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Settler skills and colonial development: The case of the French Huguenots in Dutch South Africa

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Settler societies, Huguenots and the Cape Colony

INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESIS



Institutions and colonial societies



- 'Institutions' matter
- Colonial societies are the setting for three important contributions
- What institutions?
 - Extractive versus settler (AJR 2001, 2002)
 - Tropical versus temperate (ES 2002, 2005)
 - Legal origin (LLS 2008)
- First two theories assume settlers are *homogenous*, LLS difference is legal origin
- Surely settlers are not all similar?
 - Modern trade theory and literature on migration
- Can we show this using evidence from the Dutch Cape Colony?



The Cape Colony



- Brief history of settlement
 - European settlement in 1652 by VOC
 - First 9 Company officials released to become independent farmers in 1657
 - In 1688, roughly 150 French settlers (Huguenots) arrive
 - After 1717, immigration discouraged, until 1795 British rule
- Characteristics of Cape economy
 - Three views
 - *Earlier historians* (De Kiewiet, De Kock, Theal): "Cape was an economic and social backwater"
 - *Recent historians* (Guelke, Giliomee, Shell, Feinstein): Cape was poor, but with pockets of wealth
 - *Economic historians* (Van Duin and Ross, Brunt): Cape was growing faster than previously thought based on quantitative evidence – though their evidence doesn't support their case
 - Cape was based on slave labour (1658)
 - VOC institutions/policies: monopsonist buying, prohibition on trade and manufacture



Research question



- French Huguenots arrive from 1688
 - Are they different than the Dutch settlers?
 - If so, why?
 - Possible explanations:
 - Better/more land, labour or capital? Education? Location? Marriage? Institutions?
 - We posit that their *origin* may somehow influence their productivity (also, choice of production type) at the Cape



Opgaafrolle and dummies

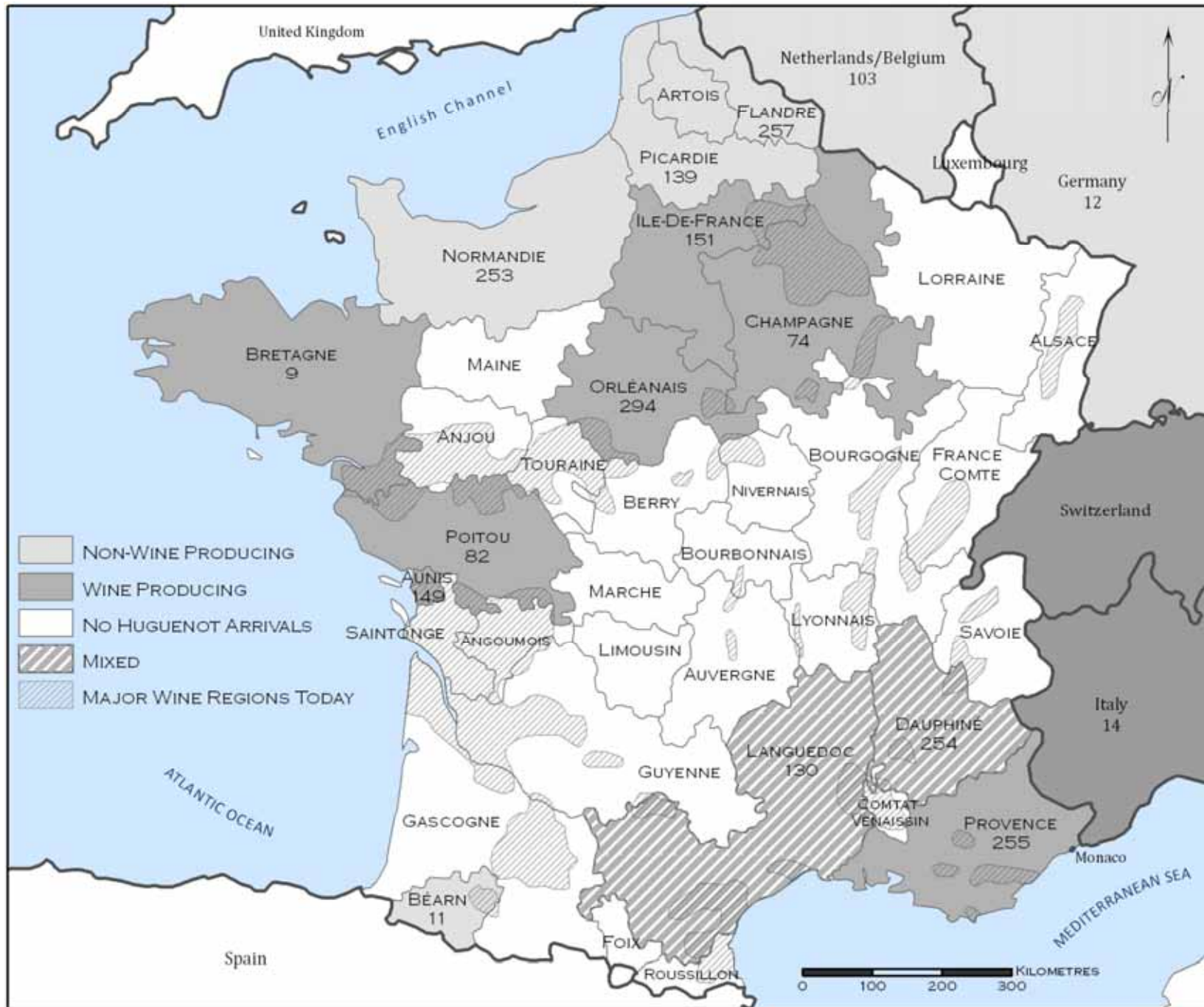
DATA AND METHODOLOGY



Data



- *Opgaafrolle* of the VOC
 - spanning 1663 to 1773
 - Roughly first century of Dutch settlement
- Tax records
 - Information on assets rather than consumption and income
 - Wealth and income inequality (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010a, 2010b)
 - Agricultural indicators
 - Grains (wheat, barley, rye), vines, wine, cattle, sheep, horses, pigs
 - Non-agricultural indicators
 - Slaves, knechts
 - No information on land





Linear and quintile regressions

RESULTS AND ROBUSTNESS CHECKS



Descriptive results



Year		Wine (leaguers)			Wheat Reaped (<i>muids</i>)		
		Non-Huguenot	Huguenot		Non-Huguenot	Huguenot	
			French Non-wine region	French Wine region		French Non-wine region	French Wine region
1700	M	1.16	1.18	1.40	4.32	2.65	3.69
	SD	2.50	1.44	1.47	9.15	3.92	4.32
	N	727	108	117	727	108	117
1709	M	0.98	0.55	0.83	17.45	7.30	8.14
	SD	2.74	1.37	1.69	39.28	9.68	11.06
	N	962	179	191	962	179	191
1719	M	0.80	0.44	0.98	9.45	5.93	3.76
	SD	1.92	0.98	1.67	22.17	9.50	4.75
	N	1058	154	218	1058	154	218
1731	M	0.75	0.55	1.13	8.68	6.65	5.46
	SD	2.36	1.31	2.12	18.02	11.69	12.43
	N	1536	245	305	1536	245	305
1741	M	0.33	0.25	0.67	10.55	11.76	8.33
	SD	2.20	0.67	1.03	28.67	24.46	20.79
	N	2045	306	360	2045	306	360
1752	M	0.49	0.54	1.18	4.72	3.54	4.20
	SD	1.93	1.92	2.36	17.51	10.91	14.88
	N	1986	362	462	1986	362	462
1757	M	0.61	0.82	1.23	3.36	1.64	1.53
	SD	2.51	3.49	2.85	14.86	6.34	5.41
	N	2960	431	636	2960	431	636
1773	M	0.63	0.93	1.89	3.73	5.51	2.82
	SD	2.65	2.95	4.34	12.83	16.71	8.04
	N	4547	653	932	4547	653	932

NOTES: Means, standard deviations and population totals are given on respective lines for each year. All figures are weighted to reflect the household size of each farmer. Only farming households are included in the sample.

10 Table 1: Mean household per capita production levels – by population groups over time



Are the WH different?



Full sample: **Yes**.

	1700	1709	1719	1731	1741	1752	1757	1773
NWH	0.383	0.274	-0.299	0.384	0.483	0.513	0.222	0.396
WH	2.150***	1.247**	1.386**	1.739***	1.809***	1.947***	1.620***	1.697***
Constant	-2.494***	-3.503***	-3.748***	-4.426***	-5.421***	-5.495***	-5.523***	-5.824***
R-squared	0.045	0.016	0.023	0.031	0.042	0.051	0.034	0.039
N	270	372	404	568	759	801	1139	1625
F statistic	17.064	2.162	3.649	5.452	7.561	9.656	8.616	12.54

Huguenot sample: **Yes**.

	1700	1709	1719	1731	1741	1752	1757	1773
WH	1.767**	0.973	1.685**	1.354*	1.326**	1.434**	1.398***	1.301***
Constant	-2.111***	-3.230***	-4.047***	-4.042***	-4.938***	-4.981***	-5.301***	-5.427***
R-squared	0.096	0.024	0.065	0.036	0.039	0.039	0.037	0.030
N	71	90	80	142	179	224	292	405
F statistic	6.288	1.563	4.79	3.619	4.655	5.808	7.819	8.733



What could explain the difference?



- More **land**? We control for number of vines
- Better **land**? We control for districts
- More **capital**? We control for slaves
- More **labour**? We control for knechts
- More **education**? We control for nonnumeracy
- Through **marriage**? We include a marriage dummy
- Better **settler institutions**? Cape controlled by Company
- Better **home institutions**? We use French-only sample



Results: Wine

Evidence of better quality?

NWH higher output per vine

	1700	1709	1719	1731	1741	1752	1757	1773
NWH	-2.689***	-1.150*	-1.450**	0.171	-0.424	0.162	-0.212	0.039
WH	0.348	0.535	-0.330	0.218	0.360	0.922*	0.640**	0.499*
Total Slaves	-0.049	0.159***	0.148***	0.054	0.057***	0.056***	0.032**	0.016
NWH* Slaves	-0.409	-0.064	-0.157**	-0.121**	-0.052	0.063	0.008	0.009
WH* Slaves	0.09	-0.228	-0.327***	-0.094**	-0.103***	-0.026	-0.136***	0.021
Knechts	-0.786***	0.356	0.683	-0.399	0.484	-0.972	0.647	-1.758
NWH* Knechts	-0.218	-0.175	6.740***	-6.318	6.655*	7.059*	-9.290***	0.997
WH* Knechts	-	-20.541	7.835***	-5.437	1.286	-7.123	-1.974	1.131
Number of Vines	0.268***	0.028	0.044	0.158***	0.118***	0.240***	0.174***	0.135***
NWH*Vines	0.322***	0.312***	0.346***	0.277***	0.341***	-0.110*	0.090**	0.059
WH*Vines	-0.064	0.178***	0.284***	0.195**	0.206***	-0.036	0.071**	0.004
Cattle	0.025*	0.011	-0.001	-0.008	-0.011***	0.001	-0.004*	-0.006
Wheat Reaped	0.013	0	0.013	0.017**	0.008	0.013**	0.007	0.003
Horses	-0.077	0.003	0.005	0.064	0.063	-0.119**	0.007	0.028
Cape Town	-2.383***	-1.226**	-1.173***	-0.396	-0.269	-0.42	-0.382*	-0.033
Stellenbosch	-0.521	0.417	0.636	1.501***	1.141***	0.299	0.670**	0.096
Swellendam	-	-	-	-	-	-0.663***	-0.645***	-0.613***
Married to NWH	1.094***	1.174**	0.511	0.087	0.530*	0.276	0.34	0.107
Married to WH	0.529	-0.569	1.130*	0.933**	0.677	0.148	0.404	-0.045
Constant	-3.114***	-4.577***	-5.089***	-6.077***	-6.672***	-6.440***	-6.369***	-6.379***
R-squared	0.583	0.417	0.463	0.605	0.623	0.701	0.699	0.7
N	270	372	404	568	759	801	1139	1625
F statistic	.	13.99	25.838	30.891	34.952	36.988	48.647	41.813



Results: French only

Lower quantity

Higher quality



	1700	1709	1719	1731	1741	1752	1757	1773
WH	4.173***	1.265	1.684**	0.898	0.859**	0.647	0.997***	0.247
Slaves	-2.692***	-0.079	-0.167	-0.059	0.012	-0.091	0.007	0.017
WH * Slaves	2.711***	-0.157	0.017	0.023	-0.045	0.132	-0.111**	0.007
Knechts	-	-3.311	5.577	-2.354	3.787	2.909*	-1.648	2.659
WH* Knechts	-	-	-0.657	-2.917	-3.352	-9.381	-	-4.246
Vines (1000s)	0.987***	0.312***	0.560***	0.620***	0.664***	0.446***	0.397***	0.147***
WH*Vines	-0.801***	-0.16	-0.270*	-0.283***	-0.323***	-0.244***	-0.152**	-0.006
Cattle	0.054	0.133***	-0.002	-0.031**	-0.038**	-0.003	0.007	-0.009
Wheat reaped	0.032	-0.032	0.082	0.000	0.010	0.025	-0.018	0.001
Horses	-0.211	0.185	0.315	0.057	0.204**	-0.332	-0.003	0.048
Cape Town	1.703	-1.058	-0.431	0.987	-0.726	1.485	0.429	0.078
Stellenbosch	-2.143	-0.979	-1.784**	0.901	0.412	0.686	0.632	-0.219
Swellendam	-	-	-	-	-	-0.683*	-0.914***	-1.124***
Not married to Huguenot	-0.998	1.224	-1.405	-0.917	-0.94	-0.313	-0.224	0.201
Married to WH	0.593	-0.293	-0.072	-0.435	-0.054	0.16	0.020	0.365
Non-numeracy	0.007	0.007	0.006	0.023**	-0.001	-0.013	-0.002	-0.01
Born abroad	-0.014	1.165	1.339*	-0.274	-0.892	-0.984	-	-1.046
Constant	-7.307***	-7.547***	-7.507***	-8.643***	-6.346***	-4.321***	-6.150***	-4.692***
R-squared	0.688	0.646	0.743	0.718	0.753	0.711	0.744	0.716
N	62	70	62	106	140	173	217	289
F statistic	.	19.729.	.	.	48.129.	.	25.2.	.



Results: Wheat?



	1700	1709	1719	1731	1741	1752	1757	1773
NWH	-0.295	-0.443	-1.166	-1.324	-0.825	-0.569	-0.118	-0.076
WH	1.178	-0.206	0.918	0.363	0.459	-0.095	-0.393	-0.228
Slaves	0.026	0.114**	0.088	0.057	0.022	0.034	-0.032	-0.035***
NWH*Slaves	-0.320*	-0.148	-0.024	-0.003	0.122	0.051	-0.011	0.007
WH*Slaves	-0.053	-0.361	-0.316***	-0.088	0.027	0.121**	0.077	0.074
Knechts	-0.673***	0.479	-0.856	-3.011**	-0.575	-5.692*	-1.969**	-2.175
NWH*Knechts	-15.449***	19.257*	-8.987	-0.156	2.509	1.547	-3.388	1.865
WH*Knechts	-	1.469	3.799*	25.353***	1.359	-8.06	-1.695	2.152
Wheat sown	0.549***	0.210***	0.241**	0.160**	0.286***	0.371***	0.419***	0.364***
NWH*Wheat sown	1.055***	0.17	0.695***	0.269***	-0.026	0.136	0.138*	0.161**
WH*Wheat sown	0.624**	0.245*	0.612***	0.049	-0.005	-0.038	0.160*	-0.072
Cattle	0.053***	0.002	-0.011*	-0.012	-0.014**	-0.001	-0.004*	-0.005
Wine	-0.09	-0.118	0.066	0.003	0.008	0.164*	0.022	-0.021
Horses	-0.103	0.18	0.277**	0.259**	0.152***	0.053	0.077**	0.204***
Cape Town	-0.792	-3.133***	-3.705***	-1.630***	-0.932**	-1.347**	0.729**	1.221***
Stellenbosch	0.84	-1.383**	-1.140**	0.804	-0.127	-0.431	0.157	0.059
Swellendam	-	-	-	-	-	-1.920***	-0.732***	-0.554***
Married to NWH	-0.612	0.624	-0.934	-0.461	-0.284	0.102	0.101	0.274
Married to WH	-1.377*	0.324	-0.639	0.588	0.797	0.275	0.114	0.449
Constant	-4.427***	-1.616***	-2.139***	-3.171***	-4.668***	-5.088***	-6.111***	-6.449***
R-squared	0.575	0.444	0.51	0.348	0.555	0.582	0.68	0.725
N	270	372	404	568	759	801	1139	1625
F statistic	.	10.723	65.236	12.136	20.063	46.564	39.546	61.773



Disparities and convergences

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS



Conclusions



- The regressions suggest:
 - The Huguenots were more productive in producing wine than the non-Huguenots
 - NWH produced more wine per number of vines, i.e. produced a higher quantity of wine, *ceteris paribus*, than the WH
 - WH preserved wine longer, i.e. produced a higher quality wine
 - The Huguenots had no advantage in producing wheat



Interpretations



- We argue that it was because the Huguenots brought specific skills from France, skills that gave them an advantage in making wine (not necessarily growing grapes)
 - There was always a market for the best wines in Cape Town; ships needed wine that lasted their entire voyage, i.e. quality wine
- These skills they protected, either
 - deliberately – “Many colonists at the Cape do indeed know the secret of preparing good wine, but they are not such fools as to give away their *secrets*” – Mentzel
 - or accidentally due to the high costs of transfer – years of learning-by-doing
 - Importantly: a handful of farmers at the top of the distribution drive results, protecting their skills in wine (but not wheat) production



Interpretations



- More broadly, the results also suggest:
 - A re-evaluation of the idea that settler groups are homogenous
 - I.e. that it is *only* the conditions in the settler economy that determine their “success”
 - Settlers’ skills may shape the “production function” of the new settlement
 - Moreover, in the Cape Colony:
 - The arrival of the French Huguenots (especially those from wine-producing regions) stimulated the production of wine
 - But, the labour-intensity of viticulture raised the demand for labour
 - In the absence of European labour, slaves were required (Policy Council meeting of 1717), resulting in higher inequality and, following Engerman & Sokoloff, lower future growth potential



THE END

QUESTIONS?