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MAYNIER'S ADMINISTRATION  
OF GRAAFF-REINET.

T H E S I S

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF M.A. OCTOBER  
1934.

by

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## P R E F A C E.

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In this consideration of Maynier's Administration I have attempted to emphasize two points.

- (1) That Maynier was entrusted with the Government of a large and turbulent district, but was not provided with any effective executive power or circuit courts to ensure that his authority in the district was maintained.
- (2) That although Maynier is frequently blamed for the unfortunate policy pursued on the frontier during his administration, it was in no wise a policy framed by him. He was merely an official, carrying out the official policy of the Government according to very definite instructions.

Theal makes an important admission when he states that the burghers could not frame their complaints against Maynier as they would <sup>be</sup> tantamount to an attack on the Government.<sup>1.</sup>

It happened that Maynier's views on the native question were coincident with those of the Government, but that does not make him responsible for its policy; it only makes him an excellent agent, and one who could carry out his instructions in all sincerity. His conscientiousness and honesty of purpose are obvious throughout his work.

The policy pursued on the frontier during these years - always attempting by some means or other to patch up peace - seems a futile one, yet one must

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1. Theal. 11. p.79.

must realize that with so few forces at command, the  
entire European population of the <sup>Eastern</sup> Colony might have  
been completely wiped out had ruptures with Kaffirs  
come to a really serious pass.

My thanks are due to the Archives staff for kind  
and willing assistance.

**Signed**

*G. J. ...*

*October, 1934.*

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES.

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- Wieringa - De Oudste Boeren Republieken, Graaff-Reinet en Zwellendam: by P.A.C. Wieringa
- Cory I - The Rise of South Africa Vol. I by Sir G. Cory.
- Rec. C.C. - Records of the Cape Colony, compiled by G.M. Theal.
- Coms. Gen. Ned. & Fryk. - Commissioners-General Nederburgh and Frykenius.
- Mins. of B. of L. & H. - Minutes of the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden.
- B. en P. van A.J. Sluysken - Brieven en Papieren van A.J. Sluysken.
- Dists. in Int. of Col. - Disturbances in the Interior of the Colony.
- Letts, Desp. within Col. - Letters despatched within the Colony
- Botha, Soc. Life at Cape - Social Life at the Cape in the 18th Century by C. Graham Botha.
- Theal I A History of South Africa by G. M. Theal 1725 - 1795
- Theal II Do. 1795 - 1834.
- Barrow J. Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa

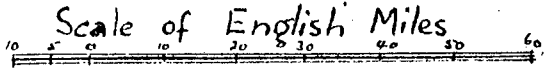
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*Vide infra for Bibliography*

# MAP

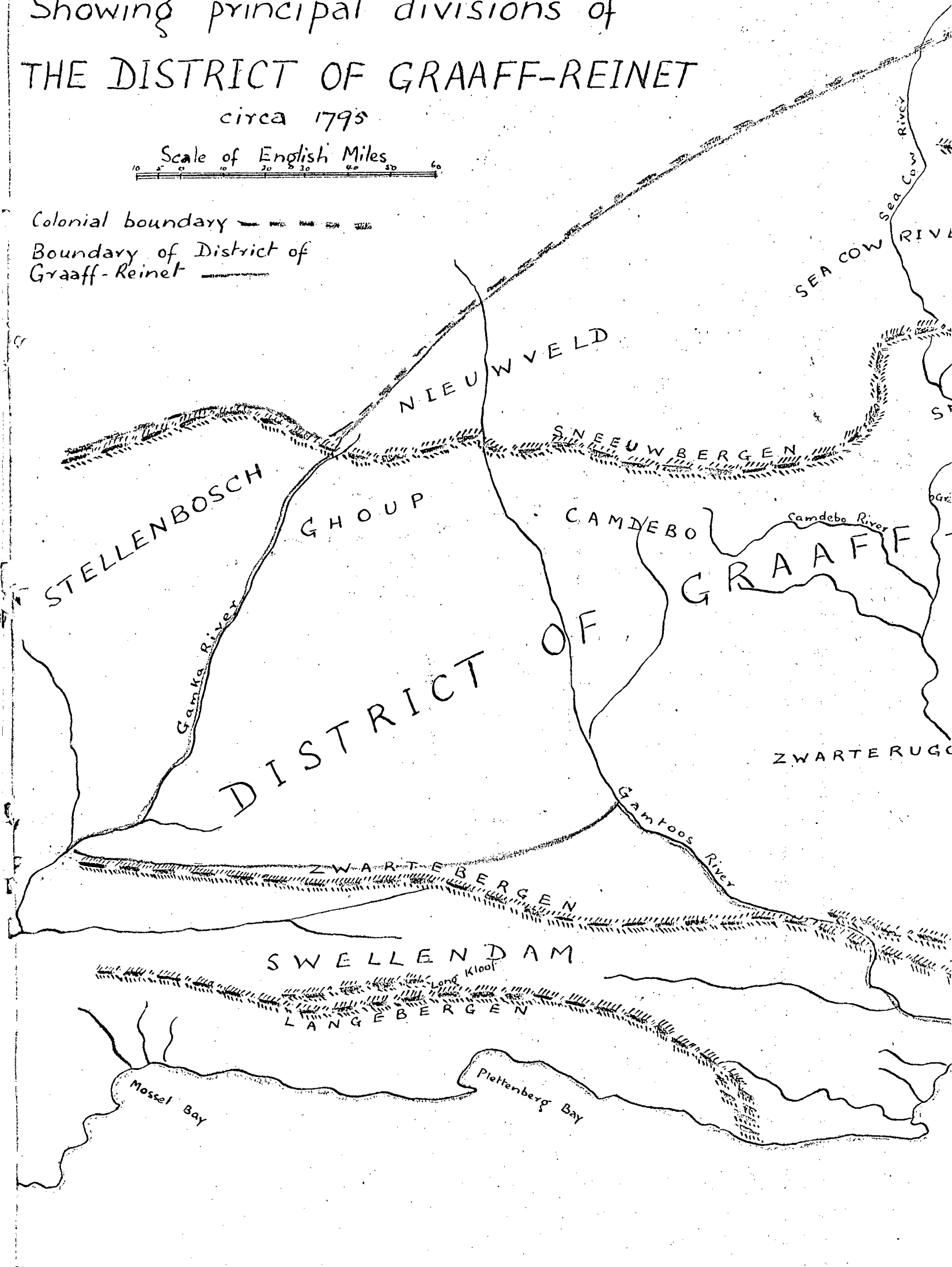
Showing principal divisions of  
THE DISTRICT OF GRAAFF-REINET

circa 1795

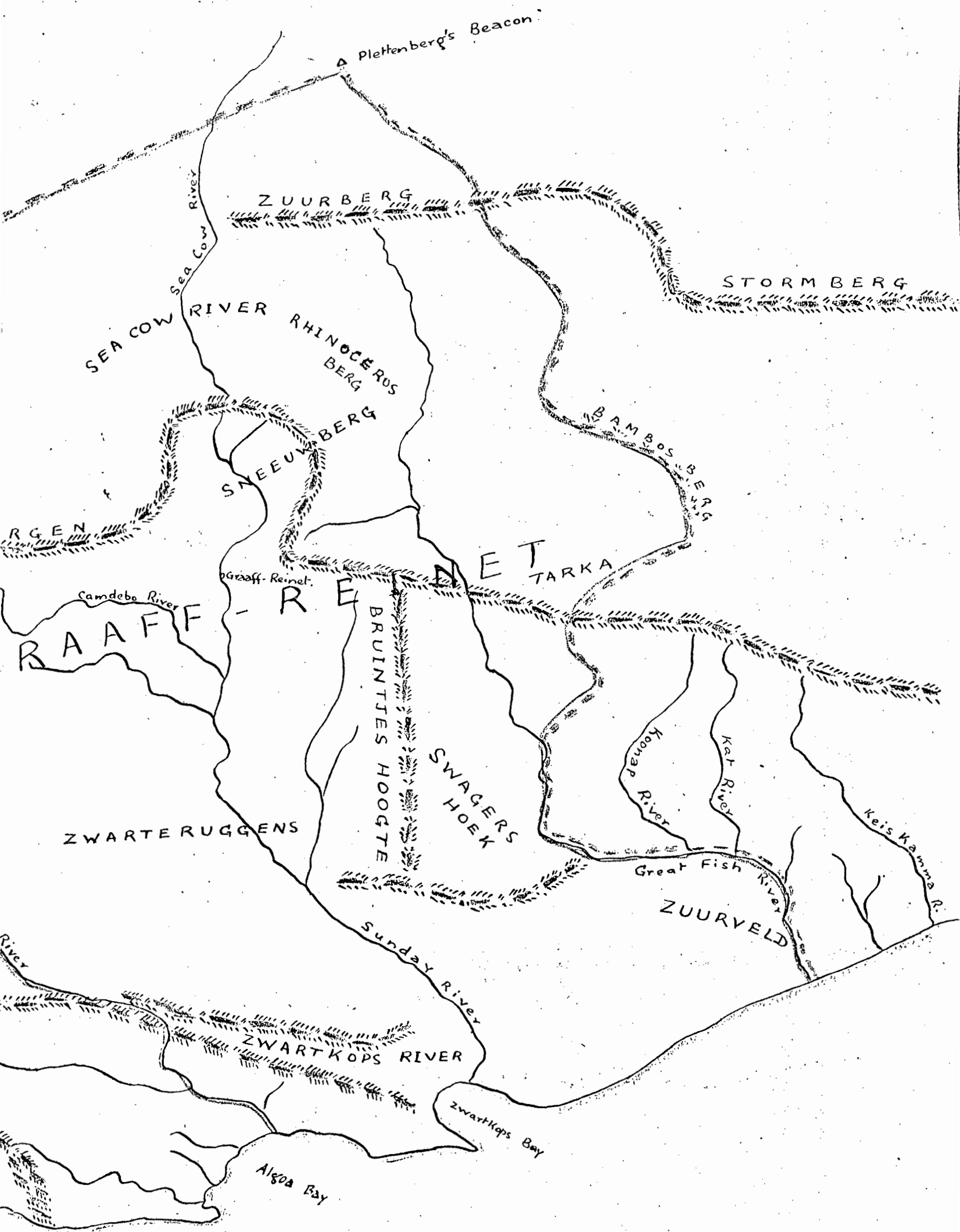


Colonial boundary — — — — —

Boundary of District of  
Graaff-Reinet — — — — —







# MAYNIER'S ADMINISTRATION.

## CHAPTER 1.

### The Eastern Districts and the Foundation of Graaff-Reinet.

The Dutch East India Company had no desire to increase its responsibilities at the Cape, yet the Colonists, some/ in their search for fresh pasture, others/ from sheer "wanderlust", and the majority/ in order to get as far away as possible from the odious rule of the Company's officials, were continually opening up new parts and adding to the perplexity of the Company. For although the Company did not wish for increased Governmental responsibilities, it certainly could not allow the Colonists to escape from its control, nor could it afford to lose the rents of the lands newly occupied.

The Council tried to stop this expansion by various means, but in vain. In 1743 it instituted a new system of land tenure by which it hoped to bind the trekkers to their loan places.

When this proved ineffective, the Council from time to time issued placats forbidding anyone to go beyond the proclaimed boundaries. But these orders went unheeded, and about 1775 travellers found settlers, widely dispersed, living in Outeniqua's land, Lange Kloof, Brintjieshoogte, Achter Brintjieshoogte, Camdeboo, the Sneeuwbergen, in fact over all Southern Africa as far <sup>east</sup> as the Fish River.<sup>1.</sup> The Company was

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1. Wieringa, p. 27.

perforce obliged, by proclamation of the 11th. of July, 1775, to decree the extension of the district of Stellenbosch eastwards as far as the <sup>1.</sup> Fish River, and of that of Swellendam to the Bushman's River.

The settlers in these parts were continually harassed by the Bushmen who had established themselves along the North-Eastern boundaries of the Colony. <sup>2.</sup> They plundered the farms, took away as much cattle as they could, killed the rest, frequently murdered the Hottentot herdsman and sometimes Europeans too. The settlers exacted vengeance either individually or else in commandos.

Under such circumstances there was little incentive to industry, and the homes of the burghers were poor and miserable, being built merely of mud and clay. Service in the field was their principal engagement and intellectual pursuits were neglected. They remained however intensely religious, and although far removed from any Church, faithfully carried out their devotional exercises.

The freedom of their existence attracted many characters of a lawless type. Colonists who were in bad odour in the Colony frequently joined them. <sup>3.</sup> Emigrant Europeans of various nationalities who were unable to make a living in the west, also crossed the boundaries of the Colony and threw in their lot with them, and later, immigrants from France and Holland

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1. Theal 1. p. 141.  
2. Wieringa, p. 27.  
3. Wieringa. p. 27.

introduced revolutionary sentiments<sup>1.</sup> The basis was thus being laid of a type of Colonist with whom it would not be easy for any Governmental authority to deal - religious, brave and self-reliant, yet unintellectual, at times cruelly revengeful, always restive of any control and with a passion for freedom.

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11. 11. 11. ?  
About 1775 the Kaffirs became a new element in South African history, and added to the troubles of these frontier farmers. It was inevitable that they should come into contact, for, as the settlers were spreading towards the East, the Kaffirs were pressing down along the coast from the North-East. By that time the great Xosa Chief Palo who had ruled in the Amatola Mountains had died and the clans east of the Kei had passed to his great son, Galeka, while those between the Kei and the Fish followed another son,<sup>2</sup> Rarabe.

The chief question which was to cause a clash between the Bantu and the Europeans, was the question of the land. Both were cattle keeping people and agriculturists of a sort, and therefore greedy for land. But the Bantu could not understand the European idea of ownership of land, for to them the grant of a piece of land implied merely the right to use it (as in their own society) on payment of certain<sup>3.</sup> tribute.

Both frequently allowed their cattle to graze on each others territory.

The farmers often crossed into Kaffirland to barter and for

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1. Cory l. p. 38.

2. Walker, Hist. of S.A. pp. 115, 116.

3. Ibid. p. 119.

hunting, and the boundary fixed by the Governor van Plettenberg in 1778<sup>-80</sup> as the Fish River was frequently ignored by both parties.<sup>1.</sup>

There was a marked difference in the attitude of the Government towards the Bushmen and towards the Kaffirs.

They regarded the Bushmen as their natural enemies, and supplied ammunition to commandos raised against them, although with injunctions to abstain from cruelty.<sup>2</sup>

At one time a reward of 15 Rds was offered by the Company for a captured Bushmen.<sup>3.</sup>

The Kaffirs, on the other hand, were regarded as a nation by nature peaceful and mild. It was considered that their subordination to chiefs made negotiations desirable and possible. By giving presents, the Government hoped to convince them of its benevolence, and persuade them to observe the Fish River as the boundary between the Colony and Kaffirland. The Government accused the farmers of provoking the hostility of the Kaffirs by their attitude towards them. The Council therefore forbade the Colonists to trade with them, hoping thus to prevent them from having any dealings with the Kaffirs. Yet sometimes as, in 1779, when they considered the Kaffirs had done too much damage, they had to allow force to be used against them.<sup>4.</sup>

There was in the Eastern districts, besides the Burghers, the Bushmen, and the Kaffirs, yet another element which was to be important in Maynier's work there - the

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1. Theal 1. p.156.
  2. Walker. Hist. of S.A. p.101.
  3. No. 50 of 1835. p.21.
  4. No. 50 of 1835. p.20. Theal.1. p.173.

Hottentots. Their weak tribal system was largely broken up by this time.

John Barrow, Private Secretary to Lord Macartney, the Governor, who sent him to Graaff-Reinet in 1797 "to supply some information respecting the distant parts of the Colony",<sup>1.</sup> found that in the whole district of Graaff-Reinet there was not a single tribe of independent Hottentots.<sup>2.</sup> He found, moreover, that two-thirds of the total number of Hottentots in the whole Colony were situated in that area, and that<sup>3.</sup> they outnumbered the European Colonists by about 10 to 1. As these Hottentots possessed no land they lived a vagrant life, or took service as casual farm servants. They were, however, not very useful in service, for they were said to be lazy, improvident and thieving.<sup>4.</sup> On the other hand, many instances of the cruelty of the burghers to the Hottentots were reported.<sup>5.</sup> Yet they often assisted the farmers against their common enemy - the Bushmen.<sup>6.</sup>

As regards slaves, the district of Graaff-Reinet possessed the fewest of all the districts, there being only about one slave to each family.<sup>7.</sup>

In March 1778, a petition was sent to the Council by Jan Kruger, Jan Adriaan Venter, Adriaan van Jaarsveld and thirty other heads of families living near the Camdebo, praying for the establishment of a landdrost's court and a Church in that part of the country. They pointed out how difficult it was to obtain a settlement of their differences at so great a distance from a seat of Magistracy. It was also practically impossible to undertake the journey to the Church in the Land of Waveren as their possessions would inevitably be

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1. Barrow l. p.53.
  2. ibid. p.144.
  3. ibid. p.163, ll. p.377.
  4. Walker, A mod.Hist. for S.A. p.87.
  5. Barrow l. p.p. 145 - 147, Resolutions C 106. p.182.
  6. Theal l. p.170.
  7. Barrow l. p.163, ll. p.377.

attacked in their absence. They attributed the lawlessness of some in the district, to the lack of God's word and the distance from the Government, and offered, should their request be granted, to convey to the desired situation, wood and stones for the building of a Drostdy, a Church and a Parsonage, provided the labour was sent from Cape Town.<sup>1.</sup>

In September 1778, Governor van Plettenberg set out on a tour to ascertain the state of affairs on the Eastern border,<sup>2.</sup> but it was only in 1785 that the Government decided to accede to the request of the petitioners. The burghers had asked for a landdrost, but they could hardly be expected to see eye to eye with all the reasons which the Council declared made it necessary to establish a drostdy in the Eastern districts - to check the practice of going into Kaffirland, to secure the payment of taxes on loan places, to preserve peace with the Kaffirs, and to prevent any foreign power from settling at Algoa Bay.<sup>3.</sup> The landdrost who would attempt to carry out these objects, would certainly find that his position was no sinecure.

On July the 19th. 1786, the boundaries of the new district<sup>4.</sup> were defined.<sup>5.</sup> It was given the name of Graaff-Reinet in honour of the Governor and his lady.<sup>6.</sup> The coincidence that, on the same day, orders against private cattle trade were renewed, strikes a foreboding note of the troubles which were to beset the new district.<sup>7.</sup>

The first landdrost to be appointed was Maurits Herman Otto Woeke, a German who had come to the Cape about 1769 and

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1. Memorien, Rapporten etc. 1778, p.427.
  2. Theal 1. p.149.
  3. No. 50 of 1835. p.20.
  4. The other districts were the Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam.
  5. Cory 1. p.32.
  6. Theal. 1. p. 216.
  7. No. 50 of 1835. p.20.

and who had settled at Stellenbosch.<sup>1.</sup> He was then about forty-three years old,<sup>2.</sup> and could hardly be expected to have the energy necessary for controlling a district like Graaff-Reinet. He was told to select a site for his offices, and he selected two farms near the source of the Sunday's River belonging to a burgher Dirk Coetzee, who disposed of them to the Company.<sup>3.</sup> Jan Jacob Wagener was appointed Secretary of the district to Mr. Woeke.

In all the districts a similar form of local Government was employed. Both the landdrost and the Secretary were salaried officials. The landdrost represented the Government and was responsible for the order and good Government of the district. Together with certain burghers appointed by the Council as Heemraden (a purely honorary position,) he formed a court for trying petty cases and a council for controlling the affairs of the district.<sup>4.</sup>

The Secretary, besides attending to the Secretarial work of the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden, did work of a Notarial nature and was also Treasurer of the district.<sup>5.</sup>

There was also in the district a burgher Militia of all males between sixteen and sixty, who assembled for one week every year for training, and when necessary were called out on commando. The officers formed a Burgher Military Council and frequently combined meetings of this Council and the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden were held. The landdrost was also Commandant of the forces in his area. In his military capacity he was assisted by the field-cornets (Veldwagters or Veldwagmeesters) who also undertook minor duties of a judicial and civil nature.<sup>6.</sup>

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1. Theal. 1. p. 109.
  2. Date of Birth in Doodregister (Archives)
  3. Theal. 1. p. 217.
  4. Botha, Soc. Life at Cape. p.69.
  5.        ibid.           p.70.
  6.        ibid.           p.71.

Sixth  
Part, 10th ed.

Part  
10th ed.



The landdrost and the Secretary were thus the only two salaried officials in the district, and in order to carry out the orders of the Council successfully, they were entirely dependent on the support and goodwill of the burghers. A landdrost who did not enjoy the co-operation of the burghers would find himself in an insufferable position, as the Council was too far away to enforce its authority, and the landdrost himself was provided with no means by which he could enforce submission to the orders of the Company in the face of opposition from the Burghers.

Barrow gives us a good description of the district of Graaff-Reinet as he found it in 1797<sup>1</sup>. On the East the district was bounded by the Great Fish River, Tarka, Bamboosberg<sup>e</sup> and the Zuurberg, on the West by the Gamtoos, the Gamka and the Nieuwveld Mountains, and in the North by the Plettenberg beacon. There were at that time about 700 families in the whole district, scattered over an area of about 40,000 square miles. The burghers were chiefly cattle farmers, Certain areas such as the Bruintjeshoogte were also suitable for grain and fruit farming, but the farmers could obtain no ready market for these products, and so were discouraged in their production.

Of the village itself, situated on the banks of the Sunday's River (and about 500 miles from the Cape) Barrow writes that "its appearance is more miserable than that of the poorest village in England"<sup>2</sup>. In the village there were about a dozen mud houses covered with thatch and<sup>3</sup> placed at some distance from each other, in two lines, forming a kind

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1. Barrow ll. p. 370.  
2. Barrow l. p. 114.  
3. ibid. ll. p. 372.

of street. At the upper end stands the house of the landdrost built also of mud, and a few miserable hovels intended for the transaction of public business, but in a ruinous state<sup>1.</sup> There were in 1797 only twelve families living in the village, and another fourteen just outside, scattered<sup>2.</sup> over a wild barren country almost destitute of tree or shrub."

Of the outlying areas of the district, Barrow found that the farmers in the Sneeuwberg (a good area for sheep) were on the whole of a better character than those of the other divisions of the district.<sup>3</sup> The most prosperous farmers were to be found in the Bruintjeshoogte which was the best division in the district for horses and horned cattle and equally suitable for grain and fruit. Yet on account of its close proximity to Kaffirland it was frequently the area in which disturbances originated. Other divisions such as the Zuurveld, Tarka, the Nieuwveld and the Ghoup, were frequently deserted on account of the incursions of the Kaffirs, while in the <sup>Zeeleem</sup> Sea-cow river and <sup>Rhinoscerosberg</sup> Rhinoscerosberg area the inhabitants waged a perpetual warfare against the Bushmen and were also frequently obliged to desert their farms.<sup>4.</sup>

Yet in spite of all these hardships, from a census taken in 1798<sup>5.</sup> it was revealed that of all the districts at the Cape, the district of Graaff-Reinet had the largest number of cattle and the largest number of sheep, and one may surmise that the excess over the other districts was even greater than shown in the census returns, for in an outlying and scattered district like Graaff)Reinet it would be possible to underestimate one's possessions for the "opgaaf" to even a greater extent than was practised elsewhere.

1. Barrow l. p. 114.  
2. Barrow. l. p. 113.

3. Barrow. l. p.p. 249-251.  
4. ibid. ll.p.p. 372-374.  
5. ibid. ll. p. 377.

CHAPTER. 11.

MAYNIER AS SECRETARY OF GRAAFF-REINET.

On the 20th. March, 1789, at a meeting of the Council of Policy, a letter was read from Jacob Hendrik Wagener, petitioning for his discharge with rank from the Company's service in Graaff Reiniet. owing to ill-health. He hoped, however, that the Company would see fit to give him suitable employment elsewhere, preferably nearer Cape Town.<sup>1.</sup>

It was resolved to appoint provisionally, the Assistant Secretary of the Council of Policy, Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier, as Secretary of Graaff-Reinet from the 30th. with the rank of Bookkeeper.<sup>2.</sup>

Maynier was at this time a young man of twenty-nine (the youngest of a family of eight children)<sup>3.</sup> His father was a German, born at Leipzig, and the name evidently used to be spelt Majnier. His father had married into one of the old Cape families,<sup>4.</sup> and practised at Stellenbosch as a doctor.<sup>5.</sup> Maynier had influential friends - the Secunde Rhenius (who was a relative),<sup>6.</sup> Mr. J.A. Truter, Secretary of the Court of Justice, and the Fiscal, Mr. Willem van Ryneveld.<sup>7.</sup> His views on the natives were coincident with those of the Government - "to promote Peace and Tran quillity between the Caffres and the Inhabitants by mild and gentle means, and to protect the Hottentots against the Oppression.

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1. Resolutions. C.85. p.363.
  2. ibid.
  3. C.C. de Villiers : Geslacht Register der Oude Kaapsche Famalien.
  4. Cölenbrander - De Afkomst der Boeren p.54.
  5. Resolutions. C.59. p.197.  
ibid. C.67. -.385.
  6. Theal 1. p.256.
  7. Wieringa. p.33.

and violence which they continually suffered from the Boers"<sup>1.</sup>  
sentiments which implied a belief in the simplicity and  
innocence of the "noble savage" which Maynier might have  
adopted from the French philosophers. He was indeed,  
✓ conversant with French and frequently employed it as a means  
of communication.<sup>2.</sup>

At the same meeting at which Maynier was appointed  
provisionally as Secretary, a letter from Woeke was read  
stating that four Kaffir Captains with many followers had  
established themselves this side of the Fish River.

A Commando under Daniel Willem Kuhne had been called out to  
drive them back, but if it were not successful, he would  
in person, accompanied by the Heemraden and war officers,  
try to make peace by friendly means. He asked for the  
assistance of 100 men.<sup>3.</sup>

The Council decided that it was impossible at that  
time to spare any men from the already depleted garrison.  
Yet one can hardly conceive that they would have sent  
assistance, even had it been possible, for they criticised  
Woeke severely for having allowed a commando to take the  
field. It was decided to send Maynier (the newly appointed  
Secretary) and Wagener (the ex-Secretary) as an authorised  
commission to settle affairs. 17

The~~s~~ instructions were clear - not to meet force by force,  
but to attempt to settle matters by peaceful intervention,  
and to persuade the Kaffir Captains to withdraw by giving  
them trinkets and presents. The burghers were to be fined  
if they crossed the Fish River.<sup>4.</sup>

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1. Rec. C.C. IV: p. 286, 287.
  2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 26.  
ibid. III. p. 108.
  3. Resolutions. C. 85. p.367.
  4. ibid. C. 85. p.369.

From the point of view of the Council, comfortably secure from any possibility of having their homes laid waste by the Kaffirs, this was an admirable policy, and not the least of its recommendations was that, apart from the small outlay in trinkets and ornaments, little expense was incurred in carrying it out. One can understand the irritation of the burghers at seeing their enemies, from whose depredations they had suffered, being brought off, rewarded, rather than punished, while they were to be fined if they crossed the Fish River. Yet this was the policy which Maynier and Wagener were instructed to carry out.

Captain Kuhns had cornered a large section of the invaders who could not cross the Fish River owing to its being in flood, and was just about to attack them when the Council's instructions were received, and the Commando was immediately disbanded without a shot having been fired.<sup>1.</sup>

It became necessary then to appoint certain burghers to form with Wagener and Maynier the Commission which the Council desired to send into Kaffirland. At a combined meeting of Heemraden and War officers held on the 13th. of May, the Heemraden Josua Joubert and Jacobus Triegard and the Militia Captains, Andries Burger and Jan du Plessis,<sup>2.</sup> were nominated to the Commission. On the 7th. of June they set out with Wagener and Maynier. When they reached the Kowie River they heard that the Fish River was impassable, so they sent some Hottentots with presents to Tchaka, one of the chiefs whose men had crossed the boundary, to tell him

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1. Theal 1. p.221.

2. Memorien. Rapporten etc. 1789, p.995.

of the strip of land between the Kowie and the Fish River and offered to pay for it in tribute the equivalent of what the Europeans paid in rent, but this request was refused. The Kaffirs were then instructed to give their Captains a fair account of how they had <sup>been</sup> treated by the Commissioners, and were warned in future to remain on the other side of the Fish River and not even to allow their cattle to graze on this side.

Then, after distributing presents of copper plates, brass wire, knives etc. the Commissioners considered that they had done as much as was possible and, as the domestic affairs of the district were pressing, they decided to return.

On their way back they touched at the farm of a certain Nicolaas Goe//de who was deputed to call the neighbouring farmers together to hear the proclamation of the 19th. of July 1786. When a fair number had collected at the farm they were exhorted to allow the Kaffirs who were living among them to return across the Fish River and to avoid in future all intercourse with them. Those disobeying <sup>1.</sup> this were to be punished according to the placat.

Yet the Commissioners must have felt that they had not brought matters to a very satisfactory conclusion, for when the ex-Secretary Wagener offered to remain in the boundary area in order to attempt to put the arrangements made with the Kaffirs on a more satisfactory basis, his offer was <sup>2.</sup> readily accepted.

In a subsequent report to the Council Woeke stated that the Commissioners had spared no trouble in carrying out

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1. Memorien. Rapporteën etc. 1789. p.999 ff.  
2.       ibid.                                   p.1015.

Wick p. 6.  
2. 1786  
G. W. Wagener

their orders, and the exhortations of the Council against the use of force had been fully observed. He advised the Council not to yield in the question of the cession of the land as such <sup>an</sup> action might create a precedent which might lead ~~the~~ colonists likewise to cede land to the natives. <sup>1.</sup>

Wagener stayed on the frontier for another three weeks. On the 19th. of July 1789, he wrote to Woeke that, having gone in person with twelve men to Tchaka and having held negotiations also with his son Cungwa, he ~~cannot~~ <sup>could not</sup> persuade them to re-cross the Fish River, but all ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> peaceful and the colonists have <sup>d</sup> "nothing more to fear". <sup>2.</sup>

He presented a report to this effect to the Landdrost and Heemraden on the 3rd. of August 1789, <sup>3</sup> and negotiations with the Kaffirs were considered concluded. Yet the Commission had accomplished nothing, for the Kaffirs remained in possession of the land they had over-run and the farmers had no assurance that their lives and property would be safe.

From the point of view of the Council, however, matters had been satisfactorily arranged, for their policy of peaceful measures had been carried out and little expense had been incurred. Indeed the parsimony of the Company was such that in December 1789 <sup>4.</sup> and again in September 1792 <sup>5.</sup> we find Wagener reminding the Council that when the Commission set out from Cape Town he provided his own wagon, oxen, slaves, Hottentots and necessary provisions. He also gave presents

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1. Memorien, Rapporten etc. 1789. p. 1005.
  2. *ibid.* p. 1035.
  3. *ibid.* p. 1039.
  4. Resolutions. C.86. p. 693.
  5. Resolutions C 98. p. 1492.

out of his own pocket to interpreters and also to the Kaffirs, since often the presents they desired were not amongst those supplied by the Company, and for all this he had received no compensation.

As regards the arrangements made on the frontier, Maynier had already identified himself with a policy which the burghers condemned.

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*Kaffir brought  
the Kaffir's return  
1789 & 1792 ?*

The landdrosts of Graaff Reinet, Swellendam and Stellenbosch were ordered by the Council to hold a combined meeting in Cape Town on the 1st. of July, 1792, under the presidency of Colonel Gordon, for the purpose of planning a campaign against the Bushmen who had become troublesome. On the day appointed, Woske did not appear, and so the Council suspended him from his office and called upon him to answer for his conduct<sup>2.</sup> A military officer, Captain van Balen, was directed to proceed to Graaff-Reinet and act as Landdrost until further orders.<sup>3.</sup>

Apart from Woeke's delinquency in this matter, complaints about him had already come to the Council from various sources. Maynier had lodged a complaint that Woeke prevented him from carrying out his duties and frequently slandered him. He did not find his work congenial because of Woeke's persecution and asked to be transferred elsewhere.<sup>4.</sup> De Vries, the Voorlezer, (i.e. Reader in the Church), had sent in a complaint accompanied by declarations of the elders and deacons to the

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1. Resolutions C96. p.1035. C97 p.765.  
2. ibid. C97. p. 771.  
3. ibid. C97. p. 772.  
4. Requesten C. 197. p.161.



effect that he was hindered by Woeke in his work<sup>1</sup>.

✓ Van Jaarsveld and other Heemraden and Militia officers seemed to find Woeke's violent anger and inexhaustible vocabulary very disturbing. They also accused him of drunkenness<sup>2</sup> and of trying to estrange the people from the Secretary Maynier, whom they defended with surprising partisanship<sup>2</sup>. Woeke retaliated and concentrated all his wrath on Maynier. He grouped his complaints against him under thirty heads<sup>3</sup>, but some, as Maynier<sup>4</sup> and Denys<sup>5</sup>, the ad-interim fiscal, observed, seemed to have been inserted merely to eke out the number to thirty. No. 7 and No. 15 were exactly the same.

No. 7. "Dat hy die vendurollen niet orthodox houd; No. 15 - Dat hy die vendurollen niet opregt houd."

Certain charges ~~were~~<sup>were</sup> ridiculous, such as that Maynier had told the burgher Hendrik Klopper that he had played the landdrost a prank which he would always remember. Woeke's grievance lay in the fact that he was ignorant of any such prank having been played him.

*Principal* The charges against Maynier were, however, that he had the first and most to say at meetings of the landdrost and heemraden, that he was lax in his duty as Secretary and did not forward a copy of the Agenda of the next meeting to the members of the Board in good time, but presented them with an untidy paper on the Sunday before the Monday meeting, that he frequently summoned persons to appear before the Court

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1. Resolutions C 97. p.477.
  2. *ibid.* C 98. p.459.
  3. *ibid.* C 98. p.532 ff ; c 99. p.56 ff.
  4. *ibid.* C 101. p.716.
  5. *ibid.* C 101. p.994.

on trumped up charges, did not take the evidence properly, had used no stamps on bills of sale for the last two years, that the auction lists were not properly drawn up, that he frequently bought in cattle at sales and put these down on the list at his own price, that payments of rent were not always properly recorded, that he had promised some ✓ burghers farms across the Fish River, thus giving complainant much trouble, that he instigated the Hottentots and bastards to ally themselves with him saying that they would obtain no justice from the landdrost and even enticed the complainant's own Hottentots to live with him.

Some of the complaints <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ of a more personal nature. He accused Maynier of being addicted to drink, of spreading rumours that Woeke could not possibly remain landdrost, and that he would undoubtedly be appointed in his place, and of hindering him in his work as landdrost. He rounded off his charges with the complaint that Maynier had exercised himself in promoting discord and trouble, and he trusted that he had satisfactorily proved "wat een allezinte gevaar en schadelijk man dezelve is".<sup>1.</sup>

One can read personal prejudice and petty official jealousy in many of these charges, yet it was incumbent on the Council to investigate the matter. The fiscal was deputed to undertake this investigation and Maynier was asked to reply to the charges made against him.<sup>2.</sup>

The Commissioners - General, Nederburgh and Frykenius, who in 1792 had taken control of the affairs at the Cape, informed the Council that although they accepted Woeke's

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1. Resolutions C 98. p 641.  
2.    ibid.     C 98. p.642.

excuse that he had not received in time the notice of the meeting of landdrosts in Cape Town, and had therefore been unable to attend, yet considering the many other complaints against him, it would appear that he was not suitable for the post of landdrost, and the Council was authorised to dismiss him and appoint someone else in his place.

The Secretary Maynier would not be eligible for this position unless he could clear himself of the charges against him. They advised the new landdrost to maintain his authority, and not to be too credulous of the complaints and testimonies of the inhabitants. Yet they realized that it was impossible for any landdrost to execute <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ duties efficiently without the co-operation of the burghers. <sup>1.</sup>

Consequently by resolution of the 6th. of December, the Council decided that Woeke was to be deprived of his post. He was, however, at his petition, given permission to return to Graaff-Reinet until March 1793, so that he could arrange his domestic affairs, but he was to ~~undertake~~ no part in the administration of the district. He also asked for a sworn assistant to accompany him so that he could immediately and formally take down evidence for the justification of his complaints against Maynier. <sup>2.</sup>

Maynier was ordered to come to Cape Town so that he could be cross-examined on the charges against him and van Balen was to continue <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ act provisionally as Landdrost, and Stanhoffius as Secretary. Maynier was instructed to leave Graaff-Reinet immediately, so as to prevent any partisanship from developing among the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet.

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1. Coms. Gen. Ned & Fryk 1. No. 61.

2. Resolutions C.99. p.831. Coms.Gen.Ned & Fryk 11. No. 82.

He hastened to Cape Town without delay, but on his arrival he was informed by Denys, the ad-interim fiscal, that there was as yet no case against him as Woeke had not yet forwarded any evidence or documents to substantiate his charges.<sup>1.</sup>

Maynier, however, hoped that the Council would not be prejudiced against him in considering the vacant post of landdrost at Graaff-Reinet, so presented for their consideration, a defence of the thirty charges against him.<sup>2.</sup>

He pointed out that, being the Secretary, he always maintained silence in the meetings as he was busy writing the Minutes, also as a matter of discretion, as Woeke was frequently very brusque in his manner. He denied that he had ever presented the agenda on the Sunday, but always on the Friday or Saturday preceding the meeting. He did not put stamps regularly on bills of sale because he had run out of stamps of certain values, as was wellknown to Woeke.

He asserted that various people could testify that he was not addicted to drunkenness. The burghers themselves could give evidence that he never gave them permission to settle beyond the Fish River. On the contrary, the Veldwagmeester Bester, had received written permission from Woeke to do so. When Hottentots approached Woeke, they were always told to go to Maynier, and Woeke frequently illtreated his own Hottentots. Maynier solicited consideration for the vacant post of landdrost, and enclosed a signed declaration of answers to certain questions put to five heemraden on December the 3rd. 1792, which refuted the main charges against him.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. Resolution C 101. p 716.  
2. ibid. C 101. p.717.  
3. ibid C 101. p 718.

These incriminations and re~~in~~criminations might have continued indefinitely and become more and more fantastic. In a letter to the Council of the 20th. of March 1793, however, the Commissioners-General expressed annoyance at the voluminous correspondence addressed to them<sup>(re)</sup> the further history of the "tedious quarrels" between Woeke and Maynier, and they returned all the papers and empowered the Council to provide for the position of landdrost in accordance with the best interests of the Company and the Colony. They added that there should be no prejudice attached to Maynier in filling the position once he had satisfactorily cleared himself of the charges against him.<sup>1.</sup>

It seemed to the members of the Council that Woeke had wished to prevent Maynier from being appointed to the post he had been forced to relinquish, and had therefore attempted to prejudice the Council against him. The Council, however, decided that Maynier showed "that knowledge of the district, guidance and discretion which is so necessary in the present state of affairs", and appointed him as provisional landdrost with the rank in the Company's service of Merchant. His appointment would be confirmed when the fiscal had concluded his investigations and he was acquitted of the charges against him. Stanhoffius was appointed Secretary and Bookkeeper.<sup>2.</sup> Maynier, who was still in Cape Town, duly took the oath of fidelity to the Government.<sup>3.</sup>

The burghers of Graaff-Reinet did not unanimously share the opinion of the Council as to the suitability of Maynier for the post of landdrost. On Monday the 6th. of May 1793, when at an extraordinary combined meeting of the War Officers

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1. Resolutions C 102. p.256.  
2. ibid. C 102. p.258.  
3. ibid. p.273.

and Heemraden of Graaff-Reinet, and in the presence of Maynier, a letter from the Council was read notifying the meeting of Maynier's appointment, Capt. Adriaan Van Jaarsveld left the meeting and was followed by the Heemraad A.P. van der Berg and Captain Burgers.

The ex-heemraad D. de Villiers declared that although he personally had nothing against Maynier, yet he had been influenced by a certain burgher Carel van der Merwe to vow that he would not <sup>sit</sup> in the same meeting with Maynier and so he was obliged to retire from the meeting.

Van Balen then asked each of the remaining members whether he had anything against Maynier, and they all declared that they were grateful to the Commissioners-General and to the Council for the appointment of Maynier and agreed with them that in him were found the ability, prudence and caution so necessary for his office. They promised to do what they could to restore quiet and harmony. That afternoon Maynier took his seat as landdrost.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Mins. of Board of L. & H, 61.

CHAPTER. III.

MAYNIER AS LANDDROST.

Maynier had not entered upon his new office as landdrost under very propitious circumstances. His name had already been blackened by Woeke's diatribe against him, and although he had been able to refute the main charges, yet probably in the course of the whole affair his character and capabilities had been fully discussed by the burghers in a manner which would hardly tend to increase his prestige as landdrost. He had<sup>also</sup> during his service on the Commission of 1789. shown himself in favour of the pacific policy which the Council advocated as being the best means of settling border troubles and of which the burghers so strongly disapproved. From some of the charges made by Woeke one can gather that as Secretary Maynier had adopted a more humane and lenient attitude towards the Hottentots (who were often ill-treated by the farmers) than the burghers liked. The hostility of certain of the burghers had been openly shown to him at his very first meeting. Adriaan van Jaarsveld, who was the first to leave the meeting, had a great deal of influence over the burghers. He was the man of action they admired - always ready to take the field against the troublesome natives. He had originally lived in the Sneeu Berg area but had subsequently moved to Bruintjeshoogte<sup>1</sup>. Through a successful campaign in 1771 he had made his name feared among the Bushmen.<sup>2</sup> In 1780 the Council of Policy, at the request of the district courts, had appointed him field Commandant of the eastern frontier and had given him

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1. Theal 1. p.173.  
2. ibid. p.102.

military authority over all the border farms.<sup>1.</sup> Through him the first Kaffir War <sup>had been</sup> ~~was~~ brought to a satisfactory conclusion in 1781 by all the intruders being driven across the Fish River.<sup>2.</sup> During this campaign he had caused a volley to be fired into a party of Xosas who were scrambling for bits of tobacco he had thrown them; the recollection of this incident caused his name for long afterwards to be feared by the natives.<sup>3.</sup> Van Jaarsveld was a strong character, used to acting independently, and a representative of the Government who would attempt to carry out his instructions to prevent any rash action of the burghers against the natives, would not find Van Jaarsveld readily knuckling under <sup>to</sup> his authority.

Besides this, the district was at this time in the throes of a long and severe drought<sup>4.</sup> which prevented the farmers from cultivating the soil, and made it difficult for them to find pasturage for their cattle. The Kaffirs suffered from the same difficulty, and consequently both parties ignored the boundary, each hoping to find better grazing on the other side.

It was found later that no fewer than twenty-eight European families had moved into Kaffirland.<sup>5.</sup>

The Kaffirs on the other hand, overran chiefly the district of the Zuurveld, which lay nearest to the Fish River and which had been one of the most fertile and most densely populated divisions of Graaff-Reinet.<sup>6.</sup> A number of Kaffirs had even settled there permanently and by their

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1. Theal 1. p.172.
  2. ibid. p.174.
  3. ibid. p.257.
  4. ibid p.257.
  5. Resolutions C.106 p.184.
  6. Barrow 1. p.166



depredations had almost entirely ruined the farmers who<sup>1</sup> still attempted to remain in possession of their farms.

The district was thus in a stricken condition. No<sup>2</sup> money was coming in, and the treasury was empty.

Even the importunities of Swellendam for arrears owing to<sup>3</sup> it by Graaff-Reinet over seven years could not be met.

Maynier, knowing the policy of the Council (to preserve peace by pacific measures) instructed the Veldwagmeesters du Plessis and Triegard to prevent the farmers in the Zuurveld from taking any action against the natives settled on the colonial side of the boundary. He considered that, surrounded by an almost invisible enemy, the Bushmen, it would be better to tolerate some inconvenience from the<sup>4</sup> Kaffirs than to turn them into a formidable enemy.

The burghers, however, were not satisfied with these measures, and a burgher, Barend Lindeque, took the law into his own hands, raised a comendo, obtained assistance from Ndlambe, who since the death of his father Karabe<sup>5</sup>, had been ruling as regent for his little nephew Gaika, and on the 3th. of May surrounded a kraal and took 800 head of cattle from it by way of reprisal. When Maynier heard of this action he expressed regret that hostilities had not been averted and sent certain field-sergeants to assist du Plessis on the frontier, but with the strictest instructions not to attack and only in the utmost emergency to meet violence with violence and to advise the rest of the inhabitants not to commence hostilities.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Barrow ll. p.374. Mins of B of L & H. 64.

2. Mins of B of L & H 62.

3. ibid 64.

4. ibid 64.

5. Walker, Hist. of S.A. p.122 (The Xosas who had crossed the Kei before Karabe claimed they owed no allegiance to Ndlambe or Gaika, but only to Gaika, the paramount chief)

6. Mins of B of L & H 64, Resolutions c106, p.184.

Although to the burghers the continued depredations of the natives must have been most provoking yet Maynier considered it advisable at all costs to prevent a serious conflict between the Europeans and the natives, for he had no soldiers at his command with whom to repel an organized attack by the Kaffirs, nor could he depend on assistance from Cape Town. He could indeed call out the burghers on commando, but they were widely scattered, their interest was divided between their homes and the field and they were not always amenable to discipline. Thus, with no adequate forces at his command, it was advisable to defer hostilities as long as possible. Maynier later submitted the opinion that conciliatory measures were "in most instances preferable to the attempt to use force, and in some the only means to preserve the Colony from ruin at that period."<sup>1</sup> Yet in spite of Maynier's instructions hostilities had broken out. It was possible for a burgher to take the law into his own hands as Barend Lindeque had done, ✓ for although instructions were issued with monotonous regularity, Maynier had no police force to assist him and to ensure that his orders were obeyed. The most he could do was to report a refractory burgher to the Council, which would, after much delay, summon him to Cape Town; the burgher would probably not obey the summons, and after various other vain attempts on the part of the Council to secure his person the matter would probably be dropped.

Maynier realized how important it was nevertheless that something should be done about the encroachment of the Kaffirs, and so proposed to the board that a commission should be appointed to proceed to the scene of the disturbances, since it was highly necessary that an amicable arrangement should

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1. No. 50 of 1835, p.28.

Van Pulvisis Theori.

P. 284<sup>W</sup>. Bruce & Peirce, I & 2 1890

Ynterdag. bij de 21<sup>de</sup> of de comit August " hebben wij by onze terugkomst  
- van de commissie tegen de eeffers "

Stuk in "Samb" (Wolven) = 5(?) 3) July

30<sup>de</sup> Jan. van Thieris Balle & om ynis H. de de van de U. d.

Hem comit of 80 Comit = 37 U. d.

HU = p. 28. 29 in comit. - Medum bij 1893

H. D. Mayers & S. de. 19 August 1893

.y"

be made with the Kaffirs .

Consequently a commission was appointed consisting of the landdrost, the Secretary, and the Heemraden Naude and M. van der Berg. It was arranged that they should leave on the 18th. of June, and they were to take with them knickknacks which were to be procured from Cape Town as speedily as possible.

✓  
Soud  
1743?  
The money needed to meet the expenses of the Commission was to be advanced by the landdrost who would be repaid when the finances of the district permitted it.<sup>1.</sup> What a position for a landdrost to be in ! He had no adequate forces at his command with which to initiate forceful measures and no funds at his disposal with which to sponsor peaceful measures. Yet the Council expected him to maintain his authority and carry out his instructions.

On the 1st. of July, the Commission interviewed the Chief Ndlambe, and made him agree to maintain peace "permanently" and to remain on the other side of the Fish River. The Commissioners heard dismal tales of farmers having been robbed of their cattle, various burghers having been murdered and twenty five farms having been burnt down by other chiefs who were still hostile. The Commissioners therefore sent a trusty Hottentot, Hasebek, to offer the other chiefs peace, and to request them to retire beyond the Fish River and to restore the cattle they had stolen. They accepted the peace, agreed to cross the Fish River, but refused to restore the cattle. The Commissioners then returned to Graaff-Reinet.

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1. Mine of B of L & H. 64.

No sooner had they arrived back than news reached them that large numbers of Xosas had re-crossed the Fish River and depredations had again commenced. On the 30th. of July, a son of a farmer Theunis Botha, and a Hottentot were murdered. 1.

Maynier realized that his attempt at negotiations had failed.

As a last resort he was prepared to act on the offensive and so a commando of 117 men (80 Europeans and 37 Hottentots) was collected. 2. They met the enemy in the depths of the forests of the Great Fish River, where they killed about 40 Kaffirs and recaptured about 2000 head of cattle. These had however, to be abandoned, as the Kaffirs, who possessed 16 guns, had so occupied the fords that it was not considered advisable on account of the smallness of the commando to attempt to drive them back across the river.

The landdrost doubted the advisability of continuing the campaign and the officers and other members of the commando also gave it as their opinion that the horses were too weak as a result of the prolonged drought to hold out any longer, and that the commando was really too small to act with any hope of success.

The Landdrost therefore considered it advisable to retire and attempt to raise a stronger force with which they would be able to compel the Kaffirs to withdraw.

Maynier managed to treat with Ndlambe, who promised to suspend hostilities and to regard as his enemies, the other chiefs who still remained hostile to the burghers. Maynier promised Ndlambe that he would not allow the burghers to cross

*Not only gold, & about 1000 lbs for the  
company's horses.*

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1. Min. of B of L & H. 65. p. 89.  
2. B en P van A.J. Sluysken 1. p.89.

the Fish River if he and his followers would also observe the boundary.<sup>1.</sup> Yet how vain were such promises ! Without a police force or any effective means of controlling the turbulent burghers who loathed restriction of any sort, it was practically impossible to prevent them from going into Kaffirland or from doing anything else they pleased.

← Nor did Maynier enjoy the whole-hearted co-operation and support of the burghers in meeting the critical situation. He had called a meeting of the militia officers to consider matters, and only Lieutenant N. Smit had turned up. Then he had called a combined meeting of the heemraden and militia officers for the 12th. of August and no officer had been present. Only on the 19th. of August was he able to hold a combined meeting. Captain A. van Jaarsveld and A.P. Burgers were present, and apologised for their conduct at the meeting of the 6th May and stated that they were now ready to subordinate themselves to the landdrost. They had probably been won over by the fact that Maynier had shown himself willing to take the field, when other measures had failed, and must have realized that he was doing his best, considering the inadequate resources at his disposal, to meet the situation. They said they had not come to the meeting called for the 12th. as they had not received the notice in time.<sup>2.</sup>

It was resolved that a larger commando should be raised to continue the campaign against the Kaffirs. None of the officers were willing to take command, and it was finally resolved that the landdrost should do so, assisted by the Heemraden S. Naude and H. Meintjes van der Berg.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. B en P van A.J. Sluysken 1. p.p. 90-92. Mins of L & H, 65.  
2. Mins of B of L & H. 67.  
3. ibid. 67. B en P van A.J. Sluysken 1, p.90.

In the meantime the Government had sent instructions to A.A. Faure, the landdrost of Swellendam, to call out a strong commando and proceed to the scene of the trouble, so as to assist the burghers of Graaff-Reinet. He was instructed to force to Xosas to cross the Fish River and to restore the cattle they had captured from the burghers or to exact compensation from them. No further punishment was to be inflicted and peace was to be made. The military ensign, Hans Abuse was to accompany Faure to the frontier to aid the landdrosts with his advise <sup>1.</sup> Faure consequently left Swellendam on the 8th. of September in command of a considerable force and accompanied by the Heemraden Muller and Barkhuysen and Hans Abuse <sup>2.</sup>

One might have expected that some arrangement would have been made for the two commandos to act together, but in the meantime the Graaff-Reinet commando under Maynier had already taken the field and in five encounters with the natives (in which several shots were fired by the enemy) about 8000 head of cattle and 120 Kaffir women and children were taken prisoners. <sup>3.</sup>

Maynier had received orders from the Government to prevent as much as possible the shedding of blood, he was instructed therefore to encourage the taking of prisoners who were either to be distributed among the farmers as their servants or to be sent to the slave lodge in Cape Town. <sup>4.</sup> The Government promised a premium of 10 Rds. on every prisoner taken. <sup>5.</sup> Maynier considered, however,

1. Resolutions C 103. p.228.
2. ibid. C 104. p.707.
3. ibid. C 104. p.711.
4. No. 50 of 1835. p. 28.
5. Resolutions. C104. p.712.

cf. Collins  
Report  
1809.  
C.L. Rec

15 Kniskern  
water factory

that it would be wiser to give the Kaffirs no cause for wreaking their vengeance on the European women, and so after reprimanding them for their misdemeanours he at various times released the prisoners.<sup>1.</sup>

✓ Maynier pursued the Kaffirs as far as the Buffalo River (about four days journey beyond the Fish River,) and then received word from the landdrost Faure that he had arrived at the farm of Lucas Meyer, about three hours journey from the Fish River.

→  
Maynier therefore decided to return to the Colony. In any case it was futile going further, as the horses were by this time in a bad condition. On his way back, Maynier visited the Chief Ndlambe who promised that he would return the cattle his people had stolen from the Europeans, but he stated that it would take some time to gather them as his people were widely dispersed. It was not long, however, before 400 head of cattle were returned.<sup>2.</sup>

✓  
Meanwhile the Kaffirs, taking advantage of Maynier's withdrawal to meet Faure, had recrossed the Fish River. The combined forces of Maynier and Faure then prepared to take the field. Some of the burghers, however, led by Coenraad Buys, a renegade colonist who lived with the natives for long periods at a time, refused to place themselves under Maynier's command, but wished to be under the command of Laurens de Jager of Swellendam. Maynier later attributed this to the fact that they knew that while they were under his command they would not be able to carry out their usual hostile practices against the Kaffirs.<sup>3.</sup> He refused to yield to them and insisted on taking the command. In four subsequent encounters with the

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1. Resolutions. C 104. p.714.  
2. ibid. C 104. p.714.  
3. ibid. C 106. p.199.



natives 2000 head of cattle belonging to the Europeans were retaken and 60 women and children were taken as prisoners. Maynier released the prisoners and promised them that if they could persuade their chiefs to come to terms they would be richly rewarded.<sup>1.</sup>

The burghers were very dissatisfied at the setting free of the prisoners, especially since it prevented them from claiming the reward promised by the Government for each prisoner. Landdrost Faure registered a formal protest against it but Maynier subsequently reported his action and the reasons for it, to the Government, and it met with their fullest approval.<sup>2.</sup>

Six days later many of the freed prisoners returned with messages from the Chiefs thanking the Europeans for the presents they had sent them and for their humane treatment of the prisoners. They said that they were willing to make peace and arranged to meet the landdrosts at a certain spot. There Faure and Maynier won the confidence of the Chiefs who promised to attempt to recall the people sent out to plunder, and one, Tuli, returned with them to the camp where he stayed for three days. The landdrosts subsequently also visited the kraals of Kokatie and Nogora, but from none of the chiefs could they obtain a promise to restore the stolen cattle which the Kaffirs said had either died or had been slaughtered and eaten, but they all agreed to give up Hottentots who had deserted<sup>3.</sup> them with fire-arms.

The landdrosts ordered four or five families to live together until all danger had disappeared, and warned

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1. Resolutions C 104. p.716.  
2. No. 50 of 1855. p.28.  
3. Resolutions C104. p.718.

them that if this were not obeyed, their loan places would be taken from them and granted to others.<sup>1.</sup>

Both landdrosts considered that difficulties on the frontier had been aggravated by the fact that Woeke had given a certain chief <sup>HOTTENTOT</sup> Ruiter, a gun, which had caused trouble among the Kaffirs and unsettled them, especially as the proud possessor of the gun had shot a brother of Ndlangbe.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the disturbances in the Eastern districts, the Council considered that it was time it reminded the burghers once more of its previous injunctions. Accordingly by a resolution and placaat of the 25rd. of October 1793, ✓ the Council renewed the general placaat of 1739, and all the placaaats dating as far back as 1677, forbidding any barter with the native tribes on pain of confiscation of property and corporal punishment. The Council also ordered that no person was to go beyond the Tarka or the Baviaan's River; that no arms or ammunition were to be bartered with, or sold to the natives; that the Hottentots were not to be ill-treated or separated from their wives and children and that natives found with arms were to be detained as vagabonds and delivered up to the fiscal or landdrost.<sup>3.</sup> It was the duty of Maynier as the representative of the Government to see that these instructions were carried out, yet the Council was content to leave him without any means of executing his authority, and rather than enforce its regulations, was quite prepared to issue the same instructions year after year.

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1. Resolutions C104. p.729.  
2. ibid C104. p.731.  
3. No. 50 of 1835. p.22.

Maynier was asked by the Government to report on the cause of the disturbances. He presented his report on the 31st. of March 1794<sup>1.</sup> :—

He had heard that a complaint had been made by some of the burghers that they had been insufficiently compensated with recaptured cattle after the war. When Maynier had asked them to state the number of cattle they had lost, the total amounted to 65,327,

✓ Yet in the "opgaaf" which had been compiled shortly before the war, the cattle belonging to these individuals totalled 8004. It was wellknown that for purposes of the "opgaaf" the farmers frequently underestimated the number of cattle they possessed, yet that does not account entirely for the large discrepancy.

✓ Only about 10,000 cattle had been captured or recovered in the war. The farmers complained that cattle had been given to the Hottentots and that that was why they had had to go short. Maynier pointed out, however, that the Hottentots had fought most willingly and in the most dangerous places, and deserved the one or two cattle he had given them. Besides a reward, would keep them them faithful and prevent them from deserting to the enemy. In any case the burghers had considerably overestimated the numbers stolen, and had been compensated in proportion to the number captured.

Maynier considered that the chief cause of the war was the fact that the Europeans continued to have intercourse with the natives, and in spite of orders against it, even

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1. Resolutions C106. p.182ff.

✓ made servants of them, and frequently ill-treated them.

He quoted the ill-treatment a certain servant had suffered at the hands of his master, one Frederik Jordaan, who had broken off his teeth with a bullet mould. →

Proceedings would have been instituted against Jordaan had he not been killed in the disturbances. →

✓ Maynier appended a list of the names of twenty eight persons who (despite the express injunctions of the placat of the 19th. of July 1786), had crossed the Fish River and settled in Kaffirland, among them an ex-hæmraad who had assisted at the publication of the placat, and also some who had expressly been denied by Captain van Baalen permission to do so. →

These settlers had dealings with the natives and provoked trouble. Barter for cattle continued, for Kaffir cattle, which is easily distinguished from other cattle, was frequently noticed among the farmers' herds.

Among the most<sup>re</sup> immediate causes Maynier placed the Commando raised by Barend Lindeque in May 1793, on his own authority, and without reference to the landdrost, who, when informed of this by du Plessis, had in vain tried to prevent hostilities. He also considered that the outrageous ✓ conduct of Coenraad Buys was another cause of the trouble. He would frequently cross into Kaffirland pretending to hunt elephants and would take the cattle of the Kaffirs by force, illtreating them if they tried to prevent him from doing ✓ so. Two other Europeans, Coenraad Bezuidenhout and Christoffel Botha, had also been instrumental in provoking trouble, and Maynier reported that the Kaffirs had been heard to state that if these three men were expelled from

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the Eastern districts, there would be peace.

The Government had asked Maynier to suggest by what means he considered peace could be maintained.

He suggested three measures. →

(1) By reiterating the placats against the barter of cattle

(2) By forbidding anyone to cross the Fish River on any pretext whatsoever. →

Even permits for elephant hunting should be issued only at the discretion of the landdrost. →

(3) By making the Kaffire also observe the boundary, and allowing only messengers to cross. These should be made to wear a copper plate as a distinguishing mark. He considered that by means of trinkets and presents, the good faith of the natives could be retained. He stated further, that at a combined meeting on the 3rd. of February arrangements had been made for issuing notices that families were to group themselves together for protection.

1794  
Maynier reported the insubordination of the burghers who would not put themselves under his authority on the occasion when his and Faure's commandos joined forces, and asked the Government to support him against such disobedience. He stressed the fact that it was most important for the welfare of the whole colony that order should be maintained in the Eastern districts. →

He also reported certain burghers who had refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Government.<sup>1.</sup>

As a result of this report the Council ordered Maynier

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1. Resolutions C106. p.201.

to forbid all commandos unless necessary for defence, even then they were to be called out only with the landdrost's permission. They reiterated their usual instructions that no one was to cross the Fish River, that there was to be no barter, and that the Kaffirs were to be persuaded to observe the boundary by amicable means.<sup>1.</sup> An exhortation was delivered to the refractory burghers, and they were warned that if there were further offences they would be tried by the Court of Justice.<sup>2.</sup> The landdrost of Swellendam was instructed to institute proceedings against Lindeque who had moved to that district.<sup>3.</sup> Buys was summoned to Cape Town to answer the charges against him, and proceedings were to be instituted against those who had failed to take the oath.<sup>4.</sup>

During these years the Bushmen did not cause any serious trouble in Graaff-Reinet, although commandos were still occasionally called out against them.<sup>5.</sup> When Maynier arrived at Graaff-Reinet as landdrost, he found that regularly every year large commandos of 200 - 300 armed burghers were sent out against the Bushmen, and he learnt, by report, that generally many hundreds of Bushmen were killed by them. Those killed consisted mostly of women and children, as the men usually managed to save themselves. He heard of atrocities committed by the farmers, such as dashing out the brains of babes on the stones to save shot. Maynier refused to allow these Commandos to continue,<sup>6.</sup> although the Government did not look on Commandos against the Bushmen with disfavour.<sup>7.</sup> Maynier ordered instead that depredations by the Bushmen were

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1. Resolutions C106. p.208.  
2. ibid. C106. p210.  
3. ibid. C106. p.216.  
4. ibid. C106. p.231.  
5. Mine of B of L & H. 62,63 .  
6. No. 50 of 1835, p.28.  
7. Mine of B of L & H. 68.

to be reported to the field-cornet, who, with the assistance of some men, was to follow the spoor, recover the cattle, and punish the offenders. He hoped thus to avoid the unnecessary punishment of women and children and persons not concerned with the depredations. The field-cornet, did not, however, always carry out these instructions in a satisfactory manner, and Maynier then decided to try to establish peaceful relations with the Bushmen. The burghers did not consider this possible, and complained that Maynier was neglecting his duty of extirpating the Bushmen.

He found one farmer, however, Pieter Ernst Krieger, who was better inclined, and he entrusted him with a mission to the Bushmen. He and his assistants were told to give them presents of sheep and beads and to try extract a promise from them that they would cease their depredations. They captured a few (that being the only way they could communicate with them) , and after assuring them of their friendship and obtaining from them promises of good behaviour, released them. →

Maynier considered that it was due to this that after this time the depredations of the Bushmen practically ceased, and the depredations which still occurred he attributed to other tribes which had moved in, and were ignorant of the arrangements that had been made <sup>1.</sup> After Maynier had been expelled, his instructions were no longer observed and consequently depredations increased. <sup>2.</sup>

In token of their appreciation of Maynier's efforts to settle the disturbances of 1793, the Council decided ~~N~~

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1. No. 50 of 1835. p.28.

2. *ibid.* ; Mine of B of L & H, 86.

by resolution of the 31st. of March 1794, that he was to be confirmed in the position of landdrost. Jacobus Vercueil was appointed provisionally as Secretary in the place of Stanhoffius who had died.<sup>1.</sup>

The Commissioners-General evinced their highest approbation of Maynier's conduct,<sup>2.</sup> but the burghers of Graaff-Reinet were not satisfied with the peace which had been made.<sup>3</sup> Maynier was of course the responsible party, and their dislike of the peace was turned against him. They drew up a petition against him and sent a deputation to Cape Town to give an account of the state of affairs in Graaff-Reinet, but Commissioner Sluysken, who was then in charge of affairs at the Cape, would not even investigate the matter.<sup>4.</sup>

Affairs in Graaff-Reinet were, however, rapidly working up to a crisis.

On February the 4th. 1795, a number of dissatisfied burghers gathered at a drift just outside the town, After ascertaining the opinion of the gathering, van Jaarsveld and J.C. Triegard appeared before a board meeting and stated that the burghers refused to be pacified any longer and wished to state their grievances before a full combined meeting.<sup>5.</sup>

On February the 6th. an extraordinary and combined meeting was held in the open before the drostdy on account of the large numbers present. Marthinus Prinsloo, Jan Durand and Pieter Joubert were the chief speakers for the people, and they demanded that the landdrost should leave the district.

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1. B en P van A. J. Sluysken l. p. 240.
  2. No. 50. of 1835. p. 31.
  3. Mins of B of L & H. 70.
  4. Theal l. p.p. 281, 282.
  5. Mins of B of L & H, 81.

L.H.?



Durand also called for the removal from office of the Heemraden H. Meintjes van der Berg, S. Naude, and the military officers C. Coetzee, J. Strydom and C. van Rensburg, who were regarded as partisans of the landdrost. Various members of the board made attempts to appease the people, but in vain, and Maynier was obliged to leave for Cape Town.<sup>1.</sup>

A meeting of the burghers was then convened in the name of "the voice of the people", and it was decided to ask the Government to fill the vacant positions; which made it clear that there was no hostility to the Company, but only to its choice of officials.<sup>2.</sup>

The burghers adopted the tricolour and called themselves "Nationals".<sup>3.</sup>

On the 6th. of March, Mr. Sluysken wrote to the Heemraden that he was grieved <sup>that</sup> disunion in the district had reached such a pitch that the landdrost had been forced to leave and that he had appointed a special Commission consisting of Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet (President of the High Court of Justice), Captain Van Hugel, an Officer, and Mr. A. Truter, Secretary of the High Court of Justice, to investigate the matter.<sup>4.</sup>

On the 30th. of April, Mr. de Wet addressed the people from a tent before the drostdy. He reprimanded the burghers for their turbulence, and stated that the good intentions of the Government were constantly being frustrated by their lawlessness and dissension. He held over their heads the awful threat that the entire district

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1. Mins of B of L & H, 82.

2. Mins of B of L & H, 83.

3. Theal 1, p.282.

4. Uitgaande Brieven. 1795, p.71. Mins of B of L & H, 85.

✓ would be abandoned by the Government, unless matters improved. Thereupon all professed their readiness to respect and obey the Commissioner. Mr. Lambert Philip van der Poel, previously a clerk in Cape Town, was thereupon installed provisionally as landdrost, and Mr. Hendrik Roselt as Secretary. During the course of his visit Mr. de Wet had occasion to comment on the ruinous state of the public buildings, and asked who was to blame for their condition. Some immediately said Maynier, but others (more truthfully ✓ no doubt) ascribed their condition to the low state of the finances which did not permit repairs being carried out.<sup>1.</sup>

The burghers wished the Commission to make a tour of the frontier so that they could report to the Government the conditions there, but they refused to do this, and so ✓ on the 14th. of June an armed force compelled them to leave the district and once again the burghers had the management of affairs in their own hands.<sup>2.</sup>

On the 6th. of July, a meeting of the Acting and retired Heemraden was held, and "six representatives of the people" came in and took their seats at a separate table.<sup>3.</sup> The various officials were asked whether they would continue in office under a burgher administration. The provisional landdrost, van der Poel expressed his willingness to do so, but asked for leave to proceed to Cape Town.<sup>4.</sup>

✓ He promised to return after he had obtained his discharge from the Service of the Company. He was thereupon appointed landdrost and Mr. Jan Booyesen was chosen<sup>7</sup> to act until his return.

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1. Mins of B of L & H, 85.  
2. *ibid.* 100.  
3. *ibid.* 88.  
4. *ibid.* 90.

The Secretary Roselt considered himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the Company and therefore refused to serve, so the messenger Oertel was appointed in his place. 1.

The representatives required a written declaration of fidelity to the citizens, from the landdrost and Secretary, 2, and it was resolved on the proposal of van Jaarsveld that no one would be appointed to any public office except by public vote. 3.

As van der Poel did not return, on the 27th. of August the heemraden and representatives of the people appointed the Captain of the militia, Carel David Gerotz, provisional landdrost, and Adriaan van Jaarsveld was given the highest military command. On the 14th. September Gerotz was confirmed in the position of landdrost.

Meanwhile some of the burghers of Swellendam, also inspired by revolutionary sentiments had forced the landdrost, Secretary and Messenger to resign and had appointed Hermanus Steyn landdrost, and had established a representative body termed a National Assembly. 4.

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1. Mins of B of L & H. 95.
  2. ibid. 92.
  3. ibid. 96.
  4. Theal 1. p.285.

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER DISTURBANCES ON EASTERN FRONTIER.

While the rule of the Company was thus being overthrown in the two Eastern districts, its power was at the same time <sup>being</sup> threatened in the west.

In 1795 the French Revolutionary Armées had invaded Holland, and it had become the Batavian Republic, <sup>and</sup> <sup>the</sup> Stadholder had fled to England. In order to prevent the Cape from falling into the hands of the French and also to safeguard her eastern trade and shipping, Great Britain in 1795 sent a squadron under Elphinstone and Craig to occupy the Cape.

Although the Commanders bore letters from the exiled Stadtholder ordering Sluysken to admit the British Garrison, he decided to resist the British as he was ignorant of the real state of affairs in Holland, and also because most of the burghers were pro-republican favouring the Batavian Republic. In two months time he was forced to capitulate. On the 16th. of September 1795, the Articles of Capitulation were signed and the Cape became a British dependency.

Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were then still in revolt. Swellendam was easily conciliated. From the burghers of Graaff-Reinet General Craig received a letter written on the 27th. of October stating their grievances and their reasons for revolting. They complained that they were oppressed with taxes and yet for many years had borne the sole burden of defending the colony from the natives. The principal products were farmed out and thus kept at low prices, trade with foreigners was prohibited and the

economic troubles were aggravated by the issue of paper money.

They stated that Maynier had been dismissed "because he has reduced the burghers to poverty and through his perverse direction the Colony would have been lost to the inlandish enemy had the burghers not prevented it and driven the Kaffirs back as they are still daily doing." The burgher militia officer, C. Coetzee, and the two Heemraden H. Meintjes van der Berg and S. Naudé, had also been dismissed on account of their "sacrificing, contrary to their oath and duty, the general welfare to the vain friendship of the landdrost by agreeing always with the same."

They had decided that representatives chosen by the vote of the people to maintain the rights and interests of the burghers, were always to take their places in the Assembly. They stated that they had appointed provisionally C.D. Gerotz as Landdrost, J.V. Oertel as Secretary and Wiese as Messenger and asked for the approval of the General to these appointments. The General was also asked soon to appoint a proper landdrost for the district.<sup>1.</sup>

To this General Craig replied on the 23rd, of November, assuring them of the interest and goodwill of the English. He approved of the temporary appointment of Gerotz, but he would soon be relieved by Mr. Bresler, (a colonist who had been an officer in de Lille's regiment) who was now appointed landdrost. He warned them to learn from the example of Europe where "avarice and private ambition working upon the enlightened minds of the people

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1. Dist's. in Int. of Co. 1795-1802. p.1. ff.

*Reference*

under the specious pretence of liberty had plunged the half Europe into an abyss of Horror and Misery which ages will not recover it from.<sup>1.</sup>

Mr. Bresler arrived in Graaff-Reinet on February the 9th. 1796, but he was no more successful than Maynier. The burghers refused to acknowledge him, to listen to him or to take the oath of allegiance, and on the 25th. of March he left Graaff-Reinet and arrived in Cape Town on the 19th, of April.<sup>2.</sup>

Whatever hope the malcontents may have had of support from Holland was crushed when on August the 19th, nine Dutch men-of-war were forced to surrender in Saldanha Bay.<sup>3</sup> On the 6th. of September Major King left for the frontier with orders to "impress the people with terror."<sup>4</sup> On the 8th. however, a deputation from Graaff-Reinet arrived in Cape Town offering submission, consequently the troops were immediately recalled.<sup>5.</sup> This had been the result of a meeting held on the 22nd of August when it was decided to submit to the English.<sup>6.</sup> The farmers of the Zuurveld, Boschberg and Bruintjes were not included in this petition, but they signified their submission on the 12th of November. At the same time they asked for permission to undertake aggressive measures against the Kaffirs,<sup>7</sup> but Craig would not grant this request.<sup>8.</sup>

7 f General Craig was relieved on May the 4th. 1796, by Lord Macartney. He ordered Bresler to resume his position at Graaff-Reinet and to report on the situation. Bresler was accompanied to the frontier by Mr. John Barrow (private secretary to Macartney)<sup>9.</sup> Uncertain of their

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1. Rec. C.C. 1. p.235.  
2. ibid. p.368. Dists in Int.of Col. 1795-1802. p.p. 22,31.  
3. ibid. p.433.  
4. ibid. p.453.  
5. ibid. p.459.  
6. Mins.of B of L & H. 110.  
7. Rec. C.C, 1. p.478.  
8. Rec. C.C. 1. p.502.  
9. Vide supra p.s

reception, the party was strengthened by twelve dragoons,<sup>1.</sup> who were to remain at the drostdy as a garrison. All was quiet however and Mr. Brèsler assumed office without any difficulty.

It became obvious that the British intended adopting the same pacific policy as pursued by the Company. Brèsler was instructed to induce the Kaffirs by friendly means to retire and the burghers were warned against committing any acts of hostility against the Kaffirs.<sup>2.</sup> Later also, the employment of "gentle methods" was advised and the endeavour in a conciliatory manner to persuade the Kaffirs to retreat into their own country" was recommended.<sup>3.</sup> In May 1798, a severe reproof was administered to the landdrost and heemraden for using force against the Bushmen.<sup>4.</sup>

It seemed to the burghers as if the new Government were no better than the old. Macartney was, however, a strict ruler, and they did not dare to make their dissatisfaction audible while he was at the head of affairs. In 1799, however, the stern Macartney left, the garrison was much reduced, ~~and~~ in order to strengthen the forces in India in view of Napoleon's Eastern ambitions,<sup>and</sup> many of the naval and military stores at Cape Town were destroyed by fire. The burghers of Graaff-Reinet thought this a good opportunity to raise the standard of revolt. Matters were brought to a head by the arrest of A. van Jaareveld for forging a receipt. Marthinus Prinsloo of the Boschberg, with about 40 other burghers rescued him as he was being taken to Cape Town and then blockaded the drostdy. Being assured by Coenraad Buys of the help of the Kaffirs and hoping the rising would become widespread, the rebels were encouraged to dictate terms to the Government, which included a pardon for van Jaareveld and many privileges for themselves. Dundas, however immediately sent General Vandeleur to Graaff-Reinet with a

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1. Rec. C.C. 11. p.113.

2. Letts. Desp. within Col. Mar. 1797. Jan 1798. p.115.

3. ibid. Jan. 1798 - Jan.1799. p.25.

4. ibid.

detachment of dragoons, while the Hottentot corps and infantry followed by sea. On the arrival of the troops in Graaff-Reinet about a hundred Hottentot servants deserted their masters and joined the Hottentot corps. The rising was easily suppressed, for the expected aid did not materialize. Van Jaarsveld was arrested and a few days later Prinsloo surrendered with over one hundred followers. Twenty prisoners were despatched to the Castle, including van Jaarsveld and his son.<sup>1.</sup>

While General Vandeleur was putting down the insurrection, Ndlambe, who two years previously had become a prisoner of Gaika, managed to effect his escape and crossed the Fish River accompanied by many followers. When General Vandeleur had settled the insurgents, he had to make his way to Algoa Bay through the very country they had overrun and reached his camp only with serious loss. Then when he attempted to disarm the Hottentot volunteers who had joined the Pandours, many of them, taking alarm, joined the Kaffirs who were only too willing to receive volunteers especially as they had firearms.<sup>2.</sup> News reached the landdrost of murders and thefts committed in various parts of the district.<sup>3.</sup> Panic ensued and the farmers hurriedly abandoned their homes.<sup>4.</sup> The Kaffirs and Hottentots plundered and destroyed as far as the present district of Oudtshoorn. By August the 3rd., there were only two families on the east side of the Gamtoos River.

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1. They were later sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. van Jaarsveld died in captivity; the rest were released in 1803.
  2. Corp. p.p. 87, 88, 90.
  3. Dists. in Int. of Col. 1795-1802. p.297.
  4. Ibid. p. 307.



On August the 10th. General Vandeleur's camp at Ferreira's farm was attacked and sheep and calves were captured, The enemy was pursued, however, many of them were killed, and nearly all the live-stock was recaptured.<sup>1.</sup>

Meanwhile General Dundas, the acting Governor had received reports of what was happening on the frontier, He directed that the friendship of the Kaffirs should be acquired and that they should be induced to return by the offer of presents.<sup>2</sup> When these attempts at conciliation bore no fruit, he despatched the light company of the 61st. Regiment and 50 dragoons, and on the next day (August the 7th.) himself set off for the frontier.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. Cory. 1. p. 92.

2. Rec. C.C. 111. p. 51.

3. Rec. C.C. 11. p. 483. Rec. C.C. 111. p. 52.

CHAPTER V.

MAYNIER ASSISTS DUNDAS AND BECOMES COMMISSIONER.

When Dundas reached Swellendam on August the 10th. he summoned Maynier, who was at his farm, Bargher's Post, near Wynberg, to come to Swellendam as speedily as possible and proceed with him to the frontier for the purpose of assisting in establishing peace there.<sup>1.</sup>

Dundas knew Maynier had been landdrost of Graaff-Reinet and that he was thus acquainted with the inhabitants and local circumstances.<sup>2.</sup> It was also thought that Maynier had considerable influence with the Hottentots and Kaffirs. Maynier obeyed the summons immediately; he left the Cape on August the 15th, and arrived at Swellendam on the 16th.<sup>3.</sup>

When Maynier and Dundas arrived near the frontier they found that the Hottentots and Kaffirs had possessed themselves of the countryside and that the farmers, panic-stricken, were fleeing for their lives. As the numbers of the Hottentots and the Kaffirs were considerable, General Dundas decided that they could not be attacked with any hope of success and therefore decided to treat with them.<sup>4.</sup>

Maynier showed considerable bravery in going unarmed to the kraal of the Kaffirs and Hottentots between the Bosjesman's and Zondags rivers where the whole confederacy had gathered.<sup>5.</sup> Peace was arranged with them on the understanding that the government would protect them against ill treatment by the Boers.<sup>6.</sup> Yet the Kaffirs were allowed to remain in possession of the Zuurveld.

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1. Dists. in Int. 1795-1802. p.313. Judicial Papers 1802. No 3.
  2. Judicial Papers 1802. No. 3.
  3. Rec. C.C. IV. p.290.
  4. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p. 291, 292.
  5. Rec. C.C. III. p.53; Rec. C.C. IV. p.292.
  6. Rec. C.C. IV. p.292. Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3, 18.

When Maynier and Dundas arrived back at Graaff-Reinet, they found that the landdrost Bresler was accused by the Burghers of having instigated the Kaffirs and Hottentots against the Europeans, and of having caused the murder of the families Scheepers and Strydom. The General did not, however, attach much importance to these accusations, "they being of that kind as had almost become a privilege<sup>1.</sup> at Graaff-Reinet to vent against the landdrosts".

An attack by Gaika under the direction of Coenraad Buys was threatening, and so Maynier accompanied by a Mr. Somerville, went to Gaika and persuaded him to observe peace.<sup>2.</sup> It afterwards transpired that on this occasion they were nearly murdered by Gaika at the instigation of Buys and others.<sup>3.</sup>

The Government was grateful to Maynier for his services in settling affairs on the frontier, and in a letter of the 29th. of October 1799, Dundas informed the members and President of the Court of Justice that he had appointed Mr. Maynier to fill the vacancy left by the retirement of Mr. H. T. de Wet, as "a reward for the very meritorious public services of Mr. Maynier", who upon his return to the Cape would take his seat.<sup>4.</sup> Dundas at the same time and for the same reason, also appointed Maynier Book-and Pawn-keeper to the Lombard Bank in the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Osterzee.<sup>5.</sup>

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.293.
  2. Rec. C.C. IV. p.293. Judicial Papers 1802, Nos 3, 26.
  3. Rec. C.C. III. p.213.
  4. Letts. Desp. within Col. July 1799 - Dec.1800. p.140.
  5. do. p.142.

When it became necessary for Dundas to return to the Cape, he decided that, as the disturbances had been settled largely through Maynier's exertions, Maynier should remain in the district in order to carry out further arrangements for the tranquillity of the district.<sup>1.</sup> Consequently on the 25th. of December 1799, Maynier was appointed "Resident Commissioner and Superintendent of Public Affairs" within the districts of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet, "with power and authority to issue such orders and directions as may appear requisite for the good government of the said districts and for the proper administration of Justice therein, and all persons Civil and Military----- are hereby required severally and respectively to obey the said Maynier, whose orders shall be of the same validity or force as those issued by the Lieutenant-Governor himself".<sup>2.</sup>

Maynier was at first loath to assume office, but eventually thought it his duty not to refuse, especially as Dundas insisted that it would be for only a few months.<sup>3.</sup> His appointment as Commissioner was subsequently confirmed by Sir George Young<sup>4.</sup> the Governor.

Dundas wrote to tell him of this, and added, "You have therefore only to pursue our objects and carry into effect the wise and salutary regulations relative to the Caffres, Hottentots and other inhabitants".<sup>5.</sup>

What were these regulations which Maynier was instructed to carry out? It has already been seen that the Policy of the Government was to win the friendship of

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.293; Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3, 30.
  2. Rec. C.C. III. p.p. 3 and 4.
  3. Rec. C.C. IV. p.293; Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3, 32.
  4. Rec. C.C. III. p.p. 8, 9.
  5. Rec. C.C. No. 50 of 1835, p.31.

the Kaffire and only as a last resort to use force against them. Maynier was told to endeavour to convince the Hottentots and Kaffire of the amicable intentions of the British Government. As it was believed that the origin of most of the trouble with the Hottentots lay in their ill-treatment by the boers, Maynier was instructed to keep at the Drostdy a register of all the Hottentots, men, women and children, employed by the farmers. The names of the parties, age, conditions and terms of service were to be entered therein, and Maynier was instructed not to suffer with impunity any of the usual acts of violence of the farmers towards the Hottentots. As many as possible of the runaway Hottentots were to be persuaded to return to service under the protection of the register. Certain Hottentot Captains for whom it was not safe to return to the farmers, were to have unoccupied lands assigned to them, and were at the outset to be supplied with such articles as they needed, so that they could provide for themselves in the future.

The Kaffire on this side of the Fish River were to be allowed to remain at their Kraals on the banks of the Sundays and Bosjesmans Rivers, provided they did not molest the boers dwelling in their neighbourhood. The nine or ten disaffected boer families still residing with Gaika were to be induced to return to the Colony by the grant of a free pardon, but on condition that they renewed the oath of allegiance.<sup>1.</sup>

Maynier was instructed to make a list of all the people who had suffered in the depredations and it was hoped that some method would be devised of affording them relief.

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1. Rec. C.C. 111. p.p. 53, 54.

About 9,000 Rixdollars, collected as a fine from those concerned in the rescue of van Jaarsveld, was appropriated as a fund to enable Maynier to grant pecuniary compensation to those most afflicted. Dundas considered it essential that peace with the natives should be maintained, and considered "their friendship to be above all things at present the true interest of the British Government". He was wise enough to realise that, considering the turbulent conditions in the district, it was essential for the magistrate to have some sort of force with which to maintain his authority, and therefore he established a military station at Fort Frederick in Algoa Bay with a garrison of 300 men under the command of a Field-Officer whose orders were to assist Maynier and to co-operate with him.<sup>1</sup> But Fort Frederick was about 190 miles or nine days march from the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet, and therefore the force stationed there could not be of any assistance to the landdrost in the case of an emergency. The districts were really too large and the population too scattered for effective government. In Graaff-Reinet there was the added difficulty of a long unguarded frontier-line which had to be controlled. Had it been possible at this stage, to carry out the suggestion made by Sir George Yong, the Governor, that the districts should be subdivided, more magistracies created and circuit courts established,<sup>2</sup> the difficulties of the landdrost would have been considerably lessened.

In January 1800, Dundas returned to Cape Town.<sup>3</sup> Maynier had now to endeavour to carry out his instructions. He found himself in a situation beset by many difficulties. He was conscious of the personal hostility of a large section  
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1. Rec. C.C. 111. p.p. 55, 56; Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3 and 36.
  2. Rec. C.C. 111. p. 90.
  3. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 294.

of the burgher population whose views on the native question were not at all coincident with the policy it was his duty to carry out. The arrangements made with the Kaffirs could not be considered a permanent peace as the two sections under Gaika and Ndlambe remained hostile to each other and there was every possibility of further disturbances. Besides this Maynier had before him the difficult task of attempting to appease and conciliate the alarmed Hottentots and persuade them to re-enter the service of the Boers. To add to the troubles of the district, towards the close of 1799 huge swarms of locusts made their appearance and ate off every green thing.<sup>1.</sup>

The only consolation that Maynier had was the assurance of Dundas that he would not have to remain in this difficult position for more than two or three months.<sup>2.</sup>

He at once set about persuading the Hottentots to re-enter the service of the boers and was successful to a large extent. The contracts for service were carefully entered in a register as instructed,<sup>3.</sup> and Maynier had the satisfaction of knowing that his work in this direction met with the warmest approval of the government.<sup>4.</sup>

Unfortunately just at this time Maynier's health began to trouble him,<sup>5.</sup> and in a letter to Dundas on the 26th. of March 1800, he reported the continuance of his illness. His work at Graaff-Reinet had mainly been to conciliate all parties and with the idea of furthering this object he suggested the liberation of the Graaff-Reinet prisoners in the Castle ( who had been taken in the van Jaarsveld affair) on condition that the good behaviour of

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1. Theal 11. p. 76,
  2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 294.
  3. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 294.
  4. No. 50 of 1835, p. 32, 27. 2. 1800.
  5. Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3, 34.

their friends at Graaff-Reinet was guaranteed. He stated that the fund put at his disposal for relieving the distress had been put to good use, and the people were grateful.<sup>1.</sup>

The Europeans who continued to live among the Kaffirs caused a great deal of trouble, as they were frequently found to be the originators of rumours of projected attacks by the kaffirs and other falsities which only served to alarm and unsettle the burghers.<sup>2.</sup> Maynier had hoped that this difficulty would soon be solved, for he had been approached by Kruger, (one of the men who had deserted to Gaika) who had told him that they all wished to leave Gaika, but that he would not let them go, and that Buys also was no longer friendly with Gaika and also wanted to leave. Maynier told him very severely that they had brought these difficulties on themselves, but eventually consented to give him some buttons and corals with which he hoped to satisfy Gaika and obtain from him permission to leave.<sup>3.</sup> The matter, however, went no further.

Owing to the ill state of Maynier's health, Sir George Yonge, appointed Mr. Somerville to proceed to Graaff-Reinet to act as Assistant Commissioner.<sup>4.</sup> Maynier received at this time further assurances from the Government that his work continued to meet with their highest approval.<sup>5.</sup>

Soon after the arrival of Somerville, Buys and his associates in Kaffirland began again to prove troublesome. A conspiracy was framed with Gaika to attack

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1. Rec. C.C. 111. p.p. 108-110.
  2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 295.
  3. Rec. C.C. 111. p.p. 111-112.
  4. Rec. C.C. 111. p. 89.
  5. No. 50. of 1835, p. 33.; 24-4-1800.



the Drostdy and carry the two Commissioners off to Kaffirland as prisoners. The expedition advanced as far as the Baviaans River, but was there driven back by the Chief Oungwa, who said he did not want the peace to be disturbed. Maynier sent a message to Gaika to complain of the action of these subjects of his and wished to be assured of Gaika's friendship. He received back the alarming answer from Gaika that he would not enter into any agreement except through the mediation of Buys, and that the only condition on which he would agree to remain friendly was the immediate release of the prisoners in the Castle whom he considered his allies. He crushed any hopes the Commissioners might have had of buying his friendship by assuring them that he would accept no presents. It was obvious that this reply had been dictated by Buys.

The Commissioners immediately collected forces in readiness for any hostile move on the part of the Kaffirs. One of the fugitive rebels, Christoffel Botha, was taken prisoner and conveyed to Graaff-Reinet. He confessed that the object of the expedition had been to drive the English out of the country. No secret had been made of their plans and in the event of success Buys was to have been made sovereign. Their intention had been to carry the two Commissioners into Kaffirland and there treat them exactly the same as the English should treat the Boer prisoners in the Castle.<sup>1.</sup>

On this occasion although Maynier was ill, he caused himself to be placed in a waggon and journeyed to Tarka to calm by his presence the fears of the inhabitants.<sup>2.</sup>

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1. Rec. C.C. 111. p.p. 212, 213.  
2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 296; Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 4; 19; 20.

I In January 1801, Maynier obtained leave to go to Cape Town, and hoped that he would then obtain his discharge from his unpleasant position, but flattered by the satisfaction with his work expressed by both Yonge and Dundas, he consented to remain in office until such time as arrangements could be made for someone to replace him. He consequently arrived a second time in Graaff-Reinet in the month of March.<sup>1.</sup> Mr. Somerville obtained leave of absence and left in April.<sup>2.</sup>

On May the 15th, the missionary, Dr. van der Kemp, who had been doing some work among Gaika's people, arrived in Graaff-Reinet. He was received by Maynier with "uncommon civilities", and found there two new colleagues, Messrs. Vanderlingen and Read.<sup>3.</sup> They started work among the Hottentots in the town, and Maynier gave them permission to use the church every evening for instructing the Hottentots.<sup>4.</sup> This displeased the church members very much.

Maynier was much impressed by the usefulness of the Hottentots in the Commandos of the Boers against the natives, and by their faithfulness in protecting the cattle of the farmers, especially in the Sneeuwberg area, from the attacks of the Bushmen. He was of the opinion that the peace of the district could be effectually preserved, and the more remote farms protected from the attacks of vagabond Kaffirs and Hottentots, by a band of about 400 trusty Hottentots placed under his control. He considered that such a force could be maintained at small cost to the Government, as in their spare time the Hottentots could cultivate the soil and thus be largely self-supporting.

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 296.
  2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 297.
  3. Dr. Vanderkemp, Martin; p. 9, 102.
  4. Ibid. p. 9, 103, 104.

of the C.C. IV.  
later on. ✓

Although Maynier several times expressed his opinion on this matter and the government lent an attentive ear,<sup>1.</sup> nothing was done about it. It is impossible to estimate what effect such a force would have had on the history of the district, for it was later certainly found that the Hottentots could be a reinforcement to the colony, against the Kaffirs.<sup>2.</sup>

Towards the end of the month of May, a rumour suddenly spread throughout the district that the Government intended capturing the inhabitants, and impressing them as soldiers or sailors, that no-one would be exempt except the old men, and that the landdrost had been instructed to carry out this plan on the occasion of the annual "opgaaf" on the 15th. of June.<sup>3.</sup>

Knowing the easy credulity of the burghers, Maynier tried to find the originator of this absurd rumour, and at the same time used every means in his power to contradict it and expose its absurdity.<sup>4.</sup> He was surprised to hear from the Field-Cornet, van Elerck, of the Melkrivier district, and Gert Coetzee, who arrived at Graaff-Reinet on the 6th. of June, that all the inhabitants of Bruintjies Hoogte, and a number of those of the Vogel and Plat River areas, had suddenly left their dwellings and had all assembled at Zwagershoek.<sup>5.</sup> Maynier immediately sent Jan Jacobs to ascertain the reasons for their sudden flight, and on the 9th. Jacobs returned with the news that the reason given by them was that they could no longer remain on their farms as they were continually being harassed by the Kaffirs. A certain Hendrik de Kock, had, however, told Jacobs privately, that the real reason for their flight was

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. pp. 62, 306; Judicial Papers 1802, Nos. 3, 45, 48; No. 50 of 1835, p. 33. 6-7-1800.
  2. Walker, Hist. of S.A. p. 141.
  3. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p. 26, 59-60, 297.
  4. do. p.p. 26, 297.
  5. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p. 26, 297.

the above-mentioned rumour. Maynier immediately published a proclamation which was circulated in all the districts and which proved so effective that the inhabitants of the Rhenosterberg, Sneeuwberg, Camdebo, Sundays River, Vogel and Melkivers and the Swart Ruggens, realizing their error, came without fear to the "opgaaf" at the prescribed time and all renewed their oath of allegiance with perfect willingness. 1.

On the 3rd. of July, two Hottentots from the neighbourhood of Tarka came to inform Maynier that a considerable number of Boers had left Tarka to attack Graaff-Reinet, and that this troop had already arrived at Spitzkop, about eight hours on horseback from Graaff-Reinet. Maynier received the news calmly, and without interrupting the "opgaaf" quietly awaited developments. He realised, however, that there was cause for real alarm when he found out that the insurgents had invited the co-operation of the Sneeuwberg farmers. 2.

To avoid all panic Maynier called together all the inhabitants and explained the situation to them. He stated that he would ask for no assistance, but many volunteers immediately came forward.

The heemraden Smith and Liebenberg and the deacon Marais, on their own responsibility, tried to dissuade the insurgents from causing trouble. They came back with the news that the aggressors could not be persuaded to disband, & that they numbered at least four hundred, and that Buys with thousands of Kaffirs as well as Tjaart van der Walt with a great number of men from Swellendam, intended joining them. Maynier endeavoured to preserve every appearance of calmness at the receipt of this news. Van der Walt and subsequently two other leaders, Hendrik van Rensburg and Piet Erasmus, -communicated -

1. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 27.
2. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 28.
- 3.

communicated with Maynier and told him that the reason for the rising was the rumour of being pressed by the government into the army and navy.<sup>1.</sup>

The next day about two hundred burghers appeared on the slopes around Graaff Reinet. Maynier prepared for hostilities, but on receiving reassuring messages as to the intentions of the Government, the insurgents withdrew. Their suspicions not being altogether dispersed, however, they remained collected in large numbers behind the Bamboesberg.<sup>2.</sup>

On Manday the 13th, they reappeared and made various requests such as that certain Hottentots who had committed a murder and had fled to the Drostdy for protection should be handed over, also that the Hottentots should no longer be allowed to use the church.<sup>3.</sup> Maynier promised to bring the Hottentots to justice, but refused to hand them over to their accusers. Vanderkemp agreed to hold his services elsewhere.<sup>4.</sup> Other requests, such as <sup>permission</sup> to go on Commando against the Kaffirs and Hottentots, Maynier would not grant. He said he had never yet refused permission nor ammunition for a Commando against wandering and thieving Hottentots and Kaffirs, but he would not allow wanton attacks on Hottentot and Kaffir kraals.<sup>5.</sup>

Maynier deprecated the idea of any movement of troops against the assembled insurgents as he considered it would only alarm them unduly, whereas if left alone he considered they would soon disperse.<sup>6.</sup>

Meanwhile several Hottentots, alarmed by the disturbances and by the rumours that after the Drostdy had  
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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p. 27, 28.
  2. Ibid. p.p. 53, 60, 80.
  3. Ibid. p. 31.
  4. Dr. Vanderkemp, Martin. p. 104.
  5. Reg. C.C. IV. p.p. 54, 298; Judicial Papers M802, Nos. 4, 29.
  6. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p. 54, 60.

been subdued they would be ~~next~~ attacked, deserted their masters and fled to the Drostdy for protection which Maynier felt it imprudent to refuse as they might then band themselves together and commit the same depredations as in 1799.<sup>1.</sup> They submitted themselves to his authority and he considered that their behaviour<sup>2.</sup> was without reproach.

This action of Maynier's, however, further angered the Boers, and although Maynier had warned van Rensburg that if he and his men made another attack on the Drostdy they would be fired on, on October the 23rd. they surrounded the Drostdy, threatening that if the Hottentots were not delivered up they would destroy them there. Maynier immediately gave his men the necessary orders to fire. van Rensburg and his party returned the fire, and it lasted all day, until at length the insurgents retired to their camp, no-one having been hurt on either side.<sup>3.</sup> The district was therefore again in such a state of disturbance as only the appearance of troops from Fort Frederick could settle.

On November the 27th, a detachment of troops despatched from Cape Town under the command of Major Sherlock also arrived at Graaff-Reinet. He found that the garrison had been four days without bread,<sup>4.</sup> and blamed Maynier for this, and also for the halfstarved condition of the Hottentots,<sup>5</sup> but this was hardly a just accusation as the town had been practically in a state of siege.

On November the 29th, Major Sherlock issued a proclamation offering the insurgents a free and full pardon and protection on condition that they returned to their allegiance to the British Government, and invited them to make him -acquainted-

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 298.
  2. Ibid. p. 299.
  3. Ibid. p. 299.
  4. Ibid. p. 98.
  5. Ibid. p. 100.

acquainted with their grievances, for which he promised redress.<sup>1.</sup> A copy of this was sent to the camp.

Soon after it had been sent, Piet Erasmus and Jacobus A. Kruger approached the Major and stated that they wished to return to their allegiance, that they had no complaint against the Government, but many complaints against Maynier, which they were prepared to verify on oath, and presented to the Major a list of their grievances which they had already forwarded to the Government, but which they feared had never reached its destination for they had received no acknowledgement of its receipt. Having done this the malcontents appeared to be satisfied and subsequently dispersed.<sup>2.</sup>

The Government had indeed already received petitions of complaint against Maynier. Some burghers accused him of being responsible for the murder of an old farmer Naudé and his wife who had been brutally murdered on November the 6th, on their farm about twelve miles from Graaff-Reinet. The grounds for this accusation were that footprints had led from the Drostdy to the scene of the murder. They also considered that he was behind the various cattle thefts which had taken place and blamed him for the desertion of their Hottentot servants who had gone to the Drostdy.<sup>3.</sup>

A memorial from the residents of the Camdebo had also been received stating that they had abandoned their farms owing to the natives, for they had become afraid even to go out and water their crops, "and we leave it therefore to His Excellency's wise judgment -----whether the whole colony will not be ruined through the abominable actions of  
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1. Rec. C. C. IV. p. 97.

2. Ibid. p. 99.

3. Dists. in Int. of Col. 1795 - 1802, p. 717.

the Commissary Maynier which are contending with the fundamental laws of the Government".<sup>1.</sup>

A similar petition had also been received from the inhabitants of the Sneeuwberg, Gouph and Nieuwveld.<sup>2.</sup>

*Yn die*  
wrote to the Government describing the desperate state of the farmers. He stated that Graaff-Reinet had virtually become a Hottentot kraal. Damage had been done by the Hottentots to the gardens and property of the inhabitants, yet no satisfaction could be obtained from the Commissary. (This was at variance with Maynier's statement as to the good behaviour of the Hottentots).<sup>3.</sup> "Neither in the village nor without is there anyone who speaks well of Manyier". Rumours had been spread, and credence was given to them by the assembling of Hottentots, that the inhabitants were to be transported and their wives given to the natives. Maynier was also blamed for this.<sup>4.</sup> The easy credulity of these people is only equalled by the quickness with which they laid every calamity or rumour at the door of Maynier.

The Government ordered Maynier to come to Cape Town immediately,<sup>5.</sup> and he, still entirely unsuspecting of the displeasure of the Government, left Graaff-Reinet with his family on the 3rd. of December,<sup>6.</sup> and reached Cape Town thirty days later.<sup>6.</sup>

Meanwhile Bresler was to continue to act as landdrost, obeying the commands of Major Sherlock who was given chief military command and the position of Commissioner.<sup>7.</sup>

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1. Dists. in Int. of Col. 1795-1802, p.p. 9, 725.
  2. Letts. desp. within Col. Jan. 1801-Mar. 1802. p. 315.
  3. *Rec. C.C. IV, pp. 299, 307.*
  4. Dists. in Int. of Col. 1795-1802, p. 725.
  5. *Rec. C.C. IV. p. 300.*
  6. Dists. in Int. of Col. 1795-1802, p. 725.
  7. Letts. Desp. within Co. Jan. 1801-Mar. 1802. p. 348.



Bresler was asked to submit in a report signed by the landdrost and heemraden every "authenticated substantial charge" against Maynier, also to order up to Cape Town any essential personal evidences of facts relative to the late administration. He was to consult with Major Sherlock as to the persons and documents proper to be sent up. The receipt of various memorials was acknowledged, "teeming with complaints against Maynier, which shall be investigated, although some appear to confute themselves and to be founded on the simple conjecture of a people incensed and irritated".<sup>1.</sup>

In a letter to the Reverend Vos, Dundas stated that he had the highest confidence in Maynier. If this had been abused Maynier would answer for the consequences. He stated that however much the powers and authority of the Magistrate might have been improperly exerted, it must be admitted that the people had greatly contributed to their own calamities. He deplored especially the hostility between the farmers and the Hottentots ---"a peaceful and quiet people" who had so long been "shamefully and cruelly abused" that they had taken advantage of the perturbed state of the district to seek vengeance. Dundas requested the Reverend Vos to "impress the minds of the Christian inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet with a due sense of their duty to God and man."<sup>2.</sup>

Bresler was instructed to proceed to Cape Town if possible, to give evidence in the investigation of Maynier's administration.<sup>3.</sup>

On the 6th. January, 1802, the Court of Justice was informed that as it was the Governor's intention to institute an enquiry into the administration of Maynier, he would not be  
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1. Letts. Desp. within Col, Jan. 1801-Mar. 1802, p. 374.  
2. Ibid. p. 375.  
3. Ibid. p. 423.

permitted to take his seat as a member until his name had  
been entirely cleared.<sup>1.</sup>

Two heemraden, Liebenberg and Smit, were deputed  
to gather convincing evidence against the conduct of Maynier<sup>2.</sup>  
and completed their work on the 9th. of January.

On the 4th. of February 1802, Lt. Col. Dickens,  
A. Maxwell and C. Matthiessen were instructed to form them-  
selves into a commission to investigate the charges against  
Maynier,<sup>3.</sup> and on the 5th. of February, R. Dozy (Secretary to  
the Commission) forwarded to Maynier, as instructed by the  
Commission, a translated copy of the seven points of  
accusation against him.<sup>4.</sup>

In the course of the investigations Dundas  
reiterated of what great assistance Maynier had been when he  
accompanied him to Graaff-Reinet in 1799, and how through  
his exertions peace had been restored.<sup>5.</sup>

In April Maynier wrote to the Commission that as  
its work was nearly completed and he had not interfered with  
it at all, he had presumed to send to it a provisional  
justification of the charges preferred against him, which he  
hoped would be enclosed in the report to the Governor. He  
felt that any man of honour would appreciate his desire to  
have the whole affair speedily concluded.<sup>6.</sup>

His defence was masterly and clear, and he very  
ably and methodically refuted every charge brought against  
him.<sup>7.</sup> Two of the charges were obviously made by the British  
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1. Letts. Desp. within Col. Jan. 1801 - Mar. 1802, p.390.
  2. Mins. of B. of L.&H. 170.
  3. Letts. Desp. within Col. Jan. 1801 - Mar. 1802, p.439.
  4. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 301.
  5. Judicial Papers 1802 ; No. 3.
  6. Ibid. No. 4.
  7. Rec. C.C. IV. p.p.302-329.

officers-- that he had delayed to acquaint the Government of the turbulent state of the district, and that he had sent emissaries among the Hottentots to dissuade them from entering the British service. Maynier was able to prove easily that he had communicated with the Government at the earliest opportunity, and that the Hottentots had denied in public and in the presence of Major Sherlock and others that he had ever told them not to take service with the British and 147 had immediately enlisted.<sup>1.</sup>

Judging from their nature, the other five charges must have been compiled by the burgher commission.<sup>2.</sup>

He was charged with selling to the Commissary, for the troops, cattle which he had bartered from the Hottentots and Kaffirs for a few trifles, or which had belonged to the Hottentots. Maynier was able to refute this by the statement that he had never bought a single head of cattle from any Hottentot until the so-called siege of the Drostdy (October the 23rd.),<sup>3.</sup> when he had been compelled to do so by the failure of supplies, and in any case he had given a good price for the cattle he had then taken over. He had also never sold cattle to the Commissary until just before his departure, and these undoubtably were his own.

He was also charged with retaining the money raised from the inhabitants as an assessment for the repair of the streets of the capital and which had been committed to his care for the purpose of paying it over to the Burgher Senate. In answering this charge Maynier stated that he had applied to Sir George Yonge for the remission of this tax in Graaff-Reinet in view of the extraordinary - distress -

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.99.  
2. Letts. Desp. within Col., Jan.1801 - Mar.1802. p.443.  
3. Rec. C.C. IV. p.309.

distress in the district, and pending his reply had entrusted the money to Mr. Truter (Secretary to the Court of Justice) as he considered that once it had been paid to the Burgher Senate it might be difficult to recover it.<sup>1.</sup>

He was charged with various acts of oppression, such as levying a monthly game tax of his own framing. ✓ Maynier showed that he informed Sir George Yonge that he and Somerville had decided to impose a charge of 2/- for a hunting licence, and the Governor had signified no disapproval. The licences issued were duly registered and the money properly paid into the district funds.<sup>2.</sup>

✓ Maynier was also charged with preventing the inhabitants from taking steps to recover cattle stolen from them by the Hottentots and Kaffirs; to this charge Maynier replied that he had only forbidden wanton expeditions and had always encouraged the pursuit and destruction of thieving Hottentots and Kaffirs,<sup>3.</sup> and no one had ever been reprimanded by him for this. On the contrary during the sieges, when some vagabond Hottentots and Kaffirs had stolen some cattle from certain burghers, he had himself taken measures to recover the cattle from them and when some had remained unclaimed by the burghers and had consequently been sold, he had made arrangements so that if the burghers to whom the cattle had belonged came forward at any time, they would be recompensed for the cattle.<sup>4.</sup>

✓ He was also charged with breaking his promise to the Boers, but Maynier reminded them that he had promised them gunpowder and ammunition only on condition that they returned to their loan places. When this was not done and the ammunition was demanded, he refused their

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.312.  
2. ibid. p.316.  
3. ibid. p.317.  
4. ibid. p.318.

request. They must have had enough ammunition to act  
defensively against the natives should it have been  
necessary to have done so, for soon afterwards, on the  
23rd. of October, they had fired on the Drostdy all day,  
thus they could only have needed the ammunition  
for offensive purposes.<sup>1.</sup>

The preposterous charge of the murder of Naudé  
was easily disposed of. Even Bresler had been accused  
of instigating the murder of the Scheepers family, and  
a similar charge was made against Dr. van der Kemp,  
which showed how prone the district was to these false  
and absurd rumours.<sup>2.</sup>

He was also accused of having delivered to the  
Boers a number of Hottentots who had fled to him for  
protection, fifteen of whom were immediately murdered  
by the Boers. Maynier replied that although frequently  
solicited to do so, he continually refused to hand over  
to the Boers the Hottentots who had fled to him for  
protection. During the siege, two Hottentots had indeed  
got out of the Drostdy and fallen into the hands of the  
Boers, who immediately killed them.<sup>3.</sup>

The last point of accusation was that Maynier had  
refused to bring to justice certain Hottentots who had  
been committed to his custody at the Drostdy and who were  
accused of murder. Maynier stated that these Hottentots  
were released because of the insufficiency of the evidence  
against them, but they were still at large in Graaff-Reinet

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.319.  
2. Rec. C.C. IV. p.321  
3. Rec. C.C. IV. p.323.

and if the authorities desired, the case against them could be re-opened.<sup>1.</sup>

The charges were shown to be shown as could easily be contradicted by facts, and any hopes his accusers may have had of at least finding him guilty of peculation were doomed to disappointment. His honesty and sincerity, is apparent and without a doubt. Every transaction could be fully explained and accounted for, and the elaborate measures which he took to ensure that the Boers should be compensated for the cattle he had recaptured from the thieving Hottentots and Kaffirs and which had not been claimed by them and which he was under the necessity of slaughtering, shows his conscientiousness and honesty.<sup>2.</sup>

*A good point* All the charges appear to have originated after July 1801. Up to this time Maynier had successfully persuaded most of the Hottentots to re-enter the service of the Boers, he had made satisfactory arrangements with both sections of the Kaffirs and had won over Gaika to place greater confidence in the Government and to distrust Buys whom Gaika subsequently expelled, but then the usual credulity of the Boers had prevailed and it was believed that Maynier was conciliating the Hottentots in order to use them against the Boers. Divisions and quarrels among the Europeans was the surest method of inviting trouble with the natives. Had the burghers supported Maynier, who, after all, was merely an official

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1. Rec. C.C. IV. p.323.  
2. ibid. p.318.

attempting to carry out the prescribed policy of the Government (which he was able to attempt in all sincerity as his views happened to be coincident) half the troubles of the district would have been averted. As Dundas remarked: It is impossible for "any Magistrate to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants when so constantly counteracted in all his endeavours to avert the fatal consequences that must result from the confusion brought on by a turbulent people."<sup>1.</sup>

On the 22nd. of June 1802, Messrs. Dickens, Maxwell and Matthiessen, reported to General Dundas that, having examined the evidence carefully, they are "unanimously agreed" that Maynier "is entirely innocent of all and everyone of the charges preferred against him, and that some of the evidences are such as to merit the most serious reprehension."<sup>2</sup>

On the 29th. Mr. Barnard forwarded this verdict to the President and members of the Court of Justice, and of the Burgher Senate, and added that it appeared from the report of the Commissioners that Maynier had discharged his duties to the best of his judgment and ability and had "shewn himself a faithful servant of the Government, conducting himself upon every occasion as an upright and honest man". He added further that Maynier was now permitted to take his seat on the Court of Justice from which he had been temporarily suspended pending investigations.<sup>3.</sup>

Maynier was subsequently awarded by General Dundas the sum of £1000 from the Colonial Treasury as compensation for his losses and expenses.<sup>4.</sup>

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1. Letts. Dssp. within Col. Jan. 1801 -Mar. 1802, p.394.  
2. Rec. C.C. IV. p.333.  
3. Rec. C.C. IV. p. 333, 334.  
4. Diary B.O. 57. p.313.

Maynier has so often been held responsible for all the blunders committed on the Eastern frontier.

The fact is often lost sight of that the policy pursued on the frontier was not of his own framing and that/<sup>as</sup> an official it was his duty merely to carry out his instructions. The fact that his personal views were coincident with these instructions made him the willing agent of both the Company and the British commanders, yet for all that, <sup>he</sup> was still merely an agent.

*Possibly*  
The hostility with which the burghers regarded an official, and how quick they were to give credence to absurd rumours and accusations is shown repeatedly in their attitude towards both Bresler and Maynier.

Harassed by their enemies and finding no active assistance forthcoming from the landdrost, they saw in him the beginning and end of all their woes. Petitions for his removal poured in, and he was blamed for every calamity which had befallen them, from the fact that they could no longer go out to water their crops to the rumour that their wives would be given to the natives. In none of the petitions did they suggest a change of policy on the part of the Government, rather did they offer repeated assurances of their continued loyalty, but all they prayed for was the removal of Maynier.

He was indeed "marooned among the mud hovels of Graaff-Reinet;<sup>1</sup> without police, without adequate Courts of Law he was nevertheless expected to force on unwilling burghers a policy which was obviously distasteful to them. Had he not been honest, conscientious,

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1. Walker, Hist. of S.A. p. 136.



and determined to stand by what he believed to be the right, he might have connived at many an act of the burghers and thus retained their goodwill.

After Dundas had recalled Maynier he endeavoured to settle the trouble with the Hottentots in Graaff-Reinet by allowing Vanderkemp to form a temporary location on the Zwartkops River, thus recognizing that the root of the trouble with them lay in their lack of land. He then called out commandos to deal with the Hottentots and Xosas, who availing themselves of the disorder in the district were once more plundering right and left. Knowing that the Cape was soon to be restored to the Batavian Republic, Dundas himself hurried to the frontier as he was anxious to hand the Cape over in good order. He patched up things on the frontier by making all parties agree to observe peace, and the next day the Cape was formally handed over to the Batavian Authorities who brought with them new enthusiasm and new ideas to meet the old troubles.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Walker, Hist. of S.A. p. 139.

*Handwritten note:*  
I can't find any other  
reference to the fact that  
Walker's version differs from the  
original. I can't find any other  
reference to this matter.

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