

THE ANATOMY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN GENOCIDE

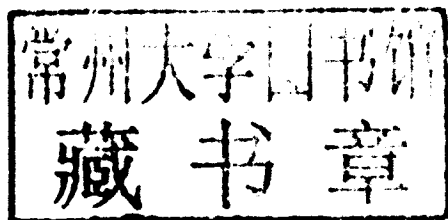
The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples



MOHAMED ADHIKARI

THE ANATOMY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN GENOCIDE

The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples



MOHAMED ADHIKARI

Ohio University Press
Athens

Ohio University Press
The Ridges
Athens, Ohio 45701
ohioswallow.com
All rights reserved

First published 2010 by UCT Press
an imprint of Juta and Company Ltd
First Floor, Sunclare Building
21 Dreyer Street, Claremont, 7708
Cape Town, South Africa
©2010 UCT Press

First published in North America 2011 by Ohio University Press

To obtain permission to quote, reprint, or otherwise reproduce or distribute material from Ohio University Press publications, please contact our rights and permissions department at (740) 593-1154 or (740) 593-4536 (fax).

Printed in the United States of America
Ohio University Press books are printed on acid-free paper ©™

20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 5 4 3 2 1

The author and the publisher have made every effort to obtain permission for and to acknowledge the use of copyright material. Should any infringement of copyright have occurred, please contact the publisher, and every effort will be made to rectify omissions or errors in the event of a reprint or new edition.

Front cover illustration: A tracing of a rock painting in the Drakensberg depicting a Boer commando attacking a group of San stock raiders. *Credit:* From *People of the Eland: Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg Bushmen as a Reflection of Their Life and Thought*, by Patricia Vinnicombe (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976), p. 25.

Back cover illustration: A detail from a tracing of a rock painting in the Wittebergen in the Eastern Cape. *Credit:* Iziko South African Museum and Pippa Skotnes

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Adhikari, Mohamed.

The anatomy of a South African genocide : the extermination of the Cape San peoples / Mohamed Adhikari.
p. cm.

"First published 2010 by UCT Press, an imprint of Juta and Company Ltd. [...] South Africa."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8214-1987-8 (pb : alk. paper)

1. Genocide—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. 2. San (African people)—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. 3. San (African people)—Violence against—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. I. Title.

DT1768.S36A35 2011

304.6'63089961—dc23

2011027223

For Rafiq and Zaheer

And in memory of the anonymous San woman whose preserved skin formed the centrepiece of a private zoological collection and was put on auction along with animal pelts in Hamburg in July 1840; Koerikei, the San leader, who shouted at trekboers from a clifftop, while out of range of their guns, to leave the land or face the wrath of his people; and the elderly San shaman, !Huin T Kuiten, who passed on the protocols of rain-making to a younger man despite being mortally wounded by a Boer commando.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	9
Chronology	10
Definitions of genocide	12
Introduction: Settler colonialism and San society	17
Chapter 1: Colonial expansion through the eighteenth century	28
Chapter 2: The dynamic of conflict on the frontier under Dutch rule	36
Chapter 3: Attrition under British colonial rule	60
Chapter 4: A case of genocide?	78
Conclusion: Xaa-ttin's lament	94
Guide to further reading	97
Sources cited	99
Index	113

The Anatomy of a South African Genocide

THE ANATOMY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN GENOCIDE

The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples

MOHAMED ADHIKARI

Ohio University Press
Athens

Ohio University Press
The Ridges
Athens, Ohio 45701
ohioswallow.com
All rights reserved

First published 2010 by UCT Press
an imprint of Juta and Company Ltd
First Floor, Sunclare Building
21 Dreyer Street, Claremont, 7708
Cape Town, South Africa
©2010 UCT Press

First published in North America 2011 by Ohio University Press

To obtain permission to quote, reprint, or otherwise reproduce or distribute material from Ohio University Press publications, please contact our rights and permissions department at (740) 593-1154 or (740) 593-4536 (fax).

Printed in the United States of America
Ohio University Press books are printed on acid-free paper ☼™

20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 5 4 3 2 1

The author and the publisher have made every effort to obtain permission for and to acknowledge the use of copyright material. Should any infringement of copyright have occurred, please contact the publisher, and every effort will be made to rectify omissions or errors in the event of a reprint or new edition.

Front cover illustration: A tracing of a rock painting in the Drakensberg depicting a Boer commando attacking a group of San stock raiders. *Credit:* From *People of the Eland: Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg Bushmen as a Reflection of Their Life and Thought*, by Patricia Vinnicombe (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1976), p. 25.

Back cover illustration: A detail from a tracing of a rock painting in the Wittebergen in the Eastern Cape. *Credit:* Iziko South African Museum and Pippa Skotnes

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Adhikari, Mohamed.

The anatomy of a South African genocide : the extermination of the Cape San peoples / Mohamed Adhikari.
p. cm.

"First published 2010 by UCT Press, an imprint of Juta and Company Ltd. [...] South Africa."

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8214-1987-8 (pb : alk. paper)

1. Genocide—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. 2. San (African people)—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. 3. San (African people)—Violence against—South Africa—Cape of Good Hope—History. I. Title.

DT1768.S36A35 2011

304.6'63089961—dc23

2011027223

For Rafiq and Zaheer

And in memory of the anonymous San woman whose preserved skin formed the centrepiece of a private zoological collection and was put on auction along with animal pelts in Hamburg in July 1840; Koerikei, the San leader, who shouted at trekboers from a clifftop, while out of range of their guns, to leave the land or face the wrath of his people; and the elderly San shaman, !Huin T Kuiten, who passed on the protocols of rain-making to a younger man despite being mortally wounded by a Boer commando.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	9
Chronology	10
Definitions of genocide	12
Introduction: Settler colonialism and San society	17
Chapter 1: Colonial expansion through the eighteenth century	28
Chapter 2: The dynamic of conflict on the frontier under Dutch rule	36
Chapter 3: Attrition under British colonial rule	60
Chapter 4: A case of genocide?	78
Conclusion: Xaa-ttin's lament	94
Guide to further reading	97
Sources cited	99
Index	113

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Mathias Guenther, Robert Hitchcock and Nigel Penn, reviewers appointed by the publishers, for many helpful suggestions that have resulted in significant improvements to the manuscript. I am also grateful to Jared McDonald and Ed Cavanagh for their enthusiastic support and detailed commentary on an earlier draft of the book. Their numerous keen insights have helped sharpen the analysis presented here. Many thanks to Kjell Lindt for some useful perspectives unknowingly provided during our discussions and for sharing his e-library with me. Long-standing friends Juliette Milner-Thornton, Les and Hazel Switzer and Harry Valentine provided cordial hospitality and companionship when work related to this manuscript took me abroad. I am deeply appreciative of their warm-hearted welcome and for generously opening their homes to me. A number of librarians, particularly at the University of Cape Town's African Studies Library, have been extremely helpful. I would specifically like to acknowledge the assistance of Sandy Shell, Tanya Barben, Sue Ogterop and Allegra Louw. Special thanks are due to the UCT Press team that collaborated with me on this project; to Sandy Shepherd for her unfailing good humour, consummate proficiency and for finding creative solutions to the obstacles facing the publication of this volume; to Sharon Hendrickse for her singular blend of congeniality, grace and dexterity on the job; and to Alfred LeMaitre for his first-rate editing of the manuscript.

Junior faithfully stood by me throughout the time this book was written. At one point he got a little hot under the collar, at another he was running cold, but depend on him I could! As always, this book is dedicated to my sons Rafiq and Zaheer, whose love and warmth make my life a joy. In their inimitable ways, they have constantly managed to remind me of what really matters.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1652 DEIC established a refreshment station at Table Bay
- 1676 First official commando formed; against the Cochoqua Khoikhoi of the western Cape
- 1699 Ban on livestock trade lifted; many Khoikhoi dispossessed; ban reimposed in 1725
- 1700 Occupation of Tulbagh basin; opening of the pastoral frontier
- 1710s Trekboers entered the Cederberg and Olifants River valley regions
- 1714 Loan farm system introduced; dispersed population into isolated groups across the landscape
- 1715 First official all-burgher commando
- 1720s Farmers started moving into the Bokkeveld region
- 1739 Subjugation of Bokkeveld Khoisan; commando duty made compulsory
- 1740s Trekboers reach escarpment of Roggeveld and Nieuweveld mountains
- 1770s Sneeuberg and Camdeboo districts settled
- 1770s Great increase in San resistance; halting of frontier advance; crisis for trekboer society
- 1770s–1798 Open warfare against San on the northern and northeastern frontiers
- 1772 Roggeveld rebellion stoked both Khoisan and trekboer anxiety
- 1774 General commando of 250 militiamen; 503 San killed and 239 taken captive
- 1775 *Inboekseling* system legalised; had existed informally before this
- 1777 DEIC sanctioned indiscriminate killing of San; a 'genocidal moment'
- 1792 Bounty placed on San captured by official commandos
- 1795–1803 First British occupation of the Cape to pre-empt French control

- 1798 Governor Macartney's reforms; livestock gifts, chiefs, missions, Bushmanland reserve
- 1799 Arrival of missionaries from the London Missionary Society; missions to San at Blydevooruitzicht Fontein (1799–1800); moved to Sak River (1800–06); Toornberg (1814–17); Hephzibah (1816–17); Ramah (1816–18); Konah (1816–18); Philippolis (1823–26); Caledon River (1828–33); Bushman Station (1839–46)
- 1803–06 Batavian rule; Macartney's reforms compromised
- 1806 Start of Second British occupation of the Cape; Macartney's reforms largely ignored
- 1809 Caledon Code tied Khoikhoi workers to employers through labour contracts
- 1824 Border of Cape Colony extended to the Orange River in the northeast
- 1828 Publication of John Philip's *Researches in South Africa*; Ordinance 50 passed
- late 1820s– Intensified Griqua attacks on San in Griqualand West
- 1830s region
- 1847 Colonial border pushed to the Orange River in the north
- 1850s Sheep farming and copper mining put pressure on Bushmanland San
- 1861 Anthing heard of San massacres; moved to Kenhardt to investigate
- 1863 Anthing report tabled in parliament; disregarded by Cape government
- 1868–69 First Korana war along the Orange River; San participation
- 1870s Bleek and Lloyd started compiling linguistic and ethnographic record on /Xam
- 1878–79 Second Korana war along the Orange River; San participation

DEFINITIONS OF GENOCIDE

Definition of Genocide Used in this Book

Genocide is the intentional^a physical destruction^b of a social group^c in its entirety, or the intentional annihilation of such a significant part^d of the group that it is no longer able to reproduce itself biologically or culturally, nor sustain an independent economic existence.^e

- a. Genocide cannot happen accidentally. Its execution is deliberate to the extent that there needs to be intent either to eradicate the social group in question or to cripple its social life permanently. The intent need not be explicitly declared and can take the form of an exterminatory attitude, as, for example, within a settler community towards indigenes, or may be inferred from the actions of perpetrators. Opposition to the killing from within the perpetrators' society, such as the church or even the government, does not invalidate such intent. It is sufficient only that the perpetrators exhibit genocidal intent. Genocidal intent does not have to be present at the start of the violence as objectives can change during the course of an atrocity. Once the consequences of socially destructive actions—which can include conquest, land expropriation, massacre, forced labour, forced migration, the destruction of environmental resources, confiscation of food, the spread of disease and child removal—are recognised as possibly leading to extinction, to persist in these actions is to display genocidal intent. It does not matter whether these acts are perpetrated in an unplanned, incremental fashion or as part of a concerted campaign. If perpetrators could reasonably be expected to foresee the genocidal consequences of their actions, the criterion of intent is fulfilled. Intent is therefore not equivalent to motive and does not require premeditation. The perpetrator does not have to be a state, a representative, or part, of a state.
- b. For an atrocity to count as genocide there needs to be mass violence or actions that will lead, in the foreseeable future, to death on a scale large enough to debilitate the social life of the group in question.