Controlling Life and Death at the Frontier: A Biopolitical Examination of Dutch Colonial Rule in the Cape Colony (1649-1679)

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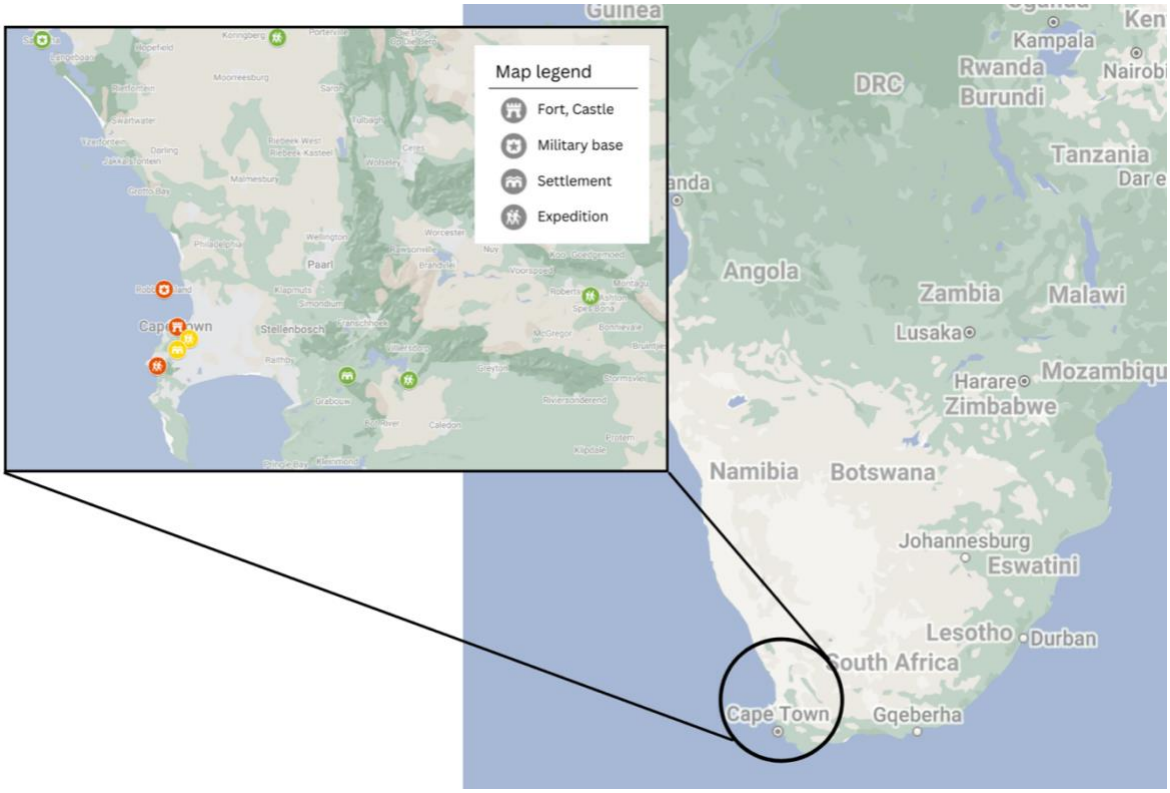
Figure 1

A heat map that illustrates the gradual expansion of the VOC at the Cape Colony.



Note: Each colour represents the time frames discussed in this thesis (chronologically: red, yellow, green). The interactive map can be accessed through this link.

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Abstract

This thesis aims to supplement the historical understanding of the VOC's colonisation of the Cape with a biopolitical analysis of the treatment of Indigenous peoples in this process. Four biopolitical strategies of domination are used for the analysis: elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation. These strategies are observed for three time frames between 1649 and 1679, using archival sources. Archival sources are valuable for interpreting Dutch discourse around the treatment of Indigenous peoples. The findings show that settler colonialism in the Cape Colony was a contradictory but deliberate process in which kindness and elimination, and exclusion and selective inclusion coalesced in an attempt to control the Indigenous population in a way that aids the core purpose of the colonial regime: economic interests. Ultimately, this study contributes to the theoretical debates on settler colonialism, the understanding of colonisation at the Cape of Good Hope, and provides avenues for addressing continuing colonial practices.

Keywords: settler colonialism, biopolitics, elimination, exploitation, exclusion, assimilation, Cape Colony, VOC, kindness, selective inclusion, archival research

List of abbreviations

VOC = Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

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Controlling Life and Death at the Frontier: A Biopolitical Examination of Dutch Colonial Rule in the Cape Colony (1649-1679)

1. Introduction

Claiming independence from Spain in 1648, the Dutch United Provinces strengthened their position in the world order by challenging the Spanish as well as other European powers militarily and economically both at home and overseas (Fatah-Black, 2015, p.17). This position allowed the Netherlands to expand its global trading activities. Hoping to find prosperity, the *Dutch East India Company* (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) set out to benefit economically from resource-rich foreign lands in the mid-seventeenth century (Guelke, 1976, p.27; Marks, 1972, p.63). Using their military and economic dominance, the VOC went on to occupy extensive regions of the globe as part of their colonial projects. Some of these regions remained trading ports, while others were permanently settled by Dutch colonists.

Consequently, the Dutch occupied the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. Initially, the Cape Colony was intended as a strategically located refreshment station but expanded its geographical coverage and settlement of farmers in 1657 (Guelke, 1976, p.27; Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.805). Establishing multiple farms run by 'vrijburgers' (land-owning free burghers) at the foot of Table Mountain, the VOC gradually occupied native lands and brought slaves from other parts of the African continent to the settler colony (Guelke, 1976, p.27; Jansen, 2003, p.71; Paasman, 2003, p.59). These *volksplantingen* (settlement of non-Indigenous people) at the Cape Colony constituted a case of settler colonialism, in which the colonial project became one in which people settled with the intent to stay and reproduce their home society (Adhikari, 2020, p.144; Wolfe, 2006, p.388). This process was accompanied by encounters between colonists and Indigenous peoples that resulted in complex, competitive and incidentally violent

dynamics.[1] Throughout colonisation, VOC officials and Dutch settlers considered the native communities of the Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan as potential trading partners. Some native peoples who proved willing to trade with the Company were used as interpreters, mediators and negotiators to advance these trade relations and shape social interactions (Marks, 1972, p.61-62; Paasman, 2003, p.63). However, as the Indigenous peoples were increasingly dispossessed of their traditional lands, their subsequent resistance was met with colonial violence and coercion by the European settlers.

So, the Dutch colonial power deemed it necessary to exercise complete control over the Indigenous population in order to protect their colonisation endeavours and their settler communities. The intent to exert physical, social, cultural and economic control over Indigenous peoples constitutes a *biopolitical approach*. The concept 'biopolitics' was coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault, who used the concept for various ideas and sometimes interchangeably with the term 'biopower' (Muller, 2011, p.7; Lemke, 2011, p.34). Several scholars have studied Foucault, attempting to formalise this loosely defined concept. Lemke (2011) claims that biopower "fosters life or disallows it to the point of death" (p.36), and Muller (2011) describes it as the "management of a population" (p.7). Relating the concept to settler colonialism, Morgensen (2011, p.53) defines biopower as the regulation of native peoples, Indigenous land and political, cultural and economic processes. The concept 'biopolitics' will be used as an analytical lens in this study. By shedding light on the ways in which power is exerted over life and populations in settler colonial contexts, the theory of biopolitics represents a useful tool for analysing modes of domination. For the purpose of this thesis, I understand biopolitics as the variety of strategies that are aimed at controlling and

[1] The word 'Indigenous' is capitalised throughout this thesis to acknowledge that the native inhabitants constituted nations before they were subjected to colonies and subsequent Western nation-states.

directing a population by dictating its livelihood, encompassing physical, political, cultural and economic dimensions.

Four biopolitical strategies of domination are identified in the scholarship: elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation. The scholarship on settler colonialism predominantly focuses on *eliminatory* and *exploitative* strategies, neglecting alternative biopolitical strategies (Adhikari, 2020, p.144; Englert, 2020, p.1648; Veracini, 2015, p.27; Wolfe, 2006, p.388). Adhikari (2020, p.150) even states that ethnic cleansing is intrinsic to settler colonialism. Similarly, the literature regarding the colonisation of the Cape highlights the eliminatory strategies from a historical and historiographic perspective. Marks (1972), Guelke and Shell (1992) and Adhikari (2010) emphasise how the native peoples were dispossessed of their traditional lands until wars of resistance broke out, providing the Dutch colonists with an opportunity to use eliminatory techniques. Alternative strategies of domination identified in the literature relate to *exclusion* (Lloyd, 2012) and *assimilation* (Short, 2010; Pillay, 2021). This scholarship is specific to different case studies. However, these biopolitical strategies will be added to the framework to analyse power relations in settler colonialism. While the Cape Colony case studies touch upon exclusion and assimilation as means to control the Indigenous peoples, none of the research represents a comprehensive analysis that incorporates elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation through a concrete theoretical analysis. Due to the historical approach, the studies are generally focused on the reconstruction of the colonisation process, and the theoretical perspective on the involved strategies used against the native inhabitants is neglected. As such, the literature portrays an incomplete picture of the process of colonisation and fails to capture the spectrum of impacts these biopolitical strategies had on the Indigenous peoples.

Therefore, this thesis will address the following research question: *"How can settler colonialism by the Dutch VOC in the Cape Colony (1649-1679) be understood through the*

biopolitical strategies of domination used to control the Indigenous population?" As such, this research will fill the historiographic and theoretical gap by using a conflict studies perspective that considers an array of biopolitical strategies of domination. The academic relevance of this thesis relates to the enrichment of the analytical framework that includes the four strategies, which provides the opportunity to comprehensively analyse the dynamics *underlying* biopolitical strategies in settler colonies. This can be useful for future research that studies different (settler) colonial contexts from a biopolitical lens. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the case study by providing insights into the VOC's biopolitical strategies and colonisation of the Cape. Focusing on the Dutch VOC will help settler colonial research to move beyond the typical settler colonies that exist on the North American continent as well as in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Instead, research can be related to alternative forms of settler colonialism, such as the plantation and mixed colonies, that occur(red) more frequently. These settler colonial types will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Consequently, a more complete theoretical understanding of Dutch colonisation at the Cape can be developed, which sheds light on the ways in which past (and continuing) grievances were inflicted. The social value of this thesis lies in its investigation of the historical and theoretical context regarding the treatment and land dispossession of the Indigenous Khoikhoi, San and Khoisan people in the Cape Colony. The Amazon headquarters planned to be built on culturally sacred Indigenous land in 2021, and subsequent Indigenous resistance exemplifies the continued dispossession and exclusion from spatial planning decisions of the native inhabitants (Bartlett, 2023). A biopolitical approach to this issue could highlight how colonial projects continue in contemporary South Africa and inform efforts to raise awareness regarding the continued impact of dispossession practices and subsequent socio-economic disadvantages. Ultimately, this could contribute to land restitution efforts and social justice.

The remainder of this thesis will provide a historiography, followed by a theoretical framework that discusses the definition and forms of (settler) colonialism and the biopolitical strategies of domination employed against the Cape's Indigenous peoples. Then, the methodology describes how the research is conducted through a discourse analysis, using archival sources and how these sources have been selected and analysed to identify biopolitical strategies in the Dutch colonisation of the Cape of Good Hope. Subsequently, the fourth chapter features the findings regarding the biopolitical strategies used in the Cape Colony. In the conclusion, the research question will be answered, and the implications of these findings for the analytical framework and real-world context will be interpreted.

2. Historiography

The Fort of Good Hope was established in 1952 under Commander Jan van Riebeeck (1619-1677) after three years of planning (Guelke, 1976, p.27). During the first years, the Dutch sought to develop friendly relations with the Indigenous peoples. The native communities of the San, Khoikhoi, and Khoisan were initially perceived as potential trading partners, which involved pressuring them to trade their cattle with the VOC. Initially, the natives welcomed the economic relations with the Dutch, although reluctant to trade their good cattle, on which their social status depended (Marks, 1972, p.60). Still, the trade missions were aided by native individuals who assisted as interpreters, mediators and negotiators (Jansen, 2003; Marks, 1972, p.61-62; Paasman, 2003, p.63). From 1657 onwards, the VOC permitted the settlement of "vrijburgers" (free burghers) at the foot of the Table Mountain, which initiated their participation in trade (Guelke, 1976, p.27). These economic interests are seen as the driving force for continued expansion from the refreshment station to vrijburger settlements and beyond (Adhikari, 2010, p.20; Guelke, 1976, p.39; Marks, 1972, p.67). Moreover, it was argued that the frontier was perceived as an attractive place for vrijburgers to relocate to due to the economic wealth associated with it.

Such economic benefits also further *enabled* colonial expansion, with the intention to obtain exclusion possession of land and water resources (Adhikari, 2010, p.20; Guelke, 1976). "The general situation at the Cape is best conceived in terms of competition among the free population for its resources" (Guelke, 1976, p.42). This competition for resources became evident as the native inhabitants became increasingly uneasy with the destructive character of vrijburgers' agricultural activities (Guelke, 1976, p.27). As the San (hunter-gatherers) and Khoikhoi (pastoralists) were migrating peoples, the native lands were crucial to their

Indigenous livelihoods.[2] The Dutch classified these communities respectively as "bojesemans" and "hottentotten" based on their lifestyles. For instance, the former lived off the land close to forests, while the latter usually possessed cattle. Similarly, the "Caepmans" was a term introduced by van Riebeeck, who had noticed they did not venture away from the Cape.

However, these traditional ways of living were compromised by the European occupation of traditional lands since the mid-seventeenth century (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.804-805; Kieskamp, 2003, p.85). Especially when the vrijburgers expanded further inland, Khoisan social systems and livelihoods were targeted and destroyed (Marks, 1972, p.68). This dispossession resulted in restricted access for Indigenous peoples to resources such as water and grazing lands (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.805). Consequently, the competition over scarce resources at the increasingly colonised Cape resulted in the dispossession of Indigenous communities and ultimately led to their gradual eradication (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.823).

Their dispossession also triggered the resistance of the Indigenous population. As Barbara Rogers (1980, p.5) stated: "From the very beginning of colonial settlement and occupation of the area, Africans resisted the colonists' encroachment on their land". The resistance was led by natives who had engaged most with the Dutch because they had learned about the weaknesses of the Dutch defence from within (Marks, 1972; Paasman, 2003). Using guerrilla tactics, they raided the settlements, stole cattle and provisions, and attacked vrijburgers (Marks, 1972, p.63-67). This led to the First Khoi War of 1659-1660 under Commander van Riebeeck and the Second Khoi War of 1673-1679 started by Governor Goske

[2] These identity boundaries were relatively fluid, often depending one's way of life. As such, someone with cattle often lived as a Khoikhoi, and someone without cattle as a San. Whenever someone's possession of cattle changed, they would change identity group as well. See Marks (1972) p.57 and p.70 for further details on these identity groups. An interpretation can also be found in Appendix A, to clarify the various names used for native tribes by the VOC authorities in the Cape Colony.

(~1626-1691), and sporadic raids by Khoi as well as San throughout the colonial period. The motivations for this resistance included the unfair practices in the cattle trade, as well as the dispossession of land (Marks, 1972, p.61). While the Khoi wars are often portrayed as futile attempts of resistance, they resulted in company servants and vrijburgers attempting to flee the war on passing ships (Marks, 1972, p.64). Still, due to the Dutch political and military strength, the resistance was easily subordinated and scared off (Adhikari, 2010, p.25, Guelke, 1976, p.30; Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.806-808; Marks, 1972, p.59). In conclusion, throughout the colonisation process, trade with natives and control over natural resources was pursued, while resistance and disobedience were often suppressed through military power and coercion by the European settlers.

3. Theoretical Framework

To investigate biopolitical strategies of domination it is essential to understand in which context these strategies are employed. These strategies can be observed in situations of colonialism and settler colonialism. Scholars of settler colonial studies strongly advocate for differentiating between colonialism and settler colonialism. Veracini (2015, p.16, 26) suggests that settler colonialism represents a valuable categorisation that allows for the analysis of two different relationships. These relationships refer to the way Indigenous peoples were treated in colonial and settler colonial contexts. Various authors, like Wolfe (2006), Veracini (2015) and Adhikari (2020) argue that the distinction between these types of colonialism can be perceived most clearly in the specific *biopolitical strategies* used against natives. They suggest that elimination is inherent to settler colonialism while exploitation is dominant in colonialism. On the other hand, Englert (2020) and Speed (2017) reject these artificial divisions, arguing that there is much more overlap between colonial regimes and the strategies employed within them. Yet other authors examined exclusion and assimilation within settler colonies (Lloyd, 2012; Pillay, 2021). This section explores the discussions on distinguishing colonialism from settler colonialism, the respective biopolitical strategies and Indigenous agency as response to colonial strategies.

Colonialism and settler colonialism

Colonialism is described as a process of *occupation* that is initiated and controlled by the metropole (Veracini, 2015, p.28). The exogenous force slowly develops a position of dominance over the territory and its inhabitants (p.18). Veracini (2015) argues that the colonial power develops like this to sustain its trade imperium and/or cultural dominance, including the religious beliefs forced upon the natives. Especially “highly organised” (p.17) and “complex Indigenous” (p.17) communities have been subjected to colonialism in this form. Additionally,

it is argued that colonists have always been aware of the temporary character of the colony, although unsure when the decolonisation process would begin (Veracini, 2015, p.20-21).

Settler colonialism is the act of "settl[ing] another place without really moving" (Veracini, 2010, p.98). In this colonial form, people "come to stay" (Wolfe, 2006, p.388) and "reproduce[e] their home societies" (Adhikari, 2020, p.144). While Veracini (2015, p.18, 22) states that colonialism occurs slowly, he argues settler colonialism is caused by an exogenous power that quickly claims and settles the land. Moreover, it is a process that is run by individual settlers rather than guided by the metropole. Hence, settlers seeks to develop a culture and society that differentiates them from the motherland, which becomes the foundation for claiming Indigenous identity (Veracini, 2015, p.18, 23; Wolfe, 2006, p.384). Memmi (2003) notes how settler colonialism is legitimated through the idea of civilising and improving the colonised people and their territory. Wolfe (2006) defines the concept as follows: "settler colonialism is an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment [...]" (p.392).

In an all-encompassing comparison of colonial empires before 1815, D.K. Fieldhouse (1967) distinguishes three types of settler colonies: the pure, plantation and mixed form. The *pure settler colony* is described as "sub-colonisation" by individuals affiliated with the state or company that was present in the colonised territory. These individuals further expanded the colony from their own initiative and consequently developed "lawless communities" (Fieldhouse, 1967, p.202-203). Most of today's English-speaking states previously colonised by the British represent pure settler colonies (Englert, 2020, p.1652). *Plantation colonies* were strongly characterised by trade monopolies and small numbers of settlers (Fieldhouse, 1967, p.28; Zijlstra, 2013, p.150). On the American continents, these colonial projects incorporated plantations and slavery (Fieldhouse, 1967, p.28, 29, 35). Self-evidently, the *mixed settler colony* is one where elements of the pure and plantation type become intertwined. Englert

(2020) describes these colonies as "constructed around a significant but minoritarian settler population where Indigenous labour continued to play a central role" (p.1654).

Despite these attempts to conceptualise settler colonialism and distinguish it from colonialism, Kauanui (2021, p.292) emphasises that there is no consensus on its definition. Acknowledging the interrelatedness of the concepts, Wolfe describes settler colonialism as a form of colonialism, whereas Veracini describes them as antithetical concepts (Kauanui, 2021, p.293; Veracini, 2015, p.29). Both authors' main argument for distinguishing colonialism from settler colonialism is that the latter featured the elimination of the Indigenous population in order to free the land for new settlement as the main objective. Rejecting these strict conceptual divisions, Englert (2020, p.1648, 1651, 1654) recognises the interaction between colonialism and settler colonialism, broadening the framework for analysing settler colonial social relations. More specifically, Speed (2017, p.785) criticises Wolfe's notion of "staying settlers" by arguing that colonial periods of over hundreds of years involved staying settlers as much as the "pure" settler colonies Wolfe refers to. Therefore, territories under these extended colonial periods often became pure settler colonies after gaining independence from the metropole (Speed, 2017, p.786).

In light of this debate, the Cape Colony featured elements of each of the types Fieldhouse (1967) described and must therefore be interpreted as a "mixed settler colony". In terms of settlers, their number had consistently been relatively low, with approximately 200 settlers at the end of the first decade (Guelke, 1989, p.66; Lion Cachet, 1882, p.16). As the VOC operated based on a trade monopoly and used enslaved people for labour, the Cape Colony also constituted a "plantation colony" (Marks, 1972, p.63). From the eighteenth century onwards, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, the Cape shifted towards a "pure" settler colony. This is characterised by vrijburgers who expanded on their own initiative and traded with Indigenous peoples despite the VOC's ban to do so (Guelke, 1967, p.31), becoming what

Fieldhouse (1967) defined "lawless communities" (p.202-203). Therefore, it can be argued that the Cape Colony was a (plantation) settler colony that gradually turned into a pure settler colony as the vrijburger class led to the geographical expansion of the colony and ultimately developed a "new" settler identity and language (Wiarda, 2007, p.144). However, for the period analysed in this thesis, the Cape Colony is best perceived as a mixed settler colony.

Biopolitics and biopower

Either form of colonialism inevitably involves strategies of domination. As mentioned in the introduction, *biopolitics* is a concept by Michel Foucault relating to how power fosters or disallows life by exercising control over people, their bodies and their lives. Foucault contrasts this form of power, "the right to make life", with *sovereign power*, which is "the right to kill" (Brenner & Tazzioli, 2022, p.4; Lemke, 2011, p.35). The latter is a form of governing by depriving people of certain needs, while biopower uses tools of regulation, control and discipline to affect processes of life (Lemke, 2011, p.35-36). Both forms of power aim to subjugate and control and are used in the interest of maintaining the (colonial) state (Brenner & Tazzioli, 2022, p.4; Hitchcock, Sapignoli & Babchuk, 2015, p.43). Since the seventeenth century, sovereign power has become subordinate to biopower. Biopower is used to foster life, thus allowing violence to occur in the name of life. As Lemke (2011, p.39) eloquently explains: "[...] the power over death is freed from all existing boundaries, since it is supposed to serve the interest of life." In other words, making one live, could mean letting another die.

This dominating effect of biopower is also observed in settler colonial contexts. Morgensen (2011, p.55-59) emphasises the relationship between colonialism and biopower by illustrating how the arrival of enslaved Africans functioned as a strategy to eliminate Indigenous peoples, while the subjugation of slaves to forced labour also controlled life. Similarly, the destruction and production of life was carefully orchestrated to "narrow[s] or

erase[s] the possibility of distinctive Indigenous nationalities" (Morgensen, 2011, p.56). These examples illustrate the biopolitics of settler colonial regimes and their regulation of native populations, Indigenous land and political, cultural and economic processes.

These forms of power provide an analytical perspective from which the ways in which strategies of domination are employed by colonial powers can be understood. The logic of elimination as seen in most British settler colonies is a dominant strategy in the literature, although more recently contested by scholars arguing that strategies of exploitation were frequent too. Other strategies are less prominent in the academic debate, such as exclusion and assimilation. Yet, all strategies contribute to what Englert (2020) describes as "accumulation by dispossession" (i.e. the act of gaining by taking away).

Strategies of domination

As identified by scholars in the field of settler colonialism, "accumulation by dispossession" is achieved through the strategies of elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation, which will be discussed here in detail. Firstly, *elimination strategies* aim to destroy an Indigenous nation by preventing its reproduction both culturally and biologically (Adhikari, 2010, p.39). Wolfe (2006, p.388) describes it as the destruction of Indigenous communities in order to replace them. According to Adhikari (2010, p20-21; 2020, p.144), this destruction occurs by displacing natives through the occupation of extensive areas of territory, excluding them from legal ownership of land and sovereignty, and racist narratives to justify the extermination of "savages". This settler colonial violence is mostly civilian-driven as settlers continue colonisation on their own initiative (Adhikari, 2020, p.146, 150). While Adhikari (2010, p.20; 2020, p.145) describes the purpose of such displacement, dispossession and destruction as the accumulation of wealth and the exploitation of natural resources, Veracini (2015, p.18-19) equates the process of transferring and settling people to the end goal of settler colonialism.

Still, both agree on the genocidal character of settler colonialism, in which the goals of settlers are in conflict with the presence of native peoples (Adhikari, 2010, p.20; 2020, p.145; Veracini, 2015, p.25). This relationship between settler colonialism and genocide is theorised as "the logic of elimination" by Wolfe (2006).

On the other hand, Wolfe (2006, p.387) argues that exploitation is not characteristic of settler colonialism. For instance, South African apartheid does not constitute elimination because natives were deemed to be too valuable for their exploitation through (forced) labour, which dismisses their disposal as an option (Wolfe, 2006, p.403). The same rationale is applied to slavery as the reproduction of enslaved people meant an increase in wealth, making elimination unprofitable (p.384). Both Veracini (2015, p.15) and Adhikari (2020, p.144) endorse this strict separation of elimination as settler colonial strategy and exploitation as colonial strategy.

Secondly, challenging the assumptions of the logic of elimination, Englert (2020) argues that *exploitative strategies* did occur in settler colonial contexts. Englert (2020, p.1648) describes settler colonialism as accumulation by dispossession, which could encompass both eliminatory and exploitative strategies. By focusing on British settler colonies, the logic of elimination fails to acknowledge that different regions are characterised by different strategies at different moments in time (Englert, 2020, p. 1648, 1653; Speed, 2017, p.874). Highlighting the South American context, Speed (2017, p.874) argues that exploitation was more prominent in these settler colonies. As such, she rejects the artificial land-labour divide used by Wolfe and Veracini.

In the context of settler colonialism, exploitation refers to settlers' reliance on Indigenous labour for the growth of the settler colony's economy, usually through enslavement or coercion (Englert, 2020, p.1651). The purpose of exploitation in settler colonialism, like that of elimination, is to dispossess and subjugate Indigenous peoples, who otherwise would form

a threat to the settler colony's survival. However, which means are used for the same end depends. As Englert (2020) articulates well: "settler colonies have a variety of different strategies at their disposal, which can include exploitation, elimination, or both. One strategy can morph into another through such processes as the development of new strategic necessities for the colonial powers, interactions with Indigenous resistance, or changing economic relations with the metropolis" (p.1654).

As such, it can be argued that these strategies could also morph into the third strategy: *exclusion*. Essentially, exclusion is a way of asserting domination over those excluded by highlighting their "inferior" difference from the settler society (Pillay, 2021, p.407). In a settler colonial context, this places Indigenous peoples in a state of "being absent even when all too present" (Lloyd, 2012, p.61). Segregation occurs spatially, in the form of physical barriers or "zones of exclusion", as well as through legal, institutional, political and social obstacles (Lloyd, 2012, p. 67-69, 75-76). The strategy of exclusion creates a state of exception, allowing the settler colonial government to reduce the native population, as well as their claim to sovereignty (Lloyd, 2012, p.60, 63). Positioning the Indigenous "other" outside of formal state institutions creates the space to justify crimes against these excluded natives. Then, this establishes a condition for ethnic cleansing, and exclusion reinforces the sense of legitimacy of the settler colony's sovereignty (p.61, 68, 74).

This tool was supported by the creation of an ideology of settler superiority (Lloyd, 2012, p.67-8; Pillay, 2021, p.409). Differences are not inherently present but rather socially constructed by the colonial government to not only distinguish the "superior settler" from the "savage native" but also to break up native communities to create different minority groups (Pillay, 2021, p.409). This development of a racial hierarchy is also reinforced as exclusion often involved the transfer of non-white others, usually enslaved people. Enslaved persons

were perceived as inferior to the settler, while Indigenous peoples were seen as not even present, concluding this artificial hierarchy (Lloyd, 2012, p.66-67).

Finally, this sense of absence of Indigenous peoples was also created through an *assimilatory strategy*. Assimilation involves the "suppression of language, religion, law, kinship systems, and other cultural practices through which the people maintain the relations among themselves" (Short, 2010, p.840) to annihilate Indigenous social ties. In this way, colonial rule could be secured by transforming colonised people into "civilised" and "Europeanised" subjects (Pillay, 2021, p.390, 403-404). Additionally, the creation of a homogenous culture for both settlers and Indigenes supports the process of indigenisation of the colonisers (Veracini, 2015, p.24). When this process occurs promptly, Short (2010, p.839) argues, it resembles cultural genocide as distinct Indigenous cultures and livelihoods are irrevocably destroyed. As native peoples proved to be resilient to attempts of elimination, their assimilation was deemed the next best option (Short, 2010, p.837). In contrast, Pillay (2021, p.403-404) describes how the seventeenth century saw assimilation precede more violent forms of destruction that responded to growing Indigenous resistance. However, acknowledging Indigenous agency, cultural adaptations are also part of survival methods and deliberate change: "Indigenous peoples often selectively use them [European cultures] as enriching or useful to their own non-European way of life" (Short, 2010, p.841).

Acknowledging Indigenous resistance

Strategies of domination did not go unchallenged. Indigenous agency can be observed in various forms, such as resistance, adaptation or avoidance. *Resistance* is described elaborately in the literature as it is the most discernible form of agency, involving physically opposing the colonial power (Adhikari, 2010, p.27; Marks, 1972). However, due to the military advantage of colonists, anti-colonial violence often proved counterproductive, thus requiring alternative

forms of agency (Veracini, 2015, p.25). *Adaptation* can be seen as a more implicit strategy, as it often involves collaboration or alliances which can be voluntary or as a survival mode (Short, 2010, p.841). Examples of this include trade partnerships, interpretation or even marrying colonists (Marks, 1972, p.62; Paasman, 2003, p.63). *Avoidance* can be seen as Indigenous peoples' move away from the colonial frontier, often as a result of being displaced or as a decision to flee (Adhikari, 2010, p.27). It is important to recognise Indigenous agency to accurately capture the reality of their colonial experiences. As such, the logic of elimination should remain separated from the actual elimination. O'Brien highlights this by arguing that "Indigenous resistance to colonial power [...] continues to override the logic of elimination" (Englert, 2020, p.1653). While Indigenous agency has inherently been present on colonial frontiers, it has often been taken advantage of by colonists to advance their colonial interests, such as through co-optation (Wolfe, 2006, p.395). Therefore, the focus of this thesis is on investigating the role of biopolitical strategies of domination to get a better understanding of settler colonial projects, while acknowledging Indigenous agency.

4. Methodology

To answer the research question: *"How can settler colonialism by the Dutch VOC in the Cape Colony (1649-1679) be understood through the biopolitical strategies of domination used to control the Indigenous population?"* this thesis aims to investigate which strategies of domination have been employed in the Cape Colony using primary documents. This chapter explains how discourse analysis contributes to answering the research question, how this analysis is conducted, and which archival sources are used and why. Furthermore, I reflect on the study's limitations and how these are addressed.

Methodology

A qualitative study will be conducted using primary sources to investigate which biopolitical strategies of domination the Dutch colonists used and how this relates to the colonisation process. Analysing these biopolitical strategies provides insights into how the (violent) treatment of Indigenous populations justified and legitimised the settler colony. This requires a discourse analysis of archival sources that date from the period under research (1649-1679). Discourse analysis departs from an interpretive epistemology and combines the structuralist and individualist ontology (Demmers, 2017, p.145). This means that discourse analysis aims to understand *from within* how people make sense of their reality, including violence. Discourse analysis also acknowledges the interaction between individuals and structures, which suits the investigation of social power relations. As such, discourse analysis fits this research because it helps to develop an understanding of which biopolitical strategies are used against Indigenous peoples and how colonists make sense of these often violent interactions.

Archival sources

The archival sources analysed are journal excerpts of the Cape Colony's commanders, proclamations of the Cape Council and letters between the Company's directors and the colonial authorities, as bundled by Donald Moody (1838) in his book "The record; or series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa". This book contains a set of translated (from Dutch to English) primary sources that were bundled for the purpose of rendering accessible the documents regarding the colonisation of South Africa with specific attention to the treatment of the "native tribes". The bundle was found and accessed through the Internet Archive, which boasts a digital copy of the original residing at the Merensky Library of the University of Pretoria. Within this bundle, I identified different periods representing acts of (ongoing) colonisation. Such acts of colonisation increase the likelihood of frontier encounters with natives and thus of narratives on such encounters, which ensures the research's validity (Wiarda, 2007, p.143). Three timeframes are selected from Moody's bundle. Firstly, the establishment of the refreshment station by the VOC (1649-1653), which resulted in the first permanent transition of settlers to the Cape. Secondly, the further expansion by "vrijburgers" (1657-1660) led to increased encounters with the Indigenous population. Lastly, from 1673 to 1679, there were expeditions into the interior that intentionally confronted natives. In Appendix B, the analysed events and the page numbers used are listed in order to ensure the reliability of the research. Furthermore, secondary sources support the analytical chapter (chapter 5), providing additional context.

Analysis

The secondary sources were used to identify time frames that fulfilled the condition of being an 'act of (ongoing) colonisation' as mentioned above. As such, I selected the years 1649 (first plans for the refreshment station), 1657 (development of the vrijburger class) and 1673 (the

first expedition against the natives) as significant dates for the three periods. Consequently, searching for these years in Moody's bundle, I scanned the documents to observe which change in the settler-native relationships marked a relevant starting point. Then, these events were analysed until a sense of saturation occurred. For instance, during the first three years, the trade interests of Commander van Riebeeck are met with difficulty but the treatment of the natives remains stable as do their mutual relations. Therefore, continuing the analysis for this time frame would yield no new insights.

During the analysis phase, I read every document within the selected time frame in depth to fully immerse myself in the discourse of the commanders, directors and other VOC officials. The analysis consists of systematically coding the data from the archival sources, focusing on recurrent themes in the treatment of Indigenous peoples. To interpret the presence of biopolitical strategies, concepts and phrases as found in the peer-reviewed literature are used as key terms within the themes (i.e. elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation). For instance, any behaviour by the colonists aimed at compromising a community's "ability to reproduce itself culturally and biologically" (Adhikari, 2010, p.39), is defined as *elimination*. Moreover, inductive themes are included to complement existing concepts. An example of an inductive interpretation is "kindness", which suggests a strategy in which friendly treatment of the natives is deemed essential to the survival and main objective of the colony. Likewise, "selective inclusion" is identified as an inductive theme, referring to the inclusion or exclusion of Indigenous persons based on the advantages this bears for the colonists. An overview of the operationalisation of the themes and examples from the primary sources can be found in Appendix C, which illustrates how the analysis was conducted.

Reflection

Despite its careful construction, the methodology has some practical and substantive limitations. Practically, the number of analysed pages is restricted due to time constraints and the availability of primary sources. Moody's record misses sections, such as the despatches from 1674 and 1675, which causes a gap in the broad and rich history and compromises the research findings regarding this period. The sources were also translated from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch to nineteenth-century English, which may have caused misinterpretations or mistranslations. Additionally, working with historical sources always comes with content-related challenges, such as biased content and historical silences. The writer (i.e. the commander or governor) of the letters and journals was responsible for the progress at the Cape Colony. Thus, the audience was the writer's employer, which increases the likelihood of reporting that shows their good conduct. For example, van Riebeeck's reports of the first year to the VOC's directors were predominantly positive regarding the crops and cattle, whereas the journal entries also hinted at the struggles regarding agriculture and cattle trade. However, it seems unlikely that serious issues were left out, as large setbacks were described and complained about too. The instructions by the Company's directors are valuable because these orders reflect the mindset of the colonising authorities, allowing the reader to come close to understanding the discourse presented. A critical strategy of *reading against the grain* (Banivanua Mar, 2012, p.179) is applied to detect bias, silences and gaps, while *reading with the grain* is used for understanding the narratives.

5. Analysis

The above methodology was applied to generate an analysis in which I studied the biopolitical strategies employed in the Cape Colony from 1649 to 1679. This section presents the findings for three time periods that were selected because of their direct involvement in colonisation, which resulted in frontier encounters with the Indigenous population at the Cape. The first period examines the establishment of the refreshment station in 1652. This period ends in 1654 when Commander van Riebeeck's descriptions of interactions with natives no longer generated new insights. The second period begins in 1657, when the first vrijburgers settled land beyond the Fort of Good Hope, until the end of the First Khoi War. Lastly, the Indigenous resistance and expeditions of the late seventeenth century against the natives were analysed. This third timeframe starts in 1673 when the tribe of Chief Gonnema targets the Dutch vrijburgers and VOC officials, starting the Second Khoi War and ends in 1679 as the resistance has weakened enough for the Dutch to further tighten their control over the Indigenous peoples.

5.1 Establishing a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope, 1649-1654

Historical context

In July 1649, Leendert Janz. and N. Proot wrote to the Directors of the VOC to convince them of the value of having a refreshment station and a fort at the Cape of Good Hope with 60 to 70 employees (Moody, 1838, p.1). They argued that the refreshment station would enable the Company to profit from the fertile land while feeding the sailors of passing ships. In order to make the settlement profitable, they suggested bringing in enslaved persons from Batavia and other parts of Africa. Besides, a fort would protect the settlers from the Indigenous peoples, but above all, from the English (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.805). According to Janz. and Proot, the Indigenous peoples were not to be feared as they were friendly trading partners and their children could be used as servants, while converting them to the Christian religion (Moody,

1838, p.2). It was also emphasised that any violent behaviour on their part was provoked by the stranded Dutch sailors who stole cattle, often with violence.

This letter shows that there had previously been violent encounters with natives, although it acknowledged that this was often caused by the Dutch visitors. Additionally, the idea to exploit enslaved people from the Cape and elsewhere and to assimilate those defined as "savages" (Moody, 1838, p.5) was premeditated. Moreover, the fort seemed to aid multiple purposes, but "the benefit of the honourable Company" (Moody, 1838, p.4) was always prioritised.

It was not until June 1651 that a second letter was dedicated to the question of establishing the refreshment station, which was written by Jan van Riebeeck, who would become the first commander at "Fort de Goede Hoop" (Moody, 1838, p.8).[3] Van Riebeeck approached the topic more politically, emphasising their competition with other colonising powers and the importance of establishing a secure fort. His distrust towards the native population was also openly communicated: "They are by no means to be trusted, but are a savage set, living without conscience, and therefore the fort should be rendered tolerably defensible" (Moody, 1838, p.5). As such, the commander's position on locally encountered people centred on their perceived inferiority (Marks, 1972, p.55). He was prepared to kill them if deemed necessary as was demonstrated in his first correspondence with the directors of the VOC. Still, he recognised the importance of maintaining good relations with the Indigenous peoples in order to trade cattle, teach them Dutch and convert them to Christianity.

[3] Van Riebeeck, who was known for his extensive writing, described the daily interactions and trade negotiations with the natives elaborately (Kieskamp, 2003, p.86). The detail in his journals included the weight of tobacco and copper exchanged for one sheep or cow, the natives' stature and dress, and all that the settlers saw, did and ate; a level of detail that he would later be reprimanded for by Commissioner van Goens (Moody, 1838, p.99).

Finally, on the 5th of April 1652, van Riebeeck and his crew arrived at the Cape. The VOC's directors had provided instructions to establish the fort, its defence and marks of occupation as a protection against competing powers and the "rude natives" (Moody, 1838, p.7). They were clear in that each act must be in service of the Company and its profit. Therefore, it was deemed crucial to treat the Indigenous peoples with kindness "in order to [...] attach them to you, which must be effected with discretion, above all, taking care that you do not injure them in person [...]" (Moody, 1838, p.8).

During the first years, Commander van Riebeeck was preoccupied with defining different groups of natives.[4] Generally, he named the Khoikhoi "Hottentots" and defined the "Strandlopers" (beach rangers)/"Watermans", "Caepmans" and "Saldanhars" as different tribes within this classification. These names were based on their location and ways of life (Marks, 1972, p.57). The Strandlopers/Watermans and Caepmans were seen as the people without cattle living near the Coast, while the Saldanhars lived near Saldanha Bay and held large amounts of cattle. Throughout his writing, van Riebeeck tried to make sense of all the different groups encountered, eventually learning their native tribe names.

Kindness

The initial encounters at the frontier had been well planned out, ensuring that each employee would maintain friendly behaviour towards the natives. Poor treatment by any VOC employee would even be heavily punished with 50 whip lashes. As such, the Indigenous people were received at the fort and treated with bread, tobacco and wine. Copper was offered in exchange for cattle. This "good and liberal treatment" (Moody, 1838, p.9) was aimed at encouraging the natives to trade with the Dutch. The cattle trade became more successful in October of the first

[4] In Appendix A, I have attempted to structure van Riebeeck's naming and categorisation, supported by secondary literature (predominantly Marks (1972))

year when a Watermans interpreter named Herry (or: Autshumao) helped to negotiate. In his journal, van Riebeeck frequently emphasised the purpose of their courteous treatment of the native inhabitants, arguing that this would help the Company get the greatest number of cattle without giving them any reason to raid the fort and the cultivated soil.

Reading with the grain highlights how the friendly treatment of the Indigenous peoples was part of a premeditated process of gaining their trust and willingness to participate in trade. It seems like the colonists were concerned with establishing a peaceful colony in which the natives were involved as worthy trade partners. However, van Riebeeck emphasised that the natives would become "attached" to the colonists through friendliness, which can be interpreted as a form of dependence. Thus, a strategy of kindness was aimed at subjecting Indigenous peoples to Dutch interests.

Elimination

In the first months, van Riebeeck was mainly concerned with convincing the natives to come to the fort to trade their cattle. They had often promised to come, but "as they had already said so frequently, [...] it seems somewhat doubtful, and not to be relied on" (Moody, 1838, p.17). Frustrated by their unwillingness to trade large numbers of cattle, van Riebeeck mentioned the possibility to "deprive them of their cattle easily, [...] and take them for the Hon. Company, for it is vexatious to see such an immense quantity of cattle, [...] of which we can get nothing" (Moody, 1838, p.25).[5] The commander feared that he would not be able to obtain any cattle: "unless other means are employed" (Moody, 1838, p.24). While he directly acknowledged that

[5] Although van Riebeeck seemed to have understood in later years that the natives moved with the cycles with the seasons (Moody, 1838, p.94), he remained oblivious to the cultural importance of possessing cattle in native communities as their social cohesion depended on it (Marks, 1972, p.60). This shows the colonists' ignorance regarding cultural differences.

more coercive options were “premature”, van Riebeeck remained wary of the natives in his growing distrust. This made it all the more important to treat them well: “[the sooner they become] attached to us, so that we may thus attain the object of our employers provided at the same time, that every one be well on his guard, without going so far among them, or trusting them so far, that they may get any of our people into their power, and massacre or carry them off.” (Moody, 1838, p.11). This clearly shows his fear of not being treated kindly in return. Therefore, firearms were usually carried during expeditions outside the fort and when driving the cattle for protection and to scare off cattle thieves.

Still, whenever conflict occurred, the commander ordered everyone at the fort to remain friendly because it was of great importance to acquire cattle. This logic was maintained when Herry was suspected of scaring off the Saldanhars (a tribe from the North), as well as when he killed a Dutch boy and stole 42 cattle. While van Riebeeck frequently fantasised about banishing or killing Herry and his accomplices, he still encouraged the Dutch settlers “to show them as much kindness as before, indeed rather more than less, [...] to remove the fears of the Saldanhars, to [i]ncrease their attachment to us, and to make it appear to them that we are not at all disposed to revenge an injury.” After this incident, Herry and the Watermans tribe remained a constant nuisance to Dutch trading projects until Herry’s banishment in 1658.

Reading against the grain shows a strange dynamic of power displays and “friendly” treatment, in which both means were used to control the behaviour of native peoples. This is clearly present in van Riebeeck’s journal entries, where he wrote about the need to remain on good terms with the natives despite his wish to use harmful methods to obtain his objectives. It is also illustrated by the fact that the Dutch maintained a policy of kindness with Herry but all the same, went after him with a group of armed soldiers.

Exploitation

Other than friendly behaviour that is intertwined with tendencies to threaten with violence, there is some form of exploitation. In their trade relations, the Dutch bought sheep for a bit of wire and cows for flat copper (Moody, 1838, p.20), knowing that the value of these metals was low: "Frequently our worst merchandise is by them esteemed the most valuable" (Moody, 1838, p.17). As the Company struggled with its most important objective of obtaining enough cattle, trading at unfair rates was an attractive option.

Similarly, the exploitation of natives was attempted by recruiting them for their labour. However, as they were deemed free people, it was not attempted to enslave the Indigenous inhabitants (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.806). In fact, they were perceived as unsuitable for labour. Whenever the natives were asked to help with physical labour, they proved unwilling or disappeared during their assigned tasks. This contributed to the narrative that the inhabitants of the Cape "are a very lazy people, it being sometimes too much for them to move" (Moody, 1838, p.27). Thus, following Englert (2020, p.1651), exploiting the native inhabitants was attempted to obtain economic benefits as well as to subject them to Dutch rule, but relying on Indigenous labour proved fruitless.

Exclusion

Despite judging the natives as "unsuitable" for exploiting them through (forced) labour, they were not excluded to the extent of "being absent even when all too present" (Lloyd, 2012, p.61). This can be explained by the importance of their presence for Dutch trade interests. However, the Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of the land on which the fort was built, which they could only access by invitation. On one occasion, the commander told the chiefs of a native tribe that he "would rather that they should not live so close to us, as their numbers are

countless, and we are not as yet so very secure" (Moody, 1838, p.21). This shows that dispossession and exclusion also occurred on land that was not yet formally colonised.

Assimilation

More prominent than their exclusion was the assimilation of a handful of natives. The assimilation of Indigenous individuals such as Herry was initially an important factor in pursuing the trading interests of the Company. Herry was taught the Dutch language in addition to his broken English and provided with "Dutch clothing" (Moody, 1838, p.36). There are no other signs in van Riebeeck's writing of elaborate attempts to assimilate great numbers of natives despite their initial intentions. This assimilation did not seem to target cultural systems "through which the people maintain relations" (Short, 2010, p.840). Rather, it was aimed at supporting the Dutch in obtaining the Company's objectives.

Interim conclusion: biopolitical strategies between 1649 and 1654

During the early years of the Cape Colony, there were temptations towards the elimination of the Indigenous peoples. While no attempts at "culturally and biologically" destroying the native peoples can be deducted from the data, their displacement can be interpreted as part of the eliminatory strategy (Adhikari, 2010, p.39; 2020, p.144). Furthermore, the Dutch colonists attempted to create a "settler colonial economy [that] developed primarily upon the exploitation of Indigenous labour." (Englert, 2020, p.1651). However, this failed as the Indigenous peoples refused to work for them. Similarly, exclusion remained limited to the inaccessibility of lands around the VOC's fort. There were no "zones of exclusion" (Lloyd, 2012, p.75) beyond the fort that segregated the natives from the colonists. Assimilation was used to the advantage of the Dutch, but it did not target the social ties of the Indigenous communities through the

"suppression of language, religion, law, kinship systems, and other cultural practices" (Short, 2010, p.840).

Interestingly, another strategy could be identified in the data that was not described in the literature: "kindness". Like the other strategies, this strategy served to gain control over the behaviour of the Indigenous peoples. Commander van Riebeeck used this strategy to encourage the willingness to trade among the natives. The development of such mutual dependence was beneficial to the profitability of the VOC. From the first years, it becomes evident that these biopolitical strategies were employed to further the VOC's economic interests.

5.2 Settlement of vrijburgers at the foot of the Table Mountain, 1657-1660

Historical context

In the first year at the Cape, it became clear that the agricultural activities at the fort were insufficient for both the refreshment of passing ships and the fort's employees. To solve this problem, the idea to let vrijburgers cultivate land elsewhere was considered in 1653 (Guelke, 1976, p.27; Moody, 1838, p.28). One major benefit van Riebeeck observed is that it would relieve the Company of costs because salaries could be cut. However, the commander voiced his concerns two years later regarding the objectives of such free families, fearing that their main aim would be to "fill their pockets quickly" and "return to Europe" (Moody, 1838, p.62). Therefore, a minimum staying period of ten years was established and persons of good character were selected to become the first vrijburgers who would be appointed land to cultivate.

Consequently, in February 1657, the first vrijburgers started living on the land behind Table Mountain. Over the remainder of the century, this population remained small. It started with nine vrijburgers, expanding to 200 in 1662, 259 in 1679, and approximately 600 in 1681 (Guelke, 1989, p.66; Lion Cachet, 1882, p.16; Moody, 1838, p.379). Due to this small number

of people, there was a demand for cheap labour. Hence, the VOC retrieved enslaved people from other parts of Africa as the native inhabitants were not easily subjected to labouring for the Dutch.

The development of the vrijburger class and their move onto further parts of the Cape was a process of colonial expansion in which the Indigenous population was denied access to certain lands that they could previously access freely. The native population, being accustomed to collective natural resources, were quick to notice their exclusion from the land (Guelke & Shell, 1992, p.805). Their response to the expansion of the Company showed the natives' distrust of the Dutch. As van Riebeeck discussed the plans to build and cultivate on the land they inspected, Herry and his tribe became anxious over their livelihoods, asking the commander: "If we [the Dutch] built houses, and broke up the ground there, which they observed to be our intention, where should they [the natives] live?" (Moody, 1838, p.93). Despite reassuring them that they would be allowed to live under the protection of the Dutch and would receive a share of the crops, van Riebeeck remarked: "They expressed themselves satisfied, but it might be easily seen that it was not quite to their mind." (Moody, 1838, p.93).

Indeed, the same concerns were the reason for another tribe to start the First Khoi War led by Doman. The Caepmans Doman was sent to Batavia to learn the Dutch language and became well-acquainted with the Dutch and their modus operandi. He would be offered refuge during the war by Chief Oedasoa of the Saldanhars tribe. Despite this violent episode, trade remained an essential feature at the Cape. The natives, especially the Saldanhars, continued to trade with the VOC and the vrijburgers. However, trade between natives and vrijburgers was soon prohibited because it was perceived to be conflicting with the Company's interests (Guelke, 1976, p.30).

Elimination

While Herry's people voiced their concerns regarding the destruction of their grazing lands as a consequence of the vrijburger settlements, Commander van Riebeeck was still considering the punishment of these people. Four years after Herry had killed the Dutch boy and stolen the Company's cattle, concrete plans were developed to further dispossess this group of access to the land. These ideas involved trapping them either within the fencing of the fort or the valley between Lion and Table Mountain "without subjecting them to any other oppression than keeping them confined" (Moody, 1838, p.102). It would even have been "easily done, as they are kept devoid of any suspicion, by our kind treatment" (p.102). Reading with the grain shows that this kindness was deliberately used to conceal the colonists' real intentions from the Indigenous peoples.

This "policy of kindness" was terminated when Doman led the Caepmans resistance, starting the First Khoi War in May 1659. The Caepmans used guerrilla tactics to steal cattle and destroy the crops of vrijburgers, disappearing as soon as the Dutch came after them. Having understood that the Dutch firearms would not work well in wet weather, the Caepmans would attack during dark, rainy days. In response to these raids, Dutch soldiers, vrijburgers, and passing sailors formed militias of 150 people that aimed to take revenge for the stolen cattle and murder of a vrijburger (Moody, 1838, p.168, 183). Commander van Riebeeck was resolute in his intentions: "We shall take the first opportunity, [...] to surprise and attack them with a strong force, taking as many cattle, and as many male prisoners as possible, avoiding at the same time, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed [...]" (Moody, 1838; p.164). He permitted his people to kill any of the raiders "wherever they are to be found" as "the Caepmans are not to be won by kindness" (Moody, 1838, p.165).

Due to the guerrilla tactics, it was challenging to find the Caepmans. It was not until late July that four Caepmans were killed, and Doman was seriously injured by a VOC officer.

The resistance was also scared off by the indiscriminate slaughter of another Indigenous tribe that was not involved in the raiding. These events caused the Caepmans to retreat inland, fleeing from Dutch violence. The Caepmans sought refuge and were aided by Chief Oedasoa of the Saldanhars; the same chief with whom Commander van Riebeeck believed to have an alliance.

Eventually, Chief Oedasoa encouraged the Caepmans to make peace with the Dutch. A step that the commander would not think of taking: "If we sent such a friendly mission proposing to make peace, they would think that they had already got the upper hand," (Moody, 1838, p.164). During the peace talks, the Caepmans confided in the Dutch their reasons for their resistance. Van Riebeeck documented these reasons as follows: "It was for no other reason than because they [the Caepmans] saw that we [the Dutch] were breaking up the best land and grass, where their cattle were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves every where, with houses and farms, as if we were never more to remove, but designed to take, for our permanent occupation, more and more of this Cape country, which had belonged to them from time immemorial." (Moody, 1838, p.186).

The First Khoi War illustrates the contradictory discourse of the commander and the consequent behaviour of the Dutch colonists. Van Riebeeck continued to emphasise the importance of displaying kindness towards the natives and limiting "unnecessary bloodshed". However, he also allowed the killing of the raiders and violent behaviour towards uninvolved Indigenous communities to instigate fear. As such, the "cultural and biological reproduction" (Adhikari, 2010, p.39) of natives was compromised through the dispossession of land and the killing of Indigenous persons.

Exploitation

As deduced by van Riebeeck in the first years, the Indigenous peoples did not easily lend themselves to labour. In fact, in 1657, the commander emphasised the need for getting slaves from Angola because "the natives here are not to be induced to work, whatever be given to them, [...] they sometimes take a freak and suddenly go away". Still, exploiting Herry and the Watermans was part of van Riebeeck's plans regarding their entrapment. The commander believed that he could force them to trade cattle with other tribes for the advantage of the Company, but these plans never came to fruition (Moody, 1838, p.105).

Exclusion

Exclusion became a more prominent strategy in the colonial efforts of the Company from 1657 onwards. Through the creation of physical barriers, such as fences and notions of legal ownership that restricted access their traditional lands, the natives were segregated in the way described by Lloyd (2012). They were rendered "absent" within the claimed territory, despite continued trading relations outside of it.

Exclusion is also observed in the perceived inferiority of the natives: "It is impossible to operate upon the brutish and savage nature" (Moody, 1838, p.99). With this discourse, Commissioner van Goens suggested that their inferior nature makes collaboration too difficult, thus requiring their exclusion. This highlighting of "inferior difference" from the settler community underlies the strategy of exclusion (Pillay, 2021, p.407). Ultimately, excluding Herry and his people from the land and trade missions helped to legitimise the claiming of new territory.

Assimilation

While excluded from newly colonised lands, interpreters like Herry, Eva and Doman were instrumental in trade expeditions. The latter had even been sent to Batavia to study Dutch and was converted to Christianity. Commissioner van Goens, who had brought Doman along, was convinced that he was "already so far accustomed to our manners, that he is no way inclined ever again to live among these hordes" (Moody, 1838, p.120). This assimilation was useful as it helped the Dutch learn about the natives through an interpreter, but it was also hoped to "one day bring them to proper subordination" (Moody, 1838, p.110) through assimilatory practices. Assimilation is described as supporting the establishment of colonial rule, as it erodes native language, religion and cultural systems, contributing to the civilisation of "savages" (Pillay, 2021, p.403-404; Short, 2010, p.840).

However, Commander van Riebeeck became aware that the Indigenous population at the Cape used knowledge about the Dutch to their advantage: "They are savage certainly, but not so wild and irrational as beasts [...] they are daily becoming more cunning and crafty, through their intercourse with the Dutch" (Moody, 1838, p.85). For instance, van Riebeeck had not anticipated that their becoming accustomed to the Dutch modus operandi would encourage the natives' resistance. The commander later realised: "the interpreter Doman, who having gone to Batavia with Mr. Van Goens [...] has become much too knowing" (Moody, 1838, p.163). Thus, assimilation soon became a less attractive strategy of domination.

Interim conclusion: biopolitical strategies between 1657 and 1660

During this period, the true intentions behind the kindness of the commander come to light. Frustrated about the limited successes of the cattle trade and later the raids by the Caepmans, van Riebeeck gives in to elimination strategies. The natives' "cultural reproduction" was already targeted by the dispossession of land (Adhikari, 2010, p.39). Then, during the first Khoi

War, their "biological reproduction" was compromised through arbitrary harassment, torture and killing of native peoples. Contrary to what Adhikari (2020, 146, 150) argues, the main instigators of such settler colonial violence at the Cape were not individual citizens but the colonial authorities. However, the concurrence of expansion through settler colonialism and eliminatory tendencies, as described in the literature (Adhikari, 2010; Veracini, 2015), was clearly present in the Cape Colony.

In terms of exploitation, there have been no concrete attempts at subjecting Indigenous peoples to forced labour that would allow for the creation of a flourishing settler economy (Englert, 2020, p.1651). Instead, people from elsewhere in Africa were brought to the Cape for their exploitation through slavery. On the other hand, exclusion became an essential biopolitical strategy to dispossess native peoples from the land and expand the colonial territory. As described by Lloyd (2012), Indigenous populations were subjected to a state of "being absent even when all too present" (p.61). However, trade remained crucial to the colony's survival, requiring the involvement of the native peoples. Lastly, while Pillay (2021) and Short (2010) argue that assimilation contributes to the establishment of colonial rule, van Riebeeck was confronted with a different outcome. He realised that the natives' understanding of the Dutch created opportunities for resistance, threatening colonial rule.

5.3 Expeditions against the Indigenous peoples, 1673-1679

Historical context

In 1672, the 7th governor of the Cape Colony, Isbrand Goske, was appointed. He soon became acquainted with the Gonnema tribe, which would become the greatest nuisance for the colonists. In response to the frequent raids of the Gonnemas, Governor Goske sent expeditions against these people while forming alliances with the "Cape Hottentots" under Chief "Claas" from the Soeswas tribe. This new war might have contributed to the resignation of Goske in

1674, who was replaced by Johan Bax van Herenthals (1637-1678) only in 1676. Governor Johan Bax remained governor until his death in June 1678. His second in command, Hendrik Crudop (1646-1720), would replace him until Commander Simon van der Stell (1639-1712) arrived in October 1679.[6]

These commanders and governors were all concerned with the profitability of the Company, which spurred further colonisation. At the end of the second decade at the Cape Colony, the VOC expanded vrijburger settlements eastwards to "Hottentots Holland" because the agricultural land occupied so far was deemed insufficient (Moody, 1838, p.310). The settler colonial character of the Cape's colonisation became more prominent during this period as the governor noted that "it has become highly necessary, now still more than before, [...] that a good Dutch colony shall be planted and reared here" (Moody, 1838, p.340). To grow the colony, Governor Joan Bax believed "a great number of slaves" (p.340) was required, as well as a relaxation of the strict regulation of vrijburgers' activities, as their punishment had frequently resulted in the ruin of free families. Instead, the provision of a school for vrijburger children was considered a necessary means to establish colonial rule: "Schools are usually regarded as the nurseries of the state; it will be necessary that this infant colony [...] be provided with a good school" (p.340). Despite these attempts to control the vrijburger population, they often ventured into the country's interior without the Company's permission and abandoned agriculture (Guelke, 1976, p.29).

These inland journeys by vrijburgers were aimed at obtaining cattle or shooting game, despite the VOC ban on trade between vrijburgers and natives as well as the prohibition to travel into the interior (Guelke, 1976, p.27). These regulations were implemented to prevent vrijburgers from spoiling the trade opportunities of the VOC. In fact, the Company's main goal

[6] In Appendix D the commanders and governors relevant for this study are listed with their term and dates of birth and death.

was still to obtain cattle. While the number of animals bartered, with expeditions sometimes yielding over 600 cattle, seems to be great compared to earlier periods, the governor continued complaining of a shortage (Moody, 1838, p.346). As such, the VOC began to dictate trade and social relations among the settlers and natives but also between the native tribes. Besides rules around trade, this included mediation between warring tribes to protect the conditions for trading with them and expeditions against the Gonnema tribe, which harmed the settler society and its trade prospects.

Elimination

When the Soeswas and the Gonnemas started a war, the Dutch remained neutral to protect their trade position. However, attacks by the Gonnema tribe against vrijburgers consisted of stealing cattle and burning Dutch houses, starting in 1672. When the number of attacks increased in 1673, the governor ordered an expedition against this tribe on July 12th. Governor Goske described the attacks as unexpected: "We have [...] got into war with that savage people, without having given, as far as we know, the slightest cause" (p.334). On the other hand, the journal extracts mentioned vrijburgers killing Indigenous peoples prior to the Gonnema raids. Thus, reading against the grain implies that the resistance was part of a response against the violent and intimidating behaviour of the vrijburgers. However, unlike after the earlier Khoi War, the reasons of the Gonnema tribe for their resistance were not reported by the governors.

The Second Khoi War started when Gonnema held eight vrijburgers hostage when they were travelling in the interior to hunt. An expedition to find these citizens was fruitless, suggesting they were killed. This sparked such resentment that Governor Goske sent a mission involving over 70 soldiers and vrijburgers to "take such revenge upon Gonnema, and all who may with him have raised their hands against our men, that their posterity may retain the impression of fear, and may never again offend the Netherlanders" (Moody, 1838, p.326). The

instructions concerned the entire elimination of the Gonnema tribe, sparing only women and children. This elimination was aimed at scaring the natives off to treat the Dutch settlers poorly. This rhetoric of elimination became more evident when the first expedition's officer planned a nightly attack "to fall on them unexpectedly, and as far as we could, to destroy them without mercy" (Moody, 1838, p.329). As the natives remained elusive to the Dutch missions of elimination due to "their cunning tactics of separating in their flight" (Moody, 1838, p.348), it was not until November 1676 that the Company killed seven natives. While the main objective of these expeditions was "to spare nothing that is male" (Moody, 1838, p.328), dispossessing natives of the cattle that were left behind when they fled from fear was deemed a valuable alternative. Just the first mission already yielded about 800 cattle and 900 sheep. Eventually, the Dutch military strength and being dispossessed of nearly all their cattle led the Gonnemas to come to ask for peace at the fort.

More so than before, the VOC governors openly expressed the need to destroy the native population of those tribes that caused the company inconveniences through raiding vrijburger farms. This discourse relates to the logic of elimination, which argues that settler colonialism is genocidal in nature (Wolfe, 2006). However, the VOC always prioritised trade opportunities, therefore preferring peaceful relations with the Indigenous population. Additionally, violence against natives was more frequently instigated by vrijburgers during the 1670s. So, as described by Adhikari (2020, p.144), exterminatory violence became more civilian-driven as the colonial expansion progressed.

Exploitation

During the Second Khoi War, the VOC saw the opportunity to exploit natives taken as prisoners of war. Natives from the Gonnema tribe or affiliated tribes who were seen as allies of the enemy were imprisoned and sent to Robben Island for their exploitation. Moreover, the

Indigenous peoples were enticed to spy, kill and capture enemies or fugitive slaves of the VOC. For instance, the Company recruited the Soeswas tribe under Captain Claas to spy on and attack the Gonnema tribe. For their participation, the recruited natives were rewarded "so as to encourage them at all times to serve the Company" (Moody, 1838, p.346). These rewards consisted of tobacco, bread, beads and sometimes cattle. This resulted in Soeswas enthusiastically capturing, enslaving and killing Gonnema natives. On the 1674 expedition, about 250 natives were employed in an attack. When the Gonnema tribe focused its attacks on the Soeswas tribe, the Company returned the favour and sent a party to assist its "allies", although unsuccessfully.

Similarly, the captured "Cape Hottentots", who slaughtered cattle of the settlers in 1678, were brought to Robben Island to work on the VOC's fortifications. Their reason for killing the animals was related to the food shortages that these natives experienced. Therefore, the governor forced these people to work for the Company in exchange for some rice and biscuits, thinking this would solve their hunger. As most prisoners attempted to escape through dangerous routes, the governor remarked their dedication as "a proof of the strong desire of freedom which exists in a state of slavery" (Moody, 1838, p.323).

In other words, the VOC employed forced labour and enslaved Indigenous persons to aid the settler colonial economy (Englert, 2020, p.1651). For this purpose, the Dutch used any reason to imprison natives. Moreover, exploitation extended beyond forced labour, by recruiting Indigenous peoples to fight other tribes in exchange for rewards that kept them loyal to the Company.

Exclusion

As the expansion of the Cape Colony progressed, the Company started controlling the land more directly through Dutch notions of ownership, excluding Indigenous communities.

Frequently, tribes had pitched their tents with their cattle close to the Company's stable, which was perceived as "trespass within the Company's jurisdiction, and injuring the place" (Moody, 1838, p.335). They were ordered to leave because "all the grass was wanted for the Company's cattle" (Moody, 1838, p.349) and asked to find another place for their cattle.

Another form of exclusion was the prohibition of trade with tribes that the Dutch were in conflict with. The Company, having created some dependence of the natives on the Dutch, believed that excluding their enemies from trade would be detrimental to them. This was explained in a letter to the directors of the VOC as follows: "to show our resentment or at least that we should try to make friends with other tribes, to their [the enemy tribe's] exclusion, [so] that these would henceforth be unable to buy any more cattle from other Hottentots except with our knowledge and consent". Likewise, the "Cape Hottentots" who were the Company's allies, were prohibited from trading with the enemy tribe.

It is clear that the Indigenous population was segregated from the Dutch settlers. This occurred mostly through spatial barriers and "zones of exclusion" (Lloyd, 2012, p.67, 75) that marked VOC territory and legal barriers (Lloyd, 2012, p.60) for which Western notions of ownership were applied to ban natives of the land. Moreover, social barriers (Lloyd, 2012, p.68) occurred through the dictation of relationships among the colonised and the extent to which they could participate in the settler society.

Assimilation

After over twenty years at the Cape Colony, the primary documents do not signal the systematic assimilation of native inhabitants. While Commander van Riebeeck frequently referred to interpreters who supported the communication among Dutch settlers and Indigenous peoples, Governor Johan Bax only mentions once that information is "interpreted". From 1673 to 1679, no specific persons were mentioned as interpreters, unlike in earlier periods. It is unclear

whether twenty years of encounters had made the Dutch language so well-known among Indigenous peoples that interpretation had become unnecessary or if the interpreters were deemed insignificant to mention in the letters and journals.

Selective inclusion

The expansion of the colony paralleled the intensification of colonial rule. This is evident in the increasing inclusion of Indigenous communities in the Dutch ways of governing and organising society. For instance, when different tribes got into conflict, the Dutch would interrogate their chiefs at the fort to resolve the incident. Similarly, trade between the Company's allies (Soeswas) and other native tribes was prohibited because it was feared that this would drive up the price of cattle. The governor resented that "th[ese] covetous people have [...] commenced this traffic without our previous knowledge and consent" (Moody, 1838, p.351). This illustrates how the colonial power aimed to control the relations among native peoples.

In June 1677, Chief Gonnema surrendered and requested the VOC for the end of the Second Khoi War through his "ambassadors". The Company considered peace essential to its economic interests and drafted a peace treaty that had to be signed by Gonnema himself. Therefore, the ambassadors were sent to retrieve their chief and provided with passports that would permit them to "freely pass and repass, wherever they will" (Moody, 1838, p.352). The treaty was drafted like any other Western contract. However, it was communicated in a simplified manner because "it would be in vain to use much ceremony with these stupid and savage Africans, or to make formal contracts with them, in our manner, as from the shortness of their memories and the impediments of language, many conditions would only confuse them" (Moody, 1838, p.352). This highlights that despite their incorporation into Dutch legal

mechanisms, Indigenous peoples were still perceived as inferior. It also raises questions about the extent to which the natives were informed of and agreed to the terms of peace.

Another element of this peace treaty included the extradition of natives who were involved in the raids and violence of the Second Khoi War. The tribe chiefs were required to hand these culprits over to the Company and did so fervently in exchange for rewards. This reward system was exploited by the Dutch in the hope that "they may be still more stimulated to catch the remaining vagabonds" (Moody, 1838, p.365). The extradited perpetrators were tried in the court of the colony. As previous punishments for cattle stealing and harming vrijburgers were deemed insufficient to discourage them, the convicted natives were "condemned to be hanged upon gallows until death ensues" (Moody, 1838, p.365). These illustrations show how the colonial power aimed to control Indigenous peoples vis-à-vis the colonial society.

These acts suggest some form of incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the colonial society. However, this happened in a highly selective way that aimed to control what the native inhabitants could do within the occupied territory of the settler colony. For instance, trade regulations shaped the relations among different native tribes, passports determined where they could go, and reward systems created a dependence of the natives on the colonists that increased compliance with Dutch rules. On the other hand, Indigenous communities were purposefully not incorporated into settler society to prevent them from obtaining land ownership rights.

Thus, *selective inclusion* can be understood as a biopolitical strategy that integrated native peoples when it contributed to further dispossession and domination, whereas it excluded them from activities that threatened colonial rule. Selective inclusion developed as the grip of colonial rule became firmer. While this strategy might be perceived in other instances of colonisation, it has not been theorised as a biopolitical strategy in the existing

literature. The comparable concept of "colonial inclusion" (Williams, 2019, p.30) rather relates to the empowerment of colonised peoples in the settler state through education, which reinforces the state-building process. Lloyd (2012) also described a similar idea where the "state of exception" represents the inclusion of colonised peoples within the state territory while excluding them from any other area of society. The idea of selective inclusion differs from earlier concepts in that it highlights how the colonists cherrypicked when to include or exclude Indigenous peoples based on how beneficial either option would be to the colonial project. So, selective inclusion was a tool for dispossessing and controlling the Indigenous inhabitants.

Kindness

Despite the violent response to Indigenous raids, the policy of kind treatment was maintained outside of wartime. Settlers who harmed the natives were severely punished through banishment, for instance. The reason for this was mainly to "prove to them [natives] that we punish the faults of our people and are not disposed to leave them any ground for taking revenge" (Moody, 1838, p.353). As concluded before (see section 5.1), this friendly treatment of the Indigenous peoples was also used as a biopolitical strategy of domination. This is explicitly mentioned by Governor Goske: "To keep them better in check [...] we have brought it so far by gratifying Captain Claas and his adherents, that he is not only much attached to us, but also ready, whenever required, to be employed against the others" (Moody, 1838, p.340). The same logic is applied when the governor wants the tribe chiefs to get to the fort, which was done "under the pretence of giving them a belly full of rice, and making them merry" (Moody, 1838, p.351).

Interim conclusion: biopolitical strategies between 1673 and 1679

More than before, the logic behind "kindness" comes to light as the governor highlighted its aim: keeping natives in check. Whenever this strategy failed, the Company pursued elimination again. The governor's order to "spare nothing that is male" (Moody, 1838, p.328) shows how the native inhabitants' biological reproduction (Adhikari, 2010, p.39) is directly compromised. Similarly, by forcefully taking away cattle, the VOC contributed to the cultural destruction (Adhikari, 2010, p.39) of natives, whose social cohesion depended on the possession of cattle (Marks, 1972, p.60). Not only the VOC but free individuals, too, employed elimination strategies as vrijburgers sporadically killed Indigenous persons in the interior of the country. This demonstrates Adhikari's (2020, p.146, 150) observation that settler colonial violence is generally civilian-driven.

Another change since the first decade of the Cape Colony relates to the increased efforts to exploit Indigenous persons. Their exploitation was limited to forced labour by imprisoned natives and recruitment for expeditions against a common enemy. Still, the exploitation of natives did not significantly influence the growth of the settler economy (Englert, 2020, p.1651).

Throughout the colonisation, spatial segregation had remained a stable strategy at the Cape Colony. In the 1670s, segregation became more ingrained in the VOC's governance as the authorities actively excluded Indigenous peoples through Western legal means. So, exclusion happened through spatial, legal and institutional measures (Lloyd, 2012, p.60, 67). Similarly, social barriers (Lloyd, 2012, p.68) were erected that restricted social interactions.

While assimilation occurred in the early years, it was not actively pursued in the third decade at the Cape Colony. This may be explained by the prioritisation of economic interests that weighed heavier than establishing a settlement in which the native peoples were transformed into "civilised, European" subjects (Pillay, 2021, p.390). However, when it was

deemed beneficial, the VOC treated the natives as assimilated members of the settler society by entering into peace "agreements" with natives, prosecuting them through Dutch legal mechanisms and applying Western ideas of land ownership. This is what I termed "selective inclusion", a biopolitical strategy aimed at controlling the colonised peoples' participation in certain aspects of settler society without involving them in elements of the settler society that might jeopardise colonial control.

6. Conclusion

In this thesis, the colonisation of the Cape Colony by the VOC was investigated through a biopolitical lens, focusing on the research question: *"How can settler colonialism by the Dutch VOC in the Cape Colony (1649-1679) be understood through the biopolitical strategies of domination used to control the Indigenous population?"* This research contributed to a deeper understanding of the way in which the Cape was colonised by the Dutch company and furthered the development of a framework for analysing power dynamics through biopolitical strategies. Socially, the study provides avenues for addressing contemporary issues, such as awareness regarding Indigenous land rights.

Biopolitical strategies in the colonisation of the Cape Colony

The analysis showed how the employment of biopolitical strategies changed throughout the three periods investigated. Following the discourse of the Cape Colony's authorities, these decisions were guided by their impact on the Company's economic interests. Exploitation and assimilation were premeditated because it was deemed beneficial to the profitability of the VOC. However, due to the difficulties of forcing natives to work for the Company, exploitation was limited and rather pursued through rewarding participation. Similarly, assimilation was unsuccessful as it proved a source of knowledge for resisting Dutch colonisation. So, the VOC stuck to language interpretation after the First Khoi War. This aligns with Pillay's (2021, p403-404) perspective on assimilation as a strategy that precedes more eliminatory strategies.

Conversely, the elimination of Indigenous peoples was avoided until their resistance was perceived as detrimental to the economic objectives. During the early years, the VOC was too dependent on the cooperation of Indigenous peoples for obtaining cattle to use violence. However, the First Khoi War in 1659 triggered a violent response, and the Second Khoi War in 1673 even involved hostile expeditions to kill as many enemy natives as possible,

representing more civilian-driven violence (Adhikari, 2020, p.144). Thus, elimination strategies used by the Dutch gradually increased, but the agency of natives has been consistently present through resistance efforts.

The strategy of exclusion has also strengthened as the colonial process advanced. Early on, Commander van Riebeeck only voiced his security concerns about the proximity of natives' camps, but their presence was essential for trade. In 1657-1660, exclusion occurred mainly through spatial barriers, such as fences. When the Company applied Dutch notions of ownership and prohibited certain tribes from trade in 1673-1679, the strategy transformed into spatial, legal, social and economic exclusion (Lloyd, 2012, p.67-69, 75-76).

In other words, the biopolitical strategies of elimination and exclusion were progressively more important to the colonisation process to deal with rebellious native tribes and to claim land for cultivation and settlement. In contrast, the policy of kindness was strictly pursued during van Riebeeck's reign, but its prominence declined in the 1673-1679 period. Both assimilation and exploitation were not essential objectives for the Company and the employment of these strategies rather resembled "selective inclusion". This shows that the Dutch VOC used biopolitical strategies that seemed to be most beneficial to the economic interests of the Company. However, as colonial rule and settler colonialism got a firmer grip on the Cape Colony, the dispossession and eliminatory strategies became more prominent, aided by selective inclusion. In conclusion, settler colonialism in the Cape Colony was a contradictory but deliberate process in which kindness and elimination, and exclusion and incorporation coalesced in an attempt to exercise control over the Indigenous population in a way that aids the core purpose of the colonial regime: in this case, economic interests.

Theoretical reflections and contributions

This development of biopolitical strategies of domination shows that Englert's (2020, p.1654) claim regarding the morphing of strategies can be observed in the Cape Colony too. Simultaneously, the strict separation sketched by Veracini (2015, p.15) of colonialism as exploitative and settler colonialism as eliminatory can be questioned. Although elimination seemed to become a more readily pursued strategy as the settler colony became more established, it did not necessarily coincide with the reduction of exclusionary strategies. Interestingly, Veracini (2015, p.18-19) argued that this strategy of elimination aligned with the end goal of settler colonialism: transferring people to the new state. However, the case of the Cape Colony highlights how the main objective of economic profit, which Veracini associates with colonialism, did not stop colonists from expanding the settler colony. This shows that the nature of settler colonialism is not limited merely to the recreation of the home society and the associated strategy of elimination.

During the analysis, in addition to the strategies of elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation, two strategies for exerting control were identified that were not theorised as biopolitical strategies in the scholarship yet. Firstly, "kindness" relates to the colonists' intentions to maintain friendly relations with the natives and do them no harm. During the early years at the Cape, Commander van Riebeeck emphasised the importance of friendliness to "make them attached" to the Dutch and increase the willingness of natives to trade. Violence against the Company was not retaliated until the First Khoi War. As the Second Khoi War approached, the Indigenous resistance was more readily answered with violence. Consequently, the true intentions of kind treatment became visible as the governor highlighted how it would improve the willingness of Indigenous peoples to cooperate with the Dutch. Thus, kindness was used to shape the behaviour of natives to suit the VOC. Despite this kindness,

this strategy may have had a confusing and contradictory impact on the Indigenous community as it was always intertwined with more forceful strategies.

The second strategy observed in the empirical data is "selective inclusion". As colonial rule intensified, native peoples were integrated into those elements of settler society that allowed for further dispossession and control while they were excluded from activities that might weaken colonial rule. In the Cape Colony, all tribes were involved in trade with the VOC at the beginning but not included in any other societal activities. Later on, some were prohibited from participating in trade as punishment but subjected to Dutch judicial processes. In this way, the colonial authorities were able to control the Indigenous population by tailoring the activities they could participate in to the Company's priorities. The impact of this strategy was that Indigenous peoples were partially and unequally incorporated into an invasive new society.

Academic and social relevance

This research has contributed to the case study by enriching the understanding of the historical context of the Cape Colony and the Dutch treatment of the Cape's Indigenous peoples, which might be beneficial for future research on these topics. Theoretically, the thesis furthered the framework of biopolitical strategies by combining elimination, exploitation, exclusion and assimilation, and provided additional strategies: "kindness" and "selective inclusion". This framework could guide investigations of power dynamics within settler colonial contexts through a biopolitical lens. Furthermore, the analysis of a "mixed" settler colony contributed to the debates regarding the nature of settler colonies, which can support the deepening of analyses in settler colonial studies.

The social relevance of the study relates to how these historical and theoretical insights provide a foundation for investigating how these ongoing colonial practices continue to impact Indigenous communities today. Knowledge about these biopolitical strategies can illuminate

how these are still used by big corporations. For example, in the recent Amazon case, building the corporation's headquarters is justified by the job opportunities it yields for the marginalised population (Bartlett, 2023). This resembles the pretentious kindness and selective inclusion that occurred in the Cape Colony hundreds of years earlier as dispossession and exclusion from land distribution decisions are ongoing. Hopefully, the contributions of this thesis will raise awareness of such continued colonisation practices and the associated biopolitical strategies.

Reflections and future research

As the research was limited to three shorter periods within a 30-year time frame, it would be relevant to expand the biopolitical examination to the later centuries of the Cape Colony and the South African case. This would provide a more accurate overview of the treatment of Indigenous peoples at the Cape over time. It can be expected that the eliminatory strategy gained traction as the settler colony expanded further inland.

Furthermore, the application of the biopolitical lens in other settler colonial contexts may produce interesting results regarding the treatment of the Indigenous population. For such future research, it would be valuable to use cases beyond the well-studied settler colonies of Northern America, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, such as Suriname, Mexico or contemporary West Papua. These examples are not perceived as the "pure" settler societies, which may yield interesting results regarding the biopolitical strategies employed by colonists.

Lastly, future research should pay attention to the agency of Indigenous peoples. This could expand the framework by connecting counteractions of natives to corresponding biopolitical strategies, which would acknowledge Indigenous agency and centre Indigenous narratives and perspectives.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1. Overview naming of native communities

Native communities[7]	**Dutch naming (English translation)**	**Tribal name**[8]
Khoikhoi (pastoralists)	Hottentotten (Hottentoots; overarching term for the Khoikhoi)	-
	Saldanhars	Cochoqua (under Gonnema and Oedasoa)
	Strandloopers (Beachrangers) (=without cattle) • Watermans (i.e. Vismans)	Choeringaina
	Caepmans (Capemen)	Goringaycona
		Gorachouqua
		Soewas
		Sonqua
San (hunter-gatherers)	Bosjesmans (Bushmen)	Sonqua

[7] This distinction is contested, but the most accurate and least offensive I could deduct from the literature (especially Marks (1972)).

[8] It seems the tribal names for the native populations were sometimes used inconsistently. For instance, in the archival sources, the Sonquas were referred to as “Cape Hottentots”, who might or might not have possessed cattle, or “Bushmen” (those without cattle). Some tribes are not classified by the commander/governor, such as the Obiquas or Hessequas.

Appendix B

Table 2. Overview of the analysed primary sources

Source	**Event**	**Page numbers**
Moody, D. (1838). *The record; or series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa.* University of Pretoria. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/recordorseriesof00mood/mode/2up	Establishment of the VOC refreshment station (1649-1654)	Part I, p.1-42
	Vrijburgers are allowed to live on the land, farm, and move around as "free citizens" (1657-1660)	Part I, p.93-123 and p.163-200
	Indigenous resistance and expeditions against the natives (1673-1679)	Part I, p.323-369

Appendix C

Table 3. Operationalisation of strategies, including examples from the primary documents

Strategies	**Definitions**	**Characteristics**	**Examples in Moody (1838)**
Elimination	Compromising a nation's "ability to reproduce itself culturally and biologically" (Adhikari, 2010, p.39).	Physical harm; killing	"besides the shot he received from the fiscal, had his neck cut half through by the groom's sword" (p.185)
		Dispossession	"we shall take the first opportunity, as being the best, to attempt suddenly to surprise and attack them with a strong force, taking as many cattle, and as many male prisoners as possible" (p.165)
		Racial mixing to reduce Indigeneity	N/a
		Destroying environments essential to Indigenous livelihoods and practices	"they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass, where their cattle were accustomed to graze" (p.186)
Exploitation	Reliance on Indigenous labour and services, usually through enslavement or	Forced labour; slavery	"5 Hottentots confined there had escaped [...] it is a proof of the strong desire of freedom which exists in a state of slavery." (p.323)

	coercion (Englert, 2020, p.1651).	Subjugation	"letting them hold their cattle in subordination to the Company but forced to sell to us, and to go out and fetch [barter for the Company] more when the stock might be too much diminished" (p.105)
Exclusion	Excluding Indigenous peoples by highlighting their "inferior" difference from the settler society (Pillay, 2021, p.407).	Segregation	"He [the overseer] had frequently asked them civilly to remove, as all the grass was wanted for the Company's cattle" (p.349)
		Rendered absent	Silences about the presence native inhabitants when new places were occupied: "We have also renewed your honors' ancient and lawful right of possession at Saldanha Bay [...] on Robben, Dassen, Mewen, Malagasen, Markus, and Schapen Islands" (p.348)
		Physical barriers	"For our greater security [...] fence the plantations and pasture grounds, as well as the Fort" (p.5)
		Exclusion from legislation/land rights	"if we built houses, and broke up the ground there, which they [the "Caepmans"] observed to be our intention, where should they live?" (p.93)

		Social/economic/cultural exclusion	"to show our resentment or at least that we should try to make friends with other tribes, to their exclusion" (p.351)
			"this covetous people have not only commenced this traffic without our previous knowledge and consent" (p.351)
Assimilation	"Suppression of language, religion, law, kinship systems, and other cultural practices through which the people maintain the relations among themselves" (Short, 2010, p.840) in order to annihilate social ties.	Eliminating characteristics of Indigenous nations	N/a
		Teaching the colonists' language/religion/culture	"he [Doman] has advanced surprisingly in the Christian worship" (p.120)
			"Doman, [...] could speak enough Dutch" (p.192)
		Homogenising culture	N/a
		Cultural genocide	N/a
		"Civilising" missions	"educate them in the Christian Religion, by which means, [...] many souls will be brought to God, and to the Christian Reformed Religion" (p.4)
Kindness*	A biopolitical strategy that aims to manipulate	Gift-giving	"and to oblige those tribes so far by small presents and kindness" (p.351)

	Indigenous peoples through kind treatment into cooperation with the colonists.	Encouraging cooperation	"seeing that this faithful deed must not pass unrewarded, but that they may be still more stimulated to catch the five remaining vagabonds [...] it was resolved to give them a present to the value of f60, in rice, tobacco, beads, arrack, &c." (p.365)
		Creating dependence on the colonists	"through our courteous behaviour, become the sooner accustomed to us, and attached to us" (p.12)
Selective inclusion*	A biopolitical strategy that integrated native peoples when it contributed to further dispossession and domination, whereas it excluded them from activities that threatened colonial rule.	Inclusion in disabling formal state institutions (e.g. movement restriction, unfair penal system)	"having been furnished with a passport to the following effect: "the bearers, being 4 or more messengers from Gonnema, are hereby permitted freely to pass and repass, wherever they will" (p.352)
			"the culprits were, according to the sentence of the Court, for their repeated crimes of violence and cattle stealing, committed upon the persons and property of the Company and good inhabitants, condemned to be hanged upon a gallows until death ensues." (p.365)

		Exclusion from empowering activities (e.g. economic opportunities)	“this covetous people have [...] commenced this traffic [trade with other native tribes] without our previous knowledge and consent” (p.351)

*Inductive themes

Appendix D

Table 4. Overview of the Commanders and Governors at the Cape Colony Relevant for this Research

Term	Commander/governor	Dates of birth and death
1652-1662	Commander Jan van Riebeeck	1619-1677
1672-1676	Governor Isbrand Goske	~1626-1691
1676-1678	Governor Johan Bax van Herenthals	1637-1678
1678-1679	Interim Commander Hendrik Crudop	1646-1720
1679-1699	Commander Simon van der Stell	1639-1712