Robert Ross is arguably the pre-eminent historian of South Africa's pre-industrial Cape . . . this illuminating collection is a highly pioneering study; there is really nothing like it in the field.

Bill Nasson, distinguished professor of history at the University of Stellenbosch

Ross allows indigenous inhabitants of the Cape to express their own voices in this book . . . he unearths material little known both to specialists and to the general public. It is not a mere 'collection of documents' but a powerful statement of the adaptation of indigenous thought and knowledge to colonialism.

Nigel Worden, professor in the Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town

The Khoesan were the first people in Africa to undergo the rigors of European colonization. By the early nineteenth century, they had largely been brought under colonial rule, dispossessed of their land and stock, and forced to work as laborers for farmers of European descent. Nevertheless, a portion of them were able to regain a degree of freedom and maintain their independence by taking refuge in the mission stations of the Western and Eastern Cape, most notably in the Kat River valley. Through petitions, speeches at meetings, letters to the newspapers and correspondence between themselves, the Cape Khoesan articulated a continuous critique of the oppressions of colonialism, always stressing the need for equality before the law, as well as their opposition to attempts to limit their freedom of movement through vagrancy legislation and related measures. This was accompanied by a well-grounded distrust of the British settlers in the Eastern Cape and a concomitant hope, rarely realized, in the benevolence of the British government in London. Comprising 98 texts, *These Oppressions Won't Cease* – an utterance expressed by Willem Uithaalder, commander of Khoe rebel forces in the war of 1850-53 – contains the essential documents of Khoesan political thought in the nineteenth century.

Robert Ross has retired as Professor of African History at Leiden University in the Netherlands. He is the author of numerous books on the history of southern Africa, notably the Cape Colony, including most recently *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829–1856* (2014).

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These Oppressions Won't Cease | ROBERT ROSS

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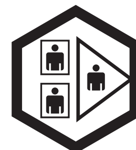

For John

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INTRODUCTION

This book contains ninety-eight longer or shorter texts in which individuals who would later be considered Khoesan gave their opinions on the political, social and ecclesiological events and proposals of largely the middle decades of the nineteenth century, from around 1828 to the 1860s, with outliers in both cases. This, then, is a continuation, or perhaps a reformulation, of work which I have conducted over the years, notably on the Griquas of Philippolis and the Kat River Settlement.[1]

Between them, I hope, these texts, properly understood, provide a window into the experience and understanding of European colonial suppression, which the Khoesan were the first people in Africa to undergo. Their reactions to the circumstances in which they found themselves, and which they attempted to forge to their own advantage, were of course highly specific. The conditions under which the Khoesan had to endure colonial conquest and subjugation were significantly different from those of other South African peoples. Nevertheless, these texts provide a commentary on colonial life which is at once unique in its detail and extent, at least for the period, and which also presented a model for later forms of African nationalism. This was devised, in part, on the basis of precolonial Khoesan ideas of worth and right, and so can form an example for those who still, or again, consider themselves to be of Khoesan descent. At the same time, the importance of the conversations between the Khoesan and the missionaries for the formulation of these texts cannot be overstated.

The backstory

Before the European conquest of South Africa, the south-western parts of the continent were inhabited by people who called themselves Khoekhoe and called those around them San. The distinction between the two was economic and, to some degree, linguistic. Neither group practised agriculture, except for some narcotics,[2] but the Khoekhoe had very considerable herds of sheep and cattle, while the San lived as hunter-gatherers and raiders. The wealth of some Khoekhoe formed the basis for political power, and as a result there were a number of long-lasting political groupings. Nevertheless, that power had to be continually demonstrated, and chiefs could lose their authority with their stock. The San called themselves by a variety of names: |Xam in the Karoo interior, Oeswana in and around the Sneeuberge, N||ŋ in the mountains

of Lesotho and the Eastern Cape, and undoubtedly several other ethnonyms in the mountains of the Western and Southern Cape, which have not been recorded.[3] There are occasional references to chiefs within the bands in the Eastern Cape, but in general they lived without formal political authority.[4]

What precisely the relationship was between the Khoekhoe and the various San groups has been a matter of historical controversy.[5] At times they were clearly antagonistic, as the San raided Khoekhoe cattle; at times the San acted more or less as clients of the Khoekhoe, though there is a fine distinction between clientelism and the extortion of protection money. Certainly there was, over the centuries, a fair degree of genetic flow between the two groups, and by the sixteenth century the Khoekhoe language in the Western Cape had absorbed a fair number of words from the Southern San languages, so that it had become a dialect recognisably distinct from that of the Nama of Namibia and the north-west of modern South Africa.[6] On the other hand, in the nineteenth century it was regularly commented that a particular individual was of San origin. As they both spoke languages whose most notable phonetic features were their clicks, and which were to some extent related, often in academic and other writing the two groups are considered together, under the portmanteau term 'Khoesan'.

However that may be, in the mid-seventeenth century there were stock-holding Khoekhoe to be found in all the better-watered areas around the coasts and into the mountains, from highland Namibia, through the shale plains of the Western Cape and along the southern rim of the continent up to the Fish River or slightly further, to the east of modern Port Elizabeth. In this region there was close interaction with the amaXhosa and abaThembu, the most south-westerly groups of those who practised mixed farming—both stock and agriculture—and spoke one of the Bantu languages. As between Khoekhoe and San, the boundary between the Khoekhoe and the amaXhosa was highly permeable. Individuals could assume an ethnic identity other than that into which they had been born, though this entailed not merely political submission to the new rulers, but also the adoption of the customs, economic practices and language of the host community. Probably it was easier for women to do so than for men.

Even though the land to the west of the Fish, and all the way to the Atlantic Ocean, has many regions of considerable fertility, these could not be exploited by the amaXhosa, because their staples, above all sorghum, only grow in areas of summer rainfall, while the Western Cape is above all a region where such rain as there is falls in the winter. Only with the introduction by Europeans of the Mediterranean complex of crops, notably wheat and grapes, could the inherent fertility of the area be exploited by agriculturists. This began to occur from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, after the foundation of the Cape Colony by the Dutch East India Company

(Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, usually known as the VOC). Initially, the European presence was limited to the immediate environs of Cape Town, but from the last decade of the century the colony began to expand, first across the plains and valleys between the sea and the mountains, and shortly afterwards deeper into the interior.

In the course of this, the Khoesan of what became the Cape Colony were the first substantial group of people in Africa to be subjected to the full rigours of European colonisation. From the foundation of the Cape Colony in the mid-seventeenth century, the process of colonial expansion steadily brought more and more of the Khoesan under the control of the VOC and the European settlers. By the end of the seventeenth century, those who had lived on the rich plains in the immediate environs of Cape Town had been largely impoverished and their grazing lands divided among European settlers.[7] This continued, ever further east, as the eighteenth century progressed. The Khoesan people were steadily dispossessed of their cattle, sheep and grazing land. The political organisation of at least those among them who had owned substantial flocks and herds was dependent on the wealth of the rulers. As a result, the rulers' authority could not survive the erosion of their wealth. Political will and capacity for extended resistance by Khoekhoe groups disappeared.

Through the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, the Khoesan lost their stock, their grazing land, and their access to the plants they foraged and the game they hunted. As the settlement of European farmers spread into the interior, there was literally no place left for independent Khoesan. There were four possible responses to this. The first was to move out of the colony, above all to the north, across the Gariep River, into what later became either Namibia or the Northern Cape and Free State provinces of South Africa. These people became known, in Namibia, as Oorlams or, further to the east, as the Griquas. From around 1800, they began to create small political centres, from which they were able to exploit the various Bantu-speaking groups to their north.[8]

Secondly, there were those Khoesan who accepted the protection, and in particular the suzerainty, of the Xhosa and Thembu chiefs, and were slowly absorbed into the mass of their subjects. There are still Xhosa clans that trace their descent back to Khoekhoe groups further east, notably the Inqua.[9] Indeed, through the nineteenth century those people who were known as Gonaqua (often called Gona) could make claims to be either Xhosa or Khoe as circumstances favoured them.

Thirdly, there were those who came to live as San hunter-gatherers, joining the groups who had long inhabited the marginal lands, in the mountains or deserts, where the pastoralists and agriculturists rarely came. These people were the target of a long genocidal campaign on the part of the European stock farmers and, for that matter, the Griquas to the north of the Gariep, because they were thought of as stock

thieves. At the same time it was these people who provided the greatest resistance against European expansion before 1800, driving the farmers out of wide stretches of the Cape interior during the 1770s. Eventually, what proved decisive was the material advantages of the Europeans—above all, horses and guns, but also, probably, greater staying power as a result of European agriculture, clothing (which made them able to sleep in the cold South African nights without lighting tell-tale fires) and, in general, ironwork. The San were in the end unable to survive the onslaught on their way of life.[10]

The fourth option entailed the loss of independence for the Khoesan who chose it, or were forced to do so. They were those who were incorporated into colonial society, in a dependent position, as farm labourers, shepherds and the like. In general this was a harsh life. It could be that the farmers reasoned they had nothing to lose by the systematic overexploitation of their Khoesan labourers. In contrast to the slaves, the Khoesan had not been bought, could not be sold, and their offspring had no particular value. In this sense, there was no brake on destructive violence. The testimony of those who survived is often harrowing.

The exploitation and denigration of the Cape Khoe were, however, not total. In the first place there were regular relationships between European men and Khoesan women, which is not surprising given the highly imbalanced sex ratio in the colony. In consequence, a group known as the Bastards—which in Dutch means half-caste before it means illegitimate—or Basters, came into being. Though not rich, certainly in comparison with their European relations, they were in general not as exploited as their Khoe colleagues, at least if their father recognised the children as his progeny.[11] In addition, there were those Khoekhoe who were seen as trusted allies of the farmers, both as herdsmen and as fellow combatants against the San. Thus, on the Great Commando of 1774, the largest single military force organised and sent out under VOC rule with the goal of reclaiming the central escarpment for European settlement, it was envisaged that a hundred Europeans and 150 Bastards and Khoekhoe would take part, and that it would be impracticable to proceed without the Khoekhoe, who 'are accustomed to the use of firearms and who can clamber into the mountains and there trace the robbers to their haunts'.[12] Just how far the Khoekhoe were trusted in these roles is impossible to say, but clearly there was a level of collaboration.

These four strategies corresponded to what were later thought of as discrete ethnic, even racial, identities: the Griquas, the amaXhosa, the San and the Khoekhoe, respectively. This was only partly the case. Identities were in constant flux. It was known, for instance, who was of San origin, but this did not prevent such individuals from being incorporated into the Griqua captaincies—Andries Waterboer, captain of Griquatown, is the clearest example,[13] though there were others—or in the Khoekhoe

settlement of the Kat River. Equally, there were many that had worked on the farms who found themselves among the raiders in the mountains, and who were known as San.[14] Ethnicity in this sense was generally fluid, as men and women adopted the behaviour appropriate to their position in the wider society, whatever their origin may have been.

In part this was a result of great linguistic fluidity. The languages of southern Africa are diverse, and it was not at all unusual for a single individual to be fluent in languages belonging to three distinct linguistic phyla—Khoisan (Cape Khoe), Niger-Congo (isiXhosa) and Indo-European (Dutch). Nevertheless, it is striking that the Khoekhoe languages of the Cape Colony disappeared so quickly. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, virtually all those of Khoekhoe descent had switched their speech to the creolised form of Dutch which was on its way to becoming Afrikaans. Cape Khoe, so far as can be ascertained, lost its last native speakers around the end of the nineteenth century—perhaps in 1894 with the deaths of James Read Junior and Andries Hatha, both of whom feature prominently in this book. It is a sign of the profound deracination which the Cape Khoekhoe underwent as they experienced colonial conquest.

Nevertheless, in the early part of the nineteenth century some of the Khoekhoe began to find their way out of the slough. This began with the so-called Servants' Revolt in Graaff-Reinet district, between 1799 and 1802, as Khoekhoe took advantage of the Xhosa attacks on the colony to desert the farms in some numbers, set up their own camps, and attempt to acquire their own land. The revolt was defeated, not by the farmers, but by the British Army (this occurred during the First British Occupation of the Cape), and many of the rebels fled. Andries Stoffels, for instance, who had fought alongside his *baas* during commandos against the San, and against the Boers during the revolt, moved into Xhosaland at the termination of the war; he would later return to live at Bethelsdorp and in the Kat River Settlement, and become one of the mission's most prized converts.[15] But though the suppression of the revolt by the British did smash the hopes of the Khoekhoe, it also saw the beginnings of the establishment of colonial state rule in the Eastern Cape. Eventually, colonial law courts were to reduce the level of naked violence which had been endemic in the region. The officials of the First British Occupation, the Batavian Republic and the Second British Occupation, which became permanent from 1806 onwards, were now those who held the full power of the state in their hands. It was not always as effective as people might have hoped, but it was far better than what had preceded it.

In the place of violence came a system of labour control based on what became known as the Caledon Code, after the British governor who promulgated it. This entailed that all work contracts had to be written in triplicate, and lodged with the magistrate, thus giving security to the employee, and that Khoekhoe on the road had

to be in possession of a pass, issued by their employer, in an attempt to suppress vagrancy and its accompanying vagabondage. Though well intentioned, and indeed lauded by officials as a relief from the lawless oppression which had preceded it,[16] the code provided landowners with the weapons they needed to immobilise their Khoekhoe labourers, and thus prevent the operation of a free market in labour. Employers could refuse to grant a pass, or they could arrest any Khoekhoe on the open road. In addition, they could pay their labourers in kind, in particular in stock, and then refuse to allow a departing family to take their earnings with them. The result was a Khoekhoe labour force tied as serfs to the farms on which they worked. This was exacerbated three years later when the new governor, Sir John Cradock, issued a proclamation regulating the process of 'apprenticeship' of children till the age of eighteen, leaving Khoekhoe parents with the choice between abandoning their children and remaining in the farmer's employ.[17]

There were, essentially, two ways in which the Khoekhoe could escape from the legal bonds in which they had been placed. The first was to join the army. Khoekhoe had been called up to defend Cape Town in the last years of VOC rule, and were sporadically used by the succeeding governments. After the Second British Occupation, a regular regiment was raised from among the Khoekhoe, with a nominal strength rising to 800 men, exclusive of the officers, who were all of European descent. Though exchanging the exploitation on the farms for the rigours of British Army discipline may not have always seemed like a good bargain, the Cape Regiment and its successors provided some of the Khoekhoe with a purpose and skills which enabled them to maintain an independence even after leaving military service.[18]

The second means of escape was through the missions. From 1792, the Moravians had been working as missionaries in the Cape Colony, and they were joined shortly thereafter by agents of the London Missionary Society (LMS). Between them they developed the idea of the mission station, a Christian village which could serve as a refuge from the world, and also provide its inhabitants with the paper protection they needed to move around the colony unmolested. There were not many mission stations founded. Before 1830, there were only Genadendal, Elim and Mamre in the Western Cape, and, to the east, Enon, under the control of the Moravians; Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey, Pacaltsdorp and Zuurbraak, plus a few short-lived stations among the San just south of the Gariep, under the LMS; and Zoar, under the South African Missionary Society. Nevertheless, it was above all here that the Khoekhoe began to come to terms with the new world in which they found themselves.[19]

At the same time, the missions were able to develop a considerable campaign in Britain, led by Dr John Philip, the superintendent of the LMS in South Africa, in which the shortcomings of the Caledon Code were exposed. There were also a few prominent individuals in the colony, notably Andries Stockenström, once a lieutenant

in the Cape Regiment, and later landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, who were appalled by some of the malpractices on many Cape farms. Their views came to the attention of the governor, then Sir Richard Bourke, an Irish landowner, who was probably the most liberal ruler the Cape Colony ever had.[20] As a result, measures were taken for the alleviation of Khoekhoe civil disabilities. In the Cape, Bourke issued Ordinance 50, which removed the special, and deleterious, position which Khoekhoe had occupied under the Caledon Code. In Britain, Parliament was persuaded to abolish all legal discrimination on the basis of race (but not, of course, on the basis of legal status such as slavery), entrenching this law so that the Cape could not pass legislation that might contradict it without permission from London, and extending this provision throughout the British Empire. For the Khoekhoe, Ordinance 50 of 1828 was the foundation of their liberties.

The removal of discrimination did not entail a necessary improvement in the economic condition of the Khoekhoe. John Philip, born in the same small Scottish town as Adam Smith, hoped that the measures he supported would enable the Khoekhoe to bring their labour to a free market. Nothing more was needed, and over the course of time the Khoekhoe would rise in economic and social status.[21] It was the interference of power in the workings of the economy which led to suffering, and the job of government was to reduce this to a minimum. The problem was that, as ever, the ideal economy as envisaged by Smith could never be realised in practice. The Khoekhoe could no longer be discriminated against, but this did not preclude discrimination in favour of those who possessed capital. The requests of the poor for grants of Crown land were refused; the land that was disbursed went to those who could demonstrate that they had the wherewithal to develop a farm in the image of the capitalist agriculture and commercial pastoralism which had taken over the colony. Bourke's successor, Sir Lowry Cole, was not prepared to allow the colony's potential to be squandered by those who seemed unable to realise it.[22]

The effect of Ordinance 50 was partly psychological. There were Khoekhoe who kept a copy of the ordinance between the pages of their Bible;[23] one described it as 'the screen' of the Khoekhoe.[24] It also had an effect on the administration of the colony. In the early years after 1828, there were officials dismissed for continuing to behave as if the ordinance did not exist.[25] But there was little change in the material circumstances in which most of the Khoekhoe lived, with a single exception. The radical liberalism of the colonial authorities, and of John Philip, did not prevent the Cape Colony from opening a single valley, that of the Kat River, a few hundred square kilometres in extent, to the exclusive occupation of Khoekhoe. In this case, the military situation trumped economic theory. The Khoekhoe of the valley, many of whom had been soldiers in the Cape Corps, were to function as a bulwark against further attacks into the Cape by the amaXhosa.

It was on the mission stations and, above all, in the Kat River valley that the Khoekhoe developed a strain of thought which the late Stanley Trapido described as 'Hottentot nationalism'.[26] As Trapido commented, this built on ideas which had been circulating in Khoekhoe society in the Eastern Cape, certainly since the Servants' Revolt. However, it was on the mission stations and in the Kat River valley that the ideas in question were worked out. This occurred in a long series of conversations between the Khoe themselves and between them and some of the missionaries. These conversations are not recorded. Occasionally there are traces in the letters of missionaries in which they write about their Khoesan friends. On one occasion, James Read Junior, a missionary of part-Khoekhoe descent, is known to have sent letters about the conflicts between missionaries to two old Khoekhoe friends.[27] On another occasion, a conversation between Andries Stoffels and John Fairbairn, newspaper editor and one of the leading figures in the colony, led to the latter changing his stance on a major political matter, namely the speed with which a representative assembly could be introduced into the colony.[28] These, though, are the exceptions. In general, what we have are the results of the discussions, as formulated in speeches, petitions, letters and so forth. It is these texts that form the basis for this book.

The edition

This, then, is an anthology of the reflections of Khoesan in the Cape Colony on their political and social situations, as they developed through the nineteenth century. The texts form a running commentary on most of the issues which dominated the political life of the Cape of that time. Thus, between them, they provide an insight into the experience of an oppressed section of colonial society, unrivalled certainly for this period and place, and indeed for much of South African history.

I have done my best to provide an accurate transcription of the version on which I have worked and have indicated unclear text, inserted editorial and grammatical amendments to the original text by using brackets. This was done in an effort to enhance the readers understanding of these documents and provide more detailed historical context.

In order to compile this anthology, I have had to make a number of editorial decisions. These can be seen as the answers to a number of questions:

1 Who counts as Khoesan?

Anyone who acknowledged themselves to be of at least partial Khoesan descent, no matter whether they identified themselves as Khoe or San, Gona or Griqua, or indeed Bastard. There are two exceptions to this. First, there were undoubtedly men and women of such descent who lived among the amaXhosa, and possibly admitted it, but their reflections on the political configuration of their day are not known (to me)

to have survived, and would in general have counted more as Xhosa statements than as Khoesan ones.[29] There were, of course, also a fair number of individuals who were considered European, but who had one or more Khoesan individuals in their ancestry. These I have not included. To have done so would be analogous to describing the writings and actions of Andries Stockenström as evidence of slave thought, simply because his grandmother had been a slave—although a full biography of this remarkable figure would have to judge how far his slave descent was of importance in determining his political course.

Secondly, I have decided to exclude (almost all of) the writings of James Read Junior, the son of a British missionary father, also named James Read, and a Khoe mother, Elizabeth Valentyn. In part this is because the Read corpus would have been too dominant, in terms of its volume, and in part because he generally functioned as a British missionary, like his father. He did not in any way repudiate his maternal heritage—at one stage he attempted, in vain, to write a grammar of what was literally his mother tongue.[30] But, more than any of his fellow Khoesan descendants, he assimilated to the ways of the mission and of colonial society. Indeed, his descendants became 'white' in the classifications of segregation and apartheid South Africa.

There is one further problem with the definition of Khoekhoe. In his review of *The Borders of Race*, which lies at the basis of this volume, Jeff Peires noted that the Kat River Settlement

> even during its short lifetime, became less of an exclusively 'Hottentot' settlement, and more and more a settlement of creolised peasant farmers, blending together not only its original 'Baster' and 'Gona' components but Mfengu, Xhosa and European elements. … The emergence of an entirely new community, neither settler nor Xhosa, nor Gona, nor Baster, nor ex-slave, but something distinctly different, was happening in the Kat River as elsewhere in the Cape Colony.[31]

Much the same could be said of many of the other localities which figure in this book. Moreover, the Kat River Settlement provides a high percentage of the texts which I have used. Through the nineteenth century, Khoesan and ex-slaves, together with individuals whose genealogies go back to Europe, Xhosaland and elsewhere, coalesced to create what became known as the 'Cape Coloured' 'ethnic' group. Until, and during, the rebellion, it was usual for people to describe themselves as 'Hottentots', even when they had some 'white' genetic inheritance.[32] After the crushing of the rebellion, by 1853, such a self-description was not apposite. Between then and the emergence of the Khoesan Revival movement in the 1990s, there were few moments when inhabitants of the Cape Colony, later the Cape Province, were happy calling themselves Khoekhoe.[33] All the same, even in 1879 a petition from

those of Khoesan descent who had managed to retain land in the Kat River valley described themselves as belonging to 'the Hottentot, Bastard, and other mixed races of the Colony'.[34]

2 What counts as Khoesan intellectual production?

In this collection, I have included works that were written or at least signed by Khoesan, and reports of their speeches that pretend to be verbatim records. With one or two exceptions, I have not included texts consisting of the reported speech of Khoesan individuals.

There are two points to make about this. The first relates to those occasions when a meeting was held, to protest against some measure (for instance, the Philipton protests against the proposed Vagrancy Act in 1834), to inform and persuade the people of some development (such as the 1852 Zuurbraak meeting where proponents of the constitutional changes argued their case) or to celebrate some success (such as the 1830 dinner at Bethelsdorp to honour Dr John Philip and to celebrate Ordinance 50). At these gatherings, speeches were made by both Khoesan and non-Khoesan. In these cases I have only included those reported speeches by the Khoesan and have given a short description and summary of the other contributions.

Secondly, there are those occasions, quite numerous in what follows, in which a petition or memorial was presented to the Cape government, signed by a number of Khoesan, and also signed, and often probably authored, by people of European descent, above all missionaries. These I have included, with a description of the circumstances in which the petition was drawn up, in so far as this is known. There is no reason to believe that the Khoesan signatories would not have been thoroughly aware of what they were signing. As I argue below, the distinctive Khoesan political voice that emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was formed in the conversations between missionaries and those among whom they lived and worked. The petitions were presented at public meetings, and the propositions were debated. In one revealing comment, the 'free coloured inhabitants of Graham's Town', while petitioning against the introduction of a Vagrancy Act in 1834, commented that they had all 'read with attention or heard read' the draft ordinance published in the *Government Gazette*.[35] To the petition, 269 such individuals appended their marks, while only four signed their name, in addition to the missionaries John Monro and George Barker and various members of their families.

The political opponents of the Khoesan regularly sniggered at the possibility that the Khoesan could be interested in such matters as the qualifications for the franchise. If the Khoesan expressed themselves on such matters, this would be a consequence of interference and the political machinations of the missionaries.[36] Such statements were in fact an admission of ignorance about Khoesan political life at the time. Few,

perhaps, would have echoed the words of Hendrick Hendricksze, the secretary to the Griqua government of Philippolis, who once commented that 'I have read many books, but I have never heard that freedom has come in a country without fighting'.[37] All the same, the level of knowledge of the political developments of the Cape Colony among the Khoesan communities was considerable and well founded. In the 1830s, it was commented that the *Graham's Town Journal* and the *South African Commercial Advertiser* (*SACA*) were both widely read in the Kat River Settlement. Again, in the early 1850s a minister wrote of the Grahamstown Khoesan that 'many of the Hottentots attend the public meetings of the English at which they have examples to satisfy their minds about the real state of feeling towards the coloured races. Many of them also read the frontier papers which with scarcely an exception exhibit the very state of feelings towards them.'[38] A few years later, the magistrate of the Kat River, L.H. Meurant, wrote in exasperation that any parliamentary comments on the Kat River Settlement were 'no sooner published than they are known to almost every Hottentot in the District'.[39] The Khoesan were an informed and increasingly literate community.

3 What counts as social and political thought?

In this book, I have attempted to include only those texts which, at least in part, contain reflections on wider issues than simply the life of the individual concerned. As ever, there are exceptions. I could not resist Piet Bruintjes's description of his life as a recovering alcoholic. Similarly, some of the material in the archive captured by the British from the Kat River rebels does not contain any high levels of abstraction, but is nevertheless of such remarkable provenance that it had to be included. On the other hand, there were often letters surviving which merely describe the actions of particular individuals, but, though of importance in reconstructing a set of events, they do not provide insight into the broader categories of Khoesan thought.

4 Are there categories of material that have been systematically excluded?

Remarkably, I have been able to compile a reasonably thick volume despite completely excluding a number of categories of sources. Firstly, I have not used any material from judicial hearings. There are numerous statements by Khoesan before the various law courts of the colony, whether made as witnesses, as plaintiffs or as the accused. Both Candy Malherbe and Jared McDonald have utilised court case material from the nineteenth century, with very valuable results. For the previous era, Nigel Penn looked at the eighteenth-century depositions, as I did myself.[40] This has allowed us to reconstruct some aspects of Khoesan life in considerable detail. However, in this context, the evidential problems which these statements bring with them make it difficult to find information on the thought of the Khoesan, instead

of merely the reconstruction of events. Undoubtedly, again, there are exceptions. The most evident is the trial of Andries Botha for high treason after the Kat River Rebellion, which can be seen as South Africa's first show trial. This does contain a number of statements which are of importance, primarily because the case itself was so momentous (though the image which sticks in my mind most clearly was of Botha breaking down in tears at the realisation that his life of service to the colony was being ignored by the court authorities).[41] Nevertheless, I have not included material from this trial, because to have done so would have been to privilege one set of material over the numerous depositions made by rebels who had surrendered. There are about forty of these. About twenty-five were published in the *Graham's Town Journal* between March 1851 and July 1853. There is also a collection of material from those who had lived in Shiloh,[42] and a scattering of others to be found in the Cape Archives, in a variety of series. In a sense, they constitute one of the first large-scale projects of oral history in the Cape, albeit of the (then) very recent past.[43] They deserve a separate publication of their own, to be put next to the records of the trial of Andries Botha.

There are two other bodies of material which I have not utilised in this study. The first is the autobiographies which those who had joined the Moravian Church were expected to produce. A fair number of these were published in missionary periodicals of the time,[44] at least in summary; there must be many more in the various Moravian archives, in Heideveld (in the Western Cape) and in Herrnhut (Germany). Again, these are of great value for the understanding of Khoesan history through the nineteenth century, but they deserve a publication of their own. The second body of source material, by contrast, is the best-known, and certainly most studied, collection from the nineteenth-century Cape, namely the notebooks compiled by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd recording their interviews with a number of |Xam from the dry lands of the western Karoo who were being held as prisoners in Cape Town in the 1870s. In some ways, indeed, this book is a counterweight to the dominance of that material in the broader study of the Khoesan in the nineteenth century, though I do present information which is also, in large part, well known to those of us who work on the history of the Khoekhoe of that era.

5 Were there geographical and temporal constraints on the selection of material?

This is an anthology of texts produced in a colonial context. For this reason I have limited myself to material deriving from what are now the eastern parts of the Western Cape and the western parts of the Eastern Cape provinces. This therefore excludes what came out of Namaqualand, the lower Gariep River valley or Namibia. On the other hand, I have included a small selection of the texts which derived from the

Griquas of the Philippolis captaincy. The reasoning behind this is that these people confronted many of the same problems as their relatives south of the Gariep, and, perhaps self-indulgently, that Hendrick Hendricksze was the single most incisive Khoesan commentator on the political situation in which he found himself.

In terms of time, this collection ends in the late 1870s, and indeed there is a dearth of material after about 1860. I included the last text from 1879 because it speaks to many of the issues that the Eastern Cape Khoesan had had to confront through the previous decades. Nevertheless, by 1879 new forms of politics were developing. The forerunners of the nationalist parties of the twentieth century were beginning to emerge.[45] They may well have looked back to the Khoesan political agitation earlier in the century. It is not by chance that one of the characters in *Straatpraatjes*, a series of satirical articles published in a Cape Town journal in the early twentieth century, was a man from the Kat River known as Uithaalder, whose topics of discussion included the trial of Andries Botha;[46] but among both the 'coloureds', especially in Cape Town, and among the amaXhosa and amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape, the politics of protest were conducted in new ways.

6 In what language were they written?

The answer to this question is more complicated than it might at first seem. In the first place, the original language of the people in question, Cape Khoe, was almost never used in public. Jan Uithaalder's speech at the meeting to protest against a possible vagrancy law, in 1834, is the last recorded use of the language in public in the Eastern Cape.[47] For the rest, the Khoekhoe largely spoke in the variety of Dutch that was on its way to becoming Afrikaans. There can be no doubt that almost all the speeches presented in this volume were given in this language. Also, private letters, of which a few survive, would have been in Dutch. Petitions to the Cape government, on the other hand, were generally submitted in English, although they would have been discussed in Dutch before they were signed. There are exceptions, notably the Kat River petition from those in favour of the vagrancy law. Letters to the newspaper were always published in English, although on occasion the Dutch version (which can presumably be thought of as the original) was also published. It is, however, not clear how far the newspapers tidied up the Dutch before publication, to bring it closer to the norms of school Dutch.

What is most striking is that there are contemporary English translations for virtually all the documents included in this volume. In general I have made use of these. On occasion, in order to get at the precise meaning, it has proved helpful to translate the text back into Dutch, and then amend the English version accordingly. Also, where a Dutch version does exist, I have checked the English against it. Very often, though, all that survives is the translation, often into a language which the author would not have known well.

7 Where are the materials to be found, and how did they survive?

The documents and utterances of Khoesan political thought can be found in a number of places. Firstly, there is the Western Cape Archives Depot (CA), above all the Colonial Office (CO) series. The Colonial Office in nineteenth-century Cape Town acted as the recipient for petitions and correspondence from across the colony. While most of the letters sent by Khoesan to the central government can be found here, there are also a number of other caches of importance in the CA, most notably the papers which were captured when the British stormed the camp of the Kat River rebels in June 1852.[48]

Secondly, there were the various written materials which came through the missions, and are now to be found in the archives of the LMS. These are held in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Linked to these are a number of books written by missionaries, notably the Rev. J.J. Freeman[49] and the Rev. James Read Junior,[50] which include texts by Khoesan correspondents. There are also a number of publications in the British evangelical press. They include extracts from the speeches of Andries Stoffels, a Khoekhoe man who went to England in 1835 to testify before the Select Committee on Aborigines,[51] and also some correspondence from Cape Khoekhoe sent directly to England.[52]

Thirdly, there are the Cape newspapers, notably the *South African Commercial Advertiser* and the *Graham's Town Journal*. These were rival papers. The *Advertiser* was the more liberal organ, edited by John Fairbairn, John Philip's son-in-law. It was prepared to publish a broad range of letters and reports of meetings in which the Khoesan aired their grievances about the state of Cape society. The *Graham's Town Journal*, by contrast, was partisan on behalf of the British settlers in the Eastern Cape, who were in general very hostile to the Khoesan. Nevertheless, Robert Godlonton, the editor, did publish considerable quantities of material produced by the Khoekhoe. It may have been that he needed the copy to fill his paper, and so was prepared to publish the accounts of Khoesan meetings that were sent to him. At the same time, he no doubt felt that some of the material he used would condemn the Khoesan out of their own mouths, and he may well have doctored some of what he received to make this seem clearer—he certainly did on one occasion.[53] Thus, publications in the *Graham's Town Journal* need to be treated with considerable caution. Nevertheless, a number of the texts which Godlonton published would have been lost without his intervention, and are of great interest. Most notable of these are the confessions of Kat River rebels.

In all of this, and in the other minor depositories of Khoekhoe thought, there is one constant. All of the texts in this book have come down to us because they were preserved, in print or in manuscript, by one of the institutions of colonial rule, or at least of European presence—an archive, a library, a newspaper or whatever. This does

not mean that they were necessarily censured by the colonists. Documents get into archives and stay there waiting for the researcher to find them, without any further intervention of the archivist—at least if there is no active weeding policy. The history of the underclass in many countries can be reconstructed from the archives of the rulers, and South Africa is no exception. But that potential filter on what is available, if not on what is said, remains a nagging concern.

Khoesan and missionaries

The texts that follow provide a commentary on the political developments of the Cape Colony as seen by at least some of the Khoesan population. There are, of course, limits to the representativeness of those whose views are provided. There are no women among the authors, or even signatories, of these letters and petitions. I have not been able to find a copy of the petition presented by the Kat River women, led by Maria Pommer, against the introduction of British convicts into the colony.[54] Almost certainly it has not survived. Equally, the voices of the poorest of the Khoesan in the colony, those who worked on the farms, are only to be found in the account given by James Read Junior of their ideas as to the future organisation of the colony which were expressed during the early days of the Kat River Rebellion. Indeed, it is for this reason that I have included this text, the only one to contain reported rather than direct speech. For the rest, the texts contained in this book overwhelmingly derive from those Khoesan who had come under the influence of the missions. If for no other reason, this is because they were the Khoesan in the colony who were literate, and who were thus able to leave written material in their own name.

The question then immediately arises: how far are what I am presenting 'really' Khoesan voices or, alternatively, how far am I dealing with what is actually a collection of statements made by European missionaries, but with Khoesan signatures? If the latter, then even the various speeches I quote, which almost without exception were given at events sponsored by the church, were also in effect the products of European missionary endeavour, rather than in some sense the expression of authentic Khoesan voices.

This, I contend, is a misconceived question. As I argued above, what was happening in Kat River, Bethelsdorp, Theopolis and elsewhere was a long conversation between the Khoesan and the missionaries. Eventually, it was a conversation between equals. Those missionaries who did not treat the Khoesan as equals had no purchase on them. This was a fate suffered by the more arrogant of the missionaries—Robert Moffat and Henry Calderwood, most notably.[55] There was no sense in which the Khoesan suffered 'the colonisation of consciousness', unless that process is seen as working in both directions.

As what I present is as much, if not more so, the work of the Khoesan, of a variety of backgrounds, living on the mission stations or in the Kat River valley, it might

seem possible to filter out the missionary contribution to Khoekhoe political and social thought in the first half of the nineteenth century. Then one would be able to reconstruct precolonial Khoesan ideas on the principle that what was left over must necessarily have derived from a Khoesan culture that preceded the arrival of the missionaries and, more generally, the colonists, Dutch or English.

There are a number of reasons why this is a flawed exercise. Firstly, it depends on the assumption that there was such a 'thing' as Khoesan culture, or at the very least Khoesan ways of thinking, which can be reconstructed. This would lead to an ahistorical reification, in total conflict with the basic argument of all current South African studies that ethnic groups, which at any given moment may appear to be of great historical depth, are instead contingent historical constructions. There is no reason to suppose that, for instance, the constellation of ideas around matters of wealth, leadership and personal worth among the Eastern Cape Khoekhoe before 1750 was identical to, or even approximated, that held by Khoekhoe groups elsewhere in the region and at different times. They may of course have been so, but the evidence for such a claim is hard to find. Perhaps the egalitarian anarchism of the rebel camp in January 1851 comes closest to representing an important strand of the way in which the Khoesan thought about authority, but I would not like to build an argument on such shaky foundations.

Analogously, there is also every reason to argue that 'missionary ideology' is neither constant in time nor uniform at any given moment. The Moravians and the LMS, to take only the two groups under whose tutelage (as they saw it) most Khoesan lived, had substantial differences in terms of both their political theology and missiological practice. Within the LMS, indeed, there were very serious differences of opinion between, on the one hand, the two James Reads and a number of their allies, notably James Kitchingman at Bethelsdorp, and, on the other hand, several of their colleagues, notably Henry Calderwood and, in the distance, Robert Moffat. These disputes, which could turn very nasty indeed, centred on the question of the influence converts might have over the life of the church.[56] In these circumstances, filtering out the mission would be a very problematic undertaking. There is no way in which this material can be used for the reconstruction of precolonial Khoesan life, and to the extent that it reflects ideas about status, power and allegiance common to the Khoekhoe before, say, 1750, this is only evident because historians know, on the basis of ethnographic and other accounts, almost exactly what they are looking for.

The real value of these texts is rather different, but no less important. What they represent is the sedimentation into writing of a whole set of conversations between people of Khoekhoe descent and those of European origin. These conversations were held in a sphere which to a greater or lesser degree could be characterised as involving people who treated each other as equals. They provide descriptions, firstly,

of the ways in which Khoesan people experienced and conceptualised the processes of colonial conquest and forced submission, and, secondly, of how they managed, or at least attempted, to find ways to survive in this new world. Between them, men like Andries Stoffels, Andries Hatha and Hendrik Heyn, or indeed Andries Lings and the Uithaalders, in discussions with the Reads and a number of other missionaries, argued and developed what can be seen as (probably) the first nationalist opposition to colonialism in South Africa. In the crisis of the early 1850s, the practical conclusions which these men drew from the discussions, and the actions they were therefore prepared to take—joining the rebellion or not—might differ. The deeper basis on which they made these decisions was surprisingly similar.

What do the documents say? The contents of this book

These documents do not present a systematic analysis of the political situation, as it developed through the century, in which the Khoekhoe found themselves. At times, during the vagrancy agitation of 1834, and in the run-up to and during the course of the Kat River Rebellion, between 1848 and 1853, some of the Khoekhoe came close to articulating a comprehensive vision of Cape colonial society. In general, though, the Khoekhoe were reacting to political events within the colony, and so their petitions and comments had a rather ad hoc character.

There were, however, certain themes which recurred. Two were of paramount importance. The first was the necessity, as they saw it, to prevent a return to the conditions which had prevailed before the passing of Ordinance 50 in 1828. Before that measure was put into operation, the Khoekhoe had been subject to official harassment whenever they were away from home. As a result, Khoekhoe saw clearly how measures such as an Act which purported to regulate vagrancy might be used, in particular, to restore them to a state of thraldom from which they had emerged. The second recurring theme was the claim that they were respectable citizens, and as such deserved respect equal to that of any other inhabitant of the colony. When they felt that this equality was being endangered, they protested vehemently.

This book is divided into three chronological parts. Part One contains those documents produced before the beginnings of the crisis that finally led to the outbreak of what was, erroneously, known as the Kat River Rebellion. These deal with a wide variety of subjects, beginning with a few snippets from the period of colonial conquest before the material starts to develop more fully after Ordinance 50 of 1828. There are reflections on the importance of the ordinance and on the life of the Khoekhoe, for instance in relation to alcoholism, but the first major set of material deals with the potential effect of a Vagrancy Act. The campaign to prevent the passing of such an Act was successful, giving the Khoekhoe confidence that their style of

action might replicate this victory in future. However, most of the further material in the period between Ordinance 50 and the outbreak of Hintsa's War in the summer of 1834–35 deals with attempts by the Khoekhoe to prevent the further erosion of their position, particularly in the Kat River Settlement. At the same time, Khoekhoe political awareness centred as much around control of their churches as the more conventional subjects of political activism.

In Part Two there are collected a number of texts concerning the political and military crisis of, roughly, the period 1848–53. This revolved around two highly interconnected sets of events and processes, namely the attempted introduction by the British government of convicts into the colony and the agitation for a Cape Parliament, on the one hand, and the military confrontation between the colony and the amaXhosa and Khoekhoe rebels, on the other. These have often been seen as distinct entities, but, as I argued in *The Borders of Race*, they are both only understandable in relation to each other. This section thus contains Khoekhoe views on the potential introduction of convicts and the development of a constitution for a representative assembly in the colony, particularly the level of wealth needed for voting in a qualified franchise. The latter debates coincided with and drew on the arguments which occurred within and without the rebellion as to the reasons for the revolt and the structure of the society which was to come. In this section, an attempt is made to present these arguments, which should be put alongside those emanating, for instance, from the Legislative Council of the colony.[57]

After the defeat of the rebellion, Khoekhoe politics went through a phase of introversion. The main concerns of the documents in Part Three are, firstly, the rights of the Kat River settlers to their land and their government offices, in the light of an increasing encroachment into the valley of Europeans. Secondly, they deal with the politics of the Khoekhoe churches, as the LMS slowly and painfully retreated from the direct funding of well-established churches. At the same moment, the Kat River people found time to protest against any plans to separate the Eastern Province of the colony from the Western, which they saw as likely to lead to domination by English settlers, their greatest enemies. Lastly, this collection ends with a resounding final claim by the Kat River men in which they once again asserted both their past loyalty to the colony and their desire to be treated as the equals of the Europeans among whom they lived. It was, in the increasingly racist world of the Cape Colony, a vain hope.

CHAPTER 1
FROM THE EARLIER HISTORY

Document 1: Koerikei and Van der Merwe

Robert Gordon was a Dutch soldier who eventually became commander of the garrison at the Cape of Good Hope. He travelled extensively in the interior of South Africa, leaving behind a large number of diaries, a folio of paintings, of landscapes, natural history and ethnography, which are unsurpassed, and also a set of maps of southern Africa which are of great interest.[1] This extract comes from his journal, recording discussions with a frontier farmer in the Camdeboo, to the south of Graaff-Reinet, on 13 November 1777, referring to events rather further east.

Found everything at peace here with regard to the Bushmen. But further towards the west, it was said, they had stolen sheep from a certain De Villiers and had killed the herdsman. These so called Bushmen or Chinese[2] have a famous chief called Koerikei, or 'Bullet-dodger'. This Koerikei, while standing out of range on the top of a cliff, shouted at the Veldwagtmeester Van der Merwe after an action which he had commanded, so he told me: 'What are you doing in my territory? You take all the places where the eland and other game are. Why did you not stay where the sun goes down, where you were at first?' Van der Merwe asked why he did not live in peace as before, and why he did not go hunting with them and live with them (he had been living with the farmers) and whether he did not have enough country as it was? He replied that he did not want to leave the country of his birth and that he would kill their herdsmen, and that he would chase all of them away, saying, as he went further away that it would be seen who would win.

[Source: www.robertjacobgordon.nl/travel-journals/second-journey/13th-november-1777, accessed 14.3.2017]

Document 2: Van der Kemp

This encounter between a Khoesan man called Couragie and Dr J.T. van der Kemp,[3] the head of the first group of London Missionary Society agents at the Cape, occurred in 1799 near the Bushmans River, during the early days of missionary contact with the Eastern Cape Khoi. It was recorded in Van der Kemp's diary, and then published in an LMS periodical.

Couragie asked brother Vanderkemp, if it were not true that God had created them [the Hottentots] as well as the Christians, and the beasts of the field, 'for you know (said he) that the Dutch farmers teach us, that he never created us, nor taketh any notice of us'.[4]

Van der Kemp explained the heresy of this idea.

[Source: 'Journey [of Dr Van der Kemp] to Caffraria from the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1799', *Transactions of the London Missionary Society*, I (1804), 268]

Document 3: Klaas Stuurman

During the Servants' Revolt of 1799–1802, many of those Khoekhoe in the Eastern Cape who had been in the forced service of the Dutch farmers deserted the farms and took up arms, in alliance with the amaXhosa. John Barrow, a British official during the First British Occupation, described the hopes of the rebels in his *Account of Travels into the Interior*. These two passages provide the only extensive comment by the Khoekhoe themselves on the aims of their revolt.

On making inquiry into the particulars of the unpleasant transaction that had taken place, one of the Hottentots, called Klaas Stuurman,[5] or Nicholas the Helmsman, whom they had selected for their chief, stepped forwards, and, after humbly entreating us to hear him out without interruption, began a long oration, which contained a history of their calamities and sufferings under the yoke of the boors; their injustice, in first depriving them of their country, and then forcing their offspring into a state of slavery; their cruel treatment on every slight occasion, which it became impossible for them to bear any longer; and the resolution they had therefore taken to apply for redress before the English troops should leave the country.[6] That their employers, suspecting their intention, had endeavoured to prevent such application by confining some to the house, threatening to shoot others if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. And, in proof of what he advanced, he called out a young Hottentot,

whose thigh had been pierced through with a large musquet but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master for having attempted to leave his service. 'This act,' continued he, 'among many others equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the boors of their arms, in which we have succeeded at every house which has fallen in our way. We have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services, but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though,' added he, shaking his head, 'we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge.'

[Source: John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years, 1797 and 1798* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1801), 1, 394–5]

We had little doubt that the greater number of the Hottentot men, who were assembled at the bay[7] after receiving favourable accounts from their comrades of the treatment they experienced in the British service, would enter as volunteers into this corps;[8] but what was to be done with the old people, the women and the children? Klaas Stuurman found no difficulty in making a provision for them. 'Restore,' says he, 'the country in which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask.' I endeavoured to convince him how little advantage they were likely to derive from the possession of a country, without any other property, or the means of deriving a subsistence from it: but he had the better of the argument. 'We lived very contentedly,' said he, 'before these Dutch plunderers molested us; and why should we not do so again if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass-roots, and berries, and grasshoppers for our use; and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply when these destroyers are gone?'

[Source: John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years, 1797 and 1798* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1801), 1, 403]

NOTES

Introduction

1 To be found in Robert Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) and in *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829–1856* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

2 David Gordon, 'From Rituals of Rapture to Dependence: The Political Economy of Khoikhoi Narcotic Consumption, c.1487–1870', *South African Historical Journal*, 35/1 (1996), 62–88.

3 The various non-alphabetic marks in the names indicate clicks, which are the most obvious phonetic feature of all the languages spoken by Khoesan, and which have been absorbed into some southern African Bantu languages, notably isiXhosa and isiZulu.

4 Hazel Crampton, Jeff Peires and Carl Vernon (eds.), *Into the Hitherto Unknown: Ensign Beutler's Expedition to the Eastern Cape, 1752*, transl. by Thea Toussaint van Hove and Michael Wilson (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2013), xlv; Robert Ross, 'The Self-Image of Jacob Adams', in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), 61–6.

5 Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985); Shula Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of African History*, 13/1 (1972), 55–80; Carmel Schrire, 'An Enquiry into the Evolutionary Status and Apparent Identity of San Hunter-Gatherers', *Human Ecology*, 8/1 (1980) 9–32; Carmel Schrire (ed.), *Past and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies* (London: Academic Press, 1984); Andrew Smith, 'The Origins and Demise of the Khoikhoi: The Debate', *South African Historical Journal*, 23/1 (1990), 3–14.

6 Personal communication from the late Hans den Besten, based on his study of the Cape Khoe texts sent to Leibniz. See further on this Gerald Groenewald, 'To Leibniz, from Dorha: A Khoi Prayer in the Republic of Letters', *Itinerario*, 28 (2004), 29–48.

7 Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South* Africa; Leonard Guelke, 'The South Western Cape Colony 1657–1750: Freehold Land Grants', Occasional Paper no. 5, Geography Publication Series, Geography Department, University of Waterloo, Ontario, 1987.

8 Martin Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780–1840* (Basel: Baseler Afrika-Bibliografie, 2010); Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas*.

9 J.B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981), 23.

10 Mohamed Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2010); Edward Cavanagh, '"We Exterminated

Them, and Dr Philip Gave the Country": The Griqua People and the Elimination of the San from South Africa's Transorangia Region', in Mohamed Adhikari (ed.), *Genocide on Settler Frontiers : When Hunter-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2014), 88–107; see also Miklós Szalay, *The San and the Colonization of the Cape, 1770–1879: Conflict, Incorporation, Acculturation* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1995).

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12 Donald Moodie, *The Record; or, A series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa* (reprint, Amsterdam and Cape Town: Balkema, 1960), Part III, 25–6.

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14 Sam Challis, 'Creolisation on the Nineteenth-Century Frontiers of Southern Africa: A Case Study of the AmaTola "Bushmen" in the Maloti-Drakensberg', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38/2 (2012), 265–80.

15 James Read Senior, *The African Witness: or, A Short Account of the Life of Andries Stoffels. Published with Josiah Basset, The Life of a Vagrant, or, The Testimony of an Outcast* (London: John Snow, 1850), and chapter 5.

16 William Wilberforce Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London: John Murray, 1823), 6–7; Wayne Dooling, 'The Origins and Aftermath of the Cape Colony's "Hottentot Code" of 1809', *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 31/1 (2005), 50–61.

17 Hermann B. Giliomee, 'Die administrasietydperk van Lord Caledon (1807–1811)', *Archives Year Book for South African History* (Pretoria: State Publisher, 1966), vol. 2; V.C. Malherbe, 'Diversification and Mobility of Khoikhoi Labour in the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony Prior to the Labour Law of 1 November 1809', MA thesis, UCT, 1978; V.C. Malherbe, 'The Cape Khoisan in the Eastern Districts of the Colony before and after Ordinance 50 of 1828', PhD thesis, UCT, 1997.

18 J. de Villiers, 'Die Cape Regiment, 1806–1817: 'n Koloniale regiment in Britse diens', *Archives Yearbook for South African History* (Pretoria: State Publisher, 1989), vol. 1.

19 See, above all, Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2002).

20 Zoë Laidlaw, 'Richard Bourke: Irish Liberalism Tempered by Empire', in David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 113–44; Hazel King, *Richard Bourke* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1971).

21 This is the portent of John Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, 2 vols. (London: James Duncan, 1828).

22 See, above all, Malherbe, 'Cape Khoisan', 204ff.

23 Stephen Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* (London: John Mason, 1833), 475–6.

24 Ross, *Borders of Race*, 87.

25 Malherbe, 'Cape Khoisan', notably chapter 5.
26 Stanley Trapido, 'The Emergence of Liberalism and the Making of "Hottentot Nationalism", 1815–1834', in *Collected Seminar Papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London: The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 17 (1992).
27 See, for instance, James Read Senior, on his relations with Tys Jurie, cited in Robert Ross, *Borders of Race*, 122, and his son, James Read Junior, with Valentyn Jacobs and Arie van Rooyen, whom he described as '*friends* with whom I was on terms of intimacy long before you thought of coming to this country: and with whom I was in the habit of conversing long before you knew anything of them, or they of you'. Read Jnr to Calderwood, 17 September 1844, in Calderwood and Birt to LMS, 26 September 1844, LMS 20/2/D, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
28 See the letter from Jane Philip to her husband, cited, without a date (but October 1834), in W.M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1927), 249.
29 Pieter Jolly, 'Interaction between South-Eastern San and Southern Nguni and Sotho Communities c.1400 to c.1880', *South African Historical Journal*, 35/1 (1996), 30–61.
30 Letters from James Read Junior to Sir George Grey, National Library of South Africa; cf. Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'African Nationalist or British Loyalist? The Complicated Case of Tiyo Soga', *History Workshop Journal*, 71/1 (2011), 74–97.
31 Ross, *Borders of Race*, and the review by Jeff Peires in the *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 68/1 (2014).
32 See Document 13.
33 On the revival, see Michael Besten, 'Transformation and Reconstitution of Khoe-San Identities: AAS Le Fleur I, Griqua Identities and Post-Apartheid Khoe-San Revivalism (1894–2004)', PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2006.
34 See Document 98.
35 See Document 16.
36 See, for instance, *Frontier Times*, 4 November 1850, which wondered, 'What did the Hottentots know or care about the franchise? Have they not been used as political puppets in this matter?' This was in response to a meeting reported in *SACA*, 2 November 1850, and printed as Document 57.
37 'Ik heb veel boeken gelezen en ik heb nooit gezien dat er een vrydom in een land is gekomen zonder gevegt.' Deposition of Petrus Arnoldus Pienaar, in W.C. van Ryneveld to Governor, 12 June 1835, CA CO 2757. Hendricksze was accused of having foreknowledge of the Xhosa attack on the colony, as he had predicted that there would be trouble in December 1834 or January 1835—and the war began on Christmas Day 1834. In fact he was speculating on the effects of the emancipation of slaves, which occurred on 1 December 1834.
38 Smit to Freeman, 6 August 1851, LMS-SA 25/2/A. See also the letters from Andries Lings, printed in Documents 55 and 68.
39 Comment on memorial of Jacob Prins, 6 May 1855, CA CO 4082; see Document 78.
40 Malherbe, 'Cape Khoisan'; Jared McDonald, 'Subjects of the Crown: Khoesan Identity and Assimilation in the Cape Colony, c.1795–1858', PhD thesis, School of Oriental and

African Studies, University of London, 2015; Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); Nigel Penn, *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways: Eighteenth Century Cape Characters* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999); and Nigel Penn, *Murderers, Miscreants and Mutineers: Early Cape Colonial Lives* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2015).

41 *The Trial of Andries Botha* (Pretoria: State Library, Reprints no. 19, 1969).

42 CA GH 22/4.

43 V.C. Malherbe, 'Donald Moodie: South Africa's Pioneer Oral Historian', *History in Africa*, 25 (1998), 171–97.

44 Strictly the *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen*, published in London. A full study would require the inclusion of both the German and Dutch equivalents, and work in the archives of Herrnhut, Germany, and the Moravian Church archives in Heideveld, Western Cape.

45 André Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012).

46 Mohamed Adhikari (ed.), *Straatpraatjes: Language, Politics and Popular Culture in Cape Town, 1909–1922* (Cape Town: J.L. van Schaik, 1996), 54. I assume that on this occasion, in a discussion between (the fictional) Piet Uithaalder from the Kat River, and W.P. Schreiner, whose father had been temporarily buried in the Kat River valley, the Botha discussed was Andries, not Louis.

47 Document 13.

48 These papers are to be found in CA CO 4495A.

49 J.J. Freeman, *A Tour in South Africa, with Notices of Natal, Mauritius, Madagascar, Ceylon, Egypt and Palestine* (London: John Snow, 1851).

50 James Read Junior, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851: Described in a Series of Letters Published in the South African Commercial Advertiser* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1852).

51 See chapter 5.

52 See Document 49.

53 It is instructive to contrast the version of James Read's description of the meeting with the rebels at Upper Blinkwater, given in Document 63, with that published in Robert Godlonton and Edward Irving, *Narrative of the Kaffir War, 1850-1851-1852* (reprint, Cape Town: Struik, 1962), 176–7, with the original in the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 18 June 1851. It is also notable that in the tidied-up edition of these letters, edited by the Rev. William Thompson as *The Kat River Settlement in 1851*, this passage is missing.

54 See Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 5, citing Sir Harry Smith's reply to this memorial, of 19 June 1849; see also the papers of W.G.A. Mears, noted from documents in the Gubbins Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, later destroyed by fire, and now held in the Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, BC 312, which describe as one of the items in this collection a 'covering letter' (written by Maria Pommer, 4 June 1849) to a memorial of women in the Kat River to be forwarded to Fairbairn.

55 Robert Ross, 'Congregations, Missionaries and the Grahamstown Schism of 1842–3', in John de Gruchy (ed.), *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799–1999* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999), 120–31, 210–12.

56 See Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, and various essays in Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995) and in John de Gruchy (ed.), *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799–1999* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999).

57 See the various British Parliamentary Papers 'Relative to the Establishment of a Representative Assembly at the Cape of Good Hope', to be found in BPP 1137 and 1234 of 1850, 1362 of 1851, 1427 of 1852, and 1581 and 1636 of 1852–53.

Chapter 1

1 Patrick Cullinan, *Robert Jacob Gordon, 1743–1795*: *The Man and His Travels at the Cape* (Cape Town: Struik Winchester, 1992).

2 The Oeswana San of the eastern escarpment were known to the Dutch as the 'Chinese' (sometimes *Sneese*) Bushmen, apparently on account of their perceived physiognomy.

3 Dr J.T. van der Kemp (1747–1811) was the leader of the first group of LMS missionaries to arrive at the Cape. He came from a well-to-do Dutch family, and had been a soldier, doctor and philosopher before becoming a missionary. He was a remarkable polyglot, and was in all things totally independent and fearless.

4 See, further, Susan Newton-King, *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 220.

5 The Stuurman family had been very prominent in the Servants' Revolt. See V.C. Malherbe, 'The Khoi Captains in the Third Frontier War', in Susan Newton-King and V.C. Malherbe (eds.), *The Khoikhoi Rebellion in the Eastern Cape (1799–1803)* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1981), 65–136, and V.C. Malherbe, 'David Stuurman: "Last Chief of the Hottentots"', *African Studies*, 39/1 (1980), 47–64.

6 This is a reference to the impending departure of the British forces, as, following the Peace of Amiens, the Cape was returned, temporarily as it happened, to the Dutch, then under the Batavian Republic.

7 Algoa Bay, later Port Elizabeth, now Nelson Mandela Bay.

8 Later, the Cape Regiment.