

Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit



A Tapestry of People: The Growth of Population in the Province of the Western Cape

by
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About the Authors and Acknowledgments

Professor Francis Wilson and Dudley Horner are both SALDRU Honorary Research Fellows and were previously respectively director and deputy-director of the research unit.

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While we have endeavoured to make this historical overview as accurate as possible we would welcome any comments suggesting appropriate amendments or corrections.

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Long Before Van Riebeeck.

The best place to begin a study of human settlement is with climate. Most of the Western Cape province--- the land lying north of a line running parallel to the southern coast approximately 100 kilometers inland, from Worcester to Uniondale---is too dry for arable farming. And the rain which does fall south of the long range of mountains tends to come in the winter months which is suitable for wheat but not for tropical cereals. Thus when iron-working, Bantu-speaking, people began to move east and then south from the Niger-Congo area in a great wave of migration that began some 2000 years ago they moved into the wetter eastern part of what is now South Africa where there was good grazing for their cattle and where the crops they knew---sorghum, millet and, later maize, --- would grow (Mostert, N:184).

Fifteen hundred years later when Portuguese-, and later Dutch-, speaking people began to move south down the Atlantic sea along the coast of West Africa they found land on the shores of Table Bay where there was no malaria but where there was water and they could grow vegetables and wheat. As Jared Diamond put it in his stimulating study on the fates of human societies, '(T)he problems of modern South Africa stem at least in part from a geographic accident. The homeland of the Cape Khoesan happened to contain few wild plants suitable for domestication; the Bantu happened to inherit summer-rain crops from their ancestors of 5,000 years ago; and Europeans happened to inherit winter-rain crops from their ancestors of nearly 10,000 years ago.' (Diamond: 397) Added to this, the dryness beyond the mountains that ran parallel to the southern coast meant that the Khoekhoen tended to keep to those coastal parts where there was grazing for their cattle and sheep whilst the San, who lived by hunting and gathering, kept to the mountains when they were not pushed into the harsh, dry interior. Up the west coast, the dividing-line between winter and summer rainfall (such as it was) was to become a hotly contested zone of struggle on the 'Forgotten Frontier' (Penn, 2005: 82) and in due course the boundary line between the provinces of the Western and the Northern Cape.

All of this was against a back-drop of human settlement which pre-dated the Europeans, or even the Bantu-speakers, by centuries. For the overwhelming mass of current archeological and DNA evidence suggests that human beings, *homo sapiens*, emerged somewhere in southern or eastern Africa.(Cavalli-Sforza). Quite where is a matter of intense debate and there are those who would argue that the very first people lived within sight of Table Mountain. Others believe they were more likely to have been in or near the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, or even somewhat further west, in Chad. (Blundell). Be that as it may, there is

plenty of evidence of human beings in what is now the Western Cape, going back 100 000 years and more. In their book on *The Story of Earth and Life: A southern African perspective on a 43.6 billion-year journey* McCarthy & Rubidge provide an up-to-date and graphic account of the evolution of the earth, including humans, from the beginning of time. The route map to chapter 10, on the arrival of humans, begins 65 million years before the present (BP) with the extinction of Dinosaurs and ends with the emergence, circa 200 000 BP, of *homo sapiens sapiens* and the global dispersion of the species from Africa. (McCarthy, T. & Rubidge, B: 276) This emergence was preceded by the Early Stone Age which lasted from about 2.6 million to 200 000 years ago during which time rough stone tools, with a few flakes removed to make simple choppers, were used by *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus*. The Middle Stone Age lasted from ca. 200 000 to 35 000 BP and was marked by stone flakes that ‘were struck off the core ...(and) used as tools’ And sometimes *homo sapiens sapiens* ‘hafted the tools to make spears and knives.’ (McCarthy,T & Rubidge,B: 290) The Later Stone Age began some 40 000 years BP and is marked by the use of much smaller tools, many of which were made of bone and ivory.

Hand axes made by *homo erectus* 750 000 years ago, thus dating from the Early Stone Age, are in the Wellington museum, near where they were found. Fast forward half a million years and there are stone tools and bones dated somewhere between 400 000 and 200 000 years before the present at the Duinefontein sites near Cape Town. Another quarter of a million years later we come to the hominid fossils at Hoedjiespunt near Saldanha Bay. Just beyond the eastern border of the Western Cape lie the Klasies river caves on the Tsitsikamma coast near Humansdorp where South African archeologists have been patiently digging away since the 1960s and where they have found some of the earliest known humans in the world, dating back some 100 to 125 thousand years. Closer to home are the ‘footsteps of Eve’, fossilised modern human footprints---the oldest yet discovered--- dating back over 117 000 years, found at Langebaan in 1995 and now housed in the South African Museum in Cape Town.(Mountain,A:13) According to Schapera, the stone implements and rock art associated with the San, ‘all belong to the Later Stone Age’. Schapera goes on to argue that those living in the Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must have been there before the San who, he suggests, ‘came with their culture from the north-east.’(Schapera,I: 26-27)

One of the most exciting of the more recent finds dates back ‘only’ 77 000 years. This is the ‘jewelry’---pierced sea shell beads as well as two pieces of ochre marked with complex design markings---found in 1991 in the Blombos cave not far east of Arniston on the southern coast(Mountain,A: 15; McCarthy,T & Rubidge,B:293; Henshilwood: 78-86). For some years this was, and may still be, the oldest known human art work in the world---roughly twice as old as the paintings in the Lascaux caves in France. But work that may be even older has recently been discovered in Morocco, although it remains controversial.

Although much further historical work needs to be done, it would seem that by the time the Bantu-speakers arrived south of the Limpopo some 1500 years ago, South Africa was already well---albeit sparsely---populated by small bands of hunters and gatherers, the San, who had themselves originally come in from the north-east and replaced earlier stone age people. In the mid-17th century they numbered perhaps 10 000 people (Schapera,I: 27 & 39). The San tended to live in more mountainous areas and left a record of their presence in innumerable paintings on rocks and in caves. In addition to the hunters were those, possibly distantly related to the San, who had become pastoralists owning sheep and cattle but who left no records of painting. They tended to live in the plains where grazing was more plentiful. It was they, the Khoekhoen, whom the first sea-farers from Europe met when they, led by

Bartholemew Diaz, first landed at Mossel Bay and Table Bay at the end of the 15th. and beginning of the 16th centuries. Both San and Khoekhoen spoke languages with marked clicks which after several centuries of interaction with the southernmost of the Nguni speakers rubbed off on the Xhosa in a way that did not happen to the same extent further north. The Khoekhoen with their cattle and sheep enjoyed a better and less precarious diet than the San who were dependent on what they could hunt with their bows and arrows or find by way of edible roots or wild fruit.

It is they whom both Bartholemew Diaz and Vasco da Gama found when, after rounding the Cape, they landed at Mossel Bay in 1488 and 1497 respectively. Da Gama found about 200 people who came with about a dozen oxen and cows plus four or five sheep (Maclennan, B: 3), Pastoralists. In subsequent years innumerable ships followed Vasco da Gama round the Cape to the treasures and spices of India and the East Indies. Many of these ships, starting probably with Admiral Antonio de Saldanha of Portugal in 1503, stopped in Table Bay to collect water and to trade for cattle and sheep. Although da Gama's first visit to Mossel Bay had been marked by music and festivity, de Saldanha's encounter in Table Bay was much less happy. There was a fracas with the Khoekhoen and the admiral (who climbed Table Mountain earlier in the day) was wounded. Subsequent Portuguese trading visits in 1505 and 1506 took place without incident but in 1510 the first Portuguese viceroy of India, on his way home to Portugal, raided a Khoekhoen settlement and seized a quantity of cattle. But the sailors were considerably disconcerted by the ability of the Khoekhoen to cause their cattle to stand still or to move simply by talking to them. Eventually a 'headless lance' was thrown which pierced the throat of the viceroy and killed him. Altogether 65 Portuguese sailors died that day in a battle which all contemporary observers agree they had provoked (Maclennan,B: 4-6).

The inability of the Portuguese to establish peaceful trading relations with the Khoekhoen, combined with the ferocious storms into which they (but not Sir Francis Drake on the day he sailed past in 1580) seemed to run so often meant that through much of the 16th century they gave the Cape a wide berth as they sailed to and from India. But by the end of the century, as the Dutch and the English gradually supplanted the Portuguese and as the trade winds were discovered which enabled ships to sail directly to Goa (from Algoa bay) without going all the way up the east African coast as da Gama had done, so the Cape become of increasing strategic importance. In 1598 an Englishman with a reputation as a skilled pilot and a fearless explorer was in a Dutch ship which anchored in Table Bay. He recorded three fresh rivers and people speaking with a 'clocking' tongue coming with large cattle, 'having upon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lump of flesh like a Camels backe'(Maclennan,B:22). Ten years later the admiral of a Dutch fleet went ashore to barter for livestock and obtained 38 sheep and 2 cows. The Khoekhoen made music and the admiral danced.(Maclennan,B:23). But in 1632 the killing, for reasons that are unclear, of 32 Dutch sailors poisoned relations with the Khoekhoen. However twelve years later a ship-wreck on the rocks off Mouille Point meant that 250 men of the VOC, the Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie, (Dutch East India Company), had to live on the shores of Table Bay for four months which they did without harm until they were rescued. Three years later, in 1647, another Dutch ship foundered on a sand bank and a group of men built a fort among the dunes and stayed a full year before being picked up by the home-fleet in 1648. The historical importance of this event was not only that the men involved went home to argue that the Cape was a perfectly safe place to live amongst people who were not particularly militant provided their cattle and sheep were not taken from them but also that amongst the passengers on the ship which rescued them was a Dutch East India Company merchant called Jan van Riebeeck who not

only heard the positive reports of those who had been stranded but who was himself in need of boosting his standing with the VOC. What better venture for him then, than to lead the first permanent settlement of Europeans onto the southern tip of Africa in order to open a refreshment station, supplying meat, vegetables, fruit and water to passing Dutch and other ships as they made the long and dangerous voyage down the west coast of Africa and round to the east Indies in search of spices and other treasure?

And so in 1652, Jan Van Riebeeck sailed into Table Bay with a party of nearly two hundred persons to begin a new chapter in the history of the sub-continent. An excellent overview of the people who were already there, the 'Cape Hottentots' or the Khoekhoen was written by Isaac Schapera in his classic study of *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*. 'They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous. The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups. In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants river were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the *Naman*. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.' (Schapera, I:45) How many Khoe were there when the European invaders arrived in 1652? Theal's estimate, based on early records and accepted by Schapera is somewhere between 45 000 and 50 000 persons. But the ravages of conquest and disease, notably smallpox, was to play havoc both with the coherence of the societies and with the numbers of individuals.

Some idea of the reality of the presence of Khoekhoen people right on the Cape Peninsula when Van Riebeeck arrived in 1652 may be gleaned from this brief extract from his journal, written in December of that first year. '(We) observed that on the ascent of Table Mountain the pasture was every where crowded with cattle and sheep like grass on the fields, which the said captains gave us to understand were theirs, and that they intended to bring their houses close by and reside there...the Saldaniers...lay in thousands about Salt River with their cattle in countless numbers, having indeed grazed 2000 sheep and cattle within half a cannon-shot of our fort' (Moodie, D:21-22).

De Kaapsche Vlek (the Cape Hamlet)

In April 1652 Jan van Riebeeck sailed into Table Bay with a party of nearly two hundred people to begin a new chapter in the history of the sub-continent. The commander a senior merchant in the employ of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) or Dutch East India Company had been charged with the following principal tasks:

- to build a fort bearing the name of Good Hope to house some eighty men;
- to plant a garden in the best and most fruitful land;
- to identify land for the pasturage and breeding of cattle and to maintain trade (in cattle and sheep) with the 'natives';

- to keep accurate notes and a diary (dagboek) recording all occurrences in the neighbourhood.
(Delmas: 503, Walker, E: 21, Worden 2004: 17)

The aim was to establish a refreshment station at the Cape for the VOC fleet.

The Company had received its charter in 1602 and was governed by its council, the Heren XVII, who met in Amsterdam. Between 1602 and 1609 the company displaced the Portuguese trading empire by taking possession of Bantam, the Moluccas and Java as well as Amboyna and half of Timor. A regular government under a governor-general and later a Council of India was established at what was to become the capital at Batavia in Java in 1619. In the next few decades the VOC expanded its activities to Siam (modern Thailand), Pulicat on the Coromandel coast and Surat in India. They occupied Formosa (modern Taiwan) which they later lost to Chinese pirates, occupied Mauritius and seized Malacca and Ceylon. By the middle of the seventeenth century ‘the Governor-General and Council of India controlled seven sub-governorships: Amboyna, Banda, the Cape, Ceylon, Macassar, Malacca and the Moluccas’ (Walker, E: 28-29). It was to His Excellency the Governor-General of the East Indies that the commander took his oath of obedience and to him that the books including the journal had to be submitted annually although the journal also had to be sent annually to the Heren XVII in Holland (Walker, E: 31).

Governance, law and society at the Cape as the junior VOC possession would be strongly influenced by the society established in the East Indies at Batavia. In what is today modern Indonesia the VOC encountered a number of indigenous rulers of kingdoms or sultanates where Tamil Muslims from India and Muslims from the South of China as well as Arabs had been trading and settling for hundreds of years and playing a role in the Islamization of Java. This ethnic ‘commercial diaspora’ settled in the islands of the East Indies and particularly Sulawesi (Celebes) where Macassar and Bugis were located as well as in Ceylon and on the West Coast of India where the *lingua franca* was Melayu and where slave-trading was common. After the arrival of the VOC a mestizo class also evolved and this polyglot region would provide through slaves of various ethnic origins the people who later became known, erroneously, as the ‘Cape Malays’ (Sutherland: 355-362).

Included in Van Riebeeck’s party were his wife, Maria de la Quellerie, his sister and two female cousins (Taylor: 516), the sick-comforter (krankbezoeker) Willem Wylant, (Walker, E: 33) company servants, soldiers and seamen numbering some 181 in all (Worden, 2004: 26). The overwhelmingly male party set about building a fort, which was more a stockade constructed of earthworks and timber, aided from time to time by the crews from visiting ships. In due course Hendrik Boom an Amsterdam gardener developed a market garden of fruit and vegetables alongside the fort. This garden was devastated periodically by wind, rain, wild animals, Khoes and sailors (Worden, 2004: 17-18). Thorn trees were planted to enclose and protect this ‘special space’. Within three weeks of landing a company of soldiers reported on finding very fertile and well-watered lands around the southern side of Table Mountain where the Liesbeek River ran through modern Rondebosch (Worden, 2004: 19). Hendrik Boom lived in the only house outside the fort at the Table Bay end of the company garden. The winter of 1652 was exceptionally severe with snow on Table Mountain and in February 1653 the surgeon reported that there were so many cases of various maladies that they were retarding work on the fortifications (Worden, 2004: 19). Van Riebeeck’s rule was harsh and in September 1652 four VOC employees led by Jan Blax deserted but were captured (Delmas: 500). The settlement in its first decade was always precarious. Robben Island

provided penguins, seal meat, cormorants and eggs, a vegetable garden was planted on the island in 1654, and flocks of sheep were also located there (Worden, 2004: 19).

The VOC had enjoined its commander to increase the company's herds of cattle and flocks of sheep by trading with the indigenous people. Van Riebeeck as we have noted did not land on unpopulated territory. The San (Bushmen) were in Table Mountain raiding farms at Wynberg as late as 1678 (Walker, E:34). More important from the settlement's perspective were the peninsula and west coast Khoekhoen. (Hottentots). There were the cattleless Goringhaicona (Watermans) numbering about eighteen, the Goringhaiqua (Kaapmans) numbering 600 fighting men and the Gorachoqua (Korannas) numbering some 300. Further north at Saldanha Bay and Langebaan were two strong clans of Cochoqua under Gonnema and Oedoso also known as Saldanhars to the Europeans (Walker, E: 36, Worden, 2004: 16).

For generations the locals had 'as part of an annual transhumance pattern' moved with their cattle in summer across Table Bay, modern Sea Point and Hout Bay (Worden, 2004: 16). Their traditional dwellings were portable, they created no permanent structures and they did not engage in arable farming. While they were willing to trade cattle and sheep with passing ships' crews or shipwrecked mariners Van Riebeeck's fort and hedged garden signified a more permanent occupation straddling their traditional grazing lands. In May 1652 an expedition around the peninsula discovered large forests at a place which van Riebeeck named Houtbaaitjen (Hout Bay) in his journal entry of 11 July 1653 (Westby-Nunn: 10).

In 1652 van Riebeeck took into the fort Autshumato (known as Harry/Herry) of the 'Watermans' to act as a translator and/or middleman in the cattle trade with the local Khoekhoen. On Sunday 19th October 1653 he hurriedly left the fort presumably fearing being implicated in a subsequent raid on the company's cattle by the Kaapmans in which forty-four head were stolen and the herdboys David Jansen was killed (Walker, E: 36, Worden, 2004: 21, Delmas: 505). An armed party was despatched to False Bay to recover the cattle.

In 1653 the first small group of slaves arrived at the Cape and in 1654 the first Cape-based slaving expedition sailed to Madagascar (Shell, 2001: 417). Tension rose in 1654-6, with both the Cochoqua who grazed their cattle across the company garden and the shoreline and the Goringhaiqua who accused the Dutch of alienating their land by building structures which signalled their intention to stay. The Khoekhoen declared that they would end the cattle trading. (Worden, 2004: 21-22). That (however fragile the fort and vulnerable the garden and herds and flocks might be) the VOC had come to stay is indicated by a very clear and confident map of the settlement produced in 1656 depicting the fort and garden together with Hendrik Boom's house, the mountain stream and irrigation furrows as well as some of the farms established around the company garden (Worden, 2004: 18). As an incentive to agricultural production some company employees had been permitted by 1655 to grow vegetables on small plots and to sell them to the crews of passing ships while others were permitted to lease herds of cows to provide milk to the fort (Worden, 2004: 19). In 1655, as first recorded, at a spot on the Berg River still called Sonquas Drift (near modern Riebeeck-West) the Dutch official Wintervogel met a party of San (Green, : 22).

By March 1657 Van Riebeeck was requisitioning chestnut, olive, pine and mulberry trees as well as rose bushes from Holland for the company garden which was surrounded by deep ditches and enclosed by seven metre high bay hedges with avenues of oak trees and contained medlar, cherry and lemon trees as well as vegetables and herbs (Fagan: 11). He also visited

Hout Bay (Houtbaaijen) in that month naming the pass we know as Constantia Nek, Clooff Pas (Wesley-Nunn: 10). A visitor to the fort noticed eleven slaves of whom eight were women and three were men. Four slave women and one man were attached to the commander's household and another woman was assigned to sweeping the fort. The other five slaves were in service to VOC officials (Böeseken: 5). The sick comforter, Van Riebeeck's brother-in-law, bought a small slave family, Domingo and Angela of Bengal and their three children. These slaves, some of them stowaways, were sold by ships' captains (Böeseken: 9) and originated in Java and Madagascar.

The demand for labour was increasing. An appeal to Batavia for more slaves was met with a response that none were immediately available. But in 1658 a surreptitious raid on the Guinea coast yielded 228 slaves while a captured Portuguese slaver yielded a further 174 Angolan slaves mainly children (Walker, E: 39-40, Worden, 2004: 26-27). Of the 402 new slaves 55 were sold to free burghers and officials, 72 were acquired by the company, three by the sick-comforter while the commander retained 38 male slaves and 37 women to service his household and work his farm ((Böeseken: 11-13) and 197 were sent to Batavia.

In 1655 the company relaxed its stringent regulations by allowing its servants to have small gardens and keep a few cows and pigs and Annetjie die Boerinne, wife of Hendrik Boom the gardener, obtained the first monopoly to lease the company's milk cows and to provide the fort and passing ships with milk (Leipoldt: 9 and Worden, 2004: 28) Annetjie was also licensed to keep a tavern to offering lodgings and refreshment to men from passing ships and in 1656 women in the fort were permitted to make shirts to generate an income. By the end of 1657 there were four taverns near the fort and garden (Worden, 2004: 28).

Van Riebeeck had induced Commissioner van Goens to grant him a plot of land on what would later be known as Green Point Common. He soon found that this site was unsuitable for an experimental vineyard and garden and persuaded Commissioner Cuneus in direct contravention of the company's standing rules to exchange this plot for a freehold 101 morgen plot on the south-eastern bank of the Liesbeeck River near its source. He named the farm Bosheuwel (Hillwood). The farm prospered and at the time of van Riebeeck's departure for Java in 1662 the farm was planted with 1162 young orange and lemon trees, ten banana plants, two olive trees, three walnut, five apple, two pear, and 19 plum trees and 41 other sorts besides some thousands of vines. Bosheuwel was sold to Jacob Cornelis Rosendaal of Amsterdam a free burgher who seems to have been a farmhand before he enlisted in the service of the company. He sold it to Tobias Marquard who was the first to register its title and it was bought from his estate in 1690 by Cornelis Linnes who sold it a year later to Guillaume Heems of Bruges (in modern terms a Belgian) a person of considerable private means who much improved it. It was purchased in turn by Jacob van Reenen, Jacob Neethling in 1758 and Jan Roep a German Colonist who had emigrated from Hanan in 1755 who made further improvements and sold it in 1783 to Peter Henken who sold it in 1804 to Justus Keer who sold it in 1805 to Honoratius Maynier of Leipzig. Maynier added over 77 morgen to the place, beautified the buildings, planted many oak trees and named it Protea. It then changed ownership with Andreas Brink purchasing it in 1836 and selling it to Honoratius Maynier a grandson of the former owner in 1842. It passed finally into the possession of the Colonial Bishopric Fund who named it Bishops Court. It remains to this day the official domicile of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town (Leipoldt: 6-8).

By 1657 official farming by VOC servants had not proved to be a great success and in an attempt to ensure a steady supply of meat, grain and wine for their ships the Heren XVII

decided that nine married company servants of Dutch or German descent should be established on small farms of 13½ morgen (11,6 hectares) as free burghers. The farms would be free of land tax for twelve years but the burghers were bound to remain for 20 years (reduced to 15 by the end of the century). The rules under which these burghers were to operate were very restrictive (Walker, E: 38-39).

The nine Free burghers were settled in two parties. Harman's party on plots in the Groeneveld (close to the present Newlands Rugby Stadium) and Steven's party along the Liesbeeck River in the area known as the Hollandsche Tuin (modern Mowbray, Rosebank and Rondebosch). They were all offered vine cuttings which they grew for table grapes evidently not stimulated to establish vineyards (Leipoldt: 9). Among these free burghers was Herman Remajenne later caught red-handed bartering with the Khoekhoen (Walker, E: 59-60) and Jacob Cloete (Leipoldt: 3). In the period 1658-9 several non-agricultural free burgher grants were made to a tailor, carpenter, surgeon and baker (Worden, 2004: 28). The free burghers were ordered to take turns in manning the redoubts which the commander had built at Duynhoop on Woodstock beach and Coornhoop (modern Koornhoop in Mowbray where an old Cape Dutch dwelling still exists near Settlers Way) (Walker, E: 38). In 1658 van Riebeeck instructed the local Khoekhoen that they had to keep beyond the line of the Liesbeeck and Salt Rivers.

Table No. 1

The recorded population of the VOC settlement at 30 May 1658 was

	No.	%
Garrison	80	22
Sick	15	4
Dutch women and children	20	5
Healthy and sick slaves of the company	98	27
Freemen	51	16
Male and female slaves of freemen	89	25
Exiles	7	2
Total	360	100,0

(Worden, 2004: 26, percentages calculated by Horner)

Within a short six year period the tiny population of the VOC settlement had a majority of black slaves originating in the West Coast of Africa, Madagascar and the East Indies. Many of the West African slaves fled and henceforth the VOC would rely upon the Indian Ocean basin for its intake of slaves. Some of the free burghers fearing indebtedness to the company for deserting slaves returned them to the company. The number of company slaves fell to 83, 34 men and 49 women, by September 1658.

The commander then arrested Autshumato and some of the Goringhaiqua to induce the other Khoekhoen to give back the runaway slaves and the murderers of the herdsman. War ensued in 1659-60 complicated by bickering between the Nama and Cochoqua with peace being concluded in November 1660 when the Goringhaiqua were forced to recognise that they had lost the Liesbeeck lands forever (Walker, E: 40-41). To secure the lands van Riebeeck gave orders that all barter was to be conducted at the fort and that the Khoekhoen must keep to the road within the borders which he marked out with a fence of poles and a wild almond hedge from the mouth of the Salt River along the Liesbeeck to the mountain slopes behind

Wynberg. He built three blockhouses along the Liesbeeck River (Walker, E: 41). On the 2nd of February 1659 Van Riebeeck's journal contained the entry: 'Today-God be Praised- wine pressed for the first time (Leipoldt: 5) and on the 1st of November in the same year he picked his first Dutch rose (Fagan: 11).

By 1660 the indications of an urban settlement rather than a refreshment station providing meat, grain and vegetables emerged with the grant of eight erven upon which free burghers had erected houses in three neat grids to the northwest of the company's garden where modern Hout and Castle Streets are today. A small hospital had been built along the shoreline and a jetty had been constructed in Table Bay (Worden, 2004: 29). A plan produced in the 1660s clearly shows these buildings (Malan: 44).

What was the state of the settlement at the Kaapsche Vlek before van Riebeeck took his joyous leave of it in 1662? The VOC has been described as 'that most profitable combination of unblushing piracy and commercialized Protestantism' by Louis Leipoldt, the South African medical doctor, Afrikaans poet and author (Leipoldt: 1). It was an authoritarian enterprise intent on maximizing enormous profits. The Heren XVII in Holland were the ultimate authority but the settlement at the Cape as an outstation (buitencomptoir) of Batavia was also subject to the governor-general of the East Indies (Davenport, R, 2000: 28). The official language of the settlement was Dutch, the religion was that of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church, the law was made in terms of Roman Dutch Law in Batavia. Local government was vested in the commander who chaired a Council of Policy whose advice he could override by the command 'ik neem haet op mij' (I take it upon myself). The council could issue plakkatens (edicts) on all manner of subjects. It was also the nucleus of the high court of Justice.

In 1656 van Riebeeck added the constable and two corporals to the court and further extended this by summoning two free burgher councillors to serve in 1657-1658. While the Classis (presbytery) of Amsterdam licensed ministers (predikante) and sick-comforters, the company installed and paid the predikant gave him a pastorie to live in and transferred him like any of its other servants. No predikant was stationed at the Cape for the first 13 years because the settlement was too small to warrant the expense. Marriages in the early days were celebrated by the Council of Policy (Walker, E: 32-33). Two notable marriages in van Riebeeck's time were that of a twenty-seven year old bachelor and free burgher, Jan Sacharias of Amsterdam, on 6 July 1658, to the 20 year old former slave of the sick-comforter Maria of Bengal whom the bridegroom had bought into freedom. The council approved the marriage because Maria understood and spoke Dutch clearly and had a firm knowledge of the Reformed religion (Worden, 2004: 27). The other marriage was that of Eva to Pieter van Meerhof the company surgeon. Eva, born Krotoa, the daughter of a Cochoqua Chief joined the van Riebeeck household as a servant, ousted Autshumato as interpreter was baptized in 1659, gave birth to three children and married van Meerhof. After his death in a slaving expedition to Madagascar she was increasingly isolated by both Khoekhoen and Europeans and was sent to Robben Island where she died of alcohol abuse in 1674 (Worden, 2004: 23). As a Christian she was buried in the fort and a burgher took her two children to Mauritius where one presently married a European (Walker, E: 43)

The VOC had altered the landscape of Table Valley and the Liesbeeck Plain by erecting permanent structures and cultivating gardens thereby alienating the local Khoekhoen clans whose ancestral lands they had commandeered for their own agricultural enterprises. They had too an adverse impact on the environment despite the small size of the population. In 1655

corporal Wilhelm Muller sent by van Riebeeck to the area later known as the Hottentots Holland Mountains crossed the Eerste River (later site of Stellenbosch) and the Tweede River (later Lourensford River) where he reported seeing 'thousands of antelope, steenbok and eland' (Worden, 2004: 25. Leigh: 32). The fiscal, Abraham Gabbema, had explored the Berg River and found a mountain which he named 'De Diamandt en de Peerl later to become Paarl (Leigh: 32)

The natural wildlife was being hunted out and the timbers of Table Bay were swiftly falling to the axe. By 1658 van Riebeeck was lamenting the 'reckless destruction' of the forests and restricted felling to a post on the southern side of the mountain named 'Paradise' (Worden, 2004: 25). Paradise would later entrance Lady Anne Barnard during the first British occupation of the Cape at the end of the 18th century. Paradise Road in modern Newlands presumably provided access to this forest.

By August 1658 the temper of the people in the settlement was characterized by the company's fear at continued slave desertions because it had abandoned its settlement at Mauritius at least partly because of attacks from runaway slaves living in the forests and disaffection in the ranks of servants, slaves and soldiers. In December 1659 a group of 28 persons plotted to capture the fort, murder its inhabitants and then sail away in the *Erasmus* an empty vessel in the harbour. The plot was caused by the desperation of company employees who although they had signed on as soldiers in Holland were treated by the commander 'as harshly and as miserably as if they had been less than serfs and slaves' (Worden, 2004: 32). Interestingly these potential insurgents consisted of '4 English, 4 Scotch and 2 Dutch servants of the company as well as a black convict, 2 servants of the free burghers and 15 slaves'. In March 1660, 41 people consisting of 18 free burghers, 20 company servants and three convicts managed to escape the settlement on the return fleet. A further 26 stowaways who were captured explained that they had all been incited to leave by sailors from the fleet running riot in the town invading the garden, pulling up cabbages and attacking the gardener crying

'why do you stay in this damn Cape?'

'What are you doing staying in this cursed country?'

'Come jump in the boats we shall hide you, whoever likes to go, let him get into the boat. Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Enckhuysen etc. get in, the ships are ready to leave' (Worden, 2004: 33).

Between 1661 and 1662 many slaves died and only 104 remained distributed between the company (59), officials (22) and free burghers (23). Van Riebeeck sold his slaves before his departure. At the end of a decade of Van Riebeeck's rule the VOC had established a precarious foothold on the southern tip of the African continent but nevertheless a firm European footprint.

After van Riebeeck's departure in May 1662 in the seventeen and a half years until October 1679 the Kaapsche Vlek was ruled by nine different administrations. Van Riebeeck's immediate successor commander Zacharias Wagenaar described by Leipoldt as an 'ill man, disgruntled and cantankerous ... had no love for the free burghers whom he described as lazy, avaricious and impudent' (Leipoldt: 11). The muster roll for 1662 recorded 113 slaves of whom 27 were children and their places of origin were listed as Guinea, Angola, Madagascar and Batavia. Although Wagenaar was by all accounts a hard man he fed the company slaves a more varied diet supplementing their rations of fish and rice which Van Riebeeck had

dispensed with some (poor quality) meat, stockfish, salted fish, rice, bread, bacon, olives, flour, oil, and vinegar (Böeseken: 22-28). He also decreed that the children of slave women should be baptised and that they should be registered as the produce of their mothers and the Honourable Company (Böeseken:25-26). In 1663 Jan Blank's expedition to Madagascar had produced only seven slaves and nine tons of rice and the company twice explored the Zululand coast but made no acquisition there but re-occupied Mauritius in 1664 (Walker, E: 45). Knowledge of the hinterland increased with expeditions to the Valleys of the Groot and Klein Berg rivers and the areas of present day Riebeeck's Kasteel and the land of Waveren (modern Tulbagh) were entered and explored and de la Guerre and Van Meerhof had travelled beyond the Olifants river (in the region of modern Clanwilliam and Citrusdal) where they had made contact with the Grigriqua Khoekhoen (Walker, E: 45). In 1665 the first open market was started (Leipoldt: 13) and the third of the sick-comforters, Ernestus Back, who attended to the spiritual needs of the free burghers and taught their children behaved so scandalously that he was shipped off to Batavia but the first fully qualified predikant, Johan van Arckel arrived and a wooden church was set up in the area where the new castle was being built. (Leipoldt: 12, Walker, E: 44). Van Riebeeck's old fort had been damaged by rain and mudslides and had almost collapsed in 1663. Commander Wagenaar laid the foundation stone of the new castle (Walker, E: 44) and in 1666 he had timber taken from Hout Bay for the walls of the new castle and shells from Robben Island for lime (Walker, E: 64, Westby-Nunn: 10). In 1665 the slaves who were still being housed in the fort were transferred to the newly built slave lodge (Böeseken: 26-27).

Before 1666 company cattle-runs at the Schuur, Steenberg, Bommelshoek and Boerewoonen were all located within the Peninsula or on Robben and Dassen Islands but new stations were now opened at Saldanha Bay and Vishoek (Fishhoek) in False Bay (Walker, E: 45). Sixteen free burgher families were permitted to buy horses from the company's stud for the first time and there were four canteen keepers (Leipoldt: 11). Angela of Bengal who had been a slave in Van Riebeeck's household was freed and granted a piece of land in present day Castle Street where she built a small house and ran a small business selling vegetables to passing ships until she died in 1712 (Worden, 2004: 640).

In September 1666 Cornelis van Quaelberg took over as commander but was 'bidden' to 'abstain from intervention in tribal politics' (Walker, E: 47). During this period the company's servants had extended their exploration of neighbouring territory and in 1667 Cruse had ventured eastwards through the land of the Hesseqa Khoekhoen thus travelling through the modern magisterial districts of Caledon, Swellendam, Heidelberg, Riversdale and Mossel Bay where he heard of the Attaqua clan living even further to the east of Mossel Bay. In 1668 in an attempt to reach Natal by sea Cruse landed at Mossel Bay and went on to the modern magisterial district of George where he encountered the Attaqua and heard about the even more remote Outeniqua. Later in the year Cruse went back again, defeated a band of San and recovered Khoe cattle looted from the Hessequas who were delighted (Walker, E: 45). In 1668 the first licence to purchase wine and spirits from passing ships was granted to Wouter Cornelis Mostert and in 1670 Jacob van Rosendaal was licensed to sell strong liquor of his own making and nine other free burghers were licensed to sell strong liquor. (Leipoldt: 13-14). Barbetjie Geens, a widow was also licensed to sell drapery and in 1676 she received a special license to brew 'sugar beer' a 'poor persons drink' (Worden, 2004: 57)

In some four years between the 18th of June 1668 until the 2nd of October 1672 the Kaapsche Vlek was successively ruled by commanders Jacob Borghorst and Pieter Hackius, the local council of policy and the Secunde Albert van Breugell as acting commander. All of these

served fewer than two years in their positions of authority. The settlement was fairly stagnant but a party of company woodcutters was established at the boerewoning at Hout Bay in 1670 where they also looked after the company's pigs (Westby-Nunn: 10).

In 1672 the United Provinces of the Netherlands were at war with both Britain and France (Worden 2004: 36). The new VOC ruler Isbrand Goske whose status was upgraded from commander to governor because of the war hastily resumed building of the castle which was completed in 1674 (Worden, 2004: 37, Walker, E: 46) European diseases were completing the break-up of Table Bay and Peninsular Khoekhoen clans (Walker, E: 46). The number of free burghers had grown to 64 employing 53 knechts (European wage labourers) and owning 63 slaves and in 1673 the 37 slaves from St Helena carried on a captured vessel were sold to free burghers. Several of these slaves died and others decamped (Böeseken: 36-37). The company declared itself to be the true and lawful possessors of the Cape district which included Table, Hout and Saldanha bays and 'paid' the 'captain' Osingkhimma (Schagger) of the Goringhainqua Khoekhoen with goods valued at 115 rix-dollars (Worden, 2004: 36) as purchase price. The authorities at the Cape started to give brass-headed staffs to selected chiefs as recognition of their chieftdom and supported Dorha (Klaas) the Chainoqua against his enemies (Davenport: 24). This caused trouble with Gonnema the Chocoqua. The San killed three free burghers in the Breede River valley and the company held Gonnema as reputed overlord responsible. Then Kees, Gonnema's son, slew a party of Europeans and destroyed the post at Saldanha Bay. In 1674 commandos of soldiers and free burghers, commando service having been made obligatory for the first time, took to the field with the assistance of friendly Khoekhoen (Walker, E: 46-47).

In the Hout Bay valley in 1676 the company had installed woodcutters under the command of Carel Tethero whose tasks included looking after some of the company's cattle, sheep, goats and pigs besides ensuring a steady monthly supply of timber (Westby-Nunn: 10). The company had also sent out Hannes Koekenberg who was reputed to have had experience in Alsace in the making and blending of wines (Leipoldt: 14-15).

Johan Bax arrived as governor on the 14th of March 1676. He completed the castle and its surrounding moat and named its five bastions after the chief titles held by the Prince of Orange: Orange, Nassau, Leerdam, Buuren and Katzenellebogen (Walker, E: 44). The war with Gonnema which had damaged the cattle-barter ended in 1677 (Walker, E: 47). The free burghers owned 81 male slaves and 22 women. The war in Europe was continuing creating a big demand for wheat and in 1677 the first free burghers to settle in Hout Bay, S.W. van der Merwe and his partner P. Van der Westhuizen, were allotted as much land as they could till. In the same year six Malabar slaves absconded from the Hout Bay forests never to be seen again (Westby-Nunn: 11). With the departure of Governor Bax, the Secunde, Hendrik Crudorp, was appointed acting commander (but not governor!) from June 1678 until October 1679.

The Van der Stel's and the Free Burghers: 1679-1715

By 1679 there were 87 farmers, 55 women, 117 children, 30 European knechts (paid servants) and 191 slaves living on the Cape Peninsula as well as an unrecorded number of Khoekhoen and company servants. Simon Van der Stel was dispatched to the Cape as commander and assumed office with much pomp and ceremony on the 12th of October 1679 (Leipoldt: 17). His father had been a governor of Mauritius married to an Indian wife, Maria of the Coast, but although Simon had been born in Mauritius he was educated in Amsterdam

(Walker, E: 48). While Van der Stel had left his wife behind in the Netherlands he brought his sons with him to the Cape (Walker, E: 61) and he also brought with him a certain Jean Marieu an expert in wine making and blending from the south of France (Leipoldt: 17).

Van der Stel, shortly after his arrival, settled twenty farmers in the region beyond the Eerste River which he called Stellenbosch (Davenport: 21). Between 1677 and 1680 the town to the west of the castle was growing and some 18 property transactions were recorded in the area of present day Strand, Hout and Castle streets and to the south-east the farms of Paradise (Paradje), Koornhoop (Coornhoop), Roukoop, Bosheuwel and Roodehek had also changed ownership (Guelke, L and Robert Shell, 1990).

The system of local government at the Cape had begun to become more sophisticated under governors Goske and Bax between 1672 and 1679 when three free burghers were given seats on the High Court together with two company officials and two on the Orphan Chamber again with two company officials under a president appointed by the governor (Walker, E: 43)

In 1680 an edict requiring the use of clay and bricks in buildings were issued because of the shortage of timber and the danger of fire. This was reinforced by a further edict in 1691 (Worden, 2004: 48).

By 1685 Van der Stel had further refined his administration and set up a Petty Court of his officials and two burghers to hear minor civil suits (Walker, E: 49). The commander busied himself with the company's farm and garden as well as its substantial vineyard with 100 000 vines at Rustenburg (nowadays Rustenburg Girls Junior School on the Main Road in Rondebosch). The settlement had also increased to 254 men, 88 wives and widows, 231 children, 39 knechts and 310 slaves. The burghers between them owned some 303 000 vines (Leipoldt: 18). Although the company had insisted from its foundation that its officials should not engage in private trade or farming Van der Stel appeared to have sufficient influence to induce the Heren XVIII to grant him a large farm of over 890 morgen which he named Constantia (a name which was carried down into the modern suburb where viticulture is still carried on in the 21st century). Here he planted some 100 000 vines from cuttings taken from the company's garden in Table Valley and the nursery at Rustenburg. He probably enjoyed expert assistance from one of the company's gardeners, Hendrik Oldenland, who was a well-read and travelled man with some knowledge of botany. His husbandry was apparently exemplary and his Constantia wine became world-renowned (Leipoldt: 18-27). He built himself an ample manor house on his estate and also built the guest-house Tuynhuis on the south-eastern perimeter of the company's garden (which remains the official Cape Town residence of South Africa's president in the 21st century) and entertained passing visitors sumptuously at both residences (Leipoldt: 20-24). Oak trees were planted on company lands, were offered to farmers and were planted in Stellenbosch and Drakenstein (Walker, E: 58-9).

The year 1685 was an eventful period for the energetic commander because the Cape was visited by a very important person, a High Commissioner answerable only to the Lords Seventeen, Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee, Lord of Mydrecht and Drakenstein. Van der Stel had appointed a court of four Heemraden at newly founded Stellenbosch. Van Rhee fixed the number of seats on the Council of Policy at eight drawn from the ranks of the governor, Councillor Extraordinary of India, the Secunde, the two chief military offices, the treasurer, secretary, chief merchant, garrison bookkeeper and cashier. He also fixed membership of the High Court at eight officials and two senior burgher councillors. He also appointed a

Landdrost (magistrate) at Stellenbosch. The landdrost was the local judicial and administrative official who chaired the court which dealt with all minor civil suits, raised levies, took care of roads, water-supply and destruction of vermin and reported on applications for land (Walker, E: 49). By this time the Khoekhoe clan system was breaking down and they were entering employment in the settlement and Van Rhee de laid down regulations for their admission to school alongside white and slave children (Walker, E: 70). The frequency of manumission increased the number of freed black men. Marriage between whites and full-blooded blacks was forbidden but marriage between whites and those of mixed race was still permissible (Walker, E: 72).

Van der Stel settled twenty-three new immigrant Dutch and German families in full ownership on sixty-morgen (51 hectare) farms in the area named Drakenstein (obviously in honour of Van Rhee de (Walker, E: 52) in 1687. He had also planted oak trees in the Hout Bay Valley (Westby-Nunn: 10) and made an expedition in the galiot Noord to Kalk Bay in November 1687 where he was impressed by the abundance of fish. He also visited Ysselsteyn Bay which so delighted him that he renamed it Simon's Bay. His report to the Lords Seventeen on this excursion was very favourable (Walker, M: 2-3). Van der Stel started a fishery at Kalk Bay and quantities of steenbras, stumpnose and red roman were transported back to Cape Town by wagon much of the fish being fed to the slaves (Walker, M: 4). Between 1682 and 1685 Van der Stel had sent three expeditions beyond the Olifants River in search of copper and had himself then pushed on to the Koperberg at O'okiep where he found a wealth of copper and heard of the great Orange River (Gariiep) to the north. A further expedition to the north-east had made contact with the Inqua Khoekhoen in the present district of Prince Albert (Walker, E: 60-61).

A fever epidemic of 1687 decimated the Khoekhoen who began to come forward to work in the harvest fields (Walker, E: 70). At that time there were some 310 slaves (230 men, 44 women and 36 children) owned by free burghers and the company owned about another 600 (Walker, E: 71) The free burgher population at the time numbered 573 (342 adults, 231 children) (Walker, E: 66). Van Rhee de ordered all slave children under the age of 12 to attend school where prizes were offered for excellence in Christmas Day examinations (Walker, E: 71-72).

At this time (1680s) Louise XIV increased the persecution of protestants (Huguenots) in France and a number of those who had fled to the Netherlands were offered a free passage and advances for equipment if they were prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the VOC and emigrate to the Cape as free burghers and stay for at least five years. (Walker, E: 51). There is some disagreement among commentators on the actual period of arrival and the numbers involved. Eric Walker puts the period at 1688-1689 and the number at under two hundred in all while Davenport and Saunders (21) put the year at 1689 and the number at 180. Wijzenbeek (98) records the first party leaving the Netherlands at the end of 1687 and therefore arriving in 1688 and notes that in 1692 of the 856 free burgher families 200 had a Huguenot background. She cites Coertzen as listing 280 Huguenots settling at the Cape between 1688 and 1700 when the VOC terminated Huguenot migration with 28 of them arriving after 1700. (Wijzenbeek: 99)

Van der Stel settled the new Huguenot arrivals in the Drakenstein area among the Dutch and German colonists in a valley variously called Le Coin Francais, Quartier Francais and sometimes La Petite la Rochelle (Leigh: 33). These immigrants originated in the protestant strongholds of La Rochelle and Dauphiné although others came from Provence and the

region of Calais (Wijsenbeeck: 98) The VOC and Van der Stel were anxious to prevent the development of 'a state within a state' and dispersed the Huguenots among the Dutch and German settlers (Wijsenbeeck: 98), The early party of immigrants had arrived with their own Pastor Pierre Simond who was a unilingual French speaker. Assimilation of the Huguenots took place rather rapidly with the French language dying out (Walker, E: 53).

In terms of the administration of what was becoming a colony after Van Rheeede's departure in 1689 an Independent Fiscal was appointed to watch the finances, regulate the administration of Justice and act as public prosecutor. From the time of Van Riebeeck the commanders and governors had promoted monopolies in the right to sell spirits, wine, beer, tobacco, oil, vinegar, bread and meat by means of leases. It was hoped by the Heren XVII that the Independent Fiscal who was responsible only to the Seventeen would be able to check corruption and private trade which were adversely affecting the company's profitability (Walker, E: 50 + 54). Trade between the Cape in wheat, wine and brandy was very variable and production was subject to climatic forces and in some seasons rice had to be imported from Java (Walker, E: 56). Experiments with indigo, olives, coconuts, cassava, rice and hops all failed as did mulberry trees and silkworms (Walker, E: 58). The Khoekhoen were still in the area and a drawing dated 1690 shows their huts at the foot of Lion's Head and Signal Hill (Worden, 2004: 66)

When van Riebeeck arrived the mountain kloofs of the peninsula were well forested but timber was wastefully exploited. Van der Stel planted oak trees on company lands, offered them to farmers and ordered every man who felled a tree to plant an acorn, encouraged tree planting at Wynberg and gave Stellenbosch and Drakenstein the oaks which flourish to this day (Walker, E: 58-59). Experiments in wool which the Seventeen wanted were also unrewarding in spite of Simon Van der Stel experimenting with wool and cattle and horses on his Constantia farm (Walker, E: 59).

In spite of the vicissitudes at their Cape settlement the Heren XVII promoted Van der Stel to the rank of governor on the 1st of June 1691 thereby signalling that the Kaapsche Vlek or Cabo had become their Cape Colony. By 1692 four of the 34 free burghers had married ex-slave wives (Worden, 2004: 69). The French, Dutch and German colonists settled modern Paarl in 1688, Wagenmakers Vallei in 1698 (Wellington) and the land of Waveren in 1699 (Tulbach) (Walker, E: 52). Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, son of the governor, visited the area of modern Tulbagh in 1699 and opened the valley to the first settlers who were graziers (Leigh: 28). A plan of Cape Town in 1693 shows free burgher properties in modern Strand, Adderley, Burg, Long and Buitenkant Streets (Malan: 44). Between 1681 and 1690 some 27 property transactions were recorded including the farms of Paradise, Koornhoop and Roodehek yet again as well as the sale of Van Riebeeck's original farm Bosheuvel and the purchase of Oude Wijnberg by Simon Van der Stel (renamed Constantia). In the next decade, 1691-1700, no fewer than 264 property transactions were recorded with Koornhoop changing hands several times and Bosheuvel being resold. Among the buyers and sellers of these properties in what would become the heart of Cape Town interestingly were Domingo and Isaac of Bengal, Anthony of Angola and Jan of Ceylon (Guelke, L and Robert Shell, 1990). In 1694 the first of a number of notable Muslim exiles arrived at the Cape. The VOC authorities had expelled him first to Batavia, then Ceylon and then to Cape Town for involving himself with what the Dutch regarded as the wrong side in a succession dispute. Sheik Yusuf was a Macassarene noble who arrived with a party of 49 family and followers including twelve imams. He was banished to a farm at Zandvliet and died in 1699 and his

tomb (kramat) at modern-day Faure has remained a site of Islamic pilgrimage ever since (Worden, N, 2004: 76-7).

In the meantime the trekboere or frontiersmen had developed as a distinct sort of settler. From the earliest the akkerboer (crop farmer) had tended also to become a veeboer (stock farmer). The stock farmer granted grazing permits had developed into the trekboer, a frontiersman inured to a hardy life of hunting and grazing cattle beyond what the company regarded as its frontiers. In fact Plakkaaten had been issued forbidding the barter in cattle or trekking beyond the borders. By 1681 the trekboere with their guns had eliminated most of the game between the Cape and the Oliphant's river which was ten to twelve days trek away. In spite of severe penalties Simon Van der Stel failed to keep these activities in check and in early 1699 retired to enjoy the bounty of his Constantia estate (Walker, E: 60-61). The company garden flourished and apart from the more mundane shipping of wheat and wine, cargoes shipped between January 1696 and February 1788 to Mauritius, Batavia, Ceylon and Holland contained oil of roses, conserve of roses, rose leaves, rose petals, rose water and salted roses (Fagan: 26).

The Heren XVII appointed Willem Adriaan van der Stel to succeed his father as governor of the Cape Colony on the 11th February 1699. A visiting company ordinary commissioner, Wouter Valckenier, was persuaded by Willem van der Stel to grant him a considerable farm at Vergelegen in the modern district of Somerset West in 1790. This he later enlarged by purchase. Valckenier also granted farms to the Fiscal, the Captain, the Predikant and the Surveyor and gave Simon van der Stel a large portion of the southern half of the Peninsula as a cattle ranch in, what was then called Witte Boomen (Walker, E: 62-63) (as the suburb is still known in modern Cape Town). Soon after his appointment Willem Adriaan visited Kalk Bay in February 1699 and reported adversely to Amsterdam on the suitability of False Bay as an anchorage. He nevertheless continued to exploit the fishing grounds of Kalk Bay (Walker, M: 4-5).

Willem Adriaan was invested with autocratic powers and proceeded to enrich himself in defiance of the law by employing company gardeners, servants, slaves and materials to build his manor house and improve his farm where he spent long weeks when he should have been attending the castle. The Van der Stel's, Willem, his father Simon and his brother Frans acquired one-third of the farming area of the colony and Simon and Adriaan eventually owned one-third of the vine-stocks in the colony. Willem Adriaan, like some of the wealthy free burghers, had extensive cattle runs beyond the colonial frontier, Willem Adriaan's being over the Hottentots-Holland Mountains. Willem Adriaan's high handed actions and avarice in trying to secure the meat and wine trade monopoly for himself alienated a leading group of burghers

By 1700 the free burgher families had begun marrying the sons and daughters of other locally born settlers of Dutch, German and French descent as well as freed slave women and immigrants. Laura Mitchell gives a lively account of the Van der Merwe and Cloete families' alliances contracted between first and second cousins and even uncles and nieces in spite of Calvinist and Lutheran religious restrictions in her account of kinships and identity at the Cape. She records the intermarriage of the Van der Merwes (whose progenitor Willem had arrived as a bachelor without family connections from the Low Country) and the Cloete's (whose progenitors Jacob and Fytji had emigrated from Cologne) and their liaisons with other relatives the Van Rensburgs, Burgers, Van Stadens and Bothas. Some of these early settlers were prolific producing up to sixteen surviving children from a single marriage. (Mitchell:

247-263). Willem Adriaan was no admirer of the Huguenots and had their assisted emigration to the Cape stopped in 1700. In 1700 there were 40 free blacks at the Cape (Worden, 2004: 64). While many of the free burghers were poor or possessed rather modest means some like Henning Huising had become very wealthy. He held the meat contract monopoly awarded to him by commissioner Van Rheebeek but this expired in 1699. After a short period in which the free burghers began to slaughter cattle for themselves without licence or inspection Huising was re-awarded the meat monopoly for five years in 1700 and the VOC directors ordered the sale of the company's herds and lands at the Cape. Willem Adriaan was compelled to open cattle barter between the free burghers and the Khoekhoen at the same time (Walker, E: 63). From just before the turn of the century the small Chinese community began arriving at the Cape as convicts or exiles despatched by the VOC in Batavia to the Cape (Worden, N, 2004: 65). Only a few dozen of the hundreds despatched survived either the voyage or imprisonment but they continued arriving until 1904 (Armstrong: 75-80 & Worden, N, 2004: 218).

In 1702 Jakobus van der Heiden and other wealthy Stellenbosch burghers financed a cattle-trading expedition to the Fish river some 800 kilometres to the north-east of Cape Town in what is today the Eastern Cape Province. They attacked several Khoekhoen clans living in the area and took much of their cattle. Willem Adriaan immediately stopped the cattle trade (Walker, E: 63-64). Van der Stel persuaded the company's directors that the meat contract should be granted to four non-cattle owning butchers thus making an enemy of the aggrieved Henning Huising and he also gave the wine contract to an official of his choice (Walker, E: 64). The family Van der Stel's acquisitiveness and Willem Adriaan's autocratic and corrupt rule had alienated a number of the free burghers. In 1705 a petition was drafted by Adam Tas, the nephew of Henning Huising and a well-educated Stellenbosch burgher on behalf of Huising, Van der Heiden and other prominent burghers listing their complaints against Willem Adriaan. This was signed by 63 burghers, half of them Huguenots and sent to Batavia and Amsterdam. Batavia dispatched a copy to the Cape where Willem Adriaan persuaded and coerced some 240 of the total of 550 free burghers to sign a glowing testimonial in his favour. He arrested Adam Tas without a warrant as well as Van der Heiden and eleven other leading burghers and imprisoned them in abominable conditions at the castle. He rashly deported Huising and three other burghers to the Netherlands where they were able to present a memorial to the Heren XVII. Willem Adriaan and some other officials were recalled to the Netherlands where a fair trial resulted in the dismissal of the ex-governor and two other company officials. His brother Frans was expelled from the Company's dominions and Willem Adriaan's farm Vergelegen was broken up and sold in four lots. His father, Simon, was left undisturbed at Constantia and company servants were forbidden to own or lease land or trade in commodities. Assisted immigration to the Cape Colony was terminated (Walker, E: 64-65)

What was the Van der Stel legacy? Relations between the colonists and the Khoekhoen were relatively tranquil on the whole by 1689. After the fever epidemic of 1687 which decimated the ranks of the Khoekhoen they began to enter employment. The little village in Table Valley was beginning to resemble a town – with houses surrounding the company gardens from present-day Strand Street in an area bounded by present day Long, Buitensingel and Buitenkant Streets. A remarkable garden had been beautified by Simon Van der Stel and his botanist/gardener Hendrik Oldenland. The castle's defences had been strengthened and a new road Keisergracht (present-day Darling Street) had been run to the castle's new entrance on the Table Mountain side of the fort. A new reservoir and large hospital had been built by Simon while Willem had built the Groote Kerk (Walker, E: 66-70). Between 1700 and 1710

some 349 property transactions were recorded including the resale of the farms Koornhoop and Roodebloem. Reba and Mos both of Maccasser were recorded as buyers or sellers of property. (Guelke, L & Robert Shell, 1990).

Policing had been developed in the form of a burgher watch organised in six companies of thirty men each under a sergeant and a corporal from 1686. The town burghers were liable for duty on patrol from 16.00 hours to 9.00 hours. Defence, too, had been organised in a militia system which would develop into the commando system with companies of infantry and mounted 'dragonders' stationed at Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein (Walker, E: 69).

Relations with the San (Obiqua) remained hostile. They raided farms and lifted cattle occasionally killing the owners and Willem Adriaan Van der Stel sent a Stellenbosch commando into Het Land van Waveren (Tulbagh) in 1701 in pursuit of a party of San and had to multiply his guard posts along the eastern frontier. The plight of the slaves was dire. Penalties such as the whip, chains, branding and loss of ears were imposed for stealing cabbages from a garden while murder and rape were punished with hanging or breaking at the wheel. Owners were permitted to beat their slaves but not to flog them without permission given by the fiscal or governor (Walker, E: 69 & 71).

Johan Cornelis d'Ableing, the Secunde was appointed acting governor from the time of Willem Adriaan Van der Stel's departure until February 1708 when Louis Van Assenburgh, a relative of the Van der Stel's assumed the governorship.

In 1707 just before Van Assenburgh's arrival the free burgher population of the Cape had grown from the original 18 in 1657 to 1623 (Walker, E: 66). At this time Hendrik Bibault described himself as an Africaander. The Cape Dutch, a blend of nationalities and ethnicities were beginning to develop into the Afrikaners. (Davenport: 22). The colony was growing slowly. In 1710 Jan Van Riebeeck's granddaughter, Johanna, on a journey from Batavia was unimpressed observing that: 'This place looks prettier and more pleasant from the sea than it does when you are on land. It is a miserable place... One sees here all sorts of peculiar people who live in very strange ways' (Worden, 2004: 39).

After Van Assenburgh's departure the Secunde, Willem Helot, was appointed acting governor. During his rule an outbreak of smallpox in 1713 decimated Cape Town killing the Khoekhoen in hundreds and wiping out some of the best-known clans, having a devastating effect on the slave population who lived in very poor living conditions and eliminating nearly a quarter of the urban European inhabitants while an unknown number died in the countryside (Walker, E: 70).

Immigrants or Slaves and Expansion: 1716-1750

In 1714 Mauritz Pasques de Chavonnes was appointed governor. The directors of the VOC were beginning to regard their colony at the Cape as a liability. Walker has calculated, allowing for the idiosyncratic bookkeeping and chaotic currency, that expenditure ranged roughly between £14 350 to £18 400 from 1697 to 1707 against revenue of £5 500 to £6 900 (Walker, E: 74). The Heren XVII thus asked their new governor and his council a number of questions on how best to promote prosperity in the colony. They wanted to know if immigration particularly of skilled artisans, farm-hands and agriculturalists as well as the farming of a variety of different crops would lift the colony out of the doldrums. The council

responded with a very discouraging report stating that no more than thirty free burgher families in the colony were wealthy and all the councillors, with the exception of the governor's brother Dominique de Chavonnes, the captain of the garrison, condemned white labour as drunken, incompetent and expensive. Chavonnes argued that free Europeans would provide husbands for the colony's women and would be able to provide for the defence of the colony which would reduce the costs of maintaining the garrison and the colony could carry 150 artisans. He argued that farming would be more efficient if the large holdings of land and particularly the enormous cattle-runs of 3000 morgen and more were broken up into more manageable units. Dominique Chavonnes' reasoning was ignored and the stage was set for an economy based on slave labour (Walker, E: 73). New taxes were exacted on cattle-runs, wine, wheat and stamps.

The state of education from 1652 until the middle of the 18th century was rudimentary. Between 1657 and 1707 just over half of the free burghers could sign their name (Worden, 2004: 74). Initially the sick-comforters doubled up as teachers but those burghers who could afford it, some emancipated slaves and some exceptional slave-owners hired teachers (meesters) often former company officials to teach their children and the children of their slaves (Faasen: 19-22) in home schools. In 1714 Lambertus Slicker, a former ship's chaplain and midshipman, opened a Latin and Dutch School in Cape Town but it failed for want of support from the public, but Johannes d'Ailly, minister of the Groote Kerk and the Secunde were appointed scholars to examine and later licence potential teachers (Walker, E: 68).

Francois Valentyn, a minister, who had first visited the Cape in 1685 returned in 1714 and gave a more favourable account than Johanna van Riebeeck. He found the houses 'attractive and ornamental' and counted 254 private dwellings (Worden, 2004: 38). On the northern frontier in 1715 because of heavy San raids new military posts were established at Hex River, Witzenberg and Pikenierskloof (near modern Citrusdal)(Walker, E: 69). A result of these raids was that the commando developed a specifically South African form with a purely burgher ensign and a field cornet in command. In effect the government was leaving defence of the frontier to the frontiersmen and even withdraw its newly formed military posts on the outer frontier (Walker, E: 69-70). The new governor strengthened the colony's defences by erecting the Chavonnes Battery on the shoreline (Worden, 2004: 42) where the Clock Tower Precinct of the Waterfront is in the present day.

In 1721 the Portuguese abandoned their possession of Delagoa Bay (modern Maputo) in Mozambique and the VOC occupied it, establishing a slave depot there (Katzen: 204-5, Walker, E: 79). A large proportion of the slaves transported to the Cape in the 18th Century were Mozambicans or Malagaches.

Between 1717 and 1719, the Heren XVII sent out experts to develop intensive cultivation but all the experiments failed. Even the Persian sheep imported to improve the quality of the flocks were absorbed into the population of the indigenous fat-tailed hairy sheep. The staple products of wine, wheat and meat suffered variable fortunes. The garrison was forced back to rice rations because of a series of bad harvests whilst an outbreak of cattle disease forced the company to take drastic measures (Walker, E: 86). There was also an outbreak of a new form of horse sickness to add to the colonists' woes. By this time the free burgher community descended from mainly Dutch and German immigrants as well as migrants from the German speaking cantons of Switzerland, together with the French-speaking Huguenots with a small admixture of Scandinavians and Scots were developing a distinct identity. Many of the early migrants were ill-educated and semi-literate and must have been speaking a variety of

dialects. The VOC was structured very hierarchically and its ordinary servants, soldiers and sailors all had to swear an oath of allegiance to the company on taking up their contracts. This oath was sworn in Dutch. In the 17th century there were a number of Netherlandish dialects being spoken and this was the case in many of the Low Countries. Efforts to codify the dialects into Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands (which came to be called High Dutch in the Cape) were underway when Van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay and the actual codification was done in Holland in 1699. For Germanic-language speakers at the Cape, High Dutch as the official language in church, school and law would not have been too difficult to learn. For the French migrants let alone the slaves arriving from Mozambique, Madagascar, India and Indonesia it would have been a problem (Brink: 44).

In 1719 a commando had to be called up against the San who were raiding border farms because they claimed that the cattle-barterers had done them injuries but in 1723 the company, desperate for meat, granted Van der Heiden permission to barter cattle for them from distant clans of Khoekhoen in spite of his connection with the cattle raids of 1702. Ugly stories began to circulate and the Drakenstein consistory accused Van der Heiden of atrocious deeds. The company placed new guardposts at Zondereind Valley and on the Buffelsjagt river (near modern Swellendam) (Walker, E: 92).

The Secunde, Jean de la Fontaine, succeeded de Chavonnes as acting governor between September 1724 and February 1727 and was in turn succeeded as governor by Pieter Noodt from February 1727 until April 1729. Pieter Gysbert Noodt was by all accounts a proud, brutal and thoroughly dislikeable man and possibly the most cruel and despotic of all Cape governors. He regarded the Secunde, Jean (Jan) de la Fontaine who had preceded him and would later succeed him, with antipathy and the bad relations between the two adversely affected all levels of government from the higher officials down through the ranks. Although it is true that the conditions of employment of soldiers and sailors everywhere in the 18th century were extraordinary the conditions of those at the Cape appear to have been particularly bad under Noodt. Their wages are reported to have been nine guilders a month which after various compulsory deductions would leave them two stuivers a day to live on when 'a small portion of meat in the cheapest sort of eating place cost at least two stuivers'. Minor infractions and graver misdeeds were brutally punished with savage beatings, running the gauntlet of soldiers musket butts, being placed in chains on public works without pay for two consecutive years, being reduced from the rank of soldier to sailor and then being banished to Batavia, and death in the case of desertion or theft of firearms from the company's depot. Some of the more fortunate and better skilled soldiers were permitted to become what were called pasgangers working as knechts (farm overseers) for free burghers or as teachers of colonists' children. The money they earned was called *diensgeld* but they had to pay nine guilders and 12 stuivers to the garrison for the privilege of being released from military service (Penn, N, 2007: 559-561). There were others who prospered in the VOC's service such as a certain Daniel Heijning who arrived from Delft in 1704 as a midshipman got promoted to an assistant in 1707, to a bookkeeper in 1711 and to respectable status as a merchant earning 60 guilders a month in 1732 (Parmentier and De Bock: 557).

The *diensgeld* paid to the garrison was divided among the soldiers in service who received between 24 and 28 stuivers a month depending upon how many of their fellows were working. Under Noodt's governorship either Noodt himself or officers of the garrison diverted this supplement to the basic net wage of 56 stuivers causing great distress to the ordinary soldiers and especially to the newcomers in the ranks (Penn, N, 2007: 562). In August 1727 ten soldiers deserted the castle but eight were forced by fatigue and hunger to

return while two, Hans Knack and Haijke Heeresplaat attempted to make good their escape to the company post at Riviersonderend. They were captured and brought back to the castle. While the other deserters received harsh but less severe sentences. Knack and Heeresplaat were sentenced to a whipping and two years labour in chains on public works without pay (Penn, N, 2007: 502, 563-570).

In November 1727 sixteen soldiers bearing their arms escaped from Fort Lijdszaamheid, which the Dutch had established at Delagoa Bay under the authority of the VOC at the Cape, trying to make their way to the Portuguese trading post at Inhambane. Thirteen of these reached their destination but the local commander refused them permission to stay and they were sent on their way. In August 1728 sixty two soldiers were accused of conspiring to ransack the company store at Fort Lijdszaamheid to equip themselves for an escape in which they would kill anyone who opposed them. They were tried and thirty-nine were sentenced to death with twenty-two of them later executed in the most barbaric way (Penn, N, 2007: 570-575).

It was probably news of the events at Fort Lijdszaamheid which provoked a further desertion at the Cape. Thirteen men, eleven bearing their arms, left the castle at night in April 1729 to make for Inhambane and there take ship for Europe. They reached the Hottentots Holland mountains but were intercepted by a posse of burgher dragoons under the command of the provincial landdrost of Stellenbosch, Pieter Lourentse. In the subsequent shoot-out one of the deserters was shot dead and two were wounded. Four eluded immediate capture but the rest were taken back to the castle. The escapees were captured within two days. They were all tried by the court of justice with three being sentenced to whipping and ten years' labour in chains in the company's work, five were sentenced to whipping, branding and fifteen years' labour in chains and four were condemned to death and duly hanged in April 1729. Governor Noodt died of a heart attack that day. He was buried with all the pomp due to a VOC governor but rumour had it that the coffin was empty and his body secretly buried in an unmarked grave on Paarden Island (Penn, N, 2007: 575-585).

Jean de la Fontaine was again appointed acting governor, the first to be married to a local born wife, in 1729. In the decade from 1721 to 1730 recorded property transactions numbered 620. The town was expanding and among the exchanges and properties listed were those belonging to the free blacks, Claas of Malabar, Delphina of Coromandel, Titus of Maccassar, Aaron of Batavia and Robbert Schot of Bengal. The latter interestingly sold a 2.3 morgen (2 hectares) property in 1723 for 700 guilders and bought another of the same size for 450 guilders. Farms also changed owners with Clapmuts (later Klapmuts) covering 60.2 morgen (Simon Van der Stel's award in the seventeenth century) while Valkenburg covering 30.5 morgen and Koornhoop covering just over 29 morgen both along the Liesbeeck river were much smaller. By 1731 the Cape had grown to over 3000 inhabitants as Nigel Worden *et al* have shown (Worden, 2004: 49-51) but the population was still small and contained in the two magisterial districts of De Kaap and Stellenbosch.

Table No. 2
Population of the Cape District in 1731

	Total	Male	Female	Children
VOC Employees	959	959		
Free burghers	585	151	127	307
Free Blacks	200	51	60	89
VOC Slaves	566	± 250	± 250	66
Private Slaves	767	424	187	156
Bandieten (convicts)	80	78	2	0
Khoekhoen	No record	No record	No record	No record
Total	3157	1913	626	618

Source: Worden, N. 2004

The distribution of the population was 30% officials, 19 percent burghers, six percent free blacks, 18 percent VOC slaves, 24 percent privately-owned slaves, and three percent convict. The slaves and free blacks together comprised 49 percent of the population. These numbers refer however, only to the population of the Cape district. The slave population of the wider colony numbered 5599 of whom 3852 were men, 1072 were women, 343 were boys and 332 were girls (Shell, 2001: 446). Male slaves outnumbered female by nearly 3:1.

The male/female imbalance was pronounced with over three men to each woman although the numbers of wives of VOC officials were missing but they were probably small. Also missing however were the numbers, which might be large, of slaves owned by VOC officials who were not officially permitted to own them. (Worden, 2004: 50). The fertility of all slave and free black women was much lower than that of free burgher women.

The population was hierarchically structured with the high ranking officials, mostly Dutch born, forming an elite and ranked as *opperkoopman* (senior merchant), *onderkoopman* (junior merchant) and *boekhouder* (bookkeeper) as well as professionals such as ministers of religion, pharmacists and surgeons earning between 30 and 100 guilders a month. The company had begun to draw the locally born sons of free burghers into the ranks of officials. In 1731 of the 58 administrators 18 were born in the Cape. There were also skilled workers employed in the company's varied activities as wagon drivers, carpenters, bakers, smiths and builders earning between 14 and 20 guilders a month. (Worden, 2004: 49-50, 52).

The garrison was manned by a captain with ensigns and ordinary soldiers with the latter constituting the majority of the VOC's employees and living in the company's barracks and earning 9 guilders a month or less. The majority of soldiers and labourers were recruited on five year renewable contracts largely in Europe and from a wide catchment area including the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, England, France and Russia. Most of the soldiers were German (Worden, 2004: 50-51, 52).

In 1730 more than half of the garrison was manned by men recruited in the German states, with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the Southern Netherlands and Scandinavia (Parmentier and De Boek: 549-557) also providing recruits.

A large number of the soldiers were drawn from the lowest ranks of European society (Worden, 2004: 50-51) consisting of 'unemployed men, adventurers and outcasts' (Parmentier and De Boek: 554). They were not permitted to marry during the duration of their contracts and travellers' accounts and judicial records depict them as a drunken and troublesome underclass (Worden, 2004: 52, Parmentier and De Boek: 557). Apart from their sentry duties, interrupted by sorties against the Khoekhoen and San, they were employed at

Paradise in Newlands forest and Hout Bay as woodcutters and in construction of the company's buildings including the castle and as guards of prisoners on Robben Island where they also tended the company's sheep and vegetables (Worden, 2004: 50). In the circumstances of their employment it is not surprising that there were annual desertions with some escaping as stowaways on passing ships (Worden, 2004: 52).

By 1731 most of the free burghers were farmers, with some of the wealthy also owning town houses. In the town some 140 men and women were involved in other activities. These activities included a married male surgeon and two single male teachers. Among the 94 married men were six farmers, six tailors, six bakers, nine craft knechts, four innkeepers, four shopkeepers, twenty-one lodging-housekeepers as well as fishermen, coopers, wine-sellers, saddlers and blacksmiths. The labour market for single men was more restricted and of 32 men eight were shoemakers, five were bricklayers, three were bakers, three were coopers and two were lodging-housekeepers. There were 14 single women or widows of whom five were shopkeepers, three were lodging-housekeepers, two were bakers, one was a washerwoman and three were prostitutes (Worden, N, 2004: 56-58). There was also a lively retail trade as the inventories of auctions show. Men and women could purchase a variety of goods imported from Europe and Asia at these sales and from the officers of passing ships. The inventories of insolvents or deceased persons produced for the Orphan Chamber indicate amounts of goods clearly not required for household use and probably acquired for trade (Worden, N, 2004: 58-59, Randle, 2007: 53-73). Although such trade was strictly against VOC policy the authorities turned a blind eye to it and it was the wives as well as the male free burghers who engaged in these black market dealings.

In 1732 the company imposed even heavier penalties than before for cattle-barter and forbade its continuation. In an attempt to check the movement of trek-boers beyond the frontiers of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts it doubled the rent on loan farms. Its edicts had little effect on the illicit traffic or the movements of trek-boers to the north and east. Elephant hunting became a lucrative source of income for the trek-boers and although fresh orders were issued after the massacre of some elephant hunters to the far east of the colony the prohibitions had to be waved in 1737 (Walker, E: 92).

In 1739 during the acting governorship of Daniel van den Henghel, the independent fiscal, war between some San and some Khoe clans and the VOC broke out on the northern frontier of Piketberg and Ceres with farms being abandoned in panic. A first commando was unsuccessful. At the same time near the Orange river ten men from the Piketberg area assisted by some Khoekhoen carried out a cattle raid on the Namaquas who appealed to the government. The Landdrost of Stellenbosch was bidden to summon the members of the expedition to court, a summons which they defied. The Landdrost ruled that the Namaquas had been aggrieved and gave them back as many of their cattle as had been seized as he could. The accused were summoned to the high court and Etienne Barbier tried to raise a revolt at Paarl. This failed and while Barbier was executed his supporters joined a second and successful command against the San (Walker, E: 93-94).

In April 1739 the Cape born Hendrik Swellengrebel of German/Dutch descent was appointed governor at the Cape, the first such appointment and the last until November 1792. His father had spent most of his adult life in administrative posts in the employ of the VOC. Although born into the Lutheran faith Swellengrebel joined the Dutch Reformed Church, the only recognised Christian faith in the colony, in his twenties. He rose through the company's ranks from the position of clerk to secunde in 1737 and aged 39 to governor. Family connections

from early in Swellengrebel's stewardship seemed to play a part with both his son-in-law Ryk Tulbagh and nephew Thomas being signatories of Council of Policy resolutions (Viljoen; 450). In 1742 a harbour and small provision store was built at Simon's Town because ships arriving in autumn and winter were obliged to enter False Bay where weather conditions were less severe than in Cape Town (Worde, N, 2004: 53). It was in the period of Swellengrebel's governorship that Afrikaans as a distinct language began to develop together with the gabled style of dwelling labelled as Cape Dutch architecture (Malan: 23-27, Brink: 421) thereby contributing to a particularly Cape Dutch burgher identity. The extension of the colony's eastern frontiers continued beyond the Hottentots Holland mountains into the present day districts of Caledon, Swellendam and Mossel Bay.

In 1743 the governor-general of the West Indies, the baron Gustaaf van Imhoff, visited the Cape. Further attempts were made to limit the colony's boundaries where there were some 400 loan places by increasing the rent and changing the system of land tenure. At this time there were only three churches in the colony, the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, the church in Stellenbosch and one in Drakenstein. At Van Imhoff's bidding churches with schools were established at Roodezand (later Tulbagh) and in Zwartland (later Malmesbury). A ferry was established on the Berg river and a heemraden's court was appointed in the Breede river valley at a place named Swellendam after the governor and his wife Helena Ten Damme. Van Imhoff had emphasised Swellengrebel's 'role as protector of the Dutch Reformed faith'. Although his father still adhered to the Lutheran faith which he had himself rejected a 1742 petition from leading Lutherans in the colony to establish a Lutheran church in Cape Town was refused. (Walker, E: 94-95; Viljoen 456-457). In 1744 two other men listed as 'Mahomedan priests', Tuan Said and Hadji Mattarm, were sentenced to hard labour in chains on Robben Island (Worden, N, 2004: 77).

In 1745 a sub-drostdy was established in the Swellendam district to rule 'where the power of the company ends' and the cattle farmers and ivory poachers reached the west bank of the Gamtoos river (Walker,E: 95). In the colony Church and State were following in the wake of the footloose trek-boere. Before he retired at the young age of 51 to his townhouse in Utrecht and estate in Doorn in 1751 as a wealthy man joining the Dutch elite although he had never set foot in the Netherlands before, Swellengrebel asked the Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Swellendam burgher councils whether Dutch immigration would strengthen the European population at the Cape. All said, 'No'. (Viljoen: 457).

In 1750 the town in Table valley was contained within the area bounded by Buitenkant Street in the East, Buitensingel in the South and Buitengracht in the West but some 20 farms or smallholdings including Zonnebloem and Oranje Zicht nestled at the feet of Table Mountain, Lion's Head and Signal Hill (Leipoldt: 78-79).

Between 1715 and 1750 society at the Cape had become more subtly nuanced. Some of the free blacks were becoming wealthy property-owners. One, Robbert Schot (of Bengal), is recorded as buying and selling property in 1721 and 1723. (Guelke L and R Shell, 1990). He attended the auction of the estate of Theresa of Savoije in 1729 and spent 40 rix dollars on various items including household goods. In 1734 at the auction of Anna de Koning's estate he spent 88 rix dollars on four oxen and various household goods and is described 'as a wealthy freeblack who was prosperous enough to be a moneylender'. He lent money to the widow Anna Maria Britz and rented his houses out to the free burghers Christian Cok, Cornelis de Wagenmaker, Jan Mulder d'smitt, and the widow Constant. He together, with Jacobus Hendrikz, and Pieter(of Bengal) purchased slaves (sometimes their children or other

kin) for manumission and stood security for the manumission of up to 15 slaves at a time. When Schot died in 1741 he owned two homesteads along the Liesbeek river and three properties in Table Valley (Randle: 54 & 70-71).

Other buyers recorded at these auctions included free burghers of European descent married to free black women, wealthy *pachters* (holders of licences to operate retail monopolies), the administrators of estates, and the children and other known kindred of the deceased (Randle: 55-72).

During the period Antoria Malan describes the development of what would come to be called Cape Dutch architecture from as early as 1685 with Francois Valentyn reporting 'larger, higher and more noble houses' as early as 1705 (Malan: 26-27). The mixed population of (white) free burghers, free blacks and released convicts, rich and poor, lived cheek by jowl in Cape Town with more modest dwellings alongside imposing structures. Malan notes that in the block bounded by present-day Wale, St Georges, Church and Burg Streets a master carpenter with a wife, two children and four slaves lived near a company lieutenant who had an adopted son and owned two slaves from Malabar. In the same block were the free black Carel Jansz (of Bengal), two minor daughters and five slaves: Rebecca (of Bengal), her two children (of the Cape), Anthonij (of Couthin/Cochin) and Slammat (of Souma)(Malan: 29-30). Evidently up until 1750 there was no residential segregation in Cape Town and free burghers with their origins in Europe, free blacks with slave origins in the Dutch East Indies (particularly from Macassar and Bugis on Sulawesi, otherwise known as the Celebes) and Java and Bengal, Coromandel and Cochin in VOC India as well as Mozambique and Madagascar lived side by side with European company servants and released Chinese convicts and political exiles from Batavia. The earliest recorded title deed of a free black is that of Jan van Ceijlon (Sri Lanka) in 1700 with Reba van Maccasser following in 1709 (Guelke, L & Shell, R, 1990.)

The Decline of the VOC : 1750-1795

In 1751 Ryk Tulbagh, son-in-law of the previous governor, Swellengrebel, was appointed governor and he began an anti-corruption campaign banning private trade by company officials, fixing fees and himself setting a good example (Walker, E: 82). The number of slaves imported into the colony had grown to 6507 of whom men numbered 4400, women 1237, boys 538 and girls 332, a ratio of over 3 men to a woman (Shell, 2001: 446). The humane Tulbagh codified the brutal slave laws in 1753, but they remained very harsh.

The economy remained based on slave labour and subject to a monopolistic trading corporation (Walker, E: 85-6) with agriculture ruled by the vicissitudes of nature and enduring a plague of locusts in 1746 but nevertheless the Cape was exporting grain, peas, beans, wine, dried fruit, ivory, skins and ostrich feathers. (Walker, E: 87). The VOC directors again considered the question of renewed European immigration as a solution to the colony's woes. This was rejected by the colonists on the grounds that it would merely increase the poverty that was already rife while trekking was on the increase. (Walker, E: 88).

In 1755 smallpox struck Cape Town once more and although it severely affected the slaves, free blacks, and Khoekhoen, free burghers and VOC employees contributed to almost half the fatalities of 2072 between May and October. The epidemic only came to an end in April 1756. The Khoekhoen were also attacked by leprosy (Walker, E: 88 & Worden, N, 2004: 66).

The company in a misguided attempt to cure the financial ills at the Cape increased the rates on property and levied fresh duties on wine and brandy and imposed the Indian sumptuary laws. The seven years war from 1750 turned shipping away from the Cape and drove many wine farmers into bankruptcy. By 1759, however, the economic tide had turned as the French and British struggled to wrest control of the trade in India from their rivals and their ships crowded Table Bay with Cape producers being able to charge whatever prices they chose (Walker, E: 88-9). But from the mid-sixties depression set in once more and the woes of the colony's inhabitants were again aggravated by another smallpox epidemic in 1767 (Worden, 2004: 66).

Meanwhile the trek-boere were relentlessly extending the colony's frontiers to the north and east and a company servant found boer farmhouses at Mossel Bay in 1752 and by the 'sixties cattle farmers were establishing themselves in the Hantam (modern Calvinia) and Ghoup (modern Beaufort West) and heading down the Langekloof (Longkloof) in the direction of modern Port Elizabeth (Walker, E: 95). While relations between the Khoekhoen and the wandering cattle-farmers were somewhat easier, the land of the former was steadily being claimed as large ranches by the latter (Walker, E: 95-96).

The fate of the San was another story. For twenty years from 1754 the strife continued. The San raided burgher homesteads in the Roggeveld (Calvinia) and Bokkeveld (Vanrhynsdorp) as well as the ghoup (Beaufort West) and even further east to the Camdeboo (Graaff-Reinet, now in the province of the Eastern Cape). Straf commandos would kill the men and take the women and children into 'apprenticeship' which amounted to serfdom. In 1774 a joint force of all the commandos from Piketberg in the north to the Sneeuwberg in the east (modern Pearston) consisting of 250 men under the command of Gotlieb Opperman with Khoekhoe auxiliaries scoured the 500 kilometre long border killing over 500 San men and taking 239 prisoners (Walker, E: 96-7). The San, however, were not yet subdued.

More Expansion

A boundary commission reporting in 1770 noted that Boer families had pushed between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers way further on than any known loan farms and were claiming farms for which they were paying no rent and they were already bartering with the Xhosa (Walker, E: 97). The frontiersmen were extending the colonial border to cover an enormous territory stretching from modern Jeffrey's Bay along the Indian Ocean seaboard to modern Port Elizabeth and beyond to modern Port Alfred and inland to modern Somerset East. To try and maintain some authority over its wayward frontiersmen the council of Policy fixed the eastern frontier from just east of modern Graaff Reinet in the north along the Gamtoos river to modern Jeffrey's Bay on the coast, although trek-boere were already living on the other side of this new border (Walker, E: 97). Table 3 below compares the VOC districts in 1770 with the 42 magisterial districts of the Province of the Western Cape in 2001.

Table No. 3

Comparison between VOC Districts in 1770 and Western Cape Magisterial Districts in 2001	
VOC DISTRICT 1770	WESTERN CAPE DISTRICTS 2001
The Cape (1652)	Greater Cape Town: the Cape, Bellville, Goodwood, Kuilsriver, Mitchells Plain, Wynberg and Simonstown plus Somerset West, Malmesbury, Moorreesburg, Hopefield and Vredenburg (12).
Stellenbosch (1685)	Stellenbosch, Strand, Hermanus, Caledon, Paarl, Wellington, Tulbagh, Ceres, Worcester, Robertson, Laingsburg, Prince Albert, Beaufort West, Murraysburg, Piketberg, Clanwilliam, Vanrhynsdorp, and Vredendal (18), plus the Northern Cape Districts of Sutherland, Calvinia and Namaqualand.
Swellendam (1747)	Swellendam, Heidelberg, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, George, Knysna, Uniondale, Bredasdorp, Oudtshoorn, Calitzdorp, Ladismith, and Montagu (12) plus the Eastern Cape Districts of Graaff Reinet, Pearston, Aberdeen, Willowmore, Jansenville and Joubertina.

At this time the district of the Cape was only 118 years old whilst Stellenbosch was only 85 and Swellendam a mere 23 years old, negligible in terms of recorded human history. By 1773 the population of the colony had swelled from fewer than 200 when Van Riebeeck arrived to 20 621 consisting of 2 165 company servants and sick seamen, 8 554 burghers and 9 902 slaves an increase of more than a hundred fold (Davenport, R.1969: 273) and an unknown number of Khoesan. The number of company officials had grown from 120 in 1662 to 1 695 in 1769 (Böeseken: 217). This increase in the size of the bureaucracy, which also increased the VOC's costs, did little to improve the efficiency of the administration and was also too small to provide effective policing of the vast territory over which the company tried to maintain control.

In the older western districts of the colony a small but very wealthy elite was emerging owning both large townhouses, distinguished by the evolving vernacular architecture and containing expensive imported goods, as well as properties in the countryside. Martin Melk, for instance, who had arrived in the colony from Germany in 1746 contracted a number of marriages with wealthy but short-lived widows enriching himself to the extent that he owned ten grain and wine farms as well as five warehouses, a townhouse and two plots of land in Cape Town (Worden, N, 2004: 67). On the other hand many in the populace were poor and dependent on relief from the poor fund run by the Church diaconate (Worden, N, 2004: 68). Free blacks also drew support from the poor fund but at a lower level than poor whites. Race was not such an issue in Cape Town as it would later become but there was a distinction between 'Christian' and 'heathen'. Company officials and free burghers married ex-slave women and sexual intercourse between male burghers and female slaves was not unusual. Sailors and soldiers who were permitted access to slave women in the Lodge between 20.00 and 21.00 hours sired children whose offspring increased the number of company slaves (Worden, N, 2004: 69-70).

The high officials and leading burgher families formed an elite which would socialize at celebrations such as the birthday of the Prince of Orange of the governor or weddings of

burgher daughters and company officials. The soldiers, sailors, poorer burghers and slaves would enjoy the facilities of the *taphuizen* (taverns) until curfew hour of 10 pm (9 pm for slaves)(Worden, N, 2004: 77-78).

From 1760 slaves moving between town and country were obliged to carry passes signed by their owners authorising such excursions. This was extended to the Khoekhoen in the Swellendam district in 1797 (Kahn: 276) and to free blacks in the 1790s (Worden, N, 2004: 70). Free black women were discriminated against in 1765 when they were forbidden to wear clothing that would rival the attire of respectable burgher women (Worden, N, 2004: 70). The application of Batavian sumptuary laws reinforced the social hierarchy and probably reflected a preoccupation with caste and class rather than colour or ethnic origin (Worden, N, 2004: 73)

Governor Ryk Tulbagh died in 1771 after ruling for over twenty years and Joachim van Plettenberg, the secunde, was appointed acting governor being promoted to governor in 1774. In 1776, Veld-cornet Adriaan van Jaarsveld arrived at Bruintjies Hoogte in the eastern Cape and engaged in friendly contact with the Imidange Xhosa. Van Plettenberg embarked on an extended tour of his domain in 1778, found both Boers and Xhosa living along the middle Fish River and noted that there was no substantial homestead between Hex River in the West and the Gamtoos in the East. The Boers lived either in their wagons or crude houses such as were unknown in the more settled western districts. They depended for labour to tend their herds and flocks on their slaves in the more westerly areas and on the Khoekhoen and even 'tame' San in the east. He found Boers as far east as where Somerset East is presently located. Yet again an attempt was made to fix a Cape Border, Van Plettenberg erected a beacon near present-day Colesberg as the north-east border and agreed with some minor Xhosa chiefs that the Fish river would mark the rest of the eastern frontier. He returned to Cape Town naming Plettenberg Bay in his own honour along the way (Walker, E: 96-98). By the 1770s Afrikaans was evolving as a distinct language and was widely spoken (Brink: 418-425). During the 1770s and onwards to the turn of the century brutal battles were waged between the San and punitive Boer commandos along the northern and eastern borders from Beaufort West to Graaff-Reinet. At times the farmers fled their homesteads and at other times the San were massacred (Green, L: 24-34).

In Cape Town the reformed church maintained tight control of education and public worship. It controlled seven schools offering basic elementary education to 696 children including a number of slaves (Worden, N, 2004: 74-75). In 1779 after years of petitions the German-speaking community were permitted to erect a Lutheran Church on land provided by Martin Melk and it opened in 1780. In 1788 the predikants at the Groote Kerk and Roodezandt, the reverends Helperus van Lier and Michiel Vos, began to proselytize among the slaves and Khoekhoen and Dr Johannes van der Kemp formed a missionary South African Society (Walker, E: 144). The Tuan Guru (Imam Addullah ibn Qabi Abd al-Salam), banished from Tidore to Robben Island arrived in 1780, and opened a madrassah at his Dorp Street home after his release in 1792. In 1797 the British during their first occupation permitted him to convert a warehouse in Dorp Street into the Auwal Mosque (Worden, N, 2004: 124-6).

The last quarter of the 18th century was a period of ferment in Europe and in the Netherlands and particularly in Holland where the Orangemen had installed the Prince as stadtholder and director-in-chief and governor-general of the VOC, and the 'republican burgher oligarchy' organised in a democratic Patriot party was talking 'of freedom, of natural law of the popular will'. At the Cape a petition drawn up by the Cape Patriots to be presented in Amsterdam was

signed by 400 of the 3000 free male burghers in the colony. The demands contained in the petition were political and economic and not merely economic as they had been hitherto. This included a request for a written constitution, seven seats on the council of Policy, half the seats on the high court and the right of Appeal to Amsterdam rather than Batavia. Economic claims were for free trade with the East Indies, the right to conduct slaving in Madagascar, an end to commercial activities by freed Chinese or Javanese convicts, an end to the rights of foreigners to buy or hire houses or become burghers unless they had been in the company's service and more ominously the right to flog slaves without reference to the fiscal. In Holland the Patriot Party had allied themselves with France and war broke out with Britain (Walker, E: 100-103).

The French virtually occupied Cape Town to prevent the British taking it in 1781. The French regiment Pondicherry, the (French) regiment Luxembourg, the Swiss regiment Van Waldener and the regiment Württemberg all arrived in Cape Town. While the arrival of the French did little to improve the morals of the town the presence of so many ships and troops created a short-lived economic boom until 1784 when they departed (Walker, E: 103-104 & Worden, N, 2004: 81). The VOC was in terminal decline and paid its last dividend in 1782. (Walker, E: 104).

Van Plettenberg died in February 1785 and was buried with pomp outdoing all the previous extravagant displays put on by the company. Before his death he had responded to the Cape Patriots' petition by recommending that they be given half the seats on the High Court, that the laws be defined, that officials be paid decent salaries in lieu of fees and perquisites, and that a limited private trade be permitted. The Heren XVII tardily approved reforms which fell far short of the burghers' demand in 1783. (Walker, E: 103-104). A three-year drought set in, in the western districts.

Governor Cornelis van der Graaf, a military expert, arrived in 1785. He completed the huge new two-story hospital begun in 1772 (located where the Caledon Square police station is today), erected forts on Table Mountain's foothills, on Signal Hill and at Hout and False Bays. He established a new drostdy at Graaff-Reinet, opened depots at Mossel Bay for grain and Plettenberg Bay for timber and relaxed some of the trade restrictions. His extravagance together with the state of the economy led to his recall in 1791 because the Cape Colony was costing the VOC 'more than all their East Indian stations combined' (Walker, E: 105-106 & Worden, N, 2004: 81). Some 1 500 officials and troops, 14 000 burghers and 17 000 slaves were left in the colony which was in a miserable condition.

In the Netherlands the Prince of Orange had been restored to power and at the Cape most of the leading merchants, officials, and military were Orangemen but the rank and file of the troops and a number of burghers were anti-Orange. The VOC sent out the commissioners-general Sebastiaan Nederburgh and Simon Frykenius in July 1792 in an attempt to rescue the colony from its economic woes. They did their best to effect economic reform in a situation where they found 'the large majority of the settlers financially ruined'. In this challenging situation their efforts failed and they sailed away to Java in 1793 leaving Abraham Sluysken to cope with an intolerable situation where the economic ills were compounded by incipient rebellion among the frontiersmen in Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet at a time when the Netherlands and her ally Britain were at war with France (Walker, E: 106-108).

On the turbulent eastern frontier the unruly trekboere started wearing tricolour cockades and addressing each other as burgher this and burgher that at the beginning of June 1795, and

they drove the landdrost, Honoratius Maynier, from his drostdy and elected their own provisional landdrost and heemraden. Swellendammers also rebelled four days later and elected their own national assembly. In the same week on the 11th June 1795 a British fleet of nine ships sailed into Simon's Bay (Walker, E: 119-120). A further ingredient was added to the population of the Cape later described by the American Robert Semple as a 'singular mix' (Worden, N, 2004: 88-9).

The British came in terms of a treaty between the Prince of Orange and Britain carrying a letter from the stadtholder who had fled to Kew in January 1795 requiring Sluysken to admit the force peaceably. But they also carried for extra insurance a somewhat spurious document of 1620 noting British settlement prior to that of the VOC (Walker, E: 120 & Worden, N, 2004: 86). Sluysken had heard that the Netherlands was now in Republican hands and renamed the Batavian Republic and about to ally with France so he decided to resist the invasion. On paper he had 3000 men to command but they were an ill-assorted bunch. He had available the 571 mercenaries of the national battalion, 430 Dutch gunners, the remnants of the Meuron and Württemberg regiments, 'Malays' suddenly enlisted, Khoekhoe and coloured Pandours and the burgher militia drawn from the four districts where Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were in open rebellion (Walker, E: 121).

On the British side Admiral Keith Elphinstone and Major-General James Craig had command of fewer than 1600 men and lacked cavalry. Craig summoned General Clarke with the main body of troops from Brazil and proceeded to disembark his force at Muizenberg. Sluysken's mercenaries fled. The British force suffered defeats at Retreat and Steenberg where the Pandours put up a doughty resistance but Clarke arrived with his army of 5000 and his warships threatened Cape Town. They eventually took Wynberg Hill and advanced to Driekoppen in modern Mowbray. The Dutch surrendered and the capitulation was signed at Rustenburg on the 16th September 1795. Only 1690 burghers took part in the fight and none of them were from Graaff-Reinet (Walker, E: 120-122 & Worden, N, 2004: 86).

The First British Occupation and the Batavian Republic: 1795-1806

In the early years of British military government at the Cape from November 1795 until May 1797 the authorities on orders from London practised a policy of reconciliation. The acting-governor, Sluysken and some of the Dutch military officers were allowed to sail for Holland, the burghers were promised 'free internal trade' and 'overseas trade on the best possible terms, no alteration of laws or customs.. [and] reduction of taxation where possible' (Walker, E: 122). 'Some of the higher Dutch officials retain their posts; the first appointments after the occupation are colonists; colonists throughout supply the rank and file of the civil service, but the higher posts are filled, as occasion offers, with Englishmen' (Walker, E: 125). The men of the districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam took the oath of allegiance to George the third and the fleet departed leaving Craig with a mere 2900 men to defend the colony. The frontiersmen in Graaff-Reinet held out for a further nine months until August 1796. The British at their 'half-way house to India' assumed responsibility for 'some 16 000 Europeans, 17 000 slaves' and an unknown number of Khoekhoen and San (Walker, E: 124-5). Robert Shell records a higher number, 21 474 of slaves in 1795 (Shell, 2001: 448). Of these slaves, 12 996 were men, 5 529 women, 1 541 boys and 1 408 girls yielding a male/female ratio of 2,1:1. This narrowing of the proportion of male to female slaves from over three to one in 1713 to just over two to one in 1795 could perhaps be accounted for by the abolition of the import of male slaves from Asian territories in 1767.

In May 1797, Anne Barnard, the eldest child of the Scots Earl of Balcarres born Lady Anne Lindsay, arrived in Cape Town after a three-month long voyage from England. She and her husband, Andrew, appointed colonial secretary by Henry Dundas, British Minister of War and a friend and former suitor of Lady Anne were part of the retinue of the elderly but upright and experienced administrator Lord Macartney who had been appointed as the first British civil governor of the Cape. Her letters and diaries provide a lively account of life in the colony at the turn of the 18th century (Lenta: 3-5).

Macartney made a number of important changes to governance at the Cape. He abolished the practice of torturing on suspicion slaves and Khoekhoen and breaking at the wheel and other more atrocious forms of capital punishment. He reformed the judicial system by establishing a court of civil appeal to replace the Court of Batavia in the East Indies, established a Vice-Admiralty Court, cut the high court from thirteen to eight and made the judges paid officials, and extended the civil powers of the landdrosts' courts but retained Roman-Dutch law as the basic law applicable even to British-born subjects. He levied no new taxes (Walker, E: 126-7). He also ordered that the San 'be left in possession of their just rights and habitations and that they may not be taken as slaves or servants' (Green, L: 26).

Some of the burghers were antipathetic towards the new British administration and in 1798 refused to allow the governor to use the Town House to celebrate King George's birthday. Macartney thus ordered his soldiers to break open the doors, hoist an English flag and place a guard there (Worden, N, 2004: 87-8). Some, like William van Oudtshoorn who had been a leading VOC official refused to swear allegiance to the British monarch and were thus debarred from public office (Lenta: 310). On the other hand Lady Anne successfully cultivated the friendships of several leading residents of the Cape district. The governor, whose wife had remained in England installed the Barnard's at the castle while he occupied the more modest Tuynhuis (Garden House, still the official Cape Town residence of the South African president in the 21st century) and appointed Lady Anne as his official hostess in which capacity she cultivated the friendship among others of the families of Johan Rhenius a former high official under the VOC and an office-holder under the British regime, Jacob van Renin (van Reenen) a wealthy farmer, the fiscal (public prosecutor) Willem van Ryneveld and with some reservation Johannes and Johanna Baumgart. Margaret Lenta's edition of Lady Anne's diaries contains gossipy revelations about the liaisons of British army officers and Cape Dutch ladies, sympathetic comment on the the slaves and Khoekhoen, and observations on the fairer skin colour of some slaves and the darker complexions of some of the burghers. The Barnard's stayed on after Lord Macartney's departure in November 1798 and served under his successor Sir George Yonge. Lady Anne made some sharp comments on Younge's administration during which new taxes were levied, monopolies were reinstated and some dubious deals struck with some of the new English merchants (Walker, E: 127-8) of whom Lady Anne was critical.

On the ethnic identities of which the Cape population was composed then Anne Barnard makes some pithy comment. Of the Chinese builders constructing her new country residence, the Vineyard in Newlands, later to become the Vineyard Hotel, she remarked:

'They are the worst builders here in the world... except (for] the limework, whitening and ornaments on the outside and these they do almost without tools in a very clever manner...' (Lenta: 46)

On English behaviour towards the Dutch her comment was sharp:

‘Why can (not] Englishmen enjoy their superiority as Englishmen, without eagerly marking to the Dutch how much they despise them? ’Tis boorish, or worse’ (Lenta 91)

On the Dutch response she noted:

‘I find many of the Dutch... in the habit of taking in lodgers, now give it up... having reason to dislike it from the conduct of the officers, and sometimes of their servants, who the masters encourage in any impertinence to them. And I believe indeed that the lodgers are often haughtier to the Dutch than it is fit for a man to endure in his own house’ (Lenta: 261-2).

On the other hand she noted ‘our officers have of late been marrying Dutch Frows at a great rate’ (Worden, N, 2004: 93). On the Khoekhoen reduced to a form of serfdom by labour contracts since 1765 she believed that the situation would be remedied:

‘... if the Hottentots had had new laws made for their benefit, and the term of slavery [been] more fairly settled, and stipulations more justly (applied] respecting their wages etc. ...’ (Lenta: 132).

She commented that General Vanderleur had praised the integrity of the ‘Hottentot Corps in the highest terms’ (Lenta: 185). On slaves in March 1799 she commented that slaves from Mozambique who some years before would have been purchased for 120 rix dollars were being bought for 600 rix dollars. Slaves with skills such as cooks, housekeepers and needlewomen would command prices of 1500 rix dollars (Lenta: 58). She described them as ‘very handsome, spirited, high countenanced...these Afrikaners ... with smooth clear copper skin ... (Lenta: 113). Shortly before her departure for England in 1802 she commented on her sojourn among the Cape Dutch.

‘We found in all classes friends on this occasion – nay more, kindness, really Hearty kindness! ...in short from the Dutch we met with no *ingratitude*, and let me pay them this tribute by *declaring this.*’ (Lenta: 300).

In 1803 the British ostensibly having held the Cape in trust for the Prince of Orange handed it back to the Netherlands which had become transformed into the Batavian Republic. Commissioner-general Jacob de Mist arrived with lieutenant-general Jan Janssens who was to be installed as governor. De Mist was welcomed in the west of the colony, save for the Orangemen, and allowed William Duckitt and George Rex and other Englishmen to stay. De Mist proposed that an elected town council (Raad der Gemeente) should administer Cape Town. Janssens visited the eastern frontier whence he banished two farmers for maltreatment of their workers, ordered all Khoekhoe labour contracts to be recorded by competent officials and as so often in the past enjoined the frontiersmen against intercourse with the Xhosa clans.

De Mist on his visit to the eastern frontier became convinced that the central government presence should be more firmly established in outlying areas and created a drostdy at Uitenhage and another at Tulbagh the latter demarcated from the vast territory covered by the district of Stellenbosch. He reorganised the system of veldkornetcies on more efficient lines. He tried without much success to encourage better farming practices along the lines begun by William Duckitt and introduced freedom of religion. Both Janssens and De Mist favoured further immigration of Europeans but an attempt to found a settlement at Plettenberg’s Bay

failed. Other reforms such as the solemnisation of civil marriages by landdrosts and heemraden and the establishment of a Board of Education to free public schools from clerical control horrified the conservative burghers (Walker, E: 133-7). De Mist also instituted a weekly post to keep the drostdies in touch with the capital (Walker, E: 135).

After a march to the castle and a celebratory dinner where Cape Town was renamed Riebeeckstad, thus reaffirming the Dutch character of the town, De Mist resigned leaving Janssens, more pliable than De Mist, to allow the continued landing of cargoes of slaves (Worden, N, 2004: 88 & Walker, E: 136).

The Return of the British 1806

In 1805 war broke out once more between the United Kingdom and Napoleonic France and her ally the Batavian Republic in the Netherlands. In January 1806 the British fleet bearing Sir Home Popham and Major-General Sir David Baird with 6700 troops swept into Table Bay landing near Blaawberg and routing governor Janssens' 2000 mixed levies with the mercenary Waldeck Regiment being the first to flee. Half the force fell back to Cape Town and signed the Capitulation of Papendorp (Woodstock). Janssens held out at Hottentot's Holland but he later surrendered and sailed for home leaving Baird with these comments on the settlers:

'Give no credit ... to Mr Barrow nor to the enemies of the inhabitants. They have their faults, but these are more than compensated by good qualities. Through lenity ... they may be conducted to any good.'
(Walker, E: 137-8).

Effectively the Cape was governed by military rule from January 1806 until May 1807 when the Earl of Caledon arrived as governor. The administration remained autocratic. The British changed little in the nature of government to which the Cape Dutch were accustomed but instituted circuit courts and appointed a deputy-fiscal (public prosecutor) at Simon's Town. On the religious front they expelled the Catholic priests. The economy remained agrarian with wine and hides and skins as the main exports but cattle rearing and general farming were the mainstay of the colony. (Walker, E: 140-142). The arrival of the very lordly and energetic, Lord Charles Somerset as governor in April 1814 introduced many changes. Lord Charles with his princely salary of £10 000 a year and a taste for horseracing imported prize stock and the Cape began to export good mounts to Mauritius and India. He took control of the old VOC farm at Groote Post and established another model farm at Boschberg (modern Somerset East) in the present-day eastern Cape province and encouraged Duckitt's efforts to improve farming methods (Walker, E: 141-2). Farmers were ensured of a ready market for their produce by the presence of a large garrison of some 5000 troops and he relocated the fleet from Table Bay to new headquarters at Simon's Town (Worden, N, 2004: 92) where the first Anglican Church was built in 1814.

Education and the Church had fallen on hard times in the colony. De Mist had founded a secular Dutch school, Tot Nut van't Algemeen in 1803 but it seems to have ceased operating by 1820. The ZAG school for slaves had over 187 pupils in 1813 and John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle founded the Classical and Commercial Academy in 1823. The latter caused Somerset much displeasure for he regarded it as a hotbed of republicanism. Somerset proceeded to bring out lowland Scots as teachers some of whom were sent to learn Dutch in the Netherlands before coming on to the Cape. William Dawson he sent to George, James

Rattray to Tulbagh, Robert Blair to Caledon and Archibald Brown to Stellenbosch (Walker, E: 143 & Worden, N, 2004: 134). These recruits would lay the foundation for the South African education system.

In the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, through the agency of Dr George Thom of the London Missionary Society and Predikant at Caledon, Somerset recruited and sent rev. Henry Sutherland to Worcester and rev. Colin Fraser to Beaufort West. Missionaries from Britain, Germany, Holland and Scandinavia come in a flood in the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Walker, E: 144/5).

Among other social improvements in a period of relative prosperity a mailship plied between Cape Town and England, a journey of some three months, the weekly post-riders were supplemented by Khoekhoe runners, the (old) Somerset Hospital was built in 1818, a leper asylum was established in the Hemel en Aarde valley near Caledon, the lighthouse was built at Green Point and the Observatory (which would become the South African Observatory) was built and the government made a grant to establish a library (which would become the South African National Library) to house the collection of Joachim van Dessin in accordance with a bequest in 1761. Of the latter the English William Bird commented rather sharply that what was needed was 'a collection of readers.' The Burgher Senate – a strange body, not elected but appointed to advise the governor as a rudimentary local authority – laid down iron pipes with real taps for the water supply and the householders provided oil lamps to light the two main streets (Walker, E: 142) of Cape Town.

In 1820 the wardmasters' returns identified only 727 Cape Town residents as British. In the legal profession while the two judges were British 14 of the 17 lawyers were Cape Dutch. Of the 247 shopkeepers, 196 were Cape Dutch, 19 were British and 32 were free blacks. In commerce there were 32 British and 19 Cape Dutch. Of the 17 taphuis (bar) keepers 14 were Cape Dutch and three were British. The 174 laundresses consisted of 101 free black women, 72 Cape Dutch women and 2 British women. There were 29 coachmen of whom 25 were free black men. People letting rooms numbered 55 Cape Dutch and 5 British and 29 of them were women. There were 92 Cape Dutch fishermen and 65 free Black men (Worden, N, 2004: 93-5).

The British embarked on a programme of improving communications and opening up the hinterland to the peninsula from 1822 as the appended Table No.22 shows. They begin with the Franschoek Pass and built 16 roads over difficult terrain culminating in the Swartberg Pass in 1888. There was also a religious revival and Roman Catholic priests were allowed to return in 1820 and Catholic services mainly for Irish and Scottish troops were held in the Harrington Street Chapel from 1822 (Walker, E: 144 & Worden, N, 2004: 123).

Indentured British apprentices were brought to join the small class of English merchants and administrators between 1817 and 1823 (Worden, N, 2004: 110-111). In 1823 the first wave, mostly of poor, Irish immigrants arrived in shiploads and initially settled in the vicinity of what would become District Six and together with the Irish troops in the town swelled the congregation of the Harrington Street Catholic Chapel. A spate of church building took place during the governorships of Somerset and Sir Lowry Cole. The DRC got new churches at Pampoenkraal (later Durbanville) in 1826 and Wynberg in 1829. The Scots of the garrison got St Andrews Presbyterian Church in Somerset Road, Green Point, in 1827, the Wesleyans got the Central Methodist Church in Burg Street in 1829 and the DRC got the Nieuwe Kerk in Bree Street in 1833. The (first) Anglican Church of St George in Wale Street was erected

between 1830 and 1834, (Walker, E: 166) for a congregation of over 1000 (Worden, N, 2004: 123).

Between 1823 and 1828 the courts were restructured on English lines and English became the language of the government and the law but government notices were still published in English and High Dutch, Afrikaans although widely spoken had no literary tradition as yet (Walker, E: 163). The opening of the new road over Sir Lowry's Pass in 1830 and the Houw Hoek Pass in 1831, built by major Charles Michell, eased the journey along the old Cape Wagon Way to the East but travellers still faced the hazards of the trip across the Cape Flats (Fleminger: 108-110 & 212). In 1836 Michell also linked the Little Karoo with the old Cape Wagon Way by improving the road over Attaquas Kloof (route nowadays from Mossel Bay to Oudtshoorn) (Fleminger: 191 and 212).

Travellers, Missionaries and Dorpies

Over the century that began with the founding of the Moravian mission station—later known as Genadendal—in the Baviaanskloof on the *Zondereind* river in 1737 and ended with the abolition of slavery in the British empire between 1834 & 1838 the western cape was visited by a surprising number of travellers from Europe who wrote detailed, and often vivid, accounts of everything they saw and descriptions of the people they met. Amongst the most remarkable of these visitors were George Schmidt the German butcher's apprentice turned missionary who wrote a report of his seven lonely years in South Africa ending with the apparent failure of his work with the closure of the mission in the Baviaanskloof. His story has been well told by Bernhard Kruger and from it we glean a good deal about life in the western cape at that time. A generation later came Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon, 'the outstanding eighteenth-century explorer of southern Africa' (Dicey, W: 81), commander of the Dutch military forces at the Cape, who made a number of journeys across the great rectangle of land bounded by the southern coast between Cape Town and Bushman's river mouth and, on the north, by the Orange river, which he first visited and named in 1777 (Cullinan, P). During this same period in the decade before the French Revolution three Swedes, two of them scientists Carl Thunberg and Anders Sparrman, and the French naturalist & artist Francois le Vaillant each spent several years exploring the country and making detailed observations. Le Vaillant has perhaps suffered the most from sceptics who have not always been sure that he actually wrote his journal let alone saw and did all that he claimed, but a scholarly new edition, meticulously edited under the auspices of the Van Riebeeck Society (Le Vaillant, F), will do much to rescue the reputation of an extraordinary scholar who, whilst pioneering the study of ornithology in southern Africa is increasingly seen as one of the founding writers of so much else. (Glenn, I:) Certainly there were few Europeans before him who got on so well with the Khoekhoen and appreciated them so much. Moreover he was remarkably un-Eurocentric and able to look impartially and, at times very critically, at the way colonialism was operating in practice in South Africa.

In 1798, after the British had taken over the Cape, two vivid descriptions of Genadendal (& of much else) were provided by John Barrow, the private secretary of the Governor, Lord Macartney, and by Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the Colonial Secretary. Barrow himself went on all the way to the Eastern Cape where he was one of the first Whites to meet Chief Ngqika (Gaika) before the turn of the century. Another traveller, soon after Barrow, was Lichtenstein tutor of the son of the Batavian official, De Mist, who also recorded his observations as naturalist on the large official party, led by de Mist, that travelled, in 1803, from Cape Town

through Baviaanskloof to the recently established Bethelsdorp in the Eastern Cape, close to where Port Elizabeth was subsequently founded.

Less than a decade later, in June 1811, William Burchell set out from Cape Town on a long four year trek into the interior. He collected plants, insects, birds and animals and kept scrupulous records including of the 40 000 plants and made numerous interesting observations but the account of the second half of his journey, from Grahamstown to Cape Town, was never published and the original notebook seems, alas, to have been lost. But only one year later, the Revd. John Campbell arrived in Cape Town and set off round the whole country, on behalf of the London Missionary Society (LMS), visiting all the mission stations. He has left a fascinating record. Hard on his heels came the secretary of the Moravians in Great Britain, C.I. la Trobe who visited the Western and Eastern Cape and published an informative Journal of his travels. So too did Andrew Steedman whose 'Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa', begun in Cape Town in 1827, contain a wealth of information as well as some very interesting paintings by his wife. But it is the final traveller of this period, James Backhouse a Quaker from York, who perhaps tells us most. He arrived in Cape Town, coming from Australia via Mauritius, in 1838 and then spent 19 months visiting every town, village and mission settlement in the whole of South Africa. The period was a fascinating one. Slavery had just been abolished and the Great Trek was under way. Backhouse (who, with his brother ran a plant nursery in York) was a well-informed, politically sensitive, fair-minded and acute observer of people, places, flora and fauna that he met and saw. His book which has been surprisingly little used by historians is a mine of information for the period and includes estimates, for most of the places he visited, of the number of houses and/or the population there.

Inevitably at this time the people with the time and the education to travel and to write detailed descriptions of what they saw were visitors from Europe. Thus almost all the accounts we have are seen through white eyes, with white experience and by people who (during this period) did not speak any of the Khoekhoe, San or Bantu languages...with the exception it would seem of Robert Gordon and Francois Le Vaillant. It is a limitation which must always be borne in mind for all that it implies in terms of lack of information about indigenous African societies at the time. It is worth noting however, that as late as 1840, there were many *Boors* in Namaqualand who spoke the local Khoe language fluently although that does not, of course, imply that they necessarily understood the Khoehoe society particularly sympathetically or well (Backhouse,J: 526).

So what then can we say about population in the Western Cape during the hundred years which ended with the abolition of slavery? Peter Kolb, from Germany, who spent 7 years at the Cape at the beginning of the 18th century (1705-1712) wrote not only a detailed account of the Cape of Good Hope including 'the several nations of the Hottentots' but also published a map, showing where he thought people were living. But Francois Le Vaillant, who travelled extensively two generations later in the 1780s, was scathing about Kolb and what 'this *sedentary* traveller has flatly asserted about the Hottentots and their religious ceremonies' In the Cape, he went on, 'People know that he never left town although he speaks of everything with the assurance of an eyewitness.'(Le Vaillant, F.). Later work by anthropologists and historians such as Isaac Shapera, Richard Elphick and Nigel Penn, on the northern—often forgotten—frontier, have gathered altogether more reliable information. What seems to have happened is that during the first two generations after the arrival of the Dutch, the old Khoekhoe order collapsed and the population in the Western Cape was decimated as a result of the smallpox epidemic of 1713 which killed large numbers and caused still others to flee

inland. By 1720, writes Elphick, 'the transformation of the Western Cape Khoekhoen into 'colonial Hottentots' was almost complete.' (Elphick,R: 235) They had been reduced to a small fraction of their former population; and their ancient economic and political institutions had virtually disappeared.

By 1737 when George Schmidt moved into the Zondereind river valley 'a number of Hottentots dwelt in the neighbourhood and, in the mountains to the north, Bushmen as well. But the greatest part of the district was empty bushveld.' (Kruger,B:20) and by the end of the century, 'The Hottentots lived in the same manner as they had done fifty years earlier, but they had become poorer, having lost much of their cattle' and 'there were no more Bushmen in the mountains'. By this time (1790s) whilst 'They were still regarded as an independent nation, free from the jurisdiction and the taxation of the (Dutch East India] Company, [they]were, in fact, dependents of the farmers.....The land passed more and more into the hands of the Colonists. When new farms were given out, existing rights of Hottentots were generally disregarded'. (Kruger,B: 64)

Meanwhile what of the San ? In a chilling passage Schapera writes how, 'we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld (between Sutherland & Calvinia) killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer that 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.' (Schapera,I: 39).

The Moravian mission in the Baviaanskloof 70 miles east of Cape Town was closed, after only 7 years, under pressure from Dutch Reformed ministers and the local farmers, in 1744. It re-opened fifty years later in 1793. Then, during the first period of British rule in the last five years of the 18th. century, many people 'moved unhindered to Baviaanskloof which became, next to Cape Town, the largest settlement in the Colony.'. A survey in 1799 found 1234 people in 228 dwellings within an hour's distance around the institution.(Kruger,B:76) It was at this time that Dr. van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society spent time there before setting off to the Eastern Cape where after meeting Chief Ngqika in the Tyhume valley and travelling as far as the Buffalo river he finally settled at Bethelsdorp which he founded primarily as a mission for Khoekhoen on the edge of where Port Elizabeth stands today.

In 1806 the mission at Baviaanskloof was renamed Genadendal and later in 1807 the new British Governor, the Earl of Caledon, offered another farm (Groenekloof) 30 miles north of Cape Town for the establishment of a second Moravian institution whilst his successor, Sir John Cradock, helped Genadendal to increase its land-holding by nearly one-third from 3500 to 4500 in order to accommodate the many Khoekhoen who wished to settle there with their cattle. Groenekloof subsequently ran into difficulties but by 1840, when visited by James Backhouse, it was well established with two wide streets of houses inhabited by some 1000 'Hottentots and other coloured people' many of whom had corn land at a short distance (Backhouse,J:619).

In 1819 the Imperial government decided to colonise the Cape with over 4000 new settlers. The parties of English, Irish and Scots settlers began to arrive in March 1820 (Bird, W: 178-243). While most were destined for the Eastern Cape some parties were to go to Clanwilliam. They arrived at Saldanha Bay and begged to remain there but the only available land was a government post so they proceeded in wagons to Clanwilliam. The colonial secretary,

Christopher Bird, commented that at each halt in their journey 'the greatest kindness and generosity was displayed by the boers'. Nevertheless when these settlers reached their destiny their discontent was profound. Some of the families returned to England, a few settled in Cape Town and others went to Algoa Bay (Bird, W: 233-7).

By 1821 the population of the western province had grown to 75 417 as appended Table No. 14 shows.

No Bantu-speakers were recorded as yet and the records were silent on the San while the Khoekhoen seemed to be under reported. The male/female ratios of the inhabitants (presumably including free blacks) and the Khoekhoen were normal at 1,1 to 1 and 1,02:1 but that of the slaves was 1,5 to 1. The slave register for 1820 recorded 30 425 slaves in the Western Province of whom 551 died or were manumitted in that year while 951 boys and girls were born into slavery giving a net increase in the slave population of 400. The 521 deaths far exceeded the 30 manumissions. The 521 boys born to slavery exceeded the 430 girls (Bird, W: 69).

Colonial secretary Bird was very critical of the system of slavery but distinguished three classes of slave. The first contained the Mozambicans and Malagassy who were employed in heavy labour and in the fields, the second contained the 'Malays' where the women were in domestic service and the men were coachmen, tailors, painters, shoemakers, carpenters and fishermen. The third he classified as the 'Afrikander', locally-born of whom he said 'that from black, this class has graduated into brown or yellow, not much darker than a Southern European, and many have progressed nearly to white'. He said these 'Afrikanders' were the preferred class of slave (Bird, W: 73-4). The 200 government (formerly company) slaves were freed in 1827 presaging the general emancipation of slaves in 1834 (Worden, N, 2004: 103).

In the 1830s the English merchant elite moved out of central Cape Town along the road to the military camp at Wynberg building villas in what would become the suburbs of Rondebosch, Newlands, Claremont and Wynberg. They also moved into Green Point. But the poor were crowded into dreadful slums in old Cape Town. The richer homeowners in Cape Town were located in the Heerengracht, Strand, Wale, Long, Castle, Hout and Longmarket streets but the poor were packed five or six families in three to four rooms in dwellings rented out by slum landlords in the area of the waterfront and what would become District Six. Disease was rife where poverty reigned (Worden, N, 2004: 118-121). A map in 1826 and drawing in 1832 show that apart from the southern suburbs and Green Point the physical shape of Cape Town remained very much the same as it had been in the 18th century, a Dutch town laid out in neat grids surrounded by farms and open spaces (Worden, N, 2004: 114-5).

A further addition to the heterogeneous population of the Cape was the 700 poor and vagrant children brought out by the Children's Friend Society from crowded English slums between 1833 and 1841. In some cases they were maltreated by the employers to whom they were apprenticed leading to accusations of white slavery and this new source of labour dwindled (Worden, N, 2004: 110).

The first forty years of the nineteenth century were years of significant political and social change in the western cape. The ending of the rule by a commercial company, the VOC, and the assumption of power by British and Dutch (Batavian) governors inevitably influenced by the ideas of the French revolution (1789) and the movement to abolish first the slave trade

(1806) and then slavery itself (1834) created more space for the growth of alternatives to the dominant process of conquest and the creation of a subservient class of manual labourers living on the farms of the conquerors. The main alternative, at this time, seems to have been the establishment of mission stations which provided protection of some sort for some of the Khoekhoen from the advancing wave of white farmers who were taking over the land and leaving little room for independent cultivation or cattle ownership. Thus Zuurbraak had been the site of a Khoekhoe kraal from which the people had never been driven when the London Missionary Society took them under its care. When James Backhouse visited in 1838 he estimated a population of 850 of whom half were children. Hout Kloof, in the same area, was an outstation of 'some Moravian Hottentots who have purchased lands and live independently of the Missionaries'. And at Genadendal itself Backhouse stayed 'in a lodging-house kept by a Hottentot family, where we found refreshment, forage for our horses, and separate, clean beds' (Backhouse,J: 96). Here, he reported, 'the poor and oppressed having found a refuge under the banner of the cross, were literally sitting under their own vines, and their own fig-trees, none making them afraid' (Backhouse,J: 97). Here the Khoekhoe, 'works in his garden, or at some other rural occupation, he is the efficient carpenter, builder, smith cutler, tanner, shoemaker, teacher etc'. And it was from Genadendal that James Backhouse rode to Hout Kloof where 'we esteemed it no small honour' at being 'guests in a Hottentot family' (Backhouse,J: 99). Similarly at Elim, which had been founded as a Moravian mission in 1824, Backhouse found about 400 inhabitants with 50 pupils in the infant school and about 90 in the school for older children.

Other than Genadendal and Zuurbraak the only centre of any significance east of the Hottentot's Holland in this part of the country was Zwellendam, 'a long, straggling village, of pretty appearance with neat, white houses, some in English, and others in Dutch style'. Riversdale was very small as was Mossel Bay, whose 'town only consists of about ten houses'. North of the Langeberg, in the Little Karoo, the farms were very poor and there was an unimpressive, mission settlement at Zoar with 300 to 400 inhabitants. Further east, and south of the mountains, were the twin centres of Pacaltsdorp (previously named Hooge Kraal) and George. The boundary between the two was not clearly demarcated and there was a dispute at the time over grazing rights but, as Backhouse remarked, 'Pacaltsdorp has been in the possession of the Hottentots from time immemorial' (Backhouse,J: 126). There were about 600 people living in Pacaltsdorp at the time with an active 'infant-school'. He visited Knysna and Plettenberg Bay which were both still very rural although ships did call at Knysna for timber and dried fish.

Crossing the Langeberg again James Backhouse and his party travelled to Dysals Kraal (Dysseldorp) which had previously been an outstation for grazing cattle belonging to Pacaltsdorp. It had now become a centre for religious instruction, the only one apart from Zoar, between Worcester and Uitenhage between the Langeberg & Swartberg mountains. Although it was 5000 acres in extent and had a resident missionary it was never intended to be a major place of settlement. 'The apprentices (former slaves)', wrote Backhouse in November 1838, 'came for religious instruction, from various distances, within thirteen miles; some walking and some riding their own horses. Some of these people possessed bullocks and wagons, and several had purchased the residue of their bondage, and that of their wives and families, at a high rate, but remained in the service of their old masters. In this neighbourhood the apprentices appeared to have been well treated; they possessed more energy of character than the Hottentots, having been generally less oppressed, because the slaves were the property of their masters. Up to the passing of the Fiftieth Ordinance, in 1828, the Hottentots were under a species of systematic oppression, that rendered their

condition, in some respects, worse than that of the slaves; but since that period, their condition has been progressively improving.’ (Backhouse,J: 136)

From Dysseldorp, which lies between to-day’s Oudtshoorn and De Rust, James Backhouse travelled down the Lang Kloof to the eastern Cape and then far north to Kuruman and elsewhere---meeting all kinds of interesting people including Chief Maqoma, Chief Sandile & Chief Moshesh along the way --- before returning to the western cape, in November 1839, via the hot dry plains of Camdeboo from Graaff Reinet to Beaufort (now Beaufort West) which he found to be ‘a pretty little town, of about 600 inhabitants, watered by two copious springs, which give its gardens an extraordinary degree of fertility’.(Backhouse,J: 493) But the district as a whole was so sparsely inhabited---6000 people in about 20 000 square miles--that the local minister estimated that to visit every family from house to house would take him 18 months. He reported that in Beaufort, unlike many of the places he had been to, Coloured people attended public worship along with the whites. But found also that ‘A large number of Boors emigrated from the district...to the Natal country; they parted with their farms for a mere trifle to leave the country’ (Backhouse, J: 494) and, ‘Beyond the boundary of the Colony, to the north of Beaufort, there are a considerable number of Caffers, who at a former period were in service within the Colony; they are reported to have assisted the Boors in defending themselves against the Bushmen, whose women the Caffers have taken for wives’. (Backhouse, J: 495)

Heading west from Beaufort into the wilderness without either map or guide, Backhouse met a number of interesting people on his way to the Wesleyan (Methodist) mission of Lily Fountain (Leliefontein) on the Kamiesberg which is today within the Northern Cape Province. En route he met a couple who had trekked all the way to Port Natal but decided they preferred Namaqualand and so returned; also a large family of San drying a species of mint for tea. Could it have been Rooibos? Lily Fountain was an interesting place. On a farm granted by Lord Charles Somerset, Khoekhoen who had been driven from all other fountains in the area, had been taught by a missionary from Cape Town, Barnabas Shaw, to cultivate the soil. When James Backhouse visited many of the Khoekhoen were reaping rye and he found that some of them had a considerable number of sheep and cattle and eight had wagons, but others were very poor. They were, he reported, ‘an interesting people, and never having brought into subjection by the Boors, there is much more independence of character among them than among the generality of the colonial Hottentots’(Backhouse,J: 527-8).

Moving south from Lily Fountain into the western cape proper, Backhouse visited Ebenezer (Backhouse,J: 590-3) which had been an original Khoekhoe settlement which had been ‘secured to them’ by means of the government handing control of it to the Rhenish Missionary Society and so keeping it out of the hands of the white farmers. Fewer than 200 people lived there at the time on an area which was some 23 000 acres in extent. Clanwilliam was a small village with 14 houses extending in a line but it had a jail and was capital of a very extensive district. James Backhouse, good Quaker that he was, made a point of inspecting every jail he found on his journey. But the one in Clanwilliam was special. Although there were only a dozen prisoners, most of whom worked on the roads, each had to sleep with one leg in the stocks! (Backhouse,J:594 & 599) Moving south he visited Wuppertal, only recently founded, which had a population of about 200, some from surrounding farms. Here as in Great Namaqualand, north of the Orange river, he found that ‘the Bushmen intoxicate themselves with honey beer’. This *iQilika*, (Xhosa) is in fact a mead made from honey rather than grapes and using for yeast a special plant, known originally to

the San and the Khoekhoen from whom it seems to have been passed on to the southern Xhosa.(Cambray,G:)

From Wuppertal on his journey to Tulbagh Backhouse found there a neat little town of white houses, in Dutch style, forming one good street and a second one, incomplete, but unlikely to increase much in size because it was so shut in by mountains. Then he travelled across to Worcester which was a rising town with about 1300 inhabitants with a Rhenish mission school in which there were between 120 and 150 children, most of them coloured. Given the extent of mission education in the western cape at this time and given the lack of enthusiasm amongst farmers for education, there is the intriguing possibility that at this time the coloured population was better educated than the white. Next stop, via the farms of Fransch Hoek, was Paarl which had a population estimated at about 4 000. In Malmesbury there were a few houses but further west, in Groene Kloof (now Mamre) the Moravian mission with nearly 10 000 acres had a population of about 1000 living in two wide streets and ‘many with corn land at a short distance’.

As we come to the end of Backhouse’s long journey it is perhaps appropriate to draw up a table of the mission stations, listed alphabetically, which were so central a feature of life in the Western Cape (and indeed throughout South Africa) during the 19th century.

Table No. 4
Table I. Mission Stations in Western Cape in 19th. Century.

Magisterial District	Place	Denomination/ Missionary Society
Malmesbury	Abbotsdale	Anglican
Riversdal	Amalienstein	Lutheran (Rhenish)
Caledon	Caledon Institute	London Missionary Society (LMS)
Clanwilliam	Clanwilliam	Dutch Reformed
George	Dysselsdorp	LMS
Clanwilliam	Ebenezer	Dutch Reformed
Bredasdorp	Elim	Lutheran (Moravian)
Caledon	Genadendal	Lutheran (Moravian)
Malmesbury	Mamre	Lutheran (Moravian)
Paarl	Paarl	LMS
George	Pacaltsdorp	LMS
Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	LMS
Swellendam	Zuurbraak	Dutch Reformed
Tulbagh	Saron	LMS
Wellington	Wellington	LMS
Worcester	Worcester	LMS
Clanwilliam	Wuppertal	Lutheran (Rhenish)
Riversdale	Zoar	Dutch Reformed

Source: Elphick, R. & Davenport,R: ii-iii

After visiting Stellenbosh (200 houses and 1500 inhabitants) the two Quakers returned, after 19 arduous months of travelling, to Cape Town where they found that during their absence there had been a small-pox epidemic which caused 70 funerals a day for three days in a row, mainly amongst the ‘Mahommedans’ who were unwilling to be vaccinated. It was just such a ‘visitation’ which had decimated the Khoekhoe population early in the previous century.

James Backhouse's journal is particularly interesting for he provides a detailed record of the population and of the relations between people in the period just after the abolition of slavery and whilst the Great Trek was actually under way. The wars on the eastern Cape frontier were not yet over but in the western Cape the pattern of domination had been established that would remain for the next 150 years. Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 and reigned for over sixty years during the height both of Britain's Industrial Revolution and of the expansion of its empire, not least in South Africa. Whilst many of the most significant economic and political events took place beyond the boundaries of the Western Cape, the province was very much caught up in the general expansion. Thus when James Backhouse travelled through at the beginning of Victoria's reign the only settlements of any size (and most of them were pretty small) outside Cape Town and the surrounding villages of Rondebosch, Wynberg, Simonstown, Somerset (West), Stellenbosch and Paarl were Genadendal, Caledon, Zuurbraak, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Pacaltsdorp-George, Dysseldorp, Zoar, Worcester, Malmesbury, Groene Kloof (Mamre), Wuppertal, Clanwilliam and Ebenezer. But Barrydale & Calitzdorp; Ladismith & Laingsburg; Hermanus & many others were still to come. During the Victorian era, economic expansion both in agriculture but also as a result of the mineral discoveries further north and the building of roads (which got their first major impetus from the new British administration after 1820) and railways, led to a large number of new villages and towns being established throughout the western cape. In the 60 years between 1837 and 1897 twenty-two villages or towns were founded to add to the fourteen which existed before. In greater Cape Town Wynberg and Bellville were established while along the South Coast and in the Overberg, the Strand, Hermanus and Heidelberg became urban centres. Along the Garden route Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Knysna and Bredasdorp were founded. The Little Karoo got the five new towns of Montagu, Ladismith, Calitzdorp, Oudtshoorn and Uniondale. Ceres and Wellington became towns to the north-east of Cape Town. The west coast got Hopefield and Mooresburg and the northern districts got Laingsburg, Prince Albert, Murraysburg and Vanrhynsdorp. These nagmaal dorpië (communion villages) were more than mere administrative centres. For nearly two centuries the farming community, mostly Afrikaans-speaking had to trek from their isolated farms to attend the quarterly communion services of the Dutch Reformed Church as well as to have their children baptised. The establishment of small urban centres further alleviated their isolation.

In 1839 a small group of Mfengu, the first recorded Bantu speakers, were living in huts at the foot of Table Mountain and reported to be working at the town prison and in the docks. (Worden, N, 2004: 109-110). The Mfengu were the remnants of various defeated tribes to whom the British extended patronage and a degree of protection. They were amongst the earliest Christian converts and scholars, became traders and peasant farmers and fought as soldiers on the colonial side in the frontier wars (Davenport, T, 2000: 65). The arrival of about 40 Mfengu (Fingo) people presaged later migrant contract workers coming to work on the docks in Cape Town in the 1860s as well as the much larger migration of Xhosa-speakers to the province in the late 19th and 20th centuries. A severe measles epidemic broke out in 1839 killing some 1500 people in Cape Town. A year later smallpox raged killing about three percent of the population in the crowded and poverty-stricken slum in ward 1 on the foreshore but less than one percent in Papendorp (Woodstock) on the outskirts of town (Worden, N, 2004: 121).

As we have noted from 1652 until 1780 the VOC had opposed any public worship other than that of the DRC yielding after a century and a quarter by allowing the Lutherans to build their

first Church. In 1797 the first British administration permitted the Muslim community to open their first mosque and the Batavian administration granted freedom of religion in 1804. When the British returned in 1806 all religions bar the Roman Catholic were permitted to worship openly. By 1820 the Catholics, too, were tolerated. Another wave of Irish immigrants arrived in 1840 (Worden, N, 2004: 93-94). The recorded religious adherence in greater Cape Town in 1841 is shown in Table No. 5 below.

No Jews were recorded but individual Jews had been in Cape Town since VOC days. By 1841 there were sufficient of them to form a religious quorum and by the end of the year a permanent congregation had been established. These early settlers were mostly assimilated English Jews and men of some status (Worden, N, 2004: 189).

By mid-century the face of Cape Town had changed from Dutch to English and the wealthy merchants and financiers both Dutch and British had become property speculators and landlords cramming tenants into newly built houses in District Six and Schotche Kloof (also known as the Bo-Kaap or the Malay Quarter). Living conditions in these areas would rapidly degenerate into squalor (Worden, N, 2004: 119-120).

Table No. 5

Religious Adherence in Cape Town in 1841		
<i>Religion</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Dutch Reformed	15000	46
Anglican	4200	13
Presbyterian	750	2
Lutheran	1800	6
Roman Catholic	676	2
Other Christian	2069	6
Muslims	6492	20
Heathen	1541	5
Total	32528	100

Source: Worden, N, 2004: 123

In 1840 Cape Town achieved municipal status having been without a formal local government since the abolition of the Burgher Senate in 1827. The council was elected by males owning or renting houses with a yearly value of £10. It consisted of a lower chamber of 96 ward masters representing the 48 wards into which the town was divided and an upper chamber of 12 commissioners who had to be owners of properties valued at over £1000. The police force was also reformed at this time. In 1848 the British government's announcement that it would send convicts to the Cape provoked unprecedented opposition. This move to make the Cape a penal colony united both the Cape Dutch and the British settlers and their sentiments prevailed when the ship *Neptune* carrying convicts which had arrived in Table Bay in September 1849 went on its way to Australia in February 1850. In 1853 representative government was introduced and the first parliament met in 1854 (Worden, N, 2004: 175-7)

In 1843 John Montagu arrived from Tasmania to take up the post of colonial secretary. He was an energetic but hard man who embarked on an ambitious public works programme

employing convict labour to build roads. A hard road laid across the Cape Flats improving communication with the east was completed in 1845 (Fleminger: 212-3 & Worden, N, 2004: 161-2). The first horse-drawn omnibus service between Cape Town and Wynberg was inaugurated in 1836 and by 1859 four bus companies were competing for passengers (Worden, N, 2004: 162). In 1848 the Montagu Pass road linked George with the Little Karoo and the Long Kloof and Michell's Pass opened the road to Ceres as did the Gydo Pass. In 1853 Bain's Kloof road improved the route to Wellington. In 1858 Piekenierskloof Pass improved the road to Clanwilliam and Meirngspoort provided a vital link between the Great and Little Karoo.

In the 1860s a penny post was introduced into the colony and telegraph lines were constructed linking Cape Town with Simonstown and Grahamstown. The governor, Sir George Grey 'turns the sod' of the first railway at Papendorp (Woodstock) in March 1859 and in 1860 British navvies were brought out to build the railway (Green, L: 49). An industrial dispute in Salt River erupted in fighting among the navvies in 1861 but the line reached Stellenbosch in 1862 and Wellington in 1863. A separate set of lines ran from Salt River to Wynberg in 1864 (Green, L: 49-51 & Worden, N, 2004: 162-3). In September 1860 Sir George Grey accompanied by the Xhosa chief Sandile and the first black Presbyterian minister, Tiyo Soga, and a throng of onlookers watched Queen Victoria's young son, Prince Alfred, tip the first pile of rocks for a new breakwater into Table Bay near the Chavonnes Battery. The new Breakwater Prison (nowadays the Graduate Business School of the University of Cape Town) was constructed to contain the San and Xhosa convicts to provide the labour to build the docks (Worden, N, 2004: 166&168).

The energetic George Grey also encouraged the building of the South African Public Library in the Company Gardens in Cape Town and donated his own magnificent library to it. He established, too, elected school management Boards in towns, dorps and field cornetcies and opened the DRC Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch (Walker, E: 294).

In 1862 a controversial injection of fresh life into Islam at the Cape occurred with the arrival of the Imam, Abu Bakr Effendi. He was a Kurd sponsored by the Ottoman government in Turkey. His ruling that the consumption of snoek and crayfish were *haram* caused an uproar because both types of seafood had formed part of the diet of Cape Muslims for over two hundred years. He influenced the expansion of Muslim schooling and increased attendance at religious services. Muslim men abandoned the traditional Indonesian conical hat, the toedang, for the Turkish fez (Worden, N, 2004: 188-9)

In 1865 the colonial authorities conducted what they claimed to be the first proper census of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. They had proclaimed a further 16 magisterial districts to add to the original four. The Cape, Stellenbosch (1685), Swellendam (1747) and Tulbagh (1804) were created under VOC and Batavian Republic rule. George became a magistracy in 1811 followed by Clanwilliam in 1837, Malmesbury, Paarl and Caledon in 1839 and, Piketberg, Riversdale and Mossel Bay in 1848 (Walker, E: 239) and between 1850 and 1865, Oudtshoorn, Bredasdorp, Knysna, Worcester, Robertson, Beaufort (later Beaufort West), Murraysburg and Prince Albert. It is true that the British authorities, unlike the Dutch, attempted to get their enumerators to record all the ethnicities which contributed to the population mix at the time but there was some confusion in the labels they devised.

The population of the colony had grown to 203 699 people with the whites (or Europeans as they were then styled) accounting for 95 885 (47,1%), the Khoekhoen (or Hottentots as they

were called) numbering 40 268 (19,8%), the black (styled Bechuana and other kaffirs) 6 995 (3,4%) and the mixed and other category 60 551 (29,7%). Whites accounted for more than half the population in the districts of the Cape (51,7%) and more particularly in the municipality (53,1%) and the dormitory suburb of Green Point (80,3%), Piketberg (52,6%), Knysna (59,9%), Riversdale (56,0%), Robertson (60,8%) Prince Albert (55,8%) and Oudtshoorn (50,4%). The only district in which the Khoekhoen accounted for more than half of the population was in their ancestral area of Clanwilliam but their presence was also strong in their other ancestral areas of Caledon, (28% of the population), Swellendam (24,5%), Malmesbury (28%), Piketberg (22,2%), Tulbagh (23,4%), George (29,4%), Knysna (21,6%), Mossel Bay (34,9%), Prince Albert (28%), Oudtshoorn (40,1%), and Murraysburg (17,1%).

The black population's presence was spread across all magisterial districts but was thin in most. They were particularly noted in what had been the former frontier districts of the VOC territory where they contributed 36,3% to the share of the population in Murraysburg, 17,4% in Beaufort, 10,6% of the population in Prince Albert, 8,1% in George, 7,3 % in Knysna and 6,9% in Oudtshoorn. The blacks in greater Cape Town numbered only 821 (1,6% of the population) and more than half of these were in the rural areas. The mixed and other categories were also located in every magisterial district but they constituted less than 10% of the population in the districts of Mossel Bay, Riversdale, Robertson, Prince Albert and Oudtshoorn. They constituted the majority of the population in the old VOC districts of Stellenbosch (65%), Paarl (56%) and Wellington (57,6%) and over 30 percent in the districts of Bredasdorp, Tulbagh and Worcester while in the Cape their presence was strong in the municipality (43,7%), Wynberg (49%), Simonstown (44,3%), Kuilsriver (56,5%) and the rural areas (39,9%). In the 1860s migrant workers from the Transkei and Mozambique provided the farm labour working on contracts as long as five years (Wilson, F: 156) and the tot system of payment was well-entrenched on wine farms.

In all the 20 districts save Wellington and the Cape (Municipality, Green Point and Wynberg) where their share of population was 51,2%, 50,6%, 51,5% and 52,1% respectively women were outnumbered by men. In twelve districts men outnumbered women by between 216 (Murraysburg) and 779 (Tulbagh).

With the exception of the Cape, the population of the colony was largely rural, the urban population in the Cape accounting for 28457 people or 57%. With the exception of Stellenbosch (33%) Paarl (38%) and Worcester (42%) urbanisation had been slow since the arrival of the VOC some 213 years earlier. In twelve of the twenty districts the urban population accounted for fewer than 20%. Nevertheless with the grant of responsible government to the Cape Colony in 1872 prosperity arrived and merchants and businessmen flourished (Worden, N, 2004: 213).

Between 1872 and 1876 parties of Filipino fisherman arrived in Kalk Bay escaping political unrest in the Philippines (Walker, M: 15-18). Some of their surnames De la Cruz, Gomez and Fernandez live on through their descendants in Kalk Bay and elsewhere in the Western Cape. Over 2000 European immigrants including seventy Belgians were employed on the colonial railways during the 1870s and transport and traffic were further facilitated by roads linking Knysna with Oudtshoorn over Prince Alfred's Pass in 1867, Mossel Bay with Oudtshoorn over Robinson Pass in 1869, and Swellendam with the Little Karoo over the Tradouw Pass in 1873. The town of Barrydale was established shortly after the completion of the Tradouw Pass.

The 1875 census showed that the population of the colony had increased by 37 065 people to a total of 240 764 or by 18,2% in ten years. No new magisterial districts had been proclaimed. The only districts in which population increase was higher than that of the colony as a whole were Malmesbury (24,2%) Worcester (26,3%), Beaufort West (renamed to distinguish it from Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape) by 42.8%, Oudtshoorn (25,7%), and Murraysburg (28,3%).

This census separated the so-called 'Malays' from the mixed or other category and also distinguished between the Mfengu and other blacks. The census acknowledged that there was confusion in the ranks of the enumerators on the classification of 'Malay', Khoekhoe and 'mixed' which accounted for some otherwise inexplicable changes in the population share of their groups yielding some implausible results. The white component of 114 302 remained at 47% of the population while the 995 Mfengu (Fingos) and 4 772 other blacks accounted for just over 2% falling from 3,4% ten years earlier, and the 9568 'Malays', 50 735 Khoekhoe and 60 442 'mixed' accounted for over 50%. The whites continued to claim more than half the share of population in the nine districts of the Cape (54%), Swellendam (50%), Piketberg (53%), Knysna (57%), Mossel Bay (53%), Riversdale (54%), Robertson (56%) Prince Albert (53%), and Oudtshoorn (52%). The white population increased by 18 417 or 19,2%. The black population fell by 1 278 or 18,2% and they were located principally in Murraysburg (1097), Beaufort West (843), George (664), Prince Albert (468), Oudtshoorn (406), Tulbagh (334), Cape Town (332) and Knysna (205). These eight districts accounted for over 76% of the black population of the colony.

The problem with the classification of the remainder of the population is demonstrated by the returns for Caledon whereby the number of Khoekhoen recorded almost doubled from 2 776 to 5 344 while the number in the mixed category fell by 1 979 from 2 545 to 566 between 1865 and 1875, which is unlikely. Taken together the number would reflect population increase of 589 or 11,1% over the decade which is more plausible. Caledon contained the oldest (Moravian) mission station in South Africa and the 2 470 people living in Genadendal were probably reclassified from 'mixed' to Khoekhoe between the censuses. This problem is replicated throughout the 1875 census. The Khoekhoe presence as recorded constituted more than a quarter of the population in the 14 districts of Caledon (47%) Swellendam (30%), Bredasdorp (45%), Piketberg (31%), Clanwilliam (36%), Tulbagh (25%), George (30%), Mossel Bay (35%), Riversdale (35%), Robertson (28%), Beaufort West (26%), Prince Albert (31%), Oudtshoorn (40%) and Murraysburg (27%).

The numbers of the 'mixed' category recorded in some districts fell dramatically because of the reclassification mentioned above. Nevertheless they had a strong presence where they constituted more than a quarter of the population in the seven districts of the Cape (28%), Stellenbosch (58%), Paarl (55%), Malmesbury (33%), Clanwilliam (30%), Tulbagh (33%) and Worcester (34%).

The introduction of the 'Malay' label is worth a comment because they were generally identified with Islam by the authorities between 1658 and 1834 when they had been brought usually unwillingly to the Cape by the VOC authorities and colonial governments until the emancipation of the slaves. Of the 9 568 people so identified in the 1875 census constituting a mere four per cent of the colony's population 8 262 or over 86% were located in the Cape where they constituted 14% of the population with 628 located in Stellenbosch (6,6%) and 234 (2,4%) in Paarl. Their presence was also noticeable in Worcester (100), Malmesbury (96) and Tulbagh (55), these six districts contained nearly 98% of the 'Malay' population. Of the

995 people identified as Mfengu 805 or 81% were located in the six districts of Tulbagh (130), George (309), Knysna (65), Prince Albert (142), Oudtshoorn (76), and Murraysburg (83).

In terms of gender parity the disproportion between men and women was reduced in the period with the colony having 5 240 more men than women. Women comprised half or more of the population in the four districts of the Cape, Swellendam, Bredasdorp and Clanwilliam. Men still outnumbered women by more than 100 in Stellenbosch (165), Paarl (294), Caledon (140), Malmesbury (1026), Piketberg (315), Tulbagh (745), George (153), Knysna (118), Mossel Bay (126), Riversdale (206), Robertson (341), Worcester (464), Beaufort West (586) Prince Albert (249), Oudtshoorn (600), and Murraysburg (233). Urbanisation proceeded rapidly in the Cape and Paarl in a decade with the former recording an urban population of 86% and the latter 52% living in an urban environment while the five districts of Stellenbosch, Bredasdorp, Mossel Bay, Robertson, and Worcester recorded urban populations of more than a quarter. Overall only 35% of the colony's population was urban.

We have noted the increase in Christian evangelism from 1822 on. By 1875 the recorded faiths in the colony numbered 177 454 Protestants (73,7%), 3 952 Roman Catholics (1,6%), 10 135 Muslims (4,2%), 205 Jews (less than 0,1%) and 49 018 other (20,4%), the latter included four Hindus and 18 Greek Orthodox as well as non-believers, no religion, heathens and respondents refusing to answer questions . The other category was proportionately lower where the population was white or mixed where European immigrants imported their religious beliefs and imparted them to their partners and descendants or where missionaries were most active. The proportion of 'other' religion was lowest in the nine districts of the Cape (6,5%) and the areas where the Moravian Brothers set up their stations, Caledon (8,0%) , Bredasdorp (8,8%) and Riversdale (10,8%) as well as Swellendam (13,6%), Mossel Bay (11,8%), George (11,4%), Oudtshoorn (12,9%) and Knysna (12,4%). The highest proportions of non-monotheist religions or non-believers were located in the three districts of Beaufort West (52,7%), Prince Albert (42,5%) and Murraysburg (74,2%). In the other eight districts the proportions ranged from 17,5% in Stellenbosch to 39,4% in Piketberg.

Of the 205 Jews recorded 169 (82,4%) were located in the Cape while in the five districts of Stellenbosch, Piketberg, Prince Albert, Bredasdorp and Knysna none were recorded and ten districts recorded no more than two. In terms of Islam where the census recorded 9 568 'Malays' it also recorded 10 135 Muslims indicating 567 converts . None were recorded in Bredasdorp or Knysna. Of the 3 952 Catholics 2 697 (68.2%) were located at the Cape while their presence was strong with 606 representatives in Oudtshoorn (15,3%), and 166 in George (4,2%). There were more than sixty in each of the districts of Paarl, Malmesbury, Tulbagh and Mossel Bay. In the other districts their numbers ranged from eight in Swellendam to 35 in Prince Albert.

Of the 177 454 Protestants the Dutch Reformed Church numbering 98 994 (55,8%) were in the majority with a small congregation of 905 in Murraysburg and 16 270 (16,4%) in the Cape and large congregations of more than 5000 in the seven districts of Paarl, Malmesbury, Caledon, Swellendam, Riversdale, George and Oudtshoorn. The other Protestants including the Wesleyans/ Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians numbered 34 373 (19,4%) and were represented by 9 247 in the Cape (26,9%), 4966 (14,4) in Oudtshoorn and 4 649 (13,5%) in Stellenbosch. The Anglicans were the next largest denomination numbering 24 295 (13,7%) located in the Cape 13 382 (55,1%), Malmesbury 2595 (10,7%), Knysna 1 346 (5,5%) and George 1218 (5%). Elsewhere their congregations ranged from 21 in Piketberg to

976 in Riversdale. Lutherans numbering 11732 (6,6%) were most strongly represented in the Cape by 2 944 (25,1%), 1 666 (14,2%), in Worcester, 1 443 (12,3%) in Riversdale 1 359 (11,6%) in Tulbagh and 1 160 (9,9%) in Stellenbosch. Elsewhere their presence ranged from one in Oudtshoorn to 731 in Paarl. The 8060 Moravians accounted for 4,5% of the Protestants and were located most numerously at their mission stations of Genadendal in Caledon where they numbered 2 469 (30,6%), Mamre in Malmesbury 1 387 (17,2%), Suurbraak in Swellendam 1 356 (16,8%) and Elim in Bredasdorp 1 297 (6,1%). They were not recorded in the six districts of Clanwilliam, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Knysna or Murraysburg. In the other 10 magisterial districts their numbers ranged from one in Tulbagh to 840 in Piketberg. A small group of German immigrants settled as market gardeners at Phillipi in 1876 (Worden, N, 2004: 213). In the 1880s Indian corner stores appeared (Worden, N, 2004: 212).

From 1877 the brothers, the Reverend S. J. & D.F Du Toit, became prominent in a movement to promote the use of the Afrikaans language and founded the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners 'to stand for our language, our nation and our land'. The Afrikaans language continued to develop and a newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, was published as were a history book and several school textbooks. The movement culminated in the formation of the Afrikaner Bond in 1880 (Davenport, T, 2000: 107).

Sixteen turbulent years passed between the 1875 and 1891 censuses. Frontier wars in the Eastern Division of the colony, annexation of the Transvaal, war with Basutoland (Lesotho) and the Zulus in 1879 and the Transvaal in 1880 and Cecil John Rhodes' take over of what would become Rhodesia (Zimbabwe after independence) between 1875 and 1891 all preoccupied the Imperial and colonial governments. The discovery of diamonds in 1866 and gold in 1886 although beyond the borders of the present day Province of the Western Cape attracted both troops and adventurers to the colony.

Prosperity and Growth

The elected colonial government invested heavily in Cape Town harbour and the railways which it purchased from a private company in 1872. The railway to the north reached Worcester in 1876. Passengers heading for the Kimberley diamond fields disembarked and took Red Star or Colb's stage coaches to complete their journeys. The line reached Beaufort West which became the terminus in 1880 and was extended to Kimberley in 1885. Beaufort West began to know some wild times (Green, L: 51-53 & Worden, N, 2004: 213). Further roads were constructed between 1877 and 1888 over Garcia's Pass linking Riversdale with the Little Karoo, through Cogman's Kloof opening a better route to Montagu and over the Swartberg Pass linking Oudshoorn to Prince Albert. Cape Town was linked telegraphically by submarine cable with Europe in 1885 (Worden, N, 2004: 162).

In 1882 Cape Town was swept by smallpox once more. As a result, upon the advice of the medical authorities, legislation was introduced in 1884 to close the cemeteries of the Muslims on Signal Hill, of the Anglicans above Somerset Road and the Dutch Reformed graveyard. Both Muslims and Dutch deeply resented this for religious and cultural reasons. In January 1886 a Muslim funeral procession was interrupted by the police and a violent fracas broke out during which a policeman was stabbed. Several middle-aged Muslim men were charged and convicted (Worden, N, 2004: 210-211).

Only one additional district, Ladismith was proclaimed by 1891 bringing the total to 21. The colonial population increased by 83 798 (34,8%) from 240 764 to 324 562 in the period. The white population had increased to 152 576 or by 38 274 (33,5%) while retaining its share of 47,0%, the Malays, Khoekhoen and mixed category had increased to 166 630 or by 45 885 (38,0%) with a population share of 51,3% while the black population had shed 361 (6,3%) to give it a share of 1,7%. The seven districts contributing most to the colony's growth in population, accounting for over 80% of the increase were the Cape 39 966 (increase of 69,7%), Oudtshoorn 8 689 (increase of 57,2%), Malmesbury 5232 (increase of 28,9%) Knysna 3 713 (increase of 115,4%), Picketberg 3 48 (increase of 40,6%), Robertson 3 317 (increase of 41,3%) and Worcester 2 881 (increase of 29,6%). Sluggish annual mean growth rates of less than two percent were recorded in Malmesbury and Worcester but these nine districts were the only ones to record growth of over 2 500 people over the period. Three districts that actually shed population between 1875 and 1891 were George (-1 727 or 14,6%), Tulbagh (-4 271 or 43%) and Riversdale (-1 355 or 10,7%). The establishment of the new district of Ladismith with a population of 6 704 in 1891 probably accounts for the decline in the population in both Tulbagh and Riversdale.

In 1891 the whites continued to claim half or more than half of the share of population in the nine districts of the Cape, Swellendam, Bredasdorp, Piketberg, Knysna, Riversdale, Robertson, Prince Albert and the new district of Ladismith. The Mfengu numbering 806 and other blacks 4 550 numbering 5 356 in all were still located largely in the nine districts of the Cape 1 207 (22,5%), Murraysburg 703 (13,1%), Oudtshoorn 612 (11,4%), Beaufort West 574 (10,7%), Knysna 359 (6,7%), George 314 (5,9%), Worcester 223 (4,2%), Stellenbosch 202 (3,8%) and Paarl 195 (3,6%). Nearly 82% of the black population of the colony were located in these districts. Between 1875 and 1891 their numbers had increased in the Cape from 332 to 1 207, in Stellenbosch from 72 to 202, in Oudtshoorn from 406 to 612, and Knysna from 205 to 359. Their numbers had declined in the five districts of Murraysburg from 1 097 to 703, Beaufort West from 843 to 574, George from 664 to 314, Worcester from 255 to 223 and Paarl from 213 to 195. The system of contracted migrant workers on the farms continued.

The mixed category predominated in the districts of Stellenbosch (62%), Paarl (59%), Caledon (50%), Bredasdorp (50%), Malmesbury (54%), Tulbagh (63%) and Worcester (55%). Of the 11 726 identified as 'Malay' 11 105 lived in the Cape (95%) while a further four percent were located in Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury and Worcester.

The distribution of the population by gender had become more normal by 1891 with 13 of 21 districts where women equalled or outnumbered men. The districts where men outnumbered women were the Cape (by 2381), Malmesbury (by 984), Piketberg (by 189), Knysna (by 359), Worcester (by 321), Beaufort West (by 525), Prince Albert (by 380) and Murraysburg (by 213). In the Colony as a whole, men outnumbered women by 4 084.

The colony was still largely an agrarian society with only 46% living in an urban environment. The most urbanised districts were the Cape (87,5%), Paarl (51,7%), Tulbagh (51,9%), Stellenbosch (47%), and Worcester (44,2%). The only five cities or towns with more than 5 000 inhabitants were Cape Town (85 084), Paarl (11 040), Stellenbosch (6 000), Worcester (5 572) and Oudtshoorn (5 377).

In terms of religious identity in the colony of 324 582 souls 283 539 (87,4%) were Christian Protestants and a further 5 816 (1,8%) were Catholic. The Islamic community numbered 12 133 (3,7%) while the small Jewish community of 1 478 accounted for less than 0,5 percent.

The 'other religious category numbered 21 596 (6,7%) falling from over twenty percent in 1875. Clearly proselytisation had an effect in the late 19th century.

The protestants were spread over all 21 districts with the largest number 76855 (27,1%) in the Cape. Congregations of over 10 000 were located in nine districts while a further 10 had congregations between five and ten thousand. Murraysburg with its small population has the smallest Protestant community numbering 3 891. But it is striking that in this small district with a population of 4453 the Protestants together with 11 Catholics and 14 Jews accounted for 87,9% of the population. The 537 (12,1%) 'other religion' declined from over 74% in 1875.

The Catholic community numbering 5 816 was located largely in the Cape where 4 892 or 84% lived. Their presence was also notable in Oudtshoorn (268), Malmesbury (98), George (93), Knysna (89) and Mossel Bay (75). These six districts accounted for 95% of the Catholic community. The only two districts where there were no Catholics were Bredasdorp and Ladismith.

Of the Muslim community 11 287 (93%) lived in the Cape which together with Stellenbosch (302) Paarl (261) and Worcester (127) accounted for 98% of the Muslim presence. The number of Muslims enumerated at 12133 exceeded the number identified as 'Malay', 11 728, indicating a number of 405 converts. No Muslims were recorded in George, Knysna, Riversdale, Murraysburg or Ladismith.

Between 1875 and 1891 the small Jewish community grew from 205 to 1 478. Whereas a number of districts recorded no Jews or very few in 1875 they were present in all 21 districts in 1891 albeit thinly represented in Knysna, Bredasdorp and Caledon. Fifty-seven percent of the Jews lived in the Cape with a substantial 251 (17%) in Oudtshoorn. These two districts together with Robertson, Riversdale, Worcester and Prince Albert accounted for over 80% of the Jewish presence.

As the Victorian age drew to a close Cape Town was booming but behind the prosperous facades its working class lived in unhygienic conditions of squalor. The rest of the province was devoted to agriculture subject to climatic vicissitudes. The use of convict labour on the roads and docks adopted in the 1860's was extended to wine farmers in 1889 (Wilson, F: 146-7). In 1899 the 600 Indians recorded added to the heterogeneity of Cape Town's population (Worden, N, 2004: 212).

At the turn of the century in 1900 Cape Town was bustling and hopelessly overcrowded by troops arriving to fight the Anglo-Boer War, new immigrants from a wider European catchment area than heretofore, and hundreds of refugee uitlanders, both white and black, evicted from the Transvaal by President Kruger upon the outbreak of hostilities (Bickford-Smith, V: 12-14).

Between 1879 and 1900 and well into the 20th century most of the labour in the Cape Town docks was undertaken by Xhosa workers recruited from Willowvale in the Transkei. Many were housed in barracks at the Waterfront (Bickford-Smith, V: 26).

Segregation

While class prejudice rather than racial intolerance had characterised Cape society heretofore racial or ethnic intolerance emerged in the early Edwardian era. A 1902 Immigration Act excluded people who could not write in European characters as 'undesirable aliens' and Yiddish was only recognised after some trouble. A 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act barred from admission to the colony any Chinese who were not British subjects (Worden, N, 2004: 218). Racial restrictions became more widespread in the title-deeds of suburbs such as Oranjezicht and Milnerton. The poor in District Six consisted of working-class blacks, coloureds and whites (Worden, N, 2004: 229).

In February 1901 plague, brought by rats from the ships carrying forage from Argentina for the army, broke out. Victims were isolated in a special hospital at Uitvlugt (nowadays Pinelands) and a camp for their contacts was located nearby. In possibly the first incident of forced removal in South Africa black migrant workers living in District Six were forcibly rounded up and taken to Uitvlugt under armed guard. This settlement later became the 'native location' of Ndabeni (Bickford-Smith: 19-20). In 1902, a harbinger of things to come, a Betting Houses, Gaming Houses and Brothels Suppression Act ('the Morality Act') forbade sexual intercourse between black men and white prostitutes (Bickford-Smith, V: 39).

The 1904 Census should have been conducted in 1901 as an Imperial exercise in all the British colonies and possessions but the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 and its aftermath delayed it. In the thirteen years between 1891 and 1904 the population of the colony had increased by 264 739 (63,1%) to 529 301 people, at an annual mean rate of 4,9%. The white share of the population which had been stable at 47 percent increased to 52 percent or by 122 563 (80,3%) at an annual mean rate of 6,2 percent to 275 139 people. This phenomenal growth was caused not by natural increase but in part by immigration but mostly by the Anglo-Boer War when the Imperial Army augmented by Canadian and Australian troops poured into the colony to fight the Boers. Most of this growth happened at the Cape where the white population grew by a startling 71 931 from 48 544 to 120 475 at an annual mean rate of 11,4 percent. While the surplus of men to women had been 2 381 in 1891 it reached 32 517 in 1904. Only the neighbouring districts of Stellenbosch (5,7% p.a) and Paarl (3,3% p.a) achieved annual growth rates of more than three percent in the period while the Mossel Bay district with its harbour increased at a rate of 3,6% and the district of Worcester on the Great North Road also grew at a rate of 4,1 percent. Whites claimed more than half the share of population in the thirteen districts of the Cape (57%), Caledon (55%), Swellendam (55%), Bredasdorp (56%), Piketberg (62%), George (52%), Knysna (50%), Riversdale (58%), Prince Albert (55%), Oudtshoorn (50%), Ladismith (57%), Van Rhynsdorp (54%) and Uniondale (54%). The three districts of Ceres, Van Rhynsdorp and Uniondale had been established since the 1891 Census and probably as a result the population of Clanwilliam showed a decline of 14,9% but Murraysburg's population also fell by twenty percent.

The black population of the colony numbering 18 226 (including 4 559 identified as Mfengu) also became more highly visible between 1891 and 1904. It grew from 5 356 to 18 826 adding an additional 13 470 people increasing more than three-fold. The black presence was concentrated in the Cape where numbers increased from 1 207 to 9 636 (51,2% of the black colonial total) or nearly eight-fold, Stellenbosch 1 619 (8,6% of the total), Paarl 817 (4,3% of the total), Beaufort West 782 (4,2% of the total), Oudtshoorn 727 (3,9% of the total), Murraysburg 684 (3,6% of the total), Uniondale 668 (3,5% of the total), George 583 (3,1% of the total), and Malmesbury 277 (1,5% of the total). Nine of the 24 colonial districts contained

84 percent of the black populace. The system of migrant labour had become well-entrenched among the wine farmers.

The population identified as 'Malay' 13 419, Khoekhoe 30 624, and mixed 191 893 taken together comprised 44,6% of the colonial population and increased by 69 306 (41,6%) between censuses at a mean annual rate of 3,2 percent. The 'Malay' grew at a much slower annual mean rate of 1,1 percent than did the other ethnicities and 99 percent continued to lived where they always had in the Cape (12 419), Stellenbosch (450), Paarl (294) and Worcester (122). Of the 30 624 people identified as Khoekhoe 26 282 or 86 percent lived in the twelve magisterial districts of Oudtshoorn (4690), Robertson (3430), Malmesbury (2 588), Worcester (2 388), Clanwilliam (1919), Beaufort West (1 839), Vanryhnsdorp (1617), Uniondale (1 488), Ladismith (1 373), Paarl (1 174), Prince Albert (1 107), and Swellendam (1 078). A further 1 252 lived in the Cape where their number more than doubled from 514 in 1891.

The mixed category were distributed over all 24 districts with the lowest share of population at 14 percent in Vanrhynsdorp. They continued to claim more than half the population share in Stellenbosch (50%), Paarl (52%) and Tulbagh (64%).

Whereas the 1875 and 1891 censuses showed a trend to normalisation in gender ratios in 1904 the gap between the shares of men and women widened. The surplus of men to women in the colony grew from 4 084 in 1891 to 44 883 in 1904. The largest surpluses were in the Cape (32 517), Stellenbosch (2 415), Paarl (1 571), Malmesbury (1 930), Mossel Bay (600), Riversdale (585), Worcester (1 057) and Prince Albert (502).

In terms of urbanisation 55 percent of the population lived in urban environs but this proportion was influenced by the Cape which contained 40,3 percent of the colony's population and which was 86,3 percent urban. The only other districts where more than half the population lived in towns were Paarl (57,5%) and Beaufort West (50,9%). The only ten districts which had populations of more than 5 000 living in towns were; the Cape 183 873 (up from 85 084 in 1891), Stellenbosch 11 091 (up from 6 000 in 1891), Paarl 17 479 (up from 11 040 in 1891), Swellendam 5 883 (up from 4 165), George 5 236 (up from 3 660), Robertson 6 338 (up from 4 185), Worcester 8 088 (up from 5 572), Beaufort West 5 478 (up from 2 791) and Oudtshoorn 9 848 (up from 5 377).

In 1904 the Census recorded 458 911 Protestants in the colony or 86,7 percent of the population, 13 426, Catholics (2,5%), and 428 other Christians (0,1%). Adherents of Islam numbered 18 590 (3,5%) and Jews 14 560 (2,8%). The 'other religion' category accounted for 23 386 people (4,4%). The latter was noteworthy because in 1875 the proportion was over 20 percent. The Muslims other than people identified as 'Malays' numbered 5171 suggesting converts. The Muslim presence was concentrated in the Cape (16 903), Stellenbosch (906), Paarl (392) and Worcester (149). These four districts contained 98,7 percent of the colony's Muslim population. No Muslims were recorded in the districts of Bredasdorp, Swellendam, Riversdale, Murraysburg, Ladismith, Vanrhynsdorp or Uniondale.

The number of Jews recorded is also noteworthy rising from 1 478 in 1891 to 14 560 in 1904, a tenfold increase, coming as we shall observe largely from the Russian Empire. Most of the Jews, 11 192, or 76,9% lived in Cape Town where they had increased thirteen fold between censuses. Other sizeable populations lived in Oudtshoorn, 797 (5,5%) where the population increased three fold, Paarl, 627 (4,3%), Stellenbosch, 489 (3,4%), and Worcester, 178 (1,2%).

These five districts contained over 91% of the colonial Jewish population. There was a Jewish presence in all twenty-four districts but the communities of 11 in Murraysburg, thirteen in Knysna and fifteen in Tulbagh were small.

There was a Catholic presence in all districts save Vanrhynsdorp but small numbers of one in Ladismith, two in Bredasdorp and eight in Murraysburg. The Cape contained the majority of 11,455 (85,3%), followed by Oudtshoorn with 333 (2,3%), Paarl with 280 (2,1%) and Stellenbosch with 252 (1,9%).

The Protestant community in the colony grew between 1891 and 1904 by 175 372 (61,9%) from 283 539 to 458 911. In the Cape it doubled from 76,855 to 164 932. This rapid increase is attributable to immigration from Britain and Western Europe, the continued presence of the Imperial Army and evangelism among the coloured and black groups.

By 1902 in the district of the Cape the following ten towns had been granted municipal status: Cape Town, Green and Sea Point, Maitland, Woodstock, Mowbray, Rondebosch, Claremont, Wynberg, Kalk Bay and Simons Town and a Divisional Council had been made responsible for the rural areas (Worden, N, 2004: 222).

Population growth in the western division of the entire Colony of the Cape of Good Hope was caused by a spurt of immigration from elsewhere. Table 5 below derived from the 1904 Census gives the countries of origin of people arriving and departing from all Cape ports in the twelve-year period from 1891-1903 where the number of arrivals exceeded the number of departures. Not all of these immigrants would locate themselves in the present-day Province of the Western Cape. Some would have arrived at the Eastern Cape ports of East London and Port Elizabeth while others would have been bound for the diamond diggings and gold fields in the northern Cape and Transvaal. The 5000 Australians from a new colony come as a surprise. They may have been part of the brigades which fought in the Anglo-Boer War awaiting repatriation or possibly adventurers hoping to make their fortunes in diamonds and gold. Arrivals from Delagoa Bay (modern Maputo) would almost certainly mostly have been black contract workers on their way to the mines or farms. The large British influx would certainly have included soldiers on their way to the war as Tables 6 & 7 below confirm. The number of British arrivals between 1891 and 1903 exceeded the number enumerated in 1904 by 53 053.

Table No. 6

Countries supplying an Excess of Arrivals over Departures at Cape Ports 1891-1903		
<i>Country</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Britain	141 270	90,6
Australia	5 001	3,2
Mauritius	4 112	2,6
Delagoa Bay (Mozambique)	4 070	2,6
Zanzibar	846	0,5
St Helena	606	0,4
British East Africa	56	0,1
Total	155 961	100,0

Source: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Census, 1904 p xliv

In early Edwardian times nearly but not quite all the ethnic ingredients of the Western Cape population had been assembled as Table 8 shows. The 8 605 Irish arrivals would have increased the number of earlier immigrants arriving in the 1820's and 1830's and therefore the increase in the number of adherents of Catholicism as would the new incoming Italians and Portuguese from both Portugal and her colonies.

The large influx of Jewish immigrants escaping the pales of settlement, pogroms and poverty in Tsarist Russia, particularly in Lithuania, Latvia and Poland, if they were poor, settled at first in the working-class districts of District Six, Woodstock and Salt River but would later relocate to the Gardens, Oranjezicht, Tamboerskloof and Sea Point (Worden, N, 199: 72-73). The Portuguese and Italians, too, would move from the City Bowl to Maitland/ Goodwood and Green and Sea Point. The Jews moved quite rapidly into all the districts beyond the Cape becoming smouse (pedlars), general dealers and hoteliers in rural areas and small towns. They would play a prominent role in towns like Oudtshoorn as well as Cape Town.

Ominously the small Indian community became the target of discrimination when the government of the Cape Colony passed the General Dealers Act to prevent them from competing with European traders in 1906 (Worden, N, 2004: 218).

Table No. 7

Major sources of Immigrants to the Cape Colony by 1904 by Country of Origin		
Country	No	%
Britain	88 217 ¹	75,4
Russia (including Poland)	12 137 ²	10,4
Germany	7 455	6,4
German Possessions	2 283	2,0
Portugal	347	0,3
Portuguese Possessions	1 881	1,6
Italy	2 010	1,7
St Helena	1 712	1,4
Greece	962	0,8
TOTAL	117 004	100,0

Source: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Census, 1904 plxi

- Notes: 1. Includes 63 447 English, 15 707 Scots and 8 605 Irish.
 2. Includes 470 Poles.

Tightening the Discriminatory Screw 1904-1960

The long half-century that began with the Anglo-Boer war in 1899 and ended with the triumph of *apartheid* in the election of 1948 included not only the huge upheaval of that civil war with its British concentration camps, but also the catastrophic first and second world wars in which South Africa was fully involved, plus two armed rebellions (both involving primarily Whites), and the double hammer blows of major drought and great depression at the beginning of the 1930s. The South Africa Act passed by the British Parliament in 1909 united the former Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the British colonies of the Cape and Natal and English and Dutch were entrenched as official languages.

It is not surprising, then, that this period also saw major shifts in population both in the country as a whole as well as within the Western Cape. In this section we shall analyse the changes reflected in the official censuses of 1904, 1911, 1921, 1936, 1951 and go forward to 1960 which was also a watershed year.

Between 1904 and 1911 the population of Cape Town (including Simonstown) **fell** by over 7% from 213 000 to 197 000. This was largely due to the reduction in the number of Whites in the city from 120 000 to 98 000 due to the ending of the war and the subsequent repatriation of British troops combined with return to the diamond and gold fields of those with money who had been able to seek shelter from the discomforts and dangers of war under the protection of Cape Town's Mount Nelson hotel and other places (Walker,E:504; Durbach,R:43). The population of those "*Other than European or White*" rose from 93 to 100 thousand. During this period four other major census districts in the area, Paarl, Malmesbury, Stellenbosch and Worcester all remained remarkably constant at 30, 30, 22 & 20 thousand respectively. Only Oudtshoorn, expanding by over 20%, from 30 to 37 thousand, grew significantly under the upward pull of the heady prices of the Edwardian ostrich feather boom. For the rest of the province...Caledon, George, Swellendam and the rest... population in the different magisterial districts never rose above 20 000 and the so-called 'urban areas' within them were tiny. Outside Cape Town only Paarl and Oudtshoorn reached an urban population of 11 000 each. Worcester was 8000, Stellenbosch was 6000, Beaufort West, Mossel Bay and Wellington were 5000 while the rest varied between Robertson with 4000 and Albertinia with 400.

But there was one interesting phenomenon about the 1911 census: a harbinger of things to come. Analysis of the statistics reveals an unusual racial-gender distortion as may be seen in the following table.

Table No. 8
Population gender ratios in select magisterial districts 1911.

Town	White m:f	Coloured m:f	African m:f
Knysna	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.1:1
Uniondale	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.1:1
Murraysberg	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.2:1
Beaufort West	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.4:1
Riversdale	1.1:1	1.0:1	2.4:1
Cape Town	1.1:1	0.9:1	3.1:1
George	1.1:1	1.2:1	3.4:1
Laingsberg	1.0:1	1.2:1	3.4:1
Wynberg	1.0:1	0.9:1	3.8:1
Stellenbosch	1.0:1	1.0:1	4.0:1
Worcester	1.0:1	1.1:1	6.0:1
Tulbagh	1.1:1	1.1:1	12.1:1
Ceres	1.0:1	1.2:1	53.8:1

Source: Union of South Africa, Census 1911.

For both Whites (Europeans) and Coloureds (including Asians) the male-female ratio remained balanced right across the province, never falling below 0.9:1 or rising above 1.2:1. For Africans, on the other hand, the situation was very different. Only in Knysna, Murraysberg and Uniondale were the number of women roughly equal to the number of men. Even a ratio of 1.4:1, as in Beaufort West, implies a population with 40% more males than females. If we assume, for the moment, that the figures for Africans in Ceres were due to some major, but temporary, construction work such as the building of a dam, a tunnel or a pass (or even, possibly to a clerical error) the ratios for the other towns are striking. A ratio of 3, 4, 6 or 12 men to every women is not the mark of a normal economy. Far outside the magnetic field of the mining industry and long before Verwoerd made it the foundation of his apartheid policy, the migrant system was apparently alive and well in most districts of the Western Cape. Black workers were there, like electricity, to be switched on and off as needed. And this pattern was to continue: On the other hand the consolidation of a more exclusive Afrikaner identity continued with the publication of *Die Burger* in 1915 (still published in 2007) and Afrikaner capital was effectively harnessed by the creation of the Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Trust en Assuransie Maatskappij (Santam) in 1917 and the Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Lewens Assuransie Maatskappij (Sanlam) in 1919. In 1918, however the Spanish influenza epidemic ravaged the Western Cape as it did the rest of the world (Bickford-Smith, V: 58). Nevertheless, in Cape Town Afrikaner cultural and commercial life was flourishing (Bickford-Smith, V: 77-8). Afrikaans was recognised as an official language of the Union in 1925 and the Afrikaans Bible was published in 1933 (Walker,E: 612).

Table No. 9
Population gender ratios in select magisterial districts (urban & rural)

Town	1911			1951			1960
	White m:f	Col. m:f	African m:f	White m:f	Col. m:f	African m:f	African m:f
Knysna	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.0:1	1.0:1	2.0:1	1.5:1
Uniondale	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	1.3:1
Murraysberg	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.2:1	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.3:1	1.3:1
Beaufort West	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.4:1	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.3:1	1.2:1
Riversdale	1.1:1	1.0:1	2.4:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	2.2:1	1.8:1
Cape Town	1.1:1	0.9:1	3.1:1	0.9:1	0.9:1	1.9:1	1.6:1
George	1.1:1	1.2:1	3.4:1	1.0:1	1.0:1	1.5:1	1.4:1
Laingsberg	1.0:1	1.2:1	3.4:1	1.1:1	1.1:1	2.3:1	2.0:1
Wynberg	1.0:1	0.9:1	3.8:1	0.9:1	0.9:1	2.1:1	1.8:1
Stellenbosch	1.0:1	1.0:1	4.0:1	1.1:1	1.0:1	4.8:1	4.5:1
Worcester	1.0:1	1.1:1	6.0:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	1.9:1	1.4:1
Tulbagh	1.1:1	1.1:1	12.1:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	3.6:1	3.8:1
Ceres	1.0:1	1.2:1	53.8:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	2.0:1	2.6:1

Source: Population Census, 8th. May, 1951, UG 42/1955,

Over the turbulent 40 years from 1911 to 1951, when the population of Metropolitan Cape Town increased by nearly 250% from 169 000 to 578 000, the gender balance of both white and coloured sectors of the population in various magisterial districts (including on the Cape Peninsula) in the western province remained unchanged at 1:1, with little variation on either side. But for Africans the predominance of males, characteristic of a migrant labour system, continued. Apart from the outlying districts of Beaufort West, Murraysberg and Uniondale, the ratio of males to females amongst the African population in the Western Cape was

generally of the order of 2:1 In the district of Stellenbosch in 1951 there were nearly five times as many men as women.

Despite the dislocations of the first world war the proportion of the population living in town did not increase significantly. For all South Africans the proportion increased only from 23% in 1904 to 25% in 1921 whilst for the most urbanised group, Whites, the proportion shifted from 53% to 56%. However in 1921 the Director of Statistics drew special attention to two phenomenon regarding the more recent urbanisation. The first with regard to white women; the second concerning coloured families. As a result of the war, he pointed out, white women had moved into town to replace men who had gone on active service. There was also, he pointed out, an unusually high proportion of older women in town. And then, looking more specifically at Cape Town, the official census reported that, “the Cape Peninsula stands out in a striking manner as regards the congested housing conditions of the Coloured population”. [Population Census, 1921:303] The observation was based on an analysis which found that the average numbers of persons per room (including kitchen) in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester & the white homes in the Cape Peninsula were 1.9, 1.3, 1.0 & 1.2 respectively, whilst for the Coloured population in the Peninsula the ratio was 2.6---well over double that for Whites. Deplorable housing conditions for the working class have a long history in Cape Town.

Between 1921 and 1936, a fifteen year period that included the great drought and depression of 1930-32 as well as the expansion of the industrial economy that followed the huge rise in the price of gold as a result of the devaluation of South African and United States currencies in 1932-34, the proportion of total population in South Africa urbanised (which had been nearly static since 1904) rose from 25% to 31% whilst Whites, with their privileged access to the economy, rose from 56% to 65%.

Two sets of legislation directed specifically at Africans had very different impacts in the Western Cape. The Natives Land Act of 1913, as modified by legislation in 1936, had devastating consequences in various parts of the country such as the Orange Free State, as documented by Sol Plaatje. But in the Western Cape where Africans had historically held little land its immediate impact was minimal although, of course, its prohibition on the purchase by Africans of any land in the whole of the Western Cape province for three-quarters of the twentieth century was to have profound consequences with which we are still living. But the second piece of legislation the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, was felt immediately. For it was aimed at segregating urban areas and was used in Cape Town to push Africans out of the city centre. In 1926 ten thousand black people were registered in terms of this Act and an attempt to remove 3 000 from the area failed. In 1927 Langa township on what was then the city outskirts was established and the older N’dabeni location was closed in 1936 (Ellis. G: 107). Thirty years before the Group Areas Act of 1950, ethnic cleansing was an all too present reality for increasing numbers of Cape Town’s citizens. The Immorality Act of 1927 prohibited sexual intercourse between whites and blacks (Horrell, M: 8). Xenophobia received expression in the Immigration Quota Act of 1930 which targeted eastern and southern Europeans as undesirable immigrants and the Aliens Act of 1937 which was used to bar German Jews in a period when Nazism enjoyed support in some Afrikaner circles (Bickford-Smith, V: 74). In 1933 Louis Weichardt established the largest fascist organisation in South Africa, the Greyshirts or the South African Gentile National- Socialist Movement and the South African Nazi party was also established (Bickford-Smith, V: 78-9).

By 1936, there were at least 25 magisterial districts in the Western Cape with populations greater than 10 000. These ranged from Ladismith (10 200) and Ceres (11 200) on the one hand, to Worcester (32 200) and Paarl (34 000) on the other. With Cape Town itself (including Bellville & Wynberg) as the single giant of over one-third of a million (359 000) people. Yet despite this significant population it is remarkable that, leaving aside the greater Cape Peninsula, inside the ring of the Hottentots Holland mountains, the only towns (as opposed to farming districts) in the entire province where there were more than one hundred Africans were Beaufort-West (949), George (427), Hermanus(104), Murraysburg (128) and Worcester (375). Between them these five towns had a total of fewer than 2000 Africans, an average of just under 400 each. In 1936 African urbanization into the Western Cape outside the greater peninsula was virtually non-existent. But on the greater Cape Peninsula the story was very different.

Table No. 10
Population inside the Hottentots Holland mountain ring 1904-1960
(‘000s.)

	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960
Malmesbury	28.5	24.8	27.3	31.3	32.6	35.0	43.6
Wellington	8.5	9.0	10.4	12.6	14.6	16.0	19.0
Paarl	21.1	20.9	24.2	34.0	44.7	51.1	66.5
Stellenbosch	13.3	13.5	16.7	23.8	32.8	42.7	54.4
Somerset West	4.8	4.9	7.2	8.6	11.4	15.8	19.9
Strand	4.8	3.3	5.1	7.4	11.1	13.1	16.0
Simonstown	13.8	9.8	14.6	15.8	22.7	25.3	29.1
Wynberg	46.6	58.6	75.8	131.2	192.6	246.3	342.3
Cape	139.0	119.3	141.4	185.6	217.2	243.0	254.5
Bellville	7.9	9.6	16.7	40.2	81.5	117.5	181.3
TOTAL	288.3	273.7	339.4	490.5	661.2	805.8	1026.6

Sources: Union of South Africa; Republic of South Africa, Census Reports.

Over the 56 years from 1904 to 1960 whilst population in remote dry rural areas, like Murraysburg (between Beaufort West and Graaff Reinet) increased (in round numbers) at less than 1% per annum from 4000 to 6000 persons the population of the greater peninsula, including Malmesbury, Paarl, Stellenbosch, the Strand and Simonstown rose nearly four-fold from little more than quarter of a million in 1904 via half a million in 1936 to just over one million in 1960.

But even more dramatic changes were to come. For in the next twenty-five years, 1960-1985, the Cape Peninsula was to become the epicentre of the struggle generated by the fundamental contradiction between the centripetal urbanising pressures of South Africa’s industrial growth and the policies of ethnic cleansing which apartheid sought to impose on the country in general but on the Western Cape in particular. And so it is to an examination of the consequences of apartheid’s demographic engineering as manifest in the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws and the Coloured Labour Preference Area that we now turn.

1960-1985: Black Pawns..migrants;surplus people & ethnic cleansing.

At the end of the second world war the pass laws were under pressure. They had been in force in one form or another since the mineral discoveries in the 19th. century and earlier, all the way back to the time of slavery, but the expansion of the economy during the 1930s and

1940s had drawn huge numbers of Africans to work in the cities. The Smuts government was mindful of these realities and, just prior to the election of 1948, announced that it would accept the findings of the Fagan Commission which had been appointed to look into the whole question of urbanisation and the pass laws. Basically Fagan said that the process of urbanisation was inevitable and that the pass laws (which had been greatly eased during the war, under threat of Japanese invasion) should be softened. But the National Party took a directly contrary view and won the election. They introduced a very systematic programme of social engineering bolstered by what would grow into a monstrous edifice of discriminatory and repressive legislation. Among the fundamental pillars of apartheid were

- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, which prohibited marriage between whites and all other ethnic groups.
- The Immorality Act of 1950 which prohibited sexual intercourse between whites and all other ethnic groups.
- The Population Registration Act of 1950 which among other racial labels classified the coloured and Asian population into these seven different categories: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, other Asiatic, and 'other' Coloured.
- The Group Areas Act of 1950
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.

One fundamental pillar of the new apartheid policy was to prevent black urbanisation. The cities were the white man's creation, declared the Afrikaner nationalists, and they should stay white. The black man should enter only when he ministered to the needs of the white man; and should depart therefrom when he ceased so to minister. Such a policy, harking back to thinking first articulated in what was then the Transvaal in the early 1920s, ran directly counter to the trends of history and to the forces generated by economic growth which impelled more and more people to the cities. It was a contradiction which ultimately was to destroy apartheid in a conflict that was to have its epicentre in Cape Town but which in the process caused untold suffering for black South Africans.

Another pillar of the same racist policy was an aggressive form of what one might describe as 'love-hate ethnic cleansing' whereby those South Africans who were now to be classified as 'Coloured' in terms of the Population Registration Act (1950) were to be pushed out of choice urban areas, such as District 6, Kalk Bay, Goodwood, Parow and central Paarl, whilst simultaneously given preference in employment over those classified as 'Bantu'. And so the bulldozers, both bureaucratic and mechanical, of the Group Areas Act (1950) set about destroying communities, homes and schools in the 'sixties' in a process that was to wreak untold damage in the western cape.

The accompanying table No.11, much of it drawn from a Saldrú working paper (Horner,D,(ed):107-115), details the major steps taken by the apartheid government to restructure the Western Cape in accordance with its racist principles. Population Registration and Group Areas were to result in some 74 000 families (nearly half a million people if one assumes an average of six to a family) being forcibly resettled in the urban areas of South Africa by 1972. 60% of these were 'Coloured', mainly in the Western Cape; 37% Indian

especially in Natal and the Transvaal; only 2% were white. Combined with this was the drive to prevent Africans coming to the Western Cape and even, after 1966, to reduce the number already there. The dispossession in Cape Town had coloured people forcibly removed from the homes they and their forebears had inhabited in some cases for over 130 years all the way from Tramway Road in Sea Point, through the Waterkant area of Green Point, the CBD of the old city encompassed by Strand, Buitengracht, Buitensingel and Buitenkant streets, through the blighted area of District Six, on to Mowbray, Newlands, Claremont, Constantia and Simon's Town. Coloured people in the northern suburbs of Maitland, Milnerton, Brooklyn, Goodwood, Parow and Bellville were also dispossessed (Bickford-Smith, V: 169-171). This pattern was replicated in every dorp and town in the Western Cape.

Table 11

Racist Chess in the Western Cape: 1950-1986

Date	Event
1950	Group Areas Act. Subsequently amended many times
1952	"Abolition of passes & documents" Act extends influx control to all urban areas & effectively tightens the pass laws
1954	Black women in the western cape become the first to have to carry passes
1955	Introduction of Coloured Labour Preference Area policy in western cape with the 'Eiselen Line', running due north from Wilderness to De Aar.
1957	Amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act severely restricts African entry and dwelling in urban areas. Nyanga Township established.
1960	Police surround Langa after peaceful march of 35 000 Africans to protest the arrest of their leaders following the Sharpeville massacre.
1962	Plan to remove all Africans from the western cape is announced.
1963	Eiselen Line moved east to the Gamtoos river as the Western Cape African Labour Replacement Line. but Gugulethu Township established at Nyanga West.
1965	Cape Town city centre proclaimed white Group Area Simonstown location is closed
1966	Policy to reduce number of Africans employed in western cape by 5% per annum is announced. District Six, Kalk Bay & Simonstown all proclaimed white Group Areas
1967	No African women work-seekers being admitted to the western cape. Eiselen Line moved still further east so that Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown & Aliwal North are all part of the Coloured Labour Preference Area.
1971	No. of African families w. rights to live in one of 3 townships serving Greater Cape Town was <12000 whilst 85% of working men were housed in hostels &, in Langa, the m:f ratio was 11:1
1972	By the end of the year total numbers of families compulsorily moved in the country under Group Areas were: Col. 44900; Ind. 27700 & Whites 1500
1975	Informal housing settlement of 7000, near international airport, raided. Langa Commissioner's Court trying average of 105 Influx Control cases daily.
1976	* Independence of Transkei effectively deprives many Cape Town Blacks of their South Africa citizenship.* Amendment to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act removes rights of squatters.* Black school-children march in CBD
1977	Informal housing at Modderdam Road destroyed by bulldozers. Area razed to ground
1978	Unibel demolished. 11 000 people lose their homes. Plan to demolish Crossroads announced.
1979	Bantu Laws Amendment Act causes further loss of Section 10 rights of Africans in town. Temporary permits granted to Crossroads residents.
1980	Leasehold housing scheme permitted for 30, but not 99, years in western cape. Plans for New Crossroads, w. 2575 houses. Mr. Komani wins appeal allowing his wife to stay in Cape Town

1981	Over previous 4 years, more than 10 000 Africans refused permission to work in terms of Coloured Labour Preference area policy. 20 000 Crossroads dwellers granted resident status
1982	New Crossroads now established but amendments to regulations tighten influx control in western cape.
1983	Heavy pass raids continue.
1985	Fierce clashes between armed police & residents of Crossroads who refuse to be moved to Khayelitsha township. 18 people killed.
1986	Pass laws abolished; influx control lifted. Apartheid government finally defeated in its long attempt to prevent black urbanisation.

Of course the hostility to black settlement in the Western Cape went back long before the apartheid government came to power in 1948. Even before the Land Act of 1913 made it illegal for Africans to buy land anywhere in the Western Cape black workers were drawn into the economy but they were in no way encouraged to settle. But the development of Cape Town, not least the harbour and the building of the railways, needed labour. A number of select committees were appointed by the Cape Parliament to examine the problem and in the late 1870s nearly 4 000 Africans were brought in from the eastern frontier all to work within 30 miles (48 kilometres) of Cape Town. But, without their families, few of the men wished to stay and most of them ran away.(OHS 2:118-9) In evidence to the 1879 select committee, Mr. Vermaak of Burghersdorp explained the problem in blunt terms. Single men, he pointed out, would never stay. He suggested that an agent be employed in what subsequently became the Ciskei to engage families for periods of at least five years. Sound advice but it fell on deaf ears. Indeed one of the most astonishing facts about the history of population in the Western Cape is the extent to which the white power structure felt able to treat Africans as no more than labour units to be drawn into the economy when needed without any thought as to their wider humanity. Thus in the district of Stellenbosch, for example, the male; female ratio for Africans in 1911, before the first world war, was 4:1. Forty years later, in 1951, it was 4.8:1; in 1960 4.5:1; in 1970 at the height of the drive to keep Africans out it rose to 5.7:1; in 1980 it was 3.6:1 and in 1991 it was still 3.5:1. A rough average over the 80 year period of over 4:1. Both Coloured and White populations throughout this period maintained the normal gender balance of 1:1 with slight variations either way. Only in 2001, after the democratic government came to power in 1994 did the gender ratio for Africans fall to 1.1:1. The same story can be told again and again, as the table 12 on page 62 makes clear. And in every single case the gender abnormalities of the racist economy were corrected after 1994.

The other fundamental fact about the history of population in the Western Cape has been the dramatic increase in numbers of greater Cape Town, the area within the ring of Hottentots Holland mountains. There, as table 13 details, population took 300 years from the founding of Van Riebeeck's village to reach 1 million in 1960. Twenty years later it had grown by another two-thirds to 1.67 million. But another 21 years later it had virtually doubled to 3.3 million people. It is difficult to see how an area faced with the water constraints that confront it, can continue such exponential population growth indefinitely without either finding alternative sources such as desalinisation of the sea or embarking on a radical programme of demand management to alter life styles fundamentally.

Table no. 12

African population in the Western Cape by selected districts.

Ratio of males:females (expressed as X men: 1 woman)

Town	1911	1951	1960	1970	1980	1991	2001
Knysna	1.1:1	2.0:1	1.5:1	1.3:1	0.9:1	1.2:1	1.1:1
Uniondale	1.1:1	1.1:1	1.3:1	1.7:1	1.4:1	1.4:1	1.3:1
Murraysberg	1.2:1	1.3:1	1.3:1	1.1:1	1.0:1	0.9:1	0.8:1
Beaufort West	1.4:1	1.3:1	1.2:1	1.2:1	1.0:1	1.1:1	1.0:1
Riversdale	2.4:1	2.2:1	1.8:1	1.9:1	1.4:1	2.2:1	1.6:1
Cape Town	3.1:1	1.9:1	1.6:1	2.6:1	2.4:1	1.0:1	1.1:1
Bellville			6.4:1	4.3:1	3.0:1	2.7:1	1.0:1
Goodwood					0.4:1	0.8:1	1.0:1
George	3.4:1	1.5:1	1.4:1	1.6:1	2.0:1	1.3:1	1.1:1
Laingsberg	3.4:1	2.3:1	2.0:1	1.7:1	3.5:1	1.7:1	1.0:1
Malmesbury			5.0:1	11.7:1	11.6:1	25.1:1	1.3:1
Wynberg	3.8:1	2.1:1	1.8:1	1.9:1	1.5:1	1.4:1	0.9:1
Stellenbosch	4.0:1	4.8:1	4.5:1	5.7:1	3.6:1	3.5:1	1.1:1
Somerset West				7.8:1	14.2:1	6.7:1	1.1:1
Strand				12.6:1	14.3:1	14.3:1	1.1:1
Worcester	6.0:1	1.9:1	1.4:1	1.7:1	1.4:1	1.7:1	1.0:1
Tulbagh	12.1:1	3.6:1	3.8:1	19.3:1	5.0:1	6.4:1	1.2:1
Ceres	53.8:1	2.0:1	2.6:1	5.9:1	6.0:1	2.8:1	1.2:1

Table No. 13

Population inside the Hottentots Holland mountain ring during the 20th. century (1904-2001) ('000s.)

	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1980	2001
Malmesbury	28.5	24.8	27.3	31.3	32.6	35.0	43.6	78.0	129
Wellington	8.5	9.0	10.4	12.6	14.6	16.0	19.0	30.9	6
Paarl	21.1	20.9	24.2	34.0	44.7	51.1	66.5	108.9	208
Stellenbosch	13.3	13.5	16.7	23.8	32.8	42.7	54.4	64.1	91
Somerset West	4.8	4.9	7.2	8.6	11.4	15.8	19.9	44.7	96
Strand	4.8	3.3	5.1	7.4	11.1	13.1	16.0	30.2	54
Simonstown	13.8	9.8	14.6	15.8	22.7	25.3	29.1	48.5	115
Wynberg	46.6	58.6	75.8	131.2	192.6	246.3	342.3	746.0	393
Cape	139.0	119.3	141.4	185.6	217.2	243.0	254.5	211.9	83
Bellville	7.9	9.6	16.7	40.2	81.5	117.5	181.3	216.0	316
Goodwood								236.7	195
Kuils River								53.1	760
Mitchells Plain	----	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	807
Moorreesburg								----	13
TOTAL	288	274	339	491	661	806	1 027	1 869	3261

Sources: Union of South Africa; Republic of South Africa, Census Reports.

Note: Figures may not add up exactly, due to rounding.

Conclusion

This monograph is a chronical of human settlement in the Province of the Western Cape in the Republic of South Africa. The first migrants were undoubtedly the San followed by the Khoekhoen. It was the Khoekhoen whom the Portuguese explorers encountered in the second half of the 15th century more than 150 years before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

In 1652 Van Riebeeck's arrival introduced fewer than 200 migrants drawn from protestant countries in Western Europe. His party while mainly Dutch also included a fair number of German speakers who were probably Lutheran as well as British and Scandanavian employees of the Dutch East India Company (the VOC). The Calvinist faith of the Dutch Reformed Church reached the Cape with his arrival and would remain the only established faith until 1780.

In 1653 the first party of about 11 slaves imported from Madagascar and Java arrived and in 1658 a larger party of 205 slaves were brought in from West Africa. Henceforth slaves would only be acquired from the lands that fringed the Indian Ocean, where the VOC had its possessions namely modern Indonesia, the west and east coasts of India as well as Sri Lanka, Madagascar and Mozambique. With the arrival of the Indonesian slaves and later convicts and political exiles Islam too came to the Cape. By 1658, apart from an unknown number of Khoesan, there were 166 European men and women, 187 slaves and seven exiles in the Cape Peninsula.

It took a full generation after Van Riebeeck's arrival before the arrival of Huguenots from France via the Netherlands introduced yet another factor into the population mix. Between 1688 and 1700 some 280 Huguenots settled in what would become Franchhoek.

By 1731 the population of the Cape district had grown to 3 157 in some 80 years since Van Riebeeck's arrival. The population consisted of 1 544 Europeans, a number of them born locally, 200 free blacks, 1 333 slaves and 80 convicts. No count was made of the Khoesan. Free burghers were also living in the modern districts of Stellenbosch, Paarl and Tulbagh and were beginning to populate the modern districts of Caledon and Montagu.

By 1770 the trekboere had been extending the borders of the colony by claiming farms in Knysna, Calitzdorp and Prince Albert and the very extensive new drostdy of Swellendam had been proclaimed in 1747. From Swellendam the trekboere were making their way over the mountains and travelling along the Long Kloof into areas located nowadays in the Province of the Eastern Cape.

There was no change in the mix of population until the first British occupation in 1795 when the population that the British took over consisted of 16 000 Europeans or their descendants and 21 474 slaves and again an unknown number of Khoesan. This inflates the number for the Western Cape because it includes trekboere who had settled in Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth all located in the Eastern Cape. English, Scottish and Irish people got woven into the tapestry of the Cape population and British men began to marry into Cape Dutch families. Slaves continued to be imported from the Indian Ocean basin.

By 1821 when British rule was firmly established the population of the Western Cape had grown to 75 417 and the Khoesan were recorded in the enumeration. The inhabitants, presumably including free blacks, had doubled from 16 000 to 32 264 in a quarter century

with a near normal male/female ratio of 1,1 to 1. The Khoesan male/female ratio was even closer to a normal ratio at 1: 1 in a recorded population of 13 419. The slave male/female ration in a population of 28 414 at 1,5 men to one woman remained very skewed.

In 1839 the small group of about 40 Mfengu noticed living in huts at the foot of Table mountain added a further strand of Xhosa-speakers to the tapestry of folk in the Western Cape. The numbers of Xhosa-speakers swelled with the recruitment of contract workers from the Transkei in the second half of the century.

In the 44 years up to the 1865 census the provincial population grew from 75 417 to 203 699 an increase of almost threefold. Black South Africans increased to almost 7 000 but 75% of them were living in the six magisterial districts of the Cape, George, Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn and Murraysburg. Fewer than 70 blacks were recorded in each of the six magisterial districts of Wellington, Caledon, Bredasdorp, Piketberg, Clanwilliam and Robertson. Overall they contributed only 3,4 percent to the population of the province.

In the last quarter of a century of the Victorian age the population of the Western Cape grew to nearly 530 000 by 1904 and the new threads in the tapestry included a large number of folk from the British Isles as well as a substantial number of Jewish people originating in Lithuania and Latvia. Other new immigrants arrived from Germany and her colonies, Portugal and her colonies, Italy, Greece and St Helena adding to the heterogeneity of the provincial population and more particularly that of greater Cape Town. It took another 56 years before the population breached the million mark in 1960.

The differentials in infrastructure, housing and educational and health facilities which had begun, as we have noted, in 1901 were reinforced by the application of the 1923 Urban Areas Act in 1927 but the most forceful application of the policy of residential segregation took place between 1960 and 1980. Although this enforced segregation was imposed throughout the western province and the rest of South Africa it is most dramatically illustrated in those magisterial districts that in the present day comprise the Cape Metropolitan area. At the beginning of the 20th century the 1911 Census revealed that the 125 344 people recorded in the Cape magisterial district claimed 23% of the provincial population share and within the district the White group claimed 52%, the coloured group (including Asians) 47% and the Black group less than 2% (see appended Table No. 22).

Forty years later the metropolitan area was embraced in the four demarcated magisterial districts of the Cape, Wynberg, Simonstown and Bellville and the 1951 Census recorded a population of over 635 000 in those areas. The population shares were: Coloured 47,1%, White 42,1%, Black 9,5%, and Asian 1,3%. The area had seen an increase in population of over five fold in the period (see appended Table No. 25). The metropolitan share had risen to almost 50%. Some nine years later Cape Town was still embraced in the same four magisterial districts and the 1960 Census recorded a total population of 807 211. The rate of population growth had fallen from an average of over 11% a year between 1911 and 1951 to just over 3%. The metropolitan share of provincial population had risen to 51%. There had also been some notable demographic shifts in the metropole: the coloured group claimed the greater share of the population in the Cape displacing the White group for the first time since population had been recorded. After an amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1957 and the establishment in the same year of Nyanga Township the recorded Black people fell from 18 233 to 13 013 in the Cape between 1951 and 1960 and from 10 469 to 5861 in Bellville but rose from 28 370 to 52 622 in Wynberg (see Table No. 30). In the province as a

whole the Coloured group claimed a 56% share of the population, the White 34%, the Black 10% and the Asian 6,6% (see appended Tables Nos. 26 & 27).

The 1970 census recorded a provincial population of 2 063 717 increasing from 1 273 857 in 1960 with the annual average growth rate stabilising at 3% per year. The Cape metropole with a population of 1 107 763 claimed a provincial share of 54% and was still embraced in the four districts of the Cape, Wynberg, Simonstown and Bellville as demarcated in the 1951 census. The instruments of *apartheid* policy had begun to attack the Coloured and Black populace very viciously. The district of the Cape shed a further 6 828 Black people between 1960 and 1970 while Simonstown shed 3 020 when the Simonstown location was closed and Bellville shed a further 2 594 while Wynberg gained 46 069 (see Table No. 30). When Gugulethu was proclaimed a township outside of the metropole, fifteen of the 30 magisterial districts demarcated in 1960 shed between 5% and 90% of their Black populace (see Table No. 30).

For Coloured people the decade was equally hard. In the district of the Cape their numbers were reduced by 16 083 as forced removals took their toll all the way from Tramway Road in Sea Point, through Green Point and District Six (see Table No. 32).

The decade of the 'seventies would bring no relief from this form of ethnic cleansing. Between the 1970 and 1980 censuses while two further magisterial districts (MDs) were proclaimed in the greater Cape Town area namely, Goodwood and Kuils River, increasing the number of provincial MD's to 40 there was no further shedding of the Black population in the metropole although the authorities continued to demolish informal settlements with fervour. In the rest of the province, however, 22 of 34 MDs demarcated by 1970 shed between 4% and 77% of their Black populace (see Table No. 30).

In the metropole the Cape shed a further 30 101 Coloured people while Bellville shed a further 64 349 (see Table No. 32). Some of these demographic shifts could be attributed to the newly demarcated MDs of Goodwood and Kuils River as well as the establishment of Mitchell's Plain but much of it could probably be associated with the population controls still in. Overall the provincial population had grown by 552 345 or at a slightly reduced annual average growth rate of 2,7% per year over the eleven year period. The provincial demographics were beginning to indicate significant changes. (see appended Table No. 28).

As the appended Table No. 18 records the provincial population contained in 21 demarcated magisterial districts in 1891 was 324 562 of whom the Coloured (Malay, Khoe and mixed or other) numbering 166 630 accounted for 51,3%, the White numbering 152 576 for 47% and the Black numbering 5 356 for 1,7%. In the century to 1991, as appended Table No. 29 shows, the provincial population had increased to 3 417 675 an increase of over tenfold. The Coloured share numbering 1 991 435 had risen to 58,3%, the White share numbering 838 346 had fallen to 24,5%, the Black share numbering 559 382 had risen appreciably to 16,4%, inspite of the controls instituted to curb their numbers, particularly between 1951 and 1991 and the small Asian/Indian share numbering 28 512 or 0,8% had increased from 3 023 (0,5%).

The City of Cape Town contained in the single MD of the Cape at the time grew from 97 283 people in 1891 to 2 002 718 people in 1991 or over 20 times and claimed a share of nearly 59% of the total provincial population. The Coloured share numbering 1 047 559 accounting for 52,3% had risen from 49,0% a century before, the White numbering 510 512 had fallen

from 50% to 25,5%, the Black numbering 418 405 had risen dramatically from 1% to 20,9% and the small Asian/Indian numbering 26 242 had risen to 1,3% from less than 0,5%. Of the provincial Coloured population 52,6% were living in Cape Town while 60,9% of the White, 74,8% of the Black and 92% of the Asian/Indian population were also living in the capital city. By 1991 Black gender ratios had started to normalise in Cape Town but they remained skewed in Bellville and Goodwood at 1.3:1 and Kuils River at 1.5:1. Elsewhere in the province they remained exceptionally high in Tulbagh (2,4:1), Clanwilliam (3.8:1), Malmesbury (4.8:1), Caledon (6.1:1), Piketberg (2.9:1), Vanrhynsdorp (3.5:1), Calitzdorp (2.8:1), Hopefield (12.8:1), Vredenburg (5.4:1), Vredendal (5.7:1) and Moorreesburg (3.7:1). It took the fifty years between 1951 and 2001 before Black gender ratios became almost normal throughout the province (see Table No. 31).

The appended Table No. 30 shows that 15 of the 42 magisterial districts shed large proportions of their Black population between 1960 and 1991 in compliance with the misguided, to use a euphemism, policy of reducing the Black population of the Western Cape by 5% per annum from the mid-60s. Rectifying this legacy poses severe challenges.

Table No. 14

Population of the Western Cape Province in 1821

Inhabitants			Khoekhoen			Apprentices			Slaves			Total			District
Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
4801	4960	9761	199	263	462	459	306	765	4099	3135	7234	9558	8664	18222	Cape Town
1401	1183	2584	452	385	837	282	74	356	2370	1156	3526	4505	2798	7303	Other Cape
2867	2677	5544	874	927	1801	106	45	151	5588	3297	8885	9435	6946	16381	Stellenbosch
2494	2246	4740	2290	2270	4560	11	3	14	2434	1706	4140	7229	6225	13454	Tulbagh
1813	1557	3370	1306	1326	2632	1	-	1	936	792	1728	4056	3675	7731	George
3282	2983	6265	1654	1473	3127	27	6	33	1619	1282	2901	6582	5744	12326	Swellendam
16658	15606	32264	6775	6644	13419	886	434	1320	17046	11368	28414	41365	34052	75417	Total

Source: Bird, W. 360

Table No. 15
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1865

Magisterial District	White		Khoe		Black		Other		Total	Male		Female		Total
CAPE TOWN	25861	51,7	2136	4,3	821	1,6	21246	42,4	50064	25021	50,0	25043	50,0	50064
The Municipality*	15118	53,1	628	2,2	274	1,0	12437	43,7	28457	14045	49,4	14412	50,6	28457
Grrren Point	729	80,3	7	0,8	16	1,8	156	17,2	908	440	48,5	468	51,5	908
Robben Island	266	58,1	49	10,7	34	7,4	109	23,8	458	284	62,0	174	38,0	458
Wynberg	1242	50,8	3	0,1	2	0,1	1199	49,0	2446	1171	47,9	1275	52,1	2446
Simonstown	1231	48,3	168	6,6	21	0,8	1128	44,3	2548	1350	53,0	1198	47,0	2548
Kuilsriver	268	34,7	63	8,2	5	0,6	437	56,5	773	438	56,7	335	43,3	773
Other Cape Division	7007	48,4	1218	8,4	469	3,2	5780	39,9	14474	7293	50,4	7181	49,6	14474
STELLENBOSCH	2712	30,4	180	2,0	169	1,9	5856	65,0	8917	4675	52,0	4242	48,0	8917
PAARL	5293	40,3	346	2,6	148	1,1	7355	56,0	13142	6847	52,0	6295	48,0	13142
WELLINGTON	1011	41,4	24	1,0	1	0,0	1405	57,6	2441	1190	48,8	1251	51,2	2441
CALEDON	4517	45,6	2776	28,0	62	0,6	2545	25,7	9900	5190	52,4	4710	47,6	9900
SWELLENDAM	4757	47,7	2442	24,5	114	1,1	2651	26,6	9964	5153	51,7	4811	48,3	9964
BREDASDORP	2020	48,5	759	18,2	8	0,2	1382	33,1	4169	2193	52,6	1976	47,4	4169
MALMESBURY	6514	44,7	4083	28,0	147	1,0	3828	26,3	14572	7868	54,0	6704	46,0	14572
PIKETBERG	3174	52,6	1342	22,2	37	0,6	1484	24,6	6037	3141	52,0	2896	48,0	6037
CLANWILLIAM	2231	31,7	3991	56,7	30	0,4	789	11,2	7041	3570	50,7	3471	49,3	7041
TULBAGH	3259	37,5	2034	23,4	170	2,0	3232	37,2	8695	4737	54,5	3958	45,5	8695
GEORGE	4988	46,8	3138	29,4	862	8,1	1670	15,7	10658	5559	52,2	5099	47,8	10658
KNYSNA	1479	59,9	534	21,6	181	7,3	277	11,2	2471	1326	53,7	1145	46,3	2471
MOSSELBAY	2158	50,5	1492	34,9	211	4,9	415	9,7	4276	2238	52,3	2038	47,7	4276
RIVERSDALE	5974	56,0	3845	36,1	214	2,0	632	5,9	10665	5506	51,6	5159	48,4	10665
ROBERTSON	3741	60,8	1850	30,1	70	1,1	494	8,0	6155	3305	53,7	2850	46,3	6155
WORCESTER	3159	41,0	924	12,0	202	2,6	3419	44,4	7704	3955	51,3	3749	48,7	7704
BEAUFORT	2623	45,0	1344	23,1	1015	17,4	846	14,5	5828	3162	54,3	2666	45,7	5828
PRINCE ALBERT	3336	55,8	1678	28,0	637	10,6	332	5,5	5983	3181	53,2	2802	46,8	5983
OUDTSHOORN	6091	50,4	4846	40,1	830	6,9	310	2,6	12077	6303	52,2	5774	47,8	12077
MURRAYSBURG	987	33,6	504	17,1	1066	36,3	383	13,0	2940	1578	53,7	1362	46,3	2940
TOTAL	95885	47,1	40268	19,8	6995	3,4	60551	29,7	203699	105698	51,9	98001	48,1	203699

* Includes 646 (1,3%) male convicts and 523 military males and 172 military females

SOURCE: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Census 1865. Cape Town, Saul Solomon and Co. 1866

- NOTES. 1. Blacks more visible in old frontier districts of Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, Murraysburg as well as George and in Cape Town.
2. Khoekhoen more visible in the Cape, Noordhoek, Simonstown, Durbanville and Koeberg in greater Cape Town and in Malmesbury particularly at Mamre and St Helena Bay, Caledon (Genadendal), Robertson, Swellendam (Zuurbraak), Riversdale (Zoar + Amalienstein), George (Pacaltsdorp). Oudtshoorn.
3. 1865 first proper census although 1854 private census of Cape Town was reliable: earlier Blue Books draw on returns from civil commissioner.
4. In terms of civil occupations outside Cape Town agriculture dominated with between 79% and 92% of persons involved in farming. In Cape Town 1418 (19,5%) were employed in agriculture, 3929 (53%) in manufacturing, 1247 (17,1%) in commerce and 695 (9,5%) in the military.

Table No. 16
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1875

Magisterial District	white	%	Malay	%	Khoe	%	Mfengu	%	Black	%	Mixed or other	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Urban	%
CAPE	30730	54,0	8262	14,0	1834	3,0	24	0,0	308	1,0	16159	28,0	57317	28335	49,0	28982	51,0	48992	86,0
STELLENBOSCH	3442	33,0	628	6,0	253	2,0	8	0,0	64	1,0	6154	58,0	10549	5357	51,0	5192	49,0	3173	30,0
PAARL	7312	41,0	234	1,0	361	2,0	42	0,0	171	1,0	9954	55,0	18074	9184	51,0	8890	49,0	9340	52,0
CALEDON	5366	47,0	7	0,0	5344 ¹	47,0	16	0,0	47	0,0	566	5,0	11346	5743	51,0	5603	49,0	1038	9,0
SWELLENBOSCH	5028	50,0	53	1,0	2989	30,0	8	0,0	38	0,0	1891 ²	19,0	10007	5035	50,0	4972	50,0	2008	20,0
BREDASDORP	2017	47,0	0	0,0	1955 ³	45,0	0	0,0	3	0,0	331	8,0	4306	2150	50,0	2156	50,0	1064 ⁴	25,0
MALMESBURY ⁵	7862	43,0	96	1,0	3968 ⁶	22,0	6	0,0	146	1,0	6018 ⁷	33,0	18096	9561	53,0	8535	47,0	1840	10,0
PIKETBERG	4357	53,0	2	0,0	2537 ⁸	31,0	7	0,0	80	1,0	1256	15,0	8239	4268	52,0	3971	48,0	687	8,0
CLANWILLIAM	3018	34,0	9	0,0	3128 ⁹	36,0	17	0,0	154	2,0	2459 ¹⁰	30,0	8785	4407	50,0	4378	50,0	746	9,0
TULBAGH	3772	38,0	55	1,0	2505 ¹¹	25,0	130	1,0	204	2,0	3259 ¹²	33,0	9925	5335	54,0	4590	46,0	548	6,0
GEORGE	5229	44,0	13	0,0	3594 ¹³	30,0	309	3,0	355	3,0	2313 ¹⁴	20,0	11813	5983	51,0	5830	49,0	2223	19,0
KNYSNA	1825	57,0	1	0,0	629	20,0	65	2,0	140	4,0	558	17,0	3218	1668	52,0	1550	48,0	458	14,0
MOSSEL BAY	2664	53,0	34	1,0	1766	35,0	7	0,0	48	1,0	553	10,0	5072	2599	51,0	2473	49,0	1361	27,0
RIVERSDALE	6878	54,0	11	0,0	4503 ¹⁵	35,0	18	0,0	101	1,0	1210 ¹⁶	10,0	12721	6492	51,0	6229	49,0	1570	12,0
ROBERTSON	4512	56,0	10	0,0	2284	28,0	6	0,0	126	2,0	1093	14,0	8031	4186	52,0	3845	48,0	2280	28,0
WORCESTER	4093	42,0	100	1,0	1949	20,0	11	0,0	244	3,0	3337	34,0	9734	5099	52,0	4635	48,0	3788	39,0
BEAUFORT WEST	3738	45,0	27	0,0	2193	26,0	20	0,0	823	10,0	1521	18,0	8322	4454	54,0	3868	46,0	1585	19,0
PRINCE ALBERT	3324	53,0	8	0,0	1908	31,0	142	2,0	326	5,0	549	9,0	6257	3253	52,0	3004	48,0	687	11,0
ODTSHOORN	7925	52,0	12	0,0	6037 ¹⁷	40,0	76	1,0	330	2,0	801	5,0	15181	7891	52,0	7290	48,0	1837	12,0
MURRAYSBURG	1210	32,0	6	0,0	998	27,0	83	2,0	1014	27,0	460	12,0	3771	2002	53,0	1769	47,0	699	19,0
TOTAL	114302	47,0	9568	4,0	50735	21,0	995	0,0	4722	2,0	60442	25,0	240764	123002	51,0	117762	48,0	84860	35,0

Source: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Census 1875.

Notes: 1. 2470 living in Genadendal

2. 650 living in Zuurbraak

3. 887 living in Elim

4. Living in villages of Bredasdorp and Napier

5. Malmesbury at the time a huge district embracing the whole of the Zwartland and including Saldanha & St Helena Bays

6. 1260 living in Mamre

7. 267 living in Abbotsdale

8. 248 living in Wittewater & 550 living in Goedverwacht

9. 78 living in Elandskloof, 139 in Wupperthal and 43 in Ebenezer

10. 129 living in Elandskloof, 493 in Wupperthal and 243 in Ebenezer

11. 409 living in Saron

12. 112 living in Steinthal and 639 at Saron

13. 479 in Pacaltsdorp and 57 in Haarlem

14. 488 in Haarlem and 15 in Pacaltsdorp

15. 197 in Zoar 461 in Amalienstein

16. 372 in Zoar & 11 in Amalienstein

17. 479 in Dysseldorp

Table No. 17
Religious Adherence by M.D in 1875

Magisterial District	Anglican	DRC	Other Protestant	Moravian	Catholic	Muslim	Jewish	Lutheran	Total	Other
CAPE	13382	16270	9247	16	2697	8848	169	2944	57317	3744
STELLENBOSCH	269	1951	4649	25	25	626	0	1160	10549	1844
PAARL	746	6771	2767	20	68	213	1	731	18074	6757
MALMESBURY	2595	8369	38	1387	61	107	2	390	18096	5147
PIKETBERG	21	4081	2	840	13	2	0	35	8239	3245
CLANWILLIAM	92	4100	509	0	21	1	1	659	8785	3402
TULBAGH	773	4416	349	1	62	51	1	1359	9925	2913
WORCESTER	369	2846	2297	551	22	132	6	1666	9734	1845
BEAUFORT WEST	128	3613	45	6	22	25	2	10	8322	4471
PRINCE ALBERT	146	3338	41	13	35	7	0	16	6257	2661
CALEDON	506	5719	1147	2469	10	9	2	573	11346	911
BREDASDORP	412	1669	524	1297	10	0	0	13	4306	381
ROBERTSON	216	4485	1334	64	13	6	1	61	8031	1851
SWELLENDAM	179	5095	1949	1356	8	45	4	9	10007	1362
RIVERSDALE	976	7816	1083	0	20	4	1	1443	12721	1378
MOSEL BAY	633	3163	475	0	62	32	2	105	5072	600
GEORGE	1218	5630	2872	15	166	8	2	550	11813	1352
OUDTSHOORN	257	7378	4966	0	606	13	3	1	15181	1957
KNYSNA	1346	1379	79	0	11	0	0	3	3218	400
MURRAYSBURG	31	905	0	0	20	6	8	4	3771	2797
TOTAL	24295	98994	34373	8060	3952	10135	205	11732	240764	49018
PERCENTAGE	10,0	41,0	14,0	3,0	2,0	4,0	0,0	5,0	100,0	20,0

Note: 4 Hindus and 18 Greek Orthodox are recorded

Table No. 18
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1891

Magisterial District	European or white	%	Malay	%	Khoe ¹	%	Mfengu	%	Other Black	%	Mixed or other ²	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Urban	%
CAPE	48544	50,0	11105	11,0	514	1,0	100	0,0	1107	1,0	35913	37,0	97283	49832	51,0	47451	49,0	85084	87,5
STELLENBOSCH	4420	35,0	135	1,0	54	0,0	8	0,0	194	2,0	7969	62,0	12780	6319	49,0	6461	51,0	6000	47,0
PAARL	8226	39,0	248	1,0	138	0,0	4	0,0	191	1,0	12556	59,0	21363	10504	49,0	10859	51,0	11040	51,7
CALEDON	5821	48,0	1	0,0	252	2,0	1	0,0	23	0,0	6094	50,0	12192	5971	49,0	6221	51,0	2075	17,0
SWELLENDAM	5585	50,0	3	0,0	351	3,0	3	0,0	34	0,0	5280	47,0	11256	5554	49,0	5702	51,0	4165	37,0
BREDASDORP	3271	50,0	0	0,0	7	0,0	0	0,0	3	0,0	3326	50,0	6607	3251	49,0	3356	51,0	1139	17,2
MALMESBURY	10120	43,0	63	0,0	308	1,0	19	0,0	130	0,0	12688	54,0	23328	12156	52,0	11172	48,0	4183	17,9
PIKETBERG	6515	56,0	1	0,0	649	6,0	1	0,0	56	0,0	4365	38,0	11587	5888	51,0	5699	49,0	1091	9,4
CLANWILLIAM	4473	39,0	2	0,0	3175	7,0	2	0,0	124	1,0	3792	33,0	11568	5793	50,0	5775	50,0	817	7,1
TULBAGH	1865	33,0	21	0,0	166	3,0	2	0,0	42	1,0	3558	63,0	5654	2822	50,0	2832	50,0	2935	51,9
GEORGE	4957	49,0	2	0,0	345	3,0	96	1,0	218	2,0	4468	44,0	10086	4963	49,0	5123	51,0	3660	36,3
KNYSNA	3710	54,0	9	0,0	526	8,0	148	2,0	211	3,0	2327	34,0	6931	3645	53,0	3286	47,0	1284	18,5
MOSEL BAY	3445	47,0	7	0,0	278	4,0	4	0,0	63	1,0	3489	48,0	7286	3617	50,0	3669	50,0	2061	28,3
RIVERSDALE	6203	55,0	0	0,0	42	0,0	3	0,0	28	0,0	5090	45,0	11366	5654	50,0	5712	50,0	1802	15,9
ROBERTSON	6019	53,0	24	0,0	1189	10,0	6	0,0	100	1,0	4010	35,0	11348	5674	50,0	5674	50,0	4185	36,9
WORCESTER	5085	40,0	61	0,0	346	3,0	6	0,0	217	2,0	6900	55,0	12615	6468	51,0	6147	49,0	5572	44,2
BEAUFORT WEST	3875	42,0	14	0,0	1392	15,0	50	0,0	524	6,0	3384	37,0	9239	4882	53,0	4357	47,0	2791	30,2
PRINCE ALBERT	3716	53,0	1	0,0	1112	16,0	49	1,0	159	1,0	2009	29,0	7046	3713	53,0	3333	47,0	1618	23,0
OUTDSHOORN	11576	48,0	22	0,0	1966	8,0	98	0,0	514	2,0	9694	41,0	23870	11947	50,0	11923	50,0	5377	22,5
MURRAYSBURG	1498	34,0	4	0,0	295	7,0	199	4,0	504	11,0	1953	44,0	4453	2333	52,0	2120	48,0	1046	23,5
LADISMITH	3652	54,0	3	0,0	124	2,0	7	0,0	108	2,0	2810	42,0	6704	3337	50,0	3367	50,0	596	8,9
TOTAL	152576	47,0	11726 ³	4,0	13229 ⁴	4,0	806 ⁵	0,0	4550 ⁶	1,0	141675	44,0	324562	164323	50,6	160239	49,4	148521	46,0

Source: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Census 1891

- Notes: 1. Khoekhoen recorded are labelled as Hottentot, Namaqua, Bushmen and Koranna
2. Mixed and other included *inter alia* those of mixed race as well as Indians, Mozambicans, Griqua, Chinese, Turks and West Indians
3. Ninety five percent of Malays are concentrated in the Cape with a further four percent living in Stellenbosch (number 135), Paarl (number 248) Malmesbury (63) and Worcester (61).
4. Over 10 000 of the Khoekhoen (76%) are located in the seven districts of Piketberg (number 649), Clanwilliam (3175), Knysna (526), Robertson (1189), Beaufort West (1392), Prince Albert (1112), and Oudtshoorn (1966) the ancestral land of the Hessequa, Attaqua, Outeniqua and Inqua clans in which mission stations were established in the 18th and 19th century with 514 (4%) located in the Cape.
5. The Mfengu with communities of 50 to 200 (73%) are located in George (number 96), Knysna (148) Beaufort West (50) Oudtshoorn (98) and Murraysburg (199) with a further 100 (12%) in Cape Town.
6. The other Bantu speakers with communities of more than 200 people numbering 3295 (72%) are located in the Cape (1107, 24%), George (218), Knysna (211), Worcester (217), Beaufort West (524), Oudtshoorn (514), Murraysburg (504).

Table No. 19
Religious Affiliation in the Western Cape in 1891 by District

Magisterial District	Protestant	Catholic ¹	Jewish ²	Islamic ³	
CAPE	76855	4892	845	11287	
STELLENBOSCH	11087	45	29	302	
PAARL	19932	32	13	261	
CALEDON	11685	6	9	4	
SWELLENDAM	10881	29	13	3	
BREDASDORP	6532	0	6	1	
MALMESBURY	19984	98	18	71	
PIKETBERG	9395	30	14	1	
CLANWILLIAM	9181	11	11	3	
TULBAGH	5058	26	11	21	
GEORGE	9872	93	13	0	
KNYSNA	6596	89	2	0	
MOSEL BAY	7034	75	15	3	
RIVERSDALE	11180	5	39	0	
ROBERTSON	11027	12	56	25	
WORCESTER	11387	36	36	127	
BEAUFORT WEST	6773	42	25	17	
PRINCE ALBERT	6235	16	31	2	
OUDTSHOORN	22646	268	251	5	
MURRAYSBURG	3891	11	14	0	
LADISMITH	6308	0	27	0	
TOTAL	283539	5816	1478	12133	302966

Note: 1. Eighty-four percent of the Catholics in the Cape, and 268 (5%) in Oudtshoorn with other notable presences in Malmesbury (98), George (93), Knysna (89) and Mossel Bay (75), these six town accounting for 95% of the catholic presence.

2. Fifty-seven percent of Jews in the Cape and 251 (17%) in Oudtshoorn while their presence is also notable in Robertson (56), Riversdale (39), Worcester (36) and Prince Albert (31), these six towns accounting for over 80% of the Jewish presence.

3. Over 93% of the Muslims are located in the Cape with other notable communities in Stellenbosch (302), Paarl (261) and Worcester (127) with these four towns accounting for over 98% of their presence.

Table No. 20
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1904

Magisterial District	White	%	Malay	%	Khoe	%	Mfengu	%	Other Black	%	Mixed	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Urban	%
CAPE	120475	57,0	12419	6,0	1252	0,0	2784	1,0	6852	3,0	69385	33,0	213167 ²	122842	58,0	90325	42,0	183873	86,3
STELLENBOSCH	8672	39,0	450	2,0	277	1,0	608	3,0	1011	5,0	11273	50,0	22291	12353	55,0	9938	45,0	11091	49,8
PAARL	12438	41,0	294	1,0	1174	4,0	71	0,0	746	2,0	15700	52,0	30423	15997	53,0	14426	47,0	17479	57,5
CALEDON	8345	55,0	11	0,0	260	2,0	47	0,0	111	1,0	6288	42,0	15062 ¹	7791	52,0	7271	48,0	3508	23,3
SWELLENDAM	7644	55,0	2	0,0	1078	8,0	7	0,0	63	1,0	5091	36,0	13885	7016	51,0	6869	49,0	5883	42,4
BREDASDORP	4264	56,0	0	0,0	12	0,0	0	0,0	2	0,0	3388	44,0	7666	3889	51,0	3777	49,0	1704	22,2
MALMESBURY	13607	45,0	27	0,0	2588	7,0	25	0,0	252	1,0	13455	45,0	29954	15942	53,0	14012	47,0	7671	25,6
PIKETBERG	8892	62,0	7	0,0	1591	11,0	7	0,0	44	0,0	3893	27,0	14434	7392	51,0	7042	49,0	2462	17,1
CLANWILLIAM	4746	48,0	2	0,0	1919	19,0	9	0,0	121	1,0	3046	31,0	9843	5042	51,0	4801	49,0	1104	11,2
TULBAGH	2311	31,0	13	0,0	177	2,0	22	0,0	150	2,0	4759	64,0	7432	3857	52,0	3575	49,0	3453	46,5
GEORGE	6582	52,0	3	0,0	642	5,0	157	1,0	426	3,0	4857	38,0	12667	6427	51,0	6240	49,0	5236	41,3
KNYSNA	4621	50,0	0	0,0	8	0,0	52	1,0	79	1,0	4573	48,0	9333	4812	52,0	4521	48,0	1775	19,0
MOSSEL BAY	5265	49,0	2	0,0	181	2,0	13	0,0	182	2,0	5057	47,0	10700	5650	53,0	5050	47,0	1646	15,1
RIVERSDALE	7944	58,0	1	0,0	275	2,0	49	0,0	203	1,0	5247	38,0	13719	7152	52,0	6567	48,0	2904	21,2
ROBERTSON	8446	55,0	3	0,0	3430	22,0	27	0,0	209	1,0	3182	21,0	15297	7828	51,0	7469	49,0	6338	41,4
WORCESTER	7974	41,0	122	1,0	2388	12,0	52	0,0	587	3,0	8164	42,0	19287	10172	53,0	9115	47,0	8088	41,9
BEAUFORT WEST	4841	45,0	15	0,0	1839	17,0	91	1,0	691	6,0	3285	31,0	10762	5558	52,0	5204	48,0	5478	50,9
PRINCE ALBERT	5166	55,0	8	0,0	1107	12,0	28	0,0	204	2,0	2831	30,0	9344	4923	53,0	4421	47,0	3043	32,6
ODTSHOORN	15211	50,0	25	0,0	4690	15,0	113	0,0	614	2,0	9745	32,0	30398	15320	50,0	15078	50,0	9848	32,4
MURRAYSBURG	1619	45,0	0	0,0	685	19,0	185	5,0	499	14,0	576	16,0	3564	1845	52,0	1719	48,0	1271	35,7
LADISMITH	4926	57,0	2	0,0	1373	16,0	0	0,0	84	1,0	2291	26,0	8676	4443	51,0	4233	49,0	1511	17,4
CERES	3360	49,0	13	0,0	573	8,0	4	0,0	51	0,0	2881	42,0	6882	3537	51,0	3345	49,0	3063	44,5
VANRHYNSDORP	2733	54,0	0	0,0	1617	32,0	0	0,0	26	0,0	706	14,0	5082	2579	51,0	2503	49,0	588	11,6
UNIONDALE	5057	54,0	0	0,0	1488	16,0	208	2,0	460	5,0	2220	23,0	9433	4725	50,0	4708	50,0	2075	22,2
TOTAL	275139	52,0	13419	2,0	30624	6,0	4559	1,0	13667	3,0	191893	36,0	529301	287092	54,0	242209	46,0	291092	55,0

Source: Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Census 1904.

Notes: 1. Genadendal contains 2175 people of mixed race

2. Cape Town City Bowl incorporating Districts I to VI contains 77668 people: 44 203 white (57%), 6561 Malay (9%), and 24378 mixed (31%) and 2526 (3,3%) black.

Table No. 21
Religious Adherence in 1904

Magisterial District	Protestant	Catholic	Other Christian	Muslim	Jewish	Total	Other
CAPE	164932	11455	206	16903	11192	213167	8479
STELLENBOSCH	19403	252	12	906	489	22291	1229
PAARL	27393	280	4	392	627	30423	1727
MALMESBURY	26331	218	190	57	246	29954	2912
PIKETBERG	13048	60	0	21	110	14434	1195
CLANWILLIAM	8445	33	0	2	18	9843	1345
TULBAGH	6570	25	0	83	15	7432	739
WORCESTER	17389	123	0	149	178	19287	1448
BEAUFORT WEST	9966	63	6	31	75	10762	621
PRINCE ALBERT	8928	36	0	5	74	9344	301
CALEDON	14660	38	3	13	70	15062	278
BREDASDORP	7623	2	0	0	25	7666	16
ROBERTSON	14779	55	1	1	140	15297	321
SWELLENDAM	13722	35	0	0	41	13885	87
RIVERSDALE	13415	21	0	0	113	13719	170
MOSSEL BAY	10387	126	2	10	43	10700	132
GEORGE	12395	117	0	2	27	12667	126
OUDTSHOORN	29025	333	2	8	797	30398	233
KNYSNA	9071	93	0	5	13	9333	151
MURRAYSBURG	3279	8	0	0	11	3564	266
LADISMITH	8464	1	1	0	71	8676	139
CERES	6252	6	0	2	59	6882	563
VANRHYNSDORP	4523	0	0	0	23	5082	536
UNIONDALE	8911	46	1	0	103	9433	372
TOTAL	458911	13426	428	18590	14560	529301	23386

Table No. 22
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1911

Magisterial District	COLOURED (Including Asian)				WHITE				BLACK				Total	URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		Total	Total
The Cape	27930	30631	58561	47%	33850	30769	64619	52%	1642	522	2164	2%	125344	116337	93%
Stellenbosch	6333	6467	12800	58%	4220	4085	8305	38%	635	160	795	4%	21900	11758	54%
Swellendam	3711	3610	7321	46%	4330	4062	8392	53%	75	21	96	1%	15809	6221	39%
Tulbagh	2453	2420	4873	65%	1212	1104	2316	31%	315	26	341	5%	7 530	1831	24%
George	3696	3134	6836	44%	3796	3468	7264	47%	1004	296	1300	8%	15394	5953	39%
Clanwilliam	3093	2879	5972	53%	2645	2558	5203	46%	76	56	132	1%	11307	1045	9%
Worcester	5687	5308	10995	57%	3674	3707	7381	39%	647	107	754	4%	19130	8201	43%
Beaufort West	3034	3002	6036	50%	2628	2570	5198	43%	437	311	748	6%	11982	4828	40%
Paarl	9362	9389	18751	61%	5695	5845	11540	38%	151	55	206	1%	30497	17683	58%
Malmesbury	9207	8113	17320	55%	7301	6674	13975	44%	141	34	175	1%	31479	8104	26%
Caledon	3891	3957	7848	45%	4862	4594	9456	54%	51	29	80	0%	17384	5252	30%
Wynberg	16098	17551	33649	54%	13784	13895	27679	45%	633	167	800	1%	62128	44247	71%
Piketberg	3572	3325	6897	39%	5440	5228	10668	61%	27	3	30	0%	17595	2580	15%
Mossel Bay	2765	2797	5562	48%	3055	2910	5965	51%	99	55	154	1%	11681	5000	43%
Simonstown	2144	2022	4166	43%	3231	2132	5363	55%	178	74	252	3%	9781	8278	85%
Riversdale	3102	2976	6078	40%	4579	4358	8937	59%	62	26	88	1%	15103	3365	22%
Oudtshoorn	8833	8818	17651	48%	9591	9088	18679	50%	455	319	774	2%	37104	14752	40%
Bredasdorp	1930	1920	3850	44%	2518	2415	4933	56%	3	1	4	0%	8787	2306	26%
Knysna	2624	2482	5106	48%	2609	2420	5029	47%	242	226	468	4%	10603	1628	15%
Robertson	2552	2447	4999	47%	2832	2735	5567	52%	59	20	79	1%	10645	4761	45%
Murraysburg	1107	1005	2112	45%	819	779	1598	34%	535	449	984	21%	4694	1342	29%
Prince Albert	1493	1411	2904	77%	1931	1819	3750	100%	99	44	143	4%	3750	1968	52%
Ladismith	2434	2223	4657	44%	3056	2805	5861	55%	117	67	184	2%	10702	2098	20%
Ceres	1971	1708	3679	47%	1727	1693	3420	44%	646	12	658	8%	7757	3815	49%
Uniondale	2251	2224	4475	38%	2976	2847	5823	50%	711	627	1338	11%	11636	1954	17%
Vanrhynsdorp	1429	1352	2781	46%	1668	1585	3253	54%	7	6	13	0%	6047	672	11%
Laingsburg	1238	1058	2296	39%	1723	1664	3387	57%	168	50	218	4%	5901	1267	21%
Montagu	1624	1433	3057	44%	1981	1931	3912	56%	19	2	21	0%	6990	2352	34%
Western Cape	135564	135662	271232	49%	137733	129740	267473	49%	9234	3765	12999	2%	548660	289598	53%

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, 1911

Table No. 23
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1921

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				Total	URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		No.	%
The Cape	28 787	32 310	61 088	40%	41 219	40 764	81 983	54%	6 411	1 583	7 994	5%	1 654	326	1 980	1%	153 045	136 422	89%
Stellenbosch	7 610	7 321	14 931	51%	5 766	5 668	11 434	39%	2 315	280	2 595	9%	66	20	86	0%	29 046	14 743	51%
Swellendam	3 879	3 842	7 721	45%	4 823	4 515	9 338	54%	118	51	169	1%	5	---	5	0%	17 233	7 015	41%
Tulbagh	2 562	2 447	5 009	63%	1 324	1 323	2 647	33%	250	73	323	4%	2	5	7	0%	7 986	2 342	29%
George	4 086	3 873	7 959	43%	4 926	4 623	9 549	52%	435	416	851	5%	14	4	18	0%	18 377	5 407	29%
Clanwilliam	3 168	3 007	6 175	51%	3 043	2 804	5 847	48%	97	34	131	1%	1	1	2	0%	12 155	1 319	11%
Worcester	6 389	5 872	12 261	55%	4 516	4 321	8 837	39%	964	293	1 257	6%	60	22	82	0%	22 437	8 932	40%
Beaufort West	3 119	2 983	6 102	43%	3 048	2 963	6 011	42%	1 171	864	2 035	14%	11	5	16	0%	14 164	6 658	47%
Paarl	10 624	10 183	20 807	59%	6 505	7 070	13 575	38%	625	196	821	2%	54	16	70	0%	35 273	19 686	56%
Malmesbury	10 512	9 337	19 849	56%	7 548	7 259	14 807	42%	444	78	522	1%	39	13	52	0%	35 230	10 386	29%
Caledon	5 239	4 842	10 081	47%	5 672	5 390	11 062	51%	296	62	358	2%	14	4	18	0%	21 519	6 452	30%
Wynberg	21 023	21 996	43 019	53%	17 549	18 740	36 289	44%	1 393	334	1 727	2%	433	85	518	1%	81 553	65 601	80%
Piketberg	4 173	3 955	8 128	41%	5 797	5 559	11 356	58%	89	18	107	1%	18	5	23	0%	19 614	2 990	15%
Mossel Bay	3 205	3 206	6 411	49%	3 398	3 255	6 653	51%	55	28	83	1%	14	---	14	0%	13 161	6 191	47%
Simonstown	2 483	2 521	5 004	34%	4 603	4 113	8 716	60%	671	170	841	6%	73	2	75	1%	14 636	12 519	86%
Riversdale	3 034	2 881	5 915	39%	4 749	4 531	9 280	61%	57	39	96	1%	2	1	3	0%	15 294	3 716	24%
Oudtshoorn	8 387	8 423	16 810	48%	8 487	8 514	17 001	48%	1 219	254	1 473	4%	17	1	18	0%	35 302	13 932	39%
Bredasdorp	2 396	2 245	4 641	44%	2 993	2 861	5 854	55%	47	16	63	1%	1	---	1	0%	10 559	3 018	29%
Knysna	2 986	2 772	5 758	48%	2 869	2 685	5 554	46%	348	299	647	5%	5	---	5	0%	11 964	1 776	15%
Robertson	2 813	2 639	5 452	48%	2 921	2 930	5 851	51%	96	29	125	1%	5	---	5	0%	11 433	5 416	47%
Murraysburg	1 045	932	1 977	43%	749	735	1 484	32%	634	554	1 188	26%	---	---	---	---	4 649	1 307	28%
Prince Albert	1 610	1 472	3 082	45%	1 811	1 715	3 526	51%	198	92	290	4%	1	---	1	0%	6 899	1 992	29%
Ladismith	2 178	2 242	4 420	44%	2 823	2 802	5 625	56%	19	25	44	0%	1	---	1	0%	10 090	2 173	22%
Ceres	2 397	2 110	4 507	54%	1 849	1 805	3 654	44%	117	61	178	2%	2	---	2	0%	8 341	3 486	42%
Uniondale	2 444	2 389	4 833	39%	3 172	2 921	6 093	49%	737	643	1 380	11%	4	---	4	0%	12 310	2 216	18%
Vanrhynsdorp	1 947	1 757	3 704	44%	2 286	2 069	4 355	52%	247	94	341	4%	---	---	---	---	8 400	806	10%
Laingsburg	1 303	1 140	2 443	38%	1 970	1 904	3 874	60%	90	56	146	2%	12	4	16	0%	6 479	1 575	24%
Montagu	1 680	1 497	3 177	45%	2 013	1 891	3 904	55%	12	9	21	0%	1	---	1	0%	7 103	2 525	36%
Total	151 079	150 194	301 264	47%	158 429	155 730	314 159	49%	19 155	6 651	25 806	4%	2 509	514	3 023	0.5%	644 252	350 601	54%

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census, 1921

Table No. 24
Population in the Western Cape 1936

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				Total	URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		No.	%
The Cape	37 452	42 575	80 027	43%	46 632	49 917	96 549	52%	4 929	1 715	6 644	4%	1 674	667	2 341	1.3%	185 561	183852	99%
Stellenbosch	7 225	6 888	14 113	59%	4 071	4 190	8 261	35%	915	461	1 376	6%	33	22	55	0.2%	23 805	11092	47%
Swellendam	5 391	5 082	10 473	49%	5 524	5 135	10 659	50%	152	107	259	1%	4	4	8	0.0%	21 399	9916	46%
Tulbagh	3 263	3 106	6 369	66%	1 454	1 529	2 983	31%	277	82	359	4%	1	---	1	0.0%	9 712	2571	26%
George	6 320	5 897	12 217	46%	6 769	6 585	13 354	50%	645	553	1 198	4%	11	6	17	0.1%	26 786	11425	43%
Clanwilliam	4 000	3 765	7 765	53%	3 514	3 216	6 730	46%	187	60	247	2%	1	--	1	0.0%	14 743	3181	22%
Worcester	9 744	8 789	18 533	58%	6 180	6 172	12 352	38%	893	393	1 286	4%	40	12	52	0.2%	32 223	14764	46%
Beaufort West	3 920	4 043	7 963	52%	3 082	3 117	6 199	40%	621	606	1 227	8%	10	10	20	0.1%	15 409	8518	55%
Paarl	10 171	9 982	20 153	59%	5 896	6 495	12 391	36%	895	475	1 370	4%	39	25	64	0.2%	33 978	19610	58%
Malmesbury	8 854	8 096	16 950	61%	5 187	5 352	10 539	38%	222	53	275	1%	28	18	46	0.2%	27 810	10074	36%
Caledon	7 593	6 927	14 520	49%	7 314	7 134	14 448	49%	486	191	677	2%	6	3	9	0.0%	29 654	11279	38%
Wynberg	30 866	33 040	63 906	49%	28 142	30 331	58 473	45%	5 163	2 510	7 673	6%	792	385	1 177	0.9%	131 229	121610	93%
Piketberg	5 416	4 854	10 270	45%	6 234	5 852	12 086	52%	727	22	749	3%	14	17	31	0.1%	23 236	4094	18%
Mossel Bay	4 064	3 834	7 898	50%	3 825	3 808	7 627	48%	200	114	314	2%	91	3	94	0.6%	15 933	8732	55%
Simonstown	2 478	3 064	5 542	35%	4 416	4 837	9 253	59%	610	246	856	5%	79	40	119	0.8%	15 770	13803	88%
Riversdale	3 811	3 483	7 294	41%	5 225	4 917	10 142	57%	166	105	271	2%	3	--	3	0.0%	17 710	5379	30%
Oudtshoorn	8 323	8 600	16 923	56%	6 254	6 321	12 575	42%	386	382	768	3%	18	8	26	0.1%	30 292	14128	47%
Bredasdorp	3 197	2 882	6 079	46%	3 483	3 364	6 847	52%	112	35	147	1%	2	--	2	0.0%	13 075	4832	37%
Knysna	4 162	3 977	8 139	50%	3 926	3 645	7 571	46%	330	291	621	4%	8	1	9	0.1%	16 340	2416	15%
Robertson	3 974	3 512	7 486	52%	3 113	3 125	6 238	44%	434	108	542	4%	3	--	3	0.0%	14 269	6070	43%
Murraysburg	1 376	1 150	2 526	56%	654	655	1 309	29%	364	300	664	15%	3	3	6	0.1%	4 505	1717	38%
Prince Albert	1 832	1 744	3 576	49%	1 844	1 671	3 515	48%	112	87	199	3%	1	--	1	0.0%	7 291	2657	36%
Ladismith	2 567	2 413	4 980	49%	2 628	2 502	5 130	50%	72	55	127	1%	3	--	3	0.0%	10 240	2319	23%
Ceres	3 788	3 310	7 098	63%	1 957	1 958	3 915	35%	123	66	189	2%	3	1	4	0.0%	11 206	4283	38%
Uniondale	3 464	3 342	6 806	48%	3 189	2 859	6 048	43%	710	599	1 309	9%	2	--	2	0.0%	14 165	2357	17%
Vanrhynsdorp	3 956	3 574	7 530	48%	4 050	3 676	7 726	50%	225	106	331	2%	2	--	2	0.0%	15 589	1568	10%
Lainburg	1 285	1 074	2 359	42%	1 575	1 497	3 072	55%	121	40	161	3%	9	8	17	0.3%	5 609	1830	33%
Montagu	2 224	1 984	4 208	51%	2 041	1 951	3 992	48%	76	18	94	1%	1	--	1	0.0%	8 295	3377	41%
Wellington	4 036	3 961	7 997	63%	1 947	2 352	4 299	34%	202	77	279	2%	35	25	60	0.5%	12 635	6843	54%
Bellville	10 989	10 545	21 534	51%	9 724	9 658	19 382	46%	1 061	251	1 312	3%	135	84	219	0.5%	42 447	31053	73%
Calitzdorp	1 499	1 378	2 877	42%	1 998	1 888	3 886	57%	17	19	36	1%	--	--	0	0.0%	6 799	1993	29%
Somerset West	3 639	3 747	7 386	46%	3 125	3 663	6 788	42%	1 575	199	1 774	11%	57	36	93	0.6%	16 041	10540	66%
Hopefield	3 644	3 285	6 929	56%	2 905	2 154	5 059	41%	300	28	328	3%	2	2	4	0.0%	12 320	3994	32%
TOTAL	214 523	214 003	428 526	49%	197878	201526	399398	46%	23 308	10 354	33 662	4%	3 110	1 380	4 490	0.5%	866 076	541877	63%

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census, 1936

Table No. 25
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1951

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				Total	URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		No.	%
The Cape	49 910	57 455	107 365	44%	53 759	58 522	112 281	46%	11 947	6 286	18 233	8%	2547	1673	4220	1.7%	242 099	240 540	99%
Stellenbosch	10 568	10 231	20 799	50%	7 502	6 917	14 419	35%	5 086	1 049	6 135	15%	57	32	89	0.2%	41 442	19 889	48%
Swellendam	5 140	4 700	9 840	53%	4 097	3 840	7 937	42%	688	235	923	5%	3	1	4	0.0%	18 704	9 718	52%
Tulbagh	4 441	4 153	8 594	65%	1 734	1 686	3 420	26%	921	254	1 175	9%	1	1	2	0.0%	13 191	5 748	44%
George	9 589	9 149	18 738	52%	7 536	7 871	15 407	43%	1 120	726	1 846	5%	7	5	12	0.0%	36 003	18 710	52%
Clanwilliam	5 492	5 081	10 573	59%	3 269	3 093	6 362	35%	855	237	1 092	6%	--	--	--		18 027	7 420	41%
Worcester	15 057	14 016	29 073	54%	8 742	8 623	17 365	32%	4 775	2 529	7 304	14%	48	46	94	0.2%	53 836	31 079	58%
Beaufort West	5 502	5 423	10 925	53%	3 272	3 323	6 595	32%	1 689	1 345	3 034	15%	24	11	35	0.2%	20 589	12 530	61%
Paarl	14 403	14 177	28 580	56%	7 721	8 621	16 342	32%	4 256	1 904	6 160	12%	38	21	59	0.1%	51 141	33 040	65%
Malmesbury	10 645	9 973	20 618	64%	4 754	5 088	9 842	31%	1 269	279	1 548	5%	13	11	24	0.1%	32 032	15 703	49%
Caledon	10 628	9 672	20 300	51%	8 067	8 122	16 189	41%	2 646	582	3 228	8%	8	3	11	0.0%	39 728	19 515	49%
Wynberg	59 842	65 072	124 914	51%	43 592	47 465	91 057	37%	19 255	9 115	28 370	11%	1 677	1 177	2 854	1.2%	247 195	224 980	91%
Piketberg	7 137	6 546	13 683	53%	5 372	4 956	10 328	40%	1 541	45	1 586	6%	10	10	20	0.1%	25 616	10 828	42%
Mossel Bay	5 346	5 185	10 531	54%	4 080	4 064	8 144	41%	629	320	949	5%	10	5	15	0.1%	19 639	11 275	57%
Simonstown	3 496	4 144	7 640	30%	7 159	7 117	14 276	57%	2 155	1 047	3 202	13%	77	66	143	0.6%	25 261	22 543	89%
Riversdale	4 355	4 068	8 423	49%	4 228	4 186	8 414	49%	304	138	442	3%	1	--	1	0.0%	17 280	6 438	37%
Oudtshoorn	11 179	11 297	22 476	61%	6 629	6 187	12 816	35%	886	880	1 766	5%	14	9	23	0.1%	37 081	20 770	56%
Bredasdorp	3 854	3 541	7 395	54%	2 917	2 918	5 835	43%	364	95	459	3%	7	13	20	0.1%	13 709	7 052	51%
Knysna	5 949	5 673	11 622	53%	4 284	4 288	8 572	39%	1 249	629	1 878	9%	6	7	13	0.1%	22 085	9 495	43%
Robertson	6 102	5 621	11 723	61%	3 191	3 190	6 381	33%	938	282	1 220	6%	6	1	7	0.0%	19 331	8 778	45%
Murraysburg	319	297	616	11%	535	506	1 041	19%	2 098	1 659	3 757	69%	1	--	1	0.0%	5 415	1 811	33%
Prince Albert	286	295	581	8%	1 298	1 268	2 566	37%	1 999	1 878	3 877	55%	4	--	4	0.1%	7 028	3 104	44%
Ladismith	2 897	2 698	5 595	61%	1 738	1 728	3 466	38%	70	49	119	1%	1	2	3	0.0%	9 183	3 630	40%
Ceres	6 116	5 446	11 562	68%	2 100	2 108	4 208	25%	819	406	1 225	7%	--	--	--		16 995	6 406	38%
Uniondale	4 723	4 500	9 223	58%	2 509	2 438	4 947	31%	890	790	1 680	11%	--	--	--		15 850	3 412	22%
Vanrhynsdorp	6 340	5 806	12 146	56%	4 355	4 260	8 615	40%	657	91	748	3%	--	--	--		21 509	5 286	25%
Laingsburg	1 790	1 656	3 446	56%	1 255	1 165	2 420	39%	180	80	260	4%	6	7	13	0.2%	6 139	2 575	42%
Montagu	2 946	2 769	5 715	52%	2 125	2 108	4 233	38%	643	416	1 059	10%	1	--	1	0.0%	11 008	6 425	58%
Wellington	4 873	4 847	9 720	61%	2 253	2 605	4 858	30%	1 084	301	1 385	9%	29	15	44	0.3%	16 007	10 464	65%
Bellville	29 527	29 865	59 392	49%	24 909	24 918	49 827	41%	7 399	3 070	10 469	9%	626	500	1 126	0.9%	120 814	108 263	90%
Calitzdorp	1 896	1 802	3 698	58%	1 316	1 223	2 539	40%	92	43	135	2%	--	--	--		6 372	2 134	33%
Somerset West	6 029	6 166	12 195	42%	5 643	6 214	11 857	41%	4 066	632	4 698	16%	59	35	94	0.3%	28 844	19 621	68%
Hopefield	4 258	3 637	7 895	54%	2 675	2 184	4 859	33%	1 828	122	1 950	13%	--	--	--		14 704	5 460	37%
TOTAL	320 635	324 961	645 596	51%	244 616	252 802	497 418	39%	84 398	37 514	121 912	10%	5 281	3 651	8 932	0.7%	1 273 857	914 642	72%

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census, 1951

Table No. 26
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1960

Magisterial Dis	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				URBAN		
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Total	No.	%
The Cape	57 351	66 280	123 631	49%	53 985	59 902	113 887	45%	8 061	4 952	13 013	5%	2 158	1 782	3 940	1.5%	254 471	254 471	100%
Stellenbosch	15 378	14 607	29 985	55%	9 437	8 834	18 271	34%	4 998	1 073	6 071	11%	53	43	96	0.2%	54 423	31 162	57%
Swellendam	6 750	6 255	13 005	60%	3 480	3 468	6 948	32%	1 052	590	1 642	8%	1	--	1	0.0%	21 596	10 078	47%
Tulbagh	5 531	5 306	10 837	66%	1 654	1 636	3 290	20%	1 767	484	2 251	14%	--	--	--		16 378	6 634	41%
George	11 105	10 701	21 806	56%	6 819	7 148	13 967	36%	1 703	1 190	2 893	7%	6	4	10	0.0%	38 676	19 555	51%
Clanwilliam	7 278	6 862	14 140	66%	3 059	2 947	6 006	28%	997	149	1 146	5%	--	--	--		21 292	8 805	41%
Worcester	18 739	17 854	36 593	54%	9 961	9 852	19 813	29%	6 894	4 841	11 735	17%	59	36	95	0.1%	68 236	42 330	62%
Beaufort West	6 840	6 958	13 798	54%	3 556	3 493	7 049	28%	2 472	2 146	4 618	18%	17	9	26	0.1%	25 491	17 333	68%
Paarl	19 735	19 260	38 995	59%	8 751	9 794	18 545	28%	6 972	1 993	8 965	13%	27	17	44	0.1%	66 549	44 912	67%
Malmesbury	14 995	13 651	28 646	66%	5 539	5 866	11 405	26%	3 000	566	3 566	8%	8	7	15	0.0%	43 632	19 707	45%
Caledon	13 437	12 528	25 965	56%	7 295	7 612	14 907	32%	4 318	933	5 251	11%	8	16	24	0.1%	46 147	22 846	50%
Wynberg	87 392	93 632	181 024	53%	50 400	54 612	105 012	31%	33 644	18 978	52 622	15%	2 015	1 625	3 640	1.1%	342 298	342 298	100%
Piketberg	8 616	8 301	16 917	61%	4 699	4 551	9 250	33%	1 383	305	1 688	6%	3	9	12	0.0%	27 867	11 831	42%
Mossel Bay	7 399	7 207	14 606	59%	4 004	4 028	8 032	32%	1 287	1 017	2 304	9%	5	2	7	0.0%	24 949	15 085	60%
Simonstown	4 223	4 751	8 974	31%	7 960	8 294	16 254	56%	2 181	1 523	3 704	13%	89	97	186	0.6%	29 118	29 118	100%
Riversdale	5 609	5 163	10 772	57%	3 758	3 620	7 378	39%	578	315	893	5%	--	--	--		19 043	6 935	36%
Oudtshoorn	13 872	13 896	27 768	64%	6 269	6 427	12 696	29%	1 692	1 282	2 974	7%	3	--	3	0.0%	43 441	24 496	56%
Bredasdorp	4 816	4 504	9 320	62%	2 527	2 574	5 101	34%	568	89	657	4%	1	--	1	0.0%	15 079	7 303	48%
Knysna	7 667	7 275	14 942	58%	3 784	3 965	7 749	30%	1 966	1 250	3 216	12%	5	7	12	0.0%	25 919	12 313	48%
Robertson	7 068	6 419	13 487	64%	2 846	3 005	3 851	18%	1 167	541	1 708	8%	7	3	10	0.0%	21 056	9 192	44%
Murraysburg	1 824	1 830	3 654	65%	489	502	992	18%	564	436	1 000	18%	1	--	1	0.0%	5 647	2 124	38%
Prince Albert	2 519	2 239	4 758	65%	1 111	1 062	2 173	30%	337	88	425	6%	--	--	--		7 356	2 172	30%
Ladismith	3 966	3 723	7 689	67%	1 519	1 542	3 061	27%	473	186	659	6%	2	--	2	0.0%	11 411	4 636	41%
Ceres	8 492	7 862	16 354	74%	2 185	2 239	4 424	20%	892	340	1 232	6%	--	--	--		22 010	7 378	34%
Uniondale	6 475	5 955	12 470	63%	2 465	2 438	4 903	25%	1 434	1 107	2 541	13%	--	--	--		19 914	5 962	30%
Vanrhynsdorp	8 690	7 810	16 500	59%	4 442	4 277	8 719	31%	2 196	483	2 679	10%	3	1	4	0.0%	27 902	9 321	33%
Laingsburg	2 150	2 018	4 168	60%	1 084	1 035	2 119	31%	408	200	608	9%	7	6	13	0.2%	6 908	3 293	48%
Montagu	4 315	4 134	8 449	59%	2 029	2 027	1 014	7%	1 014	778	1 792	13%	--	--	--		14 297	8 196	57%
Wellington	6 340	5 847	12 187	64%	2 194	2 816	5 010	26%	1 176	619	1 795	9%	12	8	20	0.1%	19 012	11 658	61%
Bellville	51 258	52 994	104 252	57%	34 799	35 203	70 002	39%	5 052	809	5 861	3%	619	590	1 209	0.7%	181 324	181 324	100%
Calitzdorp	2 274	2 187	4 461	67%	956	1 005	1 961	29%	181	67	248	4%	--	--	--		6 670	2 304	35%
Somerset Wes	8 404	8 859	17 263	48%	6 751	7 618	14 369	40%	3 737	504	4 241	12%	39	32	71	0.2%	35 944	26 825	75%
Heidelberg	3 017	2 974	5 991	66%	1 188	1 184	2 372	26%	513	227	740	8%	--	--	--		9 103	3 712	41%
Hopefield	2 792	2 675	5 467	64%	926	979	1 905	22%	640	494	1 134	13%	2	2	4	0.0%	8 510	3 755	44%
TOTAL	436317	442517	878874	56%	261 921	275 555	532 435	34%	105 317	50 555	155 872	10%	5 150	4 296	9 446	0.6%	1 581 669	1 209 064	76%

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census, 1960

Table No 27
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1970

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				TOTAL	URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		No.	%
The Cape	49099	58 449	107 548	44.8%	58 582	63 946	122 528	51.1%	4 451	1 734	6 185	2.6%	1 895	1 730	3 625	1.5%	239 886	239 886	100.0%
Stellenbosch	22179	21 219	43 398	56.5%	12 687	12 606	25 293	32.9%	6 835	1 191	8 026	10.5%	31	37	68	0.1%	76 785	46 830	61.0%
Swellendam	8401	8 255	16 656	67.2%	3 022	3 256	6 278	25.3%	1 347	514	1 861	7.5%	1	1	2	0.0%	24 797	12 452	50.2%
Tulbagh	7054	6 899	13 953	69.6%	1 593	1 663	3 256	16.2%	2 690	149	2 839	14.2%	1	1	2	0.0%	20 049	8 456	42.2%
George	16646	16 172	32 818	64.2%	7 478	7 597	15 075	29.5%	1 962	1 260	3 222	6.3%	1	1	2	0.0%	51 117	32 094	62.8%
Cianwilliam	8775	8 356	17 131	73.7%	2 671	2 562	5 233	22.5%	819	46	865	3.7%		1	1	0.0%	23 230	9 778	42.1%
Worcester	25366	24 942	50 308	59.1%	10 078	10 233	20 311	23.9%	8 943	5 427	14 370	16.9%	66	42	108	0.1%	85 097	51 377	60.4%
Beaufort West	8197	8 261	16 458	61.1%	3 268	3 394	6 662	24.7%	2 047	1 766	3 813	14.1%	7	8	15	0.1%	26 948	18 774	69.7%
Paarl	27150	26 002	53 152	63.4%	10 465	10 244	20 709	24.7%	7 464	2 421	9 885	11.8%	28	20	48	0.1%	83 794	53 064	63.3%
Malmesbury	19510	18 206	37 716	71.6%	5 805	6 179	11 984	22.7%	2 765	233	2 998	5.7%	3	8	11	0.0%	52 709	21 785	41.3%
Caledon	16426	15 992	32 418	67.9%	5 308	5 386	10 694	22.4%	4 366	233	4 599	9.6%	6	13	19	0.0%	47 730	19 365	40.6%
Wynberg	156961	169 845	326 806	58.2%	63 107	66 921	130 028	23.2%	64 251	34 440	98 691	17.6%	3 122	2 872	5 994	1.1%	561 519	561 519	100.0%
Piketberg	9901	10 208	20 109	68.1%	4 043	4 331	8 374	28.3%	871	186	1 057	3.6%	2	2	4	0.0%	29 544	14 728	49.9%
Mossel Bay	9827	9 951	19 778	61.9%	4 270	4 562	8 832	27.6%	1 937	1 412	3 349	10.5%	2	3	5	0.0%	31 964	20 839	65.2%
Simonstown	5012	5 583	10 595	32.8%	10 660	10 186	20 846	64.5%	442	242	684	2.1%	98	103	201	0.6%	32 326	32 326	100.0%
Riversdale	7163	7 023	14 186	65.5%	3 366	3 312	6 678	30.8%	513	276	789	3.6%			0	0.0%	21 653	8 280	38.2%
Oudtshoorn	16459	17 367	33 826	67.8%	6 593	6 398	12 991	26.0%	1 751	1 321	3 072	6.2%		1	1	0.0%	49 890	29 953	60.0%
Bredasdorp	5917	5 814	11 731	69.7%	2 278	2 461	4 739	28.2%	321	26	347	2.1%		3	3	0.0%	16 820	7 965	47.4%
Krystna	9348	9 502	18 850	59.8%	4 074	4 339	8 413	26.7%	2 358	1 885	4 243	13.5%	1	3	4	0.0%	31 510	15 732	49.9%
Robertson	8898	8 499	17 397	68.2%	2 811	3 000	5 811	22.8%	1 664	640	2 304	9.0%	2		2	0.0%	25 514	11 427	44.8%
Murraysburg	1887	2 088	3 975	66.3%	392	399	791	13.2%	639	586	1 225	20.4%			0	0.0%	5 991	2 695	45.0%
Prince Albert	3434	3 407	6 841	72.7%	912	957	1 869	19.8%	640	66	706	7.5%			0	0.0%	9 416	3 346	35.5%
Ladismith	4348	4 118	8 466	73.7%	1 165	1 224	2 389	20.8%	338	291	629	5.5%			0	0.0%	11 484	5 128	44.7%
Ceres	12221	11 404	23 625	79.2%	2 162	2 126	4 288	14.4%	1 643	274	1 917	6.4%	3	1	4	0.0%	29 834	10 786	36.2%
Uniondale	3905	3 757	7 662	77.0%	760	752	1 512	15.2%	492	290	782	7.9%	1		1	0.0%	9 957	3 339	33.5%
Vanrhynsdorp	4243	4 341	8 584	73.1%	1 479	1 418	2 897	24.7%	247	11	258	2.2%			0	0.0%	11 739	5 368	45.7%
Laingsburg	2436	2 365	4 801	70.5%	806	802	1 608	23.6%	249	143	392	5.8%	6	5	11	0.2%	6 812	3 484	51.1%
Montagu	5175	5 078	10 253	64.3%	1 698	1 912	3 610	22.7%	1 138	934	2 072	13.0%			0	0.0%	15 935	9 376	58.8%
Wellington	8699	8 750	17 449	69.5%	2 604	3 221	5 825	23.2%	1 299	519	1 818	7.2%	15	16	31	0.1%	25 123	17 092	68.0%
Bellville	78694	82 432	161 126	58.8%	54 101	54 272	108 373	39.5%	2 625	642	3 267	1.2%	651	615	1 266	0.5%	274 032	274 032	100.0%
Calitzdorp	2433	2 376	4 809	74.7%	727	817	1 544	24.0%	40	41	81	1.3%			0	0.0%	6 434	2 575	40.0%
Somerset West	7599	7 967	15 566	54.7%	4 537	4 849	9 386	33.0%	3 093	402	3 495	12.3%	13	14	27	0.1%	28 474	17 687	62.1%
Heidelberg	3590	3 771	7 361	73.1%	1 094	1 150	2 244	22.3%	280	185	465	4.6%			0	0.0%	10 070	3 677	36.5%
Hopefield	2281	2 399	4 680	65.9%	1 216	967	2 183	30.7%	235	8	243	3.4%			0	0.0%	7 106	3 040	42.8%
Strand	6259	6 664	12 923	47.1%	5 925	6 674	12 599	45.9%	1 703	135	1 838	6.7%	40	28	68	0.2%	27 428	26 167	95.4%
Hermanus	3240	3 325	6 565	52.6%	2 261	2 521	4 782	38.3%	858	261	1 119	9.0%	4		4	0.0%	12 470	10 332	82.9%
Vredenburg	5841	5 797	11 638	61.7%	2 573	2 302	4 875	25.9%	2 200	138	2 338	12.4%			0	0.0%	18 851	15 628	82.9%
Vredendal	6908	6 610	13 518	68.7%	2 751	2 576	5 327	27.1%	775	59	834	4.2%			0	0.0%	19 679	5 631	28.6%
TOTAL	601482	623 194	1 224 676	59.3%	309 322	321 515	630 837	30.6%	136 291	60 387	196 678	9.5%	5 998	5 528	11 526	0.6%	2 063 717	1 636 013	79.3%

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census, 1970. Report No. 02-05-08

Table No. 28
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1980

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				TOTAL	URBAN		
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%		No.	%	
The Cape	36351	41 096	77 447	36.5%	58 328	66 326	124 654	58.8%	5 208	2 173	7 381	3.5%	1 255	1 197	2 452	1.2%	211 934	211 803	99.9%	
Stellenbosch	18353	18 367	36 720	57.4%	11 197	11 544	22 741	35.5%	3 490	995	4 485	7.0%	39	42	81	0.1%	64 027	43 647	68.2%	
Swellendam	10115	9 715	19 830	71.7%	3 059	3 117	6 176	22.3%	1 226	439	1 665	6.0%	4	0	4	0.0%	27 675	12 484	45.1%	
Tulbagh	9317	9 233	18 550	79.3%	1 567	1 541	3 108	13.3%	1 493	232	1 725	7.4%	6	7	13	0.1%	23 396	7 759	33.2%	
George	20871	20 602	41 473	66.6%	8 655	8 949	17 604	28.3%	1 783	1 326	3 109	5.0%	25	28	53	0.1%	62 239	43 885	70.5%	
Clanwilliam	10024	9 979	20 003	78.4%	2 468	2 303	4 771	18.7%	648	89	737	2.9%	0	2	2	0.0%	25 513	10 388	40.7%	
Worcester	31400	31 057	62 457	61.8%	11 071	10 832	21 903	21.7%	10 404	6 223	16 627	16.4%	74	65	139	0.1%	101 126	62 943	62.2%	
Beaufort West	8949	9 260	18 209	64.1%	2 993	3 153	6 146	21.6%	2 087	1 958	4 045	14.2%	10	7	17	0.1%	28 417	22 057	77.6%	
Paarl	38413	36 184	74 597	65.9%	12 064	12 317	24 381	21.5%	9 689	4 416	14 105	12.5%	105	72	177	0.2%	113 260	72 594	64.1%	
Malmesbury	29741	28 559	58 300	75.3%	6 532	6 970	13 502	17.4%	5 341	213	5 554	7.2%	19	16	35	0.0%	77 391	44 198	57.1%	
Caledon	21385	20 190	41 575	70.2%	5 573	5 588	11 161	18.9%	6 103	300	6 403	10.8%	26	35	61	0.1%	59 200	21 807	36.8%	
Wynberg	205919	213 925	419 844	56.2%	71 026	75 484	146 510	19.6%	99 288	70 968	170 256	22.8%	5 642	5 224	10 866	1.5%	747 476	740 898	99.1%	
Piketberg	11575	11 011	22 586	73.1%	3 625	3 697	7 322	23.7%	829	148	977	3.2%	9	5	14	0.0%	30 899	13 477	43.6%	
Mossel Bay	11662	11 715	23 377	65.7%	4 185	4 369	8 554	24.0%	1 983	1 672	3 655	10.3%	3	6	9	0.0%	35 595	28 347	79.6%	
Simonstown	8266	8 235	16 501	36.6%	13 432	13 895	27 327	60.6%	703	373	1 076	2.4%	92	65	157	0.3%	45 061	41 447	92.0%	
Riversdale	6777	7 014	13 791	67.9%	3 008	3 041	6 049	29.8%	312	141	453	2.2%	3	6	9	0.0%	20 302	9 082	44.7%	
Oudtshoorn	20433	21 953	42 386	69.5%	8 582	6 833	15 415	25.3%	1 574	1 562	3 136	5.1%	3	4	7	0.0%	60 944	45 745	75.1%	
Bredasdorp	6108	6 047	12 155	72.9%	2 075	2 161	4 236	25.4%	232	50	282	1.7%	1	2	3	0.0%	16 676	8 944	53.6%	
Knysna	11483	11 240	22 723	62.4%	4 754	4 907	9 661	26.5%	2 169	1 844	4 013	11.0%	9	6	15	0.0%	36 412	21 443	58.9%	
Robertson	10420	10 127	20 547	72.4%	2 707	2 819	5 526	19.5%	1 488	812	2 300	8.1%	13	8	21	0.1%	28 394	13 396	47.2%	
Murraysburg	1701	1 779	3 480	72.1%	311	307	618	12.8%	350	380	730	15.1%	0	0	0	0.0%	4 828	2 303	47.7%	
Prince Albert	3682	3 645	7 327	81.9%	723	729	1 452	16.2%	141	21	162	1.8%	2	0	2	0.0%	8 943	3 698	41.4%	
Ladismith	4361	4 497	8 858	79.3%	925	991	1 916	17.2%	252	136	388	3.5%	4	4	8	0.1%	11 170	3 674	32.9%	
Ceres	14855	14 359	29 214	80.4%	2 371	2 439	4 810	13.2%	1 687	602	2 289	6.3%	3	2	5	0.0%	36 318	15 110	41.6%	
Uniondale	4153	4 253	8 406	82.4%	692	631	1 323	13.0%	267	192	459	4.5%	10	7	17	0.2%	10 205	3 046	29.8%	
Vanrhynsdorp	4149	4 464	8 613	75.6%	1 376	1 318	2 694	23.7%	67	10	77	0.7%	1	4	5	0.0%	11 389	6 686	58.7%	
Laingsburg	2600	2 652	5 252	77.1%	691	696	1 387	20.4%	107	61	168	2.5%	4	4	8	0.1%	6 815	3 291	48.3%	
Montagu	6227	6 265	12 492	67.3%	1 820	1 980	3 800	20.5%	1 147	1 126	2 273	12.2%	3	1	4	0.0%	18 569	12 018	64.7%	
Wellington	11254	11 123	22 377	75.1%	3 053	3 699	6 752	22.7%	441	180	621	2.1%	13	15	28	0.1%	29 778	20 885	70.1%	
Bellville	46429	50 348	96 777	45.6%	54 398	57 016	111 414	52.5%	2 437	907	3 344	1.6%	277	237	514	0.2%	212 049	199 761	94.2%	
Calitzdorp	2539	2 645	5 184	79.5%	566	634	1 200	18.4%	89	43	132	2.0%	3	2	5	0.1%	6 521	2 820	43.2%	
Somers West	12972	13 012	25 984	56.6%	8 010	8 451	16 461	35.9%	2 926	440	3 366	7.3%	29	32	61	0.1%	45 872	35 867	78.2%	
Heidelberg	3934	4 090	8 024	77.8%	965	979	1 944	18.8%	210	128	338	3.3%	4	3	7	0.1%	10 313	5 044	48.9%	
Hopefield	2428	2 476	4 904	67.6%	1 234	923	2 157	29.7%	166	22	188	2.6%	4	2	6	0.1%	7 255	4 138	57.0%	
Strand	6602	7 316	13 918	44.5%	7 235	8 266	15 501	49.6%	1 633	114	1 747	5.6%	52	47	99	0.3%	31 265	28 261	90.4%	
Hermanus	4110	4 053	8 163	55.1%	2 459	2 864	5 323	35.9%	1 076	249	1 325	8.9%	9	2	11	0.1%	14 822	12 759	86.1%	
Vredenburg	11039	10 547	21 586	65.8%	4 554	3 912	8 466	25.8%	2 640	82	2 722	8.3%	15	4	19	0.1%	32 793	31 647	96.5%	
Vredendal	8728	8 137	16 865	74.1%	2 678	2 759	5 437	23.9%	410	36	446	2.0%	2	4	6	0.0%	22 754	6 579	28.9%	
Kuils River	14894	14 996	29 890	59.9%	8 123	8 315	16 438	33.0%	2 777	668	3 445	6.9%	51	39	90	0.2%	49 863	44 352	88.9%	
Goodwood	81899	82414	164 313	71.9%	29 705	31 066	60 771	26.6%	355	470	825	0.4%	1 304	1 390	2 694	1.2%	228 603	228 604	100.0%	
TOTAL	776118	788 580	1 564 698	59.8%	368 823	387 788	756 611	28.9%	175 228	101 801	277 029	10.6%	9 128	8 596	17 724	0.7%	2 616 062	2 146 887	82.1%	

Source: Central Statistics. Population Census, 1980. Report No. 02-80-04

Table No. 29
Population of the Western Cape Province in 1991

Magisterial District	COLOURED				WHITE				BLACK				ASIAN				TOTAL		URBAN	
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	No.	%		
The Cape	26939	32 056	58 995	32.9%	53 107	57 635	110 742	61.7%	3 674	3 659	7 333	4.1%	1 255	1 212	2 467	1.4%	179 537	178 999	99.7%	
Stellenbosch	19330	19 979	39 309	53.2%	12 199	13 116	25 315	34.3%	5 894	3 197	9 091	12.3%	53	71	124	0.2%	73 839	53 886	73.0%	
Swellendam	12301	11 631	23 932	74.4%	3 239	3 438	6 677	20.8%	997	514	1 511	4.7%	16	11	27	0.1%	32 147	16 460	51.2%	
Tulbagh	10565	10 495	21 060	83.1%	1 465	1 500	2 965	11.7%	905	387	1 292	5.1%	9	8	17	0.1%	25 334	9 237	36.5%	
George	24583	24 758	49 341	51.6%	13 532	14 032	27 564	28.8%	10 493	8 113	18 606	19.5%	57	28	85	0.1%	95 596	77 120	80.7%	
Clanwilliam	11167	11 271	22 438	79.7%	2 448	2 508	4 956	17.6%	587	155	742	2.6%	3	4	7	0.0%	28 143	12 104	43.0%	
Worcester	39710	39 234	78 944	67.4%	10 745	10 869	21 614	18.4%	9 205	7 072	16 277	13.9%	150	174	324	0.3%	117 159	74 496	63.6%	
Beaufort West	10758	11 363	22 121	69.7%	2 544	2 748	5 292	16.7%	2 032	2 258	4 290	13.5%	20	4	24	0.1%	31 727	26 270	82.8%	
Paarl	45256	44 681	89 937	66.1%	11 801	12 318	24 119	17.1%	12 044	9 650	21 694	15.9%	199	172	371	0.3%	136 121	92 960	68.3%	
Malmesbury	45706	45 833	91 539	80.7%	8 006	7 984	15 990	14.1%	4 647	972	5 619	5.0%	198	104	302	0.3%	113 450	78 106	68.8%	
Caledon	28414	25 962	54 376	68.8%	6 087	6 379	12 466	15.8%	10 527	1 651	12 178	15.4%	20	14	34	0.0%	79 054	32 822	41.5%	
Wynberg	270073	287 220	557 293	50.6%	66 110	70 530	136 640	12.4%	206 500	182 419	388 919	35.3%	9 491	9 326	18 817	1.7%	1 101 669	1 086 101	98.6%	
Piketberg	13115	12 703	25 818	75.6%	3 590	3 787	7 377	21.6%	695	237	932	2.7%	15	8	23	0.1%	34 150	18 627	54.5%	
Mossel Bay	15261	14 043	29 304	49.5%	10 656	8 586	19 242	32.5%	7 642	2 755	10 397	17.6%	212	15	227	0.4%	59 170	49 234	83.2%	
Simonstown	12307	13 118	25 425	43.6%	14 678	15 538	30 216	51.8%	1 193	1 257	2 450	4.2%	133	97	230	0.4%	58 321	53 615	91.9%	
Riversdale	8621	8 768	17 389	69.5%	3 457	3 558	7 015	28.0%	413	183	596	2.4%	16	5	21	0.1%	25 021	14 298	57.1%	
Oudtshoorn	23553	26 097	49 650	72.9%	7 725	6 768	14 493	21.3%	2 029	1 881	3 910	5.7%	21	18	39	0.1%	68 092	54 999	80.8%	
Bredasdorp	7525	7 701	15 226	66.0%	3 431	3 480	6 911	30.0%	596	326	922	4.0%	7	9	16	0.1%	23 075	14 659	63.5%	
Krnsna	13196	13 635	26 831	53.2%	7 586	8 046	15 632	31.0%	4 374	3 530	7 904	15.7%	25	29	54	0.1%	50 421	33 492	66.4%	
Robertson	11936	11 809	23 745	73.4%	2 789	3 022	5 811	18.0%	1 588	1 158	2 746	8.5%	18	11	29	0.1%	32 331	16 494	51.0%	
Murraysburg	2167	2 376	4 543	76.2%	356	375	731	12.3%	391	292	683	11.5%	2	1	3	0.1%	5 960	3 871	64.9%	
Prince Albert	3513	3 747	7 260	84.8%	629	643	1 272	14.8%	21	10	31	0.4%	2	1	3	0.0%	8 566	5 283	61.7%	
Ladismith	5103	5 381	10 484	82.5%	934	1 031	1 965	15.5%	154	99	253	2.0%	1	1	2	0.0%	12 704	4 112	32.4%	
Ceres	17401	17 507	34 908	74.2%	2 629	2 743	5 372	11.4%	4 850	1 910	6 760	14.4%	8	5	13	0.0%	47 053	18 654	39.6%	
Uniondale	3944	4 042	7 986	85.4%	536	506	1 042	11.1%	193	129	322	3.4%	2	2	4	0.0%	9 354	2 786	29.8%	
Vanrhynsdorp	5153	4 880	10 033	78.3%	1 276	1 343	2 619	20.4%	121	35	156	1.2%	4	3	7	0.1%	12 815	8 060	62.9%	
Laingsburg	2198	2 402	4 600	79.6%	516	565	1 081	18.7%	48	44	92	1.6%	3	5	8	0.1%	5 781	3 121	54.0%	
Montagu	7386	7 636	15 022	69.3%	1 846	2 024	3 870	17.9%	1 335	1 431	2 766	12.8%	10	6	16	0.1%	21 674	15 114	69.7%	
Wellington	14139	14 682	28 821	77.0%	3 593	4 108	7 701	20.6%	542	290	832	2.2%	39	40	79	0.2%	37 433	26 594	71.0%	
Bellville	56166	62 757	118 923	44.0%	66 023	71 276	137 299	50.9%	7 148	5 451	12 599	4.7%	593	579	1 172	0.4%	269 993	243 960	90.4%	
Calitzdorp	2694	2 840	5 534	81.9%	555	623	1 178	17.4%	33	12	45	0.7%	0	1	1	0.0%	6 758	3 095	45.8%	
Somerset West	16156	16 841	32 997	55.0%	11 437	12 728	24 165	40.3%	1 648	1 049	2 697	4.5%	52	41	93	0.2%	59 952	51 562	86.0%	
Heidelberg	4351	4 607	8 958	77.8%	1 109	1 154	2 263	19.6%	174	113	287	2.5%	6	3	9	0.1%	11 517	6 106	53.0%	
Hopefield	2787	2 929	5 716	64.8%	1 570	1 309	2 879	32.6%	192	15	207	2.3%	13	7	20	0.2%	8 822	5 742	65.1%	
Strand	8409	9 257	17 666	44.1%	9 440	10 954	20 394	50.9%	1 318	572	1 890	4.7%	74	73	147	0.4%	40 097	38 928	97.1%	
Hermanus	4898	5 228	10 126	46.9%	4 308	4 817	9 125	42.2%	1 395	938	2 333	10.8%	15	10	25	0.1%	21 609	19 088	88.3%	
Vredenburg	13674	14 436	28 110	70.4%	5 247	4 485	9 732	24.4%	1 663	309	1 972	4.9%	56	39	95	0.2%	39 909	39 515	99.0%	
Vredendal	11405	11 048	22 453	77.5%	2 851	2 978	5 829	20.1%	565	100	665	2.3%	9	7	16	0.1%	28 963	11 762	40.6%	
Kuils River	49612	50 912	100 524	75.3%	13 487	13 498	26 985	20.2%	3 321	2 226	5 547	4.2%	265	256	521	0.4%	133 577	128 909	96.5%	
Goodwood	89273	97126	186 399	71.8%	33 428	35 202	68 630	26.4%	871	686	1 557	0.6%	1 475	1 560	3 035	1.2%	259 621	259 621	100.0%	
Mooreesburg	3929	3770	7 699	69.0%	1 577	1 600	3 177	28.5%	220	59	279	2.5%	4	1	5	0.0%	11 160	6 451	57.8%	
TOTAL	974674	1 016 761	1 991 435	58.3%	408 542	429 804	838 346	24.5%	312 238	247 144	559 382	16.4%	14 551	13 961	28 512	0.8%	3 417 675	2 896 313	84.7%	

Source: Central Statistical Service. Population Census, 1991. Report No. 03-01-03 (1991)

Table No. 30
Changes in the Black Population of the Western Cape, 1960 - 1991

Magisterial District	1960		1970		1980		1991	
	No	No	%	No	%	No	%	
The Cape	13013	6185	-52.0	7381	19.0	7333	-1.0	
Stellenbosch	6071	8026	32.0	4485	-44.0	9091	103.0	
Swellendam	1642	1861	13.0	1665	-11.0	1511	-9.0	
Tulbagh	2251	2839	26.0	1725	-39.0	1292	-25.0	
George	2893	3222	11.0	3109	-4.0	18606	498.0	
Clanwilliam	1146	865	-25.0	737	-15.0	742	1.0	
Worcester	11735	14370	22.0	16627	16.0	16277	-2.0	
Beaufort West	4618	3813	-17.0	4045	6.0	4290	6.0	
Paarl	8965	9885	10.0	14105	43.0	21694	54.0	
Malmesbury	3566	2998	-16.0	5554	85.0	5619	1.0	
Caledon	3251	4599	-12.0	6403	39.0	12178	90.0	
Wynberg	52622	98691	88.0	170256	73.0	388919	128.0	
Piketberg	1688	1057	-37.0	977	-8.0	932	-5.0	
Mossel Bay	2304	3349	45.0	3655	9.0	10397	184.0	
Simonstown	3704	684	-82.0	1075	57.0	2450	128.0	
Riversdale	893	789	-12.0	453	-43.0	596	32.0	
Oudtshoorn	2974	3072	3.0	3136	2.0	3910	25.0	
Bredasdorp	657	347	-47.0	282	-19.0	922	227.0	
Knysna	3216	4243	32.0	4013	-5.0	7904	97.0	
Robertson	1708	2304	35.0	2300	-0.2	2746	19.0	
Murraysburg	1000	1225	23.0	730	-40.0	683	-6.0	
Prince Albert	425	706	66.0	162	-77.0	31	-81.0	
Ladismith	659	629	-5.0	388	-38.0	253	-35.0	
Ceres	1232	1917	56.0	2289	19.0	6760	195.0	
Uniondale	2541	782	-69.0	459	-41.0	322	-30.0	
Vanrhynsdorp	2679	258	-90.0	77	-70.0	156	103.0	
Laingsburg	608	392	-36.0	168	-57.0	92	-45.0	
Montagu	1792	2072	16.0	2273	10.0	2766	22.0	
Wellington	1795	1818	1.0	621	-66.0	832	34.0	
Bellville	5861	3267	-44.0	3344	2.0	12599	277.0	
Calitzdorp	248	81	-67.0	132	63.0	45	-66.0	
Somerset West	4241	3495	-18.0	3366	-4.0	2697	-20.0	
Heidelberg	740	465	-37.0	338	-27.0	287	-15.0	
Hopefield	1134	243	-79.0	188	-23.0	207	10.0	
Strand	0	1838	0.0	1747	-5.0	1890	8.0	
Hermanus	0	1119	0.0	1325	18.0	2333	76.0	
Vredenburg	0	2338	0.0	2722	16.0	1972	-28.0	
Vredendal	0	775	0.0	446	-42.0	665	49.0	
Kuils River	0	0	0.0	3445	0.0	5547	61.0	
Goodwood	0	0	0.0	825	0.0	1557	89.0	
Moreesburg	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	279	0.0	

Table No. 31

Black Male :Female Ratios in the Western Cape Province, 1911 - 1991

Magisterial District	1911	1921	1936	1951	1960	1970	1980	1991
The Cape	3.1:1	4.0:1	2.9:1	1.9:1	1.6:1	2.6:1	2.4:1	1.0:1
Stellenbosch	4.0:1	8.3:1	2,0:1	4.8:1	4.7:1	5.7:1	3.5:1	1.8:1
Swellendam	3.6:1	2.3:1	1,4:1	2.9:1	1.8:1	2.6:1	2.8:1	1.9:1
Tulbagh	12.1:1	3.4:1	3.4:1	3.6:1	3.7:1	18.1:1	6.4:1	2.4:1
George	3.4:1	1.0:1	1.2:1	1.5:1	1.4:1	1.6:1	1.3:1	1.3:1
Clanwilliam	1.4:1	2.9:1	3.1:1	3.6:1	6.7:1	17.8	7.3:1	3.8:1
Worcester	6.0:1	3.3:1	2.3:1	1.9:1	1.4:1	1.6:1	1.7:1	1.3:1
Beaufort West	1.4:1	1.4:1	1.0:1	1.3:1	1.2:1	1.2:1	1.1:1	0.9:1
Paarl	2.7:1	3.2:1	1.9:1	2.9:1	3.5:1	3.1:1	2.2:1	1.2:1
Malmesbury	4.1:1	5.7:1	4.2:1	4.5:1	5.3:1	11.9:1	25.1:1	4.8:1
Caledon	1.8:1	4.8:1	2.5:1	4.5:1	4.6:1	18.7:1	20.3:1	6.4:1
Wynberg	3.8:1	4.2:1	2.1:1	2.1:1	1.8:1	1.9:1	1.4:1	1.1:1
Piketberg	9.0:1	4.9:1	33.0:1	34.2:1	4.5:1	4.7:1	5.6:1	2.9:1
Mossel Bay	1.8:1	2.0:1	1.8:1	2.0:1	1.3:1	1.4:1	1.2:1	0.9:1
Simonstown	2.4:1	3.9:1	2.5:1	2.1:1	1.4:1	1.8:1	1.9:1	0.9:1
Riversdale	2.4:1	1.5:1	1.6:1	2.2:1	1.8:1	1.9:1	2.2:1	2.3:1
Oudtshoorn	1.4:1	4.8:1	1,0:1	1.0:1	1.3:1	1.3:1	1.0:1	1.1:1
Bredasdorp	3.0:1	2.9:1	3.2:1	3.8:1	6.4:1	12.3:1	4.6:1	1.8:1
Knysna	1.1:1	1,2:1	1.1:1	2.0:1	1.6:1	1.3:1	1.2:1	1.2:1
Robertson	3.0:1	3.3:1	4.0:1	3.3:1	2.2:1	2.6:1	1.8:1	0.9:1
Murraysburg	1.2:1	1.1:1	1.2:1	1.3:1	1.3:1	1.1:1	0.9:1	1.3:1
Prince Albert	2.3:1	2.2:1	1.3:1	1.1:1	3.8:1	9.7:1	6.7:1	2.0:1
Ladismith	1.7:1	0.8:1	1.3:1	1.4:1	2.5:1	1.2:1	1.9:1	1.6:1
Ceres	53.8:1	1.9:1	1,9:1	2.0:1	2.6:1	6.0:1	2.8:1	2.5:1
Uniondale	1.1:1	1.1:1	1,2:1	1.1:1	1.3:1	1.7:1	1.4:1	1.5:1
Vanrhynsdorp	1.2:1	2.6:1	2.1:1	7.2:1	4.5:1	22.5:1	6.7:1	3.5:1
Laingsburg	3.4:1	1.6:1	3.0:1	2.3:1	2.0:1	1.7:1	1.8:1	1.1:1
Montagu	9.5:1	1.3:1	4.2:1	1.5:1	1.3:1	1.2:1	1,0:1	0.9:1
Wellington	0.0	0.0	2.6:1	3.6:1	1.9:1	2.5:1	2.5:1	1.9:1
Bellville	0	0.0	4.2:1	2.4:1	6.2:1	4.1:1	2.7:1	1.3:1
Calitzdorp	0	0.0	0.9:1	2.1:1	2.7:1	1.0:1	2.1:1	2.8:1
Somerset West	0	0.0	7.9:1	6.4:1	7.4:1	7.7:1	6.7:1	1.6:1
Heidelberg	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3:1	1.5:1	1.6:1	1.5:1
Hopefield	0	0.0	10.7:1	15.0:1	1.3:1	29.4:1	7.5:1	12.8:1
Strand	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.6:1	14.3:1	2.3:1
Hermanus	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3:1	4.3:1	1.5:1
Vredenburg	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.9:1	32.2:1	5.4:1
Vredendal	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.1:1	11.4:1	5.7:1
Kuils River	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2:1	1.5:1
Goodwood	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.08:1	1.3:1
Mooreesburg	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7:1
Total	2.5:1	2.9:1	2.3:1	2.2:1	2.1:1	2.3:1	1.7:1	1.3:1

Table No. 32
Changes in the Coloured Population of the Western Cape, 1960 - 1991

District	1960		1970		1980		1991	
	No		No	%	No	%	No	%
The Cape	123631		107548	-15.0%	77447	-28.0	58995	-24.0
Stellenbosch	29985		43398	45.0	36720	-15.0	39309	7.0
Swellendam	13005		16656	28.0	19830	19.0	23932	21.0
Tulbagh	10837		13953	29.0	18550	33.0	21060	14.0
George	21806		32818	50.0	41473	26.0	49341	19.0
Clanwilliam	14140		17131	21.0	20003	17.0	22438	12.0
Worcester	36593		50308	37.0	62457	24.0	78944	26.0
Beaufort West	13798		16458	19.0	18209	11.0	22121	21.0
Paarl	38995		53152	36.0	74597	40.0	89937	21.0
Malmesbury	28646		37716	32.0	58300	55.0	91539	57.0
Caledon	25965		32418	25.0	41575	28.0	54376	31.0
Wynberg	181024		326806	81.0	419844	28.0	557293	33.0
Piketberg	16917		20109	19.0	22586	12.0	25818	14.0
Mossel Bay	14606		19778	35.0	23377	18.0	29304	25.0
Simonstown	8974		10595	18.0	16501	56.0	25425	54.0
Riversdale	10772		14186	32.0	13791	-3.0	17389	26.0
Oudtshoorn	27768		33826	22.0	42386	25.0	49650	17.0
Bredasdorp	9320		11731	26.0	12155	3.6	15226	25.0
Knysna	14942		18850	26.0	22723	21.0	26831	18.0
Robertson	13487		17397	29.0	20547	18.0	23745	16.0
Murraysburg	3654		3975	9.0	3480	-12.0	4543	31.0
Prince Albert	4758		6841	44.0	7327	7.0	7260	-1.0
Ladismith	7689		8466	10.0	8858	5.0	10484	18.0
Ceres	16354		23625	44.0	29214	24.0	34908	19.0
Uniondale	12470		7662	-39.0	8406	10.0	7986	-5.0
Vanrhynsdorp	16500		8584	-50.0	8613	0.3	10033	16.0
Laingsburg	4168		4801	15.0	5252	9.0	4600	-12.0
Montagu	8449		10253	21.0	12492	22.0	15022	20.0
Wellington	12187		17449	43.0	22377	28.0	28821	29.0
Bellville	104252		161126	55.0	96777	-40.0	118923	23.0
Calitzdorp	4461		4809	8.0	5184	8.0	5534	7.0
Somerset West	17263		15566	-10.0	25984	67.0	32997	27.0
Heidelberg	5991		7361	23.0	8024	9.0	8958	12.0
Hopefield	5467		4680	-14.0	4904	5.0	5716	17.0
Strand	0		12923	0.0	13918	8.0	17666	27.0
Hermanus	0		6565	0.0	8163	24.0	10126	24.0
Vredenburg	0		11638	0.0	21586	85.0	28110	30.0
Vredendal	0		13518	0.0	16865	25.0	22453	33.0
Kuils River	0		0	0.0	29890	0.0	100524	236.0
Goodwood	0		0	0.0	164313	0.0	186399	13.0
Mooreesburg	0		0	0.0	0	0.0	7699	0.0

Table No. 33

Roads and Mountain Passes

Date	Name	Development
1822	Franschhoek Pass	Originally an elephant course, a rough and ready road was built by a contractor, S.J. Cats, in 1819. This was replaced at the instance of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, by Major William Holloway of the Royal Engineers using surplus Cape Town soldiers. It was begun in 1822 and opened in 1825; fell into disrepair after the opening of Sir Lowry's Pass, was closed in the 1920's, rebuilt during the depression as a public works to relieve poverty and upgraded in the 1950s.
1830	Sir Lowry's Pass	Originally a footpath called the Gantouw (Eland's Kloof) by the Chainoqua who used it and introduced Heinrich Lacus, of the VOC to it in 1664. In 1667 Sergeant Pieter Cruijthof used it to reach the lands of the Hessequa in the region of what would become Swellendam. In the same year corporal Hieronymus Cruse travelled this route to reach the lands of the Gouriqua where Mossel Bay is presently located. These expeditions led to the establishment of VOC livestock posts in the region of the Overberg. The first loan-farm was granted in the Bot River area in 1708. It was a very dangerous road but an important route being used by 4500 wagons yearly by 1821. The governor, Sir Lowry Cole, bid his chief engineer, Charles Michell, build a new road, using convict labour, opened in 1830 and named after the governor.
1831	Houhoek Pass	Originally built by Charles Michell to complement Sir Lowry's Pass, this road was improved by Andrew Geddes Bain in 1846
1845	Kaapse Wagen Weg	This wagon trail to the east over the sandy Cape Flats via the Hottentot's Holland mountains had been used by the earliest European explorers and later by the trekboere. The first hard road was completed by the British in 1845.
1848	Montagu Pass	A number of earlier passes – Attaquas Kloof, Duiwelskloof and Cradock's Kloof – provided rough and ready access to the Little Karoo over the Outeniqua mountains from the Southern Cape from the time of ensign Isaac Schriver in 1689 until 1844 when a road was started by Charles Michell between George and Oudtshoorn with the road being built by Henry Fancourt White with convict and some free labour.
1848	Michell's Pass	The first stock-farmers entered the area where Ceres is now located in 1727. The area was almost inaccessible until Jan Mostert found an arduous route through the Skurweberg. In 1846 Andrew Geddes Bain, instructed by Charles Michell, began the construction, with 200 convict labourers, of the road which was named after Michell and linked the warm bokkeveld with the cold.
1848	Gydo Pass	This road was built by Bain at the same time as Michell's Pass as a link between the area where Citrusdal now is and the area where Ceres would be established.

1853	Bain's Kloof	Andrew Geddes Bain discovered a gorge through the Limiet and Slanghoek mountains and was commissioned to build a more direct road than the more circuitous route in use between Wellington and Paarl.
1858	Piekenierskloof Pass	Built by Thomas Bain and initially called Grey's Pass in honour of the governor but rebuilt and renamed in 1950. It linked Piketberg with Clanwilliam.
1858	Meiringspoort	Completed in 1858 by Adam de Smit and washed away by flood waters from time to time. This road provided a vital link between the Great and Little Karoo and began as a bridle path in 1800.
1867	Prince Alfred's Pass	Planned by Andrew Geddes Bain to link Knysna with Oudtshoorn and Humansdorp. The road was completed by his son Thomas in 1868 and named after Queen Victoria's son who was visiting South Africa at the time.
1869	Robinson Pass	This road was built on a bridle path by Thomas Bain between 1867 and 1869 to link Mossel Bay with Oudtshoorn.
1873	Tradouw Pass	Tradouw to the Khoi meant the ravine of the women and it is along this trail that Thomas Bain built the road to link the Little Karoo with Swellendam starting in 1869 and completing in 1873.
1877	Garcia's Pass	To link Riversdale with the Little Karoo Thomas Bain built this road over the Goukou River Valley using convict labour between 1873 and 1877 and it was named in honour of the local civil commissioner.
1877	Cogman's Kloof	This passage was discovered by VOC soldiers in pursuit of a Khoe clan called the Koekemans in 1701 and the first farms were granted in 1725. A perilous route crossing the Kingma River was improved by Thomas Bain, after a flood in 1867 which swept twelve people away, between 1873 and 1877 thus providing easier access to Montagu.
1888	Swartberg Pass	This road to link Oudtshoorn with Prince Albert was begun by a contractor in 1881 and completed by Thomas Bain and John Fitz-Neville using convict labour in 1888.

Sources : Dennis Connolly, David Fleminger and Maxwell Leigh

Table No. 34
The Establishment of Magisterial Districts
For Census Purposes

Century	Magisterial District	Date	
17th	Cape	1652	1660: Van Riebeeck grants eight erven for free burghers to erect houses near the fort. 1714: Valentyn counts 254 private dwellings.
	Stellenbosch	1685	1679: Simon van der Stel settles free burghers on farms in the area. 1685 church and drostdy built and erven laid out
18th	Swellendam	1747	1745: A sub-drostdy established for the Overberg region. Drostdy built in 1747 and named after Hendrick Swellengrebel and his wife Helena ten Damme
19th	Tulbagh	1804	1699: Willem A. van der Stel visits the area and names it Het Land van Waveren after prominent relatives in Amsterdam and settles free burghers on farms. 1743: Van Imhoff visits and insists that a church be built to edify the burghers whom he deems a 'blind heathen community' and a village of Roodezandtskerk is laid out. 1804 Governor Janssens proclaims it a new district and renames it after a predecessor
	George	1811	1778: Begins as a small VOC forestry outpost. 1811: First landdrost, Adriaan van Kerwel names it after the reigning monarch. 1880: St. Mark's Cathedral gives it city status.
	Clanwilliam	1819	1808. Village laid out on Jan Dissel's river. 1814 a sub-drostdy is established and the governor renames it in honour of his father-in-law, the first Earl.
	Worcester	1819	1820: Village founded on the farms Roodewal and Langerug and named after his brother the earl by the governor. 1881: Schools for the deaf and dumb established by Dutch Reformed Church
	Beaufort West	1819	1817: Village established on commander Abraham de Klerk's farm Hooijvlakte. 1837 granted municipal status as the first municipality in South Africa.
	Paarl	1839	1687: First settlers arrive followed by the Huguenots a year later: 1690: Village laid out. 1880: Campaign for recognition of Afrikaans begun by the Du Toit brothers.
	Malmesbury	1839	1829. Hamlet called Swartlandskerk is developed on property purchased from the widow Van der Westhuizen, renamed by Sir Lowry Cole to honour his father-in-law the first Earl.
	Caledon	1839	1710: Ferdinand Appel granted the rights to the hot springs provided he makes accommodation available to visitors. 1813. Renamed after the governor. 1884: becomes a municipality
	Wynberg	1839	1795: British Military Camp established during the first British occupation of the Cape. 1902: Granted municipal status. 1927: Becomes part of Cape Town's municipality.
	Piketberg	1848	1835: Dutch Reformed Church established and village laid out.

	Mossel Bay	1848	1848: Town established and granted municipal status in 1852.
	Simonstown	1848	1742: Harbour is opened and small provision store built. 1776: Residency built. 1814: First Anglican Church in South Africa. Becomes a magistracy in 1848 and a census district in 1911.
	Riversdale	1848	1838: Village laid out. 1849: granted municipal status and named in honour of Sir Harry Rivers, the civil commissioner for Swellendam
	Oudtshoorn	1850-1865	1853: Village is laid out on Hartebees rivier 1863 proclaimed a town as Oudtshoorn
	Bredasdorp	1850-1865	1837: Dutch Reformed Church purchases the farm Lange Fontein and the first erven are sold in 1838, Town named after Michiel van Breda a prominent merino sheep farmer in the area and later first mayor of Cape Town. 1917: Granted municipal status.
	Knysna	1850-1865	1750: Early Dutch settlers arrive in an almost inaccessible area. 1804: George Rex purchases the estate of Melkhoutkraal 1857. Woodcutters living in the hamlets of Melville, Eastford and Newhaven on land purchased from Rex's estate. These hamlets merged to create the town of Knysna in 1882.
	Robertson	1850-1865	1853: Village laid out and named after the DRC pastor at Swellendam, the Scots Dr William Robertson.
	Murraysburg	1850-1865	1856: A village is established on the farm of J. Burger and named after the rev. Dr Andrew Murray. 1883: Granted municipal status.
	Prince Albert	1850-1865	1762: Samuel de Beer is granted the farm Kweekvallei in an area originally inhabited by the San. 1842: a Dutch Reform parish is formed. 1845 A village is laid out. 1901 Municipal status is granted.
	Ladismith	1865-1891	1852: A Dutch Reformed parish is formed. 1862: granted municipal status and named after the governor's wife.
20th	Ceres	1891-1904	1849: A year after Andrew Geddes Bain completed Michell's Pass Ceres was laid out on the banks of the Dwars River. 1854: Becomes a village. 1864: Granted municipal status.
	Uniondale	1891-1904	1856: Town so named after the amalgamation of the two villages of Hopedale and Lyon. 1881: Granted municipal status.
	Vanrhynsdorp	1891-1904	1661: Area explored by Pieter van Meerhof. 1881 town built on Troe-Troe river and granted municipal status in 1914.
	Laingsburg	1904-1911	1880: First erven laid out on the farm Vischuil on the Buffelsrivier. 1881: Becomes a village. 1904: Granted municipal status.
	Montagu	1904-1911	1725: First farms granted. 1851: Village is developed and named after John Montagu, Colonial Secretary at the Cape on part of Daniël van der Merwe's farm Uitvlugt. 1895: Granted municipal status.

	Wellington	1936	Originally known as Limiet Vallei because it was the VOC's frontier. The Huguenots called it Val du Charon which translated to Wagenmakers Vallei. 1840: A village is laid out and named after the Duke by the governor. 1874: Huguenot Seminary established as an institution of higher learning for women.
	Bellville	1936	18 th Century: Variousy called Hardekraaltjie, Durban Road and Twaalfdemylpaal. 1861: Named in honour of the surveyor-general, Charles Bell. 1979: Accorded City status.
	Calitzdorp	1936	1756. Phillip du Pré settles in the valley followed between 1756 and 1763 by six other settlers. 1800: Frederich Calitz acquires the farm Buffelsvlei. 1857: A church is built on plots from the farm. 1858. The first erven are sold. Municipal status is graded in 1913.
	Somerset West	1936	1700: A farm, Vergelegen, is granted to Governor A. van der Stel. 1819: Dutch Reformed Church built. 1822: Village is established and named after the governor.
	Hopefield	1936	1852: Established by Major Hope and Mr Field. 1951: Becomes a world famous site of pre-historic discoveries
	Heidelberg	1960	1855: Established as a church farm on the right bank of the Duivenhoks river.
	Strand	1970	1897: Granted municipal status
	Hermanus	1970	1857: Hamlet established. 1844: Proclaimed a municipality
	Vredenburg	1970	
	Vredendal	1970	1945: Established as a village.
	Kuils River	1980	18 th Century: A company cattle post, De Kuilen.
	Goodwood	1980	1905: Village established and named after the famous English racecourse in vain hope that it would become a major centre for horse racing.
	Mitchells Plain	1985	1973: Established as a coloured township. 1985: granted magisterial status. 1984: Khayelitsha established as a black township and incorporated in the M.D.
	Mooreesburg	1991	1879: Founded on the farm Hooikraal and named in honour of the pastor of the Swartland congregation, the rev. J.C le F Moorees.

- Sources: (1) Dennis Connolly, Maxwell Leigh and Eric Walker.
(2) Cape Colony Censuses, 1865, 1875, 1891, 1904.
(3) South African Censuses, 1911, 1921, 1936., 1946, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991.
(4) Heinie Heydenrych

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The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit

The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) conducts research directed at improving the well-being of South Africa's poor. It was established in 1975. Over the next two decades the unit's research played a central role in documenting the human costs of apartheid. Key projects from this period included the Farm Labour Conference (1976), the Economics of Health Care Conference (1978), and the Second Carnegie Enquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa (1983-86). At the urging of the African National Congress, from 1992-1994 SALDRU and the World Bank coordinated the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD). This project provide baseline data for the implementation of post-apartheid socio-economic policies through South Africa's first non-racial national sample survey.

In the post-apartheid period, SALDRU has continued to gather data and conduct research directed at informing and assessing anti-poverty policy. In line with its historical contribution, SALDRU's researchers continue to conduct research detailing changing patterns of well-being in South Africa and assessing the impact of government policy on the poor. Current research work falls into the following research themes: post-apartheid poverty; employment and migration dynamics; family support structures in an era of rapid social change; public works and public infrastructure programmes, financial strategies of the poor; common property resources and the poor. Key survey projects include the Langeberg Integrated Family Survey (1999), the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (2000), the ongoing Cape Area Panel Study (2001-) and the Financial Diaries Project.

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