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THE MAKING OF CLASS

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COMMERCE AND MATERIAL CULTURE ON THE EASTERN CAPE FRONTIER, 1746-1812*

INTRODUCTION

I would like this paper to be seen as an aspect of "work in progress" towards an understanding of the social and economic dynamics of the eighteenth century Cape frontier. In brief, it is concerned with the production and consumption of commodities among the European stockfarmers of the interior and the role played by exchange in the reproduction of frontier households. It reaches two conclusions. First, that the continuing emphasis upon the self-sufficiency and geographical isolation of European frontiersmen has tended to obscure the extent to which commerce had penetrated the fabric of their lives. Second, that the manner of their insertion into the networks of the exchange economy placed severe constraints upon them. In an economy dominated by Cape Town merchants and tightly controlled by the Dutch East India Company, the terms of trade were extremely unfavourable to the interior farmers - so much so that it was not easy for the majority of make ends meet. In order to achieve even the modest level of prosperity or "rough comfort" that we tend to associate with the frontier life in pre-industrial South Africa, a fairly substantial capital was required - smaller, it is true, than that demanded by the arable farming sector in the western Cape, but nevertheless much larger than has hitherto been assumed. In practice, wealth in the frontier districts was very unevenly distributed (see below page 14) and the poorer stockfarmers frequently found themselves in debt to their wealthier neighbours and kinsfolk. Indeed a preliminary examination of the evidence (pages 13-15) suggests that perhaps the majority lived a life of considerable hardship and were barely able to free themselves from the spiralling cycle of debt, while a small minority grew rich and prospered.

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This said, it remains to provide some explanation for the submission of a paper which is concerned with the strictly "economic" processes of trade, credit and debt to a conference where the primary focus is upon the cultural dimensions of class formation. In this case, the rationale lies more in what has been left unsaid in the paper than in what has been explicitly stated: it is argued, as should become clear below, that the eighteenth century trekboers' dependence on a wide range of produce and consumer goods which he could not make for himself propelled him into a far-reaching involvement with the market economy. This dependence went far beyond the small list of "essentials" usually cited by students of the frontier (gunpowder, lead, tea, coffee, tobacco, etc). It extended to a surprising array of foodstuffs, textiles, household goods, clothing and farm implements, all of which involved him in onerous expenses, which, in many cases, he could ill-afford. But why one might ask, did he persist in his attachment to these commodities when obtaining them involved him in such difficulties? Why did he not break the circle and adopt a life-style which owed less to the expectations and values of the European enclave at de Kaap or to its parent societies in the Netherlands and Batavia? Perhaps these questions are disingenuous, but they may nevertheless be worthy of discussion for they do direct attention to the inter-penetration of cultural and economic processes in the making of class.

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The view of the frontier economy as a locus of commodity production and exchange is at variance with that developed by Leonard Guelke in a series of recent articles on the dynamics of frontier expansion at the Cape(1). Guelke's research was in part directed towards the rebuttal of a seminal work S.D. Neumark, published in 1957(2). Neumark had laid a great stress on the role played by commodity production in the frontier economic life. And he had gone so far as to suggest that the rapid expansion of the South African frontier was principally fuelled by the growing market demand emanating from a rise in the number of ships (especially foreign ships) calling at the Cape. "Farmers'... need for land and cattle", he wrote, "was chiefly determined by the possibilities of exchanging the produce of their land and livestock for articles which could not be produced on the farm."(3) By showing that there was no correlation between the rate at which new loan farms were issued on the frontiers and fluctuations in the number of foreign ships calling at the Cape, Guelke

established that the level of demand was not the major factor behind the growth of the settlement.(4) But he went on from here to challenge the very foundations of Neumark's argument, asserting that commodity production was no more than a peripheral aspect of frontier economic life. The difficulties of transport to and from the Cape (which, by implication, he took to be the only commercial outlet) were so great, he argued, that frontier farmers were "under enormous economic pressure" to keep their exchanges with the outside world "to a bare minimum".(5) Insofar as possible, he wrote, they met their needs independently of the market, producing their own food and clothing and manufacturing their own tools and farm equipment.(6) The result, he concluded, was a primitive, undifferentiated and self-reliant economy, in which there was little scope for specialisation or accumulation: "Stock-farming brought good returns on the investment of small amounts of capital, but further investments produced rapidly diminishing returns. In the arable areas wealth became ever more unevenly distributed with the emergence of a small, very rich group, but in the stock-farming regions of the open frontier, most people were rather poor, although they lived in rough comfort and were free of large debts."(7)

The general poverty of the veeboeren in comparison to arable farmers is not in dispute, though those living in Graaff Reinet in the last quarter of the eighteenth century appear to have been substantially better off than those in the Colony-wide sample taken by Guelke for the period 1771-1780(8) However, it is the contention of this paper that their self-sufficiency has been greatly exaggerated, not only by Guelke, but also by other historians of frontier life, with the exception of Robert Ross (and, ofcourse, S.D. Neumark)(9). Furthermore, it will be argued, for those able to break out of the cycle of impoverishment created by their dependence on markets which they could not control, there were indeed opportunities for substantial accumulation .

The implications of this argument for the social history of Graaff Reinet and, in particular, for the unwilling Khoisan labour force of the district, deserve extended examination and are the major concern of my own research, but this is not the place to explore them. The immediate purpose of this paper is simply to establish the accuracy of an alternative view of the frontier economy. Since it is at variance with majority opinion, it is necessary to present the evidence in some detail.

There are, ofcourse, various categories of evidence. First, there are the narratives of contemporary travellers and diarists: being on the eastern frontiers of the Colony, where it bordered Xhosaland, Graaff Reinet, or the area which acquired this name in 1786, attracted no small number of perspicacious travellers - Anders Sparrman, C.P.Thunberg, Robert Jacob Gordon and Henry Lichtenstein, to name but a few. (10 name works etc) However, taken alone, their evidence can be used to support both views of frontier economic life - one could emphasise evidence of commerce or of self-sufficiency according to one's discretion. Therefore if one is to avoid a mere exchange of quotations, one must turn to the archives of Graaff Reinet itself and of those Cape Town bodies which regulated its economic affairs. Unfortunately, there was no Chamber of Commerce in Cape Town at this time, nor was there a bank or even a special department of government dealing with internal commerce. Private trade flourished,

despite the restrictions placed upon it, but in the nature of things, it did so largely unrecorded. Only cases involving a breach of regulations, or a petition for special treatment, reached the office of the Fiscal or the ears of the Council of Policy. The archive of the latter, ofcourse, provides a major source of information about the economy of the Colony in general, including, for example, the operation of the meat concession and problems of supply in frontier districts. However, while they offer broad insights into the problems and aspirations of frontiersmen, these records cannot illuminate the inner workings of individual households.

The historian is left with one trump card: the records of the Orphan Chamber (Weeskamer). This body, run by senior Company officials and burger representatives, was responsible for the administration and settlement of deceased and insolvent estates. It handled all the affairs of intestate estates, from the initial freezing and auction of assets to the settlement of debts and the final distribution of the inheritance; and in the case of testate estates it kept copies of wills, inventories and valuations. Its archive is therefore a fairly complete source for the examination of the economic condition of a conjugal household at the moment of its dissolution.

Since the law of succession in force at the Cape, as in the rest of the Dutch East Indies, enforced a rigid partibility of the conjugal estate - one half-share going to the surviving spouse (nearly all marriages were contracted in community of property) and the other half being divided equally among the children or other heirs of the deceased - virtually every household possession was valued or put up for auction on the death of either partner. Where a will was made, it usually did little more than preserve the estate intact until the death or remarriage of the second spouse and/or the coming of age of the heirs. (11) Should the widow or widower named in the will of a testate estate remarry, the executors were obliged to value its assets in order to assess the portions due to the heirs. Thus the documents filed with the Orphan Chamber give a detailed breakdown of assets and liabilities, including the most insignificant of personal possessions. What they cannot reveal, ofcourse, is the extent to which property was transferred from one generation to the next inter vivos, or the extent of illegal pilfering or redistribution which took place before the valuation of a deceased estate. Further, while they specify all assets and liabilities in existence at the time of death, they are inevitably a poor substitute for a full statement of the household's current economic activity, at this or any other stage in its life cycle. Nevertheless, the archive of the Orphan Chamber is the best source that we have and, if used in conjunction with other sources, it can do much to illuminate the dynamics of frontier life.

I chose my data from the records of the Orphan Chamber according to the following rather tortuous method. First, I made a list of all taxpayers on the first tax roll (Opgaafrol) of Graaff Reinet district, which was compiled in 1787. (12) I then arranged them according to the families (lineages) to which they belonged, because it seemed that any investigation of wealth or of patterns of credit and debt should insofar as possible explore relationships among members of the same kin group, as well as their relations with the wider world. The tax roll for 1787 listed 637 taxpayers, who divided into 235 patrilineages or kin groups (some of which

had more than 20 taxpaying members resident in the district, others only one). I then turned to the accounts of intestate estates liquidated betwwen c1764 and 1812 (13) and recorded the details of all those belonging to any mamber of the above 235 kin gropus. This produced 303 deceased estates, most (but not all) of whose owners had lived on or near the eastern borders of the Colony. These were then arranged according to the value of their net assets. A random sample produced 72 estates of varying values.(14) Finally, the 292 solvent estates were subdivided in deciles and the two median estates in each decile were selected for closer examination. For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to focus primarily on the first 30 estates in the random sample and on the 20 "medians".

The first task of this paper is more easily fulfilled the second. There are a number of ways in one can suggest the extent to which the exchange of commodities had penetrated the very fabric of life on the Cape frontier. The inventories and Vendu-rollen drawn up during the valuation or liquidation of deceased estates provide a useful starting point and serve as a window on the material life and cultural expectations of frontier veeboeren. Indeed, they are so detailed that it is easy to forget that they give us only a partial view, especially with respect to the more ephemeral aspects of material culture, such as food, clothing and narcotics. Fortunately, it is possible to fill out the picture with the help of other estate papers and the journals of travellers alluded to above.

In Appendix 1 I have rearranged the contents of 7 selected Vendu rollen (either median estates or those in the sample) in such a way as to suggest the extent to which household assets were acquired by purchase rather than made at home. There will ofcourse be guesswork and uncertainty in an exercise of this sort: from the vantage point of the late twentieth century it is easy to underestimate the artisanal abilities of country folk. A farmer possessed of simple carpentry tools such as a saw, a chisel, a drill, a plane and an adze could probably make most of his own furniture and some of the storage vessels in daily use, such as butter vats, buckets, casks etc. He could perhaps also construct most of the parts which went to make up a waggon; indeed, Mentzel asserted that he "knew farmers who made their own waggons including the wheels, except the naves and even these they would have made, had they had the proper drills".(14b) Certainly they often did their own repairs. But when it came to more specialised work, such as saddle-making, blacksmithing, or cooperage involving the construction of large wine casks, the evidence points rather to the employment of specialised craftsmen than to home manufacture.

Guelke has argued that the dispersed settlement patterns of the trekboer districts precluded the emergence of artisans or specialised craftsmen of any sort, and in support of this view he has drawn attention to the "complete absence of any urban development" in frontier districts.(15) It is true that Graaff Reinet village remained small throughout the first 25 years of its existence and that the artisans permanently resident there were few in number. In 1803 the village accomodated only 25 resident taxpayers(16). Lichtenstein described it as consisting of

> "about 20 houses, with the gardens built in a straight line [to] form a tolerably broad street... The inhabitants of these houses

> are a smith, a waggon-wright, a saddler, a carpenter and other handicraft workers, who gain a very good livelihood..."(17)

However, the majority of artisans in Graaff Reinet did not live in the village, but rather combined their trades with the more general activities of the stock breeder's vocation. It must be remembered that nearly all the inhabitants of Graaff Reinet district were the descendants of men who had come to the Cape almost accidentally, in the course of their service with the Dutch East India Company, usually as soldiers in the garrison at the Castle. They came from northern Europe, from the depressed rural areas of the German states, from the ports of the Baltic and from the manufacturing towns of Holland and Zeeland.(18) Many had acquired trades before poverty forced them to sign on with the VOC and they found a ready market for their imported skills in Cape Town and among the inland farmers. We do not know to what extent they passed them on to their Africander descendants - perhaps the more sophisticated skills were lost with the passage of time; but the point is rather that each year a trickle of new soldier-immigrants entered Cape society, and some found their way to the frontiers, as discharged Company servants or as knegten and artisans on loan to the veeboeren. From there it was but a short step to full acceptance into the freeburger community. In 1787, for example, one year after the establishment of Graaff Reinet as a separate district, there were 30 German immigrants on the burger roll, among whom were a blacksmith, a baker, a joiner, 2 masons, 2 tailors, 2 shoemakers and a turner.(19) And there were others, such as the masons and carpenters engaged to build the Drostdy, who had not yet received their discharge.(20) By 1798 85 Company servants had found employment in the district, 46 as knegten, 7 as carpenters, 6 as tailors, 6 as shoemakers, 4 as masons, 13 as "schoolmasters" (a profession which rapidly fell into disrepute) and 3 as, respectively, a tanner, a brazier and a saddle-maker.(21) Most of these men were living on outlying farms, where they subsequently married into the families of their employers or their neighbours(22) but a few, including the brazier, the tanner and the saddle maker, had settled in the village.(23)

These, then, were the craftsmen and "mechanics" of the eastern frontier. They melted quickly into rural society, acquiring livestock and bijwoner status even before their discharge from Company service,(24) but they continued to ply their trades, forming small nuclei within the network of local exchanges. For the most part, the record of their activities has been lost, but we catch occasional glimpses in the papers of the Orphan Chamber. Thus, for example, the schuldboek of the Heemraad Fredrik Potgieter (grandson of a Westphalian blacksmith) (25) of the farm Goedgeloof at the Kromriviermond, records the output of his carpentry shop, which produced buckets, churns, furniture and door frames for neighbouring burgers.(26) And the Heemraaden Jacobus Botha and Joshua Joubert, Gideonzoon, likewise African-born, presided over domestic smithies (manned by one or two skilled slaves) which, despite their simple equipment (see Appendix 1), were a source of nails, axes, spades, and other tools for surrounding farmers.(27) For these men the exercise of a trade was probably of peripheral importance, whereas for recent immigrants, such as the blacksmith Gerrit Hendrik Catenbrink of Wehlau, it was the primary source of a rather modest livelihood.(28) They were paid sometimes in cash, sometimes in kind, while sometimes, as their papers reveal, they were never paid at all. The point which concerns us, however, is that one

cannot infer from the simplicity of the tools and equipment listed in the Vendurollen that they were predominantly of domestic manufacture - the products of an autarchic mode of life.

An examination of the list of consumer goods may make the point more forcibly. In 4 out of the 7 cases presented in Appendix 1, purchased consumer goods comprise more than 50% of the total owned by the household, and the ratio would be the same, or higher, if one were to examine a wider sample. Again, one should not be misled by the rude conditions of frontier living. Europeans of refined taste who travelled among the inhabitants of the eastern districts were often dismayed by the rough and ready construction of their houses and the promiscuity of their sleeping arrangements (though even in the respectable bourgeois households of Cape Town the voorkamer had only recently emerged as distinct from the slaapkamer or general family living room) (29). Hendrik Swellengrebel's description of the burgers of Camdebo (then, in 1776, at the furthest reaches of the settled domain) is particularly graphic:

> "...most of them now live not much better than the Hottentots. Though they live here at most four or five waggon stages from the forests, and thus could build good houses, their dwellings here consist of a wall of clay raised to a height of 3 or 4 feet, above which is a roof of reeds. There are no divisions into rooms; no chimney, so that the smoke goes out through a hole in the roof; a door of reeds is tied with a rope and there is a square hole for a window; the bedsteads are separated from each other by a Hottentot's mat so that the sleeping arrangements are pretty sociable; the floor is of clay mixed with dung. On this everything stands in confusion together; butter churn, freshly slaughtered cattle, bread etc; while amongst them a menagerie of hens, ducks and little pigs runs around; and the doves actually nest in the roof. The furniture is appropriately a small table, or, lacking that, a wooden box, and 3 or 4 camp stools whose seats are of hide. These barns that are scarcely 40 feet long and 15 foot broad, held on some farms two or even 3 families and their children. Thus cleanliness was not considerable... I have found only two houses that were decently built and maintained in cleanliness, but were still far from luxurious..." (30)

Swellengrebel ascribed this state of affairs to "the limited traffic in their products", owing to the difficulties of communication with de Kaap and he confidently prophesied that if things continued thus, the inhabitants of Camdebo would become "een geheel verwilderde natie". (31)

However, poor and "badly off for the amenities of human life" (32) as they may have been when measured against the standards of their compatriots in the south west Cape (and not all were equally so), they shared a single material culture; and the demands of this culture - "those aspects of life that control us without our even being aware of them" (33) - propelled them as surely as did the rational capitalist imperatives of the arable farmers, into the arms of the merchants and money lenders of Cape Town and their local clients and equivalents on the frontier.

Their dwellings may have borne a superficial resemblance to the long-houses

of the Amerindians (rather than the Khoikhoi, who preferred a greater privacy), but one should not be deceived: the monotonous regularity with which certain essential items recur in the inventories bears testimony to their dependence on imported commodities, no matter how simple their style of life. Saws and pick axes, carpentry tools, canvas, ploughshares and guns, tin spoons and forks, pewter plates, iron pots, woollen blankets, glass bottles and copper kettles may not have impressed a visitor form Europe, and were indeed often old and battered,(34) but they were regarded as essentials in the meanest of households,(35) and they had from time to time to be replaced.

There was besides a wide range of items which formed part of recurrent expenditure but which were not reflected in the Vendurollen. There were producer goods such as canvas, tar, rosin, paint, gunpowder and lead, for example, and personal effects such as buttons, razors, hairpins, handkerchiefs and needles, mirrors, medicines, hair oils, flints and tinder boxes. And there were groceries and textiles, which accounted for a great part of trekboer indebtedness to local pedlars and merchants.

The country style of dress was certainly different from that of fashionable Cape Town. Members of the upper stratum of townsmen, clustered around the higher officials of the VOC, did their best to emulate the dress of fashionable Europe, insofar as the erratic patterns of the import trade permitted. Both men and women wore gaily coloured silks, satins, cashmeres and cambrics, trimmed with ribbons, bows, flounces of lace and fine embroidery.(36) No respectable townsman would venture out without his coat and matching waistcoat, his cocked hat, cravat and knitted stockings and a well-heeled pair of shoes. It goes without saying that such dress was impracticable on the plains of Camdebo, but the trekboeren could not dispense with fabrics altogether. Veldschoenen, leather trousers and waistcoats, made from the skins of smaller game, were part of every frontiersman's wardrobe,(37) and his broad brimmed hat might be made of plaited leaves of the palmiet plant, but comfort, convenience and decorum dictated that both men and women availed themselves of the cheaper cotton and woollen fabrics imported from Asia and Europe. Chief among these were linens, broadcloth, baize (baaij - a coarse woollen cloth used also for the canopies of 4 poster beds), baft (a coarse cotton cloth), canvas or duck and the many varieties of printed, checked or striped Indian cottons imported by the VOC.(38) These were made up into the simple loose shirts, short single-breasted jackets, striped waistcoats, baggy pantaloons and knitted cotton night caps which became almost a uniform among the graziers (39), while the women wore gowns of plain cotton, gingham or Indian chintz, depending on their status and the nature of the occasion. (40) A camisole, a petticoat, a printed kerchief, a close fitting cap and the characteristic quilted kappie completed the female wardrobe.

Mentzel may have been right when he observed that "the country women of Africa do not need many clothes" (41), but those they did need involved them in a considerable expenditure. Most households were in perennial debt on account of their purchases of cloth(42), for prices were remarkably high.(43) One ell(three quarters of a yard) of baize cost 4 schellings in 1779, 60% of the sale price of a wether! Flemish linen was sold in the interior districts at between 5 and 6 schellings per ell (35% of the value of a wether by 1800) and even the ubiquitous voerchitzen (pieces of coarse

red and black printed Indian cloth from which a whole dress could be made up) cost nearly 40% of the value of a slaughter beast.(44)

With respect to food the veeboeren were probably more self-sufficient than in any other area of their lives. The preponderance of meat in their diet was noted by many a visitor. Bread and cereals were scarce, except on farms where irrigation was possible, indeed, many boers were compelled to purchase or barter grain from their neighbours(45), but abundant supplies of mutton and game helped make good the deficiency. As Lichtenstein observed, the wealthier colonists sometimes had to feed a "family" (including relatives, slaves and Khoi servants) of more than 100 people(46). To this end, he averred, they might slaughter 600 wethers each year (47): "from the produce of the lands and flocks must the whole tribe be fed ..."(48) For the poorer graziers, such a high consumption of mutton was out of the question (see below) and game, especially biltong, the smoked and dried flesh of buffalo and antelope, "which people hereabouts use as bread"(49) took its place. Frequent hunting parties took a heavy toll of wild animals in the eastern Karroo (50), but springbok, quagga, buffalo and the larger antelopes could still be found in abundance at the turn of the century.(51) Even the wealthiest farmers looked to this source (and to their herds of goats) for the maintenance of themselves and their servants. At Jacobus Botha's grazing farm on the Piesang river, "the whole roof in the kitchen was hung with thick slices of buffalo flesh," by which means Botha was able to feed "a whole society of more than 50 Hottentots who were here in [his] service". (52)

Besides meat,(including poultry and pigs) most boers had access to home-grown fruit and vegetables (though again, there was a lively local trade in dried fruit). Milk, by contrast, was scarce, and the reason is not far to seek: the price of salted butter was consistently high in relation to that of other commodities (see Appendix 2) and, despite the heat of the Karroo climate, it could apparently be stored for long periods and successfully marketed at de Kaap.(53) Butter milk, however, was readily available and much esteemed.(54)

In the province of food, then, the trekboer household may have approximated Lichtenstein's image of "a state in miniature, in which the wants and means of supplying them are reciprocal"(55). Yet a reading of estate papers suggests that even the poorest frontiersmen made regular purchases of commodities dismissed by Lichtenstein as luxuries: tea, coffee beans, sugar, rice, spices tobacco and snuff. Tea and coffee were an integral part of the daily regime in the households of the arable districts.

> "No-one", observed Mentzel, "leaves the breakfast table before he has drunk half a dozen cups of tea, and the men have smoked a pipe of tobacco. At 12 o'clock the midday meal is taken; at 3 p.m. the tea-kettle is again on the table."(56)

In the distant reaches of the Karroo the consumption of tea may have been much lower, though the omnipresence of the tea pot and chafing dish indicates that it was likewise considered a necessity. At the officially sponsored auctions held in Graaff Reinet during the first decade of the 19th century it was customary to buy just 2 lbs of tea and 1 voerchitz, perhaps as a present with which to win the favour of a wife, mistress or daughter.(57) Surviving bills and accounts among the papers of deceased estates suggest that tea, like sugar and coffee beans, was normally

purchased in quantities of 2 to 6 lbs at a time, though occasionally a frontiersman would buy a whole case.(58) Spices such as saffron, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, chillies, cayenne pepper and cloves were likewise deemed indispensable. Africander cuisine was essentially creole and was heavily influenced by the customs of Batavia; meat and vegetables were highly spiced and flavoured with a variety of vegetable atjars (chutneys) and sambals.(59) In the western districts rice was the usual accompaniment to these dishes; on the frontier it may well have been considered a luxury, though there are records of frontiersmen buying rice by the 50lb bag.(60)

Finally, tobacco, wine and brandy must likewise be classed as essentials in the diet of the Cape frontiersman. A non-smoking trekboer would have been a rarity on the eastern frontier, and inebriation, despite Lichtenstein's protestations to the contrary (61), was a common pastime. Both tobacco and alcohol could in theory be produced and consumed at the same point, (Stephanus Naude, for example, produced 152 lbs of tobacco in 1801) but in practice, tobacco was largely imported, or rather, smuggled into the Colony under the noses of Company officials(62), while wine and brandy were produced by a handful of privileged graziers(63) and sold by the bottle or the cask to passing travellers(64), or carted about the country for sale to the inhabitants.(65)

As individuals moved up the scale of wealth, their dependence on the world of exchanges grew greater, not less. Land had always been commoditised at the Cape and the grazing farms of the Karroo were no exception. However, the poorer graziers and young men starting out on life could normally find places as bijwoners (66) or, if they were prepared to move beyond the settled districts and risk their lives and property in the escalating conflict with the Khoisan, they could appropriate "new" land on the open frontier. The northern divisions of Graaff Reinet, indeed, were largely colonised by men and women in their twenties and early thirties.(67) However, the best places - those with irrigable land, good all year round grazing and access to the main waggon routes - rapidly acquired a price. By the turn of the century, moreover, there was little untaken land to be had, and the earlier tendency for sons to move away at marriage (68) was reversed, so that by 1798, some 41% of all bijwoners were married men living with their fathers or fathers-in-law.(69) Increasingly, therefore, secure access to good land became dependent on purchase. And the evidence suggests that it changed hands among the wealthy with surprising frequency.(70) Prices ranged very widely, so that any attempt to calculate a mean price would have little value, but by the last decade of the 18th century, the better farms in Graaff Reinet district fetched auction prices of between 1000 and 4000 rix dollars, while undeveloped or ill-favoured pastures could be obtained for 300 rix dollars or less.(71) The preference of the well-to-do for registered ownership(72) rather than unregistered tenancy is further suggested by an examination of the median estates referred to above: 7 of the 10 median estates in the top 6 deciles held more than 20% of their gross assets in land (see Appendix 3), while of 19 sampled estates in the top 5 deciles, 7 (ie 36%) held more than 30% of their assets in this form.(73)

Slaves too figured more prominently among the assets of wealthy pastoralists than has hitherto been supposed (74). The absolute number per household may have been low, and the proportion of slaves to freeburgers in the district as a whole much lower than in the arable districts of the western Cape (75), but, in relation to the value of other assets, slaves assumed a marked importance in the higher deciles. Figure 1, below, shows the proportion of assets held in land and slaves by sampled estates in the top 5 deciles:

FIGURE I

Proportion of gross assets held in the form of land or slaves, 1764-1812.(76)

Decile	estate no.	slaves		land	
		% of gross assets	absolute value	% of gross assets	absolute value
10th	294	20% (22)	6892 rds	28%	9715rds
	291	39% (18)	9323rds	45%	10666rds
	286	54% (13)	10717rds	9%	1866rds
	285	52% (47)	23729rds	22%	9933rds
	281	13% (10)	2914rds	46%	10,000rds
9th	259	(23% (4)	3154rds)	nil	
	255	29% (14)	3047rds	35%	3735rds
	254	29% (9)	3025rds	43%	4500rds
8th	235	2% (1)	61rds	nil	
	234	nil		nil	
	225	nil		44%	24917rds
	222	6% (1)	400rds	nil	
7th	213	15%(3)	906rds	nil	
	205	2% (2)	290rds	68%	12475rds
	186	nil			
6th	179	nil		nil	
	174	6% (2)	206rds	6%	200rds (nominal value)
	167	10% (2)	245rds	90%	2166rds
	166	42% (3)	1000rds	nil	

Livestock too had its price and there was a lively trade in horses and trekoxen, not only at the periodic auctions of deceased estates, but also privately, among neighbours and relatives, who not infrequently took one another to court over the debts incurred.(77) Alas, Sparrman's felicitous image of the boer who "with pleasure, but without the least trouble to himself... sees the herds and flocks which constitute his riches, daily and considerably increasing..."(78) is as loose an approximation to the harsh realities of the frontier as Barrow's picture of the immigrant boer who could help himself to vacant land wherever he pleased.(79) In practice, the livestock holdings of the poor were sometimes too small to be self-reproducing, while those of the rich were augmented by substantial purchases of breeding stock.(80)

The presence of small luxuries among the household effects of the more prosperous frontiersmen is a further reminder of the essential unity of colonial material culture. Travelling through the heartland of Swellendam district at the turn of the century, Lichtenstein had noted with appreciation how,

> "there is a much greater difference between the higher and the lower class of the inhabitants, between the master and the servants, both in their dress and in their habits, than in many

> other parts, particularly the Roggeveld. The great trade in cattle, which places the farmers in affluence, and the much more frequent intercourse with the Cape Town... has introduced a sort of luxury and refinement among the the higher classes... most of them are dressed in fine linen or cotton, and their houses are neat and spacious..."(81)

The well-to-do of Graaff Reinet, some of whom lived 36 days journey from the Cape,(82) were undoubtedly less given to refinement than those of the Breede river (they may also have been less affluent); their surplus income was more likely to be invested in additional producer goods such as guns and waggons or basic consumer comforts like kitchen ranges or coffee grinders than in fine fabrics or furniture. Nevertheless, the recurrence of items such as mirrors, curtains, table linen, porcelain and copper candlesticks suggests that Graaff Reinetters were not immune to the blandishments of civilisation. Even velvet cloth, silver knee buckles and gold watches found a market in the village(83) and many a musical trekboer was possessed of a fiddle. Most telling of all were the curtained four poster beds which took pride of place in the living rooms of the rural gentry throughout the Colony.(84) Very few frontiersmen could rival Jacobus Botha, who had 7 beds with blue and red hangings and chintz covers; they made do on the whole with the ordinary kadel. Yet canopied beds were not unkown in the district; the Heemraad Stephanus Naude had 3, which were auctioned for more than 50 rix dollars apiece, and even Willem Prinsloo, not known for his sense of propriety, had one.(85)

If then, we have established that the colonists of Graaff Reinet were bound tightly to the wheel of local commerce, it remains to explain how this was possible, given the admittedly awful difficulties and expense of transport to and from the Cape. The answer lies primarily in the celebrated activities of the smous, or pedlar, who plied his wares in the far interior(86) and of the licensed butchers or stock traders of de Kaap.(87) Peddling and hawking in the country districts was more or less illegal throughout the Company period - few licences were granted and there were occasional attempts to prosecute unlicensed traders. However the evidence we have points to the existence of a widespread clandestine trade, involving not only adventurers from Cape Town and the agents of established merchants, but also the veeboeren themselves, who took to the roads and waggon tracks with cartloads of assorted merchandise.(88) In 1774, following reports from the Landdrost of Swellendam, the Council of Policy was moved to threaten dire penalties against

> "persons [who] have made it their business to wander about every where in the interior, from one District to another, with goods and merchandise conveyed on wagons, cars, horses or pack oxen, thus causing many irregularities..."(89)

but to little effect. In the spring of 1789 a dragoon named Veldbron rode right through Swellendam village, past the Landdrost's house, his three waggons piled high with merchandise.(90) His bravado unfortunately led to his arrest, but this apparently did little to deter those who came after him.(91)

Behind the country smousen lay the power of some of Cape Town's largest merchants. Men such as Andries Brink and Johan Adam Rens sent a steady stream of goods into the interior districts, sometimes with their own servants, sometimes with commissioned agents or with boers returning home from the Cape.(92) These were exchanged against both cash and livestock(93), or, as often as not, sold on credit. Thus veeboeren across the length and breadth of the frontier districts were bound in debt to Brink and Rens and the smaller merchants of Cape Town.(94)

These men also appear to have functioned as money-lenders, extending quite substantial sums at interest to their country clients. Thus, for example, Pieter van der Westhuisen, Pieterzoon, a burger of Graaff Reinet, owed Brink 263 rix dollars in terms of an "onderhandsche obligatie" (private loan) of 1789, while the Weduwee Jacobus Bester owed him 1523 rds "op een scheepenkennis" (notarial bill) and 666rds in terms of a private loan.(95)

In payment of their debts, the trekboeren were frequently obliged to surrender the promissory notes or "slachters briefjes" which they received from the agents of the Cape Town butchers who toured the pastoral districts throughout the year.(96) In this way, a chain of credit was established, in which the merchants served as agents and the trekboeren were defrauded, or at least compelled to buy their goods at prices well above those they could have obtained for cash.(97)

They could ofcourse escape this trap by coming themselves to de Kaap where (under normal circumstances) they could cash the briefjes and bid for their necessaries at the periodic auctions (venduties) held under the auspices of the Company or at the houses of favoured officials. But here the constraints of distance and poor (or non-existent) roads were usually prohibitive. Most graziers travelled to the Cape once in the year, taking a load or two of butter and soap,(98) but such journeys, as Guelke observed, "were fraught with difficulties" and involved the loss of weeks of labour-time, for each waggon required a driver, a voorleier and at least one herdsman for the spare draught oxen.(99) Sometimes neighbours or relatives were hired as transport-riders(100), but in general (excepting the opportunities afforded by the auctions held occasionally under the auspices of country magistrates (101)) there was nothing for it but to depend upon the middle-men of de Kaap. The complaints laid before the British in this respect by the faraway inhabitants of the Hantam may well have been echoed in Graaff Reinet: "Having understood", they wrote,

> "that, at the request of the magistrates, there is arrived form England a cargo of every article necessary for agriculture etc ... the undersigned cannot sufficiently shew their gratitude, but that selling these goods by auction, the merchants provide themselves first and afterwards sell them for an exorbitant price to people that live in a remote part and cannot embrace the moment the auctions are held..."(102)

The terms of trade obtained under this system were extremely unfavourable to the *veeboeren*. Again, the lament issuing from the Hantam could equally

have come from the Nuweveld or Graaff Reinet:

> "The cultivator of wine and corn sells his products at the same time at a high price, the wheelwright, smiths and every trading person equally exorbitant in their demands and a low stipulated price on the cattle, nothing but indigence remains for the practioners [of pastoralism], while the remainder of the colonists flourish..." (103)

The price of slaughter stock was kept artificially low through the Company's system of leases and concessions (104). The livestock market was partially monopsonised by the "contracted butchers" who, in terms of their concession, were obliged to supply the Company at prices below cost. The quid pro quo for the contractors was the exclusive right to supply foreign ships at virtually uncontrolled prices. However, in order to secure their profits and win the favour of a regime concerned above all with reducing its own expenses (and therefore the living costs of its employees), they also attempted to monopolise the supply of meat to the inhabitants of Cape Town, a considerable trade which normally lay in the hands of 6 or more competing "private butchers". The result, inevitably, was the artificial depression of the prices paid to the veeboeren.(105) However, the latter found their own means of resistance and the contracted butchers were never able to achieve a complete monopoly. Stock prices rose under the pressure of expanded demand, despite all attempts to depress them. Indeed, surprisingly, until the turn of the century, they rose at a slightly faster rate than the prices of trekossen (always more valuable), for which the market was uncontrolled (see Appendix 3).

However, when measured against the prices of the goods habitually purchased by the graziers, livestock prices were absurdly low. The high cost of textiles has already been alluded to, but the same was true of other commodities. In 1791, for example, when the average (producer) price of a wether was 15 schellings and 3 stuiwers (see Appendix 3), the seller could have acquired in return just 4 lbs of gunpowder, 2 razors, 1.75 lbs of tea or 11.75 inches of broadcloth! A gun of good quality would have cost him 11 sheep, while a waggon would have cost him 129.(106)

Furthermore, if Mentzel is to be believed, the supply of imported commodities was highly erratic, depending in large part upon the unofficial and quasi-clandestine trade between the officers and crew of outward bound Indiamen and the private citizens of Cape Town.(107) The goods on offer and the prices at which they were retailed varied enormously according to the movements of shipping in the Bay:

> "... prices at the Cape are never stable. An article may be very expensive one day and ridiculously cheap a few weeks later. Everything depends on the quantity of goods available and the prospect of speedy replacement. Should there be many Dutch ships in the Bay upon their outward voyage, there would be a glut in the supply of many articles. Everybody would lay in a stock of these commodities that were purchased at a low price and hold out for a rise... should an unusually long time elapse between the visits of outward bound vessels, prices would go up because, apart from local consumers, ready customers for Dutch wares are always to be found

> on homeward bound Indiamen. In a short time prices would soar to giddy heights and the goods would soon be unobtainable..."

Small wonder, then, that "speculative buying and selling [was] the main-spring of the Cape trade." (108)

Faced with a market of this nature, the poorer veeboeren could find themselves in a precarious position... Bankruptcy proceedings were relatively rare, but they could and did occur, to the great ire of the local populace.(109) In 1788, for example, the Court of Justice ordered 15 burgers of Graaff Reinet to settle their unpaid debts to the Orphan Chamber. Josaias Dafel and Jan Botha, Willemzoon, were unable to pay, partly because the bankruptcy of the butcher, Jonas van der Poel, had left them without income from the sale of livestock; their assets were sequestered and auctioned and they were left virtually destitute.(110) Their sad fate was remembered some seven years later, during the burger rebellion of 1795 (which incidentally coincided with a severe recession in the Cape economy and a sudden drop in livestock prices), though the rebels placed their own interpretation upon it... According to the Klagtschrift presented to Commissioner de Wet on the 26th April, 1795,

> "those who oppose them [the district Landdrost and Secretary] at sales are arrested for payment before it is due... as much as to say "we shall teach you to bid against the Landdrost and Secretary", as happened with Tafel and van Wyk, who for a trifling debt [Dafel actually owed 1097rds!] was fetched from his waggon by the messenger Erlank on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand, like the greatest delinquent..."(111)

Local creditors, however, were wont to be more merciful than their urban counterparts. Sums owing to neighbours and friends might remain unpaid for a decade or more and on the death of a creditor they might even be taken over by his heirs. Even cases which reached the local Court of Landdrost and Heemraden could take years to settle. In 1813, for example, after waiting three years for J.L. du Preez to obey a summons, Joseph de Beer declared himself "fed up with travelling to and fro" to attend the hearings and abandoned his claim to the Church Congregation.(112)

Thus, despite protestations from some quarters (notably the embattled Sneeuwbergers) "dat wij hoe langer hoe dieper in schulden geraaken"(113), indigent frontiersmen were in fact cushioned against insolvency by a complex network of local credit and debt, as well as by the system of livestock loans "op de helft van aanteel" and by the ease with which land was made available to "bijwoners" and "knechten".

Of the 303 deceased estates examined in this study, only 11 were insolvent. The distribution of wealth was very uneven, however: just 34 households held 50% of the total net wealth of the 292 solvent estates, constituting a "minimal majority" of 11.6%, (114) (though ofcourse not all were co-existent in time). Of the total 303 estates, 51% held net assets worth less than 2000 rix dollars, while 36% had a net worth of less than 1000rds. Figure 3, below, provides an idea of the overall distribution of wealth among the 303 households, according to their net worth.

highest value:	115050rds	40sts (Cornelis Coetzee and his son Hercules,1801)
90th percentile:	11772rds	7sts
80th percentile:	6813rds	6sts
70th percentile:	5065rds	14.5sts
60th percentile:	3634rds	23sts
50th percentile:	2011rds	10.5sts
40th percentile:	1479rds	43.5sts
30th percentile:	890rds	39.5sts
20th percentile:	520rds	40sts
10th percentile:	245rds	28sts
lowest value:	1rd	24sts
Insolvents:	nil	

Figure 3: The distribution of net wealth among 303 deceased estates of Graaff Reinet burgers and their relatives, 1764-1812.

Using the lists of livestock and producer goods auctioned soon after the death of a householder, it is possible to arrive at a rough assessment of the current viability (at the time of death, that is) of boer households in the various deciles. The procedures involved require a certain amount of informed guesswork with which the historian may feel rather uncomfortable; however, the richness of the sources compels one to make the attempt so as to construct a more concrete basis from which to assess the relative prosperity of frontier households. Was it true, as Lichtenstein asserted, that the surplus produce of a veeboer's land and livestock was "not so great as may be supposed at first sight; it perhaps hardly more than compensates the outgoings for objects which cannot be raised upon the spot..."?(115) Or were the complaints of hardship exaggerated merely to win relief from irksome exactions of rent and taxes?

The following examples, selected from the sample and arranged ~~according to the date of settlement and the level of gross assets of each estate~~ chronologically, are intended to suggest a preliminary an answer to this question.(116) On the one hand, since they are based upon estimates of herd structure, calving and lambing percentages, milk yields etc, drawn from 20th century studies of Afrikaner cattle and sheep (117), they may exaggerate the productivity of 18th pastoralism, although allowance has been made as far as possible for a higher mortality rate and a lower fertility rate under 18th century conditions.(118) On the other hand, the productivity of less visible activities, such as the raising of pigs and poultry, soap-making, horticulture, hunting, tanning, transport-riding etc, has perforce been underestimated and the reader must bear these in mind when assessing the significance of the following cases:

(No.64, 2nd decile) Sara Fourie, Weduwee Adriaan van Wyk, aged 66 years; vendutie held 4 November 1771, gross assets 896rds: 538 sheep, 8 cows & 8 calves, 44 "beesten in soort", 25 oxen, 8 mares, 1 saddle horse, agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income from livestock and butter (assuming no domestic consumption of slaughter stock), 470rds (119) + cereals, salt etc. If 52 sheep per annum were consumed at home, maximum

disposable income would be 448rds. Debts 294rds 36sts (33% of gross assets).

(No 24, 1st decile) Jacobus Botha, Christoffelzoon, bachelor aged 31 years; vendutie held 31 July, 1776, gross assets 181rds 16sts: No breeding-stock, no agricultural implements, possibly transport-rider or knecht, income unknown, 50rds owed to traders (including Andries Brink) for merchandise, 9rds owed in cash.

(No.9, insolvent) Johannes Laas, arrived 1743, and surviving spouse Johanna Gousch; vendutie held on 20 September 1776, gross assets 1258rds 5sts: 725 sheep, 85 "beesten in zoort", 34 oxen, 50 goats, 5 mares, 1 foal, 1 stallion, 1 saddlehorse, agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income 505rds (119), + 30 goats, 11 kids and 1 old ram for home consumption, cereals, vegetables etc. If 52 sheep per annum slaughtered for home consumption, maximum disposable income would be 479rds. Debts 608rds 40sts (48% of gross assets) + inheritances unpaid.

(No205, 7th decile) Johannes Jurgen de Beer, aged 56 years and surviving spouse Christina van der Merwe; vendutie held on 12 April 1785, gross assets 18364rds 42sts: 1066"aanteelschapen", 38 lambs, 111 "aanteelbokken", 35 cows and 18 calves, 17 heifers, 6 bulls, 9 young bulls, 133 trekoxen, 9 geldings, 1 mare, agricultural implements, wine and brandy-making equipment, smithy. Maximum disposable income from livestock and agriculture, 1198rds 2schellings (119) + 23 old goats and 107 kids for home consumption. If he slaughtered 100 sheep (old ewes) per annum for domestic consumption, disposable income would be 1130rds 2 schellings. Debts 12745rds (including a 10,000rd loan from the Orphan Chamber) (69% of gross assets).

(No.2, insolvent) Jacoba van der Merwe and surviving spouse Christiaan Aucamp, aged 25 years; vendutie held 10 January, 1787, gross assets 610rds 12sts: 91 breeding sheep, 14 cows, 10 heifers, 9 bull calves, 15trekoxen, 2 young oxen, 1 mare, no agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income from livestock and butter, 143 rds (including 65rds for cattle sold the year before)(119). Debts 261rds (43%of gross assets) + 321 rds unpaid inheritances.

(No.28,1st decile) Volkert Schoemaker, immigrant bachelor; vendutie held 9 February 1797, gross assets 1956rds 42sts: 200 sheep and goats, 38 "aanteelbeesten", 1 bull, 11 oxen, 2 mares, 2 foals, agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income, 436rds from livestock and butter + 68rds annual interest on loans + 15 kids and 6 nanny goats for home-consumption + cereals etc?(119) If he slaughtered 52 sheep per annum, maximum disposable income would be 452rds. Debts 1517rds 30sts, including 600rds owed to A.G.Theubes, a Cape Town trader, (65% of gross assets).

(No.34, 1st decile) Marthinus Oosthuizen (aged 35 years) and surviving spouse Johanna Jacomina Calitz; vendutie held 23 January, 1800, gross assets 737rds 36sts: 186 sheep, 10 oxen, 102 goats, 2 mares, agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income from livestock and butter, 254rds (119), + 8 old goats and 17 kids for home consumption + cereals and fruit? If they slaughtered 52 sheep per annum for home consumption, maximum disposable income would be 156rds.(120) 8 children living at home. Debts

265rds 26sts (36% of gross assets) + 110rds unpaid inheritance.

(No. 301,10th decile) Stephanus Naude aged 52 years and Anna Elizabeth Olivier, Weduwee Dirk Coetsee (both murdered during the Khoi rebellion of 1799-1803); vendutie held 25 January 1802, gross assets 32794rds 18sts: 1002 wethers, 485 ewes, 50 cows and 42 calves, 3 bulls, 94 steers, 8 "beesten in zoort", 160 trekoxen, 54 young oxen, 2 "voorpaarden", 9 saddle horses, 7 mares and 4 foals, 113 goats, smiths tools. Maximum disposable income from livestock and butter, 3109rds (assuming all 1002 wethers sold this year)(119) + 29rds 4 schellings for soap + 97rds 4schellings for tobacco cultivated and sold + income from smithy, corn etc. Debts c2000rds (6% of gross assets).

(No.179, 6th decile) Gabriel du Plessis d'oude, aged 57 years and late spouse Hester Venter; vendutie held 12 November 1807, gross assets 3822rds 24sts: 534 lambs, 17 ewes and 14 lambs, 1002 "aanteelschapen", 9 cows and 10 calves, 6 "aanteelbeesten", 5 young steers, 17 oxen, 5 young oxen, 4 mares and 2 foals, 2 saddle horses, no agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income 588rds (119), 9 children to feed. If he slaughtered 100 sheep per annum for home consumption, maximum disposable income would be 415rds. Debts 104rds (3% of gross assets).

(No.104,4th decile) Carel Nicolaas van der Merwe, aged 40 years and surviving spouse Geesje Cornelia Smit; vendutie held 28 June 1811, gross assets 2033rds 30sts: 840 wethers, 360 ewes and young lambs, 24 "aanteelbeesten", 16 young oxen, 4 mares, 1 gelding, 1 young stallion, 108 goats, agricultural implements. Maximum disposable income, 2791 rds (assuming all wethers sold this year) + 72 goats and 9 old nanny-goats for home consumption (119) + cereals etc. 9 children to feed. Debts 125rds 12sts (6% of gross assets) + inheritances owing.

These examples have not been adjusted to take account of inflation, however they do allow one to draw tentative conclusions concerning the viability of frontier households at different periods in time. In brief, it would seem that in the 1770s, a working capital worth 800-1200rds or thereabouts was adequate to yield an income above 400rds per annum, (assuming a very low home consumption of livestock) which should have allowed the recipient to meet basic expenses; whereas by the 1780s this is unlikely to have been enough. By the turn of the century, 1000rds was far too little - nearly 2000rds was required as a basis for comfortable living, while during the ensuing decade a man aspiring to a lifestyle of "rough comfort" would need assets valued at between 2000 and 3000rds.(121) By contrast, men in the position of J.J.de Beer and Stephanus Naude, with capital assets worth well over 15,000rds, were able to accumulate a sizeable annual surplus(122) which (aided by loans and mortgages) they invested in land, livestock and slaves, or, as they grew older, in loans to relatives, neighbours and the local authorities.

why not?

Money-lending was of crucial importance to the regional economy of the frontier. Besides the Orphan Chamber, there was no public source of credit at the Cape and without private credit it is doubtful whether the economy could have functioned at all. Certainly credit provided by local notables underwrote many a purchase of land, livestock or slaves in frontier

districts. Men such as the Heemraden Cornelis Coetzee, Joshua Joubert and Andries Petrus Burgers lent enormous sums to kinsmen, neighbours and other parties(123).

Besides being rich, the major creditors of Graaff Reinet were usually men past the prime of life, aged in their 60s and 70s or even older. Many were clearly supporting needy (or ambitious?) kinsmen(124), but not, we should note, without interest. The question as to how far they would support the least credit-worthy among their kin is one which cannot be answered here, though it is clearly of crucial importance in understanding the dynamics of inequality in Graaff Reinet. Our purpose here has been merely to establish that inequality existed and that it should be understood in the context of an economy dominated by the production and consumption of commodities.

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Footnotes:

* F.Braudel, Afterthoughts on Material Civilisation and Capitalism (Johns Hopkins 1977), 5-6.

1. L.Guelke and R. Cole Harris, "Land and society in early Canada and South Africa", Canadian Journal of Historical Studies, 1976; "Frontier Settlement in early Dutch South Africa", Annals of the American Association of Geographers, vol.66, March 1976; "The White Settlers, 1652-1780", in R.Elphick and H.Giliomee (eds) The Shaping of South African Society (Longman 1979).
2. S.D. Neumark, Economic Influences on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836, (Stanford University 1957).
3. Ibid. 23-24.
4. Guelke, "White Settlers", 68-9.
5. Ibid. 61.
6. Ibid. 61, 63; Guelke, "Frontier Settlement",36.
7. Guelke, "The White Settlers", 67.
8. Ibid. 66.
9. R.Ross, "Capitalism, Expansion and Incorporation on the South African Frontier", in H.Lamar and L.M.Thompson (eds), The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared; "The First Two Centuries of Colonial Agriculture in the Cape Colony: a Historiographical Review", Conference on Southern African Studies, Edinburgh, 30 May-1 June, 1983.
10. Anders Sparrman, A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope... and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the Year 1772-1776 (Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, nos 6 & 7, 1977); C.P.Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, vols 1-4 (London,1795); R.J. Gordon, Dagboek,1777-1786, vols 1-3, VC 592; Henry Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806 (Van Riebeeck Society, vols 10 and 11, Cape Town,1928).
11. See for example GR 15/1, Wills or MOOC
12. J107, Opgaafrol, Graaff Reinet,1787. Male burgers were taxed from the age of 16, although, in terms of the law of succession, they were not deemed adult until the age of 25 years.
13. Nearly all estates owned by frontier veeboeren were left intestate on the death of the second spouse.
14. Kindly selected for me by Dr Tim Dunne of the Department of Mathematical Statistics at the University of Cape Town.

14b. O.F.Mentzel, A... Geographical and Topographical Description of the Famous and (All Things Considered) Remarkable African Cape of Good Hope, vol III (Van Riebeeck Society,vol 25 1944),106-7.

15. Guelke, "White Settlers", 52, 62-3 and "Frontier Settlement",37.
16. J Opgaafrol, Graaff Reinet,1803.
17. Lichtenstein, op.cit.,I, 452
18. J.R.Bruijn,"De personeelsbehoefte van de VOC overzee en aan boord, bezien in Aziatisch en Nederlands perspectief", Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, no 91 (1976), 233-239; A.M.van der Woude,"Het Noordekwartier", A.A.G. Bijdragen no 16 (1972) deel I, 222-225, 363-395.
19. J107, Opgaafrol Graaff Reinet,1787 and J.Hoge, "Personalia of the Germans at the Cape,1652-1806",AYBSAH,1946.
20. GR 1/1, Minutes of the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden, November to May,1787,

21. J113, Opgaafrol, Graaff Reinet,1798.
22. See for example MOOC 13/1/19 no 10, Estate of Albertus Nel, 2 December 1798; CJ3387, 9 November 1812, Commission of Circuit, Uitenhage, case no 1, testimony of Casper Knoetze.
23. J113, Opgaafrol, Graaff Reinet, 1798.
24. Ibid.
25. C.C.de Villiers and C.Pama, Geslagsregisters van die Ou Kaapse Families (Balkema 1966), vol 2, 717.
26. MOOC 13/1/16 no 8 and appendices, Estate of Fredrik Potgieter and Maria Magdalena Landman.
27. MOOC 14/80, Estate of Jacobus Botha d'oude; MOOC 10/17 and 13/1/21 no 13, Estate of Joshua Joubert, Gideonzoon (1796).
28. MOOC 13/1/32 no 36, Estate of Gerrit Hendrik Catenbrink, 10 October 1809.
29. C.S. Woodward, "From multi-purpose parlour to drawing-room: the development of the principal voorkamer in the fashionable Cape house 1670-1820", Bulletin of the South African Cultural History Museum, no 4,1983.
30. A447, Hendrik Swellengrebel, Journal of a Trip to the North East of the Colony, September to December 1776, 21-24.
31. Idem.
32. Mentzel,op.cit., 110.
33. Braudel, op.cit.,6-7.
34. Sparrman, op.cit., I,251, II,132.
35. This is clear from contemporary accounts as well as from the inventories and vendurollen. Cf Mentzel, op.cit., 113.
36. D.H. Strutt, Clothing Fashions in South Africa (Balkema 1975),108-138.
37. Ibid.,101.
38. See series MOOC 13/1/1 to 13/1/40 and appendices.
39. Strutt, op.cit., 129-141; Sparrman, op.cit., II,132; Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,451; J.Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa (London 1806),II,401-2. See also contempoary paintings and drawings, especially those of Samuel Daniell.
40. Strutt, op.cit, 141-2.
41. Mentzel, op.cit, 112.
42. See series MOOC 13/1/1-13/1/40, Liquidation accounts and appendices.
43. See Appendix 3.
44. Idem. There were 8 schellingen in each rix dollar. 1 rix dollar was worth approximately 4 shillings (sterling) during the 18th century, but values fluctuated somewhat.
45. Swellengrebel, op.cit., 1 and 4 November 1776; GR 12/2, Pieter Schalk van der Merwe et al to Landdrost, 3 December 1787; BO 104, Petition of burgers from the Roggeveld, 1798; MOOC 13/1/18 no 41, Estate of Johannes Swanepoel d'oude, 1791; MOOC 13/1/27 no 2, Estate of Gerrit Coetzee,Dirkzoon; MOOC 13/1/29 no 6, estate of Aletta Catharina Smit and Johannes Arnoldus Basson, 1806; MOOC 14/107, Estate of Johannes Hendrik Cloete, Gerritzoon,1807.
46. Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,57. See also J115, Opgaafrol GR 1798; J118, Opgaafrol, GR, 1800, which list bijwoners and their servants, thus making it possible to determine the total number of people resident on each farm.
47. Lichtenstein, op.cit.,I,446; see also Mentzel, op.cit., 101.
48. Lichtenstein, op.cit,, I,57.
49. Gordon, op.cit., I,450.

50. Sparrman, II,60.
51. Barrow, op.cit., II,123-4.
52. Thunberg, op.cit.,I,189.
53. V.C. Malherbe, "Diversification and Mobility of Khoikhoi Labour in the Eastern District of the Cape Colony Prior to the Labour Law of 1 November 1809", M.A. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1978),51; Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,447; Sparrman,I,233; GR 17/90 Orphan Chamber,1814.
54. Mentzel, op.cit., 206; Sparrman, op.cit., II,134.
55. Lichtenstein, I, 57.
56. Mentzel, op.cit., 101,109.
57. GR 14/142 Maancedullen,1804; GR 14/131, Vendurollen, 1806-1811.
58. MOOC 13/1/10 no 21; MOOC 13/1/16 no 8; MOOC 14/73, Estate of Andries Brink, Estate of Adam Ziedel; MOOC 14/233 and 14/95 Estate of Catharina Magdalena Marais and Johannes Slabbert,Gideonzoon (1803); MOOC 14/115 Estate of J.F.Crous, estate of Hester Myburg Weduwee Gerrit Olivier,Hendrikzoon; MOOC 14/92 Estate of Johannes Andreas Grundling; MOOC 14/107 Estate of Jan Hendrik Cloete,Garritzoon; GR 13/2, November 1787.
59. Lichtenstein, op.cit., II,104.
60. See above, note 58.
61. Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,205.
62. O.F.Mentzel, A Geographical-Topographical Description... vol II (VRS no 6, 1924), 54-5.
63. For example, by Jacob Kok, Samuel, Zacharias and Johannes Jurgen de Beer and Jacobus Botha d'oude.
64. Gordon, op.cit., I,43; GR 1/1, Minutes... 7 April 1788, 14 December 1789.
65. 1/STB 20/2, Landdrosts Faber and Mentz to Governor, 17 February 1770.
66. Mentzel, op.cit.,III,111; J115 and J118, Opgaafrollen, GR,1798 and 1800.
67. RLR and de Villiers and Fama, op.cit., vols 1-3, passim.
68. Mentzel, op.cit., III, 112-3; Ross,"Capitalism...", 220-221.
69. J115, Opgaafrol, GR,1798. This calculation is based on a 6% sample taken from a total of 613 livestock-owning bijwoners on the 1798 Opgaafrol (which listed in all 973 taxpayers, including 33 widows).
70. MOOC 13/1/1-13/1/40 and accompanying Vendurollen and Appendices. The most valuable source with respect to the purchase and sale of land - the notarial registers - has yet to be systematically exploited.
71. Idem., especially MOOC 10/1-10/28, Vendurollen.
72. Almost all Graaff Reinet farms were nominally "leeningsplaatsen", leased from the Company on an annual basis. However, registered leasehold gave the lessee the right to sell the "opstal" (farm buildings and improvements) which in practice came to include the surrounding land. The buyer would then take over the lease.
73. See below, Figure 1.
74. cf. J.C.Armstrong, "The Slaves, 1652-1795" in Elphick and Giliomee, op.cit.,96 and Guelke, "The White Settlers" in Ibid., 62.
75. Nigel Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa (Cambridge University Press 1985), 10, Figure 1 and 14, Figure 2.
76. Independent variables, such as age at death, marital status, place of residence etc, will inevitably disrupt the patterns of the data. Widows and the aged, for example, sometimes liquidated their assets

and loaned the proceeds to kinsmen or other parties. This may well have been the case with estates no 222, 234, 235 and 186. Others left orders that their slaves should be emancipated at their death, as with estate no 259, or prelegated their farms to favoured sons who repaid only a nominal sum to the estate, e.g. no 174. Still others lived in Cape Town and held the bulk of their assets in urban property, loans or slaves, whom they rented to fellow burgers: estates no 225 and 285 both belonged to urban residents.

77. GR 4/1 and 4/10, Civil Court Cases and Appendices, Graaff Reinet, 1804-1820; See also MOOC 13/1/16 no 8, estate of Fredrik Potgieter, 19 August, 1789.
78. Sparrman, op.cit., II,130.
79. Barrow, op.cit., II,101.
80. MOOC 10/1 - 10/28, Vendurollen.
81. Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,204.
82. A124, Mr Fitzgerald's Journal of Excursions at the Cape, 1797-1798; Guelke, "Frontier Settlement", 36.
83. GR 14/131, Vendurollen, 2 October 1807; MOOC 13/1/11 no 31, Estate of Johanna Maria Buis, Weduwee Jan Hendrik Venter, 1782.
84. Woodward, "From multi-purpose parlour to drawing-room...",12.
85. MOOC 13/1/27 no 21, Estate of Stephanus Naude and Anna Elizabeth Olivier; MOOC 14/65, vendurol of Johannes Jurgen de Beer, October 1785; MOOC 14/65, vendurol of Willem Prinsloo d'oude, June 1783.
86. The activities of frontier smousen have been researched in depths by Roger Beck of the University of Indiana.
87. See S.Newton-King, "Some thoughts on the political economy of Graaff Reinet", unpublished seminar paper, SOAS, 1981.
88. Roger Beck, personal communication; see also MOOC 13/1/13 no 36, estate of Dawid van der Merwe d'oude, 16 September 1785; GR 4/1 Civil Cases, no 2, 13 May 1805; GR 3/16, Criminal Interrogatories, no 195, 24 April, 1792; MOOC 13/1/16, Estate of Philip Carel du Preez, 1788.
89. Resolution of Governor and Council, proclaimed 11 June, 1774, D.Moodie, The Record (Balkema 1960), Part III, 24-5.
90. ZK 1/159, Council of Policy, Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor, 12 October, 1789.
91. Cf. GR 3/16, Criminal Interrogatories, case no 195; MOOC 14/81, Estate of Anna Susanna Lombard and Pieter van der Westhuizen, Pieterzoon.
92. MOOC 14/73 and MOOC 13/1/17, Estate of andries Brink d'oude.
93. Resolution of Governor and Council, 16 June 1774, in Moodie, op.cit., 24-5; GR 3/16, case no 195; MOOC 14/73, Estate of Andries Brink d'oude.
94. MOOC 13/1/10, nos 21 and 25, Estate of Johannes Lodewyk du Preez and estate of Johanna Maria Kruisman, weduwee Johannes Botman; MOOC 13/1/12, Estates of the Weduwee Frans Kruger and Jan Andries Esterhuizen; MOOC 13/1/13 no 26; MOOC 13/1/19, no 12, Estate of Pieter van der Westhuizen, Pieterzoon; MOOC 13/1/22, no 22, Estate of Willem Nel d'oude; MOOC 13/1/23, no 2, Estate of Christina van der merwe, Weduwee Johannes Jurgen de Beer; MOOC 13/1/23 no 33, Estate of Dawid de Beer, Hans Jurgenzoon.
95. MOOC 13/1/19 no 12, Estate of Anna Susanna Lombard and Pieter van der Westhuizen, Pieterzoon; MOOC 13/1/23 no 30, Estate of Maria Elizabeth Eems, Weduwee Jacobus Bester. See also MOOC 13/1/12 no 31, Estate of Jan Andries Esterhuizen; MOOC 13/1/12 no 13, Estate of Frans Kruger d'oude.

96. Cf. MOOC 14/233, Documents in estate of Johannes Slabbert d'oude(1803); GR 4/1, Civil Cases, Case no 2, 5 January 1807; MOOC 13/1/12 no 13, estate of Frans Kruger d'oude, 1783.
97. BO 104, p128, Petition from the Inhabitants of the Roggeveld to Governor Macartney, November 1798; Barrow, op.cit., II,387; F.Le Vaillant, Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa (London),I,59; G.Wagenaar, Johannes Gysbertus van Reenen: Sy Aandeel in die Kaapse Geskiedenis tot 1808, MA Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 1976.
98. Lichtenstein, op.cit.,I,25; Sparrman, I,146.
99. Guelke, "Frontier settlement", 36; Lichtenstein, op.cit., I 26; GR 1/1 Minutes, 1 November, 1790.
100. MOOC 13/1/12, estate of the Weduwee Frans Kruger (1783); GR 4/1 Civil Cases, 4 January, 1808.
101. It is difficult to tell how often these local auctions took place during the VOC period. See, however, MOOC 10/16, 31 January, 1791.
102. BO 104, p128 Petition of the Inhabitants of Hantam, Bokkeveld, to Governor MaCartney, November 1798.
103 Idem.
104. Wagenaar, op.cit., chapter 4; Newton-King, "Some Thoughts..."
105. Wagenaar, idem.
106. Data culled from estate papers, 1764-1812.
107. Mentzel, op.cit., II, 79.
108. Ibid., 76-8.
109. It will be remembered that the Graaff Reinet burger insurrection of 1799 was sparked off by the arrest of Adriaan van Jaarsveld in connection with his attempts to evade payment of the interest on a loan from the Orphan Chamber.
110. CJ 2945 no 384, Papers relating to bankruptcy proceedings against J.J. Dafel and Jan Botha, Willemzoon, 1788.
111. Klagtschrift of 276 Burgers of Graaff Reinet, 26 April, 1795, in Moodie, Afschriften, vol 8.
112. GR 4/1, Civil Cases, 3 July 1810, case no 2.
113. C1017, Burgers of the Sneeuwberg to Landdrost Woeke, 10 October 1790; GR 1/1, Minutes, 1 November 1790.
114. For the definition of a "minimal majority" as "an index of the concentration of wealth", see L.Guelke and R. Shell, "An early colonial landed gentry: land and wealth in the Cape Colony 1682-1731", Journal of Historical Geography, 9,3,1983, note 17. I am not sure if it retains its validity as used above, where the 303 estates span widely separated periods. When the 4 urban households in the 10th decile were left out of the calculation, the minimal majority was reduced to 11.1%.
115. Lichtenstein, op.cit., I,57.
116. Insofar as possible, I have chosen households actively involved in production at the time of death.
117. Data kindly supplied by Dr H.J.Heydenrich and Prof. de wet of the Faculty of Agriculture and Stockbreeding at the University of Stellenbosch.
118. However, the grazing in the eastern Karroo was of a far higher quality than it is today.
119. These figures are based on the assumption that all surplus livestock was sold rather than slaughtered for home consumption. This is in fact extremely unlikely, even in the poorest households. Old ewes and rams

are likely to have been slaughtered for domestic purposes, in preference to wethers. Cattle were normally preserved entirely for the market or for breeding purposes - Afrikaner cattle were very slow growing and relatively infertile.

120. On the assumption that most of the slaughtered animals were old females.

121. The estimated disposable income of C.N.van der Merwe is inflated by the presence in his estate of 840 mature wethers, presumably accumulated over 2 or 3 years. I have assumed that they were all sold in one year.

122. This would remain true even if one assumed a far higher domestic consumption of slaughter stock than allowed for here.

123. MOOC 13/1/25 no 23, Estate of Cornelis Coetzee d'oude; MOOC 13/1/21 no 13, Estate of Joshua Joubert,Gideonzoon; GR 1/1, Minutes, 13 November 1786.

124. See, for example, MOOC 13/1/21 no 13, Estate of Joshua Joubert; MOOC 13/1/34 no 71, Estate of Jacobus Coetzee d'oude; MOOC 13/1/19 no 2, Estate of Jacobus Botha d'oude; MOOC 13/1/25 no 23, Estate of Cornelis Coetzee d'oude.

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APPENDIX 1

10th decile: no 287 (median) Jacobus Botha d'oude, oud Heemraad of Swellendam, homestead at Jan Harmens Gat near Swellendam, grazing farm Piesang Rivier, on which he lived during the 1770s at mouth of Keurbooms rivier. Predeceased by both wives x Elsie Snijman xx Magdalena Munnik. Gross assets 18,796rds 40 stuivers, net assets 17,189rds 1 stuiwer. Estate settled 2nd December 1793.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 iron scales and empty chest, 1 iron balance with wooden scales and 63lbs assorted weights, 2 harrows, 2 ploughs, 3 ploughshares, 4 spades, 2 pick axes, 2 axes, 1 adze, 1 hammer, 1 crowbar, 1 bellows, 1 spierhaak, 1 anvil, 4 dung shovels, 1 cross saw, 1 kraanzaag, 3 pruning knives, 1 copper spraygun, 1 scale, 2 sheets of iron, 3 lots of tools, 1 basket with tools, 1 vice, 1 gun, 1 tin lantern, 1 brandy kettle, 6 empty leggers(563 litres), 1 stukvat, 1 old legger, 2 empty leggers, 1 legger with wine, 1 empty legger, 1 half aam(77.5 litres) and 1 funnel, 1 funnel with brandy, 1 big jug, 1 lot of stone pitchers, brick moulds, tools and rummage, 3 old saddles, 2 ox waggons.
slaves: Schiedam of Bengal rds 490, Damon of Samboua rds 100, July of Bengal rds 501, January of Boegies with his wife Anna of Mozambique rds 313, Anthony of Bengal rds 309, Anthony de tweede of Bengal rds 260, April of Madagascar rds 245, August of Mallabar rds 112, Pedro of Macassar rds 150, Baboe of Mauritius, old and worn out, 2 schell, Izaak of Boegies, old and worn out, 4 schell.

PRODUCER GOODS
homemade
1 camp bed, 1 string of rope-yarn, 1 lot of woodwork, 1 small chest, 11 shelves, 1 rijstblok and 1 lot of rummage, 1 lot of ladder poles, 4 yellow wood planks, 1 grind stone, 1 small waggon chest, 5 corn sacks.

either
1 butter vat, 1 vat with salt, 1 vat with butter, 1 tub with salt, 1 butter churn and halietje, 1 butter churn, 3 empty balies, 1 vat with vinegar, 1 milk tub, 3 tubs, 1 tiller.
Slaves: Joseph of the Cape 330 rds, Adonis of the Cape 700 rds, Damon of the Cape 425 rds, Pieternel of the Cape 801 rds.

Total value of producer goods (including slaves but excluding land and livestock): 5491 rds 3 schell (29% of gross assets)
Value of purchased producer goods: 3119rds 4 schellingen (56.8% of all producer goods)
Value of homemade producer goods: 57rds 3 schellingen (1% of all producer goods)
Value of either home-made or purchased producer goods (including Cape-born slaves): 2314 rds 4 schellingen (42% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased

1 copper box, 3 copper coffee jugs, 1 copper kettle with brazier, 1 copper kettle, 1 copper kettle, 1 copper stewpan, 2 copper cauldrons, 1 copper fish kettle, 4 copper chafing dishes and 1 copper saucepan, 1 copper tartpan and 1 stone pitcher, 1 copper cauldron, 1 iron colander, 1 copper mortar with pestle, 1 copper candlestick & 3 snuffers, 4 assorted copper candlesticks, 2 copper table wreaths, 1 copper pitcher and washbasin, 1 copper tray, 1 copper poffertjespan, 1 copper dish, 1 iron & 2 pewter salt cellars, 2 pewter water pots, 1 pewter tray with trifles, 1 pewter tobacco box, 1 pewter lantern, 2 pewter table wreaths, 1 pewter water flask, 18 pewter spoons and 2 forks, 9 pewter plates, 1 pewter tray and pepper box, 5 pewter dishes, 2 pewter tea pots, 6 tins, 1 tin and 1 ? jug, 2 irons and 1 stand, 1 waffle iron, 1 iron bracket with copper candlestick, 1 cake pan and grid, 2 iron pots & 1 earthenware pot, 7 iron pots, 1 assorted lot of iron kitchenware, 1coffee grinder, 3 iron chimney chains with bar, 2 tartpans, 2 earthenware pots, 3 assorted earthenware pots, 1 earthenware pitcher, 9 porcelain bowls & 2 little pots, 2 sauce pots, 1 porcelain jug & teapot, 43 teacups and saucers, 5 porcelain bowls, 1 porcelain bowl & 1 butterpot, 8 assorted porcelain plates, 24 porcelain plates, 5 plates & 5 bowls, 17 porcelain dishes, 6 porcelain dishes, 1 porcelain salad dish & 2 dishes, 2 porcelain soup tureens, 2 big bowls, 2 porcelain water bottles, 3 assorted butter pots, 1 lot of assorted porcelain, 3 porcelain water bottles, 4 glass bottles, 3 glass jugs, 3 assorted glasses, 1 tray with 7 wine glasses, 1 pair of glasses in leath er holders, 1 tray with glasses, 1 tray with glasses & 4 empty flasks, 1 square flask, 2 small mirrors, 1 mirror, 1 silver sugar tin, 1 silver drinking mug, 1 silver corkscrew, 2 silver salt cellars, 1 silver soup spoon, 19 silver hand spoons, 12 silver forks, 1 sugar tongs & 1 snuffer, 11 table k nives & 7 forks, 11 table knives & 10 forks with ivory handles, 2 books with siver ?hooks, 2 assorted books, 1 arithmetic slate, 1 Bible, 1 box with surgical instruments, 1 desk with ?foot, 3 cabinets, 1 bed, peuluwe, 4 cushions and a woollen blanket, 1 bed and 2 cushions, 1 bed, peuluwe,6cushions & 1chintz bedspread, 1 bed, peuluwe, 6 cushions & 1 chintz bedspread, 1 bed, peuluwe, 4 cushions & 1 chintz bedspread, 1 bed, peuluwe, 7 cushions & 1 chintz bedspread, 1 bed, 6 cushions, 1 bed, peuluwe, 2 cushions, 1 chintz bedspread, 22 sheets, 10 pillow cases, 3 sheets & 1 linen remnant, 10 towels & 2 pillow cases, 7 chair cushions, 21 table napkins, 6 table cloths,1 el (measure).

Home-made
1 lot of wooden kitchenware, 3 assorted baskets, 1 kitchen table, 8 muids of corn (2.75 bushels), 10 muids of beans, 1 muid of peas, 20 muids of corn.

either
3 empty chests,1 empty trunk, 1 small chest and 1 box with sliding lid, 1 empty chest with dried fruit, 4 small tables, 3 tables, 1 round table and four-poster bed, 1 rusthank, 1 voethank, 24 chairs, 4 chairs, 6 chairs with cushions, 1 easy chair with its pot, 1 easy chair, 1 bed, 1 food cupboard, 1 bakkist, 1 pot rack, 1 hat cupboard, 9 wooden footwarmers, 2 sieves, 5 water buckets, 1 four-poster bed with blue hangings, 2 four-posters with red hangings, 1 four-poster

with chintz hangings, 1 four-poster with hangings, 1 canopy-bed with hangings, 1 canopy bed with blue hangings.

Total value of consumer goods: 1531 rix dollars (8% of gross assets)
Value of purchased goods: 1216 rds (79% of all consumer goods)
Value of homemade consumer goods: 3 rds 5 schellingen (0.2 % of all consumer goods)
Value of "either" homemade or purchased consumer goods: 311rds 3 schellingen (20% of all consumer goods)

8th Decile: estate no 229 (median) Cornelia Aletta Marais and surviving spouse Gerrit Hendrik Rautenbach, Graaff Reinet district. Gross assets 7751 rds 1 schell, net assets 5814 rds 2 schell. Estate settled on 17 October 1803 and 7 December 1805.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 blunderbuss, 2 lbs gunpowder, 1 lot of bullets, lead, 1 ox waggon, 1 can of paint, 1 flask of turpentine, 1 pair of scales, 1 axe, 1 adze, 1 vice, 2 drills, 1 iron drill brace, 1 kraanzaag, 1 plane and 1 square, 2 augers, 2 hammers, 1 file, 1 knife, 1 compass and 3 chisels, 1 lot of old iron, 1 lb iron, 31 hoops, 1 lot of old hoops, 1 anker vat (c38.75 litres), 1 half legger, 1 half aam, 1 brandy kettle, 4 deurslagen, 1 viszeegen?, 8 lbs of canvas, 1 skein of canvas thread. Slaves: Bella of Mallabar with her 4 children 1308rds, Samson of Madagascar 445rds, Africa of Mozambique 300rds.

home-made
1 wooden tub, 3 sacks, 5 old oars, 1 churn, 4 ladders, the boards of a cupboard.

either
Spasie (female slave) of the Cape 305 rds, Copernus 380rds.

Total value of producer goods: 3125 rds (40% of gross assets)
Value of purchased producer goods: 2426 rds 3 schell (77% of all producer goods)
Value of homemade producer goods: 13 rds 5 schell (0.4% of all producer goods)
Value of those which could be either: 685 rds (22% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased
1 peul cushion, 1 half el of cotton, 12 els of flemish linen, 2 pewter pans, 1 cauldron, 1 iron pot, 1 iron ladle and meat fork, 1 chafing dish, 19 spoons, 22 forks, 2 table knives, 7 cups and 10 saucers, 1 table cloth and 3 serviettes, 4 flasks, 4 bottles, 1 glass bottle, 1 tin, 1 tin box, 1 candlestick, 1 bottle, 1 mirror, 1 lock with keys, 1 book of paper, 1 Bible, 1 hymnbook, 1 book of sermons, 3 books.

home-made
1 foot warmer, 3 beds (kadels), 1 tub, 1 chest, 1 chest without lid, 1

tea table, 1 folding table, 1 sieve, 2 brushes.

either
1 bucket, 4 pillows.

Total value of consumer goods: 95rds 4 schell (1.2% of gross assets)
Value of purchased consumer goods: 55 rds 6 schell (58% of all consumer goods)
Value of homemade consumer goods: 36 rds (38% of all consumer goods)
Value of goods whoch could be either: 3 rds 6 schell (4% of all consumer goods)

6th Decile: Estate no 171, Frans Kruger d'oude and surviving spouse 3rd wife, xxx Magdalena Catharina Erasmus; gross assets, 5445 rds 15 sts, net assets, 2578rds 30 sts. Residing in Camdebo. Age at death, 62 years.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 ox waggon and appurtenances, 1 brandy kettle, 2 half aams and 1 funnel, 1 onhoofd?, 2 half leggers, 1 half anker, 1 bierpijp, 6 hoops, 1 funnel and 1 pint measure, 3 spades, 1 lot of old iron, 2 pick axes, 1 axe, 2 hammers, 1 hand axe and 1 adze, 3 drills, 2 chisels, 2 kouwbijtels & 2 deurslagen, 2 saws, 2 files, 1 rasp & 2 compasses, 1 handsaw, 1 schulpzaag, 1 uijntjes ijzer, 1 hammer, tongs and knife, 1 boldissel, 3 planes, 1 shoemaker's hammer, 1 iron drill brace, 8 sickles, 1 plough, 1 pair of scales, 3 skeins of rope yarn, 1 saddle and saddlecloth, 4 guns. Slaves: Baatjoe of Macassar, 280rds.

Note: Kruger had purchased his 2 farms, de Uitkomst and de Rietkuyl in the Camdebo from Laurens Erasmus, a relative of his 3rd wife. At the time of his death he still owed 513 rds 29 stuivers.

home-made
1 grinding stone, 8 buckets, 1 mill and 2 sledge hammers, 4 butter vats, 1 churn, 1 tar bucket.

either
Slave: Eva of the Cape, 283 rds.

Total value of producer goods (excluding land and livestock): 1033 rds 1 schell (19% of gross assets)
value of purchased producer goods: 622 rds (60% of all producer goods)
value of home-made producer goods: 128 rds 1 schell (12% of all producer goods)
value of "either": 283 rds (27% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased
21 porcelain plates, 30 porcelain plates, 2 dishes, 9 cups and saucers, 2 porcelain dishes, 2 pewter dishes and 2 plates, 4 glasses, 4 bottles, 1 earthenware flask, 3 dishes and flasks, 6 spoons and 5 forks, 1 tobacco knife, 1 kitchen range, 1 small pot and ladle, 4 pots, 1 small pot, 1 sauce pot, 1 grid, 2 saucepans, 1 pair of tongs and 1 pan, 1 kettle and chafing dish, 2 chafing dishes, 2 tea pots, 1 tin, 1 sugar tin, 1 sieve, 1 coffee grinder, 1 iron, 2 candlesticks, 1 slange steen?, 1 tooth extractor.

home-made
2.5 muids salt, 1.5 muids salt, 6 muids of barley, 52 muids of corn, 3 shelves, 2 small shelves, 2 half chests, 1 small table, 1 big table, 7 chairs and 1 basket, 1 spoon rack, funnel and

pot, 2 butter trays, 2 beds (kadel), 513 lbs butter.

either
2 beds

Total value of all consumer goods: 385 rds 7 schell (7% of gross assets)
Value of purchased consumer goods: 113rds 5 schell (29% of all consumer goods)
Value of home-made consumer goods: 242 rds 4 schell (63% of all consumer goods)
Value of "either": 29rds 4 schell (8% of all consumer goods)

4th Decile: estate no 104 (in sample), Carel Nicolaas van der Merwe and surviving widow xx Geesje Cornelia Smit, gross assets 2033 rds 30 stuivers, net assets 944 rds 1 stuiwer. Estate settled on 23 November, 1813. Living on the request place Andriesfontein on the Zeekoe rivier, Graaff Reinet district.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 old pick axe and axe, 2 old spades, 2 old sickles, 1 file, etc, 1 old plough, 1 harrow and 2 shovels, 1 old hand saw, 3 chisels & 1 drill, 1 vice, 1 lot of old iron, 1 old ox waggon, 2 buckets, 2 guns, 2 defective guns, 1 old saddle & bridle, 2 old saddles, 1 defective handmill.

home-made
1 anker vaatje, 1 broken vaatje.

Total value of producer goods: 219 rds (11% of gross assets)
Value of purchased producer goods: 217rds 2 schell (99% of all producer goods)
Value of home-made producer goods: 1 rds 6 schell (0.8% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased
1 small copper kettle, 1 defective kettle, 1 iron, 5 pewter plates, 1 pewter dish, 1 defective pewter dish, 7 spoons, 7 forks, 2 defective bowls, 1 tin tea pot, 3 iron pots, 2 defective iron pots, 2 bottles, 1 grid, 1 bulsak, 4 cushions, 1 blanket, 1 candlestick and snuffer, 1 psalm book, 1 Bible.

home-made
4 chairs, 1 small table, 1 wooden pot ladle and fork, 2 chests.

Total value of all consumer goods: 115 rds 5 schell (6% of gross assets)
Value of purchased consumer goods: 89 rds 2 schell (77% of all consumer goods)
Value of home-made consumer goods: 26 rds 3 schell (23% of all consumer goods)

2nd decile: estate no 46,(in sample) Elizabeth Nortje, Weduwee Matthijs Strijdom, aged 82 years at death. Gross assets, 296 rds 8 stuiwers, net assets, 284 rds 35 stuiwers. Estate settled, 7 June 1773.

PRODUCER GOODS
nil.

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased: 1 blanket
home-made: nil?
either: 1 kadel, 1 bed, 4 pillows, 1 empty cellar/ wine cabinet, 1 desk.
Total value of consumer goods: 16 rds 6 schell (5.6% of gross assets)
Value of either home-made or purchased consumer goods: 16rds 6 schell (100% of all consumer goods)

Note: the estate also held 57 rds 36 stuiwers in cash (19% of gross assets)

1st Decile: estate no 34 (in sample), Marthinus Oosthuizen and surviving spouse xxx Johanna Jacomina Calitz, resident in the little Karroo, eastern Swellendam. Gross assets 737 rds 36 stuiwers, net assets 205 rds 30 stuiwers. Estate settled on 31 April 1801.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 ox waggon with 5 yokes, 1 large iron pot, 1 old plough share, 2 sickles, 3 spades, 2 lots of iron hoops, 1 cellar with rummage, 1 hammer and drill, 3 chisels, 2 augers & 1 square, 1 kouwbijtel, gatschijf & deurslag, 1 adze, 1 apanzaag, 2 planes, 1 axe, 1 hand axe, 3 old pick axes, 1 pair of fire tongs, 1 earthenware pot and grinding stone, 1 tarpaulin, 1 saddle.

home-made
1 butter vat, 4 sacks, 20' of planks, 1 waggon chest, 1 karnvaatje, 2 half aams, 1 cart.

Total value of producer goods: 316rds 5 schell (43% of gross assets)
Value of purchased producer goods: 197 rds 6 schell (63% of all producer goods)
Value of home-made producer goods: 118 rds 7 schell (37% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased
1 tin dish, plate & soup ladle, 12 plates, 1 salad bowl, 2 plates & 1 bowl, 23 pewter spoons, 11 steel forks, 1 pewter

coffee jug, 3 bowls and some flasks, 4 iron pots, 1 defective copper kettle, 1 cakepan and 1 grid, 1 tea pot, 1 mirror, 1 earthenware bowl & 2 plates, 1 earthenware pot, 1 medicine chest, 1 bucket, bedding.

home-made
1 empty chest, 3 chairs.

Total value of consumer goods: 63rds 5 schell (8.6% of gross assets)
Value of purchased consumer goods: 60 rds 2 schell (95% of all consumer goods)
Value of home-made consumer goods: 3rds 3 schell (5% of all consumer goods)

Insolvents: estate no 2 (in sample) Jacoba van der Merwe, Weduwee Willem van der Merwe and surviving spouse Christiaan Aucamp. Gross assets 610rds 12 stuiwers, net assets nil (-25 rds 8sts). Resident in Graaff Reinet district. Estate settled on 8 September 1787.

PRODUCER GOODS
purchased
1 ox waggon with appurtenances, 1 pick & spade, 1 knife, 2 rasps & 2 chisels, 1 handsaw, 1 plane, 1 drill & adze.
home-made
1 milk bucket, 1 small chest.

Total value of producer goods: 98rds 4 schell (16% of gross assets)
Value of purchased producer goods: 92 rds 5 schell (94% of all producer goods)
Value of home-made producer goods: 5rds 7 schell (6% of all producer goods)

CONSUMER GOODS
purchased
1 gridiron, 2 iron pots without handles, 1 pillow, cushions and blanket.

home-made
1 vat with c500lbs butter, 1bed.

Total value of consumer goods: 59rds 6 schell (9% of gross assets)
Value of purchased consumer goods: 10rds 6 schell (pillow etc not sold) (18% of all consumer goods)
Value of home-made consumer goods: 49 rds (bed not sold) (82 % of all consumer goods)

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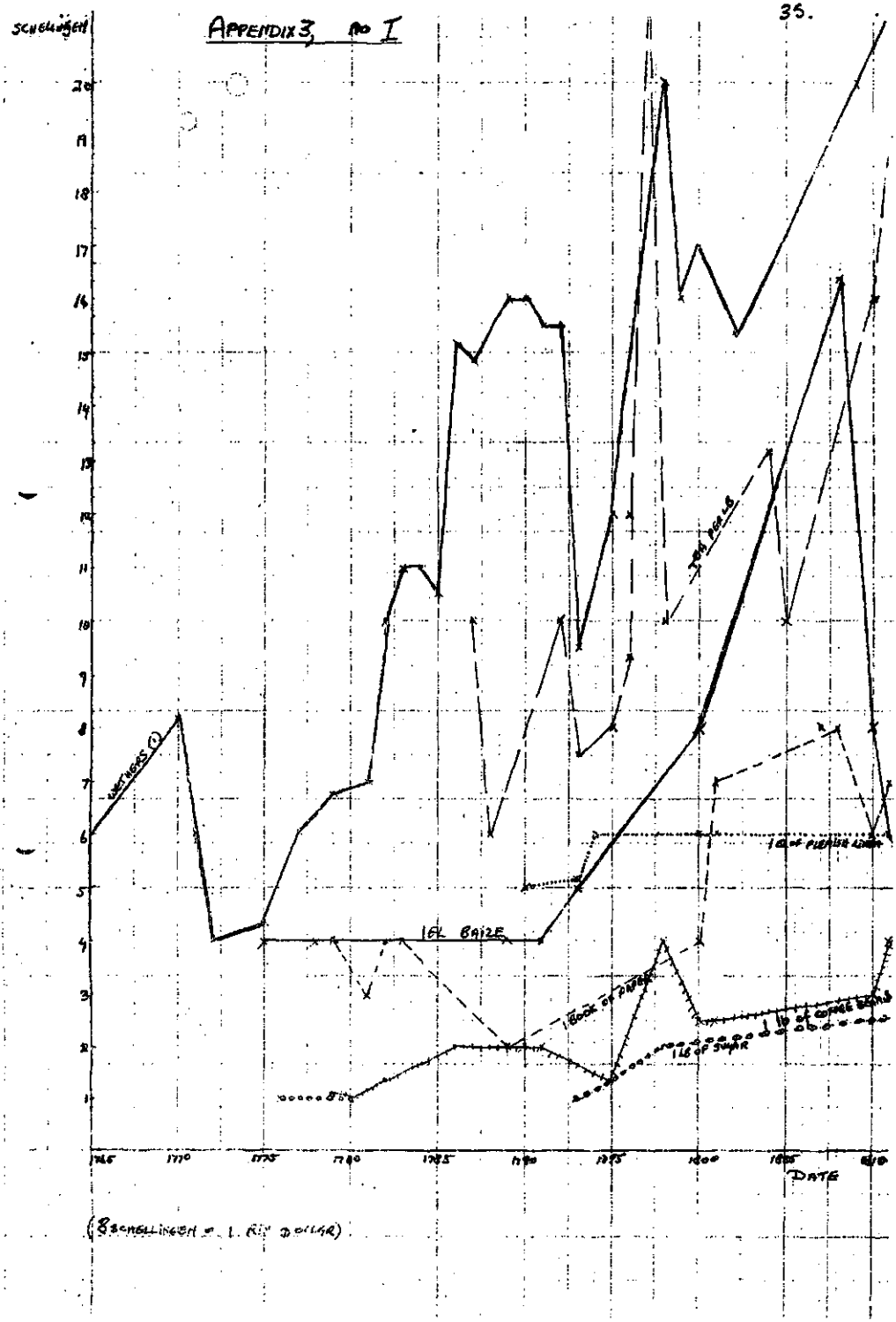
APPENDIX 2: Table showing division of gross assets among various categories (in percentages of the totalsum)

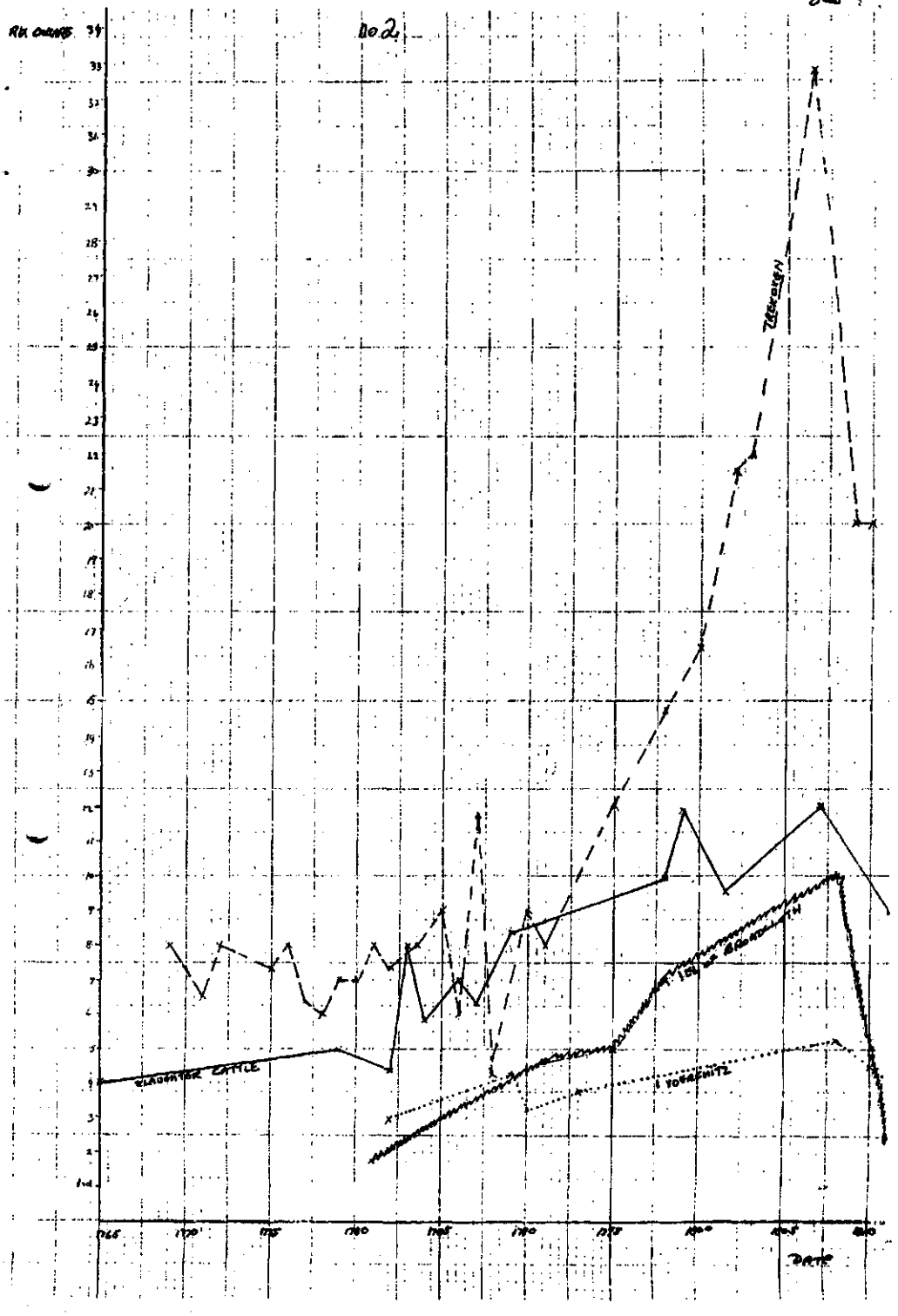
Decile	Name (Median estate)	GROSS ASSETS: Land	Slaves	livestock	agric produce	past produce	producer goods	consumer goods	cash	loans to relatives	other loans	DEBTS: to relatives	other	inh here
10th	Jacs Coetzee	9.3%	53.5%	1.1%			1.2%	0.3%		29%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	
	Jacs Botha	26.5	25.2	13.6	0.02	0.5	3.6%	6.9%	6.4%	16.6	0.4	1.7	0.25	
9th	Alb^{s} Nel	43.4	16.4	19.4		0.04	3.5	1.3	0.1	4.3		5.9	8.4	1.3
	Jasper Slabbert		22.8	0.3			1.8	0.8			76	3.1	0.8	
8th	Corn^{a} Marais (Cape Dutch)	43.4	34.7	14.3		0.05	5	1.2		1	0.4	13.2	1.8	
	Joh^{s} Coetzee		28	25			9	2	4.1	30.7	1.7			
7th	Maria Slabbert		2				0.06	4.6	0.1	93		1.4	0.6	
	Fran^{s} du Toit	54.5	20	15	0.6	0.2	3.6	2.4				12	15 (27)	
6th	Christ^{l} Botha	34	36	14		0.2	9	6.4			1	0.2	16.7	37
	Frans kruger	23.2	10.3	42.7	1.4	4	8.7	0.6	1.3		1.4	12.7	24	3.7
5th	Cec^{a} du Preez	18	7	0.1		0.2	0.2	3.7	20.9	33.4	13.5			
	Joh^{s} Basson	61	30	6		0.8	1.7	1.8				16	47.63	
4th	Gerrit Coetzee	15.6	32	14.6	1.9		6.3	2.8		7.6	19	0.8	66	
	Pieter Erasmus		48				0.7	4.3		47		8.8		
3rd	Marth^{s} Nel			66.3			19.4	8	6.6					35.5
	Phil^{s} du plessis			17 (farmer and 2 sons)				3.7			79		30.6	
2nd	Eras^{s} Smit		17.7					2.3	74	1.3	4.8			9.6
1st	Joh^{a} Bezuiden (not			58.7			16.4	18.3					50.8	
	Jasper Smit		9.7				35.7 (wagon and dairy farmer)	16.6	18.9		36	15.6	35.5 (41)	

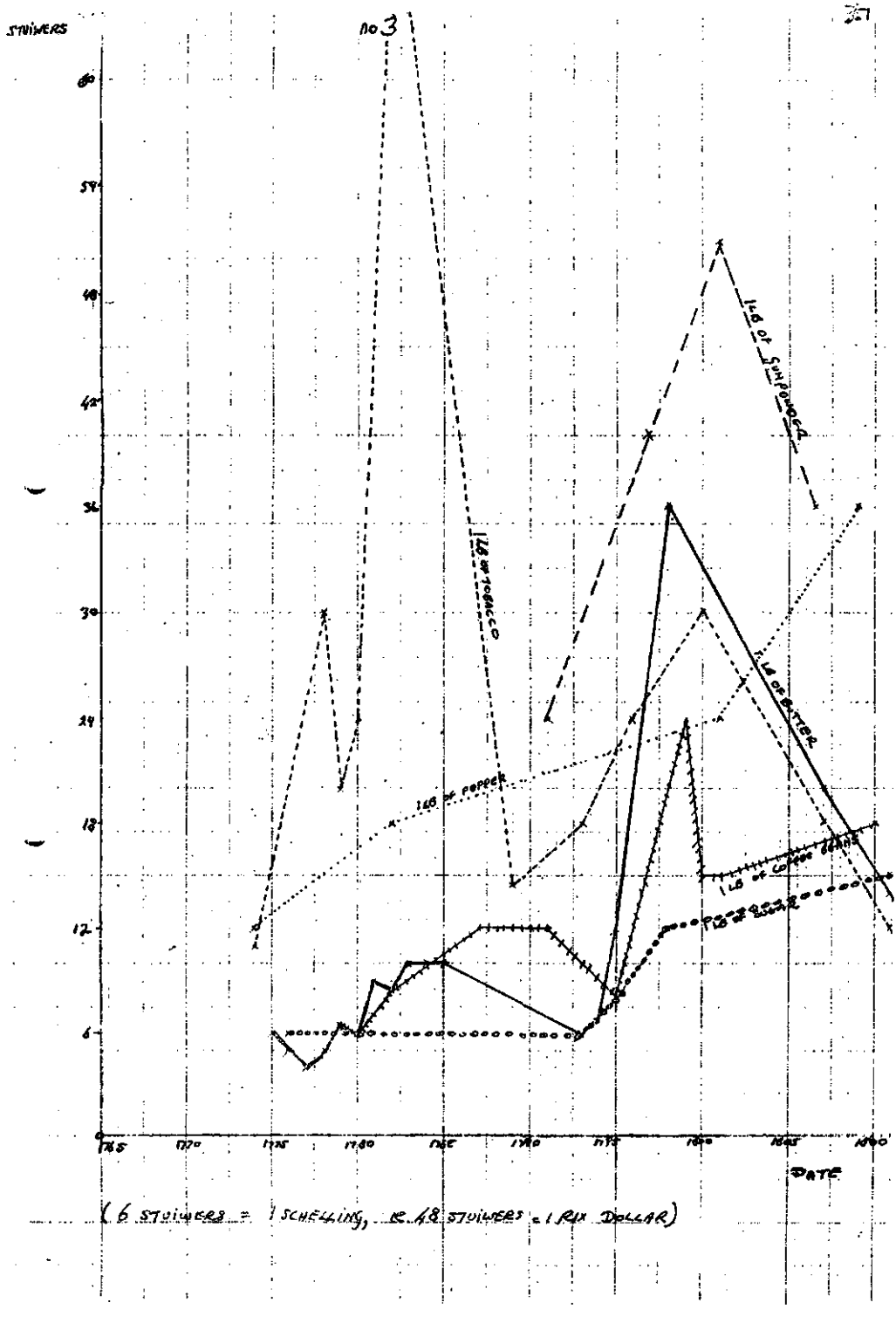
O ringed figures mark those whose livestock and producer goods indicate an active involvement in stock-farming.

APPENDIX 3, NO I



(8 SCHILLINGEN = 1 RIX DOLLAR)


No 2
RK OWNS
TREKOXEN
KLAUGHTER CATTLE
1 YOGRCHITZ
DATE


STUIVERS
No 3
60
54
48
42
36
30
24
18
12
6
0
1165
1170
1175
1180
1185
1190
1195
1200
1205
1210
DATE
1 LB of TOBACCO
1 LB of SUNFLOWER
1 LB of PEPPER
1 LB of BUTTER
1 LB of SUGAR
1 LB of COFFEE BEANS
(6 STUIVERS = 1 SCHELLING, & 48 STUIVERS = 1 RIX DOLLAR)