Sc (Med) dissertation, UCT, 1990).

the Cape's wheat-growing areas to settle at missions because it allowed them to become casual labourers rather than permanent workers on surrounding farms.

The second response to emancipation, and noted in other parts of the world and documented by historians such as Sidney Mintz for the Caribbean, Eric Foner for North America and Frederick Cooper for East Africa, was the eager move to peasant farming by former slaves.¹⁵ This depended on the availability of land and mission land provided the resource in many instances. Was the equivalent land available at Groenekloof and a parallel move made to utilize it for peasant production?

Another point of debate has been whether or not the end of slavery resulted in a major labour shortage and decline in productivity on the farms. This is a view raised initially by J.S. Marais and taken up by Marinkowitz and Rupert Winstain.¹⁶ They have seen the post-emancipation period as characterized by an intense struggle between master and servant in which the main weapon of the former was weak Masters and Servants legislation. That of the servant was mobility facilitated by the use of the missions as an alternative source of subsistence.

They further argue that in the 1830s and 1840s the

15. S.W. Mintz, Caribbean Transformations (Baltimore & London, 1974); E. Foner, Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and its Legacy (Baton Rouge, 1983); F. Cooper From Slaves to Squatters (New Haven, 1980).

16. Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.193 ff; Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.80; Winstain, 'The 1841 Cape Masters and Servants Ordinance'.

metropolitan government, committed to laissez faire economic policies, was unwilling to intervene strongly on the side of the farmer to secure anything resembling forced labour. This only ended with the achievement of representative government - dominated by these same farmers in conjunction with a local commercial bourgeoisie.

This view is endorsed by Mary Rayner, who sees the ex-slaves as having greater room in which to manoeuvre in the 1840s and early 1850s, with the 1856 Masters and Servants Ordinance representing a triumph for the masters.¹⁷

Ross and Worden have characterized the post-emancipation period as one in which the transition to casual wage labour was made without too much difficulty by farmers already utilizing Khoisan labour in this way.¹⁸ Ross goes so far as to argue that the post-emancipation period saw Cape farmers increasing their productivity. Lacking skills for another form of livelihood and land for peasant farming, the limited amount at the missions notwithstanding, former slaves had no alternative but to work for the farmers. The 1841 Masters and Servants legislation enabled farmers to enforce contracts through the courts.

Ross develops Marinkowitz's suggestion that certain farmers benefitted from the bifurcation of the rural labour force between permanent labourers on the farms and mission-based casual labourers. He argues that this was crucial in the

17. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves', pp.307 & 323.

18. R.Ross, 'Emanicipations and the Economy of the Cape Colony', (unpublished paper, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, 1991); N.Worden, 'Adjusting to Emancipation'.

greater productivity realized after emancipation.¹⁹

Associated with the debate over the extent to which there was a struggle to control the labour process, is the question of the nature of the relationship between master and servant. Shell has been a lone voice in arguing that the relationship between Cape master and slave was always essentially paternalistic.²⁰ What light may be shed on this in the post-emancipation period? Rayner, Scully and Mason regard the slaves' and apprentices' use of the courts in late period of slavery onwards to establish and protect their rights as undermining paternalistic relationships to the extent that they existed.²¹

Did the former slaves of Groenekloof distance themselves from the paternalistic control of their former owners? Or were there residual remains of this during this time of transition towards more fully capitalist social relations?

Finally a word on mission historiography and issues which will be touched on in this dissertation. The poverty of mission writing within the mainstream of South African historical writing has been noted by Elizabeth Elbourne:

19. R.Ross, 'Emancipations'.

20. R.Shell, 'Family and Slavery at the Cape, 1680-1808', in W.G.Wilmot and M.Simons (eds) The Angry Divide.

21. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves', p.247; Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds', p.10; Mason, 'Slaves and their Protectors', p.111.

Until relatively recently, the occasional historian of missionaries wrote a pious hagiography, while mainstream historians tended to think of missionaries only in terms of their function as agents of the colonial state.²²

Included in her summary could be the institutional histories which focus on structures and mission policy and are generally apologetic in tone. There has been a failure to root the missionaries and their converts in the political economy of the time.

This tends to be the problem with Bernhard Kruger's history of the Moravian Church in South Africa, 1737-1869, The Pear Tree Blossoms.²³ Yet, while largely an institutional history, it is an important source for the wealth of information on the Moravians in South Africa gleaned from documents inaccessible to those unfamiliar with German Gothic script. The work also raises questions of paternalism and tutelage at the missions and attempts to assess the impact of the unequal relationship between missionary and convert on the latter.

Marais suggests that the difference between the Moravians and London Missionary Society missionaries was an attitude to authority whose genesis lay in the political structures of their country of origin.²⁴ He explores the notion no further, however.

22. E. Elbourne, 'Concerning Missionaries: the Case of Van der Kemp', Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 17, no. 1, March 1991, p. 153.

23. B. Kruger, The Pear Tree Blossoms: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa, 1737-1869 (Genadendal, 1966).

24. Marais, Cape Coloured People, pp. 141-142.

On the one hand there has been a failure both to root the missionaries and mission residents in a material context or to recognise the influence of this on their worldview. On the other hand there has been a reductionism which denies the power of ideologies to transcend particular material circumstances and operate in ways seemingly contradictory to class interests. The result is oversimplified generalizations that missionaries 'were torch-bearers of capitalist social customs and the market economy'.²⁵

Andrew Ross' biography of John Philip is useful in the way in which the thinking of the famous missionary is contextualized very specifically in early industrializing Scotland.²⁶ His example of an LMS case study invites one to locate the Moravians more subtly in their ideological and material context.

Eugene Genovese's analysis of how Christianity was forged by north American slaves into a weapon of resistance²⁷ and Belinda Bozzoli's assertion that 'derived ideas ...will only be accepted if they make sense to ordinary people, in terms of what their experiences and inherent ideas are' warn the historian not to overlook the recipients of the message.²⁸

Were they manipulated? Were they duped and turned into

25. C.Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London,1979),p.37.

26. A.Ross, John Philip (1775-1851): Missions,Race and Politics in South Africa (Aberdeen,1986).

27. E.D.Genovese, Roll,Jordan,Roll; the World the Slaves Made (London,1975).

28. B.Bozzoli (ed),Class, Community and Conflict (Johannesburg, 1987),pp.37-38.

diligent labourers by missionaries against their best interests? Did they pretend they were religious in order to have access to the benefits of life at Groenekloof?

Elbourne suggests that the Cape missions functioned in an ambiguous way - teaching a spiritual equality on the one hand but

palliat[ing] Khoisan absorption as a dispossessed proletariat into the South African labour system, and possibly lull[ing] them into premature collaboration.²⁹

These, then, are some of the central issues emerging from current historical writings. They will both inform the discussion in the pages to come and be subject to scrutiny

Sources

Mission sources

The prime source of material for this study has been the records of the Groenekloof/Mamre mission. These are stored in the archives of the Moravian church at the Moravian Theological Centre, Heideveld, Cape. They have not been systematically sorted, although there are folders containing missionary correspondence with their superiors, with government officials, documents relating to mission residents (marriages, wills, adoptions) and mission regulations.

The most valuable single source has been the mission register, the 'Catalog der Einwohner der Gemeinde ze

29. E.Elbourne, 'Concerning Missionaries', p.158.

Groenekloof' for the period 1839 onwards. This lists all residents at the mission in 1839 and all who were given permission to settle or were born there thereafter. Family relationships, birth places, dates of birth, dates of key advances as members of the congregation are listed, as are dates for departure and death in some instances.

This has been the backbone of the thesis in that it was possible, from the Catalog, to determine the names and numbers of those who came to the mission after 1 December 1838. Information concerning their birthplaces made it possible to suggest where these newcomers came from, while the extent of the sample - 693 names - made it possible to do some statistical analyses of the groupings in which they came, the average time spent at the mission, the number married and so on. The demographic approach of the third chapter, 'Groenekloof Families', is an attempt to realize the possibilities of this kind of register data.

The original Groenekloof mission diaries for the period 1841-1856 are also housed at Heideveld. These, however, are written in German Gothic cursive. Limited extracts were translated, and the original diaries were used for annual statistics and identifying the names of individuals; but greater reliance was placed on the published extracts of both these diaries and of missionary correspondence. These, edited and published in London by the Brethren, appear in the Periodical Accounts relating to the missions of the United Brethren.

The Periodical Accounts indicate the religious and

administrative preoccupations of the missionaries, provide information about the daily life of the mission residents, as well as about important events such as the influx of the ex-slaves in the early 1840s and participation in the frontier wars. Their value is obviously the focus on the mission and residents with which this study deals; their limitation, the missionary bias in what they regard as important or interesting and the audience for whom the editors selected the extracts viz. mission supporters in the English-speaking world.

A third very useful mission source was a rough notebook used by the missionaries to record information about arrivals, baptisms, marriages, exclusions and departures as they occurred. It also contains brief comments on why residents left the mission. Although ending in mid-1843, the statistics are useful in filling a gap as the Mission diaries only begin in 1841. This rough notebook was found in a loft at Mamre by Judy Katzenellenbogen and is currently in her possession.

Government sources

The opgaaf rolls for the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, although ceasing after 1825 for the former and 1837 for the latter, make possible a survey of farming in the Malmesbury and Cape Districts. They record the size and composition of pre-emancipation labour forces and the volume of production. These also supply information about the stockholding and agricultural output of mission residents at this time,

providing an important basis for comparison in the post-emancipation era.

An invaluable source on a number of scores has been the statistical survey by the Malmesbury Magistrate of Groenekloof in 1849 and contained in the Master and Servants Addenda.³⁰ Providing statistics of stock owned and crops produced in 1849, it has allowed conclusions to be drawn about post-emancipation farming at Groenekloof. Names of male residents, lists of occupations and who worked off the mission help to fill out the picture of the economic status of newcomers and oldtimers. Information about marital status in 1849 has allowed conclusions to be drawn about the role of marriage among newcomers after 1839.

The records of proceedings in criminal cases heard in the Malmesbury magistrate's court between 1839 and 1853 are also a major source of information used in this study. Groenekloof residents who appeared as plaintiffs, defendants or witnesses in 116 cases between January 1839 and June 1851 are identified, as are their employers, overseers or fellow workers.

The court records have proved to be rich in information on the working lives of Groenekloof residents. Obviously any court record will illuminate relationships at a point of conflict or tension, and highlight those 'in trouble' rather

30. CGH, Master and Servant Addenda to the Documents on the working of the Order in Council of the 21 July 1846, including memorials & c and reports by the Resident Magistrates on the missionary institutions (Cape Town, 1849). I am very grateful to Robert Ross for supplying me with a copy of the report of the Malmesbury magistrate.

than the majority who did not appear in court. Nevertheless, the testimonies of masters and servants tell of their 'usual' conditions as well as the point at which there was conflict. The points of conflict - be they broken contracts, unpaid wages, insolence or violence - say a great deal about the dynamics of the society as a whole.

In what attempts to be a study of emancipation from the point of view of those emancipated, there is a decided absence of their direct voice. It is not possible to any extent to report what they felt, aspired to or believed. Rather actions and reported actions have had to be interpreted on behalf of the actors.

This is a major and largely insurmountable problem. There are moments, however, in the verbatim court transcripts when the listener is clearly being given the version of events as perceived by the Groenekloof residents. They might be targeting their audience very clearly, nevertheless they are choosing what to say.

Occasionally the missionary reports provide word-for-word reportage of what they were told by their congregants; again this is heavily mediated by reporter and editor.

Through the pages of the Dutch language publication, Benigna van Groenkloof, one comes closest to hearing the voices of pious Groenekloof residents.³¹ Moravian missionary Bechler's chatty narrative is punctuated by his subjects'

31. W.F.Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof of Mamre; Een Verhaal voor de Christen Kleurlingen van Zuid-Afrika door een Hunner Leeraars (Genadendal, 1873).

views of people and events. An attempt is made in the dissertation to allow these voices to be heard. To use a mixed metaphor, it is all through a glass very darkly - but at least something is being heard where hitherto there has been nothing.

CHAPTER 1

THE GROENEKLOOF INSTITUTION

Making their way through the sandy coastal dunes to the oasis of poplars and oaks that marked the mission werf came a fluctuating but steady stream of ex-apprentices and other members of the 'coloured class'; some 693 between 1839 and 1852. They came singly. They came in pairs. They came in family groups. But why did they come? What were they hoping to gain from the Moravian mission station at Groenekloof at this particular juncture of their lives?

One of the issues needing exploration in order to answer this question is, what was the nature of the mission institution? To what sort of place with what resources, structures and culture were the newcomers coming?

Kruger maintains that three factors combined to make the Moravian closed settlements in the Cape; the precedent of the first Moravian settlement at Herrnhut, the support of the colonial government and the vacuum created by the breakdown of indigenous culture.¹ There is an interplay between the imported model of mission community and the local context.

1. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.292 ff.

The Moravians

Descendants of the Hussite reform movement, the United Brethren founded one of the earliest Protestant churches. This was at Kunwald, Moravia in 1457.² Followers of the church spread to Bohemia, and struggled for centuries under severe religious persecution. Finally in 1723, fleeing from the Catholic and Austrian Holy Roman Emperor, a remnant took refuge in Protestant Saxony on the Berthelsdorf estate of Count Nicholas Zinzendorf.³ As numbers grew, the settlement of Herrnhut was founded and in 1727 formally organized under a constitution drawing strongly from that of the church of the United Brethren.⁴ The leading figure in the movement was by now Zinzendorf, himself a devout Lutheran of pietist convictions.

While continuing to farm and labour at Herrnhut, and while maintaining the life of the community there, the United Brethren became a group of enthusiasts, sent out to encourage revival within the Lutheran and Reformed churches of the continent. From 1732 they began to send missionaries abroad, too, beginning with the Danish West Indies and Greenland as a result of Zinzendorf's friendly connections with the Danish crown.⁵

Although widely known as the 'Moravians', Zinzendorf emphasised throughout the 1700s that they were more correctly the

2. E.Langton, History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church (London, 1956), pp.28-30.

3. J.R.Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf (Nashville, 1956), p.57.

4. Langton, History of the Moravian Church, pp.74-75.

5. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.93.

United Brethren or Unitas Fratrum, many of whom were Lutheran and some Reformed. But by the time of his death in 1760 the United Brethren and the Moravian church, also reconstituted at Herrnhut, were in effect synonymous.

It is significant that the Herrnhut settlement was the prototype for other Moravian communities. Established in the early eighteenth century in a wealthy but autocratic Saxony with an essentially feudal economy,⁶ Herrnhut was very much the response of a threatened pre-industrial and rural community. It was built on the estate of a member of the landed nobility who on the one hand established and financed a revolutionary social order in which church and communal life was to a large extent run by artisans and peasants. On the other hand Zinzendorf remained forever an aristocrat, believing that political power was the prerogative of the nobility and that class differences were divinely ordained.⁷

For all that he believed this, Zinzendorf was exiled from Saxony in the 1730s and the very survival of Herrnhut came to depend upon its capacity to convince the Elector of the value of an industrious and well-ordered religious community. This was a community which was developing the structures to integrate the refugees who continued to stream to it. It was a model which, as shall be demonstrated, in many ways suited the south western Cape in the 1800s.

6. P.Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (London, 1974), p. 251.

7. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp. 20-21; 146.

The Moravians of Groenekloof

The Groenekloof Institution was the second Moravian mission to be established in South Africa and it was directed initially at the Khoisan. Its predecessor and locus of the superintendency of Moravian work was the well-known Genadendal, permanently established in 1793.⁸

In 1808, Governor Caledon granted the missionaries of the United Brethren perpetual occupation of, but not title to, a large farm about fifty kilometres north of Cape Town and not far from the west coast.⁹ It was at that time one of approximately thirty-six government farms, known as the Groenekloof farms, situated on the western periphery of the Swartland wheat and mixed farming area.¹⁰

By 1838 the government had sold off all of its Groenekloof farms to white colonial farmers or was in the process of doing so. It was 1858 before the Brethren were given title to their holding and until then they were particularly conscious of the need to remain in official good books or forfeit their right to the grant.

Also part of the grant and incorporated into the mission were the 'old Hottentot places', Cruywagenskraal and Louwskloof at which the Khoikhoi captain Hans Klapmuts and sixty to seventy

8. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.53.

9. Ibid., pp.101-102.

10. CA,ILW 12, 'Report of the Inspection of the different Government Farms near the Groenekloof for the purpose of dividing them with a view to equalize the water and to describe their respective boundaries', Cape Town, 25 November, 1815. pp147-213.

followers held on to the remnants of an independent existence.¹¹

Groenekloof was an estate of some 4 606 morgen, well supplied with water and timber, and about three and a half hours from Malmesbury by wagon.¹² It was considered by a neighbouring farmer to be 'a splendid farm' in a neighbourhood where by 1854 the value of farms was very high.¹³ This farm was to provide varying levels of support for a registered population which grew from 784 in 1838 to 1 273 in 1843, with a peak at 1 345 in 1850. (See Table 2.1, p.53) As later chapters will show, it was a mission thoroughly knit into the rural economy, the cycle of the agricultural year alone doing much to shape the nature of the community to which the freed apprentices would come.

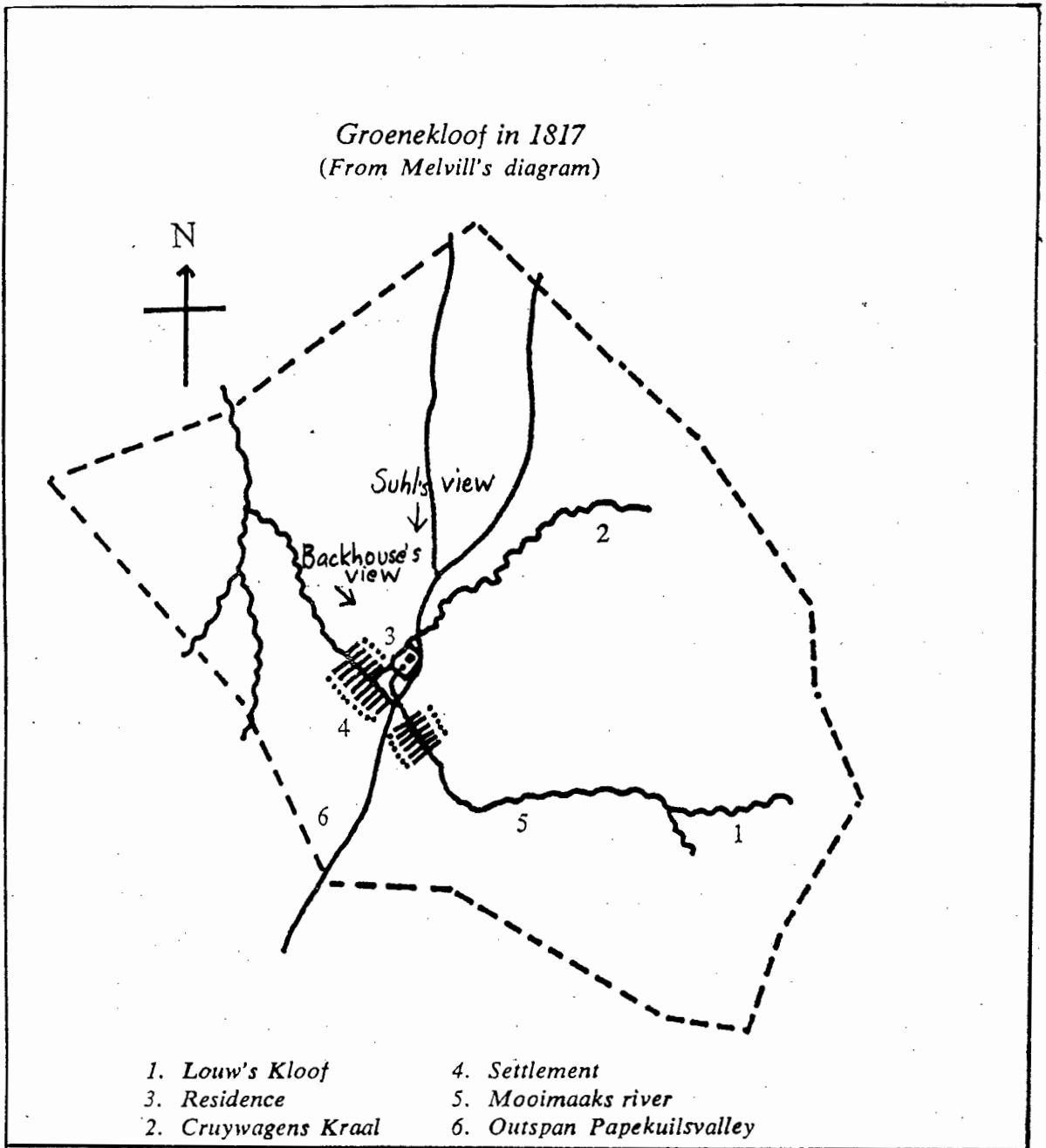
The road from Cape Town to Saldanha Bay ran through the mission yard and provided as good access to the Cape Town market as did any of the poor tracks comprising pre-1845 Cape roads. Entering the mission from the south, a newcomer would travel through the village, cross the stream, pass the mill on his left and enter the grove of oaks and poplars in which stood the walled mission werf. Here were located the missionaries' residences, the church and school. Here, too, were the mission shop and workshops. (See Figure 1.1 and Illustrations 1 and 2)

11. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.101-102.

12. J.Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa (London, 1844), pp.619-621.

13. CGH, Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, First Session, 1854. S.C.11. 'Report from the Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold to Hottentots', p.24.

Figure 1.1



(Source: B. Kruger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, p. 129)

1 : James Backhouse's View of Groenekloof, 1840

(CA, M250)



2 : D.W.Suhl's View of Groenekloof, 1856

(CA, E7375)



Admission

On arrival at Groenekloof the newcomers would have to seek permission to settle there. It had been Zinzendorf's view that 'only those who felt a "call" should be admitted to the settlements with their strict discipline',¹⁴ and the missionaries' acceptance of what they referred to as 'a secret impulse' leading newcomers to Groenekloof may well reflect this belief in a 'call'.¹⁵ At the same time the mission Regulations were a little more prosaic, stating:

26. When an individual applies for admission to the institution, his motives, his previous conduct, and his outward circumstances are carefully examined, and if there exist no objections in these respects, he is made acquainted with the rules and regulations of the establishment, and he promises, in solemn manner, to conduct himself according to these rules and the word of God; after which, leave is granted him to reside here, generally, in the first instance on probation.

...

27. If those who had been admitted on these terms, should, in process of time, repent of the step they have taken, they are at all times at liberty to leave the institution, after having properly settled their affairs. But they have no right to remain here any longer than they comply with the conditions on which they have been admitted, though they will be borne with patience, as long as they are not the seducers of others, and respect the outward regulations of the place.¹⁶

14. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.190.

15. Groenekloof Diary for 1838, PA, XV, 1839, p162; Lehman, Groenekloof, 20/7/1841, PA, XVI, 1841, p.35.

16. HA, 'Gemeente Ordeningen, Groenekloof', 1840, II, 26 & 27. The Groenekloof Regulations were based on those framed at Genadendal with 'a few minor alterations'. These drew both from regulations for the Brethrens' settlements in Europe and on experience of local conditions. They were revised a number of times. See C.I.Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, in 1815, and 1816, with some Account of the Missionary Settlements of the United

The newcomer's first contact with authority might well be with an overseer like Nicholas Oppelt who 'was possessed of a striking gift for instructing newcomers in the truth of the Gospel, and for initiating them into the rules and statutes of our congregation';¹⁷ or with church servant Samuel Pick 'who took special care that the young members of the community as well as all new members were taught the church regulations'.¹⁸ Besides explaining the mission regulations, the task of the overseers was to assist the missionaries in determining whether newcomers should be granted permission to settle.

Once permission to settle had been granted, a family would be allocated land upon which to erect a house and plant a garden as well as farm land in the communal fields.¹⁹ Individual newcomers would join their families if such existed, while those without any family ties would probably be billeted with an older resident family.²⁰ While a number may have erected temporary huts, the missionaries encouraged and provided financial assistance and advice for the building of permanent walled houses made from clay bricks 'to be a real ornament to the settlement'. By April 1840 two new streets had already been laid out and the building of new houses had commenced.²¹

Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope (London, 1818), p. 276 & Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 127; 152-153; 163-165.

17. Franke, Groenekloof, 12/8/1848, PA, XIX, 1849, p. 89.

18. Bechler, Benigna van Groenekloof, p. 76.

19. Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit, p. 619.

20. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', II, 1.

21. Ibid., II, 2 ; Teutsch, Groenekloof, 14/4/1840, PA, XV, 1839, p. 268.

Financial assistance from the poor box was available for the destitute,²² while the surge in the turnover of stock at the mission store in 1840 (see p.119) indicates that the newcomers were availing themselves of its resources.

At the same time as their immediate physical needs were being seen to, the newcomers would have been introduced to the social and religious organization of Groenekloof.

Authority

The newcomer would have realized very soon that there was a political hierarchy at Groenekloof topped by the four German missionaries or 'Leraars' [teachers] but with nineteen overseers and church servants - all male - playing an important supervisory and decision-making role as the Conference of Overseers. Meeting from time to time, this Conference had been 'entrusted' with the 'supervision' of the settlement by the residents of Groenekloof, a supervision which the residents 'freely respect and will obey'.²³

Principal missionary at Groenekloof in 1839 was Christian Ludwig Teutsch, 'a joiner by trade', but he moved to Genadendal to take on the superintendancy after the death of Hallbeck in November, 1840.²⁴ His successor at Groenekloof and principal missionary there for the next twenty years was Christian Ludwig Franke. Kruger refers to him as 'an able married teacher' with

22. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.100.

23. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', III, 2.

24. Ibid., p.209.

some experience in London at a printing press and 'possessing a special talent for music'. He was one of the more scholarly Brethren, having first been chosen to head the training school at Genadendal where 'native' youths would be educated as teachers and assistant missionaries.²⁵

There is little direct bibliographical information about the Groenekloof missionaries and their families, nor do we know how residents perceived them. His correspondence and the pages of the Groenekloof diaries reveal Franke as a man who spent little time passing value judgments on individuals, either on or off the mission; though he was saddened by spiritual lassitude and quick to celebrate a positive change in spiritual demeanour among the residents.²⁶

His fondness for music and for children is apparent. 'The sound of his violin seems to put new life into the dear children', wrote Teutsch in November, 1839.²⁷ Visiting Moravian bishop, Christian Breutel, commented in 1853 on Franke's cheerful disposition, his thoroughness and a tactfulness which fitted him for his association with his people.

Met de Hottentotten gaat hij om, gelijk een Vader met zijne kinderen.²⁸

25. Ibid., pp.184-185;213;248.

26. See for example, Groenekloof Diary for 1848, PA, XIX, 1850, p.246; Franke, Groenekloof, 27/5/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p.302.

27. Groenekloof, 21/11/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.173.

28. 'Vervolg van Br. Breutels. Reisverhaal', Berigten uit die Heiden-wereld, uitgegeven door het Zendling-Genootschap te Zeist, vol.20, no.5, 1854, pp.85-89. I am grateful to Robert Ross for this reference.

Breutel's comment on the principal missionary's paternalism raises the question of how this was experienced by the residents. Clearly it was different from the paternalism of the slave-owner which was essentially aimed at mobilizing labour and which 'grew out of the necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation.'²⁹

The Moravians, as will be argued in chapter four, did encourage diligence and responsibility, and regarded faithful labour as an essentially Christian attribute. They were themselves still locked into a pre-capitalist notion of society and the settlement was patterned on that of Herrnhut. Their goal was primarily the production of Christian character, not of marketable assets. They easily adopted the role of father, training the 'children' in morality, spirituality and equipping them with skills for some kind of economic independence. The paternalism of the slave-owner had condemned the slave to perpetual minority; that of the missionary had a long-term goal of autonomy.

Hallbeck, superintendent of Moravian missions in South Africa until 1840, wrote in 1831:

I hope to see the Hottentots gradually advancing so as ... to replace Europeans [in running trades at the missions]. If we could but more effectively remove certain defects in the training of the rising generation, which are chiefly owing to the limited means of the parents and their own want of education, the object would be of comparatively easy attainment.³⁰

29. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, p.4.

30. Hallbeck, Genadendal, 15/7/1831, PA, XII, 1831, p.87.

But too easily this majority became indefinitely postponed.

A high degree of dependence on the missionaries, and possibly on the elite of overseers, was fostered. That their dependence was to some extent internalized by the residents is noticeable in comments such as Franke's at the time of the 1852 measles epidemic :

My dear wife, who has the management of the apothecary's shop of the mission, is sometimes quite at a loss how to get through her work, having to attend so many patients, each of whom would think it very unkind, were he or she overlooked.³¹

The role of missionary wives in bolstering the paternalistic order was important be it by teaching, 'speaking' with the women and married couples or tending the sick.

Hallbeck seems to have been aware of the dangers inherent in this relationship. He was responsible for the stress contained in the mission Regulations that these were 'a brotherly agreement between all inhabitants' and not laws; that the superintendents of the institution were 'not authorized to prescribe laws to the rest' nor to appropriate the role of civil government. Evidently by 1824 and regarding Moravian work as a whole, Hallbeck had

felt it desirable to counteract the inclination of the of the inhabitants to devolve every responsibility on their teachers, and the tendency of the missionaries to act in an authoritarian manner. He wanted a brotherly relation of mutual trust between both parties.³²

Of the Conference of Overseers, the church servants were appointed by the missionaries and were responsible for 'purity,

31. Groenekloof, 28/7/1852, PA, XX, 1853, p.462.

32. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.153.

regularity and decency in the church', to visit the sick and to assist a missionary in administering the poor fund.³³ Secular responsibilities lay with the overseers, chosen by mission residents who were communicants and property owners - 'who possess houses and gardens in the place'.³⁴ An overseer had, too, to be a communicant and preferably a property owner of some means :

as far as is possible preference will be given to those brothers who possess walled houses and other goods such as 'beesten' etc. ³⁵.

The extent of real power exercised by the overseers is not clear. Because of the absence from the mission of most men, at least during peaks of seasonal employment, it was the missionaries who exercised day to day authority. But it was stated in the Regulations that important matters would not be decided without the knowledge and advice of the Conference of Overseers.³⁶

As the settlement grew rapidly in the post-emancipation years, the role of the overseers must have increased because of the limitations on the physical capacity of four missionaries to see, hear and do everything. Certainly the newcomers would have found themselves continually under the watchful eye of the overseers; having to inform an overseer of any non-resident staying with them; having to submit any dispute to an overseer; having to call in an overseer to assess damage to property should

33. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', III, 12.

34. Ibid., III, 13.

35. Ibid., III, 14.

36. Ibid., III, 10.

such occur.³⁷ They would find an overseer pouring on the ground illicit brandy, or wine beyond that allowed for domestic consumption.³⁸ They would also continue to be trained in the ways of the mission at the hands of such men.³⁹

The missionaries were those who exercised church discipline, with the right to reprimand and exclude from church privileges anyone who violated the mission regulations.⁴⁰ Public exclusion from church privileges rather than expulsion from the mission itself was one of the most regular forms of discipline exercised. The careful lists of those publically excused or expelled provide reasons for such action: 'Hurerei' (fornication), adultery, theft, being an accessory to such a crime, and drunken and disorderly behaviour including assault.⁴¹

What were the parameters of missionary authority? Did they attempt to provide an alternative source of civil government? Following Zinzendorf, Moravians were taught

as trustworthy and obedient subjects to submit willingly to the laws of the land. Our regulations can therefore not interfere with or supercede any of the laws of the colony.⁴²

According to Kruger the temporal power of the missionaries on the grant stations weakened as the missions grew. Lacking legal sanction and muscle to enforce expulsions, it became increasingly

37. Ibid., II, 17; 5, 12-13.

38. Ibid., II, 22.

39. Ibid., III, 4d.

40. Ibid., III, 5.

41. Groenekloof Rough Notebook, 1839-1843. Hereafter RNB.

42. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 10 and 11.

difficult to remove unco-operative members of the community.⁴³ Regarding Groenekloof, he notes that by the 1850s wrongdoers were excluded from church membership and declared 'non-residents' but were able to remain at the mission.⁴⁴

In line with their regulations, the missionaries recognized the supremacy of the state and adhered to the rule that they would report 'to the proper authorities' any criminal act.⁴⁵

The mission had its own mechanisms for dealing with internal disputes - the role of the overseers here has already been noted. The court records show that there were disputes between residents which were withdrawn before going to trial.⁴⁶ However there were other instances where the missionaries clearly refused to arbitrate in matters they thought the magistrate should deal with, despite residents' expectations that they would have a hearing from the missionaries.

One example is when a quarrel between two residents, Wilhelm Fortuin and Adonis Petrus, en route from 'Town' to the mission resulted in Petrus being stabbed in the neck by Fortuin.

The day after this happened I went to the missionaries to endeavour to settle the case amicably with the prisoner [Fortuin], prisoner was however not at home and the missionaries referred me to the Resident Magistrate at Malmesbury.⁴⁷

43. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.260.

44. Idem.

45. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 11.

46. e.g. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 973, withdrawn, Queen v David Adonis. Adonis was charged with assault of fellow Groenekloof resident, Paul Abrahams.

47. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/1, case 109, 11/5/1840, Pub. Pros v W. Fortuin.

The mission diary entry for 19 August 1840 notes:

We had a disagreeable investigation with two married sisters, communicants, and two single brethren, who had been guilty of drunkenness and adultery together, at a neighbouring farm where they visited, and had come to blows on the road home. They were all four publically excluded from the congregation.⁴⁸

One of the four, Carl Brommer, was charged in court with assault or rape of Clara Augustyn, and in giving her testimony she said that 'when we arrived at the institution we went to the missionaries to complain but they would not have any thing to do with it.' So she went to the Malmesbury magistrate.⁴⁹

There was no clear dividing line between the temporal and spiritual domain at Groenekloof. The missionaries had secular authority as title holders to the grant of mission land and ultimate spiritual authority. They were preachers and teachers of the Gospel, visitors to the sick and dying, but they also dispensed the right to reside at Groenekloof and supervised work in the fields, in the mission workshops and store. The Regulations were as diverse as to affirm the authority of Scripture in the teaching of the mission and lives of its inhabitants and as to specify the distance at which fruit trees must be planted from plot boundaries so as to prevent dissension.⁵⁰ Modelled on the first settlement of the United Brethren at Herrnhut, Groenekloof aimed at the same 'practical piety' which was testified to in 'thriving industry, fertile

48. PA, XVI, 1841, p. 132.

49. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/1, cases 149 & 150, 3/9/1840, Pub. Pros v Brommer.

50. HA, Groenekloof Ordeningen 1840, I, 1; II, 7.

fields and orderly community life'; where 'everyday tasks were performed as if they were sacramental acts'.⁵¹

It was a policy which, for the most part won the approbation of the state authorities and many colonists who applauded the self-sufficiency and thrift engendered at Groenekloof.⁵² So, too, did the political quietism of the Brethren.

The Moravian mission settlement was acceptable to the state on two scores. It generally provided little challenge to the status quo ; in fact it bolstered it by providing soldiers for service on the eastern frontier at fairly regular intervals .(See chapter six). Secondly the settlements were seen as centres of social stability among the 'Hottentot' population.⁵³

This approval would come to be qualified to the extent that the mission was perceived to interfere with access to labour and the government came under pressure from farmers in this regard. While this pressure grew after 1849, (see pp.173-174;190 ff.), the territorial integrity of the mission survived due to government unwillingness to take the step likely to undermine social order - and withdraw the grant.

51. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp.194 & 173.

52. J.W.Raum, 'The Development of the Coloured Community at Genadendal under the Influence of the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum, 1792-1892.' (MA dissertation, UCT, n.d.) p.30.

53. W.M.Freund, 'The Cape under Transitional Governments, 1795-1814', in R.Elphick & H.Giliomee (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 2nd edn. (Cape Town, 1989) p.340. The missionaries often used the term 'Hottentot' inclusively to refer to all mission residents - ex-slaves as well.

Church structures and community life

Life at Groenekloof was not designed for the person who chose to be either reticent about his faith or solitary in its practice. The goal of the mission was to convert individuals to a personal and saving relationship with Christ. The Moravians were devoted evangelicals, emphasising above all that salvation was a gift of grace to the believer received at conversion and in no way attainable by human reason or action.⁵⁴

Elizabeth Elbourne notes the egalitarian implications of early evangelicalism's 'emphasis on the futility of intellectual approaches to God'.

The poor and uneducated were believed to have as much access to truth as the leisured (and therefore) wealthy intellectuals of the Cartesian model, because God, and hence knowledge, were experienced rather than attained through ratiocination.⁵⁵

The Groenekloof residents could be sure of this salvation despite views to the contrary held by certain of their masters.

God created Christians, but you Hottentots belong to the baboon species (Baviaansgeslag)

were the words of one 'baas' to Groenekloof resident Margaretha when she told him she was going to 'learn God's word'.⁵⁶

54. A. Bost, History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren (London, 1834) pp. 416-417.

55. E. Elbourne, 'Concerning Missionaries', p. 159.

56. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p. 27. Written by a Moravian missionary, the period from 1808 to the 1870s is covered in this life story of Groenekloof resident, Benigna Johannes. The narrative is loosely structured, and incorporates information and opinions gleaned from conversations with a variety of mission residents.

Something of the message received by residents in their daily services, meetings and three services on Sundays can be gleaned from the following comments of Groenekloof folk - albeit heavily mediated by missionary recorders who are the sole available source of such insights.

Johanna 'who had served among the farmers as midwife' told her 'oubaas' that she had learnt that:

we are all sinners and need daily forgiveness ... we must forswear the devil and his evil works until we die.⁵⁷

Louwskloof came to represent the 'old life' and the move a few kilometres from Louwskloof to Groenekloof as a move from darkness to light. For former Louwskloof resident Lena, the message was one of amazing mercy 'because we did horrible things there'.⁵⁸

Benigna Johannes, sister of Hans Klapmuts, remembered the missionary giving her a message apposite to her later lengthy struggle with ill health: 'that we must enter the kingdom of God through many oppressions' and also 'that you will also overcome many afflictions.'⁵⁹

One of the Groenekloof draftees was asked on leaving for the eastern frontier in 1846 'whether he did not feel very sorry, at leaving home on such a service'. He replied,

Yes; but the Lord has, no doubt, something to teach me, and it is certainly for my good; for all things work together for good to them that love God; and I love my Saviour.⁶⁰

57. Ibid., p.27.

58. Ibid., p.39.

59. Ibid., p.44.

60. Groenekloof Diary for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.340.

It was a message of love, mercy and forgiveness; but also of upright living, fortitude and submission to a God who used rather than removed suffering and who disciplined those whom he loved.⁶¹ Groenekloof missionary Schopman paints a picture of the kind of social transformation which he felt epitomized the work of God at Groenekloof outpost, Goedverwacht:

When I hear of the drunkenness, dancing, revelling, fighting, immorality, and such like, which were of constant recurrence in this kloof about five to ten years ago, I thank the Lord for the pleasing change which has been gradually effected by the preaching of his precious Gospel. How quiet and orderly is the kloof now! Through the week each one attends to his proper business; the day of the Lord is observed by all as a day of rest. Sabbath after Sabbath they come neatly dressed to the church ... where they edify one another from the word of God. They exchange visits with each other, and find pleasure in learning to spell and to read, and in committing to memory texts of scripture. The children attend the day-school where they are taught to read and sing, and learn the catechism.⁶²

Children had an important place in Moravian thinking. Zinzendorf believed firmly that a child should be taught 'to know Christ from his earliest infancy' and daily watchwords (texts) and hymnbooks were prepared specially for them.⁶³ 'Schools were a prominent feature of every Moravian community'⁶⁴ with Groenekloof's infant, boys' and girls' schools following precedent.⁶⁵ The newcomers' children soon found a place here,

61. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p.66.

62. Schopman, 'Report of the Out-Station of Goedverwacht ..for October 1852', PA, XX, 1853, p.412.

63. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.91.

64. Ibid., pp.222-223.

65. In contrast to the 'backward state of education' available for anyone else in the Malmesbury district. CGH, Statistical Blue Book, 1849, 'Educational Return for 1849'.

and would have had as their teachers some of the missionaries and their wives, a Genadendal trained assistant teacher like David Lakey, with some of the mission women lending a hand.⁶⁶

The great accession to the country members of this congregation which has lately taken place and which consists chiefly of emancipated slaves, has led to a corresponding increase in the number of our pupils of both sexes. Our school-rooms are indeed often crowded in the most inconvenient manner...⁶⁷

Zinzendorf himself wrote:

What is the education of children? A holy method of teaching them, even from the cradle, that they belong to Jesus, and that all their happiness consists in knowing him. On this account the greatest punishment they can suffer should be, not to be allowed to sing and play with their companions, or to go to school, or to study together' ⁶⁸

Indeed, children who did not attend school were not permitted to participate in the annual children's festival.⁶⁹ The importance of Christian education was likewise reinforced for children in ceremonies such as that in 1847 when the older school children participated in a 'joyful festival ... on the occasion of the solemn dedication of the school house'. It involved processions, singing, prayer and preaching and

the day, which seemed a very happy one for our dear young people, was concluded by a love-feast at which the whole mission family was present.⁷⁰

The phrase, 'the whole mission family' is significant for

66. Teutsch, Groenekloof, 24/7/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.135; Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.210.

67. Franke, Groenekloof, 13/4/42, PA, XVI, 1841, pp.206-207.

68. In Bost, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p.372.

69. Raum, 'Development of the Coloured Community', p.30.

70. Franke, Groenekloof, 17/11/1847, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.346.

the Moravians believed that true conversion could not be fully realized without the nurturing of the convert in a community of the saved. One of the distinctive contributions of the Moravians was the development of their congregations within settlements in Europe, a practice which transplanted well to the western Cape.⁷¹ Community life at these settlements was structured in such a way that every member was accountable not only to God, but to his teachers and fellow Christians for his personal growth and the daily living out of his faith. Drawing on the tradition of seventeenth century German pietism, opportunities were created for 'conversation, in simplicity and sincerity, on the concerns of their souls, concealing nothing from each other, but exercising the greatest mutual confidence'.⁷² This was no place for private religion.

The congregants of Groenekloof were divided into groups or 'choirs' and the newcomers would take their place in such a choir according to sex, marital status and age. Children, youths, young girls, married couples, single or widowed men, and single or widowed women each comprised a separate choir. They would meet daily as choirs under a chosen leader for worship and discussion 'in which the admonitions and precepts given in the Holy Scriptures for each state of life are inculcated'.⁷³

Special festivals were held annually for each choir,

71. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.294 ff.

72. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp.8-9; Bost, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p.378.

73. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.72; Raum, 'Development of the Coloured Community', p.30; Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.83; Bost, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p.377.

affirmations of the role of those people in the community. Bechler records pious overseer Petrus (Seldon) in September 1841 exhorting the married couples who had, according to custom on their festival day, met in the schoolroom to wish each other well.⁷⁴ Backhouse visited Groenekloof on the day of the feast - a service - for the 'single sisters',⁷⁵ while Franke remarks that the Children's Festival in October 1852 was celebrated 'as a day of thanksgiving for those who had recovered from the measles'.⁷⁶

The missionaries and their wives exercised crucial control over their congregants' movement through the mission 'rites of passage'. They met with the choirs for 'speakings', engaging the men and women respectively in individual discussions about their spiritual progress and determining whether they should be advanced in church privileges. Married couples met with both missionary and his wife.

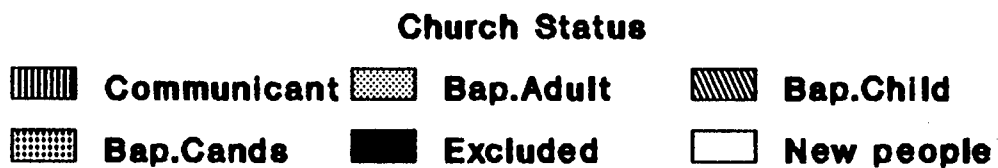
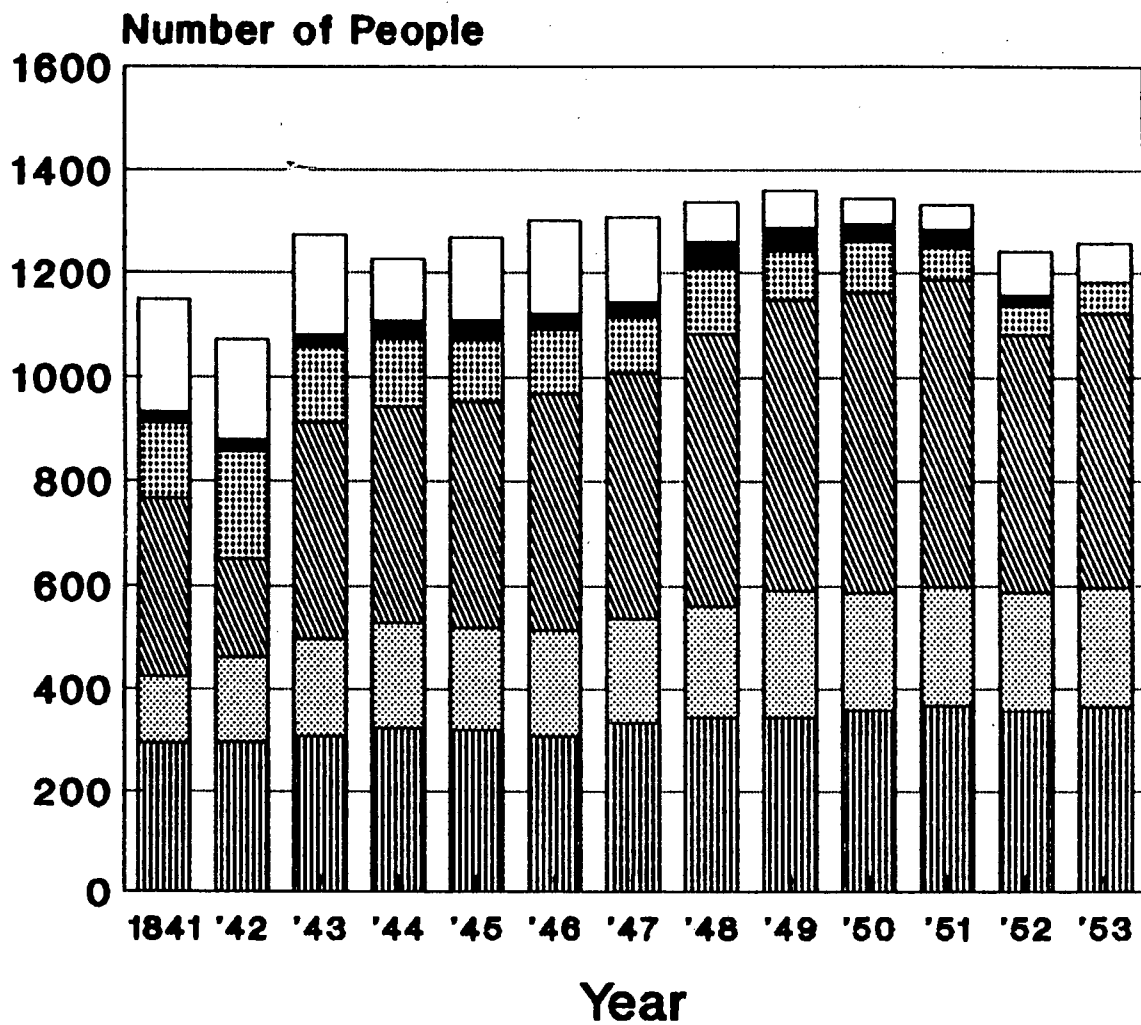
The congregation was further divided: into groups for those not yet converted, those who were candidates for baptism (although infant baptism was the norm for children of baptized parents), and those who were candidates for communion. The newly arrived members would have been categorized in the first group as 'New People'. (See Figure 1.2) It is thus evident that conversion was not a prerequisite for admission to Groenekloof. This was expected to follow from exposure to the Gospel at the mission and the example and teaching provided there.

74. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p.64.

75. Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit, p.621.

76. Franke, Groenekloof, 1/12/1852, PA, XX, 1853, p.464.

Fig.1.2:Church Status of Total Mission Population (1841-1853)



(Source: HA,Catalog)

Visits by the missionaries, class meetings and 'individual speakings' would both instruct the newcomer and allow the missionary to determine whether the sincerity of the newcomer's faith was such that he should be promoted to the next group.⁷⁷

'After the missionaries had satisfied themselves that the candidate truly merited baptism, the test of determining by means of drawing lots, whether Christ approved of the baptism was carried out'.⁷⁸

Attending a Groenekloof baptismal ceremony for adults in 1815, Latrobe describes the candidates as appearing 'decently dressed in white clothes'. After the service

the newly-baptized come to the missionaries into the vestry, and are exhorted to faithfulness and constancy in the performance of their baptismal vow. They are likewise taught to know and pronounce the names given to them. Their gratitude and compunction of heart on these solemn occasions are generally expressed more by tears than words.⁷⁹

Given the significance of naming in slave societies in erasing the slave's identity, receiving a new name at baptism was a particularly symbolic process. Now the names of the dispossessed and enslaved changed to those of the reclaimed - often with clear German overtones: Vertyns, Afrikas, Octobers, Pitts and Portias became Frangotts, Christliebs, Adolphs, Christians and Getrauds.

Baptism was followed by a period as a candidate for communion, before reaching the final stage of church membership as a communicant. (See Figure 1.2)

77. Raum, 'Development of the Coloured Community', p.28.

78. Ibid., p.27.

79. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.49.

It could be slow process, advancing through the stages of church membership, and the newcomers to Groenekloof would meet long-time residents of all ranks. David Adonis, for example had settled at Groenekloof in January 1832 and became a baptismal candidate the same year. That was as far as he got, and although he was a resident for almost twenty years, he was excluded and then spent three years off the mission between 1842 and 1845. He finally left in 1852.⁸⁰ Wilm Bezik seemed set in the same mould, being

for many years in a lukewarm state of heart, and, though a candidate for baptism, had neglected the preachings as well as the meetings for instruction.

He was however, 'seized with such powerful convictions on his sickbed' that he repented and was baptised as 'John' before dying in peace.⁸¹

Pitt September, whom newcomer Emilie Carlse was later to marry, passed through all the stages of church membership:

(Permission to settle	26/2/1838)
Baptismal Candidate	5/10/1838
Baptised as Benjamin	23/6/1839
Communion Candidate	16/4/1840
First Communion	9/5/1841

82

At Groenekloof, as a result of this careful process of advancement, the number of communicant members was often smaller than

80. HA, Catalog, p.13.

81. Groenekloof Diary for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.340.

82. HA, Catalog, p.86.

the number of non-communicant adult members in the community. (See Figure 1.2)

Residents could and did get away with an outward conformity to the Regulations. It could have been that they did not particularly desire to participate fully in the church life, content with simply being able to reside at Groenekloof. It may have been that the desire was there but that they failed to meet the exacting requirements of a religious establishment which valued earnestness and fervour above numbers in the 'Catalog' of full members.⁸³ (See discussion of reasons for departure in Chapter 6).

There is no way of categorizing newcomers according to their motivations for coming; probably even to themselves these were not fully known. They were reported as 'at first being able to understand little of what they heard at church'.⁸⁴

Some observers recognized that in the peculiar circumstances of slave emancipation, the priorities of newcomers were less 'spiritual' than formerly was held to be the case:

83. Zinzendorf had originally taught Moravian missionaries that their task was to win a select number of converts but that mass conversion would have to await the conversion of the Jews in the end times. Moravian missionaries were seemingly surprised and pleased by the success of their work but did not employ strategies for mass evangelism and movement of large numbers of converts at one time into church membership. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.100; Raum, 'Development of the Coloured Community', p.11.

84. Lehman, Groenekloof, 20/7/1841, PA, XVI, 1841. p. 35.

Among the new residents who were freed slaves were also those who came to Groenekloof for worldly reasons, and not in the interests of their souls; and the teachers had difficulty at that time to prevent a spirit of licence gaining the upper hand.⁸⁵

Thus, while newcomers to Groenekloof were being initiated into the intricacies of mission life, the longstanding residents were having to contend with a fairly radical shakeup. It was reflected in the physical environment as new streets were laid out; it was reflected in swollen numbers at church meetings,⁸⁶ in schools; in the numbers of those 'eagerly awaiting' permission to settle;⁸⁷ and in the necessity of disciplining and even excluding newcomers who did not fit in. For:

those who would not listen had to be expelled so that their influence would not be a damaging yeast to the whole place.⁸⁸

Among these was Gert van der Merwel who was admitted on 11 January 1841 and expelled seven months later along with two oldtimers, when the three of them had drunkenly defied the authority of the overseers.⁸⁹

Those who remained may well have felt subject to an intense scrutiny of their personal lives. Yet there must have been those at Groenekloof, as at Genadendal, who saw themselves as receiving a double liberation in December 1838:

85. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p.62.

86. Hallbeck, Genadendal, 24/2/1840, PA, XV, 1839, p.265.

87. Teutsch, Groenekloof, 14/4/1840, PA, XV, 1839, p.268.

88. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p.63.

89. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.215; HA, Catalog, p.103.

We were slaves and foreigners, but the Man above bought us free. I am a poor creature, but my dear Saviour cleansed me with His precious blood.⁹⁰

For those who had known the degradation and often violent domination of slavery, here was a message of new beginnings, of belonging to a new community symbolized by the giving of new names at baptism.

For all that he sees Methodism as embodying a 'forbidding' ideology, E.P.Thompson portrays entry into the life of the English Methodist church of the same period as entry into a new religious community with

its own drama, its own degrees of status and importance, its own gossip, and a good deal of mutual aid. There was even a slight degree of social mobility... Men and women felt themselves to have some place in an otherwise hostile world when within the Church.⁹¹

This was equally true of Groenekloof; in fact more so in that its structures as a settlement were particularly well designed to integrate newcomers into the communal life of the mission. Whether an individual or a family, there was a niche for the newcomers who would receive attention and support; be part of group discussion; receive teaching which would enable them to advance in status; participate in a panoply of festivals which would affirm their particular status as a child, widow or married man.

At the same time residence at Groenekloof provided opportunities to learn a trade, obtain an education and cultivate

90. Mozambican convert at Genadendal; Suhl, Genadendal, 21/12/1853, PA, XXI, 1854, p.142.

91. E.P.Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, 1980) p.417.

mission land under the tutelage of the missionaries. (See Chapter 4).

Just as Herrnhut was able to absorb refugees, Groenekloof was ideologically and structurally able to integrate ex-slaves and others who flocked to the mission in the mid-nineteenth century. This was always providing that the newcomers were prepared to adhere at least outwardly to the regulations of a rather closed community, with exclusion the obverse to integration.

The Herrnhut influence on Groenekloof is clear; and the protection of the government continued to ensure that what land had been set aside for mission use was retained - although growing numbers after emancipation were to place this resource under some pressure. In closing this chapter it is the third of Kruger's assertions about the nature of the mission community that requires closer examination. This is the assertion that it grew in a vacuum created by the breakdown of traditional culture.

If Groenekloof is to be understood, is it as 'a cell of Christian European culture'?⁹² 'I felt as if I were in the midst of one of our German congregations', wrote Breutel of his experience at Groenekloof.⁹³ Kruger describes the Moravian settlements in the western Cape as places where 'the missionaries gathered a mixed population ... without customs and traditions.' Here 'they were bound together by the faith and the mode of

92. Ibid., p.298.

93. Breutel to the Mission-Board, Groenekloof, 15/10/1853, PA, XXI, 1854, p.88.

living of the missionaries.'⁹⁴

He is correct in many respects; the discussion in the preceding pages has shown this. Yet one is uneasy with all the implications of this. Were the Groenekloof residents clones of Herrnhutters? In promoting Christian marriage, Moravian liturgy, and western music and education, did the German missionaries write large upon the cultural tabula rasa of their congregants?

Clearly Christianity took root most rapidly among the dispossessed Khoisan in both the western and eastern Cape, at a time when the as yet socially intact Xhosa were unreceptive.⁹⁵ Their history was not dissimilar to that of the Kat River 'Coloured' community whom Jeff Peires characterises as having 'borrowed their entire set of values' from Europeans.⁹⁶

Perhaps the cautionary note is not so much that those at Groenekloof did not absorb European culture and practices, as a protest against this being seen as done vacuously by people without ideas, aspirations and practices of their own which would shape their reception and practice of Moravianism. It also requires recognition that where they were being propagated, alien ideologies or 'derived ideas ... had to compromise with local conditions'.⁹⁷

The cycle of the agricultural year alone did much to shape the nature of the mission community. Schools closed when it was

94. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.295.

95. Elbourne, 'Concerning Missionaries', p.164.

96. J.Peires, 'The Legend of Fenner-Solomon' in B.Bozzoli (ed), Class, Community and Conflict, p.87.

97. B.Bozzoli (ed), Class, Community and Conflict, p.14.

time to harvest. Girls became better educated than boys because they were in less demand for farm work. Men were absent for lengthier periods than women who thus became to some extent purveyors of mission culture.

The very presence of Groenekloof residents on surrounding farms as casual labourers lent a peculiar character to the mission community and extended it beyond the physical confines of the mission estate. What was experienced on the farms influenced what happened at Groenekloof and vice versa. (See the experiences of Gottfried Losber and Frans Carls, for example, pp.165-166 and 178 ff.)

Above all else, the majority of Groenekloof residents were faced with the alternative of permanent residence on farms and ultimately of proletarianization if they did not make a success of life at Groenekloof. Some who settled at Groenekloof may well have regarded it simply as the lesser of two evils but to the extent that they embraced some mission practices in order to remain there, they were participating in a culture of resistance to proletarianization, passive though it may have been.

Those who made themselves a place at Groenekloof were people with their own histories, too. It is once again necessary to use a Genadendaler to make the point, but he is surely representative of the Mozambican-born ex-slaves coming to Groenekloof. (See pp.63-64) He represented people who were able to weigh up the value of what they were receiving in the scales of previous experience.

Peter Primo of Genadendal could recall the death of his father in battle and the flight of his mother and two youngest

sisters, while he was taken prisoner in Mozambique. He was

carried before our king. The Portuguese were there, and we were bartered away for corals and clothes. We were then taken on board a ship, and after many days we arrived in the country of the Portuguese, whence the French brought us to the Cape, before the time the English took possession of it a second time, under the governorship of General Jansen, and I was bought by a farmer.

He went on to express his gratitude that he had lived long enough 'to obtain my liberty and hear His word.'⁹⁸

Something of her past experiences, as well as her aspirations for the future, are reflected in the tale of Judith, a relatively early settler at Groenekloof. She told how she and her husband had had to abandon their livestock and children with their former master in order to live at the mission.

'If you want to live at Groenekloof, you can eat old shoes', he said. 'That won't be necessary, baas,' I said, 'but even if we had to eat old shoes at Groenekloof we would stay because we want to learn God's word.' But whatever I said, the baas didn't give us our children and animals.⁹⁹

There are indications that many of the newcomers to Groenekloof may have had some experience of community life, too. Seventy or so moved to Groenekloof from Louwskloof between 1808 and 1840. (See p.55) As shall be shown in the next chapter, the fifty or more arriving from the Koeberg farms after emancipation may have been able to construct some sort of community independent of their masters; and with this communal customs and views of their own; perspectives and practices probably profoundly modified at Groenekloof but nevertheless helping them to decide what to take

98. Suhl, Genadendal, 13/6/1853, PA, XXI, 1854, p.94.

99. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, p.26.

hold of, what particularly they wanted from the mission. Unfortunately it is not easy to tap into these.

These last issues are further developed in the chapters to come, and so it is to an examination of who it was that was coming to Groenekloof after emancipation, that we should now turn.

CHAPTER 2

ARRIVALS AT GROENEKLOOF, 1839-1852.

Groenekloof Diary for 1838:

Dec 2nd, being Sunday, we had a special meeting in the morning, in which we brought our thanksgivings to God, for the admission to unrestricted freedom of more than 40 000 of our fellowmen, which took place the preceding day...there were many tears of joy and gratitude.¹

Survey of missions at the close of Year 1839:

The emancipation of the slaves in this colony, December 1st, 1838, has been followed by important results for our congregations also, some hundreds of these freedmen having sought admission in them, and promising to be attentive learners of the Gospel and valuable inhabitants.²

Groenekloof had a population at the end of 1838 of 784 while in 1852 it was 1 242. (See Table 2.1) While the registered mission population thus grew by 458 in this period, the actual number of newcomers was far larger. Groenekloof records indicate that permission to settle at the mission was successfully sought by or on behalf of some 693 individuals between January 1839 and December 1852.³

The general implication of Moravian mission reports is that most of these were emancipated slaves and behind bland

1. PA, XV, 1839, p.162.

2. Ibid., p.246.

3. The statistics for 1838, PA, XV, 1839, p.162; those for 1839 and 1840 come from the Groenekloof mission rough notebook (RNB). The statistics for 1841-1852 come from the original Groenekloof mission diaries, 1841-1852, HA, Mamre Documents.

Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.38, underestimates the number settling at Groenekloof between December 1838 and December 1844, fixing it at 200 whereas the population grew by 442 in this period.

statistics is an intriguing pattern of comings and goings; of decisions not to stay as well as reasons for settling at Groenekloof; of relationships, old and new.

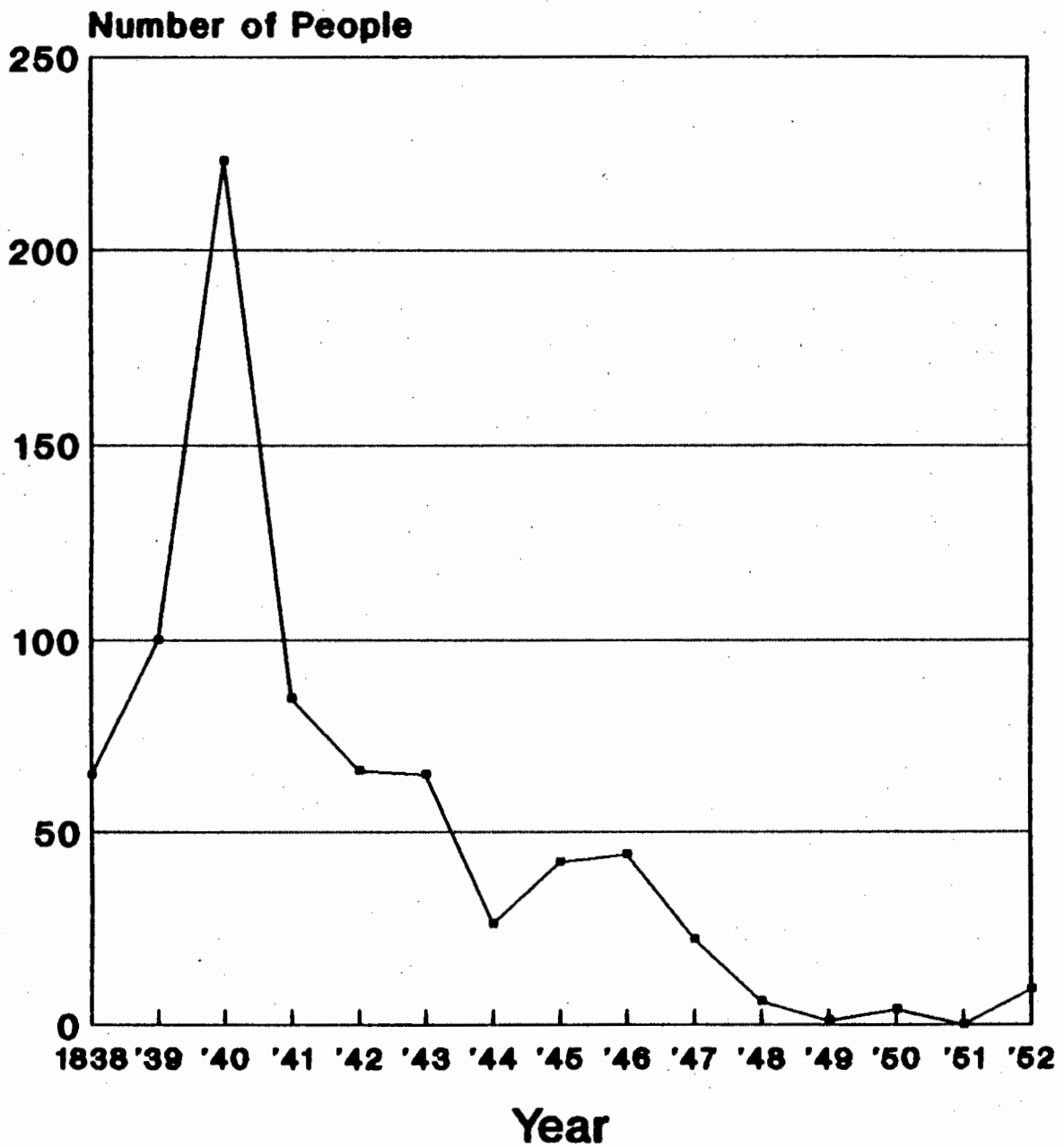
The vast majority of newcomers, a total of 548, arrived in the five years between 1839 and 1843 but as both missionary comment and statistics demonstrate, the arrival of the first freedmen and -women at Groenekloof was somewhat delayed compared to the experience of sister missions at Elim and Genadendal. By April 1839, ninety apprentices had come to Elim 'on trial'⁴ while Hallbeck wrote from Genadendal that 560 people, 'mostly manumitted apprentices' had joined their congregation between December 1838 and April 1839. 'How it happens that only four apprentices have found their way to Groenekloof, I can hardly comprehend.'⁵

As Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1 show, post-emancipation settlement peaked at Groenekloof in 1840, the second year after emancipation, rather than in 1839.

4. Teutsch, Elim, 18/4/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.133.

5. Hallbeck, Genadendal, 8/4/1839, ibid., pp.65-66.

**Fig.2.1: Permission to Settle
1838-1852**



**(Sources: Groenekloof RNB,
Diaries 1841-1853)**

Table 2.1 : Newcomers to Groenekloof, 1838-1852

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846
Permission given	65	100	223	85	66	65	26	42	44
Total Pop.	784	886	1096	1149	1228	1273	1226	1268	1302
	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852			
Permission given	22	6	1	4	-	9			
Total Pop.	1309	1338	1361	1345	1332	1242			

(Sources: PA, XV, 1839, p.162; Groenekloof RNB; HA, Groenekloof diaries 1841-1852.)

It is possible that with the area escaping a widespread drought,⁶ farmers were willing and able to pay wages and so to hold on to their labourers fractionally longer. Then, too, the Groenekloof missionaries seem to have less actively established links with labourers on outlying farms than had Hallbeck round Genadendal.⁷ Nevertheless, as will be shown, Khoisan or 'Bastaard Hottentot' mission residents had many links with slaves on the farms and would be influential in bringing many to the mission. So the delay is not explained by ignorance.

The Malmesbury magistrate reported early in 1839 that former masters were detaining the children of 'late apprentices' contrary to the law, and that, too, may have

6. Groenekloof Diary for 1838, PA, XV, 1839, p.162; Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.30-31.

7. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.154-155.

delayed the departure of certain families from the farms.⁸

Alternatively apprentices left their masters in December 1838 but had more options than elsewhere and so took longer to make their way to a mission than their counterparts in the Swellendam district. One alternative was to join a community of squatters. Two or three such communities developed on private land in the district, one of which was on the farm Wittezaand south of the mission [Map 1, opp. p.67, F2], where the inhabitants survived by burning charcoal.⁹ Whether or not anyone came to Groenekloof from here is not clear, however.

All the same by the end of 1839 Groenekloof missionaries were also remarking on the 'frequent applications made by the heathen from our neighbourhood, to be permitted to live on the settlement' as well as 'a number who wandered in former years and want to be restored to it.'¹⁰ By April 1840 applications to settle at Groenekloof were being received daily.¹¹

The rate of arrivals at Groenekloof in the ten years prior to emancipation had tended to be in the region of twenty and thirty per annum¹² and the numbers of entrants in the mid-forties reverted to this pattern. Thereafter there was a

8. CA,1/MBY,6/1/1, Circular to Field Cornets, Malmesbury, 23/3/1839; Resident Magistrate to Attorney-General, Malmesbury, 26/3/1839.

9. Report of Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury, 20/2/1849, M & S Addenda. The missionaries eventually established an outstation here; Teutsch, Groenekloof, 21/11/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.173; and Franke, Groenekloof, 12/12/1849, PA, XIX, 1850, p.342.

10. Teutsch, Groenekloof, 21/11/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.173.

11. Teutsch, Groenekloof, 14/4/1840, ibid., p.268.

12. J.Katzenellenbogen, 'Historical Demographic Investigation', p.53.

distinct slowing down as between 1848 and 1852 only twenty newcomers were admitted. For the rest of the 1850s, the mission population stabilized, the admission of outsiders a rare occurrence.

We have, thus, a picture of a surge of arrivals a year after emancipation with further access to settlement at the mission being restricted by the end of the decade as its capacity to support more people was exhausted. (See Chapter 4).

Who was coming to Groenekloof?

In attempting to flesh out the identity of those who settled at Groenekloof after emancipation, it is worth considering whether a distinction between descendants of the indigenous Khoisan and those of the imported slaves can be made and sustained. In the thirty years since its establishment in 1808, the mission had been directed to the 'Hottentots' and was, as has been explained above, situated on a portion of land claimed by the Khoikhoi captain Hans Klapmuts. Many of his followers became the earliest residents at the mission.¹³

Writing in 1822 Clemens, the missionary then in charge of Groenekloof, wrote of the station:

13. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.101-102. Klapmuts' baptism in 1838 and move to the mission shortly thereafter ended a long period of resistance to the Moravians' proselytizing efforts on his part; a period in which all of his 60-70 followers moved to Groenekloof.

I find it necessary to observe, that there is hardly any genuine Hottentot residing in this place, all being in appearance Bastaards, and that though apprentices and slaves occasionally attend our church, none of these classes have been admitted to Church fellowship here.¹⁴

This appears to have remained the case until 1839, so the congregants, with a few rare exceptions were not slaves.¹⁵

Any distinction between the place of origin of the 'Hottentots' who had already moved to Groenekloof and the ex-slaves who were newcomers after 1 December 1838, must be hard to make as creolization of the slave population had taken place. By 1770 over fifty per cent of the slave population was Cape-born¹⁶ and increasingly of mixed Khoi-slave parentage after the abolition of the slave trade in 1808. On the proximity of farms, miscegenation and similarity in de facto status of 'Hottentot' labourer and slave or apprentice began to blur any distinctions which originally existed. This was until Ordinance 50 of 1828 redrew some of the boundaries.

The significance of the apprenticeship period, 1834-1838, as a time of transition from slave to free labour and all that this entailed, awaits full investigation. Yet it seems that continuing through this period, both Khoisan labourers and

14. HA, Mamre Algemene Korrespondensie, 1820-1854, Clemens, Groenekloof, 1822, to 'The Hon. His Majesty's Commission of Enquiry'.

15. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, pp. 37, 48-49 refers to the slave Moses who saved to purchase both his wife's and his own freedom. They entered Groenekloof in 1811. The slave Apollus was given his freedom as a reward for his loyalty and settled at Groenekloof in 1814 with his wife Kaatje and two daughters.

16. R. Shell, 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1658-1830', (seminar paper presented to History Department, UCT, 23/8/1991), p. 8.

slaves were vulnerable to personal violence at the hand of masters and overseers; apprentices saw their progeny exploited and at times wrested from parental control as child labour.¹⁷ For both, legal reforms made subsequent to the second British occupation of the Cape had begun to afford them some means of resisting, though by no means eliminating, the above.

With rare exception, the mission records do not distinguish former slave from non-slave. Both came to Groenekloof after 1838, with ex-slaves the majority. Perhaps the important thing to note is - and the intention is to demonstrate this below - that there existed a network of working and family relationships between slave/apprentice and free 'Hottentot'. This was such as to cause the latter at Groenekloof to shed tears of joy and gratitude for the release of the former on the 1 December 1838.¹⁸

But at the same time the behaviour and consciousness of the ex-slave had been shaped by bondage and must be in some ways understood in the context of this distinctive experience. An illustration of this is found in the unsolicited comment of a Genadendal ex-slave, 'a respectable mother of a family', celebrating 'with fervent prayer and thanksgiving' in December 1852 the anniversary of her emancipation:

17. Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds', p.14.

18. See extract from Groenekloof Diary for 1838, p.51 above.

She said, that, in the days of slavery she had always envied the Hottentots of Genadendal, who were allowed to spend the Sundays and festivals with the congregation - a privilege which she ardently, but vainly, longed for, till that ever-memorable day arrived.¹⁹

For her, freedom was partly defined by the possibility of a choice and this choice was to become an active participant in the life of an inclusive moral community; one which did not close its doors to slaves with the words:

'No; that [going to church] is not for you; here is a spade; take it, and work in the garden.'²⁰

On the one hand there exists the image of the slave outsider longing to join the mission community on highdays and holidays; at the same time there is a need to modify the image of Cape slaves as atomised individuals, deprived through the peculiar circumstances of Cape slavery of ties of kinship and community. This the recent work of historians such as Mason, Shell and Scully has gone a long way to do - with regard to the nineteenth century at any rate.²¹

Mason and Scully both observe the attempts of slaves and apprentices to protect the integrity of the family. Shell argues that by the early nineteenth century it had become a 'Cape tradition' and 'a matter of honour' not to sell

19. Suhl, Genadendal, 2/12/1852, PA, XX, 1853, p. 461.

20. Former slave reporting his master's words, Genadendal Diary for 1848, PA, XIX, 1849, p. 175.

21. Shell, 'Domestic Slave Market'; Mason, 'Slaves and their Protectors'; Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds'.

houseborn slaves but to bequeath them to family members.²² Slave units became identified with the estate and if liquidation became a necessity, slaves were almost always sold as a group with the 'establishment'.²³

Marriage and aspects of family life will be considered in more detail in the next chapter, but these findings encourage the question to be posed: to what extent was the departure of former slaves from the farms and their arrival at Groenekloof an individual decision? The evidence is compelling that, in the majority of cases, it was not. At the least it was generally a family matter. Indeed, the indications are that the mission was being used, in the post-emancipation era, as a place where families could be reconstituted and/or secured. This rather than access to material resources per se may well have been the overriding concern of the newcomers.

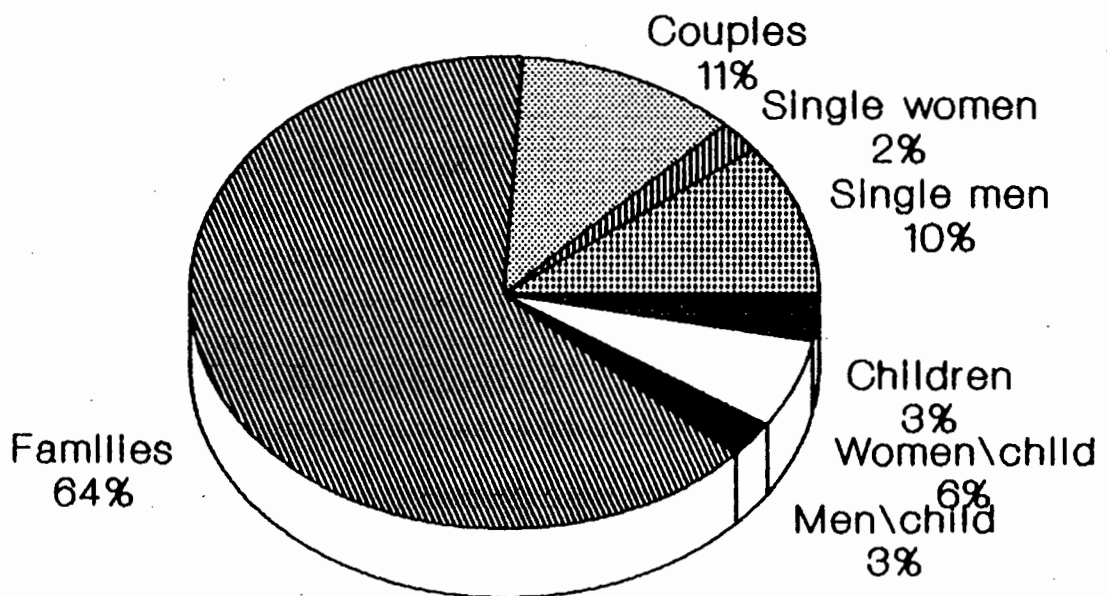
The mission Catalog or register provides the evidence on the groupings in which arrivals came and sought permission to settle.²⁴ (See Appendix B and Figures 2.2 and 2.3 based on this.) Those who came as individuals were largely adult men arriving in significant numbers between 1839 and 1841. This is easily explained by the farmers' preference for male slaves as essential to the labour force and the consequent preponderance of men in the labour force of most farms including those

22. Shell, 'Domestic Slave Market', p.15.

23. Ibid., p.26.

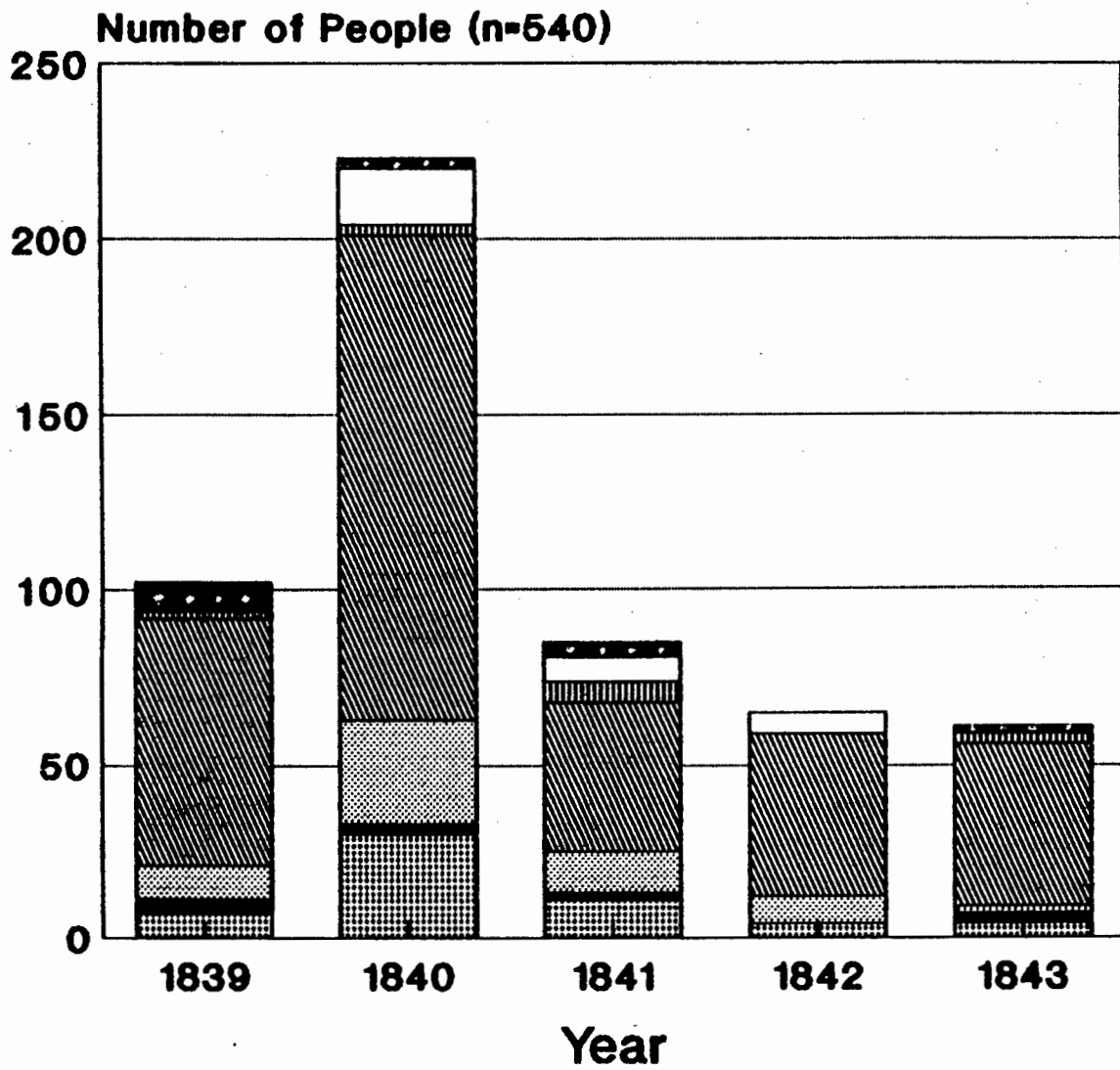
24. The data from the Catalog which have been used for a great deal of this chapter have been reproduced with names of newcomers listed alphabetically in Appendix B. Unless otherwise indicated, it is on the basis of the evidence contained here that conclusions have been drawn.

**Fig.2.2:Arrivals
1839-1843 (n=540)**



(Source:HA,Catalog)

Fig.2.3: Groupings of Arrivals 1839-1843



Sing.men
 Sing.wom
 Couples
 Families
 Man/chil
 Wom/chil
 Children

(Source:HA,Catalog)

around Groenekloof.

But, as Figures 2.2 and 2.3 also clearly show, there was a greater likelihood of newcomers arriving as part of family groups. The constitution of these was at times fairly complex, but those classified here as families included both father, mother and one or more children (and at times a grandparent or other relatives).

The almost invariable presence of a father is significant given Shell's findings that the ameliorative legislation of 1823 helped to keep mothers and children together but not spouses or fathers and children.²⁵ Scully likewise found that, in the last years of Apprenticeship (pre-1838), court records showed mothers, rather than fathers or both together, challenging indentureship of their children. She suggests uncertain paternity, weakness of slave father's authority and possibly conflict between parents over control of the children as responsible for the prominent role of the mother.²⁶

Other groups of newcomers comprised one parent and one or more children. A number of couples arrived at Groenekloof, too, and in a few instances, groups of siblings without either parent.

After the hectic arrivals of 1839 and 1840, many came to join their recently settled relatives. For example Vytje and Lakey Janeiro arrived in January 1840 with their infant son, David, and three of Vytje's children from an earlier relationship. In April of the same year they were joined by

25. Shell, 'Domestic Slave Market', pp.34 & 37.

26. Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds', pp.15-16.

her seventeen year old son Jan Jonas and his 'wife' Lea. In February 1841 two more of her sons, Saul and Isaak Jonas, were given permission to settle at the mission.²⁷ The arrival of members of the extended family is also frequent enough to demonstrate the importance of these kinship ties to newcomers.

Adult admissions between 1839 and 1843 outnumbered those of children by 346 to 202 while of the adults, 199 were men and 147 were women.²⁸ (See Figure 2.4.) This is a profile consistent with a community where heavy male predominance is being balanced out by a growing female population and a rising but not yet high birth rate.

It appears that about forty-four per cent of the children were five years old or younger. In some instances babies were born at Groenekloof while their mothers awaited permission to settle or shortly after permission had been granted. Isabel Cleophas was admitted in April 1841 with her six year old daughter, Lentje, and two year old, Lea, and had a son four months later.²⁹ Janetje Hans timed her arrival more tightly, giving birth to a daughter three weeks after obtaining permission to settle in January 1842,³⁰ while Lena Constabel had a son three weeks after her admission on 27 March 1843.³¹

Many of these small children were born on farms close to Groenekloof. Whether this indicates that families were working

27. HA, Catalog, pp. 54-55, 99 & 108.

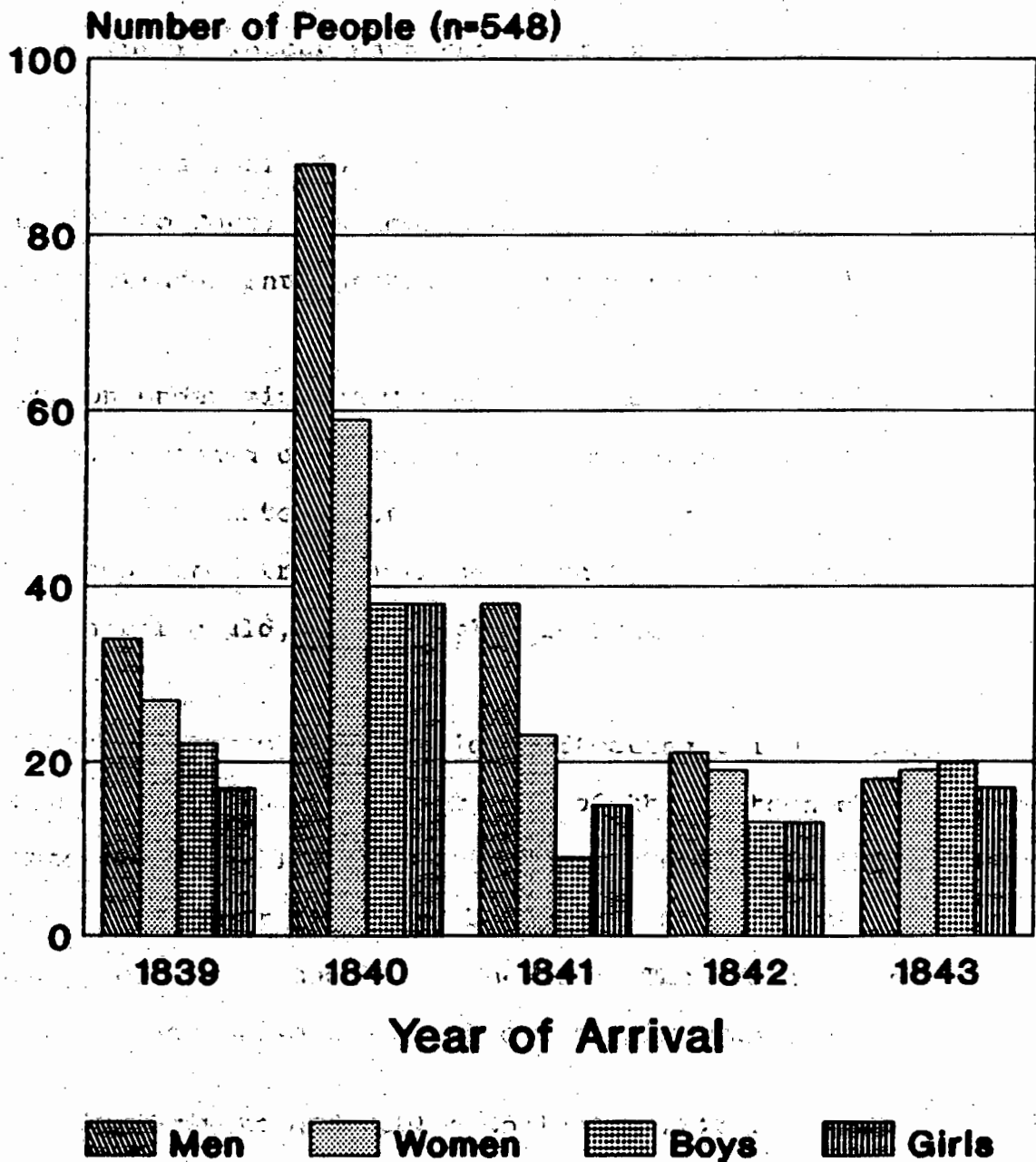
28. Groenekloof RNB.

29. HA, Catalog, p. 31.

30. Ibid., p. 49.

31. Ibid., p. 112.

**Fig.2.4: Sex of Newcomers
1839-1843**



(Source:Groenekloof RNB)

their way to Groenekloof from remoter regions, seeking employment closer to the mission prior to gaining admission, or whether it indicates that once neighbours of the mission had small children they decided to move onto the station, is not clear. In support of the latter view is the evidence, already mentioned, that farmers were using both threats and 'persuasion' to keep the children of apprentices on their farms as future labour when those born after August 1834 were by law free.³²

Ordinance 1 of 1835, which put the Emancipation Act into effect at the Cape, was ambiguous about indenture and most Cape magistrates interpreted it for the benefit of the farmer.³³

Any person under sixteen who appeared to have been abandoned, deserted, orphaned or destitute was bound to remain in the service of his master.³⁴ This laid itself open to abuse as parents separated from their children by circumstances beyond their control could, for example, be held to have deserted them.

These measures and practices affecting children help to explain the fact that eight or nine of the sixteen children who entered Groenekloof on their own, entered when the agreement for their fostering by members of the institution, possibly relatives, had been completed. The fostering of children by established Groenekloof couples was something

32. Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds', p.14ff.

33. I am grateful to Nigel Worden for this information.

34. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.51.

which had gone on for a number of years with the missionaries drawing up agreements in which foster parents promised to provide Christian upbringing and education for their wards.

In September 1839, former Klaver Valley apprentice Rachel la Fleur placed her two-year old son, Joseph Berry, into the foster care of church servant Jonathan Conrad and his wife, Concordia.³⁵ Rachel herself only entered the mission in March 1841.³⁶

The age of newcomers is only haphazardly recorded in the Catalog, but the 1849 Commission of Inquiry visiting Groenekloof (see p.173) noted the ages of the men then resident at the mission.³⁷ It is thus possible to calculate the age on arrival of those post-emancipation newcomers still resident in 1849 (Figure 2.5). The majority were men in their twenties and thirties of whom more were in partnerships than were single.

The oldest men, the three sexagenarians Amos Immanuel, Josua Samson and Jacob Fabrik, and three of the fifty year olds, were all Mozambican.³⁸ So, too, was seventy year old Goliath, not in this sample because he died soon after arrival in 1840.³⁹ These men were probably representative of the group of aging Mozambican slaves whom Mary Rayner notes as bearing

35. HA, Mamre Testamente, Groenekloof 28/9/1839; Groenekloof RNB.

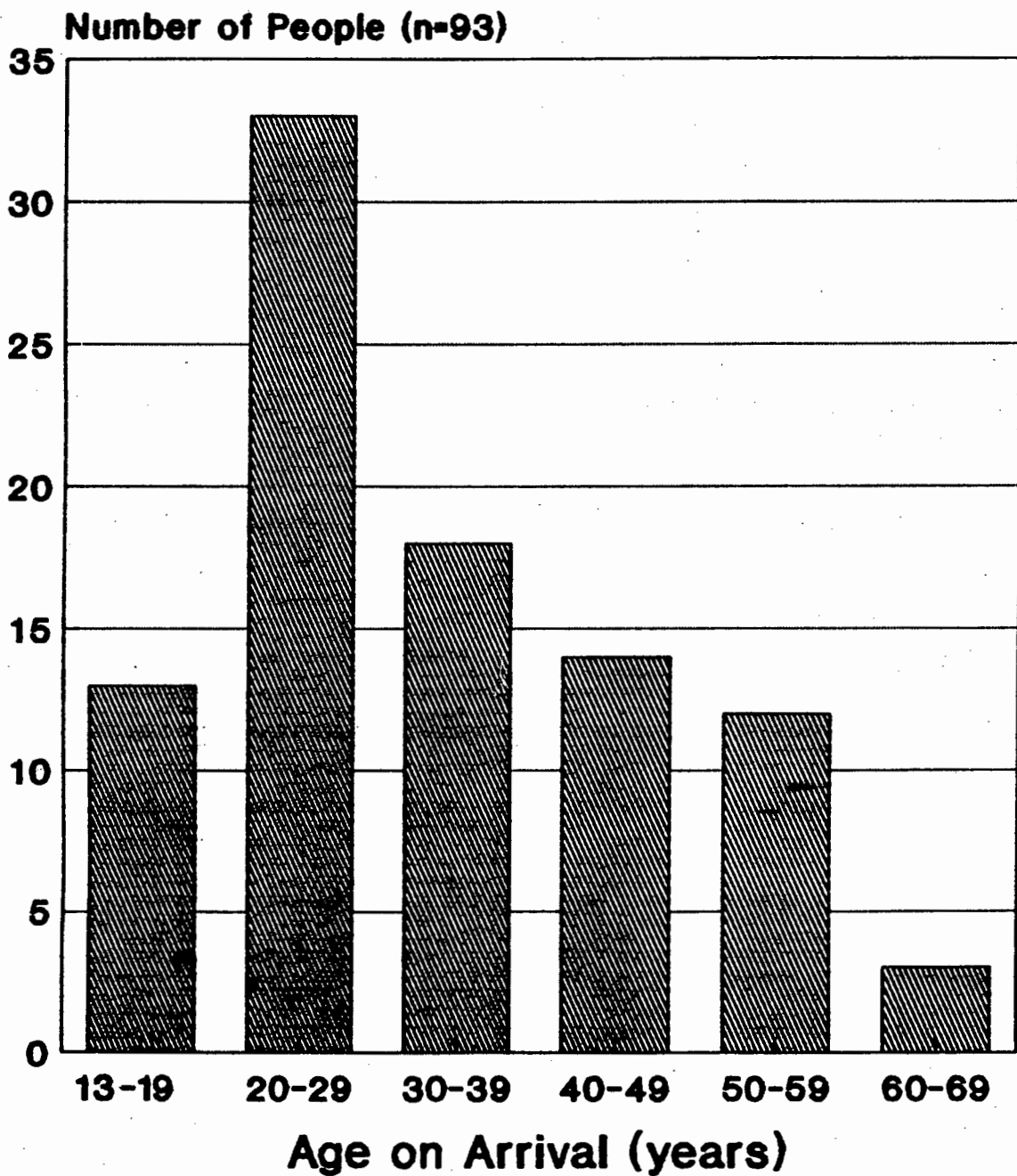
36. HA, Catalog, p.43.

37. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

38. HA, Catalog, pp.54,102,111; M & S Addenda, pp.65-67,69. Branders, Catalog, p.23; Bromla, p.157, Moses Jek, p.108.

39. HA, Catalog, p.105.

**Fig.2.5: Age on Arrival of Men
1839-1849**



(Source: M&S Addenda)

the brunt of the heavy farm work in the period after the slave trade ended.⁴⁰

What an analysis of the 'Catalog' also reveals, is that a significant number of the post-emancipation admissions to Groenekloof - about twenty-five per cent - already had some sort of connection with the mission. First there were those who had lived at the mission some time in the past, many having been born there and undoubtedly some of those who had 'wandered in former years'. While thirty-seven is not a large number of returnees, most of them did not come alone. Many were taking to Groenekloof family members acquired after their departure, and there were certainly a number whose slave spouses and children may have only been free to join them at the mission after 1 December 1838. Thus in some instances a man would return, bringing with him his wife and usually some children. As often it was the wife who was the returning member of the family group. Less frequently couples who had left together returned together. Occasionally a wife returned to a husband who had stayed at the mission. In all this group of returned former inhabitants numbered about seventy-three between 1839 and 1843, the period in which 548 newcomers settled at the mission.

Many of the above group had left family members behind at Groenekloof, while other arrivals had never lived there themselves, but already had a family connection with it. In the same period, 1839-1843, nearly sixty came to the mission

40. M. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves', p.4.

where members of their families (parents, step-parents, siblings, children, aunts and uncles, husbands or wives) were already resident. In this group were more who came on their own, here a son or daughter, there a grandmother or husband.

The dependence on patching together small and widely scattered pieces of information does not allow for well-fleshed portraits of the newcomers. But Bechler's Benigna van Groenkloof does allow one to accompany along the path to Groenkloof the emancipated slave, Sabina Geduld.⁴¹

Fifty-one year old Sabina Geduld was brought to Groenkloof at the beginning of 1843 by her long-lost lover, the recently widowed mission resident, Christian Vertyn. She was perhaps not too fortunate to have been rediscovered in the village of Malmesbury by Christian, who the women of Groenkloof agreed had such a bad reputation for drinking and as a wife-beater that he could not find a second wife at the mission. But their history had gone back a long way.

Christian, a 'vrye Hottentot', went to war on the eastern frontier in 1818 leaving behind him in the 'Onderveld', because she was a slave, his young 'wife' Sabina with whom he had spent seven happy years. In what appears to have been an appreciation of a beneficial partnership but also a pragmatic recognition that a 'slave marriage' had a less certain future than any other, they had agreed to wait for each other for six years after his departure. If they did not come across each other thereafter, they would be free to marry someone else.

41. Bechler, Benigna van Groenkloof, pp. 76-78.

After the six years had elapsed, Christian was still in the army and met and married a Groenekloof widow, Susanna,⁴² who had accompanied her son to 'Kafferland'. In 1828 Christian and Susanna repaired to Groenekloof where she died twelve years later. It was thereafter that Christian found Sabina and 'they agreed to resume their earlier married life'.

Thus came Sabina Vertyn, former slave, to Groenekloof where the consolation for her harsh treatment at the hands of her husband was prayer and, implicit in Bechler's account, the solidarity of the other women who befriended her.

There must be many connections with Groenekloof which go unrecorded in the mission annals, not least of which would have been the informal connections between workers, labouring and living side by side on farms. Some of these were slaves, some permanent 'Hottentot' labourers, and others resident at Groenekloof when not putting in the necessary labour to supplement their incomes.

A picture of the newcomers to Groenekloof from 1839 thus begins to emerge which is consistent with that being put together by historians of the immediate pre-emancipation era.

A largely Cape-born ex-slave population arrived at Groenekloof. Men predominated - although not in overwhelming numbers - a minority of elderly Mozambicans among them. Many, but not all, newcomers had already established links with a world beyond the farms - and many were concerned in the post-emancipation era to use these links to secure their families. Above all, the newcomers were coming as family groups.

42. Robbert, HA, Catalog, p.92.

Where were the newcomers coming from?

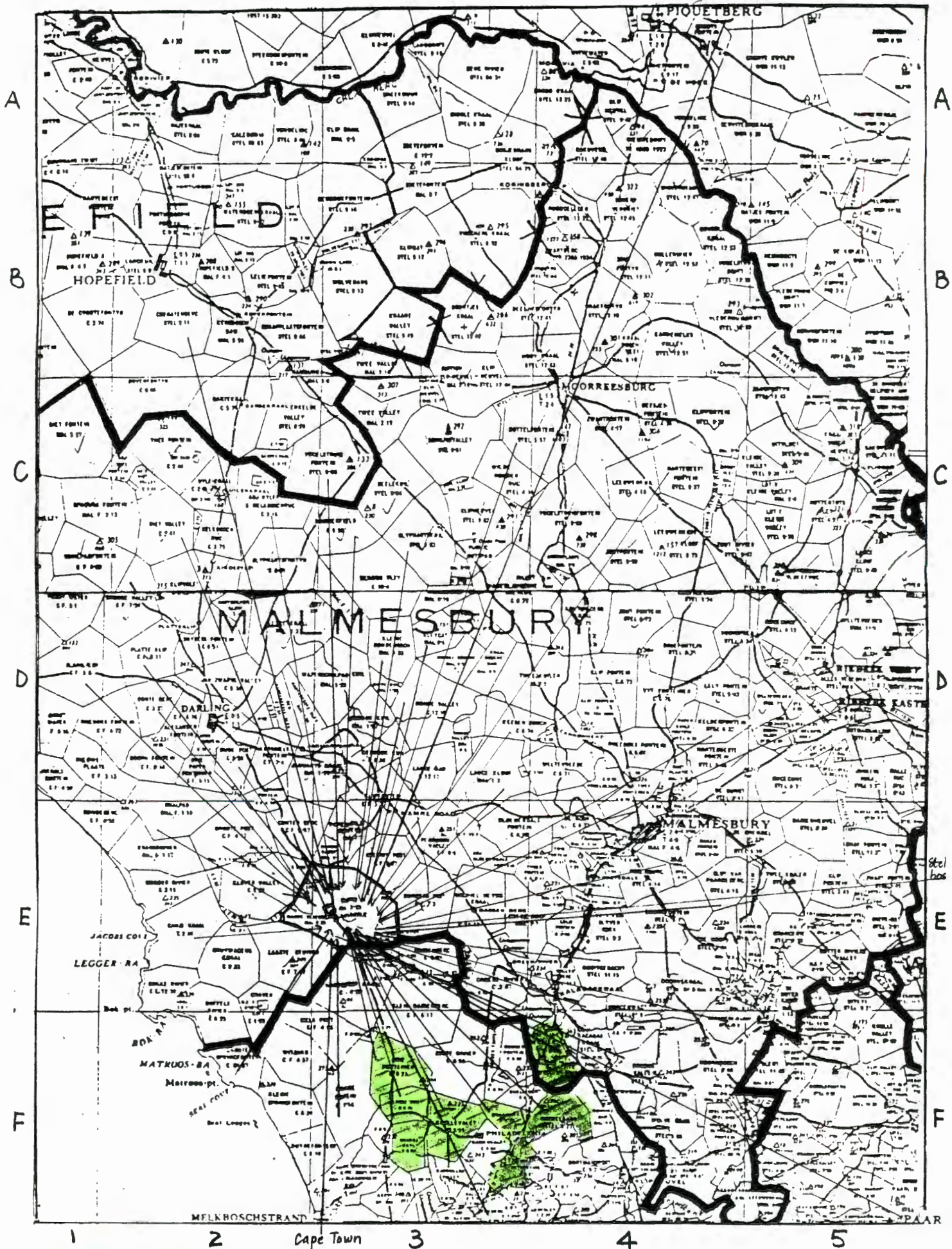
It is practically impossible to determine with any accuracy where the newcomers came from, although many clearly arrived from the farms around the mission. The Catalog lists the birthplace of the newcomers in the majority of instances but not their most recent place of residence.

Listed in the mission Catalog are close on 200 different locations at which newcomers were born. (See Appendix B). The vast majority appear to be the names of farms, most of which fell within the Malmesbury district or the Koeberg and Blaauwberg field cornetcies of the Cape district. The largest number of people born at one farm is fifteen at Driefontein [Map 1, F3], with Bergendal [map F4] and Coeratenberg [map B2] the birthplace of fourteen apiece. Ten each were born at Langerug [map F3] and Kransvallei [not located], nine at Ganzekraal [map E2]. Otherwise it was generally between one and four new residents at Groenekloof who were born at a particular farm. To complicate analysis, there were those who did not know where they were born, and there is a number of instances where there is more than one farm of the same name within the Malmesbury district.

The largest single source of newcomers was Cape Town where thirty-two were born, while small numbers were born in each of Stellenbosch, Tulbach, Paarl, Worcester, Caledon and False Bay. Piketberg was the birthplace of nine, Clanwilliam of four and six arrivals were born at Twenty-four Rivers. Four were born as far away as Graaff-Reinet and two at Beaufort.

0''
—

MAP 1 : Farms on which Newcomers to Groenekloof were Born



Farms referred to in Figure 2.6 (Source: CA, M4/1462-1465)

At times a region is given as the birthplace; the Kamiesberg, the Roggeveld, Koue Bokkeveld, Warm Bokkeveld and Namaqualand, from each of which came a handful. Dieprivier (sixteen), Bergrivier (seven) and Bergvallei (twelve) seem to refer to a fairly widespread area in that the Diep River cuts through the district for many kilometres while the Berg River comprises the whole northern and eastern boundary of the district. The Paardeberg lie to the south east of the village of Malmesbury and ten newcomers gave this as their place of birth.

Those born outside of the Cape came from as far afield as London and Ceylon. John Webb, born in London, was probably a former juvenile apprentice from the farm Groote Post [map E2] and probably the only European (in the true sense of the word) amongst the newcomers.⁴³ The others from many miles away were former slaves born in Mozambique (twenty-six), two each from Madagascar and Ceylon, and one each from Mauritius, Dacca and Bengal.

Thus, while Cape-born newcomers were drawn from an area stretching from the north-western Cape to the eastern Cape, it seems that the main catchment area for the mission was the farms in its immediate environs. The majority were rural people, born within a day's walk of the mission. But the diversity of place of origin is clear with an urban or village background for those coming from Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Paarl etc, and, as mentioned above, a distinctive Mozambican

43. CA, J58 Opgaaf Roll for Cape District, n.d. but tax entries indicate that the year is 1837.

minority.

They were similar to the oldtimers in terms of place of origin except that few of the older residents were born in Cape Town and none was foreign-born. While some of the earliest residents at Groenekloof had come from Genadendal, probably to help establish the newer mission, there seem to be only two newcomers from this mission.

Where there is a number of children it is possible to use the place of birth of these as some kind of outline of the family's movements; and where the youngest child is born close to the time of arrival at Groenekloof, this birthplace could well be the location from whence the family came to the institution. The problem with this sort of calculation, however, is that the birth of a child on a particular farm does not necessarily indicate that the father was resident there at that time, if ever. Nor does this reveal moves made between the births of children. Nonetheless, the following are some examples of families coming to Groenekloof after emancipation. Not only do they illustrate who was coming and where they were from, but they begin to indicate differences in social stability between families and networking of social relations between a number of adjacent farms.

The pattern of births of the four Salomon sons indicates a period of wandering by the family after emancipation and before coming to Groenekloof in September 1846. The father, Jomoeni, had been born at False Bay, his wife Klaressa at Hartbeestfontein, a short distance north-east of the village

of Malmesbury [map D4]. Salomon was born at Paardeberg in March 1839, David at Rustfontein (not located) in May 1841, and Jan at Klipfontein (probably Charles Duckitt's farm near Groenekloof, map D3), in August 1843. Joemoeni jnr was the last to arrive - in October 1845 - at Rosenberg, immediately south of Malmesbury [map E4].⁴⁴

Two families made up the sum total of fourteen arrivals from the northern farm, Coeratenberg, near present-day Hopefield [map B2]. One family was that of Adam Vigeland. Adam and his wife Candaze were both born at Coeratenberg, he in 1795 and she in 1802. All of their six children were born there between 1824 and August 1841. The whole family came to Groenekloof in May 1843 except their eldest son who followed in October of that year.⁴⁵

A couple of farms to the south lay Uilenkraal [map C2]. Arend and Caspar, the twin sons of Mozambique-born Jacob Fabrik, were born here in 1812.⁴⁶ The twins both took wives who were born at the nearby farm of Vogelstruisfontein [map C2-C3]. Caspar's first child, a daughter, was born at Klipfontein [map D3] in 1839, but his son was born at Vogelstruisfontein in October 1841. Arend's only child was born at Vogelstruisfontein in 1842.⁴⁷ In February 1843 the grandparents, Jacob and Eva Fabrik, Arend and Caspar and their respective families all entered Groenekloof. The

44. HA, Catalog, p.159.

45. Ibid., p.119.

46. Ibid., p.132.

47. Idem.

following year they were joined by the wife of Adam Fabrik also born at Uilenkraal and her infant son born at Klipvallei [map C2-D2] just to the south of Uilenkraal.⁴⁸

Platteklip [map D2], the farm of Geisbert van Renen,⁴⁹ was the birthplace of five new Groenekloof inhabitants. Two of these were his illegitimate daughters, Thryn and Louisa, by different mothers.⁵⁰ Born in 1841, Louisa van Renen was the daughter of Trui Azia who had been born in Piketberg. Louisa van Renen and Trui Azia entered Groenekloof in October 1847 with Trui's common-law husband Hoop Azia (born at Rondebosch, map D3). Completing the family group were their two daughters. Sarina was born in 1843 at Slangenkop, the farm immediately to the east of Platteklip [map D1], and Trui jnr at Katzenberg [map E3].⁵¹

With both the Fabrik and Azia families, it is evident that family networks spanned more than one farm in an area. Vigeland was a name absent from the Groenekloof register prior to 1843 and this family and the extended Fabrik family seem in part to corroborate Shell's conclusions about the stability of the slave force in the period 1823-1830:

48. Ibid., pp.111,132-133.

49. CA, J56 Opgaaf Roll for the year 1825, Cape District.

50. Ibid., pp.104 & 134.

51. Ibid., pp.134 & 153.

The single most surprising finding about the domestic market was the relative regional stability of most of the Cape slave force; for instance, whole generations of slaves born on large estates, plantations and many urban concerns must have watched several free but poor overseers (knechts) come and go.⁵²

This is even more vividly demonstrated in the south eastern portion of the Malmesbury district (Voor Zwartland field cornetcy) and northern Cape district (the Koeberg and Blaauwberg field cornetcies) where linkages were such as to suggest the existence of an extensive pre-emancipation community. Even more significantly, so many of those born here moved to the mission that it suggests an attempt not only to reconstitute family units, but a wider community of fellow workers.

South-east of Groenekloof and south-west of the village of Malmesbury, forming a rough horsehoe, lay these eight farms which were the birthplace of over fifty newcomers given permission to settle between 1839 and 1844 (see map F3-F4 and Figure 2.6 which represents the eight farms diagrammatically). Lying in the most productive part of the district and one in which arable farming had been taking place for many decades, these farms had had relatively large slave labour forces in 1825 with an average of twenty-five per estate. Farmers here also employed fewer Khoisan servants than farmers in the north west of the district.⁵³

Fifteen years later the first of the post-emancipation newcomers born on these farms appeared at Groenekloof; to be

52. Shell, 'Domestic Slave Market', p.33.

53. CA, J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

1840

date of entry to Groenekloof

(Source: HA, Catalog)

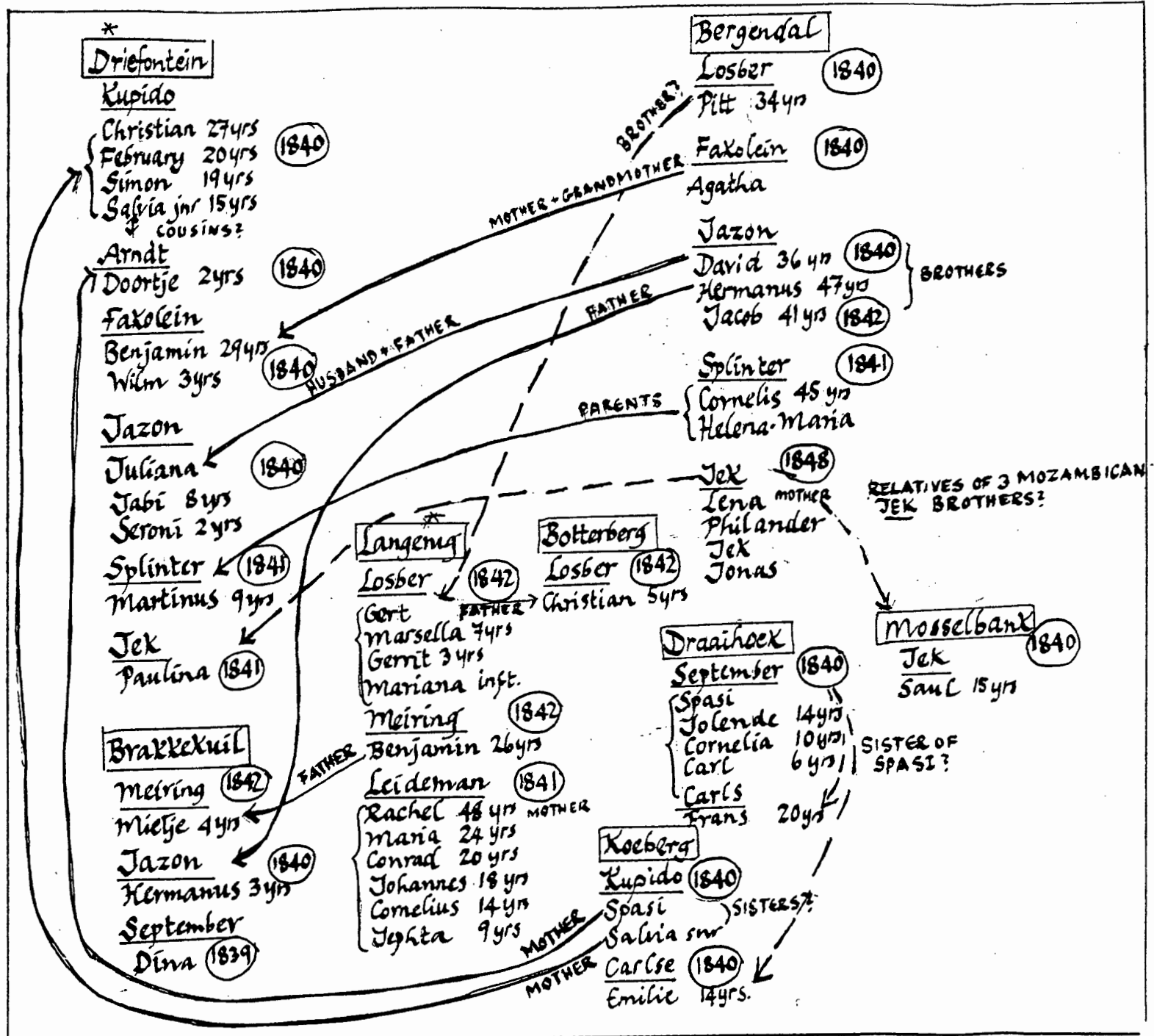


Figure 2.6 : Diagram Representing Eight Farms which were Birthplaces of Newcomers to Groenekloof

joined within a few years by many more. While not all those born on these farms were still living there at the time of emancipation, some clearly were; the Losbers of Langerug, for example, as indicated by the birth of their children there up to the time of departure in 1842.

Where parent and children were born on the same farm, it is likely that they had been resident there all along. Thus Rachel Leideman may well have been at Langerug for her full forty-eight years before bringing her daughter and four sons to the mission in 1841. At least she was there for thirty-nine years and adding to her family until the birth of Jephtha in 1832. It is similarly likely that the Kupido family spent at least twelve years at Driefontein between the birth of Christian in 1813 and the birth of Salvia jnr in 1825.

This further supports Shell's point about the relative regional stability of the slave force. He does, however, possibly overstress the extent to which slaves were bonded to the estate on which they were born.⁵⁴ The only farms which clearly belonged to the same owner or family were Andries Gous' Driefontein and Langerug. Yet slave family connections are not coterminous with farm boundaries. Parents were born nearby but not on the same farms in the cases of Cornelis and Helena-Maria Splinter (at Bergendal) and their son Martinus (at Driefontein); of Hermanus Jazon snr (at Bergendal) and Hermanus jnr (at Brakkekuil). Benjamin Meiring was born at Langerug, his daughter Mietje at Brakkekuil, next door.

In these instances the fathers may never have resided

54. Shell, 'Domestic Slave Market', p.26.

with the mothers of their children, though in Hermanus Jazon's case his relationship with his 'wife' Martha was of long duration as she had given birth to their six older children at 'Dieprivier' (not located but the river flows right through Bergendal) between 1821 and 1829. It is known from the mission records, that the Jazons were former slaves.⁵⁵

There is another noteworthy feature of the reconstruction of this rural community. In 1825, fifty per cent of the slaves on the eight farms were men, twenty-one per cent women, just over nineteen per cent boys and the remaining ten per cent girls.⁵⁶

In the early 1840s, the balance in age and gender moving from the same eight farms is far more even: in number, they were seventeen women, twelve men, thirteen boys and fourteen girls. It suggests that a higher proportion of family units may have been going to Groenekloof than is representative of the community as a whole. Single men arrived at the mission in significant numbers; this has been noted. But from a long established farming community, with larger slave-holdings than average in the Cape and thus with a greater chance of stable slave unions, it was perhaps family groups who most anticipated that life on the mission would be to their benefit.

Groenekloof may well have been seen as a place where it was possible to reassemble family units which had become fragmented since the birth of children. Alternatively,

55. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p. 381.

56. CA, J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

families which had been able to live together on the farms were removing themselves as a unit from the orbit of the former owner.

Knowing only their birthplaces, it is difficult to establish the extent and persistence of links between the various families which were born at the same place. At times they must have lived together. But others may have been sold off the farms of their birth. It is nonetheless evident that at different times over the years, a network of relationships was spun across the farms, as slaves socialized, openly or clandestinely; as they worked alongside of each other, perhaps certain slaves being hired to a neighbouring farmer for the harvest; as one farmer bought slaves from another.

Even if this pre-emancipation community was ruptured by the moving of groups and individuals, within a few years at Groenekloof fifty people who had been born within a few hours' walk of one another and whose lives had intersected in various ways and at various times during their slavery, were settling in even closer proximity. So the move to Groenekloof may also have been the result of a wider impetus for neighbours as well as relatives who had lived and worked together to move together. If one follows the dates of entry to Groenekloof on Figure 2.6, one is struck by how many people born in the region entered Groenekloof within a few years if not months of each other.

This is not to say that they lost contact with these farms. As chapters four and five show, most men and many women probably returned there as casual labourers - if they chose

to, for some element of choice was also the hallmark of 'freedom'. The story of the Losber family is resumed on p.165, and indicates all too clearly that in their case moving to the mission was only an episode in their family history and not the end of the chapter.

For the majority of those leaving Langerug, Driefontein, Draaihoek and the other five farms, however, Groenekloof was to become their permanent home in the long term. The nature of family life established by these newcomers at Groenekloof will be taken up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

GROENEKLOOF FAMILIES

For a number of reasons it would seem profitable to examine the nature of family life established by newcomers at Groenekloof.

In the first place it has become apparent, in examining those arriving at Groenekloof after emancipation, that slave family groups existed and were entering the mission as such. What sort of family life had slaves been able to construct regardless of their lack of legal standing prior to 1823? What changed after emancipation? Given the long history of legal kinlessness on the part of slaves, the answers to these questions are of particular significance in understanding what freedom meant to them.

Secondly, the overt intention of the missionaries of the United Brethren was to construct communities based on Christian principles. The Groenekloof Regulations stated:

We consider holy matrimony as an institution of divine origin and of vital importance for the maintenance of social order ...¹

It is therefore to be expected that the creation of 'regular' family life would be actively promoted and that those settling at the mission would find that marriage was the norm. How did this norm accord with or conflict with the aspirations held by members of the community? How did the institution of marriage and the structure of the families further shape peoples'

1. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 23.

interactions with their social and economic environment?

Thirdly historical demographers have demonstrated that there is much to be learnt from family life about the structures and values of the larger society.² Their approach is especially useful when, as in this case, church and magisterial registers comprise the main sources.

Marriage, birth and death.

In this discussion the term 'family' will be used for the nuclear family because there are often difficulties in identifying relationships beyond the unit of father, mother and children. It also accords with the social and physical structure of the mission where gardens were allocated to nuclear families who were expected to build a house for this unit.

Historical demographers commonly focus on three elements of family life; marriage, birth (or fertility) and death (or mortality).

Almost all births and deaths modify an existing family. In the case of marriages not only are two existing families modified, but a new family is formed.³

It is simpler to examine these three facets when the society is 'closed'. In other words, the changes occur in a society where population growth or decline result from births and deaths only, without the complicating factor of a significant

2. See for example E.A.Wrigley, Population and History, p.10.

3. Idem.

level of population migration. The movement of Groenekloof inhabitants away from the mission and the return of others, even before the emancipation of slaves, is a complication when one attempts to analyse family structure.

On top of that, at the time of emancipation one of the most striking features of the community is the large influx of people between the years 1839 and 1843, and the high proportion of departures of the same people. 35,7 percent of those arriving between 1839 and 1847 had left the mission by the end of 1852. (See Chapter 6 and Figure 6.1)

Not only does this mean that the researcher has difficulty in calculating for missing parties or short-term members of the community. It also means that the society under the magnifying glass is one to which the supposed norms have continually to be introduced to newcomers, who may take time to adapt. What is being examined is a community in a state of flux. Herein lies much of its fascination.

Nevertheless there were those at the mission in 1839 who had already been there for a long time; whose families were, for the most part, born there, and for whom Groenekloof was home. A comparison of some of the family characteristics of members of this 'old-timers' group with those of a group of newcomers to the mission may be of help in understanding what emancipation signified.

Marriage

It is with marriage that the analysis of the life of newcomers to Groenekloof will begin, and here a number of questions may be posed. It has been suggested that after 1838 there was a widespread demand among former slaves to be married.⁴ The question as to why former slaves were so keen to be married has been and is still being explored.⁵ What was the significance of marriage? Did men and women have differing expectations of marriage? Did marriage patterns change as the years at the mission passed by?

Before these questions are explored, it is necessary to establish mission policy regarding marriage. From 1816, and probably very much in line with practice at their European communities, marriages at Groenekloof had required missionary approval while marrying outside of the mission meant leaving it.⁶

Until 1839, however, missionaries were not marriage officers, their congregants having to go to the matrimonial court to legalize their unions. The law changed at the time of emancipation and partly because of 'the increased desire for lawful matrimony felt by the large number of persons released

4. See for example Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.53, and Scully, 'Liberating the family?', p.6.

5. Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds ', is part of one such investigation.

6. HA, 'Ordeningen der Evangelische Broeder Gemeente te Genadendal and Groenekloof van Br C.I.Latrobe revidert ultimo May 1,1816'.

from slavery'.⁷ In May 1839 Hallbeck wrote approvingly of the Marriage Order in Council passed three months before, this giving the missionaries for the first time the right to solemnize marriages and legitimize the position of children.⁸

The influx of newcomers to Groenekloof in 1840 was probably the reason for the promulgation of a new comprehensive set of 'Regulations' for the mission in October of that year; it was necessary to have clear-cut rules with so many new residents. It was now stipulated that a resident could not remain as such if

he cohabits in an irregular manner, or is guilty of adultery and the person who transgressed the rule of chastity (kuischheid) would come under church discipline including private or public exclusion from holy communion and the privileges of baptized members.⁹

By 1840 the rule that a resident may not marry off the station had been softened to permitting a resident to marry someone outside of the mission, but the new spouse's admission to the mission was dependent upon acceptance by those who superintended the institution.¹⁰

Although modelled substantially on the 1827 Genadendal Regulations, the Groenekloof Regulations of 1840 omitted two significant clauses present in the former. These allowed partners who had cohabited prior to arrival at the institution or whose unbaptised status prevented them being legally

7. Scully, 'Liberating the Family', p.5.

8. PA, XV, 1839, p.128.

9. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 25.

10. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 24.

married to be 'treated in the same manner as if they had been regularly married'. This was on condition that they promise

to conduct themselves in their married state according to the principles of christianity, and are, in case of breaking their promise, treated the same as if they had been regularly married.¹¹

The omission was possibly because the newly promulgated marriage ordinance seemed initially to give the missionaries the necessary powers to regularize their peoples' unions. As will be shown, however, problems arose inhibiting their plans.

If this was the legal position and mission policy, what was the experience of newcomers to Groenekloof? Judging by the entries in the marriage columns of the official mission register, the Catalog, marriages among newcomers after emancipation were singularly rare. In 1840, twenty-four took place, mostly of couples which had arrived the previous year. Thereafter there were only eight until 1853 when the 12 September was the occasion of a major connubial celebration with twenty marriages being solemnized. As at least 125 couples had arrived between 1839 and 1847 (none thereafter) there seem to have been many potential marriage partners remaining unwed.

There are four possible explanations for this. Firstly the documentation may be inaccurate. Alternatively, many of those who came to Groenekloof were already married but this went unrecorded. The third possibility is that many coming to Groenekloof were not in a position to be married or did not

11. 'Rules and Regulations of the Institution at Genadendal', Chapter I, clauses 25 & 26. An English translation of this is found in CGH, 'Report of Select Committee on Granting land in freehold', pp.38-45.

desire to be married. Finally, it may have been that the missionaries followed a conscious policy of not marrying ex-slaves after 1840; or at least of delaying marriage for an extended period.

A document which goes part of the way towards dealing with these issues is the second source on marriages: the February 1849 'Report of Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury' in which all male residents of the mission and their marital status are listed.¹² While many newcomers had already left Groenekloof by 1849, ninety-four men and their respective families remained and their marital status is instructive. See Figure 3.1.1

Of those who were recorded in 1849 as married, thirteen couples or fourteen per cent of the sample may have been married before entering the mission. (Married 1) There is no evidence that they were married after their arrival.

A second group of married newcomers (Married 2) comprised eleven couples who arrived together and married between two weeks and eighteen months after admission, the majority within seven months. These are largely representative of the twenty-four marriages recorded in the Catalog and mentioned above. It would appear that these were people who came to the mission amongst other things in order to be legally married. This group, at twenty-five years, had the lowest median age of men married after arrival and still living at Groenekloof in 1849.

12. M & S Addenda, pp.63-69.

Fig.3.1.1:Marital Status of Male Newcomers in 1849 (n=94)

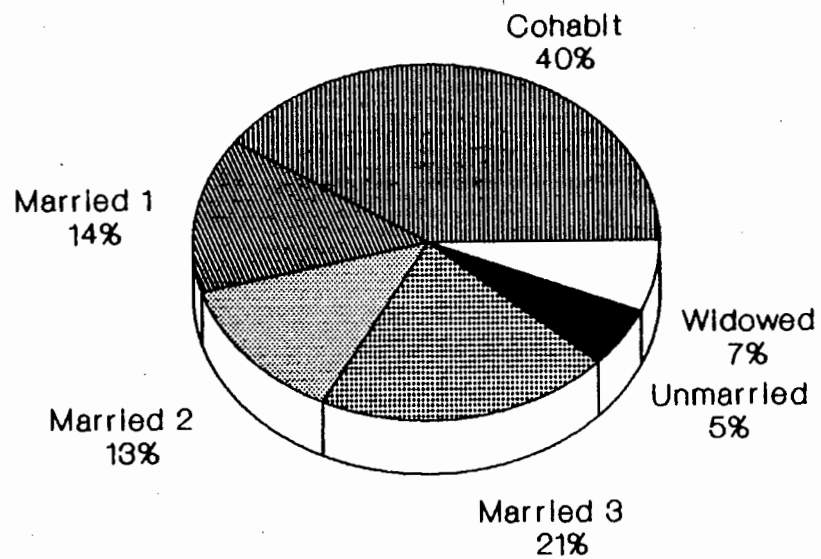
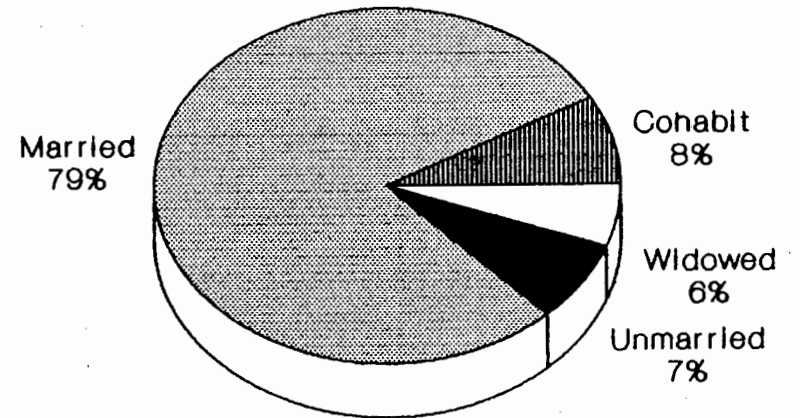


Fig.3.1.2:Marital Status of Male Oldtimers in 1849 (n=123)



(Source:M&S Addenda)

Table 3.1 : Median Age at Marriage of Male Newcomers

Married 2	25 years
Married 3	27 years
Married 4	42 years

(Sources: HA, Catalog, Groenekloof RNB, M & S Addenda)

The third group of married newcomers (Married 3) represents twenty single men and youths who arrived alone or with their parents and siblings. It was probably subsequent to their admission that they met their prospective spouses. Having entered without partners, they would have been under moral sanction from the mission hierarchy to marry in a 'regular' manner, if they wished to marry at all. The median age of marriage for these men was twenty-seven.¹³

While the Malmesbury magistrate only recorded male ages, Judy Katzenellenbogen's calculation of the median age at first marriage for Groenekloof women in the period 1837-1846 is the rather elderly 25,8 years.¹⁴ It would be these very women whom the single, unaccompanied newcomers would be marrying.

Very striking is the number of couples - thirty-eight couples or forty per cent of the sample - who were cohabiting on arrival at the mission and who were still doing so in 1849. For them marriage was either not a priority or a possibility. Of these thirty-eight couples, twenty ultimately were married;

13. Groenekloof RNB, pp.70-71, 'Married in the Church' 1839-1843; M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

14. J.Katzenellenbogen, 'An Historical Demographic Investigation', p.130.

this was between September 1852 and 1854. Most were married on the 12 September 1853, significantly a month prior to the inspection of Groenekloof in October 1853 by visiting Moravian bishop, Christian Breutel. The men in this sample (Married 4) were noticeably older when they married - with a median age of forty-two.

Without detracting from the point that they did not marry in any hurry, this figure of twenty marriages correlates neatly with the Catalog statistics and seems to confirm their accuracy.

It seems thus far possible to conclude that statistics of low marriage rates are reliable while some already married couples were amongst those entering Groenekloof after 1 December 1838. Whether the failure of others to marry was intentional on their part or due to uncontrollable circumstances needs further exploration given the view among historians that ex-slaves wanted to marry.

No explicit comments on the marital status or aspirations of the Groenekloof newcomers appear in the mission records. Most of the 1839 arrivals did marry. All the 1840 marriages took place in February and March, then there was an abrupt halt to weddings.

If former slaves coming to Groenekloof were no less desirous of marrying than those seeking this elsewhere, perhaps the experience at Genadendal gives a clue as to what may have occurred at Groenekloof. Having initially been enthusiastic about it, Genadendal's Rev Hallbeck wrote on 24 February 1840 that he saw the new marriage law as 'virtually,

-you could be named only after
baptism

though unintentionally' excluding 'our Hottentots' from its operation. This was because it required the entry of both a Christian name and surname on the official records and

most of the late apprentices have, in fact, neither the one nor the other, and can, therefore, not be married -add to which, our own custom of giving new names at the baptism of adults throws difficulties in the way with regard to the unbaptized.¹⁵

Their decision was therefore to marry anyone, 'Hottentot' or apprentice, who had been baptized, 'leaving it to the authorities to amend the law if it be defective'. But the unbaptised would have to wait until after baptism and their offspring be provided for by a special will.¹⁶

How the decision not to marry the unbaptized flew in the face of freed persons' aspirations is hard to tell. But reports from Genadendal in June 1845 indicate that there was a persistent demand for ex-slaves at Genadendal to be lawfully wed. As has been noted above, it had long been the policy at Genadendal to treat as married, couples who had been living together as 'heathen'. For those not satisfied by this, if they wished to marry their banns would be read in church but they would, as in times prior to emancipation, be given a private ceremony.¹⁷

It seems very likely that at Groenekloof, where the unbaptized apprentices were arriving a year later than at Genadendal, this policy was applied. There is a problem with

15. PA, XV, 1840, p.264.

16. Idem.

17. Genadendal Diary for 1845, PA, XVIII, 1847, p.127.

this theory though. Baptism of Groenekloof newcomers often took place reasonably soon after their arrival - within a year or two. Advancement to other levels of church privilege also took place and yet marriages were delayed until 1853 or never took place. Typical of many couples were the Septembers. Spasi September was baptised Hermina in September 1842, her partner Nanto was given the baptismal name Josua in September 1843; yet they were only married ten years later, in 1853.¹⁸

The conclusion to be drawn may well be this: a substantial number of newcomers was able to realize some of its post-emancipation aspirations without marrying. They could obtain a position at the mission, along with the gardens, homes and education for their children. They were able to secure the family unit and to modify their participation in the rural economy.

Marriage of ex-slaves still living on the farms may have offered some form of protection to the family, and Marinkowitz suggests that marriage meant an ability to withdraw from fulltime domestic work for many women; this being increasingly left to single women and girls.¹⁹ The mission provided this regardless of the letter of the law. While in no way sanctioning sexual licence, the de facto married status accorded cohabiting couples who lived in faithful relationships secured them much of what they sought.

Concerned to lay bare the power relations within slave and ex-slave marriages, both *Patricio* van der Spuy and *Pamela*

18. HA, Catalog, p.88.

19. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.53.

Scully argue that post-emancipation matrimony 'elevated paternal authority in the family'.²⁰

The family debate is crucial because it could be argued that post emancipation labouring families, which were clearly based on a patriarchal model, were formed during slavery as resistance to the power and control of the patriarchal master class. After emancipation the subjection of women which had been played out under slavery as a form of resistance, became real, and women therefore lost status and power within the 'underclass' ...²¹

It may have been that former slave women were the ones resisting matrimony; as yet there is no clear evidence of this, however.

What else may be learnt about the newcomers' experience of marriage? Clearly it did not precede the birth of their children nor was it a prerequisite to the setting up of new households; in the case of the first generation settlers at any rate. Invariably children were born well before marriage occurred and for a number, their married lives were only a portion of many years of lengthy stable unmarried partnership.

Nanto and Spasi September had forty-one years to their credit, from 1826 through their entry to Groenekloof in 1840 to his death in 1867.²² As has been pointed out above, their married days only commenced in 1853. Similarly, Adam and Candace Vigeland were together from at least 1824 but only married in 1853 aged fifty-eight and fifty-one respectively.

20. Scully, 'Public and Private Worlds', pp.32-34.

21. P.van der Spuy, 'Some Thoughts on Gender and its Application to the Study of Cape Slave Society at the end of the 18th Century', (unpublished paper presented at 'Cape Slavery - and After' Conference, UCT, August, 1989) p.7.

22. HA, Catalog, p.88.

Their partnership ended after forty-five years when Candace died.²³

But among the newcomers is also the evidence of disrupted and changing partnerships. A number of women brought with them or were reunited with children from one or two relationships other than with their current partners. Lea Hanische was given permission to settle along with her 'husband' Cornelius Hanische and her two daughters from earlier relationships, Hessi Hiebenaar and five year old Debora Goliath.²⁴ Janetje Abrahams arrived with three daughters of three different fathers - Maria Cobus, Sara Dierse and Janetje October.²⁵

Arriving at the mission with little or no exposure to religious teaching, these newcomers were, with rare exception, baptised and renamed within a year or two. The door to 'regular' family life was thus opened. While the tradition of unmarried partnerships may well have left an ideological legacy which inhibited marriage, it appears that time and an education at the mission would change this for the younger generation of newcomers. Certainly missionary Schopman, writing in 1852, perceived the changing attitude to marriage among the residents at the Groenekloof outstation at Goedverwacht in this light:

23. HA, Catalog, p.119.

24. HA, Catalog pp.105 & 120. See, too, the Azias, Catalog pp.134 & 153 ; Kandaas Jacobs, Catalog pp.87 & 99; and the Janeiros, Catalog, pp.54,55 & 99.

25. Ibid, pp.18,35,71 & 112.

The young people are no longer satisfied with the manner in which their forefathers entered the married state. At each visit, I am called upon to marry several couples, for which they cheerfully pay what the law prescribes.²⁶

The Groenekloof Catalog indicates that the children of the adult newcomers were similarly more likely to be married young. The policing of the sexual lives of unmarried members of the community, and the fairly regular exclusions and even expulsions resulting from unwed pregnancies indicate that the choice of whether or not to marry was being narrowed for young people.²⁷ While many left the mission in their late teenage years and early twenties, many others remained and married before they began their families. Many married into oldtimer families, too, in this way becoming integrated into the older community. For example, Rachel Leideman of Langerug's four children all married oldtimers, two of them members of the dominant Pick family (see Table 4.2, opp.p.128).²⁸ Six of the seven Vigeland offspring (see p.70) seem to have married into established Groenekloof families between 1851 and 1872.²⁹

This seems an opportune point at which to look, by way of comparison, at marriage among the oldtimers of Groenekloof. The same 'Report of the Malmesbury Magistrate' of 1849 which

26. 'Report of the Out-Station of Goedverwacht, in the Cedar-bergen...for October 1852', PA, XX, 1853, p.412.

27. Examples of unmarried women being suspended from church privileges because they were pregnant are, e.g. Christiana Mentor HA, Catalog, p.64, and Dorothea Janza, Catalog.p.52. In both cases they were married and had their babies within a few months of suspension.

28. HA, Catalog, pp.28,73,109,123.

29. Ibid.p119.

provides the data for Figure 3.1.1 is used for Figure 3.1.2 (opp.p.83) and the differences are clear. Of the men who were not single, seventy-nine per cent were married while eight per cent 'cohabited' with their partners compared to the forty per cent of newcomers. Regular marriage was clearly the norm.

But an examination of the relationship between the birthdates of their children and the date of marriage for a sample of oldtimers indicates that their marriage patterns were probably fairly similar to those of the newcomers. Where the older residents had settled at Groenekloof as adults, they generally came with partners to whom they were not married. Most would have begun their families prior to settling at the mission and continued to increase these once settled. At the mission they would have been encouraged to marry. Some did but others took their time about this although by 1849 most oldtimers were respectably married. It was the youngsters born at the mission who were more likely to be married before taking partners and beginning their families.

This is demonstrated in the experiences of nineteen men who were church servants and overseers in 1840 and three of the oldest inhabitants of the mission.³⁰ Of these twenty-two men, only seven were clearly married before commencing their families. Of these seven, three were the only overseers born at the mission.

In this overseer group, everyone was baptized well before marrying and in all but one instance both husband and wife

30. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840' provides names of overseers and church servants for that year; Catalog provides dates. See Appendix C for list of names of those examined.

were confirmed. There were fourteen couples where both partners had been admitted to communion which was a later step in the religious life and constituted full church membership. In terms of participation in church life, marriage was obviously not a prerequisite. But when they moved into leadership of the community, as they had by October 1840, they were all both full church members and married.

What then did marriage signify at Groenekloof in 1840? Up to then it had not necessarily signified the establishment of a new household. Ground for the constructing of houses and laying out of gardens had been allocated to consensual families who also had had access to land for growing crops and grazing any livestock which they had brought with them. Children had been born without the sanction of marriage and contributed to the pool of family labour as well as bringing in wages by working on surrounding farms. Even among those who were to become the elite of the spiritual community, marriage had occurred at times many years after settling at Groenekloof.

Marriage was necessary before assuming the important positions of overseers and church servants. For the holders of these positions, they acquired status in the community as well as a significant degree of power in the regulating of the community - modified by that of the missionaries, of course. For residents, there were advantages in having legitimate marital relationships where property was being accumulated. The sprinkling of residents' wills among the Mamre mission documents bequeathing livestock and household possessions to

family members demonstrate a desire to regulate inheritance in accordance with state legal custom; this would have been especially true of the wealthier residents of whom the overseers were clearly the dominant group. (See Table 4.2). Legitimizing family relationships would also have been of advantage where children were being sent away to work, given the arbitrary way in which some farmers acquired child apprentices.

At any rate, as the marriage of the Groenekloof-born overseers suggests, the direction in which residents would be moved by the missionaries was to marry before having families; to 'abide by the law of God ...'. As has been pointed out, it was the younger settlers at the mission and the second and following generations with whom they would have most success.

It is also possible that, as garden plots became less readily available (see pp.133-134) younger couples were more likely to acquire land if they were respectably married; which would in turn explain the higher marriage rates of the younger generation in the 1840s and 1850s.

In 1840, however, the missionaries were still contending with relationships which predated entry to the mission. Emancipated slaves would be entering a community where even among the established 'Hottentot' families, 'irregularities' had left their legacy of illegitimate children and some marriages had been of relatively short duration. Nevertheless, partnerships were apparently stable and long-standing. The mission does seem to have provided the context for settled family life for many, as evidenced by the length of time spent

at the mission by these couples and the successive births there of many of their children. This it likewise offered to the newcomers.

Births

As with marriage, there are many interesting questions to be asked about births and deaths and the rate of fertility and mortality in a community. Not only do the statistics of birth and death raise questions about living conditions, disease and nutrition and allow some comparison with other populations, but they also allow glimpses into the daily preoccupations of many of the people. Parenthood and child rearing; sickness and death; baptismal celebrations and funerals are all part of the rhythm of life of any community.

Beginning with births, the first question to be asked is whether the population was reproducing itself and at what sort of rate. Wrigley points out that, given the constraints of the level of food production within the society as a whole, the populations in pre-industrial societies generally remained fairly static and although there may have been short term spurts of high fertility this was usually checked by increased mortality at some stage.³¹ This is of course excluding population growth by immigration. Studies done largely of European pre-industrial societies indicate that it was unusual for a birth rate of above 45 per 1 000 per annum to occur. Likewise it was unusual to have a birth rate of less than 15

31. Wrigley, Population and History, p.11.

per 1 000 per annum.³²

A declining population (again excluding emigration) may be one in which there is a high birth rate, but an even higher level of mortality. But it could also be one in which the birth rate is particularly low, any death rate higher than this being enough to result in negative population growth. The latter being the case among the Cape slave population for most of its history, the specific circumstances of the Groenekloof newcomers is of interest for the light which may be shed on the transition from pre- to post-slavery levels of fertility.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the slave population at the Cape was unable to reproduce itself naturally because of the low female:male ratio and because slave women possessed a low level of fertility. The reasons cited for this illustrate classic impediments to fertility: arduous work, poor diet and poor living conditions.³³ Diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis would have affected fertility, too. Mary Rayner calculates that on average foreign born slaves in the Cape district in the eighteenth century produced 1.0 live births and Cape-born slave women 1.5 live births.³⁴

In the period 1820-1830, the non-slave population of the Cape Colony increased dramatically; the burgher population by thirty-seven per cent and the numbers of free blacks, Khoi and Bastards by fifty per cent. By comparison the slave

32. Ibid., p.62.

33. J.C.Armstrong and N.A.Worden, 'The Slaves, 1652-1834', in Elphick & Giliomee, (eds), Shaping of South African Society, p.134.

34. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves', p.39.

population grew by only 5,7 per cent in the same period.³⁵

(This is not to overlook the significance of a growing slave population.)

There is evidence that the proportion of female to male slaves was becoming more even, numbering 16 589:19 580 by 1834.³⁶ This was because, with the cessation of the slave trade in 1807, the proportion of Cape-born slaves grew. Cape-born slave women had a somewhat better birthrate than foreign born women slaves and there was a better mortality rate among girl babies.³⁷ This was too late to make much difference to pre-emancipation fertility levels, however.

The broad trend towards a more balanced male to female slave population in the Cape as a whole just prior to emancipation invites one to examine the situation on Malmesbury farms. The examples chosen are farms on which a number of newcomers to Groenekloof was born, and it is interesting to note the ratio of male:female adult slaves and servants there in 1825. Firstly we return to two of the farms mentioned above (Figure 2.6), Andries Gous' large arable farms, Langerug and Driefontein, south east of the mission. The adult labour force comprised thirty-three slaves, but no 'Hottentots', eighteen men and fifteen women. Similarly prosperous Bergendal had an adult work force of seventeen. The

35. Calculations based on table in R.Elphick & H.Giliomee, 'The Origins and Entrenchment of European Dominance at the Cape, 1652-c.1840' in Elphick & Giliomee (eds), Shaping of South African Society, p.524.

36. Armstrong & Worden, 'The Slaves', p.133.

37. Rayner, 'Wine and Slaves', p.41.

male:female ratio was 11:6, with nine slave and two 'Hottentot' men, and three slave and three 'Hottentot' women³⁸. The single male knecht, Jacobus Smit, supervised them and was still there in 1833 when the male:female ratio was 8:4.³⁹

Ganzekraal on the west coast and belonging to Jacob van Reneen, the veldkornet under whose jurisdiction the mission fell, had a large labour force in 1825. While there were ten 'Hottentot' men to fourteen 'Hottentot' women, there were only three slave women amongst twenty five slaves.⁴⁰ So the overall male to female ratio was 32:17.

A final example is the farm Uilenkraal north of the mission. As permanent labour for this and his three adjacent holdings, Coenraad Loubser had seventeen male slaves and six women, of whom one was a 'Hottentot'.⁴¹

From these four examples it is possible to see that fourteen years before emancipation, the sex ratio was still largely balanced in favour of males. Langerug and Driefontein are the only farms where many exclusively slave marriages may have taken place. Generally there were very few slave mothers relative to the total labouring population. Even when slaves were able to find partners and spouses on neighbouring farms, it is unlikely that the male:female ratios would be much different there. It is not surprising, then, that the number

38. CA,J276 Opgaaf for Stellenbosch District, 1825.

39. CA,J300 Opgaaf for Stellenbosch District, 1833.

40. CA,J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

41. Idem.

of new slaves born was small.

This is not to deny that slaves were the fathers of many legally free children. From the mission records it seems that there were many partnerships between women whose families were at the mission and men who were newcomers.⁴² The acquisition by male slaves of partners from among non-slave women was nothing new and the growth of the 'Bastaard Hottentot' population at Groenekloof is in part due to this.⁴³ Many of the newcomer children may well have been the offspring of male ex-slaves and non-slave women.

But what about the position of those women, formerly slaves, who came to the mission after their emancipation? Can anything be said about their history of childbirth, and the extent to which the pattern of reproduction changed after settlement at Groenekloof?

The period 1839-1843 saw 147 adult women arriving at the mission and in the same period, 202 children.⁴⁴ Thus an average of 1.37 children arrived for every woman newcomer. This is not a direct representation of their fertility as about twenty-four of the children arrived with their fathers or alone, and not all newcomer women were slaves. But it suggests that the women coming to Groenekloof were unlikely to

42. For example, Mozambican, Jonathan, whose sons Noa and Carl were at the mission with their mother Gried Alexander, HA, Catalog pp.51,53 & 55; Marcus Tilling, Catalog p.89; Friederich Masura, Catalog p.67; Afrika Geluk, Catalog p.116 and Robbert Jong, Catalog p.108 are all outsiders whose wives had come from Groenekloof.

43. This occurred frequently in the eighteenth century. Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa, p.58.

44. Groenekloof RNB.

have been very different from other ex-slave women in terms of the number of children they had born and raised.

In a situation where children were economic assets, it is unlikely that there would have been any extensive attempt consciously to limit childbirth. Thus demographic changes would to a great extent be indicators of the social and economic security of mothers.⁴⁵ The answers to certain questions are, therefore, important; such as for what proportion of their lives did women continue to give birth? At what intervals did births take place? Does the Groenekloof experience echo those societies where the wealthier began their families earlier than the poorer as they could afford to set up a household and women were chosen for their capacity to bear children rather than skills e.g. in running a farm. Also wealth means that they are better fed and better cushioned from the shock of harvest failure and famine prices and as such likely to bear more children.⁴⁶

Answering broadly, it is possible to state that the oldtimers at Groenekloof had larger families than the newcomers, and that this was linked to greater stability and wealth. The families of the 1840 overseers averaged six children.⁴⁷ By 1849, the 119 women who had been resident at Groenekloof for ten or more years had 431 children or an average of 3,6. The eighty-eight women who had settled at the mission after emancipation had 239 or an average of 2,8

45. Wrigley, Population and History, p.28.

46. Ibid., pp.101-102.

47. HA, Catalog.

children each.⁴⁸

Many of the oldtimers had been at the mission for far longer than ten years, and had a more settled start to their family lives than the newcomers emerging from farms where family life was generally precarious. Also, as the following chapter will demonstrate, the wealthier members of the Groenekloof community were oldtimers, although many oldtimers were poor.

For all that there were these differences, it is evident that newcomers who stayed at the mission were, with an average of 2.8 children in 1849, producing larger families than slave women at any time prior to emancipation.

A more detailed analysis of birth patterns among newcomer women becomes difficult as comprehensive statistics are lacking. In the first place, it is almost certain that not all the children of individual mothers accompanied them to Groenekloof, especially older offspring. Secondly, where the dates of birth of children are missing, it is impossible to calculate either the length of the mothers' period of fertility or the intervals at which they were giving birth.

But, rather than abandoning these issues altogether, a sample has been taken of twenty-six mothers who arrived some time during the period 1839-1847 for whose children birthdates are given.⁴⁹ It is then difficult to generalize about the ex-slaves because these examples are chosen for the very presence of children, and may be totally unrepresentative and result in

48. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

49. See Appendix D for list of mothers.

an over-estimation of the fertility of the newcomers generally. What they do demonstrate, however, is some possible permutations of birth patterns in families of former slaves and other newcomers to Groenekloof.

The twenty-six newcomer families being examined in this chapter brought ninety-one children with them to the mission.

Table 3.2: Number of Children on Arrival at Groenekloof of Twenty-six Newcomer Mothers

Number of children prior to arrival							Number of families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	6	4	4	4	1	3	
4	12	12	16	20	6	21	Total children
						91	

(Source: HA, Catalog)

As the table demonstrates, there was a wide range in family size the largest being exemplified by former slaves Martha and Hermanus Jazon who arrived with seven children, the first of whom was born when Martha was eighteen years old.⁵⁰

The new arrivals at Groenekloof had a further fifty-six children in the years after they had settled at the mission. Amongst them was the ex-slave Rachel la Fleur who having given her son up for adoption prior to coming to Groenekloof (see p.63), settled at the mission herself and proceeded to have four more sons once married to Poli Okkers. She was thirty two years old when Tobias was born and forty three at the birth of

50. HA, Catalog, pp.100 & 107.

the fourth, Josua.⁵¹

The largest number of children in a single family was eventually twelve. This was the family of Spasi September (also mentioned above, p.88). She and Nanto had five children before settling at Groenekloof where they had seven more. Twelve other couples gave birth to between six and ten children. Seven of the families that had six or more children gave birth to at least half or these at Groenekloof, indicating that settling at the mission was conducive to producing large families although a number were plagued by infant mortality.

What is significant, is that by the time slavery was reaching its demise, some large slave families did exist and grew into even larger free families.

Calculated for eighteen women, child-bearing seems to have lasted for about eighteen years which is much the same as for the overseer group. The youngest newcomer mother was eighteen and the oldest forty-two, but it is not possible to calculate any average ages from the tiny sample given.

The intervals at which children were born, calculated for sixteen women, was between thirty-nine and forty-one months - so one might tentatively suggest that these women had more widely spaced families than the oldtimers. In nine overseer families where statistics seem complete, children were born on average every 28,5 months.

51. HA, Catalog, pp.22,43,71,154,168.

Returning to the overall picture for Groenekloof, reliable statistics for all births are only available from 1841; but based on births at Groenekloof between 1841 and 1852, it is possible to arrive at an average of 43,4 births per 1 000 for this period. This figure obviously includes the births of newcomer children, too. Overall it is a high figure if we bear in mind Wrigley's statistic of 45:1 000 births as the usual upper limit of natural population increase in pre-industrial societies. This would indicate a standard of living, and levels of nutrition and hygiene conducive to fertility. As the discussion moves to mortality, it is evident that conditions at Groenekloof also favoured a relatively low death rate.

Deaths

Judy Katzenellenbogen's dissertation, 'An Historical Demographic Investigation' entails a meticulous examination of mortality at Groenekloof/Mamre between 1837 and 1900. The first of the three cohorts examined spans the years 1837-1846, the period of transition from pre- to post-emancipation Groenekloof.

Katzenellenbogen calculates that life expectancy in this period for women was between 36.33 and 42.21 years; for men

between 36.02 and 43.74.⁵² She also concludes that for all three cohorts, the first no less than those for 1870-1878 and 1900-1909,

all mortality indices investigated in this study constantly showed a lighter burden of mortality in historical Mamre compared to 'coloureds' in the Cape Colony at the turn of the century. This is probably associated with the better housing, environmental, social, economic and educational conditions at the Mamre mission relative to the rest of the Colony in the century after the emancipation of slaves.⁵³

Her mortality indices include infant mortality.

The economic conditions of the mission residents will be examined in detail later, but it is important to note that the fairly reliable access to food, the support system offered by way of subsidies for housing and rudimentary medical care, and a community which could accommodate people who had lost breadwinners all appear to have contributed to this relatively favourable situation.

This is not to say that the Groenekloof residents basked

52. Life Expectancy:

	At Birth		At 1 Year		At 20 Years	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
'White' SA	42.56	46.06			40.22	39.34
pre-1820						
Other 'Coloured' Cape Colony 1891-1904	28.1	30.5				
Mamre 1837-1846	36.02	36.33	43.74	42.21	38.95	37.34

Source: Katzenellenbogen, 'Historical Demographic Investigation', p.133.

53. Ibid., p.xv.

in comfort and idleness as some colonists would have it.⁵⁴ The majority were clearly poor. In September 1844, for example, Franke referred to the 'pinching poverty of which some married couples complained' and in November 1847 to the 'poverty generally prevailing'.⁵⁵ This, again, is an issue to be tackled elsewhere.

At the same time it is important to ask the question, 'which families in the community had the most deaths?'⁵⁶ It is rarely the case that deaths are evenly distributed through a community and a generalization about favourable circumstances may obscure important exceptions. With the post-emancipation influx at Groenekloof, it seems important to ask whether the newcomers' mortality rate was discernibly different from that of the established residents. Did they represent an abused, malnourished, disease-ridden population of former slaves sneaking off to die with a modicum of dignity at the Moravian mission?

Thus far, the only source from which it has been possible to calculate the mortality of newcomers is the Catalog which is not a reliable source of death statistics.⁵⁷ According to this, seventy-two of the 673 people arriving between 1839 and 1852 had died by December 1852 i.e. 10,7 per cent of the

54. Field Cornet of Koeberg, A.J. Louw, for example. M & S Documents, p.265.

55. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p.384; Franke, Groenekloof, 17/11/1847, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.346.

56. Wrigley, Population and History, pp.11-12.

57. J. Katzenellenbogen, 'Historical Demographic Investigation', pp.62-63. Her death statistics came from now lost baptismal registers.

newcomers. This was an average of five newcomer deaths per annum, with the largest single number being nine out of a total of thirty-eight in 1841. When considered as a proportion of total deaths at Groenekloof, the figures for total deaths coming from official mission statistics, these do not appear to be significant.⁵⁸

Table 3.3 :

Mortality Rate at Groenekloof, 1839-1852 (or deaths per 1000)

1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849
41	27	33	21	24	22	24	21	21	26	25
1850	1851	1852								
34	34	36								

(Sources:HA, rough opgaaf,1840;Groenekloof diaries 1841-1852.)

Another way of obtaining some idea of comparative mortality rates would be to look at the deaths of children among the oldtimers and newcomers sample groups. Experts on infant mortality distinguish between endogenous and exogenous infant mortality, with practically all endogenous mortality occurring in the first month of life and indicating inherent weaknesses in mother and/or infant:

58. Official birth and death statistics are listed at the end of the annual diary. HA,Groenekloof diaries 1841-1852.The 1839 and 1840 figures are taken from HA,rough opgaaf, the dating of which is not totally certain.

Exogenous deaths are caused by infectious, parasitic, and respiratory disease, accidents and other environmental and external causes, whereas endogenous deaths are those resulting from congenital malformations, circumstances of pre-natal life, and the birth process.⁵⁹

Lacking comprehensive statistics, it is possible here only to state that the seventy-two deaths mentioned above represent a wide range of age and sex. Looking at the experience of particular women it is possible to see that individuals struggled with infant mortality, but not that it was widely representative.

Of the wives of the 1840 overseers, only Charlotta Adams appears to have had a particularly bad history of infant deaths, losing three babies before the age of one. She also lost a child at one year and another at five. Two other overseer wives lost one child each before the age of one.

Amongst the twenty-seven newcomers sampled, the losses were greater. Seven of this group lost infants after they had settled at Groenekloof. (No account is taken here of their previous history for which information is lacking). Louisa Tilling had ten children, of whom five survived. She lost three babies within weeks of their births, the other two at two and four years.⁶⁰ Trui Azia lost a three month old daughter in November 1858 and day old twins ten months later.⁶¹ Five of these same mothers lost one or two children

59. R.E.Dorrington & J.M.Katzenellenbogen, 'The Mortality of Mamre Residents - a Peek into the Past', p.5, citing R.McNamara, and p.6.

60. HA,Catalog,pp.89,90 & 156.

61. HA,Catalog,pp.207 & 220.

under the age of three while Christine Fabrik lost two children at a year and a half, and one at eight.⁶²

It seems, on the basis of the information at hand, however, that newcomers to Groenekloof were more likely to have left the mission by 1852 than to have died there. (See Figure 6.1).

As Figure 3.2 indicates, throughout the 1840s and into the early 1850s the rate of births at Groenekloof exceeded that of deaths, the average crude death rate for the period being 27:1 000. This is little higher than the constant crude death rate calculated by Wrigley and Schofield for pre-industrial England for the whole of the period of the 1540s-1860s.⁶³

In conclusion, something may be said about the way in which death did come to the Groenekloof residents. For many old age was the cause and the life expectancy of the population has been referred to. For whites in South Africa prior to 1820 life expectancy at birth was 42.56 for men and 46.06 for women.⁶⁴ So Mamre residents died of 'old age' younger than their counterparts in the white population, a reminder that old age was in many respects conditioned by socio-economic circumstances.

Among the new arrivals at the mission were a couple of women who must have reached the end of their child-bearing

62. HA, Catalog, pp.166 & 190.

63. E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541-1871 (London, 1981), pp.182-183.

64. See Katzenellenbogen statistics, p.104 above.

years and died of 'old age'; these included Rachel Liedeman who was forty-eight when she died four months after her arrival with her six children aged between eight and twenty-four.

The general level of health of a population is closely linked to nutrition, and susceptibility to disease increases with malnourishment. While Groenekloof residents grew their own vegetables, kept livestock and worked on farms, the likelihood of dying from outright starvation was not great. (One needs to remember that many of the men and older children spent months on end off the station, so they depended on rations provided by farmers.) But this did not necessarily mean that they were all well fed. There were clearly periods of great hardship. As the next chapter will show, drought, floods, high food prices and fluctuating demands for labour all took their toll.

While the full effect of these hardships is impossible to calculate, those who were poorer and older and those without a family head or any sons to go out and earn wages would have suffered more than those with greater resources.

The mission residents were victims of various epidemics hitting the Cape and while epidemics affect all strata of society there were possibly those more susceptible to these diseases because of the effects of poverty. It is known that individuals died of smallpox,⁶⁵ tuberculosis,⁶⁶ influenza⁶⁷

65. Hallbeck, Genadendal, 22/5/1840 refers to two cases of smallpox at Groenekloof, PA, XV1839, p.267.

and measles.⁶⁸

The 1852 measles epidemic lasted at Groenekloof from about June to October, costing twenty-one children their lives. In one family only two of the eight children survived. Franke offers a glimpse into the conditions under which some mission residents tried to cope with it:

... visiting the sick... we often found the poor children lying on the ground, on skins, and only scantily covered; for the Hottentots are little prepared for such emergencies, and, having no watches, they are liable to mistake the time for giving the medicine.⁶⁹

Groenekloof was affected by the wars on the Cape eastern frontier, too. Subject to a government call-up, fifty to sixty men left from the mission in 1846⁷⁰ and an undetermined number in 1851. None died in the War of the Axe, while the latter war took the lives of four, two of them heads of families.⁷¹ The wars had a more severe indirect effect in that they deprived families of the bread-winners for extensive periods of time. This was until the state provided some relief for families besides the rations and a premium for each man

66. Gottlieb Conrad died after a long illness: 'during the last half year he had much to suffer from a complaint in the chest, attended with spitting of blood.' Groenekloof Dairy for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.340.

67. Franke, Groenekloof, 23/8/1851, PA, XX, 1852, p.199.

68. Hallbeck refers to a measles epidemic in the colony, Genadendal, 30/5/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.128.

69. Groenekloof, 28/7/1852, PA, XX, 1853, p.462. He comments that most Groenekloof adults had measles in 1839.

70. Groenekloof Dairy for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p. 340, and Franke, Groenekloof, 17/11/1847, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.344.

71. Franke, Groenekloof, 23/8/1851, PA, XX, 1852, p.199.

going to war and actually improved the circumstances of some families.⁷²

Accidents took their toll, too, with collapsing walls appearing to be a particular problem and indicating something of the type of accommodation given to labourers on the farms. The Groenekloof overseer Nathaniel Oppelt and his family survived the collapse on them of the 'delapidated outhouse' in which they stayed on a neighbouring farm,⁷³ but the wife of another overseer was less fortunate. Henriette Adams died when a wall of the building in which she and Immanuel were residing collapsed fatally wounding her.⁷⁴

Disease, war and accidents notwithstanding, the important point is that the Groenekloof residents had a higher life expectancy than farm inhabitants. This indicates that whatever the hardships of mission life, socio-economic conditions for newcomers were better than elsewhere, a move to settle there being a move to a healthier environment.

Conclusions

While marriage was not always a priority for newcomers, and they were often relatively old before marrying, a shift in social custom is discernable in the 1840s. While the missionaries made allowances for the marital irregularities of

72. Idem.; also Suhl, Genadendal, 20/6/1847, PA, XVIII, p.342.

73. Groenekloof Diary for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.339.

74. Franke, Groenekloof, 27/5/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p.302.

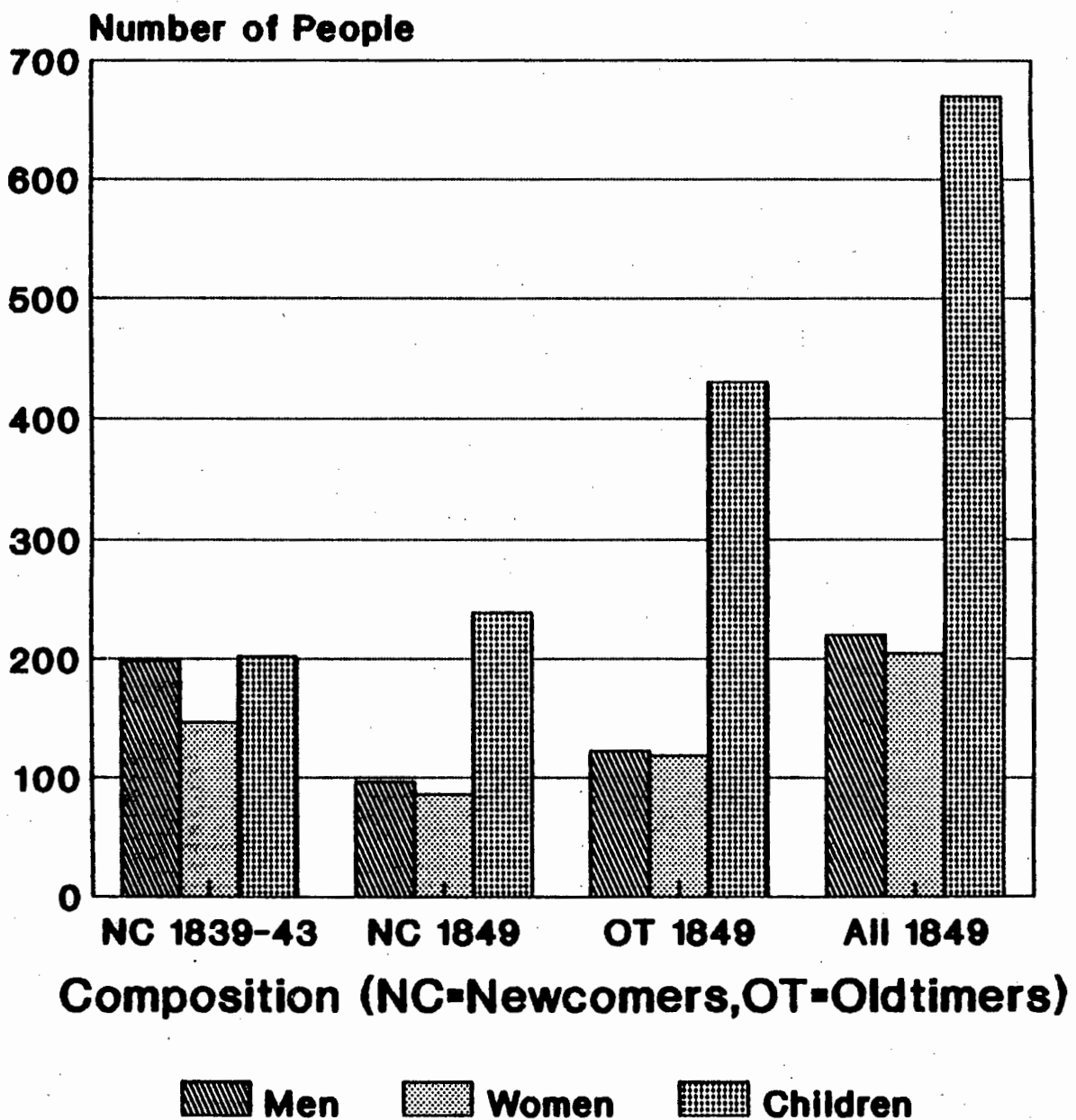
established couples, matrimony of younger residents began to take place earlier and to precede childbirth in more instances.

As far as newcomers were concerned, utility and mission values ['children are a gift of God'] coincided more directly in the case of childbirth and for those who were new to Groenekloof after emancipation, conditions were such that families increased in size. They were part of a community where the mortality rate was probably better than for any of their fellow 'Hottentots' on the farms or in towns and villages.

For those who chose to remain at Groenekloof, family life was subject to less uncertainty than in the pre-emancipation era - although, as will be shown, the ability of newcomers to construct an alternative economic base was limited and movement to work off the mission was disruptive. But most births took place in the familiar environs of the mission with Groenekloof midwives in attendance and the medical resources of Sister Franke, such as they were, to draw upon.

Figure 3.3 compares the composition of the newcomer population of 1839-1843 with that of the remaining newcomers and their offspring in 1849. It shows an evening out of the adult male:female ratio and increasing numbers of children. Indeed, the 1849 newcomer profile compares well with that of the oldtimers of 1849, although with fewer children. The ex-slaves of Groenekloof seem to have been experiencing an increasingly 'normal' family life; if by this is meant one increasingly like that of 'free' mission-based 'Hottentots'.

Fig.3.3: Composition of Groenekloof Newcomers & Oldtimers 1839-43,-49



**(Sources:HA,Catalog;
Groenekloof RNB;M&S Addenda)**

CHAPTER 4

THE MISSION ECONOMY

In the thirty years of the mission's existence up to 1838, the Khoisan inhabitants, very much remnants of traditional societies, had under the tutelage of the Brethren become involved to a greater or lesser extent in cultivation of grain crops. Some of this was marketed for their own gain in Cape Town. Traditional pastoral pursuits continued in the form of herding cattle along with associated activities like wagon-driving and working with horses. The incorporation of the mission Khoisan in the rural labour force had not been completely avoided, but probably proceeded at a slower pace than for those without the resources offered by the mission.

In 1839 the ex-slaves, amongst others, began to arrive. What place did they take up in the mission economy and what effect did this have on the role they played in the wider colonial economy?

One of the reasons that this study is of interest is for the western Cape perspective it offers of the formation of peasantries, or absence thereof, as a response to slave emancipation. Work on Caribbean slavery shows the development of a 'proto-peasantry' among slaves who cultivated their provision grounds and marketed the surplus. If, when emancipated, these former slaves or 'proto-peasants' had access to land (and a market) they invariably took the peasant

economic route.¹ Production for oneself, both at a subsistence level and in providing a marketable surplus, was preferable to labour for others.

It was not always possible to eliminate labour for others altogether as the experience of parts of the Caribbean, of Reconstruction USA and post-emancipation Zanzibar and Kenya also demonstrate. Here a variety of tactics to achieve some measure of control over one's labour resulted in a range of practices from squatting to labour tenancy to share cropping as well as independent peasant production.²

Land utilized ranged from former slave provision grounds to crown land and under-utilized private estates. In some instances former slaves were able to purchase land; more often they rented it or squatted. A significant response in the Caribbean was the acquisition by missions of farms on which ex-slaves settled under the leadership of the church. 'Under the leadership of Baptist, Methodist and other missionaries ... the Jamaican freedman got his clearest opportunity to become a peasant cultivator'.³

In his study of production and labour in the wheat

1. E.g. S.W.Mintz, Caribbean Transformations.

2. Ibid., pp.225-240; E.Foner, Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and its Legacy, p.45; F.Cooper, From Slaves to Squatters, p.70.

3. Mintz, Caribbean Transformations, p.158. The parallels between the Jamaican 'church-founded free village' (p.170) and Groenekloof are interesting both for their similarities and differences. While the former began from scratch with a population made up exclusively of ex-slaves, on a newly acquired estate, Groenekloof had been in existence for thirty years with a non-slave population which was well knit into the wider economy and labour market though, as indicated above, also partly autonomous.

growing districts of the western Cape between 1838 and 1888, Marinkowitz follows Hobsbawm in defining peasants as 'members of households which were largely subsistence oriented and depended more on agriculture than wage labour for their reproduction'. This definition thus includes tenants, squatters and sharecroppers while casual labourers depended more on wages. He defines as 'small farmers' those who were marginal commercial farmers.⁴ While Marinkowitz's definition is useful for its emphasis on the key factor being greater dependence on agriculture than wage labour, there is a problem in distinguishing 'peasants' from 'small farmers' because, as even his reference to the colonial 'small farmer' shows (see below p.130), these were at times unable to produce a marketable surplus. They then may well have relied for a period on wage labour which accords with Wolf's definition of Puerto Rican peasant communities.⁵

Marinkowitz queries the traditional assumption that there was a sudden exodus of slaves from farms after emancipation and writes of a 'complex and varied process' in which ex-slaves became a mission-based casual labour force, squatters on public land, labour tenants and share croppers on farmers' land and a growing village proletariat.⁶ He estimates that of some 25 000 slaves in the western Cape in 1838, about 7 000

4. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.9.

5. In S.W.Mintz, 'Slavery and the Rise of Peasantries' in Craton, M. (ed) Roots and Branches : Current Directions in Slave Studies (Toronto, 1979), p.217.

6. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.12.

moved off farms in the ten years after emancipation; about 3 000 to missions, 3 000 to villages and 1 000 settling on public land.⁷

He accepts that former slaves rejected 'anything resembling bonded labour'.⁸ Having been freed before access to the means of production for potential labourers had ceased completely, they took what opportunities they could to be independent of wage labour. But at the same time, this decade after emancipation saw neither the growth of significant peasant populations, nor, on the other hand, the transformation of ex-slaves into a landless proletariat, though some clearly were.⁹

Marinkowitz pays a great deal of attention to the Christian missions in the western Cape as they grew steadily in the decade after emancipation and on which, by 1850, about twelve thousand 'peasants and proletarians' lived. This was 'nearly 20 per cent of the coloured population and about 8 per cent of the total western Cape population'.¹⁰ He sees the importance of the missions as lying in their function as reservoirs of seasonal labour and he challenges the assumption of Morris that mission inhabitants were peasants.¹¹

This is where a closer examination of the role of the Groenekloof mission is of interest. Until 1840 it was the only

7. Ibid., p.33.

8. Ibid., p.54.

9. Ibid., p.47.

10. Ibid., p.49.

11. Ibid., pp.14 and 8.

rural mission in the Cape division.¹² Located as it was in the heart of a slave-dependent wheat producing area, it offers a microstudy of post-emancipation slave economic realities. The evidence clearly supports Marinkowitz's view that the missions became reservoirs of casual labour rather than growing peasant communities. What is, in fact, most striking about the new arrivals is their almost complete failure to become established as mission-based producers. Seeming to lack any proto-peasant tradition, and subject to both structural disadvantages and the vagaries of the climate, they reinforced an already present trend at Groenekloof. This found diminishing numbers of residents depending more on agriculture than on wage labour for their reproduction.

Most Groenekloof male residents, from the age of twelve years onwards, were dependent for most of their income and that of their family on seasonal labour for wheat and mixed farmers. At the same time most cultivated gardens. Throughout the period under review, many cultivated grain and kept livestock at the mission and some could be labelled not simply peasants, but small farmers. But the latter were residents of long standing. The reasons for this will be explored.

The existence of the mission community at Groenekloof rested on a material base which comprised two major elements. The first was the economic resources and activities at the mission itself. The second was the continuing possibility of acquiring cash and other resources from the wider agricultural sector without the Groenekloof residents being permanently

12. Ibid., p.38.

extracted from their mission settlement. In this chapter, the first element will be dealt with.

Economic role of the missionaries

Our Mission in South Africa has been able to defray all its expenses, through the blessing laid by our Lord on the various businesses, and on the culture of its gardens and fields, the only expenses of that mission being occasioned by the journeying of the missionaries.¹³

Located at the heart of the station were the shop and workshops, which, with the mill and a little animal husbandry, generated more than enough income to pay for the costs of running the mission throughout this period.¹⁴

A feature of the Moravian mission work was the high level of involvement of the missionaries in what they referred to as the 'temporal' side of the community life. This was aided by the relatively high concentration of missionaries at the stations; men who were usually artisans.¹⁵ Groenekloof had three or four between 1839 and 1852.

The missionaries' working to earn their own way, as did the apostle Paul by making tents, was considered an important principle - 'not only that they might not be chargeable to anyone, but that they might have something to give those that

13. Circular letter of the Synodal Committee, PA, XIX, 1848, p. 61.

14. e.g. 1840 Income: £549-14-5 ; Expenditure: £263-5-5
1850 Income: £510-13-9 ; Expenditure: £333-16-11

HA, Mamre Rekeninge, Accounts for 1840 and 1850.

15. LMS societies were usually run by one or two. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 186 and 95.

need'.¹⁶ The missionaries received no stipend until 1840 and one pound p.a. each thereafter.¹⁷ Secondly, it was through the 'businesses' of the mission rather than by overseas support that its other work was to be financed. Mission residents were not required to pay anything towards the leasing of their erfs and arable land nor for their education.¹⁸ In fact, so important was the role of these 'businesses' in making the missions self-sufficient that superintendent Hallbeck's plans in the mid-1830s to free missionaries for other work were vetoed from Germany. He had suggested giving the Genadendal 'Hottentot' artisans greater responsibility for running the workshops.¹⁹

Figure 4.1 represents the major sources of mission income and their relative importance. Clearly, the mission store was of primary significance in 1840, the year during which the arrival of newcomers was most numerous.

D.Neser, Field Cornet of neighbouring Koeberg, complained in 1848 that the missionaries were 'dealers, who come here to make their fortune under the cloak of religion...'.²⁰ While this was hardly the case, the missionaries were incontrovertibly reliant on Cape Town merchants, possibly

16. Zinzendorf in Bost, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p.375.

17. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.181.

18. CGH, 'Report of Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold', p.10.

19. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.180.

20. CGH, Master & Servant: Documents on the working of the Order-in-Council of 21 July 1846, (Cape Town, 1849), p.142.

Fig.4.1.1: Mission Income 1840
 Values -% of Total Income (£510-13-9)

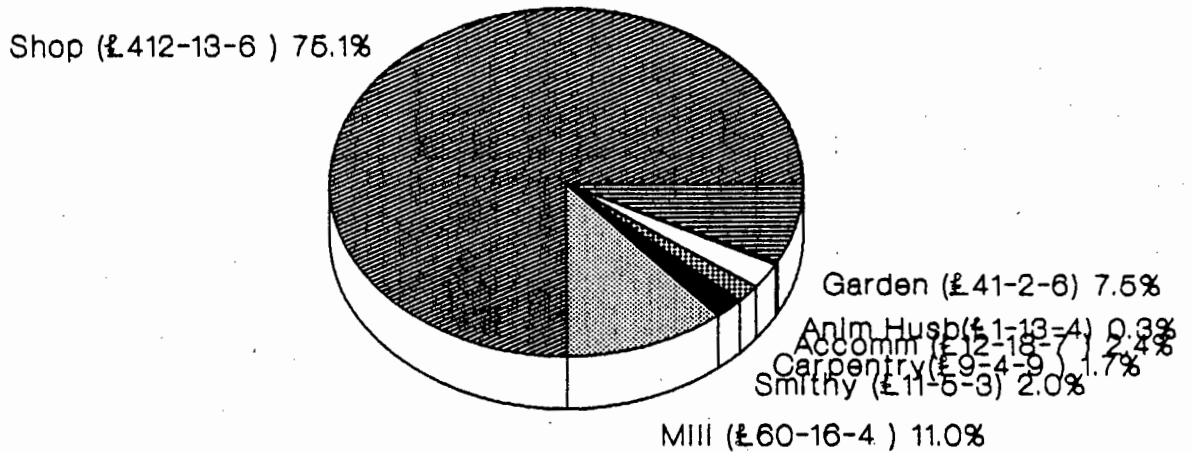
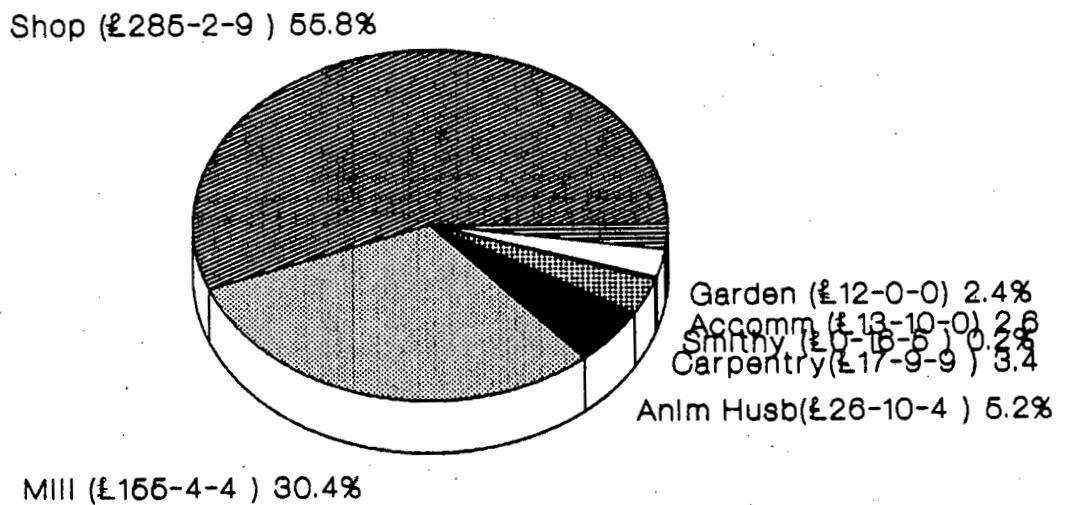


Fig.4.1.2: Mission Income 1850
 Values -% of Total Income (£549-14-5)



(Source: HA, Mamre Rekeninge, Accounts 1840-1850)

German, who supplied their store with clothing, fabric, sewing notions, medications, groceries, household utensils, tools and luxuries like pipes and mirrors. These goods were then sold more cheaply than the equivalent purchases from farmers' stores.²¹

Income from the store alone would have met the 1840 mission expenditure of £263-5-5²² and, while there is no direct comment on Groenekloof, Hallbeck was somewhat embarrassed by the similar success of the Elim store at which non-resident labourers and even some farmers made purchases.²³

By 1850 the store was still responsible for over half of the mission revenue but the mill had risen in importance. The mission's horse-powered mill was replaced by a water-powered mill in 1846.²⁴ After this milling and trade in meal rose in importance as a source of mission revenue. Farmers from the neighbourhood made use of the mill in an interesting instance of further mutual dependence.²⁵ Whether residents paid anything to use it is not clear. A century later the miller was a Mamre resident employed by the missionaries and the

21. The 1840 accounts refer to Landsberg, Heldz., Watermeier and Meyer, probably E.G.Landsberg, merchant or L.H.O.Landsberg, tobacconist; W.F.Heldzingen and J.Meyer, both haberdashers, and J.Meyer, grocer and general dealer. Cape Calendar & Annual Register for 1840. The 1850 store inventory refers to '5 creditores in Kaapstadt' owed £263-16-6, HA, Mamre Rekeninge.

22. HA, Mamre Rekeninge, Accounts for 1840.

23. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.181.

24. Kolbing, Genadendal 2/12/1845, PA, XVII, 1844, p.387.

25. The Elim mill was used by neighbouring farmers, Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.155 & 205, and it seems unlikely that the Groenekloof mill would have raised the revenue it did from the 20 to 40 farmers resident the mission.

residents paid a nominal amount for each bag of grain ground.²⁶

It is not clear how the revenue from the smithy and carpenters' shop was brought in. But in addition to earning income these were the scene of training for male residents who were then able to earn higher wages as artisans on farms.²⁷(See list of occupations, Appendix E.) The gardens which produced 'many kinds of useful vegetables and fruit-trees'²⁸ were probably worked by elderly residents such as, in 1849, fifty-eight year old widower Abraham November, and fifty-seven year old Lodewyk Adriaan.²⁹

The 1825 and 1837 opgaaf rolls provide, against the name of the chief missionary, separate listings of livestock and grain produced (see Table 4.1). This was presumably the missionaries' own produce and stock used as they saw fit. Throughout the 1840s additional purchases of grain had to be made so that the Brethrens' personal grain farming activities had probably declined by the time of emancipation.³⁰

The growing of garden produce and grain farming were more thoroughly the preserve of the residents although the latter was, initially at least, under the supervision of one of the

26. Personal communication from Mrs Olga Andrews of Mamre, 31/8/1990.

27. HA, 'Annual Return of Field Cornet, 1843', shows that a tradesman from Groenekloof could earn four times as much as a field labourer per day.

28. Diary of the Journey of Brother GENTH, January 1832, PA, XII, 1831, p.198.

29. M & S Addenda, pp.66 & 68.

30. HA, Mamre Rekening, Accounts for years 1840-1850.

missionaries.³¹ One of the prime inducements to settlement which the missionaries had at their disposal if not as their property was garden ground, 'ploughing' land and pasturage.³²

Another was the mission's accessibility to Cape Town.

Missionary Lemmertz recognized this, noting in 1832 that

owing to the situation of this settlement, our people have a better opportunity of earning a livelihood than the inhabitants of any of our more distant stations...³³

It is to the earning of their livelihood by the Groenekloof residents that we now turn. But first, it is worth asking to what view of cultivation and labour newcomers would be exposed when settling at the mission. An 1848 report in the

missionary journal indicates that Zinzendorf's precepts were being adhered to:

... it is pleasing to observe the good effect produced on the Hottentots by seeing the missionaries diligently engaged in manual labour, or in the management of various temporal concerns committed to them... Indeed, it cannot be denied that habits of industry and economy have been greatly promoted among the Hottentots by the example of their superiors.³⁴

For Zinzendorf 'believed it highly important that the missionary earn his own living in order to teach the natives the dignity of labour'.³⁵ But when Zinzendorf had written,

31. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.305.

32. While the core of the mission remained grant land, Teutsch negotiated the purchase of about 1 200 morgen of the farm Laatste Stuiwer in about 1840. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.212.

33. Groenekloof, 10/7/1832, PA, XII, 1831, p.283.

34. Circular letter of the Synodal Committee, PA, XIX, 1848, p.61.

35. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p.100.

we should not work to live, but live to work; and when we think there is nothing to do, we must be in a bad and declining condition ³⁶

he was including the spiritual and educational work of the missionaries in this injunction. The mission regulations juxtaposed the following two principles:

It is required of every inhabitant of this place to work faithfully and diligently according to the will of God, and to be on his guard against idleness. On the other hand, we must take care, lest we entangle ourselves with the affairs of this life in such a manner that we neglect the more weighty concerns of eternity. ³⁷

The Moravians, with their roots in pre-industrial eastern Europe, aimed at the development of self-sufficient and basically closed communities. While promoting the settled agriculture, training of artisans and production of surplus for the colonial markets which so characterized mission communities throughout the country, the Brethren seem to have regarded participation by their people in commerce as necessary but dangerous; especially if not under their watchful eyes. Typically their comments lack the enthusiasm of a William Boyce or even John Philip for the civilizing and modernizing propensity of settled agriculture and trade.³⁸

On the one hand residents were urged to industry and thrift. On the other it was feared that spiritual priorities might be lost sight of. On the one hand it was recognized that access to Cape Town was beneficial. At the same time the missionaries rued the dangers, especially alcoholic, lurking

36. Bost, Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p.374.

37. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', I, 19 & 20.

38. Bundy, South African Peasantry, pp.37-40.

in the path of the producer taking his goods to market in Cape Town.³⁹

Economic life of Groenekloof residents

Newcomers to the mission arrived with varying skills and resources. Three masons, a thatcher, a tailor and a shoemaker were numbered among the newcomers, probably skilled former slaves. But on the whole they were unskilled labourers.⁴⁰

Benigna Johannes had come to Groenekloof in January 1814 well-provided for by her former master and father of four of her children.⁴¹ She was given a team of oxen, a wagon, a plough, several cows, a horse and saddle, household equipment, money and twenty goats.⁴² Others came with little or nothing: thirteen arrived at the end of 1838 with all their baggage on a single ox.⁴³ The ex-slaves flocking to Genadendal were poor and 'would have been quite unable to provide themselves and their families with decent habitations' without financial assistance from the mission.⁴⁴ There is no indication that ex-slaves coming to Groenekloof were any different.

As mentioned above (pp.25-26), once accepted by the

39. Lemmertz, Groenekloof, 10/7/1832, PA, XII, 1831, pp.283-284; Groenekloof Diary 1843, PA, XVII, 1844, p.61.

40. M & S Addenda, pp.64-49.

41. Bechler, Benigna van Groenekloof, p.32.

42. Ibid., p.14.

43. Groenekloof Diary for 1838, 21 August, PA, XV, 1839, p.162.

44. Teutsch, Genadendal, 20/7/1843, PA, XVI, 1841, p.462.

mission, newcomers were allocated land in the village on which to build houses and plant gardens. Any permanent buildings became the private property of residents. These provided financial as well as physical security as they could be and were sold to other permanent residents of the mission.⁴⁵ In 1842 the resale value of Wilhelmina August's house was Rd 50. Both post-emancipation newcomers, Salvia Kupido sold her house in 1846 for Rd 80 and Abraham November sold his in 1853 for £9 or Rd 120.⁴⁶

They were also given farmland to cultivate.⁴⁷ The settlement is seen like a fruitful field in the midst of a 'desert', wrote C.I.Latrobe in 1815 ⁴⁸ struck as was James Backhouse twenty-five years later by its location on the edges of the sandy coastal dunes.⁴⁹ Many residents possessed 'considerable pieces of corn-land at a short distance' from the village.⁵⁰ The Cruywagens Kraal section of the mission was a 'pleasant fruitful valley, with a supply of water from a fountain' used for pasture in the early days of the mission.⁵¹ Livestock could be accommodated on Laatste Stuiwer, a 'valuable cattle farm ... remarkably healthy and abundantly

45. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', II, 9.

46. HA, Mamre Testamente, 23/4/1842; 24/3/1846; 6/4/1853.

47. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', II, 4.

48. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.41.

49. Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit, p.621.

50. Ibid., p.619.

51. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.306.

supplied with excellent water'.⁵² The only rent paid by residents was by cattle owners towards the costs of this grazing farm.⁵³

In an attempt to ensure effective utilization of limited resources, there was a regulation that if a landholder was absent from the mission 'for a length of time' without notice and without ensuring his land and garden were tended, they would be forfeited to another resident after two years.⁵⁴

Grain production

Although Backhouse could assert in 1840 that 'many residents possessed considerable pieces of corn-land', it is not known how many residents were more dependent on agriculture than on wages. An incomplete opgaaf form found in the mission documents and also dated 1840 lists twenty-two as employed in agriculture, the majority of men being 'arbeiders by de Boeren' whose cultivation was thus a secondary activity. At the same time about ten were artisans on neighbouring farms.⁵⁵

When men going to work on outside farms were able to tend to their own lands is not clear. Family labour was certainly of prime importance and presumably the farmers' complaints about labourers deserting during the ploughing or harvesting

52. CA, ILW 12, Report of Inspector of Lands and Woods, November, 1815, p. 212.

53. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 212.

54. HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840', II, 10.

55. HA, Mamre Documents, rough Opgaaf, 1840.

season had something to do with conflicting labour demands. The testimony of William Duckitt, complaining in 1848 about the desertion of three labourers mid-harvest, is instructive:

I went to Groenekloof and saw him [Job Andries]. I asked him where Nathan and Cupido were, he told me they were cutting Noah's rye ... I asked him what time he was coming. He said that he had some barley to cut ... I asked him how long he would take to cut the barley, he said he could not tell but that it was not much.⁵⁶

This suggests, too, that those living primarily by their own farming employed other mission residents as labourers.

How successful, then, was grain farming - peasant production - at Groenekloof between 1839 and 1852? The evidence is that in the 1820s and 1830s there was a significant level of production at Groenekloof but that this fell off steadily until by the end of the 1840s the mission community relied almost totally on purchases of grain on the open market.

The volume of wheat (682 muids) and barley (471 muids) produced by mission residents in 1825 (see Table 4.1) compared favourably with that of neighbouring farms which is remarkable when it is considered that some of the mission's neighbours were among the farming elite of the Cape. Duckitt's 'Klaver Valley' harvested 730 muids of wheat and 260 muids of barley in 1825; the van Reenen farm 'Ganzekraal', 700 muids of wheat and 1 500 of barley. The government farm 'Groote Post' produced 958 muids of wheat and 643 muids of barley. It can be argued that they were involved in livestock farming on a

56. CA 1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 917, 6/12/1848, Duckitt v. Nathan, Cupido & Andries.

Table 4.1 : Grain Production at Groenekloof, 1825-1840

	GRAIN REAPED (muids)					
	1825		1837	1839	1840	1849
no.households involved in prod.	34		43	?	?	71
wheat	682	1. (235)		260	92	121,25
barley	471	(215)		157,5	110	178,75
rye	11,75	(10)		20	-	186,5
oats	151	(140)		50	-	7187
Total	1315,75	(600)	743	487,5	202	7673,5

1. missionary production in 1825, not included in figures for residents.

1 muid = 3 bushels ; a bushel was approximately 60 lb
10 muids = 1 wagon-load

(sources: CA J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825; CA J58 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1837; HA, Mamre Documents, rough opgaaf, 1840; M & S Addenda)

greater scale than most wheat or mixed farmers but this was not true of other neighbours like 'Papekuilsfontien' just across the road. This farm produced 450 muids of wheat and 500 muids of barley, while field cornet Frans van Schalkwyk's farm 'Karmelkfontein' produced 270 muids of wheat and 160 of barley in 1825.⁵⁷

Groenekloof mission producers were achieving a fairly good return of about 9.4 muids of wheat harvested for every muid sown. Marinkowitz states that 'the highest consistent yields from "dry" and "wet" [or winter rainfall] farming averaged from ten to fifteen bushels of wheat from each sown'.⁵⁸

In 1825, the Groenekloof population of 405 comprised eighty-nine households. Most of these were nuclear families, occasionally a widow and her family, and the twenty-two single adults resided with families. Of these, there were fifty-five households and thus a majority, which produced no grain in 1825. Thirty-four households were involved in some kind of grain cultivation and averaged twenty muids of wheat and twenty muids of barley. Of the thirty-four producers, eight produced under ten muids or one wagon-load of wheat.

Table 4.2 tabulates the twelve residents who seem to have been among the wealthiest. Together they were responsible for 46,5 per cent of grain production at the mission in 1825. With wheat fetching a price of Rd 111 per ten muids (about 67d per

57. CA J56, Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

58. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.19.

Table 4.2 : Production of Wealthiest Groenekloof Oldtimers, 1825-1837

	Muids reaped				1837 all grain
	1825 all grain	wheat	barley	oats	
1. Abrahams, Hendrik	-				15
2. Adams, Christlieb *	57	37	20		27
3. Adams, Immanuel *	100	40	40	20	53
4. Adams, Matheus *	68	36	32	-	-
5. Conrad, Hiob *	12	12			24
6. Dambra, Petrus *	75	39	16	20	11
7. Esau, Henoch	80	20	40	20	54
8. Johannes, Nathanael * (mother 1825)	50	33	5	12	60
9. Pick, Samuel *	52	20	32		32
10. Vertyn, David *	87	27	48	11 1	-
11. Vister, Gottlieb	-			rye	50
12. Vister, Jeremias *	31	10	21		28
	612	274	254	(11)73	354

* = overseer

Livestock held

	1825			1837		
	wagons	horses	cattle ox/breed stock	wagons	horses	cattle
1. Abrahams, Hendrik	-	-	-	1	11	3
2. Adams, Christlieb	-	1	12/2	-	13	3
3. Adams, Imanuel	1	12	17/13	1	15	21
4. Adams, Matheus	1	6	13/9	1	-	-
5. Conrad, Hiob	-	3	-/2	-	12	6
6. Dambra, Petrus	1	5	9/13	-	4	10
7. Esau, Henoch	1	-	13/9	-	4	16
8. Johannes, Nathanael (mother 1825)	1	6	9/8	-	12	20
9. Pick, Samuel	-	3	2/2	1	21	51
				+ 200sheep		
10. Vertyn, David	1	4	17/26	-	-	-
11. Vister, Gottlieb	-	-	-	1	5	15
12. Vister, Jeremias	-	2	13/10	1	-	16
	6	42	105/94 201	6	97	161

(sources: CA J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825; CA J58 Opgaaf, Cape District, 1837)

bushel) that year,⁵⁹ gross earnings from wheat alone could be Rd 222 or £16-13-0 for the producer who could get two wagon loads to market.

Successful grain production by some continued into the 1830s. Resident missionary Clemens wrote in November 1832:

As to externals, agriculture is the chief occupation, and there is abundance of corn to suit the increasing population of this place.⁶⁰

Hallbeck, visiting Groenekloof in May 1833, wrote:

The outward condition of the inhabitants is also materially improved. Many of them possess a considerable property in cattle, horses, waggons & c., and keep one or more servants. They have also better and larger dwellings, and have a quantity of agricultural produce to dispose of, which they generally take to the Cape-town market.

But his perception was that their farming commitments were taking a toll on their spiritual wellbeing.

Whilst at home, the parents are kept from church, and the older children from school, by tending the cattle and working in the fields.⁶¹

Entering the 1840s, the Groenekloof missionaries commented that 'some who managed their affairs well, were independent of the farmers'.⁶² These would have benefitted from the good wheat price at this time as it rose to an average of 80d per bushel in the Malmesbury district in the 1840s.⁶³ It was far

59. D.J.van Zyl, 'Die Geskiedenis van die Graanbou aan die Kaap, 1795-1826', Archives Yearbook for South African History, 1968, I, p.277.

60. Groenekloof, 30/1/1832, PA, XII, 1831, p.338.

61. Groenekloof, 20/5/1833, PA, XII, 1831, p.434.

62. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.213 and citing 1841 and 1842 Groenekloof diary entries.

63. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.106

higher in 1839 and 1840 when, in the colony as a whole, there were bad harvests and labour problems.⁶⁴

The 1840 average wheat price for the Cape District was 11s 6d per bushel.⁶⁵ This would earn £34-5-0 for the equivalent of two wagon-loads of wheat. At this time a casual worker was unlikely to earn more than two or three pounds for a month's peak season labour.⁶⁶

So there were those at Groenekloof prior to and at the time of emancipation who were not only peasants, but small commercial farmers. They can be compared with the typical western Cape small farmers described in an 1860 report as an

average young married couple who possessed a cottage and a piece of land, or had a share in a farm. They might own a small flock of sheep, span of oxen, a wagon and a few agricultural implements. With the help of other relatives on the farm and possibly one or two day labourers at peak periods, they ploughed a "piece of ground" and sowed about 8 bushels of wheat...⁶⁷

The 'small farmer' of this description was unable to market surpluses and to capitalize and so some Groenekloof residents were better off and others fitted this description fairly snugly.

But this was increasingly a minority of the Groenekloof residents. Stratification was occurring. Significantly, ten of

64. Teutsch writing from Elim in April 1839 referred to 'hard temporal circumstances' with wheat costing '29 dollars' per muid, or 174d a bushel. PA, XV, 1839 p.133.

65. CGH, Blue Book, 1840, p.284.

66. The most earned by Groenekloof residents for casual labour was 2/6 per day for cutting wheat. e.g. CA 1/MBY, 1/1/3, case 471, July 1844, Petrosand v. J. van Renen Fr. Son.

67. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.107.

the twelve men appearing in Table 4.2 were or were to become mission overseers by 1840.

By 1837 the number of residents at Groenekloof had grown to 725. There were now some forty-three households involved in production but the yield had fallen to 743 muids compared to the total grain yield in 1825 of 1315,75 muids. As the 1837 opgaaf does not itemise different types of grain cultivated, it is not possible to determine the level of wheat production. But even the richest producers were producing less - fifty-eight per cent of their output in 1825 - with the exception of a few. These twelve men were responsible for 47,6 per cent of all production.

In the first two years after emancipation the level of grain production appears to have dropped dramatically. The 1839 harvest was regarded as fairly good by the missionaries, considering the drought prevailing elsewhere in the land ⁶⁸ but, with double the 1825 population [886], only 260 muids of wheat were reaped compared to the 682 in 1825. In 1840, Groenekloof by now also drought-stricken,⁶⁹ the harvest of 92 muids represents a disaster.

Coinciding with the influx and upheaval which hundreds of new arrivals appears to have meant, was a decline in the output of food and marketable grain.

It appears that the setbacks of 1839 and especially 1840 may have driven those who were only just managing to survive by their own farming efforts onto the labour market. As this

68. Teutsch, Groenekloof, 21/11/1839, PA, XV, 1839, p.173.

69. See p.145 below.

coincided with the ending of slavery and a sharp rise in wages, wage labour was both a necessity to workers and an opportunity to make a reasonable livelihood at that particular moment.⁷⁰ Ex-slaves might have left the farms temporarily, though their arrival at Groenekloof peaked after the 1840 harvest, and arrived at the mission when conditions were not propitious for them to become peasant farmers. So both the oldtimers and the newcomers would have found it difficult to assert their independence of the farmers.

The failure of newcomers to establish themselves as farmers is corroborated by statistics provided in the 1849 'Report of Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury'.⁷¹ These figures also demonstrate the diminishing role which cultivation of wheat and barley played in the lives of oldtimers. Their preference was for fodder crops of rye and oats. (See Table 4.1)

In February 1849, ten years after emancipation, 220 adult male residents were listed by the magistrate and all, with the exception of a couple of indigents, utilized garden ground. Far fewer male householders, seventy-one in all, were in possession of 'ploughing land belonging to the Institution'.

70. Marinkowitz states that monthly wages rose between 1838, when the average monthly wage of farm labourers throughout rural districts was the high £1-6-0, and 1841. They were then cut by 67 per cent in 1842 and back at their 1839 level in 1844 and 1845. 'Rural Production and Labour', p.49.

In 1843 monthly workers from Groenekloof were earning a mere Rd 8-10 or 12-15 shillings. HA, Annual Return of the Field Cornet, Mamre Documents. From 1843 onwards casual workers earned between 1s. and 2s.6d a day depending on the type of work undertaken. In addition there was some payment in kind.

71. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

What is surprising is that of these, sixty-three were oldtimers, and only eight were newcomers.

In other words of the hundreds of people coming to the mission after emancipation, only a handful of families were using mission land for cultivating anything other than garden produce. Those who did cultivate a few acres of grain were producing no more than a couple of muids of wheat, barley or rye, with an average value of £2-15-0 per crop. This was compared to an average value per crop of £5-2-6 for all Groenekloof farmers. Significantly five of the newcomers utilizing ploughing land were artisans or wagon drivers who thus had more disposable income and flexibility of time than did labourers.

It has been suggested that the newcomers arrived at a time when drought militated against their becoming peasant producers. Does this explain the almost total absence of cultivation by them? Was it perhaps more difficult for newcomers to obtain arable land than oldtimers?

As late as 1842 the missionaries felt that, 'the inhabitants should be able to live out of their own gardens and fields, if only they exercised more thrift'.⁷² Evidently the mission resources had not yet been depleted. The rapid growth in numbers at the mission between 1840 and 1843 meant that by 1845 it was regarded as one of the 'crowded' missions⁷³ and there was a problem in supplying all newcomers with

72. Idem.

73. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.221.

garden ground.⁷⁴

There was clearly a demand for gardens, and with few exceptions, each family had one in 1849. But it does appear that the ploughing land was under-utilized. There is no way of determining whether it was fully allocated to the residents. Even if it was, not one resident is listed as a fulltime farmer, and the amount produced fell far short of that produced in the 1820s and 1830s. There are also some who are listed as not having sown the land they possessed in 1849. The problem appears to be using the land which was available productively and marketing produce successfully.

As will be shown in the next chapter, once involved in casual labour it was easy for labourers to become indebted to the farmers, who were quick to make advances of cash and food in order to obtain and retain labour.⁷⁵ Indebtedness at times led to the loss of movable property and without oxen, ploughs and wagons it would be hard to return to farming on any significant scale. While farmers would lend small amounts to workers, it was hardly the kind of credit which assisted them to be independent producers.

The missionaries seem to have seen indebtedness as careless - and perhaps at times it was the line of least resistance. With the absence of a tradition of cultivation among the Khoisan, and the failure to develop a proto-peasantry among slaves prior to emancipation, it is possible

74. Juritz in CGH, 'Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold', p.10.

75. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.213 citing Groenekloof mission diaries.

that they clung less determinedly to crop production than African peasant farmers elsewhere in South Africa.⁷⁶

For newcomers, lack of farming skills, capital and experience of the markets may have prevented them from even making a start at farming; or if they did, from achieving any success so that by 1849 most had ceased to try.

The wherewithal to work the land seems to have been the responsibility of individual families, as wills include tools, ploughs, wagons as well as horses and oxen. Both ploughing and transporting produce required a farmer to have at his disposal up to twelve oxen depending on the style of wagon or plough.⁷⁷ The mission workshops and artisans no doubt facilitated the maintenance of equipment and even the construction of wagons e.g. while community resources were no doubt shared. Whether this was sufficient to make up for the lack of assets of former slaves is difficult to tell. Possibly not, and the missionaries recognized that their people were struggling with poverty as the decade of the 1840s progressed.⁷⁸

Harsh weather conditions continued to exacerbate difficulties in farming. The whole of November 1844 was

76. See e.g. C. Bundy, South African Peasantry, p.238.

77. The old Dutch plough still in use in parts of the Cape in the 1840s used 10-12 oxen while a number of newer and lighter ones were coming into use using as few as three oxen. Freeman, J.J., A Tour in South Africa (London, 1851), p.75. Ox wagons used 12-16 oxen, *ibid.*, p.61. Jacob Conrad at Groenekloof used eight horses to draw his wagon in 1816, Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p.335. On this same visit Latrobe reported that the overseer at the government farm, Groote Post, had shown him a new iron plough which worked with two or four horses. 'He wished me to recommend it to our missionaries'. p.322. One of the Genadendal missionaries also designed a light plough. PA, XVIII, 1847, p.296.

78. Franke, Groenekloof, 17/11/1847, PA, XVIII, 1848, p.346.

oppressively hot 'resulting in burnt-up gardens and pasture ground'⁷⁹ while the summer of 1845 was one of protracted drought as the result of which distemper decimated the livestock of the mission residents.

This calamity had rendered the intercourse with Cape Town so difficult and precarious that a considerable rise in the price of provisions had been the consequence.⁸⁰

Flooding of low-lying gardens followed that winter and desperate men resorted to digging guano off the coast in order to survive.⁸¹ So the cumulative impact of low production, loss of valuable livestock and increased prices made 1845 a trying year for Groenekloof residents.

May 1849 saw a 'fearful and protracted drought' eventually broken by soaking rains and 'our people ... busily engaged in ploughing and sowing on the neighbouring farms'.⁸²

The years of drought were interspersed with years of good rains and productive harvests; mild winters with accompanying reduction in stock loss.⁸³ But good harvests did not always mean plenty of cheap food. In the first place the mission was not self-sufficient when it came to grain. By 1849, Franke was writing:

79. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p.385.

80. Franke, Groenekloof, 25/8/1845, PA, XVII, 1844, pp.407-8.

81. HA, Mamre Documents, 'Memorabilien, 1845', address to the community by one of the missionaries, possibly Christensen.

82. Franke, Groenekloof, 3/5/1849, PA, XIX, 1849, p.246.

83. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p.383; and Franke, Groenekloof, 12/8/1848, PA, XIX, 1849, p.88.

The harvest, which will soon be over, appears to have been plentiful, and there is every prospect of the prices of corn remaining moderate, which is to us of great importance, as we have to buy everything.⁸⁴

So grain was bought in by the mission. Secondly prices fluctuated. The war years, 1846 and 1851/52, saw wheat prices rising sharply as supplies were bought up for the troops.⁸⁵ The effect of the above hardships is impossible to calculate. In 1847 Franke wrote of the 'poverty generally prevailing'.⁸⁶ Those who were old and without a family head or any sons to go out and earn wages would have suffered most.

Despite the hardships, there remained a small elite of more affluent oldtimers, seven earning between £11 and £21-15-0 for their 1849 crops.⁸⁷ Sixty-year old overseer, Immanuel Adams retained his 1825-1837 position as the wealthiest resident (see Table 4.2). Church servant Jonathan Conrad could afford to leave his ploughing land at the mission fallow, while he leased a farm ('boereplaas') about five hours walk from Groenekloof. At the same time he was a wagon driver, owning eight horses and forty head of cattle. He worked his farm profitably for ten years before retiring ill to the mission.⁸⁸

84. Groenekloof, 12/12/1849, PA, XIX, 1850, p. 346.

85. Kolbing, Genadendal, 26/10/1847, PA, XVIII, 1847, p. 298; Franke, Groenekloof, 22/1/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p. 302. See Table 5.2, p. 148, which shows Groenekloof to have been most affected in 1847 and 1852.

86. Groenekloof, 17/11/1847, PA, XVIII, 1848, p. 346.

87. M & S Addenda, pp. 64-69.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 69; Bechler, Benigna van Groenekloof, pp. 70-71.

Keeping of livestock

With the exception of Samuel Pick in 1837 (Table 4.3) it is difficult to label any of the mission residents stock farmers. Many residents owned a horse or two and a couple of cows, but in 1825 only ten owned ten or more head of cattle.⁸⁹ By 1837 twenty-six owned ten or more head of cattle ⁹⁰ compared with thirty-eight in 1849.⁹¹

In 1849 the twenty-four wealthiest livestock owners possessed an average of eighteen head of cattle. Of these men, nine were wagon drivers which, with the shift to fodder production at the mission, indicates that transport riding was becoming a profitable alternative to cultivation of food crops.⁹²

As Table 4.3 shows, there was a rise in the total number of livestock on the mission by 1849. Numbers of large livestock held per capita fell from 1,67 in 1825 to 0,77 in 1840 and then rose slightly to 1,0 by 1849. This shows some recouping of losses incurred in a devastating distemper epidemic in 1845. The epidemic cost residents 500 oxen, cows and horses which must have constituted the majority of their livestock.⁹³ It seems likely that this further contributed to the propulsion of Groenekloof residents into the labour

89. CA J56, Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

90. CA, J58 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1837.

91. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

92. Idem.

93. Franke, Groenekloof, 25/8/45, PA XVII, 1844, p.407-408.

Table 4.3 : Livestock held by Residents, 1825-1849

	1825	1837	1839	1840	1849
Total Pop:	405	725	886	1096	1361
horses	134 (20) ^{2.}	190 (14) ^{3.}	150	144	185
oxen	267 (48)	530 (66)	729	700	915
breeding stock	275 (25)				
goats			70	23	293
sheep	(145)	200 (120)	50	20	
Wagons	14 (2)	9 (2)	9	10	

2. missionary stock 1825

3. missionary stock 1837

1825 1,67 per capita (horses and cattle)

1837 0,99

1839 0,99

1840 0,77

1849 1,00

(sources: CA J56 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825; CA J58 Opgaaf for Cape District, 1837; HA, Mamre Documents, rough opgaaf, 1840; M & S Addenda)

market.

In 1849 it was oldtimers rather than the mission's newer residents who owned most livestock. Only eight newcomers owned more than ten head of cattle. Otherwise individuals owned a cow and a few goats, or a horse, or some pigs.⁹⁴

All were marketable assets if it came to the crunch, and the frequency and care with which cattle and horses were bequeathed in wills as the testator's most valuable assets, attest to their importance to the Groenekloof residents.⁹⁵ The quarrel between two of these, Wilhelm Fortuin and Adonis Petrus, indicates their notion of private property and wealth as being tied up with their livestock.

[Fortuin] then said to me [Petrus] you are riding other peoples' property and I am sitting on my money. I replied you dare not say this for my father's and my property is not yet divided.⁹⁶

Other sources of income

There was a small number of residents whose training enabled them to move out of the labouring class. Petrus Ockers and Samuel Hardenberg became Malmesbury constables,⁹⁷ Samuel's brother Joseph Hardenberg schoolmaster and catechist at Goedverwacht, and some of the educated girls became assistants

94. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

95. See for example the will of Magdalena Passens in which the two cows and five oxen are bequeathed by name to her children. HA, Mamre Testamente, 20/6/1845.

96. CA 1/MBY, 1/1/1, case 109, 11/5/1840, Pub. Pros. v W. Fortuin.

97. CA 1/MBY, 6/1/1, Resident Magistrate to Secretary to Govt., 6/8/1850.

in the mission school.⁹⁸

That a small group of former slaves were skilled artisans has been pointed out, and they and the mission-trained artisans could make a living providing services both on and outside of the mission. Newcomer Christian Kupido, for example, carried out his tailoring at Groenekloof, assisted by his wife.⁹⁹

Occasionally Groenekloof residents inherited assets or cash and in a few cases this may have been the basis for economic independence. Nathanael Johannes, as his mother's sole heir, seems to have done well (see Table 4.2.). But more probably the inheritance was at best a short-term bonus. After the death of overseer Nathanael Oppelt in 1848, his assets were sold realizing Rd 123-6-0 (just over £9) in cash. Once his debts had been settled and medicine paid for, his wife received half of the remaining Rd 64 and his eight children shared Rd 32 equally. The resultant Rd 4 or 6 shillings would not have enabled them to buy anything substantial.¹⁰⁰

The geographical location of the mission gave its residents some access to resources which would no longer have been easily attainable in the midst of the arable farms. With the coast a few kilometres away and stretches of land used primarily for grazing to the north and west, the hunting and

98. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.214 & 219.

99. M & S Addenda, p.66; CA,1/MBY,6/1/1, Malmesbury Resident Magistrate to Wynberg Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury,1/3/1850.

100. HA,Mamre Testamente,19/6/1848.

gathering traditions of the Khoisan were not altogether lost. Colonial rule meant that hunting by Groenekloof residents was often labelled 'poaching'¹⁰¹ and that gathering was at times only possible under sufferance and directed towards commercial ends.¹⁰² Nevertheless, in conjunction with the resources provided by the mission, they gave Groenekloof residents further possibilities to exist independently of farm labour.

Mission women, in particular, were better able to resist being drawn into wage labour than those residing on farms. Mission reports regularly report the departure of men and boys of twelve years and older to undertake seasonal labour while the majority of women seem to have stayed at the mission in the years after emancipation. Women were to be found working the garden plots, milking the cows and helping with the harvests. Franke made a significant comment in August 1848:

Waxberry bushes which grow on sandy plains are in unusual abundance this year. Our Hottentot women and children are chiefly dependent on this article for their means of subsistence. The candles made from the wax of these berries are in every respect preferable to those made of tallow, as concerns both quality and economy.¹⁰³

Back in 1815 Latrobe had observed Groenekloof residents boiling up the berries and skimming off the wax.¹⁰⁴ This was then made into candles by the women for their own use and for

101. CA 1/MBY, 1/1/1, case 136, 6/8/1840, Queen v. Poelie Ockert; 1/1/2, case 366, 4/5/1847, Queen v. Titus.

102. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit, p. 351; 'the renters of the neighbouring farms claim a right to this property, and our people were required to ask their permission to gather the berries'.

103. Groenekloof, 23/1/1848, PA, XIX, 1849, p. 88.

104. Journal of a Visit, p. 351.

sale as they 'command[ed] a good price'.¹⁰⁵ The commercial use of the waxberries continued and in May 1852 Franke reported that while the men and eldest boys were away ploughing, the women and children had been gathering the berries. Since Easter, they had lived on the dunes in 'small huts constructed of branches and rushes' returning only on Saturdays to the mission.¹⁰⁶

For all this, the 1849 'Report of Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury' holds further surprising evidence. This is that by 1849 far more women were working outside of Groenekloof than is indicated by general comment and farmer complaints.

(Figure 4.2) depicts the 219 responses to the question, 'Do his wife and grown-up daughters go out to work?' Where there is 'no response', it could well be that these women were at least periodically away working.

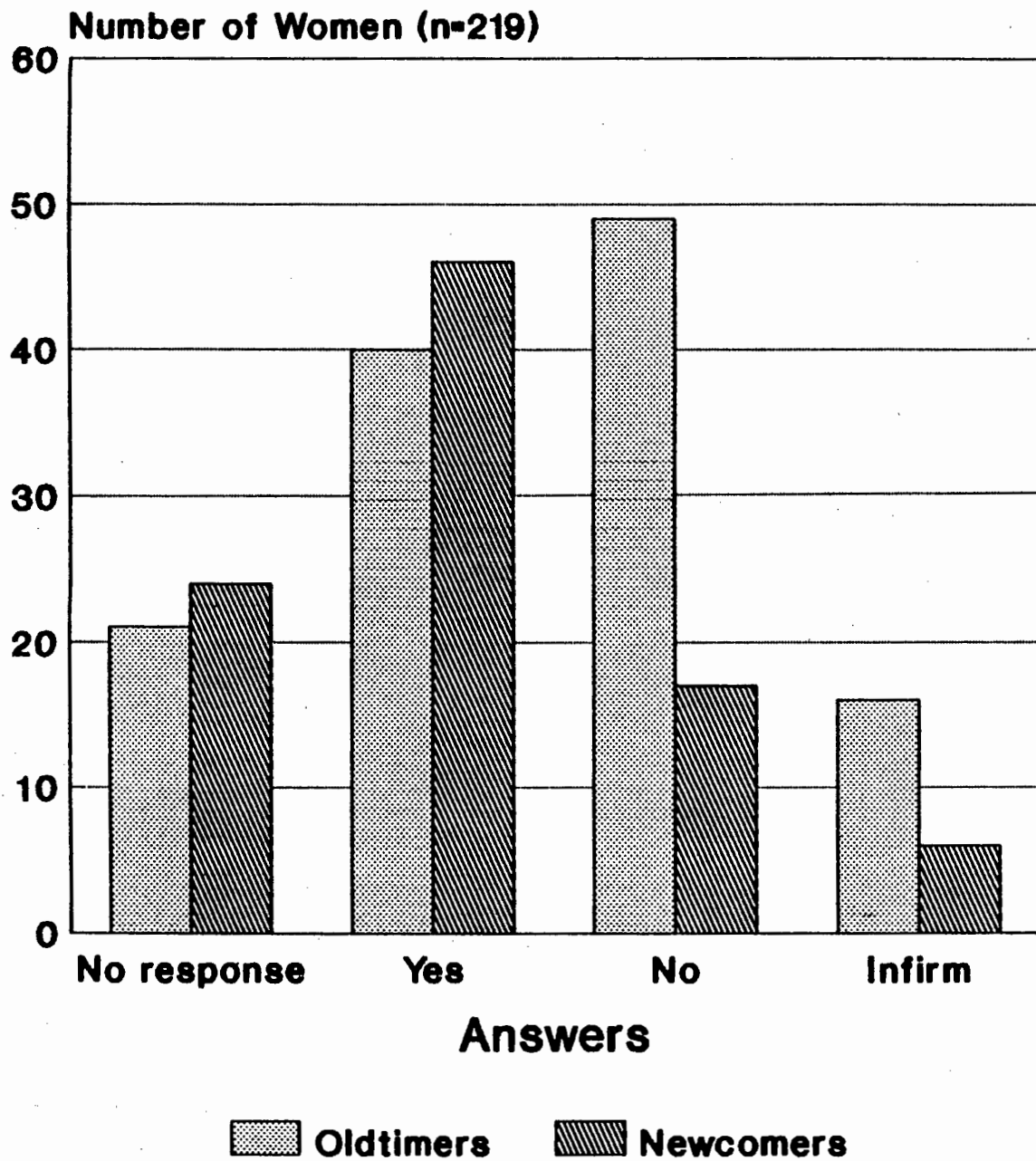
Clearly, newcomer women were more likely to work away from Groenekloof than oldtimers, indicating the greater dependence of newcomer families on outside sources of revenue.

(See pp.156-158 for further discussion of women at work).

105. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p.383.

106. Groenekloof, 27/5/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p.302. The botanical name of the waxberry is Myrica cordifolia L., M.M.Kidd, Cape Peninsula, South African Wild Flower Guide, 3 (Kirstenbosch, 1983). Franke refers to it above as Myrica cerifera.

Fig.4.2: Women working off Mission 1849



(Source: M&S Addenda)

Conclusions

Permission to reside at the mission brought with it use of communal mission land but little prospect of ex-slaves possessing land. Until 1858 this remained legally state property. What is also clear is that, whatever the benefits of a position at Groenekloof, the economic life of most residents was subject to striking fluctuations. Pre-industrial rural life could experience the bounties of nature but equally all were vulnerable to the dire effects of protracted drought, over-wet winters and stock disease.

On top of this were the problems of indebtedness, of lack of access to money capital and to accumulating sufficient resources to become established or to tide one through the tough periods if one was a 'coloured' farmer at Groenekloof. White farmers, on the other hand, were able to mortgage their land and many had received slave compensation money.¹⁰⁷

An examination of those departing from Groenekloof indicates that a large proportion were single young people leaving permanently or at least for a lengthy period, in order to work. (See p.201.) This points in part to the limits to Groenekloof's capacity to provide for all its residents as well as highlighting the hyperbole of those claiming that missions withheld residents from the labour market.

It seems that by the end of the 1840s, all Groenekloof residents were finding it harder to survive independently of the district's farmers. But, if the general trend was towards

107. Ross, 'Emancipations', pp.12-13.

greater dependency on casual labour, it was the newcomers who were least able to avoid this. Arriving at Groenekloof they obtained land and somewhere to keep their livestock. They received assistance to build houses as well as some access to training in a skill. Impoverished members of the church were also entitled to assistance from the poor box and free medicine. For the rest, they were largely destined to become or be dependents of casual labourers, working seasonally for neighbouring farmers if male; working gardens, picking waxberries and becoming involved in periodic domestic service at neighbouring farms, if women.

What ex-slaves did gain in economic terms was 'greater control over their own incomes, leisure and conditions of work'.¹⁰⁸ They acquired greater leverage in the labour market ^{power/influence} than ever possible as slaves and for those who became permanent labourers on farms. It is to this, and the context of their lives as casual workers that we will turn next.

108. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.53.

CHAPTER 5

ON THE FARMS

Post-Emancipation Farming

Conditions generally were adverse for all western Cape farmers at the time of emancipation. Not only were there epidemics of smallpox, dysentery and measles, as well as horse disease, but, as has been noted, for most of the south western Cape several years of severe drought remained unbroken in 1839.¹ Those whose labourers left en masse faced disastrous harvests.

The situation seems to have been a little brighter in the immediate vicinity of the Groenekloof mission, however. The mission diary records that the day of the celebration of 'the admission to unrestricted freedom of more than 40 000 of our fellowmen' was during a period of good rains. 'The fields and gardens, generally parched at this time of year, are covered with fresh verdure and numerous flowers are blooming in full splendour'.²

Rather than the 1838 grain harvest it appears to have been those of 1839 and 1840 which were affected by loss of labour as well as drought which now included the Malmesbury district. By 1842, however, production levels were recovering and grain, sold overwhelmingly to the domestic market, continued to be 'the largest sector of the colony's agricultural economy in terms of

1. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.30-31.

2. Groenekloof Diary for 1838, 2/12/1838, PA, XV, 1839, p.162.

value produced.³

Table 5.1 : Grain Production, 1825-1845

	Cape District (bushels wheat)	Total Colony (bushels wheat)
1825	138 256	(1824) 445 064
1838	127 800	463 691
	Change in district boundaries	
1839		395 329
1840	74 400	433 454
1845	113 112	650 849

(Sources:CA,J 56 - Opgaaf for Cape District,1825; Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.19; CGH Blue Books, 1840 & 1845; R.Ross, 'Emancipations', p.22.)

Up to this point Marinkowitz and Robert Ross are in agreement. Ross then argues that the dips in production around emancipation were 'relatively minor' and that

[e]ssentially, the two decades after emancipation of slaves were a long boom for the agricultural economy of the Colony ...⁴

He bases his argument on statistics of agricultural and pastoral production for the Cape Colony as a whole.

With regard to grain production, which is of particular concern here, he says that production figures show that grain

was scarcely affected even in the medium term by the emancipation of slaves, or rather, if anything, emancipation led to an increase in production.⁵

Marinkowitz, on the other hand argues that:

3. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.22; Ross, 'Emancipations', p.11.

4. Ross, 'Emancipations', p.6.

5. Ibid., p.7.

all commercial farmers in traditional wheat-growing areas were adversely affected and some were unable to cope post-emancipation.⁶

His argument is that while high wheat prices compensated to some extent for small harvests in the first few years after emancipation, increased production levels by 1842 failed to offset a plummeting wheat price.⁷ From an average of 11s per bushel in 1839 and 1840, it fell to an average of 6s from 1845-1849. Imports of cheaper grain from India, Mauritius, Europe and Australia, as well as of American flour after 1845 were putting pressure on Cape producers.⁸

It is difficult to know what the actual position was in the Malmesbury district; no-one has done a study of grain production in the area, and official statistics for districts are misleading because of changing district boundaries.⁹ At the same time Colony-wide figures such as those from the Blue Books used by Ross blur regional particularities.

Marinkowitz demonstrates that increased production cannot be equated with increased profitability. But in emphasising falling prices, he fails to mention what pre-1839 prices were like. From prices paid by the missionaries for corn purchased outside of the mission, it seems that 6s per bushel was a return to pre-emancipation levels, the 1839-1840 price a short-term bonus for the farmer whose crop did not fail.

6. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.80.

7. Ibid., p.31.

8. Ibid., p.80.

9. See pp.1-2 above.

**Table 5.2 : Price (per bushel) paid by Groenekloof
 Missionaries for Wheat purchased, 1837-1852.**

1837 6/-	1841 6/-	1845 6/-	1849 6/-
1838 6/6	1842 6/-	1846 6/-	1850 5/6
1839 11/-	1843 7/-	1847 9/6	1851 5/-
1840 11/-	1844 6/-	1848 6/7	1852 6/7

(Source:HA, 'Mamre Rekeninge' folder, Mission Accounts, 1837- 52)

Farmer agitation in the Zuid Afrikaan, via memorials to the government, meetings with the governor and agitation for pass laws, anti-squatting legislation and the abolition of the missions gathered momentum as the 1840s wore on. They were the product of attempts to cut costs through coercive controls on labour. For while profits from the sale of produce declined, one of the other effects of emancipation, argues Marinkowitz, was the need to depend to a large extent on costly casual labour.¹⁰ As discussed in the previous chapter, this was the result of the movement of significant numbers of former slaves into towns or onto crown land and mission land.

Rufus Winstain argues that while emancipation left unchallenged landowners' possession of land, they were faced with a struggle to transform labour as a basis of their power. Previously they had owned slaves as part of the means of production; now they were required to transform the newly freed labour into a dependent proletariat.¹¹ If this was not immediately possible, and the 1840s show that it was not, they would then attempt to induce the state to come to their aid by

10. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp. 80-85.

11. Winstain, 'The 1841 Cape Masters and Servants Ordinance', pp. 24-26.

reimposing essentially pre-capitalist coercive labour controls.

But as Marinkowitz and Ross also point out, there were those farmers for whom full proletarianization was not necessarily the best solution to their labour needs in the 1840s; and it was not necessarily the poorer farmers for whom this was the case. While labour requirements were highly seasonal, it was beneficial to be able to employ a small permanent labour force and take on extra workers as and when required, even at higher wages.

Ross goes so far as to argue that the movement of many ex-slaves to the missions and rural villages and consequent 'bifurcation' of the labour force into permanent and casual workers was fortuitous for many farmers and contributed largely to successful production after emancipation.¹²

The farmers for whom this was problematic were those who had formerly relied wholly on slave labour, who had lost it, who had no available land to offer to labour tenants and who were far from any mission which could act as a labour reservoir.

Casual Labour from Groenekloof Mission

The men resident at Groenekloof prior to emancipation were already engaged in casual labour for wheat farmers¹³ and after 1838 casual agricultural labour still comprised the major part of the economic life of men and boys. In the ploughing season and at harvest time, the boys' section of the mission school closed

12. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.84-87; Ross, 'Emancipations', p.20-21.

13. e.g. Groenekloof diary for 1832, PA, XII, 1831, p.354.

down as pupils went off with the men to work on farms for many miles around the mission.¹⁴ It seems, too, that in between seasons many of the men held a variety of labouring jobs - to the extent that the missionaries complained that their knowledge of basics of the faith was retarded by lack of opportunity to participate in the life of the community.¹⁵

Appearing in 1854 before a parliamentary select committee on landholding, Malmesbury farmer Frederick Duckitt said that 'neighbouring proprietors' regarded the Groenekloof mission as beneficial, as

a village where labourers may be obtained, and also return when they have done working with the proprietors of estates; it is considered a convenience on that account.¹⁶

Questioned further as to the effect on farmers of the mission being broken up, he said that

[t]o the neighbourhood ... it would be a great disadvantage. For the country at large, it would be the cause of disseminating labour; but I think the institution, generally speaking, is a labour market.¹⁷

It could thus be argued that, once they had accepted that the casual labour system would embrace their former slaves,¹⁸ the farmers in the vicinity of Groenekloof benefitted from the close

14. This was a regular theme of mission reports. See for e.g. Gysin, Groenekloof, 12/5/1846, PA, XVII, 1844, p.482 and Franke, Groenekloof, 30/4/1847, PA, XVIII, 1847, p.185.

15. Groenekloof Diary for 1844, PA, XVII, 1844, p.382.

16. CGH, 'Report of the Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold', p.23.

17. Ibid. p.25.

18. A 'logical development' once they had overcome their reluctance to pay ex-slaves wages, as they were accustomed to employing Khoi labourers on this basis, Worden, 'Adjusting to Emancipation', p.35

proximity of this 'labour depot'. But the existence of Groenekloof shifted the weight of the labour force into that area at the expense of farmers who lived further afield and who had to work harder at persuading labourers to come to them and stay with them.

By 1843 Cape Town newspapers were indicating that generally labour had stabilized after the unsettled years immediately after emancipation.¹⁹ As has been noted in the previous chapter, a year such as 1845 was so disastrous for Groenekloof that any work was acceptable. 1846 and 1851 saw scores of labourers from the mission and neighbourhood levied for war on the eastern frontier which put pressure on farmers at a time when it was possible to obtain excellent grain prices because of the government provisioning of troops.²⁰ Marinkowitz indicates that 1848-1853 were years in which farmers in the south western Cape as a whole complained particularly about a labour shortage.²¹ But it is necessary to return to Duckitt's assertion that those farmers near to Groenekloof were better off than other farmers because of the pool of labour available to them.

It is worth noting that Groenekloof's immediate neighbours - with the possible exception of Martinus Versfeld - seem to have been absent from the meeting of Malmesbury residents whose labour

19 E.Hengherr, 'Emancipation and After: a Study of Cape Slavery and the issues arising from it, 1830-1843', (MA dissertation,UCT,1953) p.82

20. Franke, Groenekloof, 22/1/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p.302.

21. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.79 ff.

concerns are recorded in the 1849 Masters and Servants papers.²² Yet even those at the meeting did not complain specifically about missions - unlike farmers in other areas, including former Field Cornet of Koeberg and employer of Groenekloof labour, A.J.Louw, who was also the centre of the 1851 rebellion scare.²³

When the Malmesbury court records are examined, it becomes evident that employers of Groenekloof residents did feel that they had cause to complain about some of them; and that the causes for complaint were typical of those against the labouring population of the district as a whole. Over the fourteen years, 1839-1852, Groenekloof residents were subject to criminal charges in fifty-six cases heard in the Malmesbury Court.

In only fourteen of the cases was the defendant a newcomer to Groenekloof, so that it seems that the oldtimers were more likely to be causing such dissatisfaction that they were taken to court. The proportion of cases involving servants from Groenekloof compared to non-residents is small.²⁴ So while Groenekloof residents evoked similar charges to non-residents (and these will be examined in the pages that follow) it seems that the number of charges against them was relatively low. Frederick Duckitt, one of the farmers who laid most charges against Groenekloof residents, with a total of seven between 1839

22. M & S Documents, p.219.

23. *Ibid.*, p.104. Also see below p.199.

24. The Resident Magistrate of Malmesbury recorded 82 Master versus Servant cases, 1845-1847, which dealt largely with breach of contract, insolence and disobeying orders. He records thirty-seven Servant versus Master cases in the same period. M & S Documents, p.21. Only nine of the former and one of the latter seem to have involved Groenekloof residents. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/3-1/1/4.

and 1852, said in 1854 that 'on my place they behave themselves very orderly'.²⁵

Work and Working Conditions on Farms

Groenekloof residents formed part of the force of casual workers serving Malmesbury farmers, and those further abroad. As Duckitt's testimony as well as that in court records indicate, they tended to serve farmers in the neighbourhood of the mission; proximity to family members and one's home being the obvious advantage. But at times Groenekloof residents went farther afield (see Map 2). Poelie Okkers worked on the Piketberg farm of the Cape Town merchant Antonio Chiappini,²⁶ while the former Koeberg Field Cornet had men from Groenekloof as well as Genadendal, 'Somerset', Eerste River, Stellenbosch, Paarl and Drakenstein working for him at harvest time.²⁷ Herdsmen particularly were likely to go for days and even weeks 'op togt'²⁸ to take cattle to grazing near Saldanha Bay²⁹ or to fetch them from the

25. CGH, 'Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold', p.23.

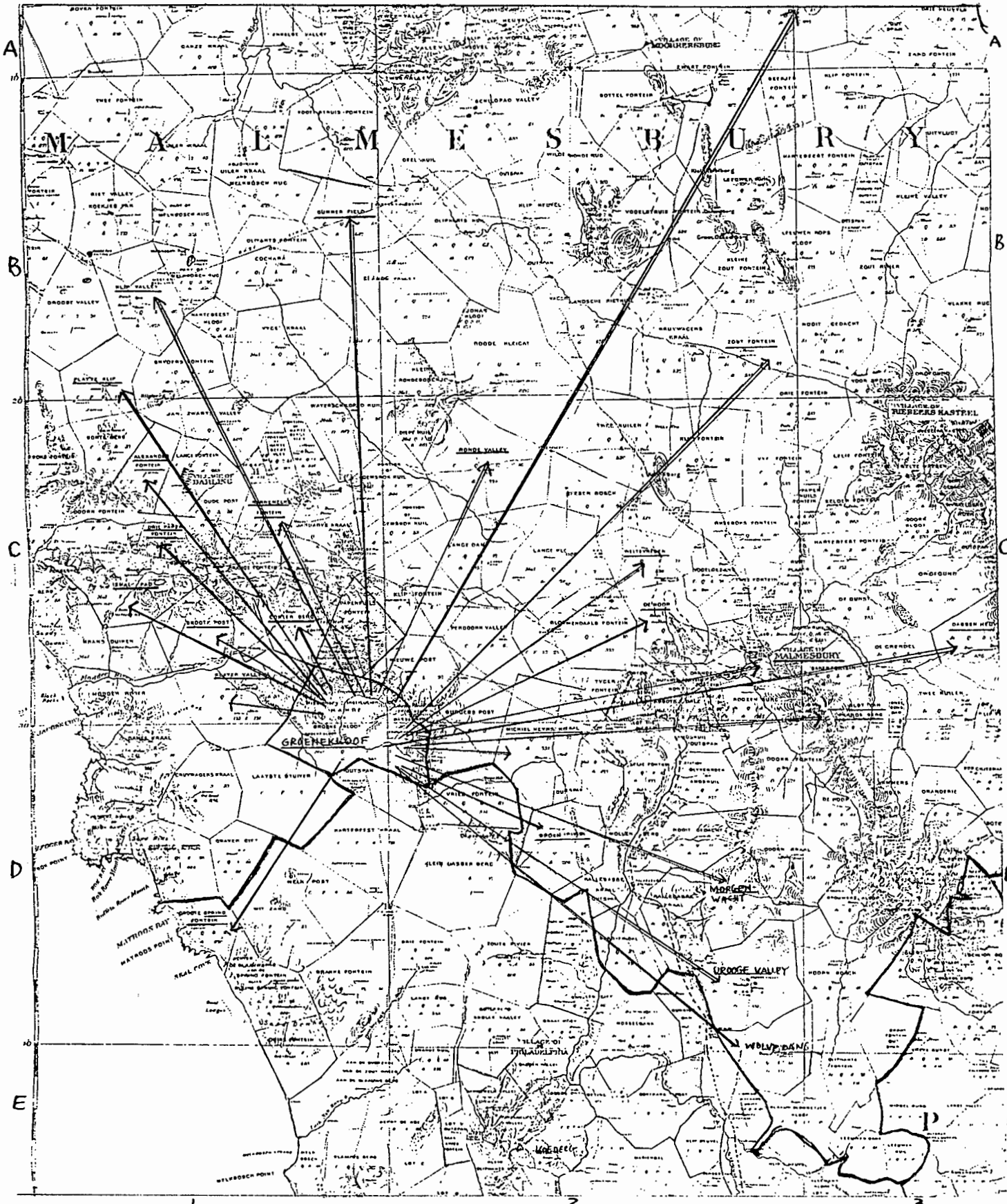
26. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/3, case 516/517,29/4/1845, Queen vs Willem Koopman e.a. All the examples given in this chapter are of Groenekloof residents.

27. CGH, Proceedings of, and Evidence Given Before, the Committee of the Legislative Council, respecting the proposed Ordinance 'to prevent the practice of settling squatters upon government lands' (Cape Town,1851) p.63.

28. HA, 'Mamre Testamente', Rentzke-Okkers agreement, 2/2/1852.

29. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4, case 752,9/9/1847, Lockner v Isaac Chilien.

MAP 2 : Farms on which Groenekloof Labourers appearing in Malmesbury Court Cases, 1839-1853, Worked



(Source: SAL, Surveyor General's Office, 1880, Map of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.)

interior.³⁰

The division between herding as 'Hottentot' work and field-labour being largely done by slaves or former slaves, continued after emancipation.³¹ Groenekloof workers were, of course, both ex-slave and Khoisan.

The kind of work undertaken by Groenekloof men was thus divided roughly into pastoral and arable labour although there was an overlap e.g. when working with oxen during the ploughing season. While there were many tasks on the farms requiring manual labour, and workers were sometimes taken on to do 'common farm work'³², they were generally hired for specific jobs. Some were hired to drive wagons or as wagon leaders when crops were taken to market - in Cape Town for example.³³ Herds were required for cattle and horses.³⁴ Working with cattle might also involve leading or driving oxen when ploughing, or controlling the plough.³⁵ Benjamin Meiring was not only hired to drive a plough, but also as coachman.³⁶

For casual workers, the time that they were in greatest

30. 'Reply of the Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury', M & S Documents, p.22.

31. Idem.

32. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 917,6/12/1848, F.Duckitt v Karel Nathan.

33. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4, case 701,22/3/1847, W.Duckitt v Martinus Boys and Michael September ; CA,1/MBY, 1/1/2, case 275,3/2/1842, Queen v Sagiris Adams.

34. CA,1/MBY,1/1/3, case 476,7/10/1844, Queen v Jacob van Renen, Fr. son.

35. CA,1/MBY,1/1/6, case 1110,23/5/1850, Andries de Villiers v Elizabeth Esau.

36. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 876, 14/10/1848, Bester v Meiring.

demand was when winter rains began, in May or June, when ploughing and sowing took place; and then from November to January when the grain was harvested and threshed.³⁷ Actual timing of the season depended on the weather and when grain ripened and so some flexibility was needed. Harvest work involved cutting the wheat, barley and oats; riding in the sheaves, and working on the tramp floors.³⁸ Boys seem to have been employed as leaders of oxen, and to work on the tramp floor during the harvest.³⁹

Scully suggests that one of the changes accompanying emancipation and marriage of former slaves, was the greater say fathers had over the employment of their children and the consequent weakening of mothers' power in determining the conditions and benefits of child labour.⁴⁰

At Groenekloof there are examples of both mothers and fathers entering into work agreements on behalf of their children. Joseph Coridon featured large in securing the terms of employment of his sons Tidor and Carl with Ponty Haupt.⁴¹ Likewise Hermanus Passens,⁴² Manassa Armoed⁴³ and mothers such

37. E.Host, "Die Hondjie Byt": Labour Relations in the Malmesbury District', (BA Hons dissertation, UCT, 1987) p.65.

38. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/3, case 471, ?7/1844, Petrosand v Jacob van Renen Fr.son.

39. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1110, 23/5/1850, Andries de Villiers v Elizabeth Esau; case 1006, 19/7/1849, Haupt v Jos. Coridon.

40. Scully, 'Private and Public Worlds', p.32.

41. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 734, ?7/1847, CEP Haupt v Anthony Frolich and sons e.a.; 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1006, 19/7/1849, Haupt v Jos. Coridon.

42. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 961, 26/2/1849, Hermanus Passens v Louis Greeff.

as Elisabeth Esau⁴⁴ and Paulina Africa played a role in providing farmers with child labour.⁴⁵ Often children worked alongside of their parents; a young girl, Rosetta Coredon, along with her father, for example.⁴⁶

For the farmers, utilization of child labour was nothing new when one considers the purchase of slave children, the apprenticeship of Khoisan children and the indenture of slave children in the 1830s. But many women who were formerly slaves seem to have used the opportunity offered by their freedom and residence at Groenekloof to remove both themselves and their daughters from the labour market, a phenomenon observed in other societies where slavery had been abolished.⁴⁷

The difficulty in obtaining female and child labour is noted in the return of the Malmesbury magistrate at the time of the 1849 inquiry into the working of the 1846 Masters and Servants Ordinance.⁴⁸ At a meeting of Malmesbury residents on 11 November 1848 to discuss the same ordinance, complaints were registered about the difficulty of retaining the services of orphaned children.⁴⁹

When asked in 1854 whether he readily obtained 'female as

43. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1102, withdrawn, Louw v Armoed.

44. CA,1/MBY,1/1/6, case 1110,23/5/1850,Andries de Villiers v Elizabeth Esau.

45. CA,1/MBY,1/1/2,case 243,13/9/1841,Queen v Catharina Greeff.

46. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4,case 622,6/7/1846, CEP Haupt v Carel Arristyn e.a.;case 734, Haupt v Anthony Frolich & sons e.a.

47. Foner, Nothing but Freedom,p.19.

48. M & S Documents,p.22.

49. Ibid.,p.219.

well as male servants from the institutions', Frederick Duckitt's reply was

No, females are very difficult to obtain. ... The parents are not anxious to let the girls go from under their care.⁵⁰

This assertion seems to contradict the evidence in the 1849 Master and Servant Addenda statistics which, as discussed in the previous chapter, indicate that larger numbers of Groenekloof women worked off the mission than general comment would indicate. Perhaps the significant difference after emancipation was the withdrawal of young girls from the labour market rather than older women. These would have both the opportunity to be educated and the protection of the mission - sexual exploitation rather than strenuous work probably being uppermost in minds of parents and missionaries. Once they reached their late teenage years single women were among those leaving in noteworthy numbers.

(See p.201.)

Groenekloof women in employment away from the mission included the widow, Klaresse Salomon and married Elizabeth Rondganger, both housemaids,⁵¹ as was Clara Augustyn in Malmesbury.⁵²

Groenekloof women at times accompanied their husbands to farms. After Benjamin Meiring took up employment with Hendrik Bester, Meiring's wife was to be found in the farm kitchen.⁵³

50. CGH, 'Select Committee on Granting lands in freehold', p.213.

51. M & S Addenda, p.66.

52. CA,1/MBY,1/1/1, cases 149/150, 3/9/1840, Public Prosecutor v Brommer.

53. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 876,14/10/1848, Bester v Meiring.

Nathanael Oppelt's wife and children were buried with him when ^{the} 'delapidated outhouse' in which they stayed on a farm collapsed.⁵⁴ Saartjie Arends was allegedly beaten by her husband when both were at Groote Post.⁵⁵ Arend and Christina Fabrik settled at Groenekloof in 1843 but had a child at Klipvallei in 1851 and another at Kykoesvallei in 1854.⁵⁶ Hoop and Trui Azia likewise entered Groenekloof in October 1847 but their daughter Sophia was born at Langfontein in December 1848.⁵⁷ These are exceptions to the norm; generally children of newcomers were born at Groenekloof indicating that even if women accompanied their husbands for part of the time they returned to the mission to have their babies.⁵⁸

The way in which Groenekloof labour was procured varied. There were those farmers whose former slaves returned to work for them sometimes year after year.⁵⁹ Farmers are reported to have visited Groenekloof on a Sunday to attend the service but more particularly to recruit labour.

A number of farmers visited us, some of whom attended the preaching; but their principal object was to hire labourers for the harvest, which, owing to the drought, commenced a fortnight earlier than usual.⁶⁰

54. Groenekloof Diary for 1846, PA, XVIII, 1848, p. 339.

55. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 656, 20/10/1846, Queen v Christian Arends.

56. HA, Catalog, p. 132.

57. Ibid., p. 153.

58. HA, Catalog, shows this in case after case.

59. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, Case 1010, 21/6/1849 & 25/6/1849, Queen v J.J. Proctor.

60. Groenekloof Diary for 1843, 20/10/1843, PA, XVII, 1844, p. 384.

Presumably labourers approached farmers for work, too, depending on the advantages to be gained by working for a particular master - proximity to the mission being one, and especially in terms of advances.

Once a labourer had worked for a farmer it was to the latter's advantage to make arrangements ahead of time for the labourer to return for the harvest. This happened regularly.⁶¹ When it was time to reap one of the resident farm labourers would be sent to summon the casual workers - which is why having a large number at Groenekloof made the task easier.

Seldom was any formal contract entered into a verbal but nevertheless legally binding arrangement being the norm.⁶² The instruction of Malmesbury magistrate Bergh to farmer Haupt that he must henceforth have a reliable witness when he entered into agreements with workers was the result of numerous court appearances by his workers on charges of desertion - when workers challenged the alleged terms of labour arrangements.⁶³ But there were times when farmers got workers to 'sign' written labour agreements.⁶⁴ Contracts were most likely when a servant went 'op togt'⁶⁵ and missionary Franke was used by Rentzke and

61. e.g. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4, Case 712, 14 & 28/5/1847, Queen v Markus Tieling; 1/MBY, 1/1/4, Case 728, 8/7/1847, Queen v Willem La Kock.

62. M & S Documents, p.22.

63. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P.Haupt v C.Arristyn and 15 others; case 734,22/7/1847, C.E.P.Haupt v A.Frolich & sons e.a.; 1/1/6, case 1001,16/8/1849, C.E.P.Haupt v Joseph Arends; and five cases at this time.

64. CA,1/MBY,1/1/6, case 1169, 5/12/1850, Heydenryck v Hermanus.

65. M & S Documents, p.22.

Okkers to draw up their agreement.⁶⁶

The wages of casual workers were calculated at a daily rate during the ploughing season and harvest, depending on the specific task undertaken. Typically a worker earned 2/6 per day for cutting wheat but only 1/6 for cutting oats or working on the tramp floor⁶⁷. (See Tables 5.3 and 5.4). In addition he would be given food and drink, the latter five times a day during the harvest. Daily wages of juveniles were less, e.g. 9d a day or a monthly rate of between 6s and 12s when Groenekloof adults generally earned 15s per month throughout this period.⁶⁸

Outside of the ploughing season and harvest, Groenekloof residents worked as monthly labourers as and when they needed to. It was common for a man to be taken on at a monthly rate of Rd 10 or 15s and then to change to a daily rate for these seasons when he earned about three times as much.⁶⁹ This is shown in Table 5.4, Example 1, where Petrosand averaged 6d per day for his four months as coachman but earned almost 1/6 per day for the 36 days when he performed casual labour. This reinforces Marinkowitz's point about the greater cost of casual labour and conversely the greater benefit to workers of undertaking this

66. HA, 'Mamre Testamente', Groenekloof 2/2/1852, Contract between Joshua Okkers and J. Rentzke.

67. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 687, 7/1/1847, Gert Joubert v W. Proctor.

68. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 687, 7/1/1847, Gert Joubert v W. Proctor; case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P Haupt v Carel Arristyn e.a.; 1/1/6, case 1006, 19/7/1849, Haupt v Coridon, Jos; case 1110, 28/5/1850, Andries de Villiers v Elisabeth Esau.

69. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/5, cases 917, 918 & 921, 6/12/1848, F. Duckitt v Karel Nathan, Godlieb Cupido & Joah Andries.

Table 5.3 : Usual Rate of Wages - Malmesbury District, 1849

Monthly work:	7s 6d - aged men usually
	12s - common laborers
	15s - more useful hands; In some instances even L1.
Daily work:	1s 6d - 2s barley, rye & oat harvest
	2s 3d - 3s wheat harvest
Allowances:	victuals and wine 3 times per day for 8 months of year ; value = 1s - 1s 11/2d per day
	victuals and wine 2 times per day for 4 months of year ; value = 9d per day
	wine 5 times per day during harvest

(source: Master & Servants Documents and Addenda, CT, 1849, p.22 & 219)

Table 5.4 : Samples of Wages Paid to Casual Workers

Example 1 : Petrosand (Petrus Sander) by Jacob van Renen F.Son, 1844.

10 days labour at 2s 6d	1 - 5 - 0
6 days labour in trampfloors at [1s 8d]	" - 10 - "
3 days ditto at 1s	" - 3 - "
3 days riding in sheaves at 1s 6d	" - 4 - 6
14 days work in the trampfloor at 9d	" - 10 - 6
4 months wages as coachman at 15s	3 - " - "
	£ 5 - 9 - 0
	(sic)

(source:CA,1/MBY,1/1/3, case 471, July 1844)

Example 2 : Gert Joubert by William Proctor, 1847.

(Joubert was a casual worker not resident at Groenekloof, but Proctor was an employer of Groenekloof labour.)

Gert:

For 19 days at 1s 5d per day	
5 1/2 days at 2s per day	
15 days at 2s 6d per day	3 - 17 - 0
For 1/2 month	7 - 6
	£ 4 - 4 - 6

Received in advance L3-0-0

Minor son Samson:

3 months labor from 12 July-12 October 1846	
at Rxd 3 [=4s 6d] per month	- 13 - 6
46 days labor in reaping season at 9d per day ..	- 34 - 6
	£ 2 - 8 - 0

Minor son William:

Labor from 12 July to end December 1846	
Rxd 8 or 12s sterling	- 12 - 0
	- 12 - 0

kind of work.⁷⁰

The result of this pattern of labour was that some Groenekloof residents spent much longer than just the harvest on a particular farm. Nathan, Cupido and Andries, for example, worked for Frederick Duckitt for most of 1848.⁷¹

On the other hand there were workers who remained with their employers for a matter of weeks or even days, before moving off.⁷² The charges of desertion levelled against Groenekloof residents indicate that they, too, were part of a highly mobile or in farmer terminology 'chronically unstable' work force; that being a 'free' labourer meant that one could move away from an employer when enough had been earned to satisfy a particular need, or when the employer failed to treat one in an acceptable manner.

Leaving a master when it suited the labourer, failing to reappear at an agreed moment, playing off one master against another, going to their permanent homes at weekends and even at unscheduled times; demanding advances for service, withholding women from the labour force and challenging masters in the courts; these were all ways in which workers could check the exactions of the farmers.

Non-Groenekloof residents were doing some of these things, too. But the mission residents were in a stronger position because of the alternative, if short term, subsistence available

70. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.80.

71. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/5, cases 917,918 & 921, 6/12/1848, F.Duckitt v Karel Nathan, Godlieb Cupido & Joah Andries.

72. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4, case 622,6/7/1846,C.E.P.Haupt v Carel Arristyn e.a.

to them from the combination of womens' candle making, garden and field produce and mission poor aid. Knowing that their dependants were provided for to some extent enabled men to be more assertive in the labour market.

Nevertheless, ultimately, the casual workers from Groenekloof were bound to support their families at the mission. This is borne out in their own testimony, even if farmers wished that workers had to work longer and harder to do so. On a number of occasions workers accused of desertion maintained that they had left because they were unable to support their families without an asked-for advance. Leopold April, who settled at Groenekloof in April 1840, is a case in point.⁷³ He said that the two shillings given him by Ponty Haupt instead of one pound were 'not sufficient to support his family'.⁷⁴

David Bredekam was a former slave who, for undisclosed reasons, had been denied permission to live at Groenekloof although his wife Henrietta lived there. She resided with his sister Klaressa, a resident of about a year's standing in August 1848. At this time David was found guilty of stealing two sheep from his employer Matthys Basson of Dassenheuwel, some of the meat having been taken to Groenekloof. His sister remarked:

I did not consider it strange that Prisoner brought such a quantity of meat at a time though he did not do so before, yet he was bound to support his family.⁷⁵

This is a noteworthy remark illustrating as it does the

73. HA, Catalog, p.15.

74. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P. Haupt v Carel Arristyn e.a.

75. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 858, 17/8/1848, Queen v David & Hans.

responsibilities which 'freedom' brought this former slave; a family and the expectation that he be a provider, not only for himself but for them, too.

Supplies from the farms supplemented what could be grown and bought at the mission. Fathers and sons worked to provide cash and kind for the whole family. Thus we find Afrika Geluk and his son-in-law leaving Groote Post, adjacent to the mission, and carrying 'some meal in turns to our home at Groenekloof' one Saturday afternoon in August 1850.⁷⁶

Casual workers in the years 1839-1852 were in a position to make certain demands of their employers. This is evident from the special labour arrangements frequently entered into. Advances in the form of cash payments on or before entering service were common as were advances of food.⁷⁷ The Malmesbury magistrate reported in June 1847 that 'farmers can seldom obtain labourers without making an advance'.⁷⁸

A bushel of wheat and possibly a sheep could be given on the understanding that the worker would return when sent for; only in the case of ex-slave Jan Galant, he went and took another advance of a bushel of wheat from another potential employer and

76. Geluk was a newcomer to Groenekloof in July 1840. HA, Catalog, p.45. He and two others were expelled in March 1844 for stealing a mission wagon and half a load of oats, this being sold in Cape Town. His family remained at Groenekloof. PA, XVII, 1844, p.381; HA, Groenekloof Diary, 20 March, 1840; CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1132, 15/8/1850, Queen v Jan Wegstein.

77. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P. Haupt v Carel Arristyn e.a.; *ibid.*, case 728, 8/7/1847, Queen v Willem La Cock.

78. CA, 1/MBY, 6/1/1, Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury, to the Secretary to the Government.

ended up in court.⁷⁹

Another concession to workers was to allow debts to be carried over from one season to the next. Marcus Tilling, newcomer to Groenekloof after emancipation, owed his master

Rd 32 [48s] for cash loaned to him as well as for a sheep, wheat and peas, when he left at the end of 1846.⁸⁰ Another benefit to labourers was being allowed to graze their livestock on their employers' land, so that Gabriel Davids had his horses run with his employers.⁸¹

This is not to say that the workers at all times had the upper hand in the struggle to control their own labour. While advances might benefit them, these often became a source of indebtedness and obligation. So, too, did accounts run up for goods purchased from farm stores; clothing, handkerchiefs, snuff, sugar and the like.⁸² Failure to pay debts regularly resulted in instructions by the court to work out one's debts in labour. In the case of Marcus Tilling his failure to return as promised in April 1847, brought him before the magistrate - only to be ordered to honour the arrangement made the previous year to work for Frederick Duckitt. This time Tilling 'immediately went and enlisted himself with the Civil Commissioner to locate himself on the frontier', his master's appeal to the magistrate

79. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 891, 28/10/1848, Mostert v Galant.

80. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4/, case 712,14 & 28/5/1847, F.Duckitt v Markus Tieling.

81. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 880, 9 & 12/10/1848, F.Duckitt v Gabriel Davids; also see 1/1/3, case 393, 27/7/1843, Queen v Jonas e.a.

82. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4,case 687,7/1/1847, Gert Joubert v W.Proctor.

forestalling him once again.⁸³

A piecing together of information on former slave, Gottfried Losber, demonstrates how indebtedness to a farmer might affect the ability of a newcomer at Groenekloof to remain there and therefore as casual labourer. Losber was born on the farm Langerug, owned by the Gous family.⁸⁴ (See Figure 2.6)

Gottfried Losber was given permission to settle at Groenekloof in February 1842 with his wife, Portia, and three small children.⁸⁵ By December 1848 Losber was in debt to Pieter Gous to the tune of Rd 121 (the equivalent of 121 days reaping barley or about seventy-two doing the most lucrative work, reaping wheat) and he authorized the missionaries to sell his house on 1 August 1849 so that he could repay Gous by 27 December 1849.⁸⁶ Presumably in this instance the creditor had gone to the missionaries because the document is in Franke's hand though interestingly witnessed by two residents and not a missionary.

There is no direct evidence that Losber's house was sold, but it seems likely that it was because the mission Catalog shows that he, his wife and by now enlarged family left Groenekloof on 5 August 1850.⁸⁷ It is possible that the debt

83. CA,1/MBY,6/1/1, Resident Magistrate, Malmesbury to the Secretary to the Government, 4/6/1847.

84. Their labour force in 1825 was comprised solely of slaves which is why it is probable that he, too, was one. CA,J56 Opgaaf for the Cape District, 1825.

85. HA,Catalog p.115.

86. HA, 'Mamre Testamente', Groenekloof, 27/12/1848, Gottfried Losber and P.Gous.

87. HA,Catalog,p.115.

had begun to accumulate before Losber's arrival at the mission. It is also highly likely that he continued to work for his former owner while having a permanent home at Groenekloof. But growing debt and an inability to repay so great an amount led to the loss of his position at the institution. Whether he left to work for Gous or not, in all probability he was one of those shaken loose from his nominally independent base and, along with his wife and children, drawn into the permanent labour force.

Going to Complain

With the passing of the Masters and Servants Ordinance on the 1 March 1841, which was basically unchanged until 1856, the free labour market 'was placed firmly in the realm of criminal law'.⁸⁸ Worden argues that the application of the Ordinance in subsequent years assisted the employer in securing a work force.⁸⁹ The Malmesbury magistrate undoubtedly accepted the necessity to make servants work by enforcing verbal contracts and in punishing vaguely defined notions of worker misconduct. In the case of Groenekloof residents, the court was used regularly to uphold the right of the employer to demand fulfilment of a labour contract.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, at the behest of a Colonial Office still

88. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p.60.

89. Worden, 'Adjusting to Emancipation', p.38.

90. Cases in which newcomers to Groenekloof were forced to complete service contracts e.g. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P.Haupt v Leopold April; 1/1/5, case 876, 14/10/1848, Bester v Meiring; 1/1/6, case 1169, 5/12/1850, Heydenryk v Hermanus.

favouring 'free labour', the Ordinance only provided for short-term contracts - a maximum of three months for verbal contracts and one year for written contracts with ex-slaves. Punishment was limited to fourteen days imprisonment with or without hard labour.⁹¹ The experience of the Malmesbury farmers in 1849 was thus that the controls over servants were capable only of limiting minor offences and certainly not of securing adequate labour.⁹²

At the same time the right of servants to challenge masters was upheld. Equal access by free people of colour to the law since 1828 and the habit of using the courts, which slaves had acquired in the years of amelioration and apprenticeship, had made their mark.⁹³ The phrase 'going to complain' was commonly used at Groenekloof, and Groenekloof residents were among many servants who made their way to Malmesbury 'to complain'.⁹⁴

Jan Galant, a newcomer in April 1840,⁹⁵ challenged Frans Bestbier of the farm Weltevreden in court in September 1848 for withholding wages due to him and his two sons. The charge was withdrawn when Bestbier satisfied the plaintiff.⁹⁶ Two other post-emancipation mission residents, Anton (David) Carls and Joshua (Nanto) September, received satisfaction when they charged

91. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', p. 60.

92. M & S Documents, p.22.

93. Mason, 'The Slaves and their Protectors', p.116 ff.

94. See e.g. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/1, case 149/150, 3/9/1840, Queen v Brommer; 1/1/2, case 243, 13/9/1841, Queen v Catharina Greeff; 1/1/6, case 1011, 27/6/1849, Queen v Haupt and van Niekerk.

95. HA, Catalog p.45.

96. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/5, case 863, withdrawn, Galant v Bestbier.

their employer, Louis Greeff of Zomerveld, with 'non-payment of wages in cash and grain' in February 1849 ⁹⁷. [February 1849 was possibly a bad time for farmers because of protracted drought, and at the same time Ponty Haupt, P. Brand of Bottelary, James Proctor and Jan Grobbelaar were all found guilty of non-payment of wages in cases instigated by their labourers.⁹⁸]

'Going to complain' included challenging farmers for assault. The number of cases in which servants challenged masters for assault dropped off significantly after 1841, the year in which the Masters and Servants Ordinance came into effect. Yet the pages of the court record books contain much evidence of continued physical and verbal abuse of servants. Though the charge might not be assault, cases of theft or desertion are threaded with accounts of intimidation. What the following examples also point up is that servants were not always cowed by this, and at times responded in kind.

Certain farmers were clearly more at fault than others and Frans Bestbier appears to have been particularly volatile.⁹⁹ In August 1845 his son Cornelis and overseer Albertus Loubser ¹⁰⁰

97. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/5, cases 958 & 959, 19/2/1849, September v Louis Greeff and Carles v Louis Greeff.

98. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, cases 961-965,968 & 970, February 1849, Hermanus Passens v Ponty Haupt; Gottfried, Isaac Cupido, Christian and Joseph v P.Brand; Patty and Samuel v J.Proctor; Minerva v Jan Grobbelaar.

99. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/2, cases 240-2, Queen v Okkers, Del and September, involve Groenekloof residents. Others in which Bestbier was charged with assault include 1/MBY,1/1/2,cases 297, 324 and 325 in 1842; 1/1/3, cases 406 and 418 in 1843; 1/1/6, case 657 in 1846.

100. See also CA, 1/MBY,1/1/3, case 479, ?/10/1844, Pub.Prosecutor v Albertus Loubser, when Loubser was charged with the assault of Groenekloof resident David Platjes at

became involved in a free-for-all with members of the Andries family, possibly former Groenekloof residents.¹⁰¹ Arriving 'at about the middle of the ploughing season' they 'had a pack horse with them carrying bedding' and 'bought meal on their arrival ... because [the] children had nothing to eat'.

They were later accused of stealing grain from the farm loft. In this instance Elsjé and Jacob, two servants of longer standing, witnessed the confrontation between Cornelis and the Andrieses. They, too, challenged masterly authority, with Elsjé striking Cornelis Bestbier with a kirrie. This he then snatched away and struck her 'on the eye with my fist'. July Andries hit overseer Loubser 'with a bullock's head' but Jacob refused three times to bring a riem to tie the prisoners saying, in a clear assertion of independence, that 'he did not know whether he was justified in so doing'.¹⁰²

Adolph Pedro (a Groenekloof old-timer) charged Pieter van Jaarsveld of Theefontein with refusing to pay him £1-19-0, the balance on six months labour performed in 1844, against which charge van Jaarsveld defended himself by saying that Pedro would never come to a settlement. Pedro's response was:

I was on the place of the Defendant to settle, but he threatened to beat me, he called me back, but I did not go being afraid of being beaten.¹⁰³

In this instance judgment was in Pedro's favour, he being awarded

Paapkuilsfontein.

101. HA, Catalog, pp.16 and 20.

102. CA,1/MBY,1/1/3, case 531, 7/8/1845, Queen v Saul Andries.

103. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/4, case 647,21/9/1846, Adolph Pedro v Pieter van Jaarsveld.

£1-2-6, though each was ordered to pay half the costs.

Another Groenekloof oldtimer, Gabriel Davids, asked Frederick Duckitt if he could settle with him in October 1848, having agreed to work for him until and through the harvest.

Testifying, Duckitt said:

upon which I asked him whether he was mad ...I then said you better not go as I will prosecute you forthwith... I afterwards went to the kraal and found said Davids catching his horses. I told him to leave his horses there until the case was brought before the Residt magistrate but on his persisting to take the horses and making a fold in the rein around his arm, and saying that he would take the horses with him and not leave them with my horses on the farm I gave him one stroke on the head he having provoked me thereto.

In this instance Davids agreed to return to his master,

under condition that Mr Duckitt be requested to withdraw his accusation and that my rations which I receive every evening on my return from the fields with the horses after all the others on the farm have had the choice of their rations and leaves me the smallest morsels be in future better attended to, and that the smallest is not left for me. And request a letter be written to Mr Duckitt on the subject. ¹⁰⁴

Clearly making a stand, Davids would return, but it was on his own terms. Making an issue of rations and requesting a letter from the magistrate were the actions of a man whose dignity and sense of proper treatment had been offended. Duckitt was to know that he could not act with impunity.

Adolf Koekraal was in the employ of Ponty Haupt, owner of Alexanderfontein and Drie Papenfontein, in June 1849, working with his horses and oxen. Koekraal and two other Groenekloof residents went to complain about the bad rations they had been given and Koekraal was allegedly singled out and struck seven or

104. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, 9 & 12/10/1848, F.Duckitt v Gabriel Davids.

eight blows with a shambok by van Niekerk and seven or eight blows with a bamboo kirrie by Haupt. He then fled and was pursued by these men and captured on the neighbouring Rabe farm, Oude Post. Afraid of being beaten again Koekraal put up little resistance, and returned with his captors. But the following day his

body was so sore of the bruises that I told the overseer van Niekerk that I couldn't work and wished to go home. I did go home and the whole of Sunday I could not move from the pain.

Home was his hut at the mission, to which he retreated in order to attend to his wounds and from which three days later he went to the magistrate to complain. Found guilty of assault, van Niekerk was fined £2 sterling, C.E.P Haupt 30 s.¹⁰⁵

The Farm-Mission Connection

Koekraal was not the only worker to put in an unscheduled appearance at the mission. Saartjie Niemand, a house servant at Groote Post, repaired to Groenekloof when she had her jaw dislocated by her husband. Her master showed where his sympathies lay, saying, 'I am not astonished at her husband giving her a correction for she is an incorrigible creature in every respect'.¹⁰⁶

Segiris Adams was a Groenekloof resident with at least six court appearances between 1840 and 1849 on charges of assault

105. CA,1/MBY,1/1/6, case 1011, 27/6/1849, Queen v C.E.P.Haupt & Jacobus van Niekerk.

106. CA,1/MBY,1/1/4, case 656, 20?/10/1846, Queen v Christian Arends.

or desertion.¹⁰⁷ He earned the wrath of Roedolph Cloete for making three detours to Groenekloof around about New Year 1849. These were made in Cloete's waggon when on his master's business. As it was a four-hour detour and involved a night spent in Adams' hut at the mission in each instance, Cloete did not feel inclined to overlook this more than once.¹⁰⁸ This was harvest time and therefore a particularly busy time on the farms.

Those engaged in work fairly close to the mission made regular weekend visits to their families and to join in the Sunday services.¹⁰⁹ Writing of labourers in the district as a whole, the Malmesbury magistrate reported in 1849:

Another habit ... is that they leave their service of a Saturday evening or on a Sunday morning, without having obtained the permission of the master and do not return before Sunday night or Monday morning - notwithstanding their being hired by the month.¹¹⁰

While the timing of the harvest, could be such as to result in empty Christmas services, the festival and key religious holidays were generally times at which workers flocked to Groenekloof to join their families and the wider community in the celebrations.¹¹¹

The missionaries were pleased when their congregants began to flock back to the mission, harvest over, but they did not

107. See e.g. CA,1/MBY,1/1/2, case 275, 3/2/1842, Queen v Segires Adams and 1/1/4, case 622, 6/7/1846, C.E.P.Haupt v Sagiris Adams.

108. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 943, 15/1/1849, Cloete v Adams.

109. See e.g. CA,1/MBY,1/1/3, case 501, 20/1/1845, Queen v Petrus Magerman and Jacob; 1/1/5, case 858, 17/8/1848, Queen v David & Hans; 1/1/6, case 1132, 15/8/1850, Queen v Jan Wegstein.

110. M & S Documents, p.18.

111. e.g. Franke, Groenekloof, 22/1/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p.301.

stand in the way of their casual labour. The ability of most of their members to survive, and therefore of the mission to continue, depended on it. But neither did they particularly promote labour outside the settlement. There is little evidence of them playing a direct role in the labour relationship.

Certainly some farmers regarded the missionaries as capable of supporting their interests, and sent letters to them complaining when labourers failed to meet their obligations.¹¹² Conversely, trying to use missionary influence with the farmers (or their wives) was found by Paulina Africa not to be efficacious. Her child had been hired by the Greeffs for three weeks, but when Paulina went to fetch the child, Catharina Greeff refused to hand him/her over. 'You told me that if I brought a letter from the missionaries you would let me have my child,' she said to the unco-operative Catherina Greeff, and, retreating before Greeff's brandished stick, went to the magistrate to complain.¹¹³

In 1849 Groenekloof, along with Elim, Genadendal and a number of London Missionary Society stations, was subject to investigation by a government commission. The Groenekloof commission comprised the Malmesbury resident magistrate, W. Bergh, and two local field cornets.¹¹⁴ The enquiry arose out of complaints that missions were impeding the flow of labour to

112. e.g. CA,1/MBY,1/1/5, case 891, 28/10/1848, Mostert v Galant.

113. CA,1/MBY, 1/1/2, case 243, 13/9/1841, Queen v Catharina Greeff.

114. Franke, Groenekloof, 1/5/1849, PA, XIX, 1849, p.245. It was during this visit that the statistics contained in the M & S Addenda were collected.

farms.¹¹⁵ It is likely that Genadendal rather than Groenekloof was the object of most agitation,¹¹⁶ and in this context superintendent Teutsch stated that their residents were

at perfect liberty to work where they like and as they like ...and that we have at all times scrupulously abstained from interfering directly or indirectly with the amount of wages for which they work with the farmers ...¹¹⁷

But Franke's comments indicate that he did not feel Groenekloof to be exempt from criticism:

the Commission appeared perfectly satisfied, that the representations of our adversaries were unfounded, and left us on the 12th [February]...¹¹⁸

The remark he made two days later seems to epitomise Franke's feelings about casual labour. After a lengthy and severe drought the rains had come

so that our people will now be busily engaged in ploughing and sowing on the neighbouring farms. Our boys' school will of consequence be but thinly attended for a season, but we will not dissuade any of our young people from going out to work, which would only furnish our adversaries with a fresh pretext to raise an outcry against us, but would deprive our Hottentots of the assistance of their children, which, in the present hard times, they could not well dispense with.¹¹⁹
(my underlining)

While Groenekloof workers (those who remained at the mission i.e.) were able to resist proletarianization, and to manipulate

115. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.222-225.

116. Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.194.

117. Teutsch, Genadendal, 8/2/1849, PA, XIX, 1849, p.138.

118. Franke, Groenekloof, 1/5/1849, PA, XIX, 1849, p.246.

119. Franke, Groenekloof, 3/5/1849, PA, XIX, 1849, p.246.

the circumstances under which they worked to some extent, the majority ultimately did not have the choice not to work for surrounding farmers.

A complementary, if not always comfortable, relationship between mission and farms, between labour reservoir and labour market existed in the Malmesbury district. As surely as the seasons changed and ploughing and planting made way for reaping and threshing, the majority of men from Groenekloof packed their necessities and the boys abandoned the schoolroom for the farms of the Duckitts, Besters, Bestbiers and van Reenens.

But in becoming a man of two worlds, farm and mission, the casual worker was also moving out of the domain of the farmer in psychologically important ways. Despite the fact that he had worked for his former owner every year but one since emancipation, a man who treated him benevolently, ex-slave Frans Carls identified himself in court thus: 'I am a member of the Groenekloof Institution'.¹²⁰

With the family of casual labourers living away from the farms, the farmer's hold on the workers was more tenuous. Groenekloof offered the casual worker an alternative community to that of the farm. It was at the mission that permanent houses were being constructed, women were congregating and the new children were being born. In removing their homes geographically, they were for periods of time removed from the control, benevolent or otherwise, of the master. By constructing a community at Groenekloof, they were undermining the network of

120. CA,1/MBY,1/1/6, case 1010, 21 & 25/6/1849, Queen v.J.J.Proctor.

relationships which would constitute the household of farmer and slave. In continuing to use the courts to affirm their rights, they were challenging the inequalities of the master-servant relationship.

Drinking, dancing and unsupervised sexual relationships were possible at the farms and earned expulsion from the mission. (See Chapter 6). Yet the space afforded the workers in distancing themselves from their employers seems to have been important to many.

What may be learnt from this about the difference in relationship between master and ex-slave from that of master and slave? If Shell is correct in asserting that paternalism characterized the Cape master-slave relationship,¹²¹ then it may be seen as an unequal relationship with the master equating his exercising of power with 'taking responsibility' for the 'minors' or slaves in his possession. As Genovese and van Onselen point out, paternalism does not exclude the use of overt force although this needs to be counterbalanced by acts of benevolence which will win slaves' compliance.¹²² Mason argues that the years immediately prior to emancipation already saw an undermining of paternalism from the slaves' side as they used the law to demand real and putative rights, and generally challenged the authority of masters.¹²³

121. Shell, 'Family and Slavery', p.22.

122. Van Onselen, C. 'The Social and Economic Underpinnings of Paternalism and Violence on the Maize Farms of the South-Western Transvaal, 1900-1950', (Unpublished ASI paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 13/5/1991) p.21.

123. Mason, 'Slaves and their Protectors', p.111 & 127.

There is not a great deal of direct evidence in the Malmesbury material as a basis on which to argue the existence or not of a paternalistic order prior to emancipation. Nor is it possible to discern whether the 1840s were characterised by a further breakdown of this order. Nonetheless, the case of Frans Carls seems to demonstrate the ambiguities of master-servant relationships at this time, and with this the chapter comes to a close.

Carls was a slave born in 1820 on Michiel de Kock's farm, Driehoek (or Draaihoek). [Map 2, p.153, D2 and Figure 2.6].¹²⁴ He was taken by de Kock's son, Johannes Jacobus to his farm, Morgenwacht, [Map 2 D2] where he laboured until emancipation.¹²⁵

On 14 September 1840, the twenty year old youth was given permission to settle at Groenekloof and was one of the newcomers to stay there permanently.¹²⁶ With the exception of one year, he returned annually to work for his former owner, J.J.de Kock.

In June 1849, a case was brought against a neighbouring farmer to de Kock, Johannes Jacobus Proctor, in which it was alleged that he did 'unlawfully and wrongfully appropriate to his own use - and did kill a sheep the property of Frans Carls.'¹²⁷

It is in the unfolding of the testimony in this case that one detects the remnants of a paternalistic relationship between J.J.de Kock and his former slave, now casual labourer. But very

124. HA, Catalog, p.31; CA, J 56, Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825.

125. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1010, 21 & 25/6/1849, Queen v J.J. Proctor.

126. HA, Catalog, p.31.

127. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1010, 21 & 25/6/1849, Queen v J.J. Proctor.

striking is the determination with which Carls pursues rights which were his as a free man rather than as a former slave. These were rights to property purchased with money earned by the sweat of his brow; the right to marriage, and the right of equal protection in terms of the law.

Employed by de Kock for the 1849 ploughing season, on Saturday 19 May, Carls negotiated with his master the purchase of a Cape sheep. Said de Kock,

I allowed him to have it for 10/- because he had been one of my late slaves and had served me faithfully otherwise the price is 12/-.

The deal having been made, Carls tied the sheep to a waggon with a riem, intending 'to take it home', i.e. to Groenekloof. His purchase turned out to be a sheep with a will of its own, for it managed to escape twice, the second time on Sunday morning, and was not to be found. Carls reported the problem to his master and Mattheus de Kock, brother of the same, whereupon Mattheus offered to go in search of the beast. Frans Carls set off, sans sheep, for Groenekloof.

What does not emerge in the court testimony is that Carls was probably making arrangements for his wedding the following Saturday. The mission records show that he was married to Henriette Okkers, by whom he already had one child, on Sunday 27 May 1849.¹²⁸ His anxiety to have a sheep by that date is explained if it was intended for the wedding feast.

Unknown to Carls his sheep had ended up on Wolvedans [Map 2, D2], farm of J.J.Proctor some miles south of Morgenwacht.

128. HA, Catalog, p.31.

Captured that same Sunday morning by a labourer, Klaas, it was again tied to a waggon. On Monday morning J.J.Proctor, according to his own testimony, found it dead but still warm and decided to slaughter it and feed it to his labourers which he did. He maintained that he all along intended to give the owner another sheep in its place.

Returning to Morgenwacht on Friday 25 May, two days before his marriage, Carls learnt the whereabouts of his purchase from Mattheus de Kock. He went to Wolvedans where two fellow Groenekloof residents ploughing for Proctor confirmed the fate of his sheep. Tackling J.J.Proctor on the subject of restitution, he was offered another in its stead.

Carls said, 'I want one today.'

Defendant said, 'I cannot give you one today I have no sheep.'

Carls was insistent that he needed a sheep and that if he could not have one from Proctor he must have the 10/- so he could buy another. Finally Proctor 'said that he would give me a note to Mr de Kock to give me a sheep on his account.'

Returning to de Kock, Carls proffered the note and asked for another sheep, but de Kock said that there was no name upon the note. Rather than accept this he would give Carls another sheep on his own account. It appears that Proctor was already deep in debt to de Kock. According to de Kock's evidence, and possibly indicating a reluctance to see a former slave taking a member of the master class to court, he then had to dissuade Carls from immediately going to the magistrate to complain; rather he should return to Proctor.

Time being of the essence, Carls seems to have decided to

heed this advice, took another sheep on his own account and left for Groenekloof to be married. But six days later, on Saturday 2 June, he returned to Proctor's farm and finding him, said,

'Here is the note. I got nothing on your account from Mr de Kock. I now owe Mr de Kock for two sheep and he wants his money. Will you give me the money or another sheep?'

Defendant said, 'It is doubtful whether it is your sheep. Can you swear to it being yours?'

I replied, 'Yes, I can swear to it. The riem is also my witness.'

Defendant said, 'I am as much afraid of you as of Mr de Kock. I know what is right.'

I then turned away.

Defendant called to me and said, 'Wait till evening and you shall have your sheep.' I was about sixty paces from Defendant. I gave no answer, and came to the village of Malmesbury.

The first hearing of the case took place nineteen days later. Although he had counselled against hasty recourse to the law, J.J. de Kock appeared to testify that his former slave 'bears a good character. I would credit what he would tell me'. The outcome after two fairly extensive hearings is not given.

Definite conclusions about the nature of master-servant relationships after emancipation remain difficult to reach.

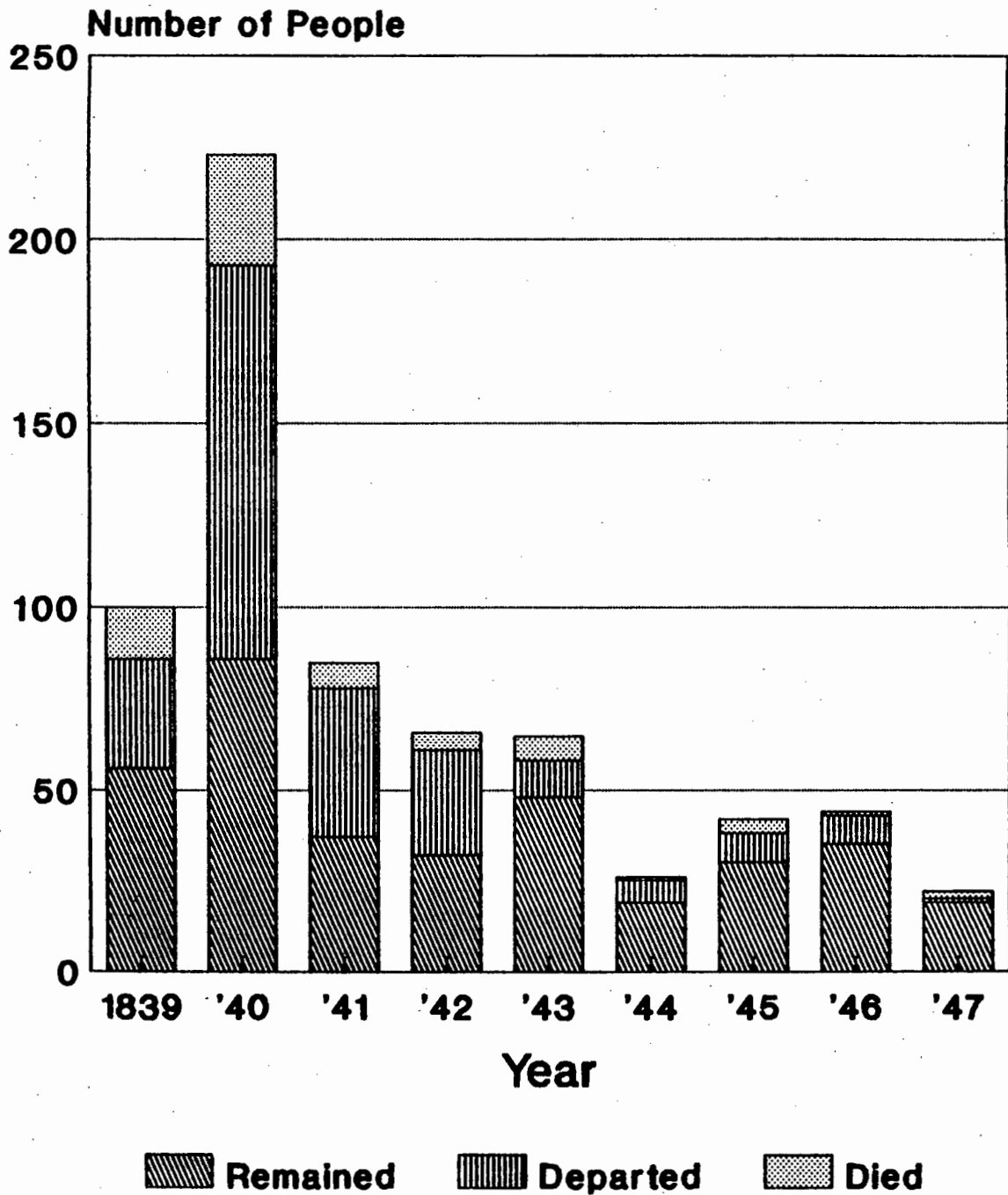
It may well have been that the receiving of cash wages, working under contract, removal of one's family from the farms and invoking of the law against a master all served on the worker's side to undermine what paternalism there was in the relationship between a master and his former slave. The scare of a rural revolt in 1851 shows the extent to which class conflict threatened in the rural western Cape. (See Chapter 6)

But as the case of Frans Carls demonstrates, this servant was still very much regarded as being in a special relationship

with his master and master's family because he was born his slave. The harnessing of Carls' [free] labour in service of the farmer drew on bonds of loyalty and was marked by the granting of concessions, at least on the part of the farmer.

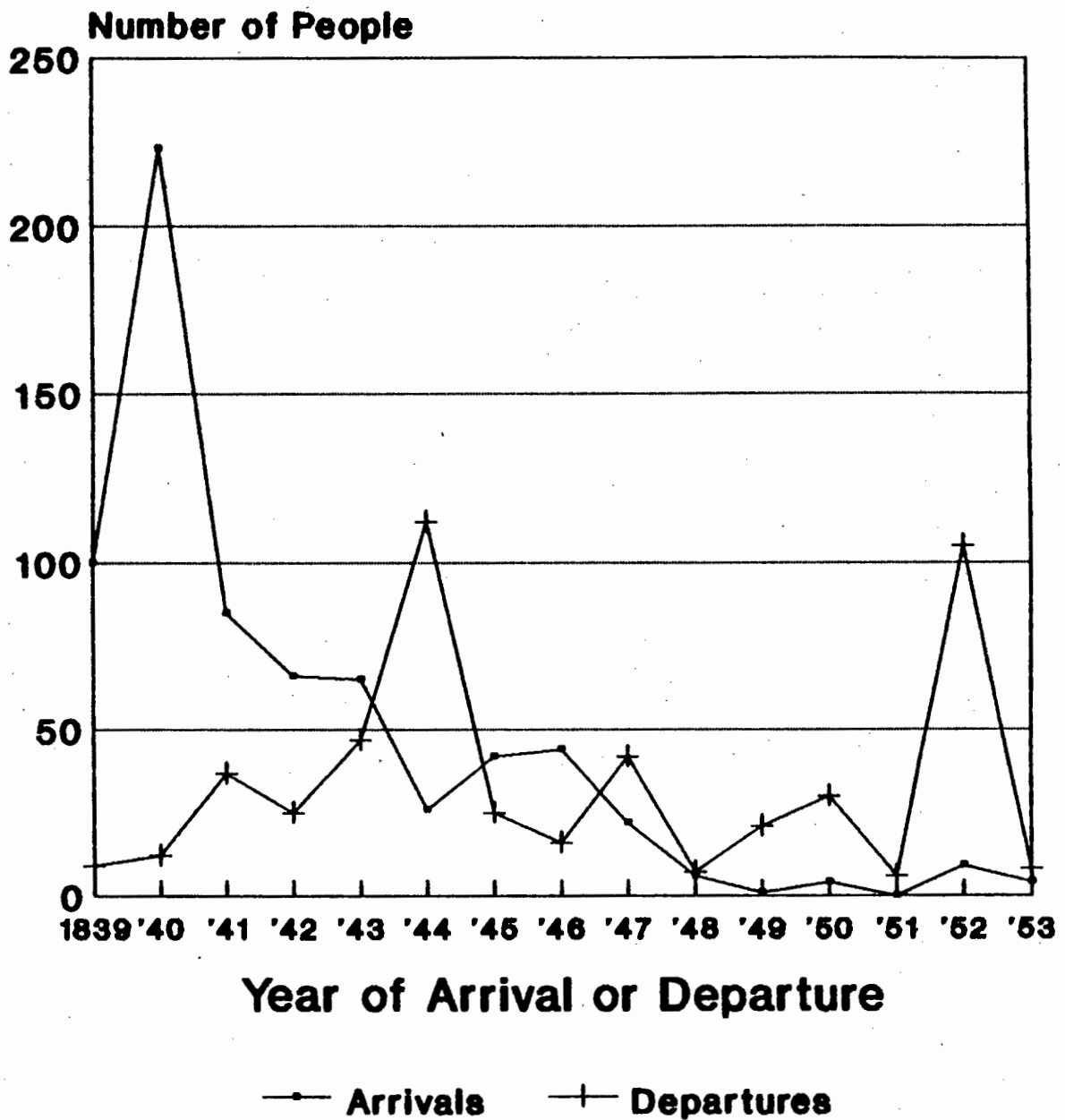
Frans Carls, ex-slave become casual labourer, defender of his rights, represents those who made Groenekloof their permanent home after emancipation. Other newcomers chose to leave, and it is to discover why, that we move into the final chapter.

Fig.6.1:Newcomers lost by 31/12/1852



(Source:HA,Catalog)

**Fig.6.2: Arrivals and Departures
1839-1853**



(Source: Groenekloof RNB;
HA, Groenekloof Diaries, 1841-53)

CHAPTER 6

LEAVERS, SOLDIERS AND REBELS

While the focus of this dissertation has been on those who made the Groenekloof Institution their base in the decade or so after emancipation, it is important to note that for a large number of people their stay at the mission was but a passing moment in their post-emancipation lives.

Figure 6.1 shows what proportion of each year's arrivals was still resident at the mission on 31 December 1852. Altogether 35,7 per cent or 240 of the newcomers of 1839-1847 had departed by then, the majority from amongst those who had entered the mission between 1839 and 1842. As pointed out on p.79, this resulted in a mission population which was in a state of flux.

Of those arriving in 1840 and 1841 more had left by 1852 than had remained, which makes an important point about the role of the mission after 1838. It lends substance to the view that in the years of greatest influx, the fresh arrivals knew little of what they were coming to; that in their flight from the farms they were seeking an alternative to the bondage they had experienced, but not one which involved the kind of social control they experienced at Groenekloof.

Figure 6.2 juxtaposes the numbers arriving and those leaving between 1838 and 1853. (Those leaving include both oldtimers and newcomers.) There were two peaks in the pattern of departure: 1844 and 1852, both of which will be given

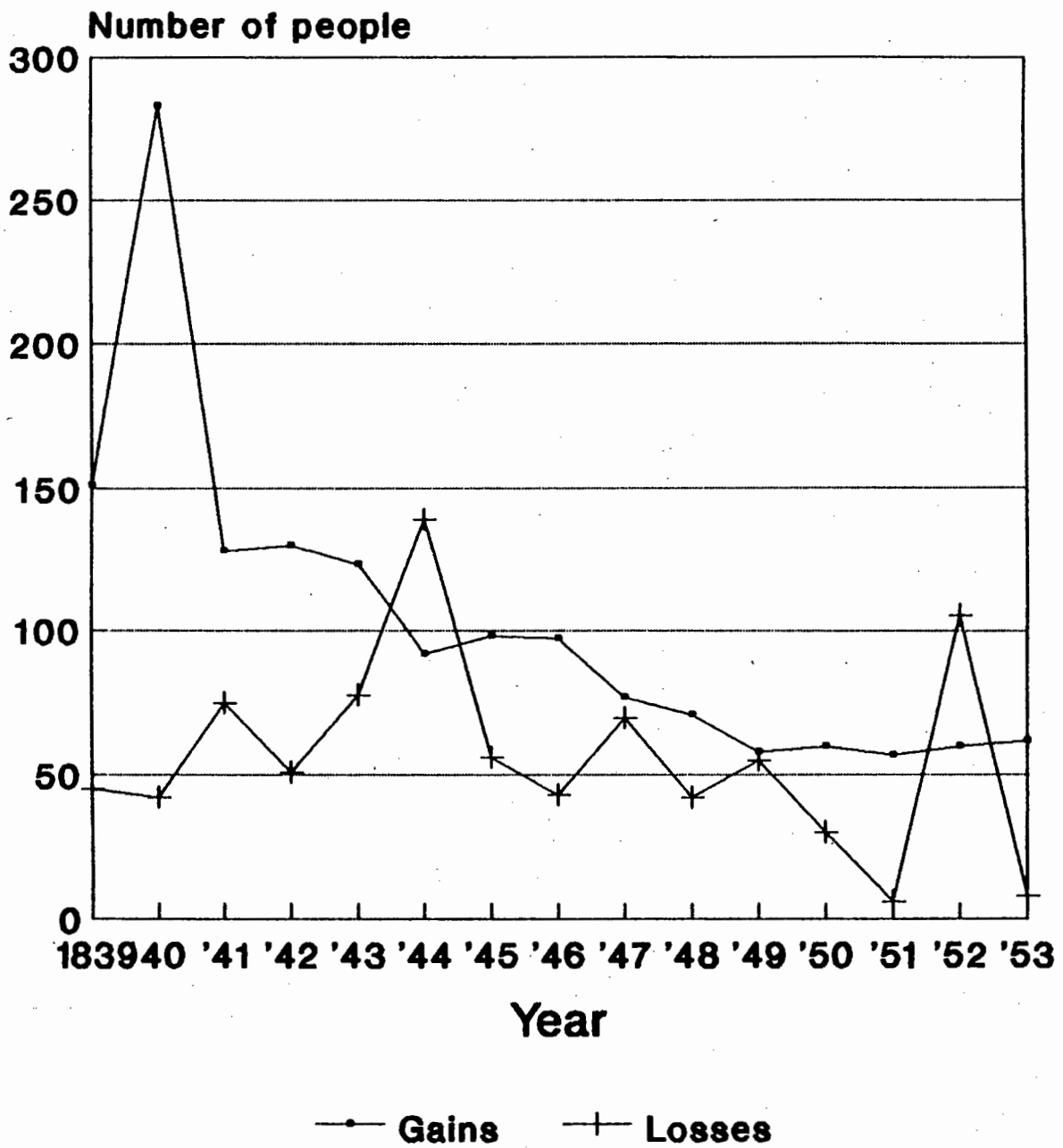
specific attention below. From 1847 onwards there were few admissions with the population being maintained by natural increase. (See Figure 6.3, which portrays the overall gains [births and arrivals] and losses [deaths and departures] in population at Groenekloof, oldtimer and newcomer.)

Information on reasons for the departure of those so recently arrived at Groenekloof is patchy, with the most comprehensive material coming from the rough notebook list of those who left between 1838 and 1843. These reasons were multiple, but clearly there were many people for whom a move to Groenekloof met neither their expectations nor their needs. Others may have wished to remain but were forced to leave by their non-conformity to mission norms or by economic circumstances. This last factor has been illustrated in the discussion of the Losber family's departure. [pp.165-166] It is unlikely that this was the only family to have been trapped into leaving the mission permanently by indebtedness to a farmer.

The death of the main breadwinner could also cause a wife and family to move away. For example Joemini Salomon died in 1848 leaving his twenty-seven year old wife, Klaresse, and four sons aged from nine to three. In February 1849, Klaressa was working off the mission as a housemaid, though still in possession of her garden and home at Groenekloof.¹ In January 1850 she and the four boys left together, probably because her need to earn a livelihood for the family was better met by

1. HA, Catalog, p.159; M & S Addenda, p.66.

Fig.6.3:Net Population Gains and Losses at Groenekloof,1839-53



(Source:Groenekloof RNB;
HA,Groenekloof Diaries,1841-53)

living permanently at her place of employment.² She would also be able to supervise the employment of her sons - probably on the same farm - as and when this became a necessity.

While there were many instances of parents leaving their children at the mission, the Salomons may illustrate the situation in which the mission was unable to provide for them. It served best those who were part of the church community and had an extended family network. None of the Salomons was baptised, nor is there any indication of them having kin at the mission.

The death of a wife was also the reason for some departures, with maintenance of the home base becoming more difficult. After Beata Vertyn's death in 1847, her husband Friedrich and their four children remained for a couple of years. But in 1850 Friedrich and his nineteen-year old son Achilles, both labourers, left, as did two younger children at unspecified times. It was only a daughter, Cornelia, who stayed on. As the only baptised member of the family (besides her deceased mother), she was probably the most integrated into the mission community.³

Many single newcomers were among those who moved away from the mission permanently. This included, for example, some of the foreign-born ex-slaves: Mozambicans, Jonathan, Imanuel Pinald, Onverwacht Vrydom and Janka Goliath; and Ceylonese, January.⁴ Increasingly the mission community was defined by

2. HA, Catalog, p.159.

3. HA, Catalog, p.144; M & S Addenda, p.67.

4. HA, Catalog, pp.55,78,95,99 & 100.

nuclear families. Young single adults with families at Groenekloof would have stayed in their parental homes until they married and the only single men who would have had gardens were widowers.⁵ Working off the mission a good deal of the time, these men had less to lose if they stayed away than if they had had gardens and homes. In fact they would have been under greatest familial pressure to support themselves fully.

Besides having less of a claim on mission resources and fewer direct responsibilities at the mission, single newcomers often chose to marry off the mission. Paul Franz and twenty-seven year old Abraham Hendricks were two such men.⁶ Many others leaving between 1839 and 1843 are listed as marrying off the mission. Mietje Jacob was admitted in March 1840 and left in June 1841;⁷ Jantje Abrahams, admitted in September 1841, left in May 1842. Both went for this reason.⁸ This did not preclude readmission, but it did mean that the spouse had to be accepted on his or her own merits and many did not return.

In the case of Mietje Jacob and Jantje Abrahams, each left her daughters at Groenekloof, probably with family members.⁹

5. M & S Addenda, pp.64-69.

6. HA, Catalog, pp.46 &49; Groenekloof RNB, p.153, 31/1/1842 & 7/4/1842.

7. HA, Catalog, p.99; Groenekloof RNB, p.152, 1/7/1841.

8. HA, Catalog, p.18; Groenekloof RNB, p.153, 23/5/1842.

9. HA, Catalog, pp.99 & 112 (see Cobus).

While all newcomers were admitted on condition that they understood the mission regulations and agreed to abide by these, there were many for whom verbal consent was not translated into practice. Coming from the farms where use of alcohol was promoted as a means of social control, where sexual relations were unsupervised and eruptions of physical violence originated with servants as well as masters,¹⁰ the mission preoccupation with quietness, sobriety and 'purity' must have been hard for some to internalize.

While the discussion of family life indicates many stable partnerships between newcomers, the rough notebook also shows that many others 'left' because of 'immorality' and adultery.¹¹ For example, two newcomers, Hanna Vorget and nineteen year old Thryn Kraai, left along with oldtimers Ernestina Arnds, Friedrich Petro and Nahum Springveld for 'immoral behaviour at Driepapesfontyn' - a neighbouring farm.¹² It is evident from the missionary's notes that oldtimers were as guilty of these offences as the newer residents, so it is unwise to make too fine a distinction between newcomer and oldtimer conduct.

Drunkenness and rowdy or aggressive behaviour associated with drinking were unacceptable, too. Cornelis and Christina Vertyn were expelled in December 1842 after he had bought

10. See for example, CA,1/MBY,1/1/1,cases 149 & 150,3/9/1840, Public Prosecutor v Brommer; 1/1/2, cases 240-242, Queen v Petrus Okkers, Christoffel Del and Salomon September.

11. The Groenekloof RNB does not indicate whether 'left' meant that they were expelled.

12. Groenekloof RNB,p.152, 19/10/1841.

brandy in Cape Town, and she had got drunk and stabbed him with a knife.¹³

Theft of a sheep at the farm Klipfontein was the reason that newcomers Martinus Goliath, Simon Mentor and Wilm Rondganger were expelled; 'not saying anything' when they knew about it was why Spasi Goliath and Lea Mentor had to go with their spouses. Along with their errant parents went four children, too.¹⁴

But much as failure to conform to mission morality resulted in the departure of many newcomers, as the years progressed it became increasingly difficult for the council of overseers to expel residents. As discussed in the first chapter, they were simply declared 'non-residents' but stayed at Groenekloof. They might succumb to pressure of disapproval and leave, but the missionaries had no means of enforcing this. Non-participation in church life rather than permanent departure was possibly the more likely result of the above transgressions. This is unless a resident chose to move.

The special entry in the 1844 diary is of significance here. For, while twenty-four residents 'left the mission' that year, in other words departed or were expelled for known reasons,

in addition there are those [eighty-eight] who for a year and a day have distanced themselves from this place and therefore have been struck off the register.¹⁵

13. Ibid., p.154, 14/12/1842.

14. Ibid., p.152, 9/7/1841.

15. HA, Groenekloof Diary for 1844.

Having been accepted at the mission or having grown up there, these eighty-eight had failed to maintain their connection by informing the missionaries of their whereabouts and presumably by not maintaining their gardens. They had in effect left. The Catalog shows that at least fifty-two of the departures in 1844 were newcomers. That many newcomers had not actively participated in mission life for long periods after their admission is similarly indicated in the rough notebook. In 1843, twenty-six newcomers were written off for no specified reason.¹⁶

The destination of those departing is more difficult to identify than their reasons for going, although the limited options narrowed their choice. Some went to other missions; the Brander family to Saron, for example.¹⁷ Jan Lafleur moved to the outstation, Goedverwacht.¹⁸

Many must have become resident farm workers; Benjamin Meiring for one was a resident at Drie Papesfontein by December, 1850, having left Groenekloof with his wife in August of that year.¹⁹ Benjamin Meiring and Gert Losber were both born on the farm Langerug [see Figure 2.6] and the precise coincidence of the Meirings departure, as of their arrival, with that of Gert Losber and his family indicates that some departures may have been the result of long-standing

16. RNB, p.155, 31/12/1843.

17. HA, Catalog, p.25.

18. Ibid., p.137.

19. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1176, 5/12/1850, Queen v Benjamin Meyring; HA, Catalog p.104.

ties between friends.

The village of Malmesbury and Cape Town are two other likely destinations. Groenekloof residents had regular contact with both, and if some died there, others surely moved there.²⁰

While there is no direct evidence of those expelled from Groenekloof squatting on neighbouring farms, it is not unlikely that this occurred, too. A short distance west of the mission estate was 'Michiel Heyns Kraal', [Map 2, p.153, C/D 2] one of the farms owned by Piet van Breda, a regular employer of Groenekloof residents. In December 1849 van Breda ordered his overseer 'to tell those men that were located on the farm and not in his service to quit the place.'²¹

As Table 6.1 demonstrates, departures from Groenekloof after 1844 were far fewer; until 1852, that is.

Table 6.1 : Departures from Groenekloof, 1838-1853

1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
13	9	12	37	25	47	112	25	16	42	7
1849	1850	1851	1852	1853						
21	30	6	105	8						

(Sources: Groenekloof RNB; HA, Groenekloof Diaries 1841-1853)

It is the 1852 'exodus' which provides an entry point into a discussion of three notable aspects of Groenekloof life

20. For example, Cordon Maratis and Jacob van Elsen, HA, Catalog, pp.103 & 164.

21. CA, 1/MBY, 1/1/6, case 1073, January 1850, Police v Jannetje Carolus.

in the early 1850s - the last few years of this study. The first is the departure for the eastern frontier in January 1851 of hundreds of soldiers from the mission and surrounding district. The second phenomenon is the role Groenekloof was thought to play in an anticipated revolt of 'coloured' farm workers, many of them returned levies. Rumours of a rising swept the farming districts of the Western Cape in 1851. The third is the exceptionally high rate of departures from the mission in 1852, among them the two Groenekloof men identified by white witnesses as responsible for threatening rebellion.

All of this took place in the context of persistent demands by farmers in both the western and eastern Cape for state intervention to secure labour by means of a new vagrancy law, and legislation to end squatting on government land. As one of the grant stations, Groenekloof was potentially threatened with loss of its lands.²²

War

The Cape colonial government had a long history of drawing upon the Moravian mission population to man its forces for frontier warfare. It first happened in 1793, and sixty-four Groenekloof residents were combatants in the War of the Axe in 1846.²³ Marais suggests that it was the Khoisan soldiers' skills in tracking and an ability to subsist on the minimum in

22. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.82-87.

23. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.229.

the field that made them invaluable soldiers.²⁴

The circumstances of the 8th Frontier War of 1850-53 were somewhat different in a way significant for our discussion; for the first time since 1799, 'coloured insurgents' played a major role in the war against the colonial government and its allies. Fears of vagrancy legislation and loss of access to land featured large in the defection of those who had previously sided with the British government against the Xhosa. Rebels came from the Kat River settlement, some from Shiloh in Kaffraria - a Moravian mission just east of the Kat River, and others from the LMS mission at Theopilis. Khoisan, Thembu and Xhosa fought side by side while during the course of the war troops from the Cape Mounted Rifles, previously known as the Hottentot Regiment or Cape Corps, defected.²⁵

Finding Dutch-speaking farmers reluctant to join commandos and leave their farms so soon after the previous war, the British recruited 800 volunteers to serve for six months from the missions of Elim, Genadendal and Groenekloof. This was in January 1851.²⁶

It is striking to note that at least fifty of the 276 recruited from the Groenekloof district were newcomers to the mission.²⁷ Among them were Frans Carls (see p.177 ff.), Nanto

24. Marais, Cape Coloured People, pp.132-133.

25: For greater detail on events of the war see Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, pp.237-241; J.B. Peires, The Dead will Arise (Johannesburg, 1989) chapter 1.

26. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.238.

27. CA, DD 14/7, 'Quarterly Pay List of the Cape Levies of Foot from the 1st of January to the 31st of March 1851'.

September (see p.88) the Jazon brothers, (see p.73) and the Fabriks, whose grandfather was a Mozambican slave.²⁸

Two of the newcomers, both twenty-eight year old labourers in 1851, became NCOs. Born in Paarl, Theodore Appolis was admitted to Groenekloof in 1840. He was made corporal within a few weeks of entering the army. An 1841 newcomer, Cape Town-born bachelor Willem LaKok was promoted to sergeant.²⁹

Thus did scores of former slaves take up arms in order to uphold colonial supremacy in the eastern Cape; and with it, an expansionist white agricultural elite enforcing labour practices and putting pressure on the government to supply land in such a way that their 'coloured' servants feared a return to the pre-1828 order.

Why the Groenekloof men went to war is unclear. Certainly it was a tradition of sorts among oldtimers. But that alone is not enough to explain the wide response. Being recruited in January, at the end of the harvest, offered certain employment for six months and for someone like Marcus Tilling a way of escaping the demand for labour in payment of debt due to Frederick Duckitt.³⁰ In their absence, the government supplied soldiers' families with rations which the missionaries felt to be more than adequate.³¹ The

28. HA, Catalog, p.111, 132 & 133.

29. HA, Catalog, pp.19 & 109; M & S Addenda, p.69; CA, DD 14/7, 'Quarterly Pay List'.

30. CA, 1/MBY, 6/1/1, Resident Magistrate to Secretary to the Government, Malmesbury, 4/6/1847.

31. Kolbing, Genadendal, 27/5/1851, PA, XX, 1851, p.76.

missionaries did not actively recruit soldiers - generally they felt military service to have an adverse effect on their peoples' morals and spiritual life. But they believed in rendering dutiful service when called to give it and reported with some pride the 'loyal and effective' service of their congregants.³²

It seems, too, that the officers visiting the mission to recruit played on a certain sense of gratitude which former bonded servants and slaves felt towards the British government for the greater freedom they felt themselves to be experiencing.³³ It was to wear a little thin in the war arena.

Once in the eastern Cape, the mission recruits seem to have performed 'loyally'. We hear of one hundred Groenekloof men and thirty Genadendalers as part of a patrol of 800, active in the vicinity of Fort Peddie and Kingwilliamstown.³⁴ Nevertheless, as Bradlow points out,

Given the anxiety over their future status, it is not surprising that while serving on the frontier the levies were susceptible to rumors and talk of disaffection. Thus some of the volunteers 'imbibed the feeling that the Hottentots and Kafirs are fighting for land formerly theirs and are right in doing so', while others concurred with the rebels that the government intended to dispossess all Coloured property holders and force them to become laborers.³⁵

32. Idem.

33. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.238.

34. C.Teutsch to the Mission Board, Genadendal, 25/6/1851, PA, XX, 1851, p.80.

35. E.Bradlow, 'The "Great Fear" at the Cape of Good Hope, 1851-52', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol.22, 1989, no.3, p.406.

The Groenekloof levies were among those who insisted on returning home once their six month contract had been served. Peires suggests that by July 1851 the Khoi conscripts were on the verge of rebellion; Kruger that, although remaining loyal to their commanders, the mission levies found it very hard to carry on fighting against people with whom they identified.³⁶ Evidence arising from testimony given at the time of the threatened western Cape rebellion indicates that the Groenekloof levies were persuaded by Sir Harry Smith to stay on for another month. Some understood that this would be rewarded by a £7 bounty payment.³⁷ But by the beginning of August, 1851, having suffered four casualties, most Groenekloof volunteers had returned to the Swartland.³⁸

Rebels

Back in the Malmesbury district, the returned levies faced a rather bleak financial position until harvest-time, government rations having ended and work being scarce.³⁹ Once the harvesting began in November, most of the mission population, men, women and children, spread throughout the district to

36. Peires, Dead Will Arise, p.19; Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.238.

37. CGH, Proceedings of, and Evidence Given Before, the Committee of the Legislative Council, respecting the proposed Ordinance "to prevent the practice of squatting upon government lands" (Cape Town, 1852), pp.67 & 68.

38. Franke, Groenekloof, 23/8/1851, PA, XX, 1852, pp.198-199.

39. Idem.

bring in the grain. By this time rumours were rife among farmers from Caledon to Koeberg, Malmesbury and Worcester that 'the Khoi inhabitants of the mission stations were planning to lead a revolt of Coloured farm laborers against their employers, in order to recover the land formerly owned by the Khoi'.⁴⁰ Central to this planned revolt were supposed to be the levies returned from the erupting eastern frontier.

Details of the 'scare' in the western Cape and assessments of the foundations upon which it was based are provided by Edna Bradlow and John Marinkowitz.⁴¹ Bradlow concludes that there may have been widespread disaffection among the rural labourers, but that no plans existed for an organized revolt. Marinkowitz inclines towards the real possibility of armed rebellion. Before the final word is said on the matter it would seem that a thorough investigation of events in the eastern Cape is needed; of the linkages, both before the war and during it, between insurgents on the frontier and the mission levies.⁴²

The government Commission of Inquiry visiting Koeberg and the Malmesbury district in November 1851 pronounced the rumours of rebellion unfounded. The mutterings of discontent among the labouring population which were seen by whites as

40. E. Bradlow, 'The "Great Fear", p.401.

41. Idem.; J. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.89-105.

42. For example, Genadendal and Elim troops were billeted at Shiloh in the 1846 war and found themselves on opposing sides to fellow Moravians from Shiloh in 1851. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.230. Peires notes that there 'is no good account of the War of Mlanjeni', Dead will Arise, p.38.

evidence of perfidy, were passed off by the investigating Commission as largely groundless.⁴³

As far as Groenekloof was concerned, two mission oldtimers, Willem Titus and Kaizer Cobus, were identified as the centre of the local storm. Titus had been to the frontier in 1851, Cobus it seems, had not, though his son Cobus Cobus had been.⁴⁴

At the heart of Titus' dissatisfaction, expressed to his Koeberg employer, Johannes Nicolaas Loubser, was the non-payment of the £7 promised to those who stayed an extra month on the frontier. Loubser reported Titus as saying

that should the Hottentots rise on the frontier against the Government, they would join them, mentioning the Hottentots of Groenekloof and Genadendal.⁴⁵

In this conversation Titus explicitly denied any intention to 'rise against the whites at this end of the colony'. In his own evidence to the Commission, Titus reiterated his dissatisfaction at not having received his money 'but I did not say I would join the Hottentots on the frontier in the event of their rising against the Government.'⁴⁶

Cobus stated, and the Commission accepted, that if he had threatened a group of whitemen at D'Urban with war and said that 'he would be king when the war breaks out', it was

43. CGH, Proceedings re Ordinance to prevent squatting, pp.54-57.

44. CA,DD 14/7, 'Quarterly Pay List'; HA,Catalog,pp.30 & 89.

45. CGH, Proceedings re Ordinance to prevent squatting, p.67.

46. Idem.

because he was drunk.⁴⁷ That this should be the content of his drunken ramblings was not thought important.

The Commission took more seriously the reputed threats of a third man who may well have had Groenekloof connections, and depositions were taken and forwarded to the Attorney-General.⁴⁸ Petrus February was reaping at the farm of Michiel de Kock near Malmesbury in November 1851 when he is reported to have said to a tailor resident on the farm:

Brother, we shall surround the farmers, and take their guns from them, and give you one.⁴⁹

One Isaak February, baptised Petrus, entered Groenekloof in March 1840 and left in 1850.⁵⁰ A Petrus February is listed with the troops going to the frontier from the 'Groenekloof District' in January 1851,⁵¹ and it may well be this same man, now departed from Groenekloof, who expressed an intention to act against the farmers. In none of the three cases is it suggested that there was action to follow up the threats.

Two unsubstantiated rumours also held that a pair of Groenekloof men was inciting people at meetings in the vicinity of Paarl, and that 'two wagons carrying powder and lead, "... the property of the Hottentots at Groenekloof"' had been seized by farmers and handed over to the authorities.⁵²

47. Ibid., p.56 & 62.

48. Ibid., p.56.

49. Ibid., p.68.

50. HA, Catalog, p.43.

51. CA, DD 14/7, 'Quarterly Pay List'.

52. Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour', pp.99 & 102.

That is the evidence concerning Groenekloof's part in the scare. As it stands, it points to some personal dissatisfaction with both government and employers, but not to conspiracy to revolt.

Franke wrote on 30 November 1851, three days after the Commission visited a Groenekloof emptied of its labouring population:

Great uneasiness prevails at present in our congregation, owing to the unfounded rumour, to which some foolish and inconsiderate remarks of certain Hottentots [Titus and Cobus] in part gave rise, of a conspiracy formed by the coloured population against the farmers... but they [the Commission] were soon convinced of the groundlessness of these charges, so far as our people were concerned.⁵³

On the advice of the mission's Cape Town agent, Juritz,

a written declaration of the loyal feelings of our people, signed by about 90 Hottentots, is to be inserted in the newspapers.⁵⁴

But if rumours of a conspiracy were untrue, why would this Moravian mission feature in them at all? For panic there was.

It is likely that the farming community was shocked by the rebellion of the eastern Cape 'coloureds'; a rebellion in which both LMS and Moravian mission residents featured.

Coincidentally, the great majority of the levies from the Malmesbury district came from Groenekloof. The very men who had had contact with the frontier were, by August, assembled at the mission, and by November spread out on their farms.

Frustrated by their inability to secure adequate labour,

53. Franke, Groenekloof, 30/11/1851, PA, XX, 1852, p.199; HA, Groenekloof Diary for 1852, 26/11/1851.

54. Idem.

suspicious that their labourers were idling, imbued with the racism which slave-ownership had encouraged, farmers were susceptible to rumour. And certain opponents of the missions, pre-eminently A.J.Louw, were happy to spread them.⁵⁵

A number of the Malmesbury and Koeberg farmers whose responses are contained in the Commission evidence were former slave-owners and current employers of Groenekloof labour. This is true of A.J.Louw.⁵⁶ So, too, was L.Lochner, the man on whose Malmesbury farm, Twee Kuilen, large numbers of fearful whites had congregated in November 1851.⁵⁷

How representative they are of Groenekloof employers is impossible to tell. Pieter Simon Lambrechts of Bergendal was sceptical about a revolt.

I have never heard of the existence of a conspiracy among the blacks against the whites. I have now at work twenty-eight labourers, and have not perceived anything that would lead me to suppose that any such plan existed.⁵⁸

Frederick Duckitt's description of his mission employees as 'orderly' bears remembering. (See p.153)

As it turned out, the harvest of 1851 was 'remarkably productive' but over in time for most mission residents to return -

55. Bradlow, 'The "Great Fear"', pp.414,419-420; for Louw's opposition to the missions, see M & S Documents, p.265.

56. CA, J56, Opgaaf roll for Cape District, 1825; CGH, Proceedings re Ordinance to prevent squatting, p.63.

57. CA, J56, Opgaaf for Cape District, 1825; M & S Addenda, p.66; Bradlow, 'The "Great Fear"', p.415.

58. CGH, Proceedings re Ordinance to prevent squatting, p.68.

for the day of fasting and prayer appointed by the Government for the 24th of December, and afterwards [we] celebrated together a joyful Christmas festival.⁵⁹

Nothing more was said about rural revolts. Was that the end of the story?

Departures

On the 5th May, 1852, both Kaizer Cobus and Wilhelm Titus are recorded as having left the mission. The former left behind his family, the latter took them all with him. No further information is available, but the fact that they left on the same day indicates that they were possibly expelled - a link with their being the source of those 'foolish and inconsiderate remarks'?⁶⁰

1852 was a year in which 105 Groenekloof residents departed the mission. Did this indicate widespread unrest? Were the missionaries taking decisive action against dissidents linked with the revolt? Unfortunately there are no clear answers. The published missionary reports devote a good deal of attention to events in the eastern Cape, and demonstrate a fair amount of heart-searching on the part of the missionaries as to their culpability and what should be done about the Shiloh rebels.⁶¹ These indicate that the editors were not unprepared to expose such issues to their

59. Franke, Groenekloof, 22/1/1852, PA, XX, 1852, p. 302.

60. Franke, Groenekloof, 30/11/1851, PA, XX, 1852, p. 199.

61. PA, XX, 1851.

readers. Thus a silence about the situation at Groenekloof may mean that there was no major upset.

The mission Catalog's record of 1852 departures is incomplete so that it is not possible to analyse them fully. Of the forty-nine named, though, the majority are oldtimers, only nineteen being total newcomers after 1838. The most striking point about them, too, is the number who are fairly young and single. Thirty-five of the forty-nine were single or widowed, and of the thirty-one whose ages are given, twenty-seven were aged between fifteen and twenty-nine. There were only two families listed, that of Titus, and the widow Lys Jager and her four children. The other interesting fact is that fourteen were single young women leaving on their own.

In terms of rebellion, single youngsters may have been most susceptible to action - simply because they would have had fewer family commitments and least to lose in terms of property. But more persuasive is the suggestion that it was these single folk who would have left anyway. At a time when garden ground was in short supply and they would have lacked the finances or incentive to set up their own homes, they may have been encouraged by their parents to work to support themselves - an undertaking which may have necessitated long-term absence from the mission.

What about the nameless majority which is shown as having left Groenekloof? Their namelessness suggests that the 'exodus' of 1852 may have been the result of tidying up the records rather than the departure of so many in one year. The precedent for this in the 1844 records has been demonstrated.

The 1852 figure may well represent those who in the 1850s had, as in the 1840s, allowed their links with the mission to lapse. Either way, they represent a significant number who lost or set aside their base at Groenekloof.

The flow of newcomers to Groenekloof practically halted after 1847 and after the 1852 'exodus' or record clearing, the population dropped to 1 242. By 1858 it was at 1 286, still below the 1849 high of 1 361.⁶² Any growth in population was being internally generated.

Postscript

1852 marks the end of this study. The years immediately after this saw the promulgation of the first constitution for a representative form of government at the Cape. One hundred Groenekloof residents obtained the vote under the 'low' qualifications; a voter had to own fixed property to the value of £25 or earn an annual income of £50.⁶³

The new government represented an alliance of Dutch-speaking farmers and the 'locally based commercial bourgeoisie' for whom the 'low' franchise was a way of assuming ascendancy over the 'old-established, British-connected merchant elite'.⁶⁴ For differing reasons they also

62. HA, Groenekloof Diaries for 1849, 1852, 1858.

63. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.257; Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.214.

64. J.L.Meltzer, 'The Growth of Cape Town Commerce and the Role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser (1835-1859).' (M.A dissertation, UCT, 1989) pp.143-153.

combined to put pressure on the missions to convert to freehold tenure. The farmers hoped to loosen the hold of the missionaries over labour, the liberals believed that paternalistic controls were outmoded in a free market society.⁶⁵

The Moravians defended their existing land-holding practices, arguing that to parcel out the land to private individuals would result in the alienation to outsiders of land held by those who got into debt. This would then result in the collapse of mission discipline.⁶⁶ Probably because no resident of Groenekloof and the other grant missions favoured it and the Groenekloof finances were still in the black,⁶⁷ it was agreed in 1858 that the missionaries should be granted title to the estate.⁶⁸

Communal use of the land and paternalistic control would persist for the future, while a more stringent Masters and Servants Ordinance, passed in 1856, had to perform the task of tying labour to employers.⁶⁹

65. See arguments in CGH, Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, 1858, Appendix I, Vol I, A.17.558. 'Report of the Select Committee on the subject of Missionary Institutions, 23rd April, 1858.'; Marinkowitz, 'Rural Production and Labour,' p.103.

66. HA, 'Mamre Algemene Korrespondensie, 1820-1854', Groenekloof, August 1854, 'Petition of the Undersigned Householders and occupants of land at the Missionary Institution at Groenekloof' to the House of Assembly.

67. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.254.

68. Ibid., p.260.

69. Marais, Cape Coloured People, pp.206-207.

CONCLUSION

The former slaves who settled at mission stations such as Groenekloof were distinguished by, among other things, their membership of and contribution to a distinctive type of community. What did it mean for those who had arrived after the 1 December 1838 to be part of such a community?

A community is not a static entity, but rather embodies ongoing processes which are given a spacial dimension by the particular geographic place with which they are identified. In her introduction to Class, Community and Conflict, Belinda Bozzoli identifies two broad processes in the forging of a community. The first is a negative process in which community formation is a defensive strategy mainly employed 'as a way of coping with the brutal fact of dispossession' and an ongoing struggle to resist proletarianisation. The second is described as 'an internal generative process' in which links are forged, for example, by daily contact and family networking over a significant period of time.¹

These concepts are helpful in identifying what was happening at Groenekloof. The mission estate provided the physical dimension to the community. Its fields and gardens; its European-styled church, mill and workshops; its village of 'walled houses' all provided a sense of permanence and continuity, regardless of the changing nature of the population.

Within this framework, the 'social networks of inter -

1. B.Bozzoli,(ed) Class, Community and Conflict, pp.26,29-34.

connectedness'² which create a community were spun. Here residents formed the relationships and took the actions necessary for their protection and survival. For essentially the mission resources of land, financial aid and education were used by both the Khoisan members of the mission, some of whom had never been fully dispossessed, and the former slaves to sidestep permanent resident labour on farms and ultimately proletarianization.

It has become evident that mission newcomers were economically less secure than residents of longer standing. They owned less livestock, produced practically no grain, and their womenfolk were more likely to work outside of the mission than oldtimers, who were more likely to be farmers or wagon drivers. Newcomers were unable to participate in peasant cultivation at Groenekloof and unable to disengage totally from farm labour. At the same time, though, the cleavages between poor newcomers and better-off oldtimers were offset by the shared threat of proletarianization, for none was totally invulnerable at Groenekloof.

While in a superior position to 'coloured' permanent labourers on the farms in terms of health and wages, newcomers were joining a population at Groenekloof which was in turn growing poorer in the 1840s. Even the oldtimers were overwhelmingly labourers by 1849. Vicissitudes of climate and stock disease threatened them. Pressure from farmers to secure labour by means of stronger Masters and Servants legislation, anti-squatting legislation and the dissolution of the mission

2. Ibid., p.7.

also contributed to the hostile environment which helped to forge the Groenekloof community. The periodic probings of state commissions of enquiry could only have added to residents' uncertainty about their future at Groenekloof; so, too, would every departure by a resident trapped, as was Gert Losber (see p.165-166) by indebtedness into surrendering his position at the mission.

For all this, the mission remained intact and continued to offer some sort of base for its resident casual workers. These in turn continued throughout the 1840s and 1850s to create their homes and gardens, educate their children and move seasonally to and from the farms where they earned most of their income.

The contentment of the mission's immediate neighbours, those farmers who utilized the pool of basically orderly and dependable labour on their doorstep, may have assisted in forestalling the dissolution of the mission; particularly as one of these contented neighbours, Frederick Duckitt, represented Malmesbury in the first Cape Parliament from 1854.³

The second process of community formation operated mainly through the securing and extension of family ties made possible by settlement at Groenekloof. Coming from an area as widespread as the Cedarberg to the north, Riebeeck Kasteel to the west and Cape Town to the south, many of the freed apprentices had, prior to emancipation, established a network

3. J.P. Blaauw, Malmesbury: Grepe uit die Geskiedenis van die Dorp en Distrik (Malmesbury, 1960), p.123.

of kinship and working relationships with fellow labourers on the farms and with Khoisan resident at the mission. The desire in particular to reconstitute families and to buttress these relationships seems to have been behind the move of many family groups to Groenekloof. The opportunity was seized to move families out of the direct orbit of the master. Mothers, fathers and children set up homes together, and, settled at the mission, children were brought more effectively under the control of their parents rather than parents' employers. Participation in the Groenekloof community was thus important to newcomers for emotional and psychological reasons as well as material ones.

The exploration of the issue of marriage undermines the view that marriage was a priority for slaves at emancipation; where goals of secure family life and access to mission resources were achievable without marriage, it was often delayed. Nevertheless, legal and Christian marriage became increasingly the norm for their children. Marrying into and living amongst oldtimer families, the newcomers became knit into the Groenekloof community.

Reinforcing the process of community building was the adherence of most residents to a common ideology which was given expression in the rituals and practices of church life. It is not accidental that the term 'gemeente' referred both to the congregation and the community at Groenekloof. As members of the 'gemeente', residents were also members of all male or all female choirs if single; of a choir of married couples if of that status. Here, divisions of class were de-emphasised

and an identity as Moravians and Christians promoted by those described by Bozzoli as 'self-conscious "community creators"' - the missionaries and overseers.⁴

The desirability in missionary eyes of a distinct identity for those who 'belong to us' is clear in reasons given for renaming the station 'Mamre' in 1854. Mission residents were being confused with non-residents:

for every farmer in our immediate neighbourhood has the name of Groenekloof on his wagon. Besides, the Hottentots and others have been frequently permitted to run up accounts with trades-people in Cape-town, under the impression, that they belonged to us. Afterwards when sought for here, no such persons were to be found. Again, when an intoxicated black was seen in a wagon, bearing the name of Groenekloof, he was sure to be considered an inhabitant of this place ...⁵

People 'who gave the impression that they belonged' to Groenekloof may well have represented one extreme in a continuum from those well knit into the community to those with very tenuous connections to it. For, although many newcomers became an integral part of this community - 'they belonged' - there were individuals and families less firmly woven into the communal fabric. The constant coming and going of casual labourers disrupted the stability and continuity of relationships necessary for its growth and maintenance. Even more so did the departure of a high percentage of newcomers, either through their own ^{choice of land} volition or by expulsion. In their role as community makers, the missionaries preferred the disruption of expulsion, limited though their powers to

4. B.Bozzoli (ed) Class, Community and Conflict, p.8.

5. Franke, Mamre, 25/11/1854, PA, XXI, 1855.

enforce this may have become, to that of the continued presence of nonconformists such as adulterers, drunkards and thieves.

Finally it was those residents who stayed away from the mission for a year or more; those who because of their absence had their names expunged from the mission records, who ^{remove from list book} ruptured the fabric of the community. It was these perhaps, who, in a last identification with or manipulation of Groenekloof, invoked its name in order to obtain benefits (such as credit in Cape Town) to which they were no longer entitled.

Frans Carls, however, represented the roughly 450 newcomers who remained at the mission when he identified himself thus: 'I am a member of the Groenekloof Institution.' (see p.175) A former slave, he was baptised Adolph within months of arrival at the mission. He continued to participate in the life of the 'gemeente', and by 1852 was a communion candidate.⁶ He was by then married to Henriette, a woman who had grown up in freedom at Groenekloof, and he was the father of one child.⁷ Although Carls remained uneducated, it is likely that his child did not. They possessed a garden and home, but no livestock or cornland.⁸ Carls therefore returned season by season, but not permanently, to work for his former owner who felt a particular bond to exist between himself and his former property. (See p.178 ff.)

6. HA, Catalog, p.31.

7. Idem.

8. M & S Addenda, p.69.

If a slave had been characterized by being property rather than owning it; by lack of rights to kin; by infertility, illiteracy and limited access to a religious and community life, then emancipation for a man like Frans Carls had completed a process hesitantly begun with the ameliorative measures of the early nineteenth century. The de jure status of former slaves was that of the Khoisan - equality before the law.

By the 1850s, categories of 'Hottentot' and former slave were increasingly elided and both referred to as 'men of colour' or 'coloured' people.⁹ It was a label with clear class connotations and it was as such - as a free but 'coloured' man that a slave like Frans Carls ultimately experienced emancipation.

The 'coloureds' of the Cape Colony in general in 1851 have been described as 'poverty-stricken' and 'powerless', tied into farm labour and 'lacking a sufficiently firm sense of common group identity to mobilize them politically against the dominant whites, whose prejudices, particularly in the rural areas, remained inviolate'.¹⁰

Those at Groenekloof did have some advantages. As exposed to class and race prejudice as non-mission 'coloureds', yet they kept that foothold on the mission which enabled them to resist full proletarianization. At the mission they did have a common group identity - as Moravians and members of the

9. see, for example, Committee on Granting Lands in Freehold, Q.100 & 107.

10. Bradlow, 'The "Great Fear"', p.420.

Groenekloof Institution. The election of the Colony's first representative government demonstrated a sense of political cohesion among Groenekloof voters, too; for they identified and combined to vote for J.H.Wicht, the candidate supporting the mission. ¹¹

For all that the newcomers came to Groenekloof with their own aspirations, they were to find these directed along well worn paths and as they settled into community life at Groenekloof, they found themselves falling into certain long established routines. In some ways, after all the comings and goings of the previous fourteen years, it was hard to discern the passage of time. Wrote Franke in June 1853:

Our place is now almost empty, as all those who have no land of their own have gone to the neighbouring farmers for employment. The gathering of the wax-berries has now commenced... ¹²

11. Kruger, Pear Tree Blossoms, p.257.

12. Franke, Groenekloof, 11/6/1853, PA, XX, 1853, p.508.

Appendix A

GROENEKLOOF MISSIONARIES, 1838-1852

- 1838 Br and Sr J.Lemmertz
Br and Sr Jos. Lehmen
Br and Sr J.A.de Fries
- 1839 Br and Sr C.L.Teutsch
Br C.L.Franke and Sr Franke arrive 18/11/1839.
Lemmertz
Lehmans
- 1840 Teutschs
Frankes
Lehmans
Br and Sr J.Christensen
- 1841 Lehmans
Christensens and son Ernst
Frankes and two children,Hermann & Charlotte
- 1842 & 1843 Lehmans
Christensens and son Ernst
Frankes and three children,Hermann,Charlotte & Waldemar
- 1844 Br and Sr Genth
De Frieses and daughter Louise
Christensens and two children,Ernst & Auguste
Frankes and three children,Hermann,Charlotte & Waldemar
- 1845 Frankes, Charlotte & Waldemar
Christensens and two children,Ernst & Auguste
Br and Sr Stolz and four children, Sophie,
Wilhelmina, Friedrich & ?
- 1846 Frankes, Charlotte & Waldemar
Br and Sr Gysin and two children, Marie and Rudolf
Christensens and Auguste
Stolzs and Wilhelmine
- 1847 Frankes, Charlotte & Waldemar
Br and Sr H.B.Schopman
Christensens and Auguste
Br and Sr Jannasch and daughter, Marie
- 1848 Frankes, Charlotte, Waldemar and new daughter Rosalie
Br and Sr Schopman
Christensens and Auguste
Jannaschs and Marie

1849 Frakes, Waldemar, Charlotte, Rosalie and Pauline
 Schopmans
 Christensens and Auguste
 Jannasches and son Hermann

1850s Frakes, Christensens and Jannasches & Kuster from 1855.

'Native Assistants' at Groenekloof:

1844 David Lakey

1847 Alexander Haas

1848 David Mozalah

1851 David Lakey returns

(Sources: PA, XV-XXI, 1839-1853; HA, Groenekloof Diaries, 1841-1855)

Appendix B

NEWCOMERS TO GROENEKLOOF INSTITUTION, 1839-1852

Surname	(Name)	Baptismal Name	Birthplace	Date of Birth	Date of Entry/Departure
ABEL	(Paul)	Gottfried,	Vischershoek,	12/1813,	26/8/39; -
ABEL	(Gried Rodezand)	Theresia,	Louwskloof,	26/8/39; ?	
		m.1/3/40;		read.19/8/60; -	
ABEL	Hendrik, son,	Grootepest,	3/11/1839?		29/8/39;d.40.
ABRAHAM	(Abraham)				6/5/39;31/12/44
ABRAHAM	Aron	see	VERTYN		
ABRAHAMS	(Dina)	see	ELZEN		
ABRAHAMS	(Paul)	see	ELZEN		
ABRAHAMS	(Janetje)		Bergvallei		13/9/41;23/5/42
DIERSE	(Sara) dr,		Bergvallei		13/9/41; -
OCTOBER	(Janetje) dr,		Bergvallei		13/9/41;31/12/43
COBUS	(Maria) dr,		Bergvallei, 1826,		15/9/41;31/12/43
	(dr.of Janetje Abrahams and Keyser Cobus. See COBUS)				
ABRAHAMS	(Paul)	Ezechiël,	Burgerspost, 5/10/22,	1823;1/4/43;	
	son of Hendrik & Ernestina			read.16/9/44; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Threen)	Johanna,	Clanwilliam, 24/3/23,	16/9/44;d.1/68	
ABRAHAMS	(Paul)	Johannes,	Groenekloof, 5/1/44,	16/9/44;1/68	
	son of Paul snr & Threen				
ABRAHAMS	(Vertyn)	Samuel,	24 Rivers, 22/2/1809,	7/4/45; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Betje)	Magdalena,	Olifantsrivier,	7/4/45;d.11/51	
ABRAHAMS	(Myntje)	Agnes, dr,	Sanquasdrift,		
			20/12/28,	7/4/45; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Jan) son,		Cape Town, 7/1831,	7/4/45;31/12/56	
ABRAHAMS	(Betje)	Sophia, dr,	Cape Town, 3/1834,	7/4/45; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Sanna)	Helena, dr,	Rondevallei, 1836,	7/4/45;d.10/68	
ABRAHAMS	(Sara)	Lydia, dr,	Rondevallei, 1838,	7/4/45; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Lea) dr,		Conterberg, 22/11/40,	7/4/45; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Alexander)	Wilhelm,	Riebeecks Casteel,	8/3/47; -	
ABRAHAMS	(Maria)	Christina,	Drooge Vallei,	8/3/47; -	
			m.12/9/1853		
ABRAHAMS	(Abraham) son,		Karnmelkfontein, 20/11/40,	8/3/47; ?	
ABRAHAMS	(Dollie)	David?, dr,	Karnmelkfontein,	8/3/47;1868	
ABRAHAMS	(Adam)	Jakobus Friederich,			
			Karnmelkfontein, 23/11/44,	8/3/47; ?	
ABRAHAMS	(Sanna)	Elisabeth, dr,	Karnmelkfontein,		
				10/8/46,8/3/47;27/12/65	

ADAMS	(January)	Klipbank, 1789,	20/1/40;d.1866
ADAMS	(Threen)	Kunigunda, Bergrivier, 1800,	20/1/40; -
ADAMS	(Pitt)Georg,	Riebeeckskasteel,1815,	20/1/40;
	bap at Groenekloof	31/10/1819,	d.1842 at Saldanha Bay
ADAMS	(Arnd)son Jan & Threen,	Zoutrivier,	1826 22/1/40;31/12/47
JONAS	(January)Jakob,	Zoutrivier, 1832,	22/1/40; -
	son of January Adams snr.		
ADAMS	(Henoeh)Henoeh,	Kellerfontein,	30/1/41;d.1867
ADAMS	(Marie)Renata,	Roosenboom, m.12/9/53	30/1/41;d.1864
ADAMS	(Abraham)	Groenrivier, 27/11/34	30/1/41;d.1850
ADAMS	(Paul)August,	Conterberg, 1836	30/1/41; -
ADONIS	Amos,	Keersfontein, 1816	19/8/40; -
ADONIS	(Caroline)Ernestina,	Joorstenberg	14/9/40; -
	dr. of Regina Webb,	m.12/9/53	
ADONIS	(Regina) dr,	Braeerverskloof, 7/1837	14/9/40;1855
ADONIS	Otto	Bergendal, 20/5/40,	15/9/40; -
ADONIS	(Adam)	Stellenbosch,	11/1/41;31/12/44
ADONIS	(Kaatje) Langfontein,	Bergrivier	11/1/41;31/12/44
ADONIS	(Anna) dr,	Zoutkloof, 22/9/33	11/1/41;31/12/44
ADONIS	(David)	Cape Town	11/1/41;31/12/44
AFRIKA	(Hermanus)	Dieprivier	22/7/41;31/12/47
AFRIKA	(Badje)	Oortmanspost	30/1/42;31/12/47
AFRIKA	(Thryn)Christina,	Bakhuis	30/1/42;31/12/47
ALEXANDER	(Claas)Otto,	Leliefontein	29/4/41; -
ALEXANDER	(Camoenie)Christiana,	Zwartboschkraal,	29/4/41; -
		m.12/9/1853	
KLAAS	(Salvia) mother of Claas,	Rietfontein	14/7/43; -
ANDRO	(Thryn)	see KRUGER	
ANTONI		Mosambic	17/2/40; weg
ANTONI		Mosambic	4/3/40;31/12/44
ANTONI	(Sophia)	Dieprivier	4/3/40;31/12/44
ANTONI	(Jacob)	Kalabaskraal	4/3/40;31/12/44
ANTRIES	(Damon)Daniel,	1784	13/5/40;d.1854
ANTRIES	(Spasi)Magdalena,	24 Rivers,1786	13/5/40;d.1842
ANTRIES	(Job)Simon,son,	Piketberg, 1826	13/5/40; -
ANTRIES	(July) son,	Piketberg, 1828	13/5/40;31/12/47
ANTRIES	(Roos) dr,	Matjesrivier,1837	13/5/40;31/12/56
FEBRUARY	(Bamla)Martha	Mauritius,	13/5/40; to
	m.Daniel Antries	11/2/44	Abbotsdale
FEBRUARY	Isaak, her son,		13/5/40; ?

ANTRIES (Carolus) Brandverwacht, 20/3/16, 17/3/41;31/12/44
ANTRIES (Thryn) Kruisrivier, 30/4/18, 17/3/42;31/12/44
ANTRIES (Damon) Huisweg?, 26/4/38, 17/3/42;31/12/44
ANTRIES (Catje) Tigerkloof, 31/5/40, 17/3/42;31/12/44

JULIUS (Vytje) foster dr? Eenekuil, 30/4/27, 17/3/42;31/12/52

ANTRO (Gert)Cornelius 31/12/14, 1/2/39;d.1854
ANTRO (Threen)Clementina, m.29/3/1840 1/2/39; -
ANTRO David,son, 1/2/37, 1/2/39; -

APRIL (Ferdinand)Leopold,Cape Town,24/12/17, 17/2/40; -
APRIL (nee Armoed)Adriana, Groenekloof,
21/10/1820,bap.1821, 17/2/40; -

APRIL Magdalena, Slangenrivier,bap GK 1831, left 1838
15/8/40;d.1841

APRIL Simon see Webb
APRIL Emilie see Webb

APRIL (Titus) Cape Town 2/9/42;31/12/44
APRIL Agnes Groenberg 2/9/42;31/12/44
APRIL (Anna) Groenberg, 8/1/36 2/9/41;31/12/44
APRIL (Sophie) Groenekloof,3/5/42 2/9/41;31/12/44

APOLLIS (Joernat)Theodor, Paarl, 1822 13/3/40;d.1871

AREND (October)Johanne,Groenberg,5/10/12 19/9/43; -
AREND (Eva nee Wilms) Charlotte, Driefontein,
1823 19/9/43; -
AREND (Lea)Christina,dr,Donkergat, 7/8/40 19/9/43; -

ARI (Pit) Gansekraal,2/1827 27/2/41;25/7/44

ARNT (Doortje) see Cupido

ASSUR (Joel) Mosambik 16/1/44; -

AUGUST (August) 24 Rivers,13/5/18 8/10/32;14/10/39
read. 11/1/41;1/6/41
read.25/2/43;11/9/45

AUGUST (nee Vister)Augusta,Groenekloof,11/3/22,
bap 7/23; left 15/3/42
read. 25/3/43; -

AUGUST (Louis)Christian,son,Groenekloof,
5/12/42, read. 25/2/43;17/7/69

AZIA	(Hoop)Josua, Rondebosch	4/10/47; -
AZIA	(Trui)Ulrika, Piketberg, m.10/10/54	4/10/47;d.10/58
AZIA	(Sarina) dr, Slangenkop,29/6/43	4/10/47; -
AZIA	(Trui)Christiane,dr,Katzenberg,3/10/45,	4/10/47;17/7/67
VAN RENEN	(Louisa)Roslyn,Platteklip,5/6/41,	4/10/47; -
	dr Trui Azia & Geisbert van Renen	
BAADJES	(July sen) Kamiesberg	31/3/40;31/12/44
BAADJES	(Wereld)Maria Kruis,Piketberg	31/4/40;31/12/44
BAADJE	(July) Clanwilliam,7/1829	31/4/40;31/12/47
BAADJE	(Cobus) Slangenkop	28/8/41;9/1845
BILDAK	(Adam)Joseph Basteleinberg,13/7/21	29/4/41;31/12/47
BLAATJE	(Hendrich) Vendling, 1810	15/8/40;31/12/44
BOOTSMAN	Salomo Weinberg,24/4/1810	18/3/39;1841
BOYS	(Hans)	3/2/39;d.12/1839
BOYS	(Sara) wife,	3/2/39;27/1/40
BOYS	(Adam) son Carolina & Damon, 1822	3/2/39;31/12/44
BOYS	(Jan) son Hans & Sara, 1823	3/2/39;weg?
BOYS	(Cobus) son Hans & Sara, 1/10/31	3/2/39;27/1/40
BOY	(Hans) Koratenberg	29/1/43; -
BOY	(Eva)Clara Roggeveld, m.12/9/53	29/1/43; -
BOY	(Rachel)Alwina,dr, Koratenberg,2/10/36,	29/1/43;8/6/55
BOY	(Pit)Joel,son, Koratenberg, 7/38	29/1/43;15/7/61
BOY	(Griet)dr, Koratenberg,8/39	29/1/43;d.29/9/52
BOY	Jeremias,son, Koratenberg, 4/41	29/1/43;d.11/9/52
BOY	son, Waterkloof, 11/42	29/1/43;d.24/8/52
BRANDERS	(Hermanus)Reinhold, Mozambique	10/3/40; -
BRANDER	(Wilm)Melchior, Koratenberg	all came 15/2/46;
BRANDER	(Mietje)Magdalena,Caledon,m.12/9/53	all to Saron, 1858
BRANDER	(Piet)son, Piketberg, 11/11/30	
BRANDER	(Marie) dr, Piketberg, 15/7/32	
BRANDER	(Katje) Zwartland, 5/3/36	
BRANDER	(Kobus) Zoutfontein, 12/4/42	
BRANDER	(Mina)Sophia, Zoutfontein, 20,11,45	
BROMLA	Noah Mozambique	4/10/47;d.2/51
BROMLA	Anna, former wife of Franz de Grill, re-enters (see de Grill)	4/10/47;5/7/53
BROMLA	Jantje	4/10/47; weg?
BROMMER	(Rulof) Carl Platklip,2/1814, read.	16/10/47;31/12/47
CARLS(E)	(Emilie) Koeberg, 1826	13/5/40; weg
CARLS	(Frans)Adolph, Driehoek, 1820	14/9/40; -
	both have links with Spasi & Nanto September see September	
CARLS	(David)Anton, Draihoekmatjesrivier,1816,11/1/41;d.1851	

CAROLUS Gustav Bergvallei, 1/12/33 5/4/40;d.1855
son of Linnert & Paulina; ? link with
Baartman Damon Afrika

CAROLUS (Kees)Simson,Captains Kloof,m.12/9/53 16/9/44;21/9/63
CAROLUS (Roslyn)Laura, wife, 16/9/44;21/9/63

CAROLUS (Anna) see HANS 4/10/47;d.5/50

CLAPMUTS (Janetje) Albertina 18/3/39;d.1841

CLEOPHAS (Isabel) 29/4/41;31/12/44
CLEOPHAS (Lentje) dr, Dieprivier, 1837 29/4/41;31/12/44
CLEOPHAS (Lea) dr, Klavervallei, 1839 29/4/41;31/12/44

COBUS (Keyser) Brandwacht,at GK 1826-14/2/37 read 18/9/39
;5/5/52

COBUS (Lena)Martha Langvallei,m.22/3/40 18/9/39: -
COBUS (Cobus) son, 13/6/28 19/8/40; -
COBUS (Ana) Maria,dr, Bergrivier, 1/1838 18/9/39;d.3/40

COERA (Kobus)Jonas, Captains Kloof 18/3/39;31/12/44

CONSTABEL Johanna Rietvallei 27/3/43;31/12/47
CONSTABEL (Lena) Windhoek 27/3/43;31/12/47

CONRAD (Cornelius)Jacobus see Johannes

CORDON (nee SANDER)Sophia,Platklip,20/7/33,
bap.1/1835 19/8/50;21/9/63

CORNELIUS (Gert) Driekop in Koude Bokkeveld, 2/5/40; weg
12/10/35,fostered by Frederika Petro

DAMBRA Justine Groenekloof, 1818, read.16/1/44;d.1851
dr. Ephriam & Magdalena

DAMBRA Amos, Weinberg,22/2/10; bap. 1812 18/9/39;31/12/44

DAMON 3/2/39;d.Oct 40
DAMON (Carlina) wife, 3/2/39; -
DAMON (Louise) 9/5/31 3/2/39;27/3/46

DAMON (Jacob) 10/3/40;31/12/44
DAMON (Ana) wife, Kompaniesdrift,m.22/3/40 10/3/40;d.1841
DAMON (Steinje) dr, Kompaniesdrift, 4/1/34 10/3/40;31/12/44

DAMON (Afrika)Joseph, Bergvallei, 8/1786 5/4/40;d.1866
DAMON (Catrjn)Getraud,wife,Brandwacht, 5/4/40; -
DAMON (Afrika)Albert, son, Bergvallei,18/12/29; 5/4/40;d.56
DAMON (Keyser)Rudolph, son, Bergvallei, 1822,
first admiss. 20/8/38;31/1/44,
read. 28/9/47;31/12/56

DARIS	(Damon)Joseph, Warmwaterberg	16/1/44; -
DARIS	(Sophia) wife, Botterberg	16/1/44;3/3/45
DARIS	(David)son, Cape Town, 1835	16/1/44;3/3/45
DARIS	(Sara)dr, Cape Town, 1838	16/1/44;3/3/45
DARIS	(Laky) Rondebosch	read. 9/9/46; - 16/1/44; weg?
DAVID	(Damon) Kalebaschkraal,1810	3/4/42;20/1/43
DEISMAAR	(Janetje) see LOUIS	
DIERSE	(Sara) see ABRAHAMS	
ESLAAR	(Jan)Michael Floorvallei	10/3/40;d.1863
ESLAAR	(Ana)Adriana, wife, Olifantsrivier	10/3/40; -
ESAU	Jakhalsfontein, 1798	8/9/40;31/12/43
ESAU	(Sara)wife, Zoutfontein, 1800	all the
ESAU	(Hana)dr, Eilandsfontein, 1829	same
ESAU	(Moos)son, Eilandsfontein, 1832	
ESAU	(Else)dr, Eilandsfontein, 1837	
ESAU	(Martha) see CUPIDO	
EVERT	(Friedrich)Christian, Cape Town	20/1/40;d.1865
van ELSEN	(Jacob)Salomo, Mosselbank, 28/12/11	14/9/40; -
van ELSEN	(Karoni)Elisabeth, Klavervallei,4/3/13,	14/9/40;d.1854
van ELSEN	Jacob, son of Albertus van Elsen & Emilie Passens, fostered by Salomo & Elisabeth van Elsen	16/4/49;d.21/12/51
ABRAHAMS	(Dina) mother of Elisabeth v Elsen, Mosambik	25/2/43;d.9/53
ABRAHAMS	(Paul) Dina's son,Riebeecks Kasteel,	15/8/20, 15/2/46;14/5/49
FABRIK	(Jacob sen) Mozambique	25/2/43;d.12/50
FABRIK	(Eva)Susanna, wife, Bergvallei	25/2/43;d.3/55
FABRIK	(Arend) Uilekraal, 1812	25/2/43; -
FABRIK	(Catryn)Christina,wife, Vogelstruisfntn	25/2/43; -
FABRIK	(Isaak) son Arend & Catryn, Vogelstruisfontein, 1842	25/2/43;19/4/70
FABRIK	(Caspar)Isaak, Uilekraal, 1812	25/2/43;d.8/70
FABRIK	(Magdalena)Salvia,wife, Vogelstruisfntn	25/2/43;d.71
FABRIK	(Spasie) dr Caspar & Magdalena, Klipfontein,12/1839	25/2/43;31/12/57
FABRIK	(Fabrik) Vogelstruisfontein,10/1841	25/2/43;d.10/59
(FABRIK	(Adam)Jacob Joshua, Uilkraal,3/7/18,	19/8/60)
FABRIK	(Anna)wife, Kamiesberg	16/9/44;31/12/47
FABRIK	(Adam)son, Klipvallei, 3/11/43,	16/9/44;31/12/47
FABRIK	(Adonis)Albertus, Uilkraal, 24/6/20	16/9/44; -
FABRIK	(Sara)Eleonora, wife,Papenkuilsfontein, m. 12/9/53,	16/9/44; -

FAKOLEIN	(Agatha)Magdalena, mother, Bergendal	4/3/40;d.1849
FAKOLEIN	(Benjamin)David, Driefontein	4/3/40;d.1870
FAKOLEIN	(Wilm) son of Benj, Driefontein, 9/5/37,	4/3/40;d.1842
FARO	(Threen) Pampoenkraal, 1828	14/1/39;d.10/40
	fostered by Ernst & Louisa Kruger	
FARO	Johanna Groenekloof, 3/6/18, bap 1818	left 10/34
		read.16/9/40;27/12/41
FARO	(Jan) Zandberg	29/4/41;21/9/63
FARO	(Sara)Catharina, Bergvallei	29/4/41;d.10/60
FARO	(Jan)son Rondekuil, 1/12/38	29/4/41; weg55?
FARO	(Anna)Christina, Olifantsrivier	29/4/41;24/9/49
		read. 5/59
FARO	(Ari)Renatus 1813, bap 1829	1837;14/1/41
		read. 30/1/42; -
FARO	(Thryn)Carolina, Brakfontyn	30/1/42;d.11/50
FARO	(Agnes)Constantia, Ganzenkraal, dr Ari & Thryn, 29/8/41	30/1/42; -
FARO	(nee PASOP)Helena, Klipberg, 1819	left 11/1/40
	wife Friederich Faro	read. 15/2/46; -
FEBRUARY	(Isaak)Petrus, Dreiheokmantjesrivier, 1812, m.22/3/40	4/3/40;1850
FEBRUARY	(Sophia) Mosselbank, 1822	4/3/40;8/40
FLIP	(Amilie) see SEPTEMBER	
FRANZ	(Jan)Wilhelm sen, Uilenkraal, 7/7/16	22/7/39; -
FRANZ	(Regina)wife, Botterberg, m.12/9/53	22/7/39; -
FRANZ	(Schepper)Johanes, son, Papekuilsfontn, 1836	7/8/39; -
ADONIS	(Robert)Friedrich, Botterberg, son of Regina Franz	7/8/39; -
FRANZ	(Paul) Blaauwberg	31/3/40;31/1/42
FRANZ	(Carl)Daniel Blouberg	26/5/45; -
FRANZ	(nee JULIUS)Margaretha, Groenekloof, 21/5/25, bap 6/2/26	left 9/1/43
	m. Carl 10/10/54, read.	26/5/45; -
GALAND	(Jan sen)Albrecht, Kransvallei	2/4/40;21/9/64
GALAND	(Lys)Erdmuth, wife, Rondeberg	2/4/40;21/9/64
GALAND	(Rachel) mother, Marcuskraal	2/4/40;d.7/41
GALAND	(Catje) dr Rachel, Kransvallei, 1826	2/4/40;8/6/55
GALAND	(Evert)son Rachel, Valleiplaats, 1831	2/4/40;8/6/55
GALAND	(Jan jr)son Rachel, Valleiplaats, 1831,	2/4/40;30/12/53

GALAND	(Isaak)Christian, Kransvallei	4/9/41; -
GEDULD	(Zacharias)Jacob, Mosambik	13/5/40;d.42
GEDULD	(Wilm sen)Josua, Warmbokkeveld,1785	11/1/41;31/12/52
GEDULD	(Wilm jr)son, Riedrivier, 1805	11/1/41;d.2/45
GEDULD	(Sabina)Juliana, Moordenaarshoek 9/5/1792,m.Christian Vertyn 1843	29/1/43;10/71
SALOMON	(Geduld) her adopted child,Tienrivier,	29/1/43;1866
GELUK	(Afrika)	1/7/40;20/3/44 read. 1856
GELUK	(Regina Vertuin)Sophia,wife, Brandewacht 8/24	left 1833? read.1/7/40;d.1864
GERTS	(Pitt)Aron	1814 left 9/1838 read. 22/8/40;31/12/47
GOLIATH	(Martinus) Bodderberg, 1/2/12	31/3/40;9/7/41
GOLIATH	(Spasi)wife, Dieprivier, 1/10/15	31/3/40;12/7/41
GOLIATH	(Regina)dr, Keersfontein	31/3/40;31/12/47
GOLIATH	(Jonas)son, Kallabaschkral, 1/5/32	31/3/40;12/7/41
GOLIATH	(Dina)dr, Preekstoel, 20/10/38	31/3/40;12/7/41
JONAS	(Dina)Getraud Klavervallei, 1784 mother of Martinus Goliath	31/3/40;d.1868
GOLIATH	(???Appollis Jacob)Mozambique,1770	14/9/40;d.10/40
GOLIATH	(Debora) see HANISCHE	
de GRILL	(Jek)Franz Ceilon	5/4/40/d.47
de GRILL	(Ana)wife, Langvallei	8/4/40;12/43
de GRILL	(Salomon)son, Ganzekraal, 25/12/37	8/4/40; -
de GRILL	(Jek)son,	8?/4/40;9/7/60
HANISCHE	(Cornelius)Jonas, Roodeblom	3/4/42;d.1857
HANISCHE	(Lea)Maria, Kaarnmelksvallei	3/4/42;d.2/7/62
HIEBENAAR	(Hessi)Johanna Lydia, bap Cape Town, ? dr of Lea Hanische & ? Hiebner	3/4/42; -
GOLIATH	(Debora) Klipfontiein,7/1837 ? dr of Lea Hanische	3/4/42; -
HANS	Nikodemus,Groenekloof,26/11/19,bap.20	left 23/8/38 read.15/8/40;2/41
HANS	(Lucas)Gabriel, Zoutrivier,1/26,	30/1/42; -
HANS	(Janetje)Amalia, wife,Tonshoek, m.12/9/53	30/1/42; -
HANS	(Carolus)Wilhelm,son, Vogelvallei	30/1/42;13/1/64
CAROLUS	(Anna) mother of Janetje see CAROLUS	

HANS Christian Groenekloof, 26/2/24, bap. 24 left 4/43
 read. 16/9/44 or 49
HANS (Martha) Bertha, wife, Bergendal,
 m. 12/9/53 16/9/44; -
HARDENBERG Samuel, Groenekloof, 3/6/22, bap. 22 left 1/6/41
 son of Lisetta & Jesias read. 24/5/48; -
HENDRIKS (Hans) Zwartberg 31/3/40; 21/4/45
HENDRIKS (Jana) Amalia, wife, Wagenmekersvallei 31/3/40; 21/4/45
HENDRIKS (Bernt) son of Hans, Groenberg, 4/6/39 31/3/40; 21/4/45
HENDRIKS (Abraham) Wildvallei, c. 1815 15/8/40; 7/4/42
HENDRIKS (Hendrik) Gottfried, Kaapsche Duinen 22/5/43; weg?
HENDRIKS (Aprentia) Susanna, Driefontein, Zwart-
 land, m. 12/9/53 22/5/43; d. 5/59
HERMANUS (Atonis) Johannes, Kaap, 1820, 31/3/40; -
IMMANUEL (Amos) Mozambique 18/9/39; -
IMMANUEL (Threen) wife, m. 23/2/40 18/9/39; d. 1847
ISAAC (Solende) Judith 6/5/39; 31/12/44
ISAAK (Paul) Worcester, 8/1819 11/1/41; 31/12/44
ISAAK (Gried) wife, Beaufort 11/1/41; 31/12/44
ISAAK son, Stellenbosch, 1/40 11/1/41; 31/12/44
JACOB (Lena) Martha Dieprivier, 18/2/1778 13/3/40; d. 2/46
JACOB (sen) father of Samuel, Riebeeck's
 Kasteel 16/9/44; d. 18/10/46
JACOB (Apollis) Samuel, Dieprivier, 16/2/1797, 13/3/40; 31/12/52
JACOB (Kandaas) Sidonia, Olifantsrivier,
 28/3/11, m. 29/3/40 13/3/40; d. 12/43
SIMON (Emilia) dr of Kandaas, Paardeberg,
 10/7/29 13/3/40; 31/12/47
SIMON (Jan) son of Kandaas, Paardeberg, 8/2/34, 13/3/40; 31/12/47
JACOB (Rosette) stepdr. Henoeh Adams, Cape Town 12/4/43; 31/12/52
JACOBS (Thomas sen) Bottereivier, 1800 18/3/39; 20/1/43
JACOBS (Jacob) Renuus Paardeberg 18/3/39; 31/12/44
JACOBS (July) Malrug 18/3/39; 31/12/44
JACOBS (Jacob jr) Paardeberg, 1813 24/7/39; 31/12/44
JACOBS (Janetje) Zoutkloof, 1817, m. 29/3/40, 24/7/39; 31/12/44
JACOBS (Sabina) dr, Riebeeckskasteel, 18/1/37 24/7/39; ?weg
JACOBS (Hans) Christlieb, Paardeberg, 1816 24/7/39; d. 13/10/44

JACOBS	(Mietje) Klipfontein, 3/10/16, dr. of Pitt Passens	31/3/40;1/6/41
JACOBS	(Sina) dr of Mietje, Klipfontein	31/3/40;10/1/53
JACOBS	(Else)Lea,dr of Mietje, Zoutkuil	31/3/40; -
JACOBS	(Lys)dr of Mietje, Zoutkuil	31/3/41;31/12/55
JACOBS	(Abraham)Jeremias, Dwaarsrivier, 29/12/1799	11/1/41;3/7/49
JACOBS	(Sara)Rachel,wife, Mosselbank	11/1/41;3/7/49
CAROLUS	(Jephta)son of Sara Jacobs,11/12/1832	11/1/41;d.8/1842
CAROLUS	(Else)dr of Sara Jacobs, 12/1836	11/1/41;d.4/1843
JAKOMAN	(Vertyn)Immanuel, Mosambik	21/7/43;d.5/1865
JAKOMAN	(Griet)Juliana,Gansekraal,m.27/12/53	21/7/43; -
JAKOMAN	(Vertyn)August,son,Gansekraal	21/7/43;31/12/55
JAKOMAN	(Maloet)Christian,son,Gansekraal	21/7/43; -
JAKOMAN	(Cobus)Johannes,son, Smalpad	21/7/43; -
JAKOMAN	(Letje)Johanna,dr, Smalpad	21/7/43; -
JAGER	(Theis) Verloorenvallei, 1812	13/5/40;d.11/1841
JAGER	(Lys)wife Saldanha Bay	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAGER	(Else)dr Zoutkuil, 15/2/28	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAGER	(Pitt)son Zoutkuil, 1832	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAGER	(Theis)son Dassenberg,12/1837	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAGER	(Sina)dr Langvallei, 2/1840	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAN	(Klaas) Tulbach, 1790	13/5/40;31/12/52
JAN	(Galand)Petrus, Zwartberg, 1800	16/9/40;d.1863
JAN	Henrietta, wife, Strandfontein,1815	left 12/1836
JAN	(Anna)Mathilda,dr, Plattklip,5/3/36	read. 16/9/40;d.1862
JAN	(Anna)Mathilda,dr, Plattklip,5/3/36	16/9/40; -
JANKA	Goliath Mosambik	13/5/40;31/12/44
JANKA	(Wilm) 1831	17/2/39;31/12/52
JANEIRO	(Lakey)Joshua, Mosambik	28/1/40;d.1847
JANEIRO	(Vytje)Christina,Olifantsrivier, m.1/3/40	28/1/40;d.10/56
JANEIRO	(David)Josua, son, Bodderberg,22/9/39	28/1/40;d.72
JONAS	Children of Vytje Janeiro:	
JONAS	(Rachel) Olifantsrivier, 1828	28/1/40;d.4/1849
JONAS	(Aplon) Olifantsrivier, 1830	28/1/40; -
JONAS	(Martha)Wilhelmina,Olifantsrivier,1835	28/1/40;12/1855
JONAS	(Jan) Kransvallei	2/4/40;9/7/58
JONAS	(Lea)Petronella,wife,Rondeberg	2/4/40; -
JONAS	(Saul)Eduard, Kransvallei	4/2/41;11/1/42
		read.27/3/43;15/5/44;
		read.20/5/45; -
JONAS	(nee Okkers)Louisa, Groenekloof, Saul's wife, 24/11/24,	left ? read.20/5/45; -
JONAS	(Martinus)Frangott,son, Groenekloof, 7/3/45	20/5/45;d.8/46

JONAS	(Isaak)	Kransvallei	4/2/41;d.12/1844
JANUARY	(Jantje)	Jakhalsvallei	17/2/40;31/12/43
JANUARY	(Janetje)wife	Olifantsrivier	17/2/40;31/12/43
JANUARY	(Ana) dr	Klavervallei, 22/3/34	17/2/40;31/12/43
JANUARY	(Jan)son	Smalpad, 23/10/36	17/2/40;31/12/43
JANUARY	(Sanna)dr	Smalpad, 6/1/38	17/2/40;d.12/1/40
JANUARY		Ceilon, 1780	13/5/40;31/12/44
	(?link with Thomas Jacob)		
JANUARY	(Hans)Georg,	Visschershoek	30/1/42; ?
JANUARY	(Johanne)Johanna,	Ganzenkraal,	
	baptised at	Grootepest	30/1/42; -
JANUARY	(Hendrich)Anton,son,	Ganzenkraal,	
		28/5/40	30/1/42; -
JANUARY	(Oosterwald)Friedrich,	Ganzenkraal,	
		21/8/41	30/1/42;d.12/52
JAZON	David	Bergendal	4/3/40;16/10/51
JAZON	(Juliana)Helena,wife,	Driefontein	4/3/40;16/10/51
JAZON	(Jabi)Adolph,son,	Driefontein,11/9/32	4/3/40;read9/61
JAZON	(Seroni)Eva,dr,	Driefontein,18/2/38	4/3/40;16/10/51
JAZON	(Hermanus)Adam,	Bergendal, 1793	14/9/40;9/7/62
JAZON	(Martha)Justina,wife,	Dieprivier,	
		2/1/1798	14/9/40;d.1870
JAZON	(Jabi)Friedrich,son,	Dieprivier,	
		13/5/1816	14/9/40; -
JAZON	(Dirk)Ludwig, son,	Dieprivier,	
		26/1/1821	14/9/40; -
JAZON	(Jacob)Johannes,son,	Dieprivier,1825	14/9/40; -
JAZON	(Spasi)Augusta,dr,	Dieprivier,4/1/27	14/9/40; -
JAZON	(Treevia)Franziska, dr,	Dieprivier,1829	14/9/40;d.4/44
JAZON	(Hermanus)Daniel,son,	Brakkuil,1837	14/9/40;?1859
JAZON	(Kamoni)Henrietta,	Dieprivier,23/5/23	14/9/40;?58
PITT	(Martha)Justina,	Brakfontien,1/8/40	
	dr of Kamoni Jazon		14/9/40; -
JAZON	Jacob grandfather,	Dieprivier	11/1/41;d.1861
JAZON	(Jacob) Christian,	Bergendal	1/8/42; -
JEFTA		Madagascar	17/2/40;d.7/1842
JEK	(Saul)Gottfried,	Mosselbank, 1815	20/1/40;20/3/44
JEK	(Moses)	Mosambik	22/7/41;d.1858
JEK	(Paulina)	Driefontein	22/7/41; -

JEK	(Manuel)Hans, Mosambik	30/3/48; -
JEK	(Lena) Bergendal	30/3/41;d.1868
JEK	(Philander)Christian, son, Bergendal	30/3/48;23/3/67
JEK	(Jek) son, Bergendal	30/3/48;23/3/67
JEK	(Jonas) son, Bergendal	30/3/48;1854
JOB	(Dina) Rietvallei, Zwartland, 4/8/20	13/9/41;11/4/43
JOEMAT	(Jefta)Adam Kaapstad, 1780	13/5/40;d.1856
JOEMAT	(Flora)Martha, wife,	13/5/40;d.6/64
JOHANES	Juliana Groenekloof, 5/1/22	left 8/1840
	dr. Adam & Sophie read.	24/5/42;27/7/43
CONRAD	(Cornelius)Jacobus, son, Lauwskloof, 7/2/41	24/5/42; -
JONAS	see Janeiro	
JONATHAN	Mosambik	17/2/40;31/12/44
JONG	(Robbert) False Bay	24/8/41;11/10/44
JONG	(nee Bisik)Louisa, wife, Groenekloof, 29/10/22	24/8/41;10/1844
KANANKI	(Ernst) Mosambik	21/8/46; -
KLAAS	(Salvia) see Claas ALEXANDER	
KLAAS	Samuel Groenekloof, 28/12/11	- ;Jan 1833
	read.	6/5/39; -
KLAAS	(Eva)Lydia, wife, Tafelberg, 1/8/17	6/5/39; -
	m. 1/3/1840	
KLAAS	(Saartje)dr, 5/7/38	6/5/39;d.6/6/39
KLAAS	(Jek) Kallebaschkraal, 3/3/14	18/9/39;31/12/44
KLAAS	(Lea February)wife, Paardeberg, m.8/3/40	18/9/39;31/12/44
KLAAS	(Klaas) son, Dieprivier, 4/10/35	18/9/39; -
KLAAS	(Lenje) dr, Dieprivier, 12/2/39	18/9/39; -
KLEYNVELD	Janaetje, Grootepost, 1820, bapt. in Cape Town in 1823 by Rev Hough	1840?
KNOLVALLEI	(Martha)Susanna. 24 Rivieren	31/3/40;d.7/1848
KNOLVALLEI	(Jacob)son, Kaap, 23/10/26	31/3/40;31/12/43
KNOLVALLEI	(Silla)dr, Warme Bokkeveld, 1/2/31	31/3/40;31/12/52
KOEKRAAL	(Ruiter)Thomas m.1/3/40	22/3/32; 4/1838 read. 22/7/39;12/1855
KOEKRAAL	(Hester Goliath)Henrietta, Rietvalley	22/7/39;d.4/1853
KOEKRAAL	(Mina)Paulina, dr, 5/7/38, bapt 3/1842	22/7/39;d.1/1853
KOEKRAAL	(Pitt)Adolph, Kaapstad, 1823 son of Carl Koekraal	13/5/40; -

de KOK	(Abraham)	Kaapstad	10/3/40;31/12/52
KOL	(Wilm)	see Nero	
KRAI	(Antoni)	Witklip	20/1/40;d.4/1849
KRAI	(Threen) dr,	Clanwilliam, 24/3/23	20/1/40;19/10/41 read. 16/9/44; -
KRAI	(Henje)son	Clanwilliam, 24/6/25	20/1/40;d.1840
KRUGER	(Prins)Elias,	Bergvallei, 1810	16/4/35; ? 10/10/37; 1/1841 read. 1/3/43;d.1848
KRUGER	(Trui)Agnes,wife,	Rietvallei	1/3/43;d.10/1/48
KRUGER	(Roos) dr	15/8/33	10/10/37; ? read.1/3/43;31/12/55
KRUGER	(Anna)	Grootepest,7/9/41	1/3/43;9/7/60
ANDRO	Thryn, dr Trui Kruger,	Oudepost,	1/3/43; ?
KRUGER	(Eva) widow		28/1/39;23/5/42
KUPIDO	Christian,	Driefontein,1/1813	17/2/40; -
KUPIDO	(February)Ernst,	Driefontein, 31/7/20	4/3/40; -
KUPIDO	(Simon)Valentin,	Driefontein, 24/9/21	4/3/40;d.11/1848
KUPIDO	(Salvia)	Driefontein, 17/12/25	14/4/40;31/12/52
KUPIDO	(Salvia) Rebekka,	Koeberg,1874 (sic)	14/4/40;d.11/1844
	mother of Kupido,	February,Simon & Salvia	
KUPIDO	(Carolus)Simon,	24 Rivieren	31/3/40;d.1860
KUPIDO	(Catje)	Capstadt	1/8/42;26/9/42
ESAU	(Martha) her dr,	Dassenberg, 12/10/29	1/8/42; -
LAFLEUR	(Jan) ?? son of Carl & Louise	Vertyn	7/4/45;48 to Goedverwacht
LAFLEUR	(Rachel)Charlotte,	Tokei, 28/5/11	31/3/41; -
	(mother of Joseph Berri)		
LAKEY	David (for second time from Houtkloof		12/12/50; - as teacher)
LEIDEMAN	(Johannes) Abraham,	Langerug,15/6/23	11/1/41; -
LEIDEMAN	(Conrad)Elias	Langerug,14/4/21	11/1/41; -
LEIDEMAN	(Rachel)		27/2/41;d.6/1841
LEIDEMAN	(Cornelius)Wilhelm,	Langerug,31/3/27	27/2/41; -
LEIDEMAN	(Jephta) Bernard,	Langerug, 4/11/32	27/2/41; -
LEIDEMAN	Maria Christina,	Langerug, 11/6/17	27/2/41; -
LIEDEMAN	(Gert)Gustav,	Kaapstad,22/2/1812	3/10/40;11/1/89
LIEVRAA	(Carolus)Franz,	Paardeberg,1795	10/3/40;d.11/1845
LIEVRAA	(Else)Susanna,dr,	Mantjesrivier	10/3/10;d.1860

de LILIE	(Charles)Gustav, Bokkeveld, m.12/9/53	15/5/45; -
de LILIE	(Lenje)Bertha, wife, Brandwacht, 22/6/43	15/5/45; -
de LILIE	(Jan)Johannes Friedrich, son, Bokkeveld, 26/5/43	15/5/45; 26/3/68
LOSBER	(Pitt)Jacobus, Bergendal, 1806	20/1/40; 17/4/44
LOSBER	(Clara) wife, Carolina, Groenberg, 29/7/08	20/1/40; 17/4/44
LOSBER	(Jan) 12/11/36	20/1/40; 17/4/44
LOSBER	(Pitt)Christian 19/2/39	? ?
LOSBER	(Gert)Gottfried, Langerug	21/2/42; 7/8/50
LOSBER	(Portia)Beata, Matjesfontein, 26/11/12	21/2/42; 7/8/50
LOSBER	(Simon)son Matjesfontein, 18/3/33	21/2/42; d. 2/9/43
LOSBER	(Marsella)dr Langerug 1835	21/2/42; 7/8/50
LOSBER	(Christian)Jakobus, son, Boterberg, 23/6/37	21/2/42; 7/8/50
LOSBER	(Gerrit)Michael, son, Langerug, 15/11/39	21/1/43; -
LOSBER	(Mariana)Elisa, dr, Langerug, 14/8/42	21/1/43; 7/8/50
LOUIS	(Andres) Breederivier, m.1/3/40	22/7/39; 6/8/40
LOUIS	(Saartje)Dorothea, wife, Graafreinet	22/9/39; d. 1868
LOUIS	(Saartje jr)dr Saartje, Driefontein, 10/9/29	22/9/39; 9/9/47
LOUIS	(Vertyn)Abraham, Rondebosch, 2/7/13	3/8/39; -
LOUIS	(b. Koekraal)Maria, wife, Zuurberg, 5/5/13, bap Grahamstn, m. 22/3/40	3/8/39; -
LOUIS	(Petrus) Grootepost, 20/5/35	3/8/39; -
LOUIS	(Jacob)Gustav, son, Groenekloof, 2/9/37	3/8/39; weg?
LOUIS	(Louis)David, Jakkalskloof, 1/9/22, son of Maria and Johannes	? ; 1/1842 read. 27/3/43; 8/1850
LOUIS	(September)Michael, Verlorenvallei, 1820 link with Nathanael Oppelt	10/3/40; -
LOUIS	(Jephta) Kaapsche Duinen, 22/5/10	11/1/41; ?
LOUIS	(Pitt)Ervald Kaapsche Duinen, 14/7/15	11/1/41; 11/2/46
LOUIS	(Kaatje)Clementina, wife, Droogevallei, 1/9/17	11/1/41; 11/2/46
DIESMAAR	(Janetje) dr Kaatje, Brakfontyn, 23/8/34	11/1/41; 11/2/46
LOUW	(Hanje) Malagas	16/9/44; 31/12/47
LOUW	(Mietje)wife Darka	16/9/44; 31/12/47
LUTHER	Martinus Bengalen	29/4/41; 5/1845 read. 8/3/47; d. 1848
LUTHER	(Janetje) Olifantsrivier	8/3/47; d. 1856
LUTHER	(Waterboer)son Zeekoeivallei	18/9/41; 1845 to Saron
MAART	(Hoop) Kaap	31/3/40; 31/12/43
MAART	(Catryn)wife Renosterfontein	31/3/40; d. 6/1840
MAART	(Jacob)son Platklip	31/3/40; 31/12/43
MAART	(Janetje) Kerrifontein	31/3/40; 31/12/43
MAART	(Mattheus) Kaapstad, 4/2/1800	31/3/40; -

MAART	(Samsen)	Kaapstad	12/4/43;11/2/46
	stepdaughter? of Henoch Adams		
MAGERMAN	(Hermanus)David Jakob,	Olifantsrivier,	2/3/18;8/1834
		1813, read.	1/11/39; -
MAGERMAN	(Mina)Catharina	Smidsvalley,1816	1/11/39; -
MAGERMAN	(Jefta)son	Klavervalley,25/6/33	1/11/39; weg?
MAGERMAN	(Lea) dr	Klavervalley,15/10/36	1/11/39;31/12/56
MAGERMAN	(Lena) dr	Klavervalley,30/10/38	1/11/39;31/12/56
MAGERMAN	(Isaak)Cornelius,	Beaufort	29/4/41; -
MAGERMAN	(nee Springveld)Augusta,	Groenekloof,	
	bap.8/1818	read.	29/4/41; -
VAN RENEN	(Thryn)Theodora,	Platklip,23/1/40,	
	dr. Augusta		29/4/41; -
MAGERMAN	Johannes	link with David Vertyn	16/9/44; -
MARCUS	(Joenat)Friedrich,	Kesenbosch,c.1780	15/8/40;d.1858
MARCUS	(Kamoenie)Catharina,	wife,Klavervalley,	
		c.1790	15/8/40; -
MARTINUS	(Abraham) link with	Ludolph Rondganger	16/9/44;10/1/50
MASURA	Friedrich	Mosambik	31/3/40;d.1862
MASURA	(Ana Jager)Sophie,	Bergvallei	31/3/40;d.1871
MATHIES	(Lea)	10/8/34	19/2/39;31/12/44
	fostered? by David & Friederika Theunis		
MICHELS	(September)	Kersfontein	30/4/41; -
MICHELS	(Rachel)Charlotte,	Kranzvallei	30/4/41; -
MEI	(Franz)Aron,	widower, Wittrift	18/9/39;6/1853
MEIRING	(Jan)Benjamin	Langerug,14/10/16	21/2/42;7/8/50
MEIRING	(Elsje)Ernestina,	wife,Kersfontein	21/2/42;7/8/50
MEIRING	(Mietje) dr	Brakkuil,7/4/38	21/2/42; -
MEIRING	(Daniel)Jacob	Capstadt,29/6/1815	29/5/42; ?
		read.	26/10/47; -
MENTOR	(Simon)	Botrivier,29/10/1805	11/1/41;9/7/41
MENTOR	(Lea)wife		11/1/41;12/7/41
MENTOR	(Galte)dr	Rondevallei,15/6/40	11/1/41;12/7/41
van der MERWEL	(Gert)	24 Rivieren	11/1/41;16/8/41
van der MERWEL	Christina,wife,	possibly Groenekloof	11/1/41;31/12/47
NERO	(Kordon)Johannes,	Olfantsrivier	15/2/46; -
NERO	(Jolende)Friederika,	wife,Matjesfontn,	
		10/2/19	15/2/46;7/5/52
NERO	(Gert)Christian,son,	Drooge Vallei	15/2/46;8/1850
KOL	(Wilm)son of Jolende,	D'Urban,10/3/37	15/2/46; ?

NIEMAN	(Friedrich)	Vygeboomrivier, 1770	31/3/40; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Catryn)	Grootrivier	31/3/30; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Friederick) son,	Worcester 1822	31/3/30; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Saartje) dr	Bankroetsrivier, 1824	31/3/30; -
NIEMAN	(Wilm) son	Stellenboschvallei, 1826	31/3/30; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Gert)	Warmeboekveld	11/1/41; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Threjn) Gert's wife,	Wagenmakersvallei,	
		23/9/19	11/1/41; 31/12/44
NIEMAN	(Gried) dr,	Breetrivier, 31/5/39	11/1/41; 31/12/44
NOVEMBER	(Adam) Abraham	Modderfontein	3/4/42; d. 1869
OCTOBER	(Wilm)	Klaigat	20/5/45; 5/10/46
OKKERS	Josua, Genadendal,	11/4/08, bap. 6/08, read. 22/7/39;	d. 1854
OKKERS	(nee Hans) Catharina, G-Reinet,	11/11/15,	
	bap. 7/9/18, m. 22/3/40	22/7/39;	-
OKKERS	(Mari) Amalia, dr,	Klavervalley, 14/3/37	22/7/39; 29/12/54
OKKERS	(Else) Elisabeth, dr,	Papkuilsfontein, 10/3/39	22/7/39; -
OORTMAN	(Lene) Renata		28/1/39; 31/12/47
ORANJE	(Andrees)	Olifantsrivier, 1818	7/4/45; weg
PASSENS	(Ari) Erasmus	Piketberg, 1700	26/9/39; 31/12/55
PASSENS	(Jacomyn) Paulina,	Langekloof, m. 23/2/40	26/9/39; d. 1841
PASSENS	(Ari) son	Bottelfontein, 21/2/23	26/9/39; 10/6/53
PASSENS	(Wilm) Alfred, son,	Pampoenkloof, 11/3/25	26/9/39; 21/1/59
PASSENS	(Franz) son,	Wagenmakersvallei, 21/2/31	26/9/39; d. 1845
PASSENS	(Jan)	m. 8/3/40	17/2/40; 31/12/47
PASSENS	(nee Patience) Agnes, wife,	Vischwater,	
		18/8/21	17/2/40; 31/12/47
PASSENS	(Jan) son,	Conterberg, 17/12/37	13/3/40; 31/12/52
PASSENS	(Frans) son,	Grootfontein, 7/8/39	13/3/40; 31/12/52
PASSENS	(Maria) Caritas,		2/1/41; 10/1/50
	adopted dr of Petrus & Lydia Sly		
PAUL	Peter	Mosambik	13/6/42; Katzenbg
PAUL	(City) Christina	Leeuwenvallei	13/6/42; d. 7/1853
PETRO	(Atonis) Ferdinand,	Bokkeveld, 1/1815	3/1820; 8/1839
		m. 22/3/40	read. 26/8/39; 9/1845
PETRO	(Catje) Johanna,	Eilandsfontein, 1816	26/8/39; -
PETRO	(Afrika)	Roosboom, 1782	20/1/40; 9/1842
PETRO	(Spasi) Albertina, wife,	Zwartland, 1783	20/1/40; 9/1842
			read. 22/5/43; d. 62
PETRO	(Afrika) Frederick,	Koude Bokkeveld,	- ; 2/1834
			read. 10/3/40; 10/41
PINALD	Immanuel	Mosambik	10/5/40; 31/12/44

PITERS	(Abraham)	Theuseberg, 1811	4/3/40; 31/12/44
PITERS	(Flora) wife	Graafrinet	4/3/40; d. 12/1840
PITERS	(Jan) Jeremias	Grootdrift	31/3/40; d. 9/1845
PITERS	(Sara Springveld)	Susanna, Steenbokfontn	- ; 5/1834 read. 31/3/40; d. 8/1846
PITERS	(Hans) son	Zwartberg	31/3/40; 31/12/44
PITERS	(Antje) Hans' wife,	Groenrivier, Namaquald	31/3/40; 31/12/44
PRINZ	Zacheus, Groenekloof,	11/12/15, bap. 3/16	- ; 5/1841 son Benjamin & Rebekka 30/7/42; -
PRINZ	(nee Oranje) Wilhelmina,	Bergrivier, 1820	30/7/42; -
PRINZ	Eugen, son		30/7/42; d. 23/7/47
PRINZ	(Kubido) Moses	Louwskloof	13/5/40; d. 2/1849
PRINZ	(Kandaas) Theresia, wife,	Clampus	13/5/40; d. 4/1844
RAM	(Klaas) Johannes	Bosjesveld, 8/1812	- ; 8/1837 m. 8/3/40 read. 26/8/39; d. 1848
RAM	(Antje) Henriette,	Klavervontyn	26/8/39; 8/1/49
PIETERS	(Frans) Antje's son,	Klavervontyn, 10/9/29	26/8/39; 10/1/50
RENS	(David) Adolph	Kaapstad, m. 23/2/40	31/7/39; 20/3/44 read. 1850s
RENS	(Eva Gerts) Ernestina, wife,	Groenekloof,	3/1/12, bap. 1814 - ; 12/8/34 read. 31/7/39; -
RENS	(Cordon) Aron, son,	Blaauwberg, 25/2/38	31/7/39; d. 1855
ROBBERT	(Boys) Rudolph	Roggeveld	29/4/41; -
RONDGANGER	(Wilhelm)	Klipfontein 1820	10/3/40; 9/7/41
RONDGANGER	(Isaak) Timotheus,	Oudepost, 15/11/38	10/3/40; 9/7/41
PASSENS	(Threen) Emilie	Piketberg, 5/11/17	10/3/40; 29/3/43 mother of Timotheus
RONDGANGER	(Isaak) Ludolph,	Verloorenvallei,	24/10/16 29/4/41; 14/5/49
RONDGANGER	(nee Absalon) Elisabeth, wife,	Zwartland,	20/4/18 - ; 1/1840 read. 29/4/41; 1/1855
RONDGANGER	(Wilm) Bernard,	Droogevallei, 11/8/40	29/4/41; -
MICHELS	(Dortje) Verloorenvallei		29/4/41; 14/5/49 foster dr of Isaak & Elisabeth
van RENEN	(Thryn) Theodora	see Magerman	
van RENEN	(Roslyn) Louisa	see Azia	
SAID		Kaapstad	22/8/40; 31/12/43
SAID	(Regina)	Kaapstad, 9/6/12	22/8/40; 31/12/43

SALOMON	(Joemini)	Bay Fals	22/9/46;d.22/5/48
SALOMON	(Klaresse)wife	Hartbeestfontein	22/9/46;10/1/50
SALOMON	(Salomon) son	Paardeberg,18/3/39	22/9/46;10/1/50
SALOMON	(David) son	Rustfontein,29/5/41	22/9/46;10/1/50
SALOMON	(Jan) son	Klipfontein,17/8/43	22/9/46;10/1/50
SALOMON	(Jamoeni) son	Rosenberg,26/10/45	22/9/46;10/1/50
SALVISTER (Vertyn)Christoph, Kaapstad			18/9/39; -
SAMUEL	(Stoffel)	Kaapstad	13/5/40;31/12/43
SAMUEL	(nee Hans)Caroline,Graafrinet		- ;18/1/32
		read.	13/5/40;31/12/43
SAMUEL	(Mietje)dr	Melkbosch,2/8/33	13/5/40;31/12/43
SAMUEL	(Stoffel)son	Melkbosch,1/11/35	13/5/40;31/12/43
SAMUEL	(Jan)	Melkbosch	13/5/40;31/12/43
SAMPI	(Welkom)Eugen	Rondeberg,23/5/18	15/2/46; -
SAMPI	(Lena Danzer)Maria,wife,Klipheuwel,		12/1/26;11/1/42
		29/4/25	read. 15/2/46;d.1855
SAMPI	(Rosi)dr	Rondeberg,19/2/43	15/2/46; -
SAMSON	Josua	Mosambik	29/4/41;d.9/1849
SAMSON	(Louise)Magdalena,Kaapstad		29/4/41; -
SAUL	(Jacob)	Truthuis	11/7/43;31/12/5'
	link c. Christina Paul		
SCHEPPEP	(Jan)Gabriel	Platkloof	5/4/40;d.184?
SCHEPPEP	(Salvia)Margaretha,wife,Klipheuwel		5/4/40;31/12/51
SCHEPPEP	(Catje)dr	Klipheuwel,21/6/27	5/4/40;20/6/43
SCHEPPEP	(Jan)Ulrich,son,	Olifantskuil,1/11/38	5/4/40;d.1847
SCHIETGAT	(Adrian)Otto	Donkergatrivier,1/8/36	1849
	??son Jonas August		
SEPTEMBER	(September)Jacob,Ddieprivier,11/9/21		- ;6/5/41
	son Eusebius & Concordia		read.30/7/42;5/1874
SEPTEMBER	(Debora)Regina,wife,Keersfontein		30/7/42;5/1874
FLIP	(Amilie) dr Jacob September		16/9/44;8/6/55
SEPTEMBER	(Andres)Ernst,Olifantsrivier,1813		29/7/39;d.1863
SEPTEMBER	(Dina)Catharina,wife,Brakkuil,m.29/3/40		29/7/39; -
SEPTEMBER	(Nanto)Josua	10/12/1797	24/3/40;d.12/67
SEPTEMBER	(Spasi)Hermina,Draaihoek, m.12/9/40		24/3/40; -
SEPTEMBER	(Jolenda)Caroline,dr,Draaihoek,20/2/26		24/3/40; -
SEPTEMBER	(Cornelia)	Draaihoek,11/1830	24/3/40;14/5/49
		read.	10/1852;31/12/52
SEPTEMBER	(Carl)son	Draaihoek,31/1/35	24/3/40;9/1839
SEPTEMBER	(Dina)Ingeborg,Nooitgedacht,5/1/36		24/3/40; -
SEPTEMBER	(Salvia)Lydia	Nooitgedacht,25/4/38	24/3/40; weg

SEPTEMBER (Isaak)Andreas m.12/9/53 26/2/38;11/1/42
 read.7/4/45; -
SEPTEMBER (nee Gerts)Louisa,wife,Groenekloof, - ;31/1/42
 3/3/19,bap.4/19 read.7/4/45;d.1887
SEPTEMBER (Thrynje)Henriette,Bonteberg,3/9/43 7/4/45; -

SIMON (Wilm)Gotfried, Paardeberg,m.8/3/40 31/8/39;d.11/50
SIMON (Lys Passens)Rosalie,Piketberg,3/10/18 31/8/39; -
MARATIS (Cordon) ??son Wilm Simon, Paardeberg 31/5/40;d.9/49

SIMON (Emilia) see Jacob
SIMON (Jan) see Jacob

SMID (Aron)Jakobus Matjesfontein 8/8/47; -
 link with Gottfried Losber

SPLINTER (Cornelius)Johannes,Bergendal,29/11/1796 11/1/41;d.71
SPLINTER Helena Maria,wife,Bergendal 11/1/41; -
SPLINTER Martinus,son, Driefontein,3/10/32 11/1/41; -

SPRINGVELD Georg,Bergvalley,2/2/14,bap 3/1818 - ; 1834
 18/3/39;2/5/43
SPRINGVELD (Sabina) wife 18/3/39;31/12/52

SPRINGVELD Nahun,Groenekloof,9/11/20,bap.1/21 13/5/40;19/10/41
SPRINGVELD (Mietje)wife, Zwartwater 13/5/40;2/5/43
SPRINGVELD (Rosi)dr Kaapstad,13/7/35 13/5/40;2/5/43

SYME (September)Joel,Brauwerskloof 26/8/39;d.1846
SYME (Salomo)Ferdinand,son, 13/4/1807 28/1/39; -

SWART (Klaas) Piketberg 13/5/40;d?42

THOMAS (Isaak) Kaapstad 1822 20/1/41;7/4/42
 link with Poli Okkers

TILLING (Pitt)Marcus Bergrivier 18/9/39;d.8/53
TILLING (Louisa Arnds)Louisa,Stellenbosch,1817 - ;5/3/35
 bap.1822 read.18/9/39; -
TILLING (Hendrick)son, Orangevontyn,17/1/36 18/9/39; 1851?
TILLING (Jefta) Zwartwater, 28/2/38 18/9/39; 1854?

TILLING (Izaak) Matjesfontein 27/3/43;4/4/63
TILLING (Lea)Magdalena,wife,Dorboom,28/4/15 27/3/43; -
TILLING (Lieben)son, Zoutrivier, 28/2/36 27/3/43;d.1849
TILLING (Diana) dr, Zoutrivier, 13/5/38 27/3/43;31/12/56
TILLING (Lea)Judith,dr, Vatje,27/1/43 27/3/43; Durban?

VALENTYN (Schepper)Sebastian, Genadendal 23/9/41;31/12/47
VALENTYN (Sanna)Magdalena,wife,Genadendal 23/9/41;d.1863

VERTUIN Cornelius Brandwagt, 23/7/1794 30/1/42;14/12/42
VERTUIN Christina,wife, Kaapstad 30/1/42;14/12/42

VERTYN (Friedrich) Blomboschfontyn 7/4/45;10/1/50
VERTYN (Basina)Beata,wife,Bergrivier 7/4/45;d.28/2/47
VERTYN (Achilles)son, Bergrivier, 30/4/27 7/4/45;10/1/50
VERTYN (Vertyn)son, Bergrivier, 16/11/33 7/4/45; weg
VERTYN (Mietje)dr, Oudepost, 10/3/39 7/4/45; weg
VERTYN (Basina)Cornelia,dr,Oudepost,16/10/40 7/4/45; -
VERTYN (Manus) son, Klipfontyn, 9/5/44 7/4/45; -
ABRAHAM (Aron) Mosambik 7/4/45; -
stepfather of Frierich Vertyn

VIGELAND Philippus Koeratenberg 30/1/42;d.11/68
VIGELAND (Magdalena)Agnes, Langkuil,m.12/9/53 20/1/42;30/12/45
read?
VIGELAND (Katryn) dr of Agnes 30/1/42;31/12/47

VIGELAND (Adam sen)Johannes,Koeratenberg,1795 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Candaze)Christiana,wife,Koeratenberg,
1802,m.12/9/53 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Sophie)Augusta,dr,Koeratenberg,9/4/24 22/5/43;d.1869
VIGELAND Nathaniel,son,Koeratenberg,1827 16/10/43; -
VIGELAND (Adam)Michael,son,Koeratenberg,7/8/31 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Lentor)Hermanus,son,Koeratenberg,8/33 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Constantia)Maria,dr,Koeratenberg,8/34 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Carolina)Justina,dr,Koeratenberg,9/36 22/5/43; -
VIGELAND (Paul)Johannes,son,Koeratenberg,9/8/41 22/5/43;11/64

VILLIER (Simon) Tigerberg 22/5/43;14/5/49
(link with Spasi Afrika and ? Petro)

VISTER (Abraham)Christian,Paarl 25/1/42; -
VISTER (Augusta)Ernestina, 24 Rivers,
bap. at GK,22/5/36 25/1/42; -
VISTER David,son, 28/4/34,bap.at GK 22/5/36 25/1/42; -
VISTER Amalia,dr, 11/3/36,bap.at GK 29/5/36 25/1/42;31/12/56

VOORGAT (Hanna) 26/8/39;19/10/41

VROLYK (Antoni)Georg Winkelhoek 28/2/43;d.1864

VRYDOM Onverwacht Mosambik, m.22/3/40 17/2/40;31/12/44
VRYDOM (Klodina)Susanna,Mosambik 17/2/40;d.10/1841
WAMMILI (Patu)David Tallaver 31/3/40;8/1853

WEBB John London, 17/6/1809? 20/1/40;9/1/43
read.18/5/45; -
WEBB (Regina)Hedvig Saxenburg,m.12/9/53 20/1/40;9/1/43
read.18/5/45; -
ADONIS (Caroline)Ernestina dr Regina Webb see Adonis
APRIL Simon,son of Regina,Rosenberg 6/10/41; -
APRIL Emilie,wife, Moornach,3/10/18 6/10/41;3/42
read.7/7/42;6/43

WESSEL (Mina) Flaberg 19/3/40;1/12/40

WILDSCHUT (Carl) Kranzvallei 4/9/41; -

WILMS	(Mariana)Henriette (link with ? and Elsje Passens)		27/3/39; -
WITTBOY	(David)	Zandveld	20/1/40; ?
ZEDRAS	(Wilm)	Paarl	21/2/42;31/12/43
ZEDRAS	(Sanna)wife	Schaapplaats	21/2/42;31/12/43
ZEDRAS	(Kubido)son	Eilandskerk,6/8/38	21/1/42;31/12/43
ZOET	(Gert)	Zwartland	21/6/45;24/9/49
ZOET	(Catje)wife	Klipheuvel,21/6/27	21/6/45;d.7/47
ZOET	(Jan)son	Groenekloof,16/3/45	21/6/45;24/9/49

(Read. = Readmission)

(Source: HA, Catalog der Einwohner der Gemeine ze Groenekloof)

Appendix C

GROENEKLOOF OVERSEERS, CHURCH SERVANTS and WIVES IN 1840

ABEL	Jeremias and Sophia	(Catalog p.1)
ADAMS	Abraham and Helena	(Cat.p.1)
ADAMS	Christlieb	(Cat.p.1)
ADAMS	Immanuel and Henrietta	(Cat.p.1)
ADAM	Matheus and Justina	(Cat.p.1)
ADAMS	Nicodemus and Charlotta	(Cat.p.2)
ARENDS	Hoseas and Juliana	(Cat.p.3)
AUGUST	Matheus and Helena	(Cat.p.3)
CONRAD	Hiob and Charlotta	(Cat.p.26)
CONRAD	Jonathan and Concordia	(Cat.p.27)
CORDON	Johannes and Ester	(Cat.p.26)
DAMBRA	Petrus and Theresia	(Cat.p.32)
JANZA	Ludwig and Johanna	(Cat.p.50-51)
JOHANNES	Nathanael and Franzina	(Cat.p.50)
PICK	Samuel and Christina	(Cat.p.73)
SELDON	Petrus and Benigna	(Cat.p.82)
VERTYN	Carl and Louisa	(Cat.p.92)
VERTYN	David and Margaretha	(Cat.p.92)
VISTER	Jeremias and Regina	(Cat.p.92)

EARLIEST RESIDENTS

ESAU	Joshua and Lisetta	(Cat.p.36)
ESAU	Henoch and Salome	(Cat.p.36)
JULIUS	Aaron and Johanna	(Cat.p.50)

(Sources: HA, 'Groenekloof Ordeningen, 1840'; Catalog)

NEWCOMER MOTHERS sampled for Table 3.1

ABRAHAMS	Janetje
ABRAHAMS	Magdalena (Betje)
AZIA	Ulrika (Trui)
BRANDER	Magdalena (Mietje)
CLEOPHAS	Isabel
FABRIK	Christina (Catryn)
FABRIK	Salvia (Magdalena)
GALAND	Rachel
HANISCHE	Maria (Lea)
JACOBS	Rachel (Sara)
JAKOMAN	Juliana (Griet)
JAN	Henrietta
JANEIRO	Christina (Vytje)
JAZON	Helena (Juliana)
JAZON	Justina (Martha)
LA FLEUR	Charlotte (Rachel)
LIEDEMAN	Rachel
LOSBER	Beata (Portia)
NIEMAN	Catryn
SALOMON	Klaresse
SEPTEMBER	Catharina (Dina)
SEPTEMBER	Hermina (Spasi)
TILLING	Louisa
VERTYN	Beata (Basina)
VIGELAND	Christiana (Candaze)
WEBB	Hedvig (Regina)

Appendix E

Occupations of Groenekloof Residents, 1849
(Adult males and widows)

Occupation	Oldtimer	Newcomer
Cabinetmaker	1	-
Carpenter	1	-
Coachman	-	1
Fisher	1	-
Gardener	1	1)probably at
Herdsman	1	1)the mission
Housemaid	2	1
Labourer	97	75
Mason	2	3
Seamstress	-	1
Shoemaker	-	1
Smith	1	-
Tailor	-	1
Thatcher	2	2
Wagon driver	16	3

(Source: M & S Addenda)

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magistrate of Malmesbury
- 1/MBY 1/1/1-1/1/6 Criminal cases:Records of Proceedings,
1839-1852
- 1/MBY 6/1/1 Letterbook of the Malmesbury Magistrate,
1839-1852

1.2 Archives of the Defence Department (DD)

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1.3 Inspector of Government Lands and Woods (ILW)

- ILW 12 Notes 5/6/1815-28/10/1817
- ILW 17 Notes on Reports: Cape District, 5/5/1814-5/2/1820
- ILW 33 Miscellaneous, 1700-1832

1.4 Opgaaf rolls (J)

- J56 Opgaaf Roll for the Year 1825, Cape District
- J58 Opgaaf Roll for the Year 1837?, Cape District
- J276 Opgaaf Roll for the Year 1825, Stellenbosch District
- J300 Opgaaf Roll for the year 1833, Stellenbosch District

1.5 Maps (M)

- M 4/196 Registration Plan of the Government farms at
Groenekloof
- M 4/1462-1465 Malmesbury and adjacent divisions

1.6 Photographs

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