

Rural Revolution - Wheat, Wool and Politics in the Overberg

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Caledon

Within the South Western Cape fold mountain region, stretching from the Houw Hoek Mountains in the west to the Duiwenhoks River in the east, is an area of gently rolling country known as the Overberg. Flanking the area on the north are the Langeberg and Riviersonderend Mountains while to the south is the Indian Ocean with a coastline remarkably devoid of natural harbours and hostile to shipping. No mountain barrier defines the eastern limits of the Overberg, but the increasing semi-aridity of the landscape beyond the Duiwenhoks River maps the dividing line between one geographic area and another. The Breede River finds its way into the Overberg between the Langeberg and the Riviersonderend Mountains, and this riverine lowland provides an outlet from the area into the sparsely settled Little Karoo. Access to the Little Karoo in the east was thus not particularly difficult, but it was not here where the main markets of the eighteenth and nineteenth century lay. Mountains divided the Overberg from the Cape Town market and the absence of safe natural harbours seriously restricted any shipping trade. The geographic isolation of the Overberg played a significant role in the early economy of the area.

Today the districts of Swellendam, Caledon and Bredasdorp present a picture of agricultural stability with their landscapes of grainlands, either brown, green or gold as the season dictates. Only the encircling mountains and isolated kloofs and valleys, too steep for the plough, bear evidence of a former vegetation of grass and fynbos.¹ With little land left uncultivated, it is difficult to envisage the area in the nineteenth century before the railway line to Cape Town made grain farming a viable venture. Travellers spoke variously of the area being "burnt up", "naked and rugged", "bleak", "barren" and "treeless".² The scene was alleviated only here and there with scattered wheat fields.³

The completion of the railway line over Sir Lowry's Pass in 1902 linked the Overberg to Cape Town with subsequent rapid expansion of wheat farming in the area. Throughout the nineteenth century, Overberg wheat had failed to compete favourably with the larger grain growing areas to the north of Cape Town. The Swartland had many advantages over the *ruggens* of the Overberg. The terrain was more level, the sandy soils more easily cultivated than the Bokkeveld shales and access to the Cape Town market was not hampered by two tortuous mountain passes. The boost which the opening of Port Beaufort at the mouth of the Breede River provided for wheat farming in the Overberg was both limited and brief. Intrepid entrepreneurs such as Joseph Barry were few and the frequent loss of ships on the south-eastern coast deterred even the stout of heart.⁴

By 1845, the majority of farmers in the Overberg were planting less than 40 morgen of wheat.⁵ The 1865 census

showed that only a very inconsiderable amount of the total area was under cultivation - for the Caledon district it was 2,92%, for Bredasdorp 1,03% and for Swellendam 1,84%.⁶ The annual average rate of increase in wheat production for the three districts between 1838 and 1872 was a mere 1,2%. The increase in wheat production actually declined after 1865, with the annual average increase for the decade 1865 to 1875 being only 0,6%.⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, the greater part of the Overberg was producing a very much more impressive 224 000 muids. In 1894/1895 the Malmesbury district alone produced 173 059 muids.⁸

Had their livelihood depended upon wheat, economic prospects for Overberg farmers in the nineteenth century would have been slim. The decreasing size of farms, primarily due to large families and the Dutch system of inheritance, was, by 1838, making it increasingly difficult for agriculturists to subsist on the extensive cattle and sheep herding of their forefathers. Intensive wheat cultivation with its minimal returns was an unattractive alternative. By 1846, there were farms in the Caledon area of only 167 morgen in extent.⁹ This was a great deal less than the original 3 000 morgen of the loan farms, which even by the end of the nineteenth century was considered the minimum for the maintenance of a family in most parts of the Colony.¹⁰ Although the average size of farms for the Overberg by 1863 was still 2 448 morgen,¹¹ many farms had more than one proprietor. An official return of the farms in the Caledon and Bredasdorp districts shows that of 331 quitrent grants registered between 1814 and 1848, only 129 had a single proprietor. The average number of its owners per farm was 2,4 while 37 had five or more proprietors.¹² There is regular reference in the land reports, particularly in the most easterly areas of the Swellendam district, to the scantiness of the pasture and the inability of the land to support the stock of large families.¹³ Farms had become sub-divided into ridiculously small units. From a half to an eighth share of a farm was common, while 24th shares and 48th shares were not unknown.¹⁴

There is little doubt that the impoverishment of younger members of families was the main reason why a large number of families left the Swellendam district during the trek "era". Between 1828 and 1843, 359 adult males, almost all with large families and little or no stock, left the Swellendam district. A large number gave their destinations as Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, all collecting points of trekkers who were leaving the Colony.¹⁵ More than one third of the colonists who left the Swellendam district at this time did so in the years 1837, 1838 and 1839 when conflict between trekkers and the Zulus, with the subsequent defeat of Dingane, offered prospects of land in Natal.¹⁶



Merinos grazing at Zoetendals Valle, first home of the breed in the Overberg. (Fotos by courtesy of John Warner)

Fortunately for the Overberg, and indeed for the whole Colony, a new source of income for agriculturists was making itself felt by 1838. By this date it had become evident beyond reasonable doubt that wool farming was an extremely profitable venture. Without the fairly rapid conversion of the hairy indigenous sheep to wool-bearing Merino crosses, a great deal more farmers would have become impoverished and many more would have been obliged to seek a living elsewhere.

Merinos had first arrived in the Colony in 1789 when the *Hollandsche Maatchappij tot nut van het Algemeen* had sent out a number of Merinos for trials at the government farm, Groenkloof, near the present town of Darling. Commander of the Cape forces, Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon, had taken charge of the breeding programme, and although he was asked to return the original stock to Holland, he kept the progeny that had been born in the Colony. The Van Reenen brothers, prominent stock breeders who farmed near Groenkloof, obtained a number of Gordon's rams and began crossbreeding with selected Cape ewes on a fairly large scale. By 1804, one of the brothers, Jan Gysbert, had 2 700 crossbreeds and in that year sold 4 000 lbs of wool.¹⁷ Two years later, the Merino crosses had reached the Overberg and were being bred by Johannes Tesselaar of Agter Swartberg,¹⁸ the landdrost of Swellendam, A. Faure on his farm Rotterdam, and by J. Dupré.¹⁹ The Dupré family farmed along the Kromrivier in the vicinity of the present Heidelberg and is referred to by the traveller H. Lichtenstein during his travels between 1803 and 1806.²⁰ The distribution of Merino rams throughout the Colony in the early years of Merino breeding was largely due to the efforts of the *Kommissie vir Veeteelt en Landbou* under the aegis of Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld during the Batavian regime (1803-1806).²¹ When the British occupied the Cape for a second time, there were about 11 000 Merinos and Merino crosses in the Colony.²²

Merino breeding in the Overberg began in earnest in 1812 when J.F. Reitz, a son-in-law of Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, bought the farm Zoetendals Valley near Cape Agulhas. He bought the best ewes that he could find in the Colony and imported some of his own rams. Within three years

he had a strong flock with highly serviceable wool. Owing to ill-health, he offered his first business partner, Michiel van Breda, a share in the farming venture in 1816 which was taken up in the following year. Van Breda took a lively interest in the venture with the result that breeding went ahead by leaps and bounds.²³

Despite the successes at crossbreeding, the early protagonists of the Merino were disappointed at the slow rate of change to the wool-bearing sheep among the colonists and even by 1834, F.W. Reitz, son of the director of Zoetendals Valley, felt that insufficient progress had been made.²⁴ But the profits to be had from the export of wool had become clearly evident by the mid-thirties. Figures suggest that it was between about 1830 and 1840 that a significant swing to the breeding of wool sheep occurred. In 1829 there were a mere 7 577 Merinos in the Overberg; by 1833 there were 30 480 and by 1841 the number stood at 187 603.²⁵ A large number of sheep designated Merino were probably cross-breeds, but they were nevertheless producing sufficient wool to deserve this term.

Export figures for wool also show the rapid change from the Cape sheep to the Merino in the decade of the thirties:²⁶

Wool Exports from Cape Colony

	Weight, pounds	Value, pounds sterling
1832	6 789	3 356
1836	256 629	18 116
1837	351 824	22 164
1838	490 754	26 627

An observer in the Overberg claimed in 1839 that by that date all farmers were wise enough to prefer the wool-bearing sheep.²⁷ By that year the number of indigenous sheep had declined considerably and was less than half that of wool-bearing sheep. It took time for a farmer to convert his indigenous sheep to wool-bearers. Jan Gysbert van Reenen had shown by the start of the nineteenth century that fifth generation crossbred progeny could produce three pounds of wool annually.²⁸ This was much less than the eight pounds produced by a pure Spanish Merino, but with the large number of indigenous sheep in the Colony, the only road to improvement was systematic selection and crossing. Most Overberg farmers were leading a semi-subsistence existence before the arrival of the Merino and lacked the capital to invest in large numbers of good quality rams. The conversion to Merinos could not occur overnight.



Michiel van Breda, partner of John Frederick Reitz

In 1840 the *South African Commercial Advertiser* claimed that it was between 1832 and 1838 that the fine-woolled sheep had shown its suitability for the colony and that it was proving an inducement to capitalists to come to the Cape, something which wine and wheat had failed to do.²⁹ The correspondence of Benjamin Moodie, the aristocratic Scottish settler who executed an immigration scheme to the Swellendam district in 1817, shows that 1835 was considered to be the time to purchase if one "seriously contemplated" going into sheep farming which was likely to be "so good a thing".³⁰ The new prospects in the formerly poor Colony, had, by 1838, produced a "rage for speculation" which amounted to a "mania".³¹

The lack of unsettled land in the Overberg provided little opportunity for capitalists to secure farms in this area although it was believed in 1843 that the wool business had been "considerably augmented" in the Western Province by the accession of "several Indian capitalists".³²

Among these were the ex-Indian civil service official, Thomas Butterworth Bayley who by 1831 owned Elzieskloof and Hartebeestekraal (renamed The Oaks). With his progressive methods and imports of quality stock, Bayley did much to promote agriculture in the Overberg. Retired Indian Army officers were also among the first to appreciate the potential of sheep farming in the Overberg. By 1831 Captain John Rainier owned the VOC's old outpost, Ziekenhuis (renamed Nethercourt) as well as Droogekloof, and Major William Shaw owned Diepe Gat, Tryntjiesrivier and Hartebeestekraal in the Hemel-en-Aarde valley which was also the home of the Colony's first leper colony. By 1833 Colonel William Holmes Dutton was the owner of Roedebloemskraal (renamed Drayton).³³ The number of newcomers was limited, however, and between 1814 and 1848, only twelve immigrant farmers obtained land in the Caledon/Bredasdorp district.³⁴ But with the exception of the flocks of Zoetendals Valley (Reitz, Breda and Joubert) and of Van der Byl and Company, it was clearly the flocks of these nabobs that earned fame for the Overberg wools on the London market. The *South African Agricultural News and Farmer's Journal* noted in 1850 that the principal flocks of an established character which provided the fine wools on the London market were those of Bayley, Dutton, Stanford, Shaw and Rainier as well as those of Reitz, Breda and Joubert and Van der Byl and Company.³⁵

Two different farm journals kept in the Bredasdorp district show that the income to be had from wool was little short of phenomenal, particularly when compared with the meagre returns from wheat. Wheat usually sold on the Cape Town market for between £9 and £12 per wagon load, although as much as £26 could be obtained when harvests were poor.³⁶ However, in 1833, a Caledon farmer, 80 miles from Cape Town, obtained a mere £3 for



The homestead at Zoetendals Vallei, Bredasdorp district.

a load.³⁷ Wheat prices did not change much between c. 1838 and 1875 and were generally in the region of 15s per muid. The very much greater profit to be had from wool is indicated in the Zoetendals Valley farm journals, kept throughout the nineteenth century from 1817. Calculations from figures entered for 1865 show that if wool was fetching a nominal average price of 1s per pound, one wagon load of wool delivered in Cape Town was worth £201 10s.³⁸ Further calculations show that the price obtained for a load of wool at low average price was 673% greater than that obtained for a load of wheat when the latter was at ceiling prices. Figures in the journal of the young J.J. du Toit, also in the Bredasdorp district, reveal that the average farmer with about 1 000 sheep producing 2 pounds of wool each could expect an annual income from wool of from £100 to £180. Du Toit's wheat crop ranged from 19 to 31 muids annually and was worth a lot less than wool at between about £15 and £25.³⁹ These figures leave little doubt of the profitability of wool for farmers who had formerly had indifferent and unremunerative markets for their products of wheat and mutton. In contrast to the demand for wheat, the demand for colonial wool appeared to be insatiable as the following figures indicate:⁴⁰

Wool Exports from Cape Colony

	(pounds weight)
1820	13 869
1830	33 407
1840	751 741
1850	5 912 927
1860	23 219 689
1870	37 283 291

Quantifiable aspects of the silent revolution wrought by the swing to Merinos can be found in the records of the firm Barry and Nephews of Swellendam, whose humble beginnings in 1834 blossomed into a commercial enterprise with agencies throughout the Overberg. Joseph Barry, a British immigrant of 1817, exhibited an adventurous spirit of entrepreneurial bravado in opening a trading venture at the dangerous Port Beaufort in 1823 in an area that showed little agricultural potential. His sequestration in 1827 was an indication of the risky nature of a commercial undertaking in a rural area with no readily marketable product. The benefits of wool export were still only being enjoyed by the progressive few and until greater numbers of farmers could be drawn into an awakening commercial system, agents were likely to experience meagre returns. Barry had, nevertheless, laid a valuable basis for trade and after he and his two

nephews had pooled their capital in 1834, the business made rapid strides.⁴¹ The phenomenal growth of their business, which was directly related to the export of wool from the Overberg, is illustrated in Figure 1.

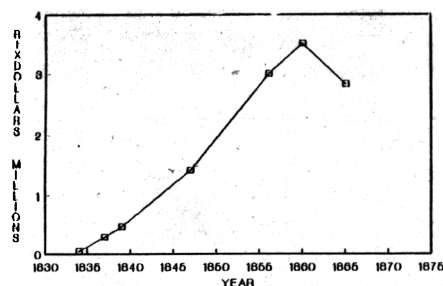


Fig. 1: Assets in rixdollars of the firm Barry and Nephews

Figure 1

The increase in their assets follows an almost identical pattern to the increase in wool exports for the Colony for the same period, illustrated in Figure 2.

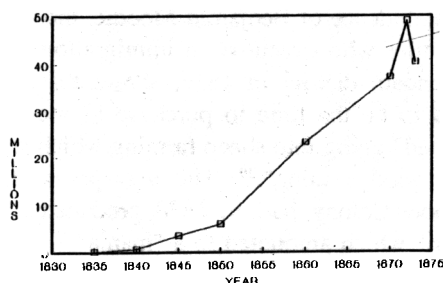
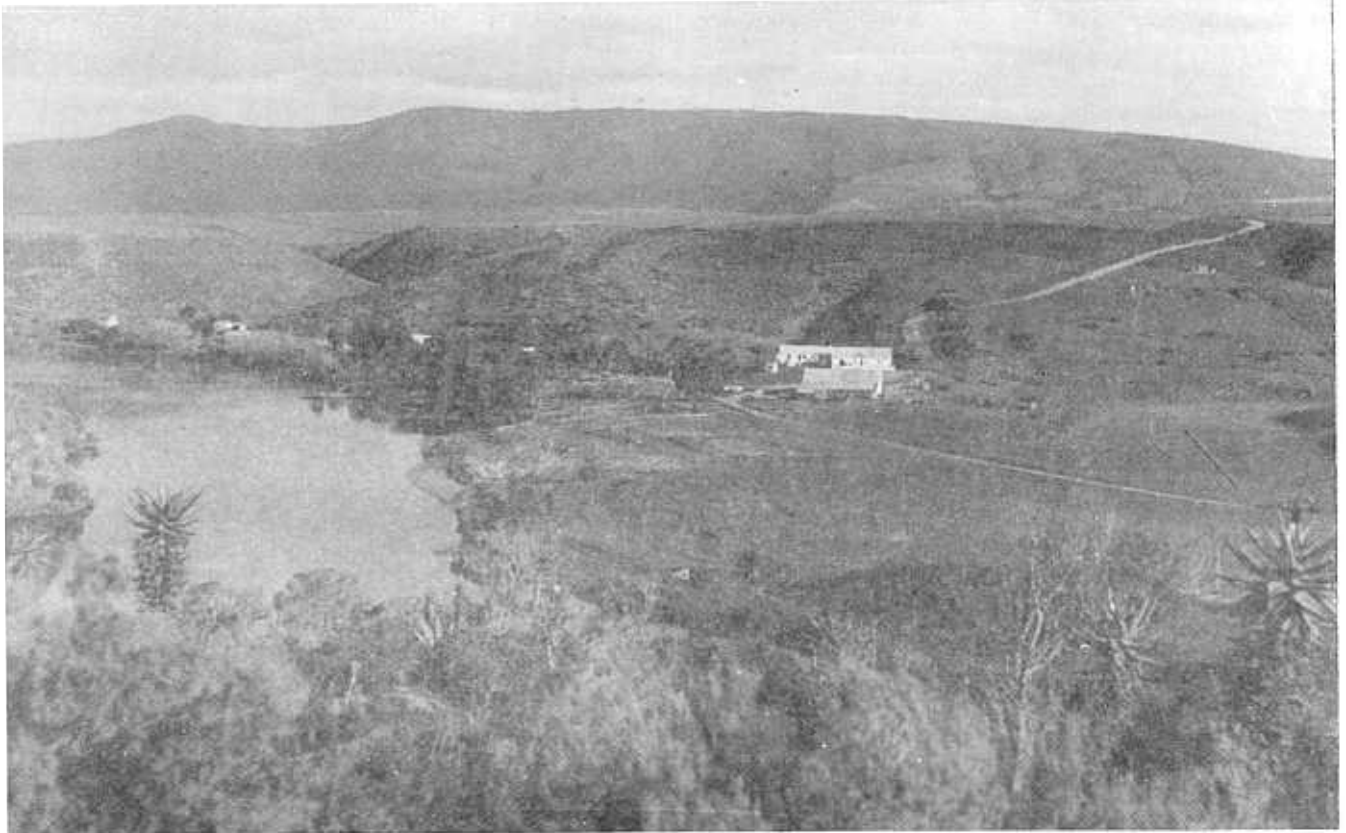


Fig. 2: Colonial wool exports in pounds sterling

Figure 2

The growing production and export of wool increased the ability of the Colony to finance imports. The *Commercial Advertiser* reported a distinct livening of trade between 1835 and 1838, indicated in the doubling in dues collected by the Cape Town customs Department.⁴² The revenue from customs was considered a good test of the temporal condition of the population for it indicated the amount of "luxury" foreign articles that were entering the country - articles such as textiles, clothing, agricultural implements, furniture, books, tea, sugar and coffee. The chief import between 1850 and 1870 was manufactured articles, mainly textiles for the consumer market.⁴³ High priorities on the list of imports through Port Beaufort, the main entrance and exit of the Barry empire, were hardware, earthenware, fabrics (particularly linen), shoes, boots, furniture and beer. There was a considerable increase in the customs dues at Port Beaufort between 1844 and 1867.⁴⁴

Consumerization among the rural population increased rapidly. Goods that had formerly been luxuries, because of their lack of availability, became everyday commodities. The array of goods kept by the local storekeeper grew wider, in particular the variety of textiles. Country women no longer had to be satisfied with the calico brought by the smous, but could select muslins, velvets, ribbons and braids at their nearest village. Parasols, pearl buttons, veils, hair nets and eau de Cologne were readily accessible.⁴⁵ There was a great demand for shoes



Malgas, the river port on the Breede River which facilitated the export of wool through Port Beaufort.

manufactured in Great Britain. In 1848 the Cape Town press announced the arrival of 200 000 pairs of boots and shoes of the "latest London fashion".⁴⁶ The new modes filtered to the rural Overberg which by 1864 had passed the "age of veldschoens" and had entered that of "patent tipped" shoes.⁴⁷

A fairly anomalous situation existed in the Overberg in that while the area was producing a Merino clip of considerable commercial value, none of its towns developed into bustling centres of trade. This can be attributed to the fact that all the raw material produced in the Overberg left the area and did not provide scope for secondary industries. Furthermore, the Overberg with only one small, dangerous coastal outlet at Port Beaufort, did not have a large hinterland. The bulk of the Colony's wool was exported either through Cape Town or Port Elizabeth. Thus the Overberg did not draw a great deal of trade from outside the area and its towns remained little more than service centres for the immediate farming community. The non-commercial character of the Overberg was in a large measure due to an overwhelmingly Dutch agricultural population which lacked the "feverishness of the modern money-maker".⁴⁸ The wealth which wool sales undoubtedly brought to the area did not reveal itself in ostentation. Isolated on their farms, where all their material needs were provided, the values and aesthetic standards of Overbergers continued to centre around "the number and beauty of their herds and flocks".⁴⁹ In the late fifties, the height of the wool boom, Swellendam was considered to be a "respectable and

wealthy community"⁵⁰ yet a traveller through the district saw "very limited signs of wealth and comfort".⁵¹ Farm homes in the *ruggens* by the end of the century were still "uninteresting" clay buildings with thatched roofs and they were seldom whitewashed.⁵²

Although the wealth and stability of the area may not have been readily observable, there is little question that the Overberg, and particularly the Caledon district, were less affected than many other areas in the Colony by the serious world-wide financial slump and the critical drought of the sixties. Credit appears to have been handled with a great deal more caution in the Overberg than in the Eastern Cape. The hesitation with which the Overberg farmer entered into the ramifications of a commercial world are reflected in the caution with which the banking concept was approached. The Caledon district, in particular, was very tardy in supporting a financial institution. If it had not been for the confidence fostered by the entrepreneurial Joseph Barry and his nephews, Swellendam too may have avoided the entanglement of credit that resulted in the "*groot bankrotskap*" of 1866.⁵³ By 1861 the Caledon and Swellendam banks together only had capital of £29 000 while three Eastern Cape banks - Graaff-Reinet, Cradock Union and Somerset East - had a total capital of £100 000.⁵⁴ It was reported in 1863 that the Caledon farmers were only then beginning to appreciate the advantage of a banking establishment.⁵⁵ The rapid economic growth of the Colony between 1840 and circa 1860 had led to the establishment of numerous local banks - by 1862 there were seventeen.⁵⁶ The high rates of interest to be had in the Colony drew the attention of

British investors who formed four large banks between 1860 and 1890 to exploit the opportunities offered in the Colony. The first two to have an impact were the London and South Africa Bank and the Standard Bank.⁵⁷ When country-wide depression set in during the mid-sixties, the Imperial banks came in for a great deal of criticism for fostering a spirit of speculation.⁵⁸ Many of the local banks succumbed during the trying years of the sixties, but the stability of the Overberg is revealed in the ability of the Swellendam and Caledon banks to withstand the depression. In 1865 and 1866 the Swellendam Bank paid a dividend of 6%, despite having had to rebuild the bank after the great fire of 1865.⁵⁹ Not until 1877, well after the Colony had entered the recovery phase following the discovery of diamonds, did the Swellendam Bank agree to amalgamation with Standard.⁶⁰ The Caledon Bank also survived the economic plunge with only trivial losses and not until March 1878 did it accept overtures of amalgamation from Standard Bank.⁶¹

The ability of the Overberg agriculturists to counter one of the severest combinations of drought and depression ever experienced in the Colony is attributable to a variety of factors. The area was spared the excessive speculation that occurred in the Eastern Cape partly because there was no unsettled land to encourage reckless buying and selling. Credit was approached with caution. Furthermore, by the mid-sixties the majority of Overberg farmers were producing a fine-quality wool that continued to command a remunerative price on the London market. The large quantities of inferior wool that continued to be produced in the Eastern Cape became oversubscribed. In 1863 Caledon farmers continued to receive about 1s 5d per pound while Eastern Cape farmers were averaging only 7d.⁶² In the Eastern Cape there was an imbalance between capital investment and production. An excess of merchant capital led to overcompetition among wool dealers who were forced to purchase wool indiscriminately and at absurdly high prices. This encouraged the production of inferior, ill got-up wools.⁶³ Improved methods in wool farming were clearly well advanced in the Overberg by the mid-sixties where there was a more realistic balance between invested capital and production.

Between *circa* 1838 and 1859 the Overberg was transformed from an agricultural area of general poverty into one of stability and even wealth. A silent revolution had occurred in which farmers left the semi-subsistence existence of their forbears and entered a world of commercial farming. Although the mineral and industrial

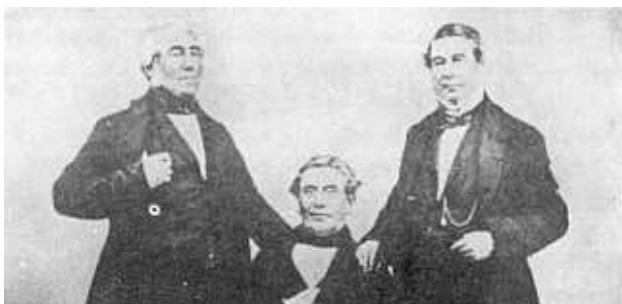
"revolutions" of the late nineteenth hundreds created a greater stir and produced even greater repercussions, the agricultural revolution that had its roots in the Overberg was no less significant in the lives of a large number of agriculturists whose rural milieu became irreversibly transformed.

Perhaps the most significant transformation produced by increased prosperity was a growing awareness in politics. Political energies are believed to be proportionate to economic prospects.⁶⁴ While wheat had been the main product of the area, a fickle, inaccessible market and poor rewards did little to encourage economic and political activity. Political inactivity undoubtedly also had much to do with the autocratic systems of government to which the colonists had been subjected. Denied the right of full democratic expression until the granting of representative institutions in 1854, Overbergers responded slowly to the political duties of a democratic electorate.

The anti-convict agitation of 1849 had undoubtedly aroused political ire in the Overberg,⁶⁵ but this was sustained only as long as the landing of convicts remained an issue. At the first elections of 1854, the Caledon white electorate showed little appreciation of the necessity of electing representatives with agricultural and "Dutch" interests at heart. The enfranchisement of the coloureds left the door wide open for carpet-bagging tactics and the Caledon constituency (which included Bredasdorp) found itself represented in the first parliament by the Cape Town lawyer, Charles Aiken Fairbridge⁶⁶ and Brian Henry Darnell whose only qualification for representing a rural area appears to have been an interest in the conservation of the natural resources of the country.⁶⁷

The coloured voters in the Caledon Division, most of whom resided at Genadendal, numbered about 300 out of a total of 1 200.⁶⁸ Canvassing coloured votes which made up 25% of the electorate was bound to ensure election, owing to the lack of interest from white voters. After the elections in 1859, when J.S. Silberbauer was elected for Caledon, it was claimed that he had not obtained one white man's vote in the whole district.⁶⁹

The first two elections in the Colony in 1854 and 1859 took place under auspicious economic conditions. The decade of the fifties saw the unequalled prosperity of the wool boom, and Overberg farmers, with an apparent limitless demand from the London market for their fine Merino wool, took little interest in the election of suitable representatives. They had no need to - they felt secure in their land of milk and honey. It was the economic hardship which began for the Colony at the start of the sixties with prolonged drought and worldwide depression, which wrought profound change on the political thinking of Overberg agriculturists. Between 1862 and 1869 the governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, in his desire to boost colonial revenue, made several unsuccessful attempts to introduce a tax on wool, meeting with fierce opposition from farmers throughout the Colony.⁷⁰ The necessity of electing representatives that would "levy taxes and make



The Barry's of Barry and Nephews - (L.to R.: Thomas, Joseph and John).

laws" for the farmers was becoming increasingly apparent.⁷¹

There was a fairly dramatic swing in the political energies of the Overberg, and particularly of Caledon, in the late sixties. In 1869, J.C. Silberbauer, who had received 500 votes in the previous elections, had fallen in popularity, receiving only 270. White agriculturists were realizing the political aspirants who depended primarily on votes from the mission stations were not the best candidates to represent their interests in parliament. The nominations for 1869 showed a decided rallying from the Dutch-speaking electorate. W.H. van Breda and A. van der Byl were the successful candidates with 627 and 571 votes respectively.⁷² The total number of votes cast in the 1869 election was 1 860, i.e. 654 (or 54,2%) more than in the previous election.⁷³

Although increased political interest in the Colony is often attributed to the unpopular annexationist policy of the British in the interior of South Africa, the annexations had little direct bearing on the lives of Overberg farmers. Men react more rapidly to matters that affect their material well-being than to ideologies. It is perhaps no extravagant claim that the increased prosperity of the Overberg which was due almost entirely to the clip of the Merino, fostered political awareness in the area. Herman Giliomee has recently drawn attention to the material, economic base of a growing Afrikaner awareness among the wine and wheat

farmers of the Stellenbosch, Paarl and Malmesbury districts from about 1870. The nationalist movement which was to gain momentum in the twentieth century was built on "an Afrikaner consciousness which had been forged by the material concerns of commercial farmers ..."⁷⁴

There were no major political issues which directly affected Overbergers between 1838 and 1872. Their farms were not threatened by attacks from Xhosas and an absence of major problems limited their interest in the secessionist propaganda which preoccupied the Eastern Cape. The area was stable in every sense of the word. Dissatisfied people become concerned about politics and policies, not a people complacent in their own security and well-being. The commercial nexus which the wool trade produced changed the situation. It created a sensitive spot which could be affected by adverse conditions over which Overbergers had no control, unless they became politically active. Once Overbergers had tasted the luxuries and comforts that the income from wool afforded, they were loath to see their income affected by inimical agricultural policies. Economic considerations were responsible for the early growth of political awareness in the Overberg and not a sense of ethnic exclusivity. Heightened political awareness had developed from an appreciation of the importance of a government that was sympathetic to its material interests.

Endnotes

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