



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

A Forgotten Diaspora: Forced Indian Migration to the Cape Colony, 1658 to 1834

Parbavati Rama

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requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae in Population
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Supervisors: Prof. Robert C.-H. Shell and Prof. Nancy Stiegler

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore Indian forced migration to the Cape Colony from 1658 to 1834.

The ‘forgotten diaspora’ of its title refers to the first Indians who had come to the shores of South Africa, long before the arrival—between 1860 and 1911—of the indentured Indians. This diaspora has been forgotten, partially because these migrants came as slaves. The author uses data extracted from the newly transcribed Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) series and slave transfers which are housed in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS). The Cape colonial data is considered among the best in the world. Earlier historians such as Victor de Kock, Anna Böeseken, Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, have made us aware of their existence primarily through *Transportenkennis* and *Schepenkennis* (transport and shipping information) documents in the Deeds Registry. Not nearly enough, however, is known about these Indian slaves, especially about those who arrived between 1731 and 1834. These lacunae include the number of arrivals; their sex ratios; ages and origins; and the circumstances under which they came. This thesis aims to construct a census of Indian slaves brought to the Cape from 1658 to 1834—along the lines of Philip Curtin's aggregated census of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, but based on individual case level data coded directly from primary sources. This is the first time the size of the creole population born at the Cape will be established.

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Forgotten Diaspora: Forced Indian Migration to the Cape Colony, 1658 to 1834* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

PARBAVATI RAMA



May 2015

Signed:

DEDICATION

“In Cape Town resides part of the soul of many nations and cultures, priceless threads in the rich diversity of our African nation.”

President Nelson Mandela



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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of all the Cape slaves.



Figure 1: Natives of Arrakan sell Bengali slaves to the Dutch at Pipely in 1676
Source: Anonymous, Rijks Museum

ABBREVIATIONS

DEIC	Dutch East India Company (English for VOC)
DO	Deeds Office
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
MOOC	Master of the Orphan Chamber
SO	Slave Office
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TANAP	Towards a New Age of Partnership
TECP	Transcription of Estate Papers
TESCP	Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers of the Cape of Good Hope
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch for DEIC)
WCARS	Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service



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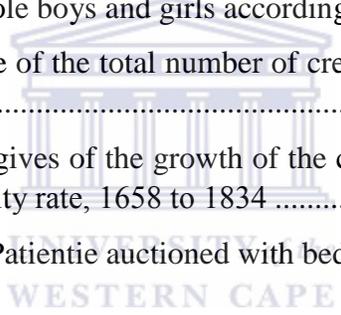
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CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

One of the perplexing questions in the South African slave context is that the exact origin of the slaves from the East is not clear cut. This applies especially to the Indian slaves because they have become so thoroughly absorbed into the local Coloured or creole population. There is no memory today of these slaves because they have either assumed the 'Malay' or the Christian coloured identity.¹ Without sufficient knowledge of the origin of the slaves, it is difficult to understand Cape culture and its cosmopolitan structure. To understand why Indian slaves were initially brought to the Cape, it is important to explore the historical and labour needs of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) or Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) (both names and their abbreviations are used interchangeably throughout this thesis) when it arrived at the Cape to establish a refreshment station.

1.2 Historical background and labour issues

Ever since the early fifteenth century the Portuguese had attempted to round the African continent to break the Muslim stranglehold over the overland trade routes to East Asia. Although they did not colonise the Cape, they did encounter the original local inhabitants such as the Khoe-San (also Khoisan), when they sought fresh water and to replenish their meat supply. The Khoe-San were comprised of two cultural groups, the Khoikhoi (also KhoeKhoe, referred to as "Hottentots"), who were semi-nomadic pastoralists, and the San (or Bushmen), who were smaller groups of hunter-gatherers. Since these tribes led itinerant life styles, the first European or white people thought that the Cape was largely uninhabited.

By the 1600s the Dutch and the British had replaced the Portuguese as the main traders in East Asia. The Cape served as a sick bay for sailors who were suffering from diseases such as

¹ Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema, 1978).

scurvy and fever as early as 1647.² The refreshment station that the DEIC³ established at the Cape in 1652 also served as a penal colony for convicts and political exiles from the East who resisted Dutch rule in the Netherlands' East Indies colonies. The main function of that refreshment station was to provide fresh meat, water and timber for passing Dutch fleets on their outward and inward journeys to the eastern trading stations.

Initial Dutch contact with the indigenous Khoekhoe was limited to trading, with the Khoekhoe supplying the colonists with cattle and sheep through bartering. This relationship was, however, not always cordial or beneficial, one reason being that the Europeans were ignorant of the Khoekhoe's social organisation. In order to improve the settlement's agricultural productivity, Jan van Riebeeck, the commander at the Cape in the employ of the DEIC, implored the Company's controlling Council (the Heeren XVII) to allow some of the Company's servants to be released from their service contracts so that they would be able to engage in free enterprise. Such permission was granted to an initial group of nine Dutch "free burghers"— who were given land grants to farm, on condition that they sold their produce at fixed prices to the Company.⁴ Their numbers grew to include immigrants from Germany, Scandinavia and France. This change in policy meant that the refreshment station had effectively developed into a colony, despite the fact that Van Riebeeck's initial instruction was that the Cape should not be colonised.

A shortage of labour prompted Van Riebeeck to make further overtures to the DEIC, this time for permission to import slaves to be used as a workforce for the settlement generally and for the burghers in particular. The DEIC's policy on slavery was quite clear: the local population could not be enslaved. Van Riebeeck made overtures to Batavia to supply the colony with Chinese labour, but received no response. As a result, when the Castle of Good Hope was constructed between 1666 and 1679, the local Khoekhoe were employed in housekeeping, gardening and other tasks. Most Khoekhoe preferred not to work for the colonists as wages were low and working conditions cruel. Clashes between European settlers and the Khoekhoe took place as the Dutch would also not agree to the prices asked by the Khoekhoe for their livestock, and objected to the fact that the Khoekhoe raided their

² Andre M. van Rensburg, *The VOC 'Caep Siekenhuijs'* [online resource] http://www.geocities.ws/sa_stamouers/voc5.htm (accessed: 30 April 2015).

³ The Dutch East India Company was a chartered company established in 1602, when the States-General of the Netherlands granted it a monopoly to carry out colonial activities in Asia.

⁴ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*. 2nd revised edition (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 293-303.

cattle and trampled their crops. This clash of diverse civilisations as well as the effects of imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to the annihilation of the Khoekhoe.

Another form of labour used at the Cape was the *knecht* system —there were company *knechts* and free *knechts* (the latter also included free blacks).⁵ Although this form of labour ceased to operate in the eighteenth century, it was a relevant, flexible and interim convenience for poor, novice and struggling farmers.⁶ It can be seen that in the Cape colonial household male children provided temporary free labour for their parents until they reached adulthood.⁷ They then acquired their own piece of land on which they could eke out an independent living. Any householders that wished to develop their own enterprise had to rely on paid labour, particularly when the settlement expanded to the north and east of Cape Town and labour became scarce. This was especially true for the wheat, livestock and wine farmers at the Cape, as the colony needed labourers for the backbreaking chores needing to be done on agricultural land.

When the French Huguenots arrived at the Cape in 1688, they started grape cultivation in the Franschhoek valley and the Stellenbosch district, and subsequently boosted output and productivity at the Cape. The newer production methods used on the vineyards required additional labour. Slave labour, as the low-cost alternative, was preferred to wage labour from Europe, especially when the smallpox epidemic of 1713 caused a decline in the colony's Khoekhoe population.⁸ Consequently the VOC facilitated the importation of large numbers of slaves into the colony.⁹

According to Evsey Domar, the creation of a slave system in an agricultural locale is dependent on three endogenous variables. These variables are “free land, free peasants and non-labouring landowners—any two elements, but never all three can exist

⁵ Free blacks were all free persons wholly or partially of African (but not Khoekhoe) or Asian descent. This is a definition from a note in Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, fn †, 184.

⁶ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 11-14.

⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 8-11.

⁸ Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828" in Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, 11.

⁹ Johan Fourie and Dieter von Fintel, *The Fruit of the Vine? An Augmented Endowments-Inequality Hypothesis and the Rise of an Elite in the Cape Colony*, Working Paper No. 2010/112 (Helsinki, Finland: UNU-WIDER, 2010), 6.

simultaneously.¹⁰ Domar emphasised that the “combination to be found in reality will depend on the behaviour of political factors —governmental measures—treated here as an exogenous variable.” The endogenous variables that were present at the Cape in the larger farming enterprises were free land and non-labouring landowners, but no free peasants. The VOC acted as the exogenous variable once the governor allowed elite farmers to extend the colony beyond its purpose of supplying the ships with fresh produce.

Dutch supremacy started waning towards the end of the eighteenth century, giving way to rising British imperialist power. The French Revolution and Enlightenment in Europe affected the number and the type of slaves coming into Cape society at this time. These events shaped the culture and the origin of slaves in the Cape. When sugar plantations were established in the New World, Europe's industrial interests focused on the Caribbean, instead of on India and the Indonesian Archipelago.¹¹ This led to fewer Indian and Indonesian slaves coming to the Cape. The British took over the administration of the Cape from 1795 until 1803 to prevent its occupation by the French, and during this period maintained the status quo. In terms of the Treaty of Amiens signed between Britain and France, the Cape reverted to Dutch rule (the Netherlands had from 1795 become the Batavian Republic, a client-state of France), but in 1806, because of conditions in Europe and the further need to keep the Cape out of French hands, the British occupied it once more. The Cape Colony thus became part of the British Empire, and was granted representative government in 1872. In 1808 the oceanic slave trade came to an end and slave amelioration laws were promulgated in 1828.¹²

Apart from the first groups of slaves who came from Madagascar and the west and east coasts of Africa, most of the slaves were imported from the East, from India, Sri Lanka and the Indonesian Archipelago. Many of the Indians who became slaves at the Cape were not

¹⁰ Evsey Domar, “The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis,” *Journal of Economic History*, 30, 1, The Tasks of Economic History (March 1970): 18-32, see especially page 21.

¹¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 40-65; Mortimer Chambers, Barbara Hanawalt, Theodore K. Rabb, Isser Woloch, and Lisa Tiersten, “Eighteenth-Century Empires” in *The Age of Imperialism: The Making of a European Global Order* (Mankato, MN: United States Academic Decathlon, 2011), 23-32; H. L. Wesseling, “The Expansion of Europe: 1492–1815” in *The Age of Imperialism: The Making of a European Global Order* (Mankato, MN: United States Academic Decathlon, 2011), 6-12. This chapter is excerpted from Wesseling’s *The European Colonial Empires 1815–1919* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), 18-19.

¹² Great Britain, An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 47, George III, Session 1, cap. XXXVI, 1807 (effective 1808); Cape of Good Hope (South Africa), *Ordinance 50 of 1828* (Cape Town: W. Bridekirk, Gazette Office, 31, Heerengracht, 1828).

enslaved in their motherland, as they were either servants or bondsmen.¹³ This was confirmed by the Reverend William Wright, a missionary in the Cape of Good Hope in the 1830s, who wrote of the slaves that “[s]ome are natives of Bengal and other parts of India, who came into the colony as free servants, and were bartered or given away to the colonists.”¹⁴ In fact, there is reason to believe that many of the slaves—far too many of them were children, even less than ten years old—had been kidnapped in India.¹⁵ Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal appointed in 1773, wrote in a Minute dated 17 May 1774 of the practice of stealing children from their parents and selling them for slaves, has long prevailed in this country, and has greatly increased since the establishment of the English Government in it... numbers of children are conveyed out of the country on the Dutch and specially the French vessels.¹⁶

There is also an account of Ari, an Indian slave who had been kidnapped as a child while playing with other children on the Surat beach.¹⁷ These accounts give an indication of the colonial powers’ disregard for the captured people, whatever their age.

1.3 The data set

This present research is not based on one data set, but several which became available from a number of research studies in Cape slave historical demography. The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) data set has become available through the endeavours of the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers (TESCP) project that drove the transcription of inventories and slave auctions for the period 1673 to 1834. The MOOC set, together with the Slave Lodge data set, the Böeseken, Hattingh and Shell data set (1658-1731) and the Slave Office 10/18 data set (1823-1830) will be analysed using a prosopographical methodology.¹⁸ These data

¹³ Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape: Bengali Slaves in South Africa from 17th to 19th Century*. Xlibris, 2013. [e-book] (Kindle edition).

¹⁴ William Wright, *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1831), 72.

¹⁵ Enuga S. Reddy, *Articles, Papers, and Speeches* “Indian Slaves in South Africa: a Little Known Aspect of Indian-South African Relations” (November 1990), 4, [online resource] <http://www.geocities.ws/enugareddy/southafrica.html> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

¹⁶ Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *Copy of the Despatch from the Governor-General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 8th day of February 1841, with the Report of the Indian Law Commissioners, ...* 262, 1841: 183; Zakiuddin Ahmed in "Slavery in Eighteenth Century Bengal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 11, 3 (December 1966): 71-95.

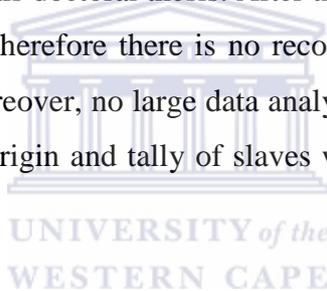
¹⁷ Marius François Valkhoff, *New Light on Afrikaans and Malayo-Portuguese* (Louvain: Editions Peeters, Impr. Orientaliste, 1972), 45-46.

¹⁸ See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of this methodology.

sets contain valuable information on the origin of Cape slaves, make possible a detailed diachronic analysis that will enhance research into the creolisation process in the Cape. The voices of the slaves at the Cape in the nineteenth century were silent: this thesis will, by using the bottom-up approach, allow something of their lives to be told, and their voices heard. Furthermore, an examination of the interaction between slaves, local burghers and officials will reveal some important aspects of the social history of the slaves at the Cape.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Until now no complete systematic study on the origins of slaves at the Cape has been undertaken. In fact, no systematic study of Indian slaves has ever been done before. Previous studies included that of Robert Shell on the social history of slave society at the Cape, in which he did a demographic analysis of all the slaves,¹⁹ albeit only for the years 1652 to 1808 and from 1680 to 1731 for his doctoral thesis. After this period, 1731, record-keeping at the Cape was not accurate, and therefore there is no record available of all the slaves who arrived via the oceanic trade. Moreover, no large data analysis of slaves was undertaken after 1731. This means that both the origin and tally of slaves were based largely on a variety of assumptions and inferences.



The “origin of slaves” theme has several dynamic components that can be found in existing documents. They include the slaves’ countries of origin, their numbers and the reasons why they were enslaved. Many studies, using different methodologies, have examined these documents, but unfortunately few oral records based on recorded interviews with Cape slaves or their descendants exist in comparison with the huge number of these from the slave-owning colonies (later states) of what became the United States of America.²⁰ The Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) has, however, an abundance of official documents dating back to 1652, although not all of these are available for perusal. Researchers of Cape slave history have sought out and perused slave records in the Deeds Office in Cape Town, inventories, auctions and wills in the archives, church baptismal records, annual censuses and travellers’ narratives.²¹ Even manumission and crime records

¹⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 41.

²⁰ See, for example, anthologies such as William L. Andrews, “North American Slave Narratives: An Introduction to the Slave Narrative” *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/intro.html> (accessed: 2 April 2015).

²¹ These sources are discussed in detail in the Literature Review.

were perused to establish the origin of slaves at the Cape. In the context of this study, the Masters of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) data set has become available thanks to the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers of the Cape of Good Hope project (initially called TESPC, now TEPC—Transcription of Estate Papers) that has transcribed inventories and auctions from the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (TECP) for the period 1673 to 1834. This huge project—aimed at making the VOC archives accessible to scholars—is part of a programme endorsed by UNESCO called Towards a New Age of Partnership (TANAP). In this thesis the MOOC data set, together with that of the Slave Lodge, the Böeseken, Hattingh and the Shell data sets (1658-1731), and the Slave Office 10/18 data set (1823-1830) will be analysed using a prosopographical methodology.²²The Orphan Chamber data set contains over 17,000 case-level entries and lists inventories and auctions or *vendurollen* from 1685 to 1834, when slavery officially ended at the Cape.²³

Locally born or creole slaves contributed significantly to the growth of the slave population, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this group began to predominate late in the eighteenth century.²⁴While the process of creolisation has previously been discussed by eminent historians,²⁵ no one has done a full count of the number of creoles born at the Cape. The new data set that of the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC), will try to fill the gaps that exist in earlier research. While the objective of the thesis is to study the whole slave population, its emphasis will be on the Indian slaves.

1.5 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to use a new data set comprising inventories and auctions from 1685 to 1834 to undertake a demographic analysis of the Cape slaves, especially Indian slaves, by using data that have only recently become available.

²² See Literature Review for a detailed discussion of this methodology.

²³ See Appendix 1 on page 167 for a detailed description.

²⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 46-65.

²⁵ See for example, Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 46-65 and his “Saledeed, 1652-1731” data set, Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Saledeed* aggregated dataset in Excel format drawing on the Deeds Office records (DO) and records in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and incorporating data compiled by Anna Böeseken and Leon Hattingh, 1658-1731 (N=4,123); Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1978), 90-103; Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 52-63. For a definition of creolisation, see pages 105-106.

1.6 Objectives of the study

This study seeks to establish:

1. What happened to the Indian slaves who came to the Cape, their numbers and their origin;
2. The sociological impact of imbalanced sex ratios among the slaves;
3. The age composition of the slaves and the implications thereof;
4. The creolisation process and the moment of creolisation—when the locally born slave population exceed the imported slave population;
5. The number of creole slaves born at the Cape.

1.7 Organisation of the remainder of the thesis

The first chapter provides an overview of the historical background, problems and themes that affected the origin and tally of slaves at the Cape.

Chapter two presents a review of the literature around the origin of those slaves who came to the Cape via the oceanic trade. The literature explores the previous studies undertaken by eminent researchers of Cape slavery and the limitations of these studies. It also discusses the political, social and economic vectors that influenced the size and origin of slaves during the various periods and administrations at the Cape. Then, the review enhances the literature with examples and comparisons from the global slave trade.

In chapter three the various research methodologies to be applied in the thesis are expounded. Since the research is data-based, quantitative techniques such as prosopography, descriptive statistics and modelling are the main methods used to analyse the demographic data. Spatial analysis and comparative method are two additional techniques which enhance the research endeavour.

Chapter four explores the relationship between skewed sex ratios and various crime incidents and the sociological impact of these on the Indian slaves. This comparison, between the Indian sex ratio as against that of the creoles and of slaves from other regions, highlights a propensity for deviant behaviour.

Chapter five analyses the age composition of the slaves and the implications age structure had on labour issues in both Cape slave society and contemporary South African politics.

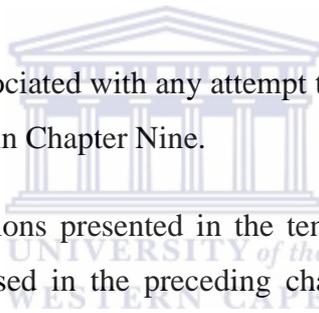
Chapter six gives a breakdown of the origin of the slaves. The assumption among historians is that many slaves came from Malaysia. It will be shown that this was not the case, and that slaves from India were in the majority.

Chapter seven discusses the creolisation process at the Cape in which the locally born slaves begin to outnumber imported slaves. The moment of creolisation that occurs when locally born slaves make up more than 50% of the slave numbers is analysed diachronically.

Chapter eight calculates and models the creole population born at the Cape. Both arithmetic and modelling techniques are used to arrive at the creole population sum. In both chapters seven and eight, the whole Cape slave population is analysed to unravel the creolisation and creole numbers theory.

There are inherent challenges associated with any attempt to calculate the number of slaves at the Cape. These will be explored in Chapter Nine.

The thesis ends with its conclusions presented in the tenth chapter, which also includes a summary of the main points raised in the preceding chapters and suggestions for further study.



CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY: A CLIOMETRIC APPROACH

2.1 Introduction

In 1975, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman introduced cliometrics, the study of history using quantitative methods.²⁶ At first, the marriage between history and statistics was met with scorn, criticism and resistance. Named after Clio,²⁷ the Greek muse of history, cliometrics applies quantitative techniques to trace and explain historical processes. At first, cliometrics was almost indistinguishable from economic history, but with the advent of the personal computer in 1980 and the popularity of the new SPSS (the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and other statistical packages, cliometrics broadened its focus to include prosopographical techniques, family reconstitution methods, demographic analysis and spatial statistics (GIS). A host of historical topics came under new cliometric scrutiny. Today there are few young historians who do not use databases for research.

2.2 Prosopographical methodology

Katharine Keats-Rohan, who is regarded as one of the major contributors to modern prosopography, described it as being

about what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connection between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the institutions—social, political, legal, economic, intellectual—of their time.²⁸

According to the renowned scholar Lawrence Stone, who is widely acclaimed as having devised the most comprehensive and coherent definition of the technique, “[p]rosopography

²⁶ Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods: A Supplement* (Boston: Brown and Company, 1974).

²⁷ The prefix, Clio, is derived from Ancient Greek mythology—Clio was the Muse of History. Cliometrics had its origin in the Economic departments of American universities in the 1950s.

²⁸ Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, "Prosopography and Computing: A Marriage Made in Heaven?" *History and Computing*.12.1 (2000): 2.

is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives.”²⁹ Deon C. Smythe, a Byzantine historian at Queen's University in Belfast, adds:

Prosopography as ‘group-biography’ is misleading, as it is not the study of life histories in groups (nor indeed the biography of groups) but rather the study of biographical detail about individuals in aggregate. Whilst prosopography is not averse to statistical analysis, nevertheless the individuality of each actor is preserved.³⁰

As historian Sandra C. T. Shell has indicated in her recent doctoral study of a group of late nineteenth-century Oromo slave children, prosopography is a useful tool for historians to determine common attributes within a population, as well as to highlight any variation from which new historical knowledge is generated.³¹ Sandra Shell used this tool to good effect in her study and also contributed to a useful survey of its development.³² Within the prosopographical methodology, researchers have engaged in various techniques associated with database analyses. These techniques are described in detail below.

2.3 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics describe basic features of the data such as the mean, median, mode and standard deviation in a study. The variables are divided into categorical and numerical data. The mean, median and the mode lend themselves to numerical data. Categorical or non-numeric variables, such as gender, can be categorised as male or female. With descriptive statistics, therefore, one is simply confirming what the data shows. The data can be further enhanced with graphics, such as pie charts, bar charts or histograms. Pie charts and bar charts are used mainly for categorical data while histograms are used for continuous ratio, dates, or numerical data. In the case of the age and sex structure of a population, population pyramids are the most appropriate to illustrate the embedded structure of a society at any given time.³³

²⁹ Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography,” *Daedalus* 100, 1 “Historical Studies Today” (Winter, 1971): 46.

³⁰ Dion C. Smythe, “Putting Technology to Work: The CD-ROM version of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)*” *History and Computing* 12, 1 (2000): 85-98.

³¹ Sandra C. T. Shell, “From Slavery to Freedom: The Oromo Slave Children of Lovedale, Prosopography and Profiles” (PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 2013), 1.

³² Shell (Sandra), “From Slavery to Freedom,” 1-4.

³³ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell and Sandra Rowoldt Shell, compilers, *The Island of Research: A Practical Guide and E-toolkit for the Information Age*. 3rd revised and enlarged edition (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2011), 167-183.

An investigation into historical demography entails collecting data from the past from both primary and secondary sources. The ideal data for a historian would be case-level data, and in the case of slavery, direct ship-to-port information on the slaves. This was, however, not always available, as some corrupt officials who were large slave traders, clandestinely obtained slaves for their own financial benefit and hence they were not officially recorded in documents.³⁴ For example, there is no mention of the slaves of prominent Cape officials and burgher councillors such as Governor Simon van der Stel and prominent merchant, Samuel Elsevier, on annual census returns and in the inventories.³⁵

2.4 Modelling

The methodologies, which were developed to enumerate slaves from different regions around the globe, were ground-breaking, although much of the research was based on assumptions and derived statistics. Researchers depend on assumptions because either gaps exist in the historical data or the data is immature. Assumptions are thus driven chiefly by intention, historical slave population patterns and comparative studies. For example, Philip Curtin, in his study of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, made assumptions as to mortality rates during both the First and Middle Passage and the average number of slaves captured and sold.³⁶ In the Cape slave context the assumptions differ from the rest of the Occidental and Oriental studies, as the Dutch East India Company left impressive records of its slave trade.³⁷ In addition, the Cape slave trade also differed from the other slave trades because, although it was of a shorter duration and fewer slaves were imported, their origins were diverse, dynamic and unique.³⁸

When modelling is undertaken, assumptions have a major impact on the results. Input variables such as age, year, gender, origin and population/ethnic groups are influenced strongly by assumptions.

³⁴ Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 429-431.

³⁵ See Appendix 1 on page 167.

³⁶ Philip D. Curtin, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 275-286. The first passage is the process of enslavement and the Middle Passage is the forced Trans-Atlantic voyage of slaves from Africa to the New World.

³⁷ Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658-1700* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1977).

³⁸ See Chapter Six, Place of Origin of Slaves, page 84.

2.5 Spatial analysis

Spatial analysis is a geographical technique that uses longitudinal and latitudinal co-ordinates of point or place-variables to create maps with distinct features. This technique is widely used in various disciplines to highlight the visualisation of place-variables. Just as tables and graphs are used in statistics to enhance data presentations, the technique would serve as a useful tool to highlight the slaves' places of origin in the East. This technique can be a stimulating academic endeavour, as it presents new ways of studying historical topics.

The methodology makes use of a computer-generated spreadsheet program such as Microsoft Excel, into which data is transcribed for various analyses. Individual case-level data is converted into place point data. Two things are necessary for computer mapping: a computerised map and a way to place information on that map. To develop this map, one must assign x- and y- coordinates to the place of origin. Other features on the map would be the European trading stations, important harbours, plantations, main rivers and principle towns (vector data). This digitising process allows information to be placed on the map by assigning an x- and y- coordinate to each piece of information. This process is called geocoding, the computer equivalent of pushing pins into a map on a pin board.

In the research, the longitudinal and the latitudinal co-ordinates of the trading stations, harbours and plantations are derived variables. Additional variables, such as the different European slaving bases, can also be emphasised by various colour coding to show which areas they ruled and colonised. Colours will identify, for example, the Portuguese state of Goa, the Dutch possessions of Cochin and Chinsura, as well as the British and French possessions in India. Moreover, spatial analysis indicates the specific points of origin of the slaves.

2.6 Comparative method

The comparative method enables scholars to discover the correlations and differences that exist between specific societies and thus create explanations about historical events that are broader than a particular time or place. For the most part, this model is used to compare two stages in time (either snapshots or time-series), or to evaluate a particular incident over a period of time to assess possible differences. In this regard, the *Annales* school had some

influence on the comparative method used in the new ways historical texts are studied in creating new insight and knowledge. Especially influential was March Bloch's pioneering article on the comparative history of European societies in 1928.³⁹ Subsequent historians who applied the comparative method effectively to slave studies were David Brion Davis, Orlando Patterson, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Eugene Genovese and Michael O' Brien. They concentrated mainly on the effects of the legacy of ancient slavery on the society and the intellectual culture of slave societies in the New World.⁴⁰ One of the weaknesses of South African history is the general absence of the comparative analysis in research. By comparing Cape slavery to other slave societies the research is then placed in a global perspective. For example, Satyendra Peerthum's comparative analysis of manumission rates at the Cape, Mauritius and Jamaica showed that locally born slaves or creoles, in contrast to foreign-born slaves, stood a better chance of being manumitted in the three British colonies.⁴¹ By contrasting the manumission rates and their patterns, Peerthum demonstrated in which society it was that the slaves stood a better chance of obtaining their freedom.

2.7 Conclusions

Many South African historians still tend to focus on qualitative methods, and it is only in the last two decades that there has been an attempt to overturn the status quo and conform to a new scientific standard, that is, quantitative methodology. The use of prosopography will allow any study to be free from bias and cherry-picking. The prosopographical methodology also provides the historian with the tool to discover common attributes within a group as well as to highlight any variation, from which historical knowledge is generated.

³⁹ Alan Macfarlane, *Marc Bloch and the Historian's Craft* [online resource] www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/Bloch_craft.pdf (accessed: 27 April 2015).

⁴⁰ Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari, *Slave Systems-Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 10.

⁴¹ Satyendra Peerthum, "Gauging the Pulse of Freedom: A Study of Manumission in Mauritius, the Cape Colony and Jamaica during the Early Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective." Paper presented at the DEMSA Conference at the University of the Western Cape in October, (2002): 3-26.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE SLAVE TRADE OF THE CAPE IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the secondary literature on the slave trade to the Cape from 1658 to 1834. The chapter also examines the work of scholars such as Philip Curtin, Ralph Austen and David Eltis who have extensively studied the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The literature review details the previous work on slavery at the Cape conducted by Frenchman, Henri Pierre Dehérain (1909), to Anna J. Böeseken, Margaret Cairns, Christopher Saunders, Nigel Worden, Michael Reidy and Robert C.-H. Shell. The review will focus on their work pertaining to the origins of slaves who were imported into the Cape Colony by colonial powers such as the Portuguese, Dutch, British, Danish, French and American. The outcomes of these initial studies have created a need amongst historians and communities to conduct further studies to create a more detailed overview of the topic.

According to Patrick Manning, the global slave trade could be divided into three distinctive groups: the Occidental, the Oriental and the African slave trades.⁴² The Occidental slave trade refers to western slave societies such as North America, South America, the West Indies, South Africa and the Mascarenes Islands (i.e. Mauritius and Reunion). The Oriental slave trade was represented by the largely Islamic markets in North Africa and the Middle East.⁴³ Unlike the Occidental and Oriental slave trades, the African slave trade was an internal institution within African societies.⁴⁴ Manning, however, failed to mention that the Indian Ocean slave trade as one of the global slave trade systems. Moreover, the Indian Ocean slave trade, which is regarded as the oldest slave system in the world, does not feature prominently

⁴² Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9-12.

⁴³ Ralph Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 23-76.

⁴⁴ Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

in modern historiography.⁴⁵ As a result, there is no comprehensive overview of the volume of forced labour, or an understanding of its impact on the global economic system.

Eminent scholars have claimed that Indian Ocean slavery is overlooked in Asian colonial historiography. For example, Markus Vink, a historian at the State University of New York, states that:

Whereas the Atlantic slave trade has been mapped out in relatively great detail in numerous studies, its Indian Ocean counterpart has remained largely uncharted territory and overlooked in Asian colonial historiography.⁴⁶

Both Paul Finkelman, an expert in American legal history, and Joseph C. Miller, a historian at the University of Virginia, argue that:

Compared with the Atlantic trade, none of this Indian Ocean flow of captive labor, legal or illegal, has been well researched, and there are no conclusive quantitative studies of its volume.⁴⁷

Likewise, Nigel Worden of the University of Cape Town is of the opinion that slaves who came to the Cape from the Indian sub-continent are understudied and under-researched.⁴⁸ The Cape slave context has begun to receive attention over the last two decades as researchers have made excellent use of Dutch sources that are available in various archives, such as those in The Hague and Cape Town. This new information on the Indian Ocean slave trade and, in particular, the Dutch trade with the East Indies and Indian sub-continent, has provided scholars with additional knowledge of the slave trades and other global economic systems.

3.2 The Trans-Atlantic slave trade

When Philip D. Curtin, a historian of Africa, wrote his pioneering book, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* in 1969, he estimated the number of individuals transported between the sixteenth century and nineteenth century across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World:⁴⁹ his

⁴⁵ Markus P. M. Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History*, vol. 14, no. 2 (June 2003): 135.

⁴⁶ Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade," 132.

⁴⁷ Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade," 131.

⁴⁸ Nigel Anthony Worden, "The Slave System of the Cape Colony and its Aftermath," in *Slavery and Slave Systems in Asia and the Indian Ocean*, ed. G. Campbell (London: Routledge, 2005), 29-49.

⁴⁹ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

analysis of shipping contracts and data from the ports of entry enabled him to arrive at an estimate of between nine and ten million individuals.⁵⁰ This caused a vigorous debate among researchers and inspired other historians to undertake their own research. The exact figure was hotly debated, and the estimates arrived at after Curtin's publication ranged from between eight million to twenty-eight million. Estimates of the number of individuals brought from Africa as slaves that preceded Curtin's research ranged from three-and-a-half million to numbers as high as forty million individuals.⁵¹ Both W. E. B. Du Bois, an American civil rights activist, and Joseph E. Inikori, an African slave historian, mention because the widely repeated figure of twenty million was an extrapolation from now-lost records pertaining to Jamaica, and the figure of fifteen million used by W. E. B. Du Bois was a repeated number arrived at by Edward Dunbar, a nineteenth-century abolitionist.⁵²

Instead of basing his research on assumptions and hearsay, Curtin applied modern quantitative analysis to the scholarship for the Atlantic slave trade and provided the first detail measurement of the overall dimension of the trade, drawing nearly entirely on earlier published and new primary research. Both David Eltis and David Richardson, historians of the African diaspora, revised Curtin's slave trade estimates by drawing extensively from shipping data (1501–1867), recording slave voyages from Africa to the New World.⁵³ Their figures did not, however, deviate much from Curtin's estimate.⁵⁴ Since the publication of Curtin's book in 1969, scholars have attempted to apply the same methodology to the Indian Ocean slave trade. One of the limitations of Curtin's research was the lack of case-level data for his estimate of slaves coming to the Americas.

3.3 Oriental slave trade

Ralph Austen's studies of the Oriental slave trade and, in particular, the Islamic slave trade, showed that the North African slave population reached 7,220,000 between 650 AD and 1600 AD.⁵⁵ Of these, 4,820,000 travelled via the Trans-Saharan route, 1,600,000 via the Red Sea

⁵⁰ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 268. His figure was 9,566,100 slaves. See Table 77 on page 268.

⁵¹ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 3-13.

⁵² Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 6-8.

⁵³ David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 90.

⁵⁴ Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 90. Eltis' estimate was that 9,468,000 slaves arrived in America.

⁵⁵ Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," 23-76.

route, and 800,000 came by way of the east coast route. The French scholar, Raymond Mauny, was the only historian to arrive at an estimate of the Trans-Saharan slave trade in its entirety when he cited a figure of 14,000,000.⁵⁶ It is thought that the number of slaves absorbed into Islamic societies equalled that of the Trans-Atlantic trade, although it occurred over a much longer period (twelve to thirteen centuries in contrast with the Atlantic slave trade's four centuries). It is clear, then, that even the thoroughly researched slave trades estimates arrive at conflicting results.

Overall, David Henige had asserted that no global estimate of the slave trade is possible, "though carefully constructed micro-studies might provide limited answers."⁵⁷ Sandra Shell has challenged Henige's hypothesis with her micro-study of the Oromo slaves who were brought by the British navy into the Cape Province from Ethiopia in north-east Africa.⁵⁸ Henige had asserted that there will always be an absence of data for the first passage which Sandra Shell's study had refuted. It has, nevertheless, been impossible to obtain absolute numbers for the larger slave trades, especially if the slave agents traded in illegal slaves who remained unrecorded in official documents.

3.4 Indian diaspora in pre-colonial Southern Africa

The term "dispersion" is a translation of the Greek word "diaspora," which is mainly used (when capitalised) in reference to the spread and exodus of Jews outside of the land of Israel.⁵⁹ Semantically, however, diasporas are characterised by the dispersion of specific human populations across the globe.⁶⁰ Since time immemorial, groups of people have migrated (voluntarily or involuntarily) from one land mass to another as a result of wars, famine, religious conflicts, in search of new lands, unexpectedly strong ocean currents and slavery.

⁵⁶ Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," 29.

⁵⁷ David Henige, "Measuring the Immeasurable: The Atlantic Slave Trade, West African Population and the Pyrrhonian Critic," *Journal of African History*, 27, 2 (1986): 295-313.

⁵⁸ Sandra C. T. Shell, "From Slavery to Freedom":

⁵⁹ Steven Vertovec, "Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among South Asian religions," in *Diaspora* 7 (2) [in press, 1999]: 2-4.

⁶⁰ Edward A. Alpers, "Defining the African Diaspora," Paper presented to the *Center for Comparative Social Analysis Workshop*, University of California, Los Angeles (October, 2001): 3-4.

In the modern world, the Indians, English and Chinese are the most widely dispersed people with established sizable communities in many countries.⁶¹ The Indian diaspora began many centuries before the oceanic slave trade in the fifteenth century: the Indians migrated to the Indonesian Archipelago, to East Africa, to the Middle East and to Southern Africa. Theories, both tested and unverified abound, of a Dravidian⁶² Indian presence in Africa, for example, across Southern Africa from Mashonaland in Zimbabwe to Cape Town.⁶³

In addition, the research of Odila Braga, a historian who studied shipwrecks off the coast of South Africa, has thrown new light on the activities of the pre-seventeenth century Portuguese slavers to the Cape. Braga has consulted and translated many Portuguese voyages for UNESCO. A few months after she arrived in Johannesburg in 1997, she was invited to be part of the UNESCO Slave Route team. The invitation came from Max Guérout in Paris, with whom she had had previous professional exchanges, while working in Rio de Janeiro. She was given the task of researching all slave ships that had been wrecked along the South African coast. Few historians and South Africans still realise that slaves arrived in South Africa long before 1652. Indeed, they arrived on board Portuguese slave ships, either because of a shipwreck or as a planned port call. For many involved in this UNESCO project, it was a big surprise to find out that the slaves were mostly of Indian origin heading to Lisbon.⁶⁴

Gillian Vernon's 2013 doctoral thesis on shipwrecks on the Eastern Cape coast of South Africa confirms the slaving practices of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Her research has contributed to the existing knowledge of the Indian Ocean slave trade.⁶⁵ Her analysis of Portuguese shipping records and narratives provides evidence of Indian slaves who were originally meant to be exported to Lisbon. These slaves and their Portuguese owners, who were survivors of shipwrecks, did not all proceed to Mozambique in anticipation of rescue—many stayed behind and were subsequently absorbed into the local populations of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

⁶¹ Pookong Kee, "Diasporas," *Australian Economic Review* 47, 2 (June 2014): 252.

⁶² A Dravidian is a member of one of the aboriginal races of India. Rajend Mesthrie, *A Dictionary of South African Indian English* (Cape Town: Juta and Company, 2010), 69.

⁶³ Cyril Hromnik asserts that there are parallels between Quena culture in the Cape and the Dravidian culture from South India, in "Will 2010 rob the Quena again?" *Cape Argus* (21 January 2007): 19. Cyril Hromnik. "Were Indians the first colonists in SA?" [Online resource] *Electronic Mail and Guardian* (7 October 1997) <http://www.montaguguanocave.co.za/docs/cave-article.pdf> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

⁶⁴ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, Sandra Shell and Mogamat Kamedien, editors. *Bibliographies of Bondage* (Cape Town: Nagspro Multimedia, 2007), 176-193.

⁶⁵ Gillian Vernon, *Even the Cows were Amazed: Ship-wrecked Survivors in South-East Africa, 1552-1782* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013).

3.5 Dutch slavery in India and East Africa

The Indians who came to the Cape from the seventeenth century onwards, did so not as free people but as slaves. There were two key, successive diasporas from India to Southern Africa, the first beginning in the seventeenth century. The second diaspora is well documented and researched and occurred between 1860 and 1911, when the British colonial government introduced indentured labourers from India to work on the sugar plantations of KwaZulu-Natal and the Mascarenes Islands in the Indian Ocean.⁶⁶ The first diaspora began when the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) repeatedly imported slaves from its Eastern colonies for the refreshment station which was established in Cape Town in 1652. Initially, the first group of slaves imported into the Cape arrived from West Africa (mostly from Guinea and Angola) in the 1650s.

The Dutch slave trade to the Bay of Bengal and the Arakan region during the period 1621 to 1665 begs investigation, as information about it is limited. Several Asian slaves were sold to the Dutch by both Portuguese mercenaries and Arakanese (known as “Maghs” in Bengal).⁶⁷ Using Chittagong and nearby Dianga as their base, these slave raiders carried out slave hunts in Bengal. Most of these slaves were subsequently shipped to Batavia by way of Masulipatnam.⁶⁸ The activities of the Portuguese mercenaries in Bengal were reminiscent of the slave raids by the *prazeros* (agents who bought and sold slaves) of Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony in Africa.⁶⁹ The Bengali slaves who came to the Cape in the early seventeenth century were mostly Muslim slaves.⁷⁰ However, when the Mughal rulers captured the Portuguese bases such as Hooghly (in 1632) and Chittagong (in 1666), they expelled the Portuguese and Magh pirates and forbade the enslaving of Muslims. When the settlement changed hands from the Portuguese to the Dutch in 1658, both Negapattinam and Pulicat emerged as a key axis for the Dutch slave trade. Between 1658 and 1660 a total of

⁶⁶ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: a South African story, 1860-1914* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2010).

⁶⁷ Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape: Bengali Slaves in South Africa from 17th to the 19th century*. Xlibris, 2013. [e-book] Kindle edition.

⁶⁸ Wil O. Dijk, “An End to the History of Silence? The Dutch Trade in Asian slaves: Arakan and the Bay of Bengal, 1621-1665” [online resource] *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter* 46 (Winter 2008). http://www.old.iias.asia/files/IIAS_NL46_16.pdf (accessed: 27 April 2015). A total of 11,556 men, women, and children were involved.

⁶⁹ Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson, “Making the Chikunda: Military Slavery and Ethnicity in Southern Africa, 1750–1900,” in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, eds. Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 95–119.

⁷⁰ The following three paragraphs are based on the previously cited e-book by Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape*.

3,695 slaves were bought and shipped off to Batavia via Jaffna. Several slaves with the toponym *van Batavia* were found at the Cape, and could easily have originally come from India.

Ansu Datta, an Africanist and Bengali sociologist, describes the modus operandi used by the European colonial powers to regulate the slave trade between India and their African colonies. He mentions several push and pull factors, which led to the migration of Indian slaves to African colonies. These included famine, war, kidnapping and pilfering. A number of documentary sources indicate how the VOC acquired its slaves from slavers whose raids took place on the Coromandel coastline. There the slavers also took advantage of what they euphemistically referred to as 'voluntary' slavery and bought people selling themselves and/or their children in times of famine. There are accounts of people selling themselves as slaves to clear their debts. The slavers often bought people who had been enslaved inadvertently during the local wars and slave raids. There were times when the VOC also carried out its own slave raids, also chiefly on the Coromandel coastline; occasion people were lured onto ships in the promise of exceptionally profitable deals and then forcefully enslaved, as they were kept on board until the ship had sailed. Many times the shippers captured or bought Indians of a variety of positions in society, thereby acquiring slaves from both the upper and lower castes. Francis Buchanan talks about "agrestic slaves" who became the absolute chattels of their masters. The peasants mortgaged themselves to their creditors during times of suffering and were consequently subjected to gross abuse based on caste tyranny. Thus, the validity of David Brion Davis's statement that "the more we learn about slavery, the more difficulty we have defining it"⁷¹ can hardly be challenged.

The Dutch, however, were not solely responsible for importing slaves into the Cape. Documented data has shown that a number of excess or private slaves were profitably offloaded from French, Danish, Portuguese and British ships en route to Europe and the New World.⁷² In fact, the Cape's first two slave imports came from West Africa in the 1650s, after a Dutch ship intercepted a Portuguese ship laden with slaves. Subsequently, the DEIC was then prohibited by the Dutch West India Company from acquiring slaves off the west coast of

⁷¹ David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 8.

⁷² Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 13.

Africa. From then on all slaves came from Mozambique, Madagascar, India, Sri Lanka and the Indonesian Archipelago.⁷³

Although few of the indigenous people of the Cape were enslaved in the New World, a hypothesis by Julian Cobbing shows that even populations from Swaziland and Natal (present day KwaZulu-Natal) were not spared from enslavement.⁷⁴ Ruth Edgecombe states that when Zwide was defeated by Shaka in 1819, several Nguni chiefdoms moved northwards. One of them, Shoshongane, a leader in Zwide's army, settled in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay where he indulged in a highly profitable slave trade.⁷⁵ Because there were no borders between KwaZulu-Natal and southern Mozambique during colonial times, several Zulus could have found themselves enslaved on a journey to the New World, or even to the Cape, as there are several slaves with the toponym *terra de Natal* in the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) data set.

3.6 Literature on Cape slavery

In the South African context, the Indian Ocean slave historiography has generated great interest among both historians and the public, particularly after 1994.

The first Indian slave arrived at the Cape in 1658,⁷⁶ and the last legal slaves shipped from the East came in 1767.⁷⁷ The accounts of travellers and visitors such as Otto Mentzel, Anders Sparrman and Karl Thunberg, have given us a glimpse of colonial life and slavery, albeit from a European perspective.⁷⁸ Henri Dehérain (1867-1941), a graduate of African history at

⁷³ Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 41-43.

⁷⁴ Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo," in *Journal of African History*, 29 (1988): 478-519. See also Table 32, p. 113 in Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census*, where data from Aguirre Beltran (*Poblacion negra*, pp. 244-245) reflect the ethnic origins of Afro-Mexicans at the end of the seventeenth century, showing one Xhosa slave from Zozo and seven Nguni slaves probably from the Cape and Natal.

⁷⁵ Ruth Edgecombe, "The Mfecane or Difaqane," in *An Illustrated History of South Africa*, Chapter 9, Part 3, edited by Trehwella Cameron and S. B. Spies (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1988), 115-126.

⁷⁶ Deeds Registry, Cape Town. *Schepenkennis*, vol. 1 (1652-1662).

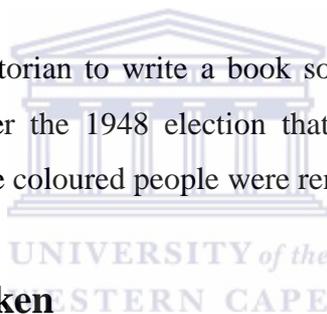
⁷⁷ Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indische Plakkaatboek, 1602 to 1811* (vol. 8), ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1885-1900), 291-292.

⁷⁸ Otto Friederich Mentzel, *A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and all things considered Remarkable African Cape of Good Hope...*; translated by G.V. Marais and John Hoge; revised and edited with an introduction by Harry Joseph Mandelbrote. 3 volumes (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1921, 1925, 1944). Van Riebeeck Society first series; 4, 6, 25. Originally published Glogau: Christian Friederich Gunther, 1785-1787; Anders Sparrman, *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle around the World and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the year 1772-1776*; edited by Vernon S. Forbes. 2 volumes (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1977). Van Riebeeck Society

Sorbonne, was the first historian to write about the Cape slave trade, but he too, relied on published sources, mainly the archival précis of Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt.⁷⁹ Dehérain was also able to access some material relating to the Dutch slave trade with Madagascar.

Willem Blommaert (1886-1934) relied largely on published sources for his work on the first ten years of slavery at the Cape. He mentions Jan van Riebeeck's request to the Heeren XVII for slave labour, the arrival in 1658 of the first cargo of slaves from Dahomey in West Africa, and—also in 1658—the chance capture of a Portuguese slaving ship bound for Brazil carrying Angolan slaves.⁸⁰ Unlike the slaves in the antebellum South, who left behind a plethora of autobiographies and narratives, Cape slaves left no significant written legacy of their own.⁸¹ This means that until the mid-twentieth century little was known about the lives of slaves. Thereafter more books on the subject appeared, but it was really only in the late twentieth century that a number of important works based on rich archival evidence were published.⁸²

Victor de Kock was the first historian to write a book solely on South African slaves and slavery. This was published after the 1948 election that brought the National Party into power, and just a few years before coloured people were removed from the voters' roll.⁸³



3.7 Anna Jacoba Böeseke

The foremost researcher to carry out seminal work into the origin of slaves, was Anna Jacoba Böeseke, a contemporary of Victor de Kock. Anna Böeseke is a pioneer in bringing the lives of early slaves at the Cape to the attention of both historians and the public. Using twenty-two volumes housed in the Deeds Registry or Office, she transcribed the names and the origin of slaves and was therefore able to present a reliable account of the origin and

second series; 7; Karl Peter Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1986). Van Riebeeck Society second series; 17.

⁷⁹ Henri Dehérain, *Le Cap de Bonne-Espérance au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Orstrom, 1909). See Bibliographies of Bondage, eds. R. Shell, S.R. Shell and M. Kamedien.

⁸⁰ Willem Blommaert, "Het Invoern van de Slavernij aan de Kaap," *Archives Year Book of South African History* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1938), Part 1: 1-29.

⁸¹ Jacqueline Jones, "My Mother Was Much of a Woman: Black Women, Work and the Family Under Slavery," *Feminist Studies* 8, 2 'Women and Work' (Summer, 1982): 235-269.

⁸² Jackie Loos, *Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 2004).

⁸³ Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1950). Both Böeseke and de Kock focused their research on approximately the same period.

existence of Cape slaves in the seventeenth century.⁸⁴ The first of these volumes contains information relating to *Schepenkenisse* (1652-1662), while volumes 2 to 22 cover *Transporten* and *Schepenkenisse* (1663-1700). The *Transporten* and *Schepenkenisse* volumes contain information about both cargo transactions and shipping activities in Table Bay. Böeseke's research covered the movements of some 2,000 slaves.⁸⁵ Her investigations unequivocally proved that those slaves with an eastern origin came from the area of the Indonesian Archipelago as well as the Indian sub-continent. She was, however, not a quantitative historian and thus provided a list of only 2,000 slaves.

Her research in the Deeds Office (the depository of all Cape Town's landed property registrations) was later criticised by Leon Hattingh, an archival historian, who found mistakes in her transcriptions.⁸⁶ It was also Hattingh who first pointed out the huge gaps in the Deeds Office documents, for in some cases whole volumes were found to be missing. Despite these shortcomings, Böeseke's research laid the foundation for the work of future researchers that would extend and revise her figures. She uncovered in the Deeds Office previously unknown information about Indian slaves. This was different from the material she found in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS).⁸⁷ Further research into the genealogy and origins of the Cape Muslim slaves was undertaken by Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns,⁸⁸ while Hans Heese published a book in which he traced many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Afrikaner bloodlines to Indian slaves.⁸⁹ Richard Elphick, Robert Ross, Robert Shell, Nigel Worden, John Hoge, Achmat Davids and, most recently, Mansell Upham,⁹⁰ are other researchers who have contributed to this field.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Anna J. Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658–1700* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1977).

⁸⁵ Anna J. Böeseke, ed. *Belangrike Kaapse Dokumente: Memoriën en Instructiën, 1657-1699*. 2 vols. (Cape Town: South African State Archives, 1967).

⁸⁶ Leon J. Hattingh, "A. J. Böeseke se Addendum van Kaapse Slawe-Verkooptransaksies: Foute en Regstellings," *Kronos* 9 (1984): 3-12.

⁸⁷ Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658–1700*.

⁸⁸ Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema, 1978).

⁸⁹ Hans Friedrich Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense: Die Rol en Status van die Gemengde Bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652–1795*, 2 edition. (Cape Town: Protea, 2005).

⁹⁰ The following articles are all by Mansell Upham: "Children of Ham: The Use of the Name Africanus/Africana during the Early Stages of the VOC's Colonial Occupation of the Cape of Good Hope. Early Examples of Affirmative Identification with the African Continent by Eurasian, Eurafican and even European Folk." *Capensis* 4 (2001): 46-50; "The Soetkoek Syndrome: The Dangers of 'Wishful Linking' and Perpetuating Genealogical Myths when Sharing Ancestors and Genealogical Data." *Capensis* 2 (2001): 27-30; "Armosyn Revisited." *Capensis* 2 (2000): 19-33; "Creolisation and Indigenisation: Burlamacchi and Diodati Family Ties In The Dutch VOC Empire." *Capensis* 4 (1999): 16-34; "Mooi Ansela and the Black Sheep of the Family: A Closer Look at the Events Surrounding the First Execution of a *Vrijburger* in Cape Colonial Society for the

3.8 Margaret Cairns

Following in Böeseke's footsteps, Margaret Cairns tried to interpret the pattern of slave transfers for the period 1658-1795. She explored their place and/or country of origin and their multiple transfers to different owners in the Cape.⁹² Moreover, her research went beyond the *Transporten* and *Schepenkennisse* volumes in the Deeds Registry. She focussed on those Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) documents in the WCARS that dealt with the sale or transfer of slaves. Together with Frank Bradlow, she acquired information from various scholarly studies on the places of origin of slaves and free blacks between 1658 and the early nineteenth century. Cairns and Bradlow's data, nevertheless, do not cover the whole period after 1700 and targets a little over three thousand slaves only.⁹³ This present research intends to extend their study, and to investigate how the new Orphan Chamber data set tallies with their figures.

The historian, James Clyde Armstrong, studied the slaving expeditions of the Dutch East India Company ships to Madagascar from records consisting mainly of ship logs and trade journals in the WCARS and the Rijkarchief in The Hague.⁹⁴ In the face of strong competition from the Arabs, Portuguese, French and the English, they procured 5,820 slaves for the Cape during the period 1652 to 1795.⁹⁵ In the seventeenth century alone, the Dutch acquired 1,064 slaves.

Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee are the editors of the influential *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820*, first published in 1979, in which various authors explore seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Cape social history in order to understand the complexity

Murder of a Non-European." Part 7. *Capensis* 2 (1999): 27-38; "Groote Catrijn: Earliest Recorded Female *Bandiet* at the Cape of Good Hope: A Study in Upward Mobility." *Capensis* 3 (September 1997): 8-33.

⁹¹ Richard Elphick and Robert C.-H. Shell, "Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks" in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee. 2nd revised edition. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 184-239; Robert Ross, "The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony," *Slavery and Abolition* 9 3 (December 1988): 209-219; Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994); Nigel Worden, "Indian Ocean Slavery and Its Demise in the Cape Colony," edited by G. Campbell (London: Routledge, 2005), 29-49; John Hoge, "Personalalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806," *Archives Year Book of South African History* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946), 1-495; Achmat Davids, *The Mosques of the Bo-Kaap* (Athlone: The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, 1980).

⁹² Margaret Cairns, "Slave Transfers, 1658-1795, A Preliminary Survey," *Kronos* 6 (1983): 21-32.

⁹³ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 102.

⁹⁴ James C. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Omalasy Anio* (Antananarivo) 17-20 (1983-1984): 211-232.

⁹⁵ Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century," 227.

of the relationships that developed between the colonists, the slaves, the Khoisan and the free blacks.⁹⁶ The book attempts to explore these early Cape relationships to see how they laid down the foundation for South Africa's racially stratified society. For its second edition, which has become a prescribed history text in most South African universities, James Armstrong and Nigel Worden co-wrote a chapter on the slave trade, which has become a standard in the literature on slavery at the Cape.

According to Michael Reidy, slave vessels on their way to the New World between 1797 and 1807 transported over 7,200 slaves from Mozambique to the Cape. These mainly young persons of working age came to dominate the Cape's population of bonded labourers.⁹⁷

In the South African slave context, the only researcher who has used modelling for the Cape slave census was Robert Shell, a historical demographer at the University of the Western Cape.⁹⁸ Other techniques which he employed to calculate the slave census were retro-diction and the stable population method. Shell's estimated that there were 64,000 slaves at the Cape for the period, 1652 to 1808.⁹⁹ Shell worked with 4,123 case-level entries, (1658 to 1731) and the aggregate totals from the reports of the *opgaaf* (or annual tax and census rolls) that covered the period 1658 to 1834.¹⁰⁰ He also used the 1823 sale data set, for all slaves from 1823 through to 1830. Nigel Worden put his own estimate at 80,000 slaves for the same period,¹⁰¹ basing it on censuses in the WCARS. The data set for this thesis contains 15,938 case-level entries and covers the period 1685 to 1834.

⁹⁶ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1979). First Edition.

⁹⁷ Michael Charles Reidy, "The Admission of Slaves and 'Prize Slaves' Into the Cape Colony, 1797–1818" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997), 5-6. Michael Charles Reidy has also compiled an inventory of all slave voyages to the Cape.

⁹⁸ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 439-448.

⁹⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 40-41.

¹⁰⁰ Robert C.-H. Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680-1731" 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1986). The VOC conducted "*opgaafrolle*" (tax and census rolls) every year to collect taxes. The information collected included the number of people, slaves, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, vines, bushels of wheat and firearms. Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Saledeed* aggregated dataset in Excel format drawing on the Deeds Office records (DO) and records in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and incorporating data compiled by Anna Böeseken and Leon Hattingh. 1658-1731 (N=4,123); Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Popucape* dataset (1652-1835). Data drawn from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the WCARS and the Public Record Office (PRO); Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *1823sale* data set (N= 5,512) in Excel format, drawn from records of the Slave Office (SO) 10/18 (1823-1830), WCARS.

¹⁰¹ Vink, *The World's Oldest Trade*, 144.

Paralleling Böeseken and Cairns' research, Shell also investigated documents in both the Deeds Office and in the WCARS. Shell supplemented Böeseken's research by transcribing and analysing data from the Deeds Office (4,123 cases) up to 1731.¹⁰² At present documents for the period after 1731 have not been transcribed and are available at the WCARS in the unexamined notarial protocols and un-inventoried *transporten* (transport) documents.¹⁰³ David McLennan had begun work on the notarial protocols at the WCARS, but left the Archives Service before he could complete the inventory. The notarial protocols remain scattered among hundreds of VOC files, and therefore the enormous task of inventorying these documents listing is one that awaits future researchers.

While historians such as Nigel Worden and Robert Shell have studied Cape slavery extensively, not much has been written about slave voyages, the political setup and the demographic composition of the slaves in the slaving regions. Piet Westra and James Armstrong filled this void to a degree by giving a good account of the VOC's foray into Madagascar in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴ Their description of the slaving conditions in and around Madagascar gives historians some insight into the difficulties encountered by the VOC in procuring slaves for the Cape from the East African coastal areas, and provides a first-hand account of slaving voyages.

Dan Sleight and Piet Westra have described in some detail the February 1766 slave mutiny on the VOC slave ship, the *Meermin*.¹⁰⁵ This account fully demonstrates that slaves resisted their enslavement, and were not simply willing participants in the slaving process. At the same time an account is given of conditions during the Middle Passage from East Africa to the Cape, something that must have played out time and again on many a journey. Dan Sleight in his doctoral thesis writes about the role played in the slave trade by Dutch outposts like the Castle in Cape Town as well as in faraway places like Delagoa Bay and Mauritius.¹⁰⁶ He provides the reader with a view of the lives of the people who lived at these VOC-manned

¹⁰² Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680–1731" 2 vols. (PhD. diss., Yale University, 1986).

¹⁰³ Johann F. Preller, *Inventory of the Notarial Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, 1790–1879* (Cape Town: Archives Repository, 1949). (Inventory No. 1/7/1) [online resource] http://databases.tanap.net/ead/html/CapeTown_1.7/pdf/CapeTown_1.7.pdf (accessed: 30 April 2015).

¹⁰⁴ Piet Westra and James Armstrong, *Slave Trade with Madagascar: The Journals of the Cape Slaver Leijdsman, 1715* (Cape Town: Africana Publishers, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ Daniel Sleight and Piet Westra, *Die Aanslag op die Slaweskip Meermin 1766* (Cape Town: Africa Publishers, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Sleight, *Die Buiteposte: VOC-Buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur, 1652-1795* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2004).

outposts. Sleigh's research has uncovered for other historians information about the slave ships that visited these outposts.

Robert Shell's mammoth undertaking, *From Diaspora to Diorama* in a CD-ROM format, provides extensive information about Cape slavery. Its focus is particularly on the Slave Lodge at the top of Adderley Street, Cape Town, South Africa, and on its administration and the slaves who lived in it.¹⁰⁷ The CD gives readers a glimpse of life in the Lodge through the eyes of the slaves. It contains over 9,000 pages of interpretations, new eyewitness accounts and illustrations. In addition, the appendices contain over 6,000 entries of slaves and political exiles covering issues such as slave voyages, censuses, manumission and demographic profiles.

In October 2004 the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers from the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (TESCP) project commenced the transcription of inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*) which yielded the names and origin of numerous slaves who came from both the East Indies and Africa.¹⁰⁸ The new Orphan Chamber data set looks promising, as it could provide some of the missing data for the period 1732 to 1834.

3.9 The Indian research connection

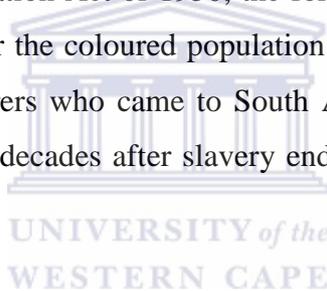
Why have the Indian slaves brought to the Cape been ignored? One of the vexing questions at the Cape has been the origin of the 'Malay' slaves. The presence and identity of Malay slaves have been a contentious issue at the Cape as both Indian and Indonesian slaves have been lumped together and referred to as Cape Malays.¹⁰⁹ This construct has blurred the perception of the origin and identity of the Indian slaves.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, compiler. *From Diaspora to Diorama, The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*. CD-ROM and explanatory booklet (Cape Town: Nagspro Multimedia, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), *MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) inventories of deceased persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01-MOOC 8/40, (1673-1834)* (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC 8/01- MOOC 8/40 (1673-1834). See also Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town: Hansa Reprint, 2005), 5.

¹⁰⁹ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 83.

Since the passage the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, during the apartheid era, persons who could not be classified racially were often classed as “Other Coloured.”¹¹⁰ Many people had to endure needless anxiety and humiliation when undergoing the ‘pencil-test’ to determine their racial origin.¹¹¹ If there were any uncertainty about one’s racial identity, a pencil was inserted into the person’s hair and if it fell to the floor, that person was considered “white,” but if it remained in the hair, the person was classified as coloured because the hair was considered to be too ‘kinky’ to be that of a white person.¹¹² Most of the descendants of former Indian slaves, Indonesian slaves and the free blacks or *vrijzwaren* were classified as coloured under this Act. Free blacks were ex-slaves, their descendants, the occasional free immigrants and ex-convicts.¹¹³ In Dutch and British colonial records and in travellers' accounts from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, Muslims were called Malay, Mohammedan, Mussulman, Javaan and Coloured Moslem.¹¹⁴ At the Cape, before and after emancipation, numerous Indian slaves converted to Islam, while others turned to Christianity. So, under the Population Registration Act of 1950, the former eastern slaves were classified as Cape Malay, a subgroup under the coloured population group umbrella.¹¹⁵ The irony was that the indentured Indian labourers who came to South Africa during the second diaspora from the 1860s, just under three decades after slavery ended in 1834, were classified under the Indian population group.¹¹⁶



3.10 The dispute about Malay origins

There is little consensus among scholars on the Malay/Muslim identity at the Cape, a matter that has been debated throughout the twentieth century. In the 1970s, scholars such as Robert Shell and Frank Bradlow argued that the Malay identity came about not for ethnic reasons,

¹¹⁰ Other terms used were Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Khoe-San, Griqua and Chinese. The terms, Baster was used in Namibia and Goffal in Zimbabwe. Sue Valentine, “An appalling 'science,’” [online resource] *Sunday Times Heritage Project*. http://www.sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/an_appalling_science.htm (accessed: 27 April 2015).

¹¹¹ Deborah Posel, What's in a Name? Racial Categorisations under Apartheid and Their Afterlife,” *Transformation* 47 (2001): 56.

¹¹² Wendy Watson, *Brick by Brick: An Informal Guide to the History of South Africa* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2007), 65.

¹¹³ Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998), 64-65.

¹¹⁴ Shamil Jeppie, “Re-classifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim” in Zimitri Erasmus, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: Perspectives on Coloured Identities in the Cape* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 83.

¹¹⁵ The Cape Malay. [online resource] *South African History Online: Towards a People’s History* <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people-south-africa/cape-malay> (accessed: 3 September, 2013).

¹¹⁶ Ashwin Desai and Goolam H. Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story, 1860–1914* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2010).

but rather because the Malay language was the *lingua franca* (vehicular language) of the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁷ Shamil Jeppie, the University of Cape Town historian, has distanced himself from the Malay ethnic identity discourse and aligned himself to a Muslim identity.¹¹⁸ He is highly critical of those who embraced the Malay ethnic identity which he believes “promotes [an] insularity and belligerent communalism” that is so pervasive globally.¹¹⁹ To this end, he censured the efforts of I. D. du Plessis, an Afrikaner scholar, for actively trying to promote the Malay ethnic identity by creating bodies such as the Cape Malay Choir Board in 1975.¹²⁰

Sugata Bose, a professor of oceanic history at Harvard University, states that the peoples living along the vast rim of the Indian Ocean share a “common, historical destiny” and “an organic unity.”¹²¹ For instance, Hindu and Buddhist traditions are entrenched in many societies across present-day Indonesia in syncretistic *kebatinan*.¹²² Many slaves from India and South-East Asia who arrived at the Cape, thus, came from different belief systems which were mostly interconnected with this universal milieu. Moreover, India’s maritime contact with South-East Asia can be dated as far back the fourth century BCE. Lipi Ghosh claims that “it was these trade networks which not only marked trade and exchanges, but also characterized the trajectory and route of the culture throughout the region, through Hinduism and Buddhism from South to South-East Asia.”¹²³ The established language of trade between these regions, as mentioned above, was Malay.

3.11 The shipping question

No account of the slave trade would be complete without a consideration of changing shipping patterns which directly influenced the places of origin of the slaves who came to the

¹¹⁷ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 84-85.

¹¹⁸ Shamil Jeppie, “Historical Process and the Constitution of Subjects: I. D. du Plessis and the Reinvention of the ‘Malay’” (Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987).

¹¹⁹ Shamil Jeppie, “Commemorations and Identities: The 1994 Tercentenary of Islam in South Africa,” in *Islam and the Question of Minorities*, ed. Tamara Sonn (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996), 72-91.

¹²⁰ Shamil Jeppie, “Historical Process and the Constitution of Subjects: I. D. du Plessis and the Reinvention of the ‘Malay’” (Honours dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1987).

¹²¹ Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 4-15.

¹²² Julia Day Howell, “Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 701-729. *Kebatinan* is an amalgam of animism, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic—especially Sufi beliefs.

¹²³ Lipi Ghosh, *Eastern Indian Ocean: Historical Links to Contemporary Convergences* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), xxii.

Cape. These changes were effected by an increase in international shipping, a maritime conflict and the Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784).¹²⁴ The Dutch sustained heavy shipping losses as England took charge of the East Indies. The Dutch, who had the French as allies, offered to have French garrisons stationed at the Cape.¹²⁵ As the French were heavily involved with the Mascarene Islands' sugar economy, they traded extensively in Madagascar and Mozambique and more slaves came to the Cape from those areas than from the East.¹²⁶ The slave trade at the Cape was opened to free enterprise in 1792.¹²⁷

3.12 The moment of creolisation

The moment of creolisation occurs when a locally born slave population's composition constitutes 50% or more of the total slave population (both local and foreign-born).¹²⁸ Creolisation depends on various factors, such as sex ratios, number of imported slaves, the treatment of slaves, the mortality rate and the fertility rate amongst female slaves. As a result, there are several scientific debates about exactly when creolisation took place in the Cape.

It can be seen from the literature on the slaves' sex ratios that these ratios were generally high and skewed.¹²⁹ In the Trans-Atlantic slave trade to the New World slave colonies, the ratios were approximately 180 males to 100 females.¹³⁰ Angola, a Portuguese colony in central Africa with skewed sex ratios, had a surplus female population, but because polygyny was an established custom, these women were able to counterbalance some of the losses of the slave trade by continued reproduction.¹³¹ This was not possible in slave societies where the numbers of male imports were double or at least greater than that of the female imports.

It stands to reason, then, that for a slave population to increase, there must be sufficient female slaves in it, but slave societies that imported more females did not necessarily have

¹²⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 43-46.

¹²⁵ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 45.

¹²⁶ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 45.

¹²⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 45.

¹²⁸ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 47.

¹²⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 72-73.

¹³⁰ David Eltis, "The Volume, Age/Sex Ratios, and African Impact of the Slave Trade: Some Refinements of Paul Lovejoy's Review of the Literature" in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (1990); Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700 to 1739* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

¹³¹ John Thornton, "Sexual Demography: The Impact of the Slave Trade on Family Structure," in Martin Klein and Claire Robertson, eds. *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 39-48.

higher fertility rates. Indeed, Ralph Austen's investigation of the Trans-Saharan slave trade shows that slaves were replenished at the rate of 15% per annum between 1300 and 1850.¹³² The Islamic societies of North Africa did not rely on the reproduction capacity of their female slaves although these slave populations suffered both high mortality and manumission rates.¹³³ In the Oriental slave societies (which imported two females to one male),¹³⁴ slave women did reproduce, but their progeny was assimilated into the host society as the manumitted children of free males. Thus, "the proportion of the Oriental population with some slave ancestry grows quite large, but the number of persons in legal captivity remains restricted."¹³⁵

A seminal study done by French Marxist historian Claude Meillassoux, on the perpetuation of slaves in African societies in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, found that the female slaves were targeted for their labour rather than their breeding capacity.¹³⁶ Meillassoux affirms that "[n]either statistics nor any other kind of evidence demonstrates the maintenance or growth of slave populations by the reproduction of slaves among themselves."¹³⁷ Robert Shell and Parbavati Rama tested Meillassoux's hypothesis in the Cape slave context, and their findings concur with his view that female slaves were valued more for their labour than their reproductive capacity.¹³⁸ Moreover, slave-owners preferred male to female slaves, taking on average two males to one female, especially in the Occidental slave trade and, even more so in the Cape trade.¹³⁹

Anna Böeseken's analysis of records for the seventeenth century has endorsed Manning's statement, as it has shown that more males than females were brought to the Cape in the

¹³² Ralph Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 23-76.

¹³³ Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," 50.

¹³⁴ Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹³⁵ Manning, *Slavery and African life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades*, 46.

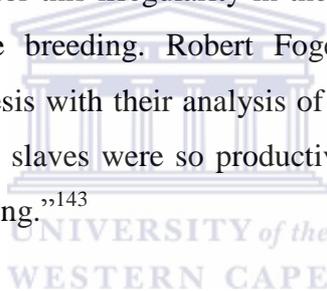
¹³⁶ Claude Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," *Women and Slavery in Africa*, eds. Claire Robertson and Martin Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 49-68.

¹³⁷ Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," 51.

¹³⁸ Robert C.-H. Shell and Parbavati Rama, "Breeders or Workers? The Structure of Slave Prices in the Cape Colony, 1823-1830," *Safundi: the Journal of South African and American Studies* 8, 3 (October, 2007): 413-433.

¹³⁹ Patrick Manning (1990) makes a distinction between the Occidental, the Oriental and the African slave trade: Occidental slavery encompasses the slaving traditions of the western world, and includes Europe, the Americas, South Africa and the Mascarene islands; the Oriental trade supplied largely Islamic markets in North Africa and the Middle East; and the African trade supplied internal African markets. Slavery in each region differed in terms of needs and characteristics of the slave society.

seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ The high sex ratio meant that there were too few women to maintain the population, even if their living conditions favoured reproduction. In a society that was both patriarchal and free, and in which the father headed a family unit, a child's status was inherited from its father. In contrast, according to the principle of *partus sequitur ventrem* (the child inherits the status of the mother), in a slave society the mother's social status determines the social status of a slave child.¹⁴¹ This principle was derived from the Roman civil law, which became part of the Roman-Dutch law. Thus, the "uterine descent" or matrilineal descent rule applied at the Cape, which meant that any child born to a slave mother was deemed a slave. This raises the question—if slave societies with favourable sex ratios did not reproduce themselves why was there a steady increase of creoles at the Cape throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? The slave society in the New World (the United States) imported half a million African slaves via the Trans-Atlantic trade, yet there were four million African Americans in the United States when slavery was abolished in 1865.¹⁴² One of the suggestions for this irregularity in the rise of the North American slave population was conscious slave breeding. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman have, however, challenged this hypothesis with their analysis of slave earning profiles in the "Old South," which showed that those slaves were so productive that it was unnecessary for the owners to engage in "slave-breeding."¹⁴³



Manumission rates at the Cape were low.¹⁴⁴ After the abolition of the oceanic slave trade in 1808, slaves were treated benignly because of their demographic scarcity. This led to decreasing mortality rates and longer periods of fertility. The abolition of the slave trade motivated slave owners to enhance their slaves' lives—progressive living conditions led to

¹⁴⁰ Anna Jacoba Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658-1700* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1977), 53.

¹⁴¹ Paul Finkelman, "Slavery in the United States: Persons or Property?" [online resource] *Duke Law Scholarship Repository*, Chapter 6 in *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary*; edited by Jean Allain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5386&context=faculty_scholarship (accessed: 27 April 2015).

¹⁴² Stanley L. Engerman, Richard Sutch and Gavin Wright, "Slavery," [online resource] University of California Project on the Historical Statistics of the United States, Center for Social and Economic Policy Studies Institute, University of California, Riverside. <http://economics.ucr.edu/papers/papers03/03-12.pdf> (accessed: 27 April 2015). Later published in Susan B. Carter, Scott S. Gartner, *et al* (editors), *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Millennial Edition. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁴³ Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 78-86.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Elphick and Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840* edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, 2nd revised edition (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 204-214.

improved vital statistics and a growth in the slave population. Most researchers, therefore, claim that creolisation occurred after 1808, as can be seen in the following arguments.

Nigel Worden cites high infant mortality, low fertility rates and fewer females than males for the slow growth of the slave population.¹⁴⁵ He argues that more females and children were imported towards the end of the eighteenth century and that creolisation took place at the Cape only in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁶ The creolisation process accelerated in the nineteenth century after 1808 because of the end of the oceanic slave trade and, later, the amelioration of slave laws in 1826.¹⁴⁷ Worden's argument is supported by Mary Rayner, who confirms that creolisation increased from 1816 to 1834.¹⁴⁸ Andrew Bank also asserts that creolisation did not take place before 1808 because by 1824, 71% of the slaves of Cape Town and of other Cape districts were locally born and 29% were brought from overseas.¹⁴⁹ Robert Ross adds several interesting aspects to the debate. According to him, the turning point was the 1770s because up until then it was mainly males who were imported from India, Sri Lanka, the Indonesian Archipelago and Madagascar. He also asserts that at this time there was already a small percentage of Cape-born females in the slave population.¹⁵⁰

Robert Shell's *Children of Bondage* asserts that creolisation was already a reality by 1770 (see Figure 2 on page 35).¹⁵¹ Shell based his figures on calculations of the Cape census data from 1658 to 1834. Shell states that slaves who arrived on the French ships after 1770 were both younger and had among their number more females than did previous imports. He argues that the number of illegal slave imports from foreign ships had a propensity to mask the creolisation process already present before 1770. In short, he argues that the Anglo-Dutch War of 1780, by destroying the Dutch fleets, dislocated the traditional vectors of the slave

¹⁴⁵ Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 52-53.

¹⁴⁶ Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Beckford-Smith, (eds.) *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998).

¹⁴⁷ George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony (RCC)* (London: Clowes Printers for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1905), 35: 377-378.

¹⁴⁸ Mary Isabel Rayner, "Wine and Slaves: The Failure of an Export Economy and the Ending of Slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834." (PhD diss., Duke University, Durham, 1986), 37-42.

¹⁴⁹ Andrew Bank, "The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843," (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991). (Communications; no. 22/1991), 232; John Edwin Mason, "Fit for Freedom: The Slaves, Slavery, and Emancipation in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1842." (PhD diss., Yale University, 1992), 36.

¹⁵⁰ Robert Ross, "The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony," *Slavery and Abolition* 9, 3 (December, 1988): 208-216.

¹⁵¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 47.

trade. The sex ratio among imported slaves thus *dropped* after the 1770 decade, which accelerated the creolisation process as more females came into the Cape.¹⁵²

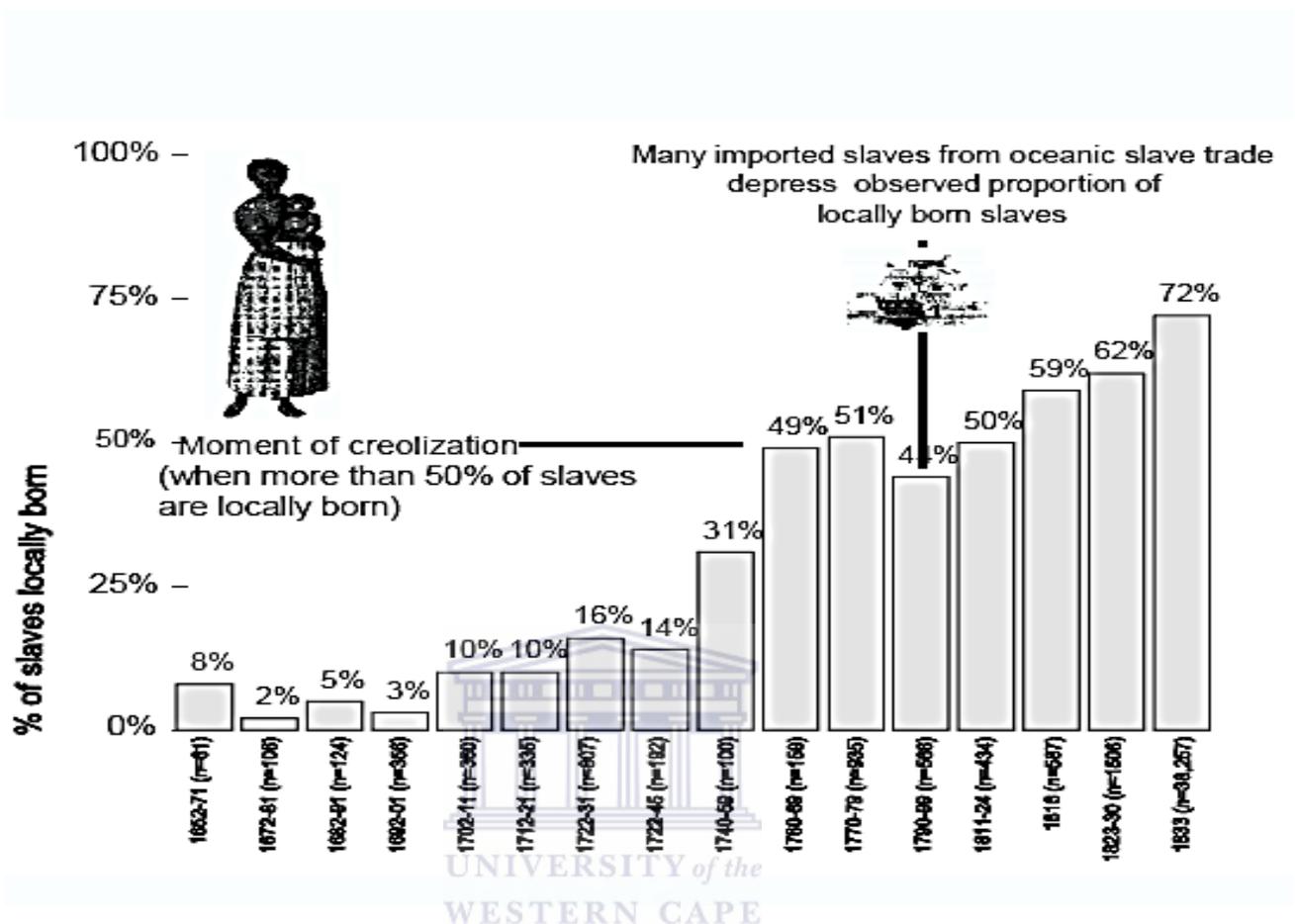


Figure 2: Percentage of Cape slave population which was locally born, 1652 to 1833. Source: Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, page 47.

The most significant determinants of population growth are dependent on high fertility levels, low maternal mortality levels and low infant mortality levels. Most slave populations were atypical in their dependence on forced in-migration to sustain their numbers. However, owners preferred to buy their slaves (rather than breed from them), because the fertility rates were usually exceptionally low; there was a high cost in rearing a slave from birth to adolescence; and they feared that a new generation of possibly rebellious slaves would be born.¹⁵³

In the Cape setting there are, however, special problems in measuring fertility, as the only comprehensive statistical records of live births and infant mortality rates exist for the

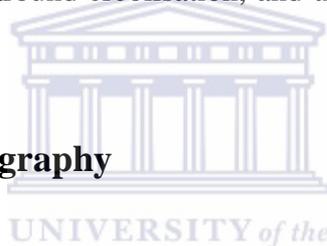
¹⁵² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 40-48.

¹⁵³ Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," 49-66.

nineteenth century, while records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are incomplete because vital statistics were seldom recorded.

Anna Maria Rugarli analysed the role of women in the slave creolisation process using data drawn from twenty Slave Office slave registers dated from 1816.¹⁵⁴ In the first instance she drew a distinction between the foreign slaves and the locally born slaves and then separated them according to age and sex, her aim being to comprehend clearly the composition of the slave population so that she would be able to analyse and compare these groupings. This method allowed her to demonstrate how the sex ratios were balanced out, thereby making an increase in the slave population possible. She showed that the slave population started reproducing itself before the end of the eighteenth century and that an increase in the number of female slaves led to a decrease in the sex ratio in the Cape Colony. It is hoped that, as a result of her analysis of the newly available Orphan Chamber data, this researcher will be able to put an end to the debate around creolisation, and thus prove or disprove some of the arguments discussed above.

3.13 Treatment and demography



Both Frank Tannenbaum and Eugene Genovese have presented conflicting arguments about the treatment of slaves in different slave societies. Genovese argued about the meaning of “treatment” of slaves according to three indices:¹⁵⁵

1. Day-to-day living conditions: Under this rubric fall such essentially measurable items as quantity and quality of food, clothing, housing, length of the working day, and the general conditions of labour.
2. Conditions of life: This category includes family security, opportunities for an independent social and religious life, and those cultural developments which, as Elkins has shown, can have a profound effect on the personality of the slave.

¹⁵⁴ Anna Maria Rugarli, “Slavery at the Cape Colony from Acquisition to the Process of Creolisation, c. 1790-1830,” presented at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the Università degli Studi, Milan, Italy on November 18th, 1998.

¹⁵⁵ Eugene Genovese, “The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method,” in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, Laura Foner and Eugene Genovese, eds. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 203.

3. Access to freedom and citizenship: This is the meaning for “treatment” that is implied in the work of Frank Tannenbaum and those who follow him closely. It ought to be immediately clear that there is no organic connection between this and the first category, and only an indirect connection between this and the second.¹⁵⁶

To this end, Genovese argued that after the oceanic slave trade ended, the United States slave population’s mortality rates fell and their fertility rates rose because their owners paid more attention to their health and reproductive rates. He suggested that after the abolition of the slave trade to North America, the daily living conditions of the slaves improved. As long as slaves were readily and cheaply available on the market, they were subjected to cruelty and exploitation because they could so easily be replaced.

Frank Tannenbaum argued that in Brazil, the day-to-day living conditions of slaves were particularly harsh, yet manumission and citizenship was within the reach of many of them.¹⁵⁷ David Brion Davis, an eminent slave historian, explained that “the ease and frequency of manumission” seem to provide the “crucial standard in measuring the relative harshness of slave systems.”¹⁵⁸ Although, the social, economic and political conditions under which slaves lived and worked in the Cape Colony were dissimilar to those of slave societies in other parts of Africa or in the New World, they were nevertheless valued for their labour. This held true for the rural districts of the Colony, although in the urban setting female slaves worked in the household and were thus absolved from heavy labour. Despite this, they suffered psychologically as they were sexually harassed by the colonial males and had to endure victimisation at the hands of the wives of their owners.

The discourse will now turn to accounts of slave voyages as little has been written about the Dutch exploration of the north-east coast of Africa. Robert Ross of Leiden University blazed a pioneering trail when he transcribed, translated and fully edited two slaving journals kept during Dutch expeditions on the east African coast north of Mozambique from 1776 to 1778.¹⁵⁹ The detailed journals give an account of the intricate negotiations for slaves

¹⁵⁶ Genovese, “The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method,” 202-210.

¹⁵⁷ Frank Tannenbaum, “Slavery, the Negro and Racial Prejudice,” in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, eds. Laura Foner and Eugene Genovese (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 3-7.

¹⁵⁸ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 4th ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 54.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Ross, “The Dutch on the Swahili Coast, 1776-1778: Two Slaving Journals, part 1,” in *International*

conducted by the Dutch with the various monarchies in the Comoros, in Zanzibar and on the east coast of Africa. The high mortality rate of slaves on slaving voyages undertaken on behalf of the Slave Lodge is also revealed in the journals. There is also generally a dearth of literature relating to the Middle Passage across the Indian Ocean to the Cape, although Patrick Harries, a historian at the University of Basel, addresses the experiences of East African and Malagasy slaves in the Middle Passage to the Cape.¹⁶⁰ He states that the southwest Indian Ocean Middle Passage can be compared with the Trans-Atlantic Middle Passage, and that this sensitive topic is not discussed in Cape historiography. Harries gave a non-quantified descriptive account of the Middle Passage.

3.14 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the scope and periodisation of the topic, as well as the literature covering it. Curtin, Austen and Eltis dealt with aggregated data and they worked on the count of the slaves. In contrast, Shell's studies were based on case-level data. This present study uses both counting and statistical inference. The review of the literature given above reflects contrasting evidence as to the origin and creolisation of slaves at the Cape. Every aspect of Cape slavery has been well researched by scholars, but despite this the slave trade still holds many unsolved mysteries.

Journal of African Historical Studies 19, 2 (1986): 305-360; Robert Ross, "The Dutch on the Swahili Coast, 1776-1778: Two Slaving Journals, part 2," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 19, 3 (1986): 479-506.

¹⁶⁰ Patrick Harries, "Middle Passages of the Southwest Indian Ocean: A Century of Forced Immigration from Africa to the Cape of Good Hope," *The Journal of African History*, vol. 55, issue 2 (July 2014): 173-190.

CHAPTER 4

THE SEX RATIOS OF THE IMPORTED SLAVES: SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

4.1 Introduction

The slave trade shaped the slave population as any immigration vector does to any population. Various scholars have extensively discussed and explored the sex ratios of slave populations, but, to date, few definitive conclusions have been drawn regarding the demographic, and more generally, sociological effects of skewed slave trade gender ratios on slave populations. Huge male surpluses have social and, potentially, strategic implications because societies with mostly young and single males, have a natural propensity towards vice and internal violence, as well as military adventurism.¹⁶¹ Skewed sex ratios occur in contemporary institutions such as jails, boarding schools, armies and single-sex hostels that still exist in the mines in South Africa.



The sex ratio is the ratio of males to females in the population (normalised to 100). For example, if there are 1,046 male births to 1,000 female births in a given year, the sex ratio is calculated as 1,046/1,000 multiplied by 100 which gives a ratio of 104.6. The *general* sex ratio is defined as the number of males per 100 females.¹⁶² Ancient lists or historical statistics, in France, ignore such a sex ratio. Before the French Revolution in 1789, it was common to calculate the sex ratio ‘the other way around’, that is, the number of females per hundred males. This was a ‘natural’ and/or patriarchal male view of the marriage market. The result in Europe was frequently a male reassuring index higher than 100. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, professor emeritus at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris personally calls this ‘historical’ index the “female sex ratio”.¹⁶³ Contemporary Indian scholars also use the ‘historical’ index to study sex ratios: the number of females per 1,000

¹⁶¹ David T. Courtwright, “Gender imbalances in history: causes, consequences and social adjustment,” *Ethics, Bioscience and Life* 3, no. 1, (March 2008): 32-40.

¹⁶² David Eltis in the Cole database uses a slightly different format namely percentage male which can be multiplied by two to render the standard sex ratio used here.

¹⁶³ Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, “From European female surplus to Indian female deficit: the case of France in comparative historical perspective,” *Nivedini – Journal of Gender Studies* vol. 18 (2012): 1-39.

males, or *female-male ratio* (FMR).¹⁶⁴ Therefore, researchers should be aware of the differences of method and usage in the sex ratios between various scholars.

Since the sex ratios at birth are stable at between 102 and 106, deviations from this norm are easily discerned and measured as the gender of slaves were faithfully recorded across all documents as “*slaaf*” and “*slavin*” (or variants of those terms),¹⁶⁵ or derived from the name of the slave, say “Maria” as female. Fluctuations in the ship-to-shore ratios as well as the landed sex ratios provide reliable information on the slave trade as well as providing possibilities of familial life after the slaves had waded ashore. The gender or sex variable embraces a key position in demographic—and all sociological—studies. The changes in sex composition affect the underlying socio-economic and cultural relationships within a community in different ways.¹⁶⁶ Unbalanced sex ratios have adverse implications for societal stability and security because of the high number of single males with no familial foundation.¹⁶⁷ An early work on sex ratios in colonial America set a high standard for subsequent researchers. Colonial American sex ratios of male to female slaves have long been considered high. One well-known article, written in 1945 by Herbert Moller, a German demographer, made much of the effect of the “high” ratios on the cultural, social, and even sexual behaviour of the New World populations. He made a strong correlation between high sex ratios and sexual crimes (see “Sexual crimes” below), gambling (see “Gambling” below) and suicide (see “Suicide” below).¹⁶⁸ The link between the high sex ratios and deviant behaviour will be discussed in more detail below.

¹⁶⁴ Satish Balram Agnihotri, *Sex ratio patterns in the Indian population, a fresh exploration* (New Delhi/London: Sage, 2000).

¹⁶⁵ See Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) *Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01-MOOC 8/40, (1673-1834)*. Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01-MOOC8/40 (1673-1834).

¹⁶⁶ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 1: 181-199.

¹⁶⁷ Robert Ross, “Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope,” *Historical Reflections* 6, 2 (1979): 421-433.

¹⁶⁸ For the American colonial period, see Herbert Moller, “Sex Compositions and Correlated Culture Patterns of Colonial America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* Second Series, 2 (1945): 113-153; and R. Thompson, “Seventeenth Century English and Colonial Sex Ratios: A Postscript,” *Population Studies* 1 (28): 150 ff; Therese Hesketh and Zhu Wei Xing, “Abnormal sex ratios in human populations: Causes and consequences,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 103, 36 (September 2006): 13271–13275.

4.2 The dominance of male slaves in the colonial landscape

Age specific sex ratios are a widely used measure of sex composition, especially at birth, working age and in the total population.¹⁶⁹ The sex ratio is mainly the outcome of the interplay of sex differentials in mortality, sex selective migration (as in forced slave migration), and sex ratio at birth and, at times, the sex differential in population enumeration. Moreover, processes like manumission, peculiar to slave populations, also have an effect, as manumitted slaves move from one population group—slaves—to the free population. It goes without saying that extremely high ratios inhibit population growth as there are too few females to procreate. The first task is to plot the general Cape gender ratios.

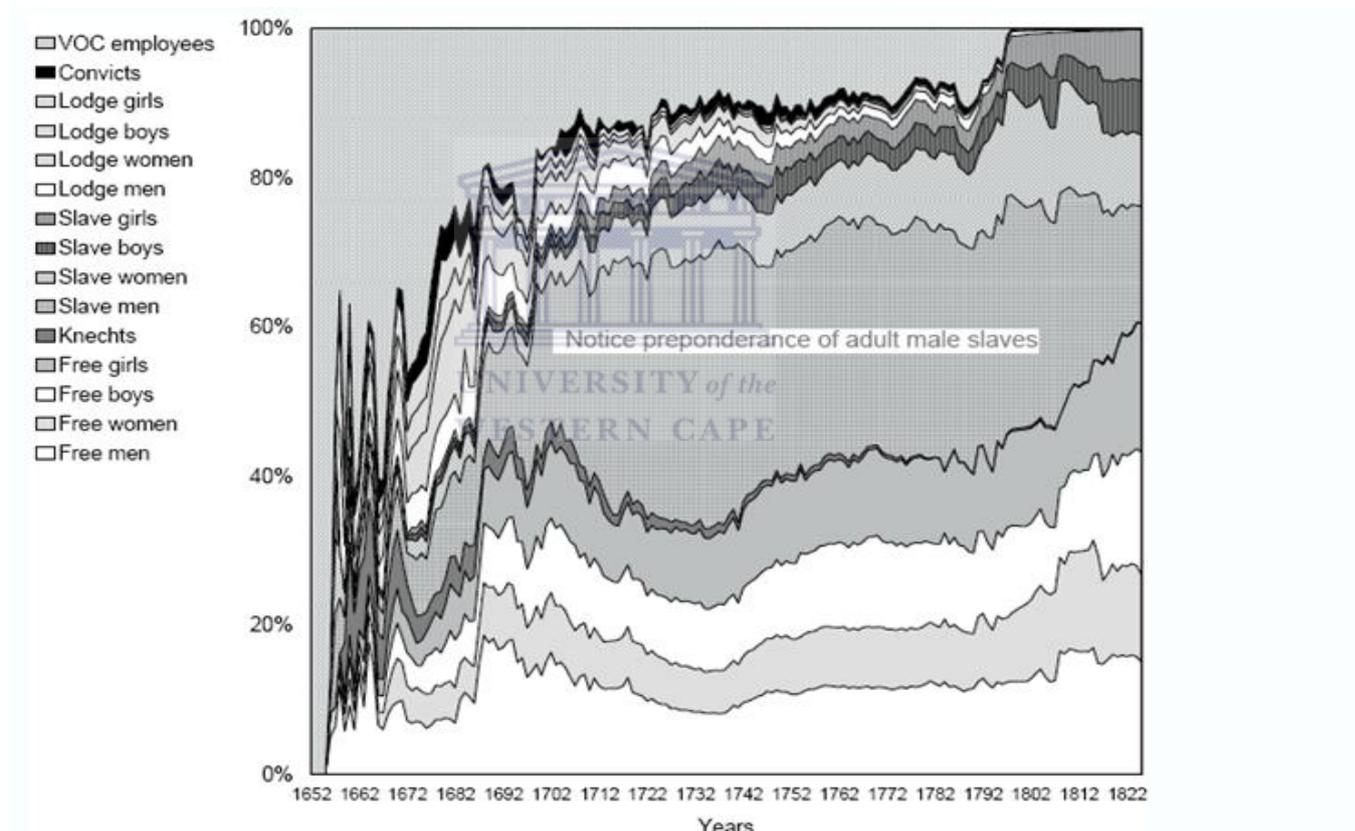


Figure 3: 100% Surface chart of all Cape colonial populations by gender, 1652 to 1822.
Source: PopuCape, see “The Cape censuses” on page 191.

Males dominated the Cape colonial landscape. The Cape’s autochthonous inhabitants, the Khoe and the Bushmen (San), were not listed in censuses undertaken by the Dutch East India

¹⁶⁹ Shryock, *Methods and Materials*, 1: 193.

Company, as they were not considered to be part of the colonial population. They were enumerated for the first time by the British in 1798.¹⁷⁰

Colonial males at the Cape fell into several categories. First were the Company officials and employees and their families. These were recorded on the annual *monsterollen*. Second were the free males (*vryburgers*) and free blacks (*vrijswarten*), the latter shared the same census, or *opgaaf*. In between the free populations and the slaves were the *knechts*, these included seconded indentured males from the company and some free *knechts*, among whose number were free blacks who hired themselves out to farmers. The Dutch East India Company or Lodge slaves constituted another population.¹⁷¹ Included among them were convicts (*bandieten*) and political exiles (*bannelingen*). The convicts were mainly Batavian Chinese males, although there were a few Singhalese and Javanese.¹⁷² Finally, there were some 5,000 Prize Slaves brought to the Cape after 1807.¹⁷³ We can visualise their proportions in the “100% Surface chart of all Cape colonial populations by gender, 1652 to 1822” (see Figure 3 on page 41). The VOC employees included all single men without a family and these men were mostly soldiers and officials.

The colony depended in the main on its adult male slave force for all agricultural labour, service industries, fortification works and general labour needs.¹⁷⁴ The free population (the four groups on the bottom of the graph) in contrast quickly gained a demographic stability. The free sons and daughters outnumbered the adult women which was never the case with the slave populations.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 5, “Vital rates” on page 194.

¹⁷¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxi.

¹⁷² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 195.

¹⁷³ Christopher Saunders, “‘Free, yet Slaves’: Prize Negroes at the Cape revisited,” in *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and Its Legacy in the Nineteenth-century Cape Colony*, Clifton Crais and Nigel Worden (eds.) (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1994), 99-116; Michael C. Reidy, “The Admission of Slaves and Prize Slaves into the Cape Colony, 1797-1818” (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997).

¹⁷⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxi.

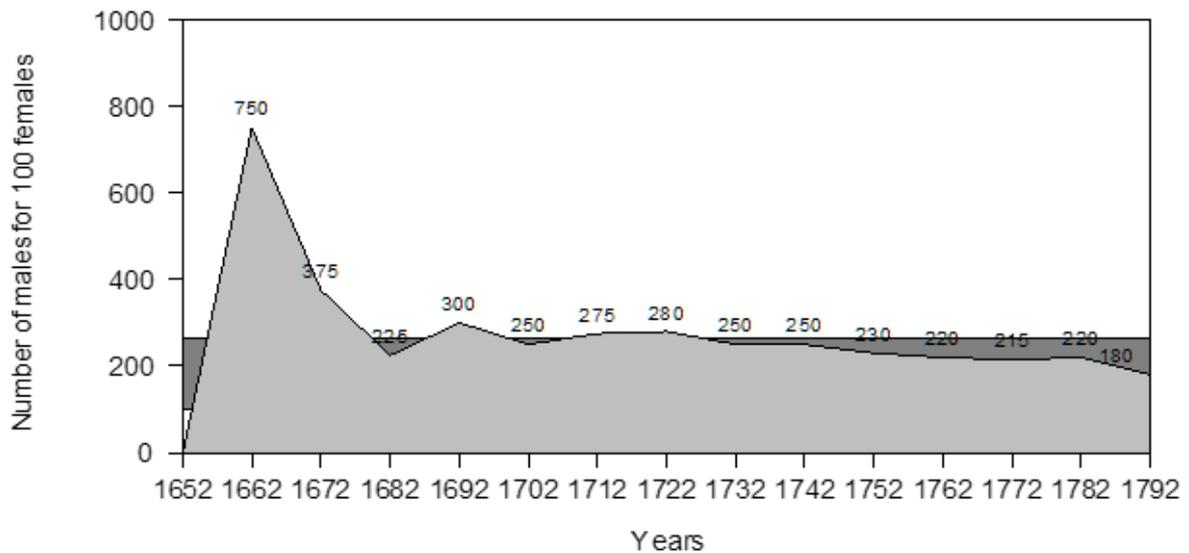


Figure 4: General sex ratio of all populations, 1658 to 1792
 Source: PopuCape, see “The Cape censuses” on page 191.

The above graph, Figure 4, of the general sex ratio shows an initial spike of high ratios, which may safely be ascribed to the initial colonisation and the garrisoning of the Cape. As the colonists grew in number, their near equal ratios had by 1790 brought the colony’s average down to almost 180 males to every hundred females. The French Huguenots who arrived in 1688 had a positive impact on the general sex ratio because by 1702 the ratio had dropped considerably to 250 from a high of 300 in 1692.

However, as one can see from the following graphic, Figure 5 on page 44, the sex ratio of the colonists’ slaves were just over a double higher, at 303 males to every 100 females. The ratio is falling rapidly after 1770. Figure 5 also shows the consequence of the 1700 plakkaat which restricted male slave imports from the East – with a considerable dip in the graph. However, this period was not a lengthy one.

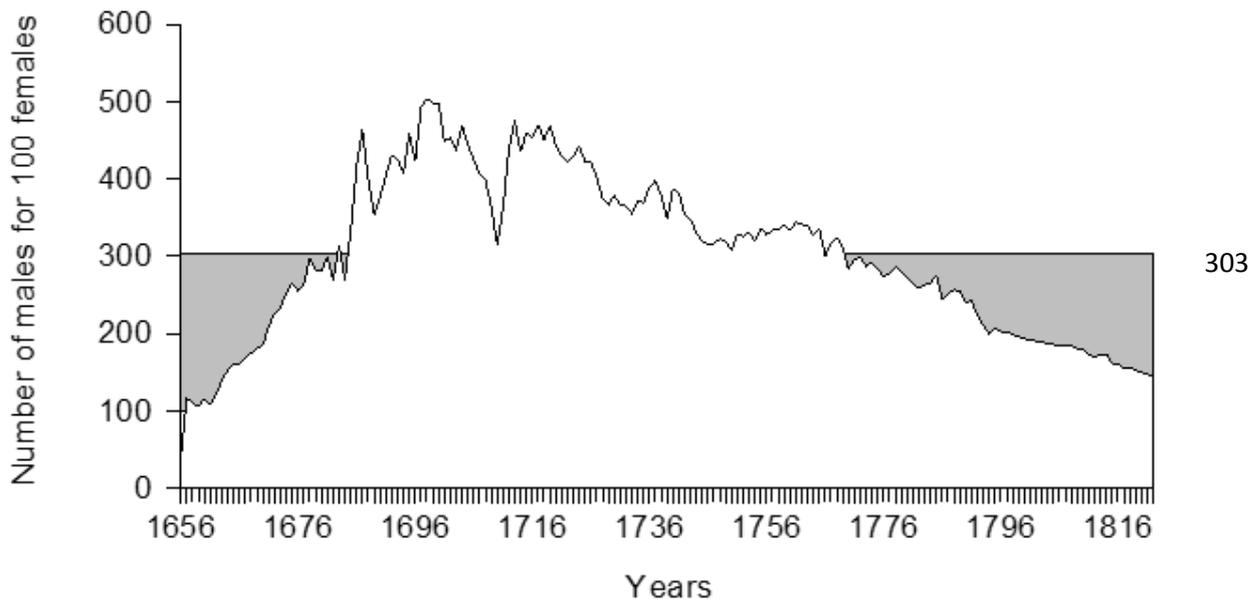


Figure 5: Sex ratio of adult Cape slaves belonging to free burghers, 1658 to 1819.
 Source: PopuCape, see “The Cape censuses” on page 191.

4.3 The sociological effects of the sex ratio

As Robert Shell has pointed out, one traveller commented on such a causal link. Sparrman recorded

the words of an overseer on a frontier farm that had twelve single male slaves.¹⁷⁵ In every way—lack of corporal punishment, good food—he had treated his slaves most “kindly,” but, as the overseer explained:

In order to avoid jealousy, quarrels and murder, my master does not permit any female slaves to be kept here, but I could wish it were otherwise, as well as in other places [in this colony], where I was formerly a servant. Now they [the slaves] are lonesome and solitary, and consequently slow and sluggish enough.

Sparrman reflected in his journal on the effects of an unbalanced sex composition within this particular, and entirely typical, rural Cape household:

Slaves, even under the mildest tyrant, are bereaved of the rights of nature. The melancholy remembrance of so painful a loss is most apt to arise during the silence of the night ... what wonder then, if those who commit outrages on their liberties, should sometimes be forced to sign and seal with their blood the

¹⁷⁵Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 74-76.

violated rights of mankind? Ought not my host, gentle as he was, to fear the effects of despair on twelve stout fellows forcibly taken from their native country, their kindred, and their freedom? Is it not likewise to be dreaded, that thus shut out from the commerce of the fair sex, which sweetens life, and renders its cares supportable, their inclinations, which are extremely warm, should trespass against manhood.¹⁷⁶

The violence, gambling, and low regard for life, reputed to be characteristic of many Cape slaves, were indirect consequences of the unbalanced sex compositions, and probably of the high mortality rate, too. The extreme violence, murder, rape, gambling, homosexuality, and bestiality that characterised the behaviour of some of the burgher's slaves, as described by Robert Ross in his survey of the Cape crime records, may be principally the result of the unbalanced sex composition of the slave population.¹⁷⁷ In the Cape crime records, all the lower male echelons of the European society—the soldiers, sailors, *knechts*, “poor whites” and so on—show similar patterns of social unrest, but these groups have not yet been the subject of systematic historical enquiry, as they should be. This lack of familial security could fit into Eugene Genovese's second index for the “conditions of life,” the opportunity to develop an independent social and family life.¹⁷⁸

Obviously, extreme slave sex ratios nullify stable family life. Nothing illustrates this better than the slave owners who had no female slaves whatsoever. For example, Lourens Pieter Erasmus of Drakenstein had six male slaves,¹⁷⁹ Willem van Wyk of the Roggeveld had five male slaves¹⁸⁰ and Hendrik Lodewijk Bletterman of Sondershausen reported seven male slaves.¹⁸¹ Overwhelmingly negative stereotypical racial explanations for slave behaviour were the result. Shell concluded this section by claiming that this important point was

¹⁷⁶ Anders Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle around the World and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the year 1772-1776* edited by Vernon S. Forbes. 2 volumes. Van Riebeeck Society: Second series, No. 7 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1977) 1: 102-103.

¹⁷⁷ Although Robert Ross does not link the sex ratios with such behaviour, see his article “Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope,” *Historical Reflections* 6, no. 2 (1979): 421-433.

¹⁷⁸ Eugene Genovese, “The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method,” in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, ed. Laura Foner and Eugene Genovese (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 203.

¹⁷⁹ MOOC 8/10.6a dated 7 February 1761.

¹⁸⁰ MOOC 8/15.17 dated 12 March 1774.

¹⁸¹ MOOC 8/16.49 dated 25 November 1776.

“almost impossible to prove.”¹⁸² This thesis will question this claim by using the new data set Shell created from the information assembled by Hans Heese (see full discussion on page 59).¹⁸³

4.4 Distribution of captured autochthonous persons

A new system which enabled male slaves to acquire spouses evolved in the interior. Following the smallpox epidemic of 1713 the autochthonous males fled into the interior leaving the women behind. Khoen women were the first native people to be brought into the households of the colonists and were the first to appear, according to a newly discovered sketch by Richard Elphick, “in their own huts on colonial farms, without their men.”¹⁸⁴

Certain farmers asked if they could formally indenture the children of Khoen women and slaves.

We would like to mention how by the present conjuncture of time, which has resulted in the Hottentots, in securing their own sustenance, have come to seek shelter among the free burghers. It transpired that some of the slave men belonging to the undersigned mixed in with the women of this nation, and have bred children from these unions. The costs of the consequent child-rearing have been born by us ... so that we ask if you could decree that a certain number of years may be stipulated during which these offspring might be bonded [*verbonden*] to serve their foster bosses [*voetserbasen*] otherwise we would have no further recompense for our trouble and expense.¹⁸⁵

This arrangement evolved over the century until it became quite clear to those farmers who went on commando that they could easily acquire Khoen women by capturing them and their children and then distributing them to commando members (see Figure 6 below).

¹⁸² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 75-76.

¹⁸³ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Crime dataset of slaves only* (N=753) drawn from Hans Friedrich Heese, *Reg en Onreg: Kaapse Regspraak in die Agtiende Eeu* (Bellville: Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, 1994), pages 129-219.

¹⁸⁴ The Khoen women are firmly ensconced on the farm and are already dependent on tobacco. Source: INIL 6260 [S.A. Computerized Index to Illustrations], courtesy of South African Library.

¹⁸⁵ As quoted in Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 29.

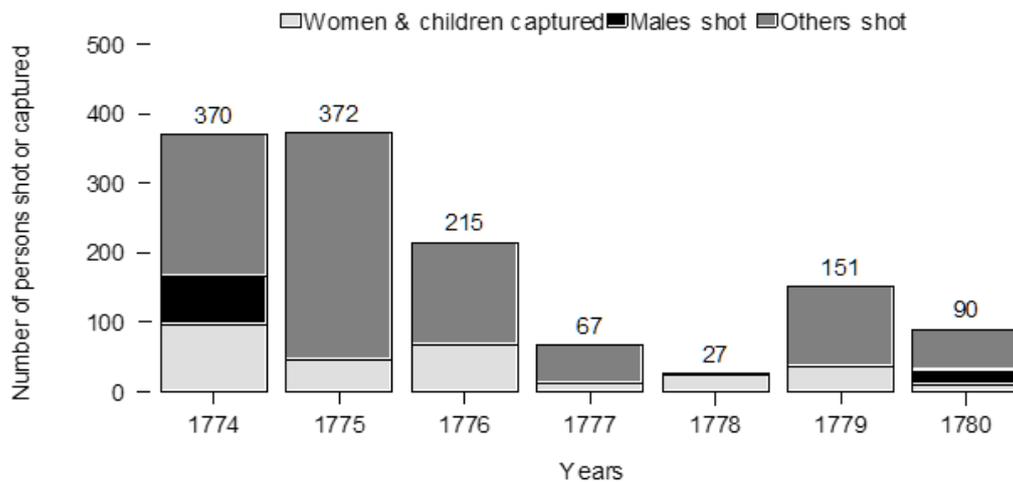


Figure 6: Plagium on the frontier, women & children captured by year
 Source: Field Cornets' reports from Donald Moodie, *The Record*, N=1,292

Bushman Hottentots (Khoisan) in the frontier wars were either killed or captured for distribution among the commandos.¹⁸⁶ Those who refused to come under the jurisdiction of the Cape Colony were at the mercy of the commandos who had the autonomy to hunt them down and exterminate them. Such prisoners had to serve on the farms for their subsistence for a certain amount of years, according to their ages. If some of the commandos were not in favour of accepting prisoners on this condition, they forfeited their rights to the prisoners who were then divided and given to other commandos, preference given to the poorest (*minst vermogend*)—those who could benefit the most from their services. For example, a report by Field-Commandant Godlieb Rudolf Opperman and the Field-Corporals Nicolaas van der Merwe and Gerrit van Wyk deposited in the office of the Political Secretary (13 January 1775), gave a list of captured Khoekhoe as having been placed with "various poor persons, for a certain term of years, to serve them for the needful maintenance."¹⁸⁷ On 10 October 1775, a report given by Nicolas van der Merwe of the Bokkeveld at Stellenbosch listed "Bushman women and children taken prisoner and placed with inhabitants."¹⁸⁸

The results of this system were dire for the Khoe-San. When commandos attacked kraals, they tended to target the male warriors for slaughtering.¹⁸⁹ The women, children and "defenceless ones" were mainly spared from being killed. On certain expeditions, even some

¹⁸⁶ Donald Moodie, compiler. *The Record, Or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1960), vol. 3, 101 (page 654).

¹⁸⁷ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 40 (page 587).

¹⁸⁸ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 46 (page 593).

¹⁸⁹ See Plagium, Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 42 (page 588).

women and children were shot, wounded or killed.¹⁹⁰ The off-spring resulting in the liaisons between these captured Khoe-San women and male slaves were called Bastards and they did not become part of the slave population.¹⁹¹ This further eroded the sex ratio and therefore the slave numbers.

The DEIC at the Cape believed that a precondition for a secure colony was the establishment of a large number of married farmers with big families.¹⁹² Such sentiments never applied to the slave force. The sex ratio among the colonists was high in the seventeenth century because few European females came to the Cape except as the wives of VOC officials. This forced the free European male population to seek out partners from the local Khoe-San and slave women. The offspring of these unions were assimilated into the father's free family and thus played no role in the propagation of the slave population. According to Leonard Guelke's computation, roughly one-third of all free adult men in the 1705 census were unmarried.¹⁹³

From the beginning of his tenure, Simon van der Stel (1679-1699), the commander at the Cape, tried to redress this situation by bringing Dutch orphan girls to the Cape.¹⁹⁴ Although he succeeded to a certain degree, young men vastly outnumbered young women. Despite the efforts of the Council of Policy, there were too few women of marriageable age in the Cape.¹⁹⁵ The Council of Policy was the highest authority at the Cape Colony and was subject to the instructions of the directors of the VOC in the Netherlands, the Governor-General and Council of India in Batavia, as well as the legislation stipulated in the *Statutes of Batavia* (1648).¹⁹⁶ Importing women from the metropole was a solution for providing spouses to the

¹⁹⁰ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 41 (page 588).

¹⁹¹ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 41 (page 588).

¹⁹² Leonard Guelke, "Freehold farmers and frontier settlers, 1657-1780," in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, (editors), *Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, second edition (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 66-108.

¹⁹³ Leonard Guelke, "The Anatomy of a Colonial Settler Population: Cape Colony 1657-1750," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, 3 (1988): 463.

¹⁹⁴ TANAP: Documents of the Cape of Good Hope, *Introduction to the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Freeman*. http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/introduction_english/32.htm (accessed: 12 July 2013).

¹⁹⁵ Ad Biewenga, *De Kaap de Goede Hoop: een Nederlandse Vestigingskolonie, 1680-1730* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 1999), 211.

¹⁹⁶ TANAP: Documents of the Cape of Good Hope, *Introduction to the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Introduction*. http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/ (accessed 12 July 2013).

pioneers, a politic that was successful in French Canada.¹⁹⁷ However, this strategy was not such a success at the Cape.

The white Cape settler sex ratio remained unbalanced in the first few decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁸ In 1713, the sex ratio for the free settler population stood at 180 adult men to 100 adult women, that is, almost two males for every one female.¹⁹⁹ As Shell has pointed out, many Cape slave women acted as wet-nurses for the settler women. This resulted in a settler woman having a high fecundity rate since she was free of lactation amenorrhoea, a method that induces a period of infertility for about eighteen months after giving birth. Cape historians have argued that because the slave woman nursed both her own baby and her owner's baby, she was infertile for a period. The Hutterites, a Protestant sect of the United States and Canada, used wet nurses and therefore had the highest fecundity and fertility rate (10.9) in the world in the 1950s.²⁰⁰ This was natural increase because the females, as a religious obligation, tried to have as many offspring as possible. The Cape settler women were not far behind the Hutterite in fecundity.

Demographers consider sex ratios below 90 and above 110 as “extreme.”²⁰¹ It is not only females who find themselves at the forceful end of male violence because unbalanced sex ratios also increase the odds of early death among males through violence. Numerous male Indians came to the Cape as slaves from the seventeenth century onwards, but this is hardly mentioned in the literature.

¹⁹⁷ Yves Landry, *Les filles du roi au XVIIe siècle* (Montréal: Leméac Editions, 1992).

¹⁹⁸ Robert Ross, “The 'White' Population of South Africa in the Eighteenth Century,” *Population Studies* 29 (1975), 210-212.

¹⁹⁹ Ross, “The 'White' Population,” 221.

²⁰⁰ K. Nonaka, T. Miura and K. Peter, “Recent Fertility Decline in Dariusleut Hutterites: An Extension of Eaton and Mayer's Hutterite Fertility Study,” *Human Biology* 66, 3 (June 1994): 411-420.

²⁰¹ Shryock, *Methods and Materials*, 198-199.

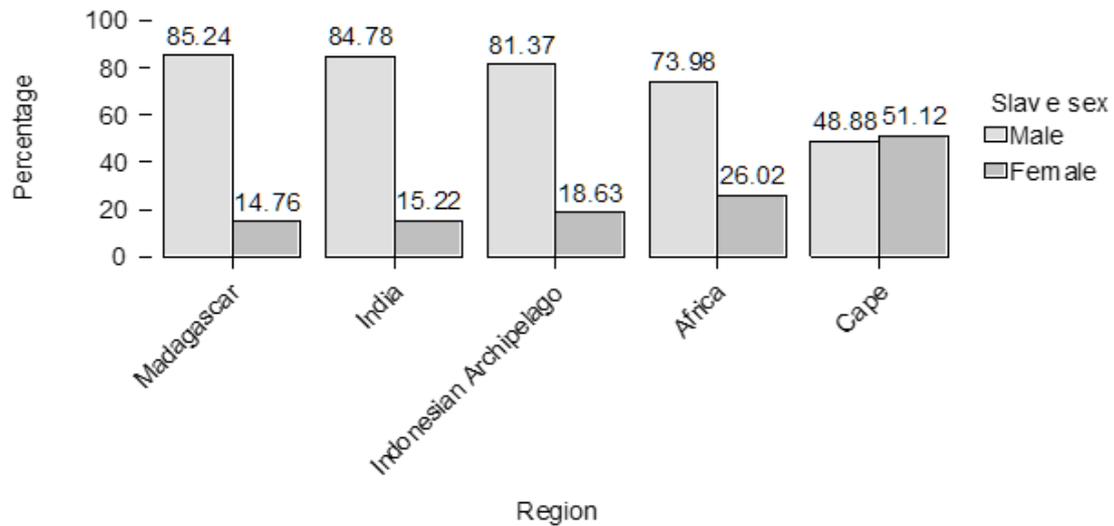


Figure 7: Masculinity rate (proportion of males in proportion to an overall population) by region.
Source: MOOC data set, N=11,840

The Figure 7 on page 50 clearly showed the male imports far exceeded the females. Madagascar, India and the Indonesian Archipelago had a far higher male to female rate than Africa and the Cape. Only the Cape slave population showed parity among the sexes.

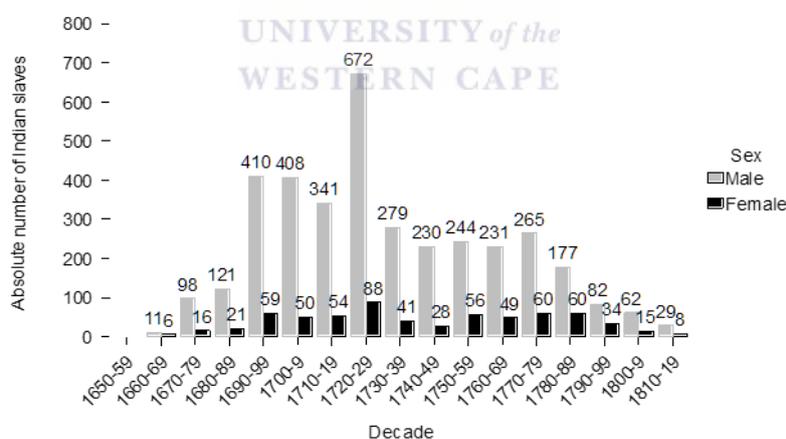


Figure 8: Absolute number of Indian slaves by sex, 1658-1819.
Sources: Saledeed and MOOC data sets, n= 4,305

According to Figure 8, above, Indian slaves represented 42% of all the foreign slaves who arrived at the Cape from 1658 to 1819, of whom 3,660 were males and 645 females. The sex ratio is 567.44 for 100 females for this period or the masculinity rate is 85.02 percent of males in this population (and 14.98 percent females). This is a clear confirmation of the preference for males. The high proportion of adult males indicates that importing adult slaves

was probably more cost effective than it was to rear locally born children as slaves. Moreover, during the second half of the eighteenth century, the slave imports fluctuated between 200 and 260 per decade, despite the VOC's repeated *plakkaatens* (edicts) to stop the importation of eastern male slaves to the Cape.²⁰² Interestingly enough, when the 1767 *plakkaat* was issued to stop the immigration of eastern male slaves to the Cape, the presence of the Indian male slaves increased rather than decrease. The periodic epidemics, such as smallpox in 1713, 1755 and 1767, among both burgher and Company slaves, could further explain why slave numbers fluctuated.²⁰³

The graph shows a decline in Indian slave numbers in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The decrease also applied to all other slaves in the MOOC data set. This could be attributed to the end of the oceanic slave trade in 1808, and the noticeable drop in the number of inventories after the British took over the Cape from the VOC in 1795, as they deemed wills and testaments to be more important than inventories.²⁰⁴ The Cape Colony was in a state of flux during the Napoleonic Wars—British rule in 1795, then Batavian rule in 1802 and then finally British rule in 1806 and two years later, the abolition of the oceanic slave trade. This was a watershed moment—now the colony had to rear its own slaves and reproduce its slave force—thereby changing the sex ratios from being the highest ratio ever recorded. In 1814 the Cape was formally ceded to Britain.²⁰⁵ The Office of the Registrar of Slaves was set up in 1817, which meant that not only was an *opgaaf* taken but slaves had to be registered every two years and, if not registered, had to be set free.²⁰⁶ The registration was an aggressive act by the new power that signalled the end of the old Dutch system at the Cape. Slaves were able to increase their numbers because they were treated better, fewer female slaves acted as wet nurses, and female slaves were generally freed from the most arduous tasks. Before 1808 it was cheaper to buy slaves imported via the oceanic trade than it was to rear them. Christian slaves could get married after 1823—before this date the marriage vows included a question as to whether the bride and groom were Christian and not heathens or slaves.²⁰⁷ Only slaves

²⁰² Jacobus Anne Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indische Plakkaatboek, 1602 to 1811* ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1885-1900). vol. 8, 291-292.

²⁰³ Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 60-63.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix 1, "Description of the Master of the Orphan Chamber Data Set" on page 167.

²⁰⁵ Jeffrey Brian Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-1834," in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, (editors), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, second edition (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 472-474.

²⁰⁶ TANAP, *Inventory of the Archives of the Registrar and Guardian of Slaves, 1717-1848*
http://databases.tanap.net/ead/html/CapeTown_1.21/index.html?N100A7 (accessed: 27 February 2015).

²⁰⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 125 and 361.

born in the Slave Lodge were baptised, but for burgher slaves there was no obligatory conversion. In Angola, Jesuit priests baptised the slaves as they came down the gangplank of ships,²⁰⁸ but at the Cape—and elsewhere in the Dutch empire—the Reformed Church left the choice of whether slaves should be baptised or not to their owners.²⁰⁹

The MOOC data for the nineteenth century differs from the record-keeping practices of the eighteenth century. After 1808, slave prices tripled and owners tended to pass them on to family members without a deed of sale (*inter vivos* sales).²¹⁰ In this way, female slaves passed from parent to child without being inventoried. A popular saying at the Cape was “a female is considered to be a perpetual heritage.”²¹¹ Inheritance and *inter vivos* were two methods used by slave owners to transfer their slaves to the next generation. A total of 5,512 slaves came onto the market (used in the compensation lists) in the 1820s, but this figure was not a true reflection of number of slaves available for sale and there were relatively few slaves who were bequeathed (see Appendix 3 on page 186).

The number of Indian slaves grew substantially during the latter half of the eighteenth century as opposed to the situation during its first few decades. This supports Robert Ross and Robert Shell's studies, which show that from 1770 to 1799 French ships off-loaded more female slaves at the Cape than ever before.²¹² Slaves were ordered like any other commodity, but the supply was often uncertain and the owners' requests for specific slaves could not always be met. It seems that when the VOC naval supremacy was waning in the 1780s, Cape slave owners, who preferred males to females, were compelled to take delivery of whatever human cargo foreign ships brought to the Cape. These changes in the shipping patterns had the effect of lowering the sex ratios.²¹³

Masters of the Orphan Chamber were first appointed in 1673 and the first inventories recorded in 1685.²¹⁴ The combined Saleded and MOOC data sets show that numerous Indian

²⁰⁸ Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 398.

²⁰⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 343-346.

²¹⁰ Shell, Robert Carl-Heinz. *1823sale* data set (N= 5,512) in Excel format, drawn from records of the Slave Office (SO) 10/18 (1823-1830), WCARS. See Appendix 3, page 186.

²¹¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 125.

²¹² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 47 and 122.

²¹³ See Literature Review, “The shipping question” on page 30.

²¹⁴ Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town: Hansa Reprint, 2005), 25.

slaves were present in the colony during the seventeenth century (see Figure 8 on page 50).²¹⁵ The 742 Indian slaves out of a total of 1,560 foreign slaves constituted 47.6% of the Cape's foreign slaves in the seventeenth century. Within half a century the number of Indian slaves at the Cape grew to 102 females and 640 males, with a substantial number of males being inventoried for the decades 1670 to 1679 and 1690 to 1699.

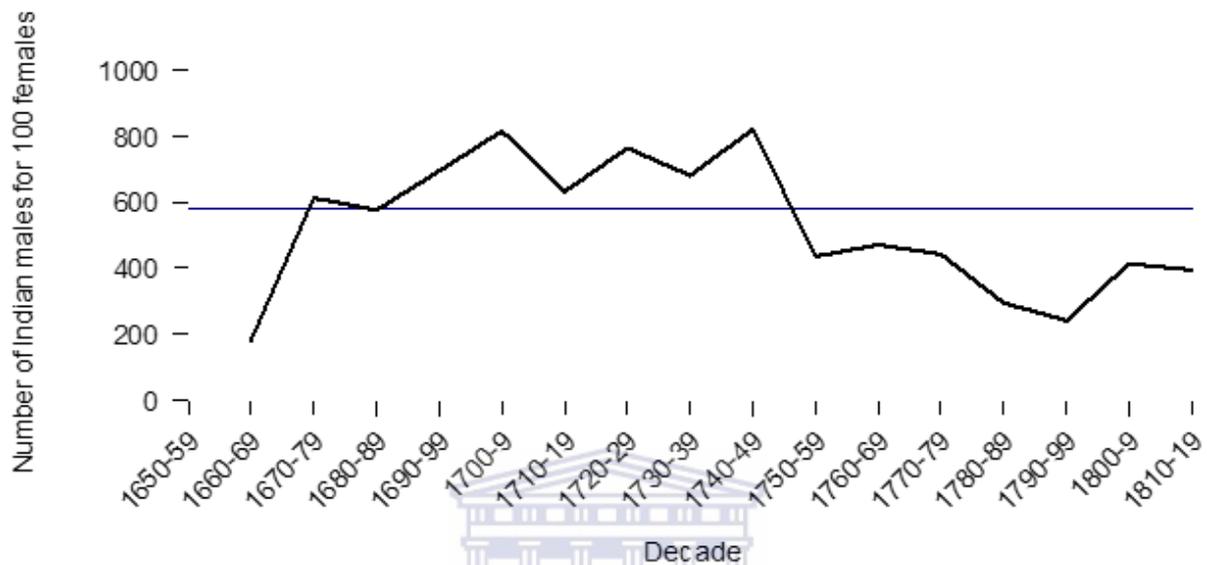


Figure 9: Sex ratio of Indian slaves per decade, 1658 to 1819
Sources: Saledeed, MOOC data sets, n=4,305

The above graph, Figure 9 on page 53, shows the sex ratios of Indian slaves per decade from 1658 to 1819. The drop in the number of Indian slaves in the first two decades of the eighteenth century may be attributed to the 1700 plakkaat which put an end to the importation of eastern slaves to the Cape.²¹⁶ The drop in the 1710-1719 decade can be attributed also to the smallpox epidemic of 1713. In the first five decades of the eighteenth century, the Indian slave sex ratios are astounding for a slave society. None of the other slave societies, whether Occidental, Islamic or Trans-Saharan, displayed such skewed ratios. The mean sex ratio for the 1658 to 1819 period was 567.44 which is approximately six males to every one female. In comparison, in the period 1700 to 1739, the mean sex ratio for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was 150 males to 100 females.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Anna J. Böeseke, *Cape Slave Transactions: based upon A.J. Böeseke, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658-1700*, Project Coordinator, A. M. van Rensburg, assisted by M. Emslie, R. Kroes and G. Pieterse. [online resource] <http://www.stamouers.com/index.php/people-of-south-africa/slaves/slave-transactions/1-cape-slave-transcriptions/file> (accessed: 30 April 2015).

²¹⁶ Nigel Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2005), 28.

²¹⁷ Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700 to 1739* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 122.

Figure 9 shows that in the second half of the eighteenth century, from the decade 1750 to 1759 onwards, the Indian sex ratios stabilised to some extent. The Indian sex ratio was the highest in all the decades (except in the decade 1750 to 1759) up to 1790 to 1799, the last decade of the eighteenth century. The rapid drop in the sex ratios in this period also indicated that the VOC was in financial difficulty, and that other European powers were increasingly usurping the Dutch naval monopoly in the East.²¹⁸ The burghers bought their slaves not only from the homeward-bound Dutch fleets, but also from the British, Portuguese, French and Danish, as these nations, too, had trading stations in Africa, India, and the Indonesian Archipelago.

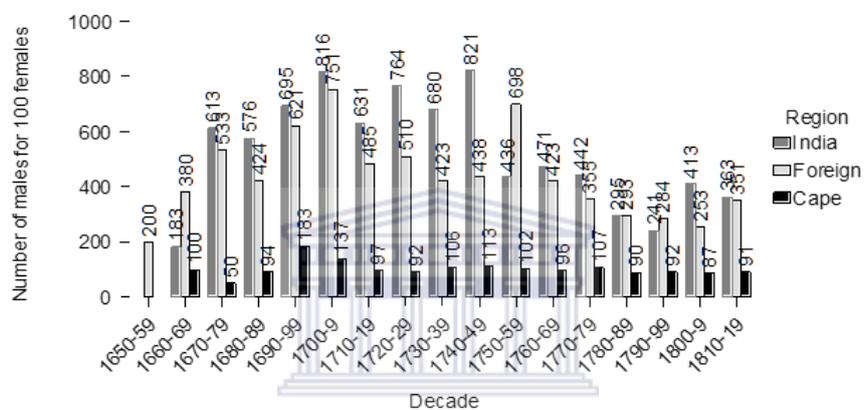


Figure 10: Sex ratio of Indian, Foreign and Cape-born slaves per decade, 1658 to 1819
Sources: Saledeed, MOOC data sets, N= 15,254

A noticeable trend shown in Figure 10 on page 54 can be seen in the sex ratio of the Cape-born slave grouping. From the decade 1710 to 1719 onward, the Cape sex ratios remained stable and were equivalent to the sex ratios of normal populations, except in the decades 1740 to 1749 where the ratio was high. The Cape-born sex ratio was 103.2 for the whole of the eighteenth century (that is, from 1700 to 1799). This created conditions favourable for the growth of the locally-born slave population. The low sex ratio was also indicative of a natural increase in the Cape-born slave population. This is not a sex ratio at birth, but rather a mean sex ratio for a category of the population characterised by more females than males. This is similar to sex ratio figures found in pre-industrial Europe, in working populations including domestic servants who often raised illegitimate children, and aging spinsters. It is normal for

²¹⁸ Michael C. Reidy, “The Admission of Slaves and 'Prize Slaves' into the Cape Colony, 1797–1818” (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997), 19.

an overall sex ratio to be lower when the population is aging, given the longer life expectancy of females.²¹⁹

4.5 Manumission, Indian slaves and the sex ratio

As Robert Shell has pointed out, the early manumitted adult female slaves (1658 to 1731) were concubines (and often wives) of the numerous free bachelors at the Cape.²²⁰ Compared with the later, nineteenth-century female slaves, these early slaves (and their children) enjoyed greatly enhanced opportunities for freedom through their domestic connections and/or their conjugal liaisons with their owners. The first recorded manumission at the Cape was such an example:

Maria from Bengal, slave belonging to the sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael, sold into freedom to Jan Sacharias from Amsterdam on condition that she becomes his legal wife.²²¹

John Hoge collected much evidence that shows that that many Bengali female slaves were absorbed into settler society via manumission and marriage in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century.²²² The best-known example was Ansiela of Bengal, the widow of a Company employee, Wouter Basson. She left a sizeable estate to her daughter, Anna de Koningh, who was born in Batavia (Jakarta) in Indonesia.²²³ De Koningh married Olaf Bergh who owned Groot Constantia, the oldest wine estate in South Africa, left it to her on his death. She, in turn, left the estate in her will.²²⁴ Both mother and daughter were among the most successful Indian slaves at the Cape. A portrait of De Koningh graces the cover of Hans Heese's book, *Groep sonder Grense* (See Figure 11 on page 56).

²¹⁹ Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, "Female surplus and preindustrial work: the French urban experience," in A. Fauve-Chamoux and Sölvi Sogner (eds.) *Socio-economic consequences of sex-ratios in historical perspectives, 1500-1980* (Milan: Universita Bocconi, 1994), 31-50.

²²⁰ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope: 1680-1731" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1986), 184.

²²¹ Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658-1700* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1977), 124.

²²² John Max Heinrich Hoge, "Personalialia of Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806," *Archives Year Book of South African History* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946), *passim*; hereafter Hoge, "Personalialia."

²²³ Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape*.

²²⁴ Gerald Groenewald, "Dynasty Building, Family Networks and Social Capital: Alcohol *pachters* and the Development of a Colonial Elite at the Cape of Good Hope, c. 1760-1790," *New Contree*, No. 62 (November 2011): 18.



Figure 11: Portrait of Anna de Koningh
Source: Hans Heese, *Groep sonder Grense*

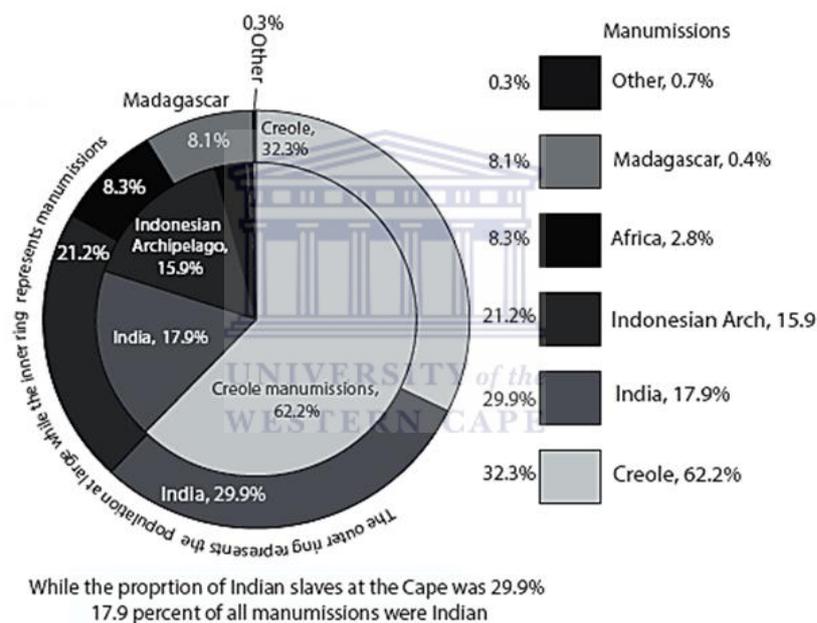


Figure 12: Manumissions and the general slave population
Sources: MOOC data set and ManuComb, N= 2,018

There are many such examples, certainly enough to make a statistical difference to the sex ratios of the slave subgroups although the creole manumissions outweigh all other groups (see Figure 12). Each manumitted slave woman increased the sex ratio of the slave population and lowered the sex ratio of the free population. Some examples are needed to illustrate this. Hans Rutger Trost from Elberfeld arrived at the Cape in 1670 as a soldier. He received his burgher rights in 1677 and was resident in Stellenbosch. Trost had two illegitimate sons, Hendrik and Carl, by his slave Maria of Bengal, both who were baptised in

1687.²²⁵ He never married her, but he manumitted her in 1687 as a reward for her faithful services. He went on to marry Aaghje Claase Keyzers of Rotterdam in 1692. As Maria of Bengal moved between the slave population and the free, she changed the sex ratios in both.

Franz Heinrich Mark arrived in 1721 from Germany as a sailor. He was a mason who received his burgher rights in 1726. In 1735 he married Christina of Bengal and emancipated her slave children, Pieter (1737), Martinus (1740), Anna Catharina, Francina and Hendrik. After Mark's death, Christina married the free black, David of Amboina, in 1756.²²⁶ Her daughters, Anna Catharina Mark married Louis Picard of Amsterdam in 1746, and Francina Mark married Lucas Hector of the Cape in 1747. Anna Catharina Mark's daughter, Helena Alida Picard married the *rekenmeester* (accountant), Anton Christoph Kaltenbach.²²⁷ In this way the blood of the progeny Christina of Bengal can be found in many an Afrikaner family in South Africa today.

Andreas Meyer from Danzig arrived at the Cape in 1748 as a soldier and received burgher rights in 1755. In the same year he married Rebekka of Bengal.²²⁸ He married in 1760 for the second time to Francina Janse of the Cape who was the emancipated slave of Pieter of Bengal. Finally, he married for the third time in 1762 to Catharina Müllenkamp of Rees in Germany and died in 1765. Gert Heinrich Teulke from Rulle arrived in the Cape in 1752 as a soldier and received burgher rights in 1761. In the same year he married Susanna Minnaart Floris of Patna from Bengal.²²⁹

Johann Gagen from Lippe was employed as an overseer from 1744 to 1748. He married Maria Cuypers of Bengal in 1744.²³⁰ Johann Dietrich Könneke married Johanna Maria of Bengal, an emancipated slave, in 1760.²³¹ On 10 December 1780, Oltmann Ahlers from Oldenburg in Germany married his former slave, Dorothy of Bengal, with whom he had seven children.²³² He had emancipated her in 1772)²³³ Dorothy or Dorothea (married Johann Thomas Petersen from Dithmarschen who arrived in the colony in 1779 as a soldier and who

²²⁵ Hoge, "Personalialia," 439.

²²⁶ Hoge, "Personalialia," 271.

²²⁷ Hoge, "Personalialia," 208.

²²⁸ Hoge, "Personalialia," 281.

²²⁹ Hoge, "Personalialia," 432.

²³⁰ Hoge, "Personalialia," 122

²³¹ Hoge, "Personalialia," 31.

²³² Hoge, "Personalialia," 16.

²³³ Hoge, "Personalialia," 16.

had received his burgher rights in 1791.²³⁴ Dorothy's daughters, Rachel and Geesje also married European males. Christian Bock married Anna Groothening of Bengal who was the emancipated slave of Hans Caspar Geringer. They had five children.²³⁵

Anyone believing that these Germans were the poorest males in the colony should consider the case of Joachim Ernst Wepener from Anklam in Germany who became a burgher and a lessee of a wine- and brandy-license for Rondebosch in 1746. He was the owner of the farm Molenvliet. In 1739 he married Anna Willemse, the daughter of Gerrit Willemse and Maria of Bengal.²³⁶ Anna Willemse, who died in 1754, had two children. After her death, Wepener had eight illegitimate children by his slave, Regina. All, as stipulated in his will, were to be manumitted after his death (1775).

Emancipated slave, Johanna Maria of Bengal, married Johann Dietrich Könnekere, a German soldier and turner from Halberstadt, in October 1760. In 1775, following Könnekere's death, Johanna Maria married Jacob Heinrich Wagner, a locksmith and watchmaker. After Wagner's death in 1777, she then married a third time, to Friedrich Baumgarten from Weyda in Saxony who came to the Cape as a soldier for the VOC in 1770. He received burgher rights in 1777 and married Johanna Maria in that same year. Here was a case of a Bengali slave woman who had no fewer than three German spouses. She must have accumulated great wealth as a widow.

Other examples of German settlers who married Indian slave women include Adam Häber (origin unknown) who married Johanna of Bengal. They had a daughter, Christina, baptised in 1785 in the Lutheran Church.²³⁷ Alexander Schüler from Tyrol arrived at the Cape in 1772 as a soldier. He had an illegitimate son, Jan Joseph Alexander by his slave, Rosina of Bengal. Jan Joseph was baptised in 1782 and was appointed Schüler's heir.²³⁸ Schüler never married Rosina but took Sophia Maria Regart as his wife. Heinrich Niemann from Magdeburg was the superintendent at the VOC's post at Wittenboomen, near Wynberg. In 1793 he married Wilhelmina Louisa of Bengal, his slave whom he had manumitted in 1790.²³⁹ There were

²³⁴ Hoge, "Personalialia," 324.

²³⁵ Hoge, "Personalialia," 50.

²³⁶ Hoge, "Personalialia," 466-467.

²³⁷ Hoge, "Personalialia," 144.

²³⁸ Hoge, "Personalialia," 392.

²³⁹ Hoge, "Personalialia," 306.

many such European unions, with Indian slaves, all of whom were accepted into the ranks of the Europeans at the Cape.

There were very few Indian female slaves in the Slave Lodge, for the censuses for the years 1693, 1714, 1727, 1802, 1823 and 1826 show only four or 0.46% Indian and Sri Lankan female slaves out of a total of 868 female slaves in the Lodge.²⁴⁰ Although the Lodge had a majority of Malagasy slaves, there were also a substantial number of Indian male slaves, but extraordinarily few Indian female slaves. No Indian slaves were imported into the Lodge in the nineteenth century, except for two males, as mostly African slaves were imported in this century up to 1807.²⁴¹ Another contributing factor was the nature of the Malagasy slave trade on VOC slaving ships where ship captains were instructed to acquire male slaves. The VOC had also wished to encourage slave breeding in the Lodge, at least in the seventeenth century,²⁴² but because of the high mortality rate among the Company slaves, all attempts at this failed, even with favourable sex ratios.

There were simply just too few Indian females coming to the Cape in comparison with the other foreign females. A large number of Indian female slaves arrived at the Cape in the last decade of the seventeenth century, but the next group of any significance arrived in the decades 1770–1779 and 1780–1789, when French and other foreign ships started to off-load a much higher proportion of female slaves.²⁴³

4.6 Correlating sex ratios and behaviour

The crime records of the early Cape have provided historians with much raw material. This section will attempt to correlate the specific sex ratios of the various slave populations with their occurrence in the crime registers. Roughly speaking, the declining sex ratios characteristic of the eighteenth century Cape is mirrored in the sentences meted out to Indian slaves. However, when examining the total population for the eighteenth century, and

²⁴⁰ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, compiler, *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*. CD-ROM and explanatory booklet (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013). Censuses for the six years, 1693, 1714, 1727, 1802, 1823 and 1826.

²⁴¹ Reidy, “The Admission of Slaves and 'Prize Slaves' Into the Cape Colony, 1797–1818.”

²⁴² Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 57.

²⁴³ James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, “The Slaves, 1652-1834,” in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, (editors), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, second edition (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 118.

contrast this with the sentences imposed by the Council of Justice, a clearer pattern emerges, as seen in the following proportional graphic. In it the sex ratio of adult Indian slaves and slaves from other regions are plotted against the incidents of crimes (using the sentences of the court as the unit for the graphic).

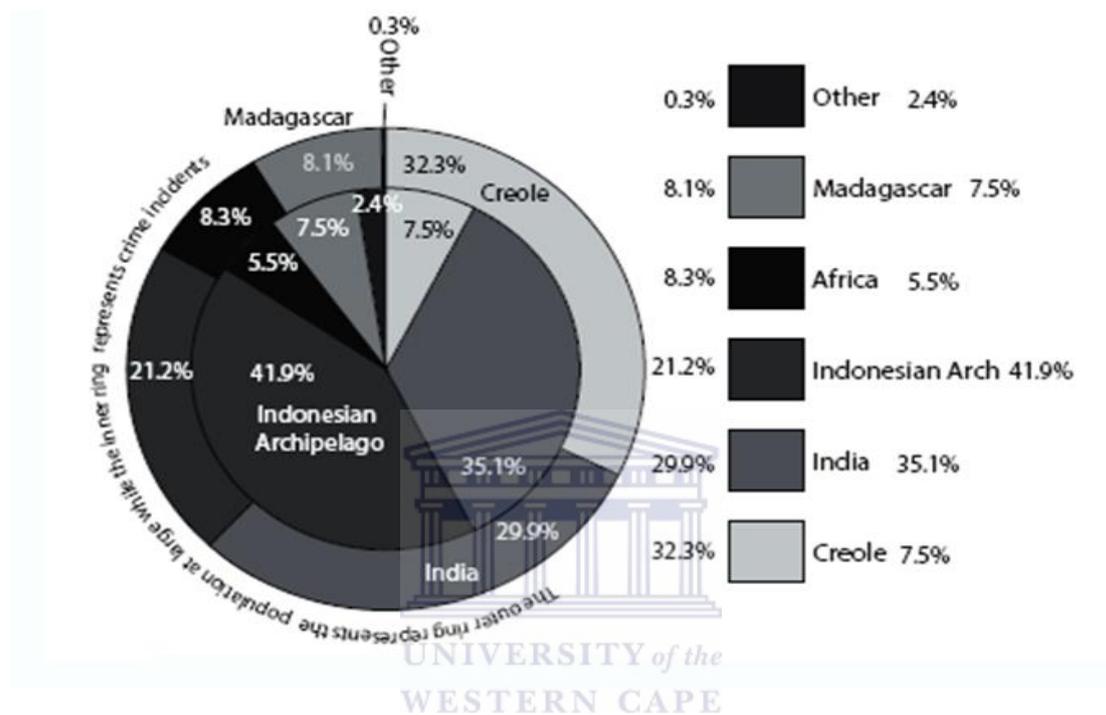


Figure 13: The slave population at large and the incidence of crime

Sources: MOOCData, N= 10,025, 1700 to 1799; Hans Heese, *Groep sonder Grense*, pp.129-219, N= 753 (slaves only).

In Figure 13, above, the creole slave population is used as the control group against which the other slave groups are measured. This is because the creole slave population had an even sex ratio, lower mortality and were readily absorbed into the settler culture (see Barrow and Bird in Appendix 5, page 194).

The creole slave population (32.3%) committed the fewest (7.5%) crimes. The Indian slaves—who comprised 29.9% of the total slaves—committed 35.1% of the crimes. The Indonesian slaves committed the highest percentage (41.9%) of the crimes. When the creole slaves are compared with the Indian slaves in the graph, it can be seen clearly that high sex ratios played a role in the high number of incidents of crime.

4.7 Sexual crimes

Moller has suggested that skewed sex ratios had negative repercussions for interpersonal relationships in Cape slave holdings as, for example, Jephtha of Batavia, age thirty, a slave of Johannes Heufke of Table Valley, attacked Maria of Ceylon with a knife in the chest as she was unfaithful to him. He was branded and sent to Robben Island in chains for ten years.²⁴⁴ Heufke owned thirty-six slaves, only two of whom were female.²⁴⁵ Fortuin of Bengal, also aged thirty, raped an eight-year-old slave girl, Lea. He was quartered.²⁴⁶ His owner, Bernardus van Billion of Stellenbosch district had fourteen slaves, of whom four were females.²⁴⁷ Michael Groos's slave, the twenty-seven-year old Geduld of Malabar, killed another slave, Coridon of Bengal, for which he was hanged.²⁴⁸ Groos had twenty-four slaves in his Cape district holding, of whom only seven were female.²⁴⁹

Abel of Timor, aged forty, who was one of the male slaves of Jan Mijnerz Cruywagen,²⁵⁰ tried to rape the twelve-year-old sister of Anna Willems. He was drawn and quartered on a cross.²⁵¹ Domingo of Bengal, the slave of Jan Jacob Meyer of Tafelvalleij²⁵² murdered his lover because she was unfaithful to him. He was hanged for this crime.²⁵³ Meyer had forty-four slaves, of whom twelve were females. Lucas of Bengal, the slave of Gerrit Smith of the Worcester district, murdered the wife of Hermanus Claasen on the farm Papenkuylsfontein in Piketberg.²⁵⁴ He was drawn, quartered and decapitated.²⁵⁵ Smith had seventeen slaves, nine of whom were female.

²⁴⁴ As quoted in, Hans Friedrich Heese, *Reg en Onreg: Kaapse Regspraak in die Agtiende Eeu*. Publikasiereeks C, Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 6 (Bellville: Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, 1994). Council of Justice, 785, s.v. "Jephtha of Batavia," 22 13.10 dated 15 January 1729, 179.

²⁴⁵ MOOC 8/5.137 dated 3 January 1736.

²⁴⁶ As quoted in Hans Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, s.v. "Fortuin of Bengal," Council of Justice, 786, s.v. 24 7.8 dated 9 August 1738, 81.

²⁴⁷ MOOC 8/6.121 dated 2 December 1746.

²⁴⁸ As quoted in Hans Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, s.v. "Geduld of Malabar," Council of Justice, 787, 20 31.3 dated 9 April, 1746, 167.

²⁴⁹ MOOC 8/7.53 dated 7 August 1750.

²⁵⁰ MOOC10/3.77 dated 26 March 1728.

²⁵¹ As quoted in Hans Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, s.v. "Abel of Timor," Council of Justice 785, Volume No. 21 4.8 dated 6 August 1729, 80.

²⁵² MOOC 8/44.43 dated 3 October 1791.

²⁵³ As quoted in Hans Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. "Domingo of Bengal," Council of Justice 794, 25 8.11 dated 17 November 1781, 158-159.

²⁵⁴ MOOC 8/38.20 dated 27 May 1823.

²⁵⁵ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. "Lucas of Bengal," Council of Justice 795, 11 9.10 dated 9 January 1783, 73-74.

There is no shortage of examples of slaves who committed sexual crimes. For example, Cupido of Malabar, the slave of Johannes Botha, murdered the Khoe, Pieter, and raped Amelia, the “Baster-Hottentottin”.²⁵⁶ His hand was chopped off and he was drawn and quartered without grace. Dam of Bengal, the slave of Pieter Loret, stabbed his unfaithful lover and was banished in chains for twenty-five years to Robben Island.²⁵⁷ Jacob of the Coromandel Coast (slave of Isaac Schrijver) raped nineteen-year-old Hilletje Smits and as a result, was hanged.²⁵⁸ January of Bengal, slave of Barend de Vries stabbed his unfaithful lover, Regina with a knife and assegai.²⁵⁹ He then fled to Oranjefontein, but was subsequently brought to trial and hanged for the crime. Fortuin of Bengal, slave of Abraham de Villiers, ran away after setting fire to the house of Venter because his lover had taken on a new partner. He was burnt alive.²⁶⁰

4.8 Gambling

Coridon of Bugis was the slave of George Visser, a soldier in the service of the VOC. This young slave was only thirteen years old. He was involved in a fight with a fellow slave after he won a gambling bet at the Castle of Good Hope. He stabbed the slave to death and in 1769 was scourged, chained and sentenced to spend the rest of his life on Robben Island.²⁶¹ He should have been hanged, but the court must have taken his youth into consideration when they sentenced him. This incidence highlights that slaves were introduced to gambling from an early age to fritter away their spare time. Ontong of Timor, aged thirty, was the slave of Hendrik Herbst when he stabbed and killed another slave, Baatjoe of Boegies after a gambling bet.²⁶² The courts sentenced him to be quartered with the murder weapon displayed above his cadaver.

²⁵⁶ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Cupido of Malabar,” Council of Justice 789, 8 24.2 dated 26 February 1757.

²⁵⁷ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Dam of Bengal,” Council of Justice 789, 6 3.6 dated 5 June 1756, 154.

²⁵⁸ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Jacob of the Coromandel Coast,” Council of Justice 782, 4 6.6 dated 9 April 1746, 172.

²⁵⁹ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “January of Bengal,” Council of Justice 789, 32 4.9 dated 6 June 1760, 175.

²⁶⁰ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Fortuin of Bengal,” Council of Justice 786, 58 4.1 dated 6 January 1742, 83.

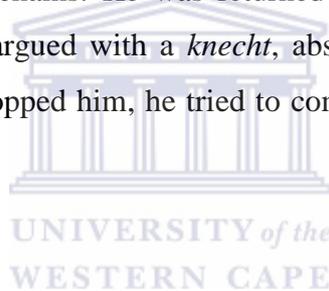
²⁶¹ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Coridon of Bugis,” Council of Justice 792, 11 29.12 dated 14 January 1769, 151.

²⁶² As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Ontong of Timor,” Council of Justice 791, 30 11.12 dated 13 December 1766, 197.

Titus of Ceylon, aged twenty-eight, was the slave of Jacob van Bocum. The family left the house in his care while they were away. He lost a seal ring that was stolen together with other items while the house was in his care, in a gambling bet with the Chinese and other slaves. He was paraded under the gallows with a strop around his neck and was also scourged in chains for ten years and sent back to his owners.²⁶³

4.9 Suicide

Some male slaves attempted suicide. January of Macassar, aged thirty, was the slave of the Chinese free black, Limnionko. He stabbed the slave, Malatti with a knife and then tried to commit suicide.²⁶⁴ He was scourged and sentenced to Robben Island for fifteen years in 1781. Fortuin of Mozambique, aged thirty, the slave of Jan Cellier, attempted to assault Cellier's son and then tried to commit suicide.²⁶⁵ He was paraded, scourged, branded and sentenced to Robben Island for ten years in chains. He was returned to his owner in 1749. Moses of Bengal, a slave of H. Eksteen, argued with a *knecht*, absconded and then started a fire at Elsenburg. When other slaves stopped him, he tried to commit suicide. He was chained and burnt alive.²⁶⁶



4.10 Conclusions

Anyone assuming that counting slaves in the crime records produces a random sample of slaves—as J.L.M. Franken²⁶⁷ did in the 1930s—would be completely wrong. Similarly, anyone creating a naive anthropology linking eastern slaves and their ethnic origins with crime—such as the colonists and VOC officials did—would also be wrong. The criminal sentences meted out to slaves were more likely the result of the extreme slave sex ratios of the Cape, which were higher than those of any comparable slave society—and much higher than that of any contemporary society. The Indian and Indonesian and other foreign slave

²⁶³ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Titus of Timor,” Council of Justice 785, 10 22.1 dated 24 January 1728, 216.

²⁶⁴ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “January of Macassar,” Council of Justice 786, 43 28.5 dated 30 May 1739, 165.

²⁶⁵ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Fortuin of Mozambique,” Council of Justice 794, 22 2.8 dated 11 August 1781, 177.

²⁶⁶ As quoted in Heese, *Reg en Onreg*, Addendum III, 129 to 220 s.v. “Moses of Bengal,” Council of Justice 782, 46 2.6 dated 4 June 1712, 193.

²⁶⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 431.

groupings could never reach the low ratios of the Cape-born slaves because the slave imports from these areas remained skewed from 1658 to 1807—and even beyond emancipation. In stark contrast, the near equal sex ratios of the creole population led to their under-representation in the criminal records. Also, the Cape-born slaves were able to survive the epidemiological challenges better than all the foreign slaves. As a result their mortality rate was lower than that of the Indian, Indonesian and other foreign slaves. It is little wonder that the creole slave became the favourite of slave owners and fetched the highest prices. The sex ratios of the Cape Colony had several unsuspected and unanticipated consequences which reveal injuries caused by the slave trade that were previously hidden.



CHAPTER 5

THE AGE COMPOSITION OF THE IMPORTED SLAVES

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the sex/gender variable was well populated to make good analysis of the sex ratios among the different slave groupings at the Cape. In contrast, the age variable is poorly represented in the MOOC data set. However, by using various data sets, a congruent picture may emerge. To ensure that the results of this study are as complete as possible, four sources of data were used, i.e. Slave Lodge mortality data set (1719 to 1789)²⁶⁸; Saledeed data set (1658 to 1731)²⁶⁹; the new MOOC data set (1685 to 1834); and the 1823 Sale data set (1823 to 1830),²⁷⁰ which contains extensive information relating to the sex and age composition of the slaves between 1823 and 1830. These data sets were analysed using descriptive statistics to calculate the sex ratios and age structures. The intent of this analysis is to show how the age composition, which is fundamental to population change and labour needs, related to the total Cape slave population. The analysis of the slaves' ages has up to now been based on the following standard age groups used by the VOC and sometimes by the British.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Linda Duvenage, *Slave Lodge mortality* data set, 1719-1789 (N= 3,638) in Excel format.

²⁶⁹ See description of the "Saledeed data set" on page 181. Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Saledeed* aggregated data set in Excel format drawing on the Deeds Office records (DO) and records in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and incorporating data compiled by Anna Böeseken and Leon Hattingh, 1658-1731 (N=4,123).

²⁷⁰ The name of the data set is 1823sale, which was the basis of my honours thesis. Parbavati Rama, "The Invisible Institution: An Analysis of Slaves in the Cape Colony, 1823-1830 with Reference to the Eastern Cape with Emphasis on Slave Women" (Honours thesis, Rhodes University, 2001). Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *1823sale* data set (N= 5,512) in Excel format, drawn from records of the Slave Office (SO) 10/18 (1823-1830), Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS).

²⁷¹ Robert C.-H. Shell, *A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 77.

Table 1: Standard age groups for both males and females used at the Cape

English categories	Dutch	Genders	Age groups
Infants	<i>Suigelinge</i>	<i>Jongen en meisjes</i>	0-1
School children	<i>Skoolkinders</i>	<i>Jongen en meisjes</i>	2-10
Half adults	<i>Halfwassenes</i>	<i>Jongen en meisjes</i>	10-15
Adults	<i>Leifeijgenen</i>	<i>Jongen</i>	16 and over
Adults	<i>Leifeijgenen</i>	<i>Meijden</i>	14 and over
Old	<i>Bejaarde</i>	<i>Jongen en meisjes</i>	45 and over

Social scientists in various disciplines have a special interest in the age structure of a population, since social relationships are greatly affected by the relative numbers in each age group.²⁷² Age is an important variable in demographic analysis, especially in cross-tabulation with the gender variable, and is used to determine the number of males and females in certain age groups. Most important is the ability to isolate women of childbearing age since nearly all demographic attributes are derived from the proportion of childbearing women in the population. The age composition of a population may be defined as the proportion of persons of various ages within that population.²⁷³ This means that age composition is not largely concerned with the age of individuals, but rather with the age of the population as a whole because the age structure can have significant bearing on social and economic situation, such as the planning of community institutions and service,²⁷⁴ as state departments have to be allocated and be allocated a budget based on the age composition of a population well in advance. In a slave society, the main focus of age composition is the proportion of young able-bodied slaves who can perform physical tasks. On the basis of the age structure, populations are called young, adult or mature, according to the relative proportion of persons in the various age categories. The graph that is best designed to give a detailed picture of the age-sex composition of a population is called a population pyramid, which is really a back-to-back histogram.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 1: 210.

²⁷³ Roland Pressat, *Demographic Analysis: Methods, Results, Applications* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972), 282-284.

²⁷⁴ Shryock, *Methods and Materials*, 1: 201; Haupt, Arthur, Thomas T. Kane and Carl Haub. *PRB's population handbook: a quick guide to population dynamics for journalists, policymakers, teachers, students, and other people interested in demographics* (Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, 2011).

²⁷⁵ Shryock, *Methods and Materials*, 1: 236-242.

5.2 The Company Lodge slaves

Slaves who were procured by the DEIC to work in the Cape Colony were called Company slaves or Lodge slaves. They performed most of the menial tasks associated with the running of a colony, such as building, maintenance work and cultivating produce for the Company's needs. They were housed in the Slave Lodge near the Company's Gardens (upper Adderley Street, Cape Town).

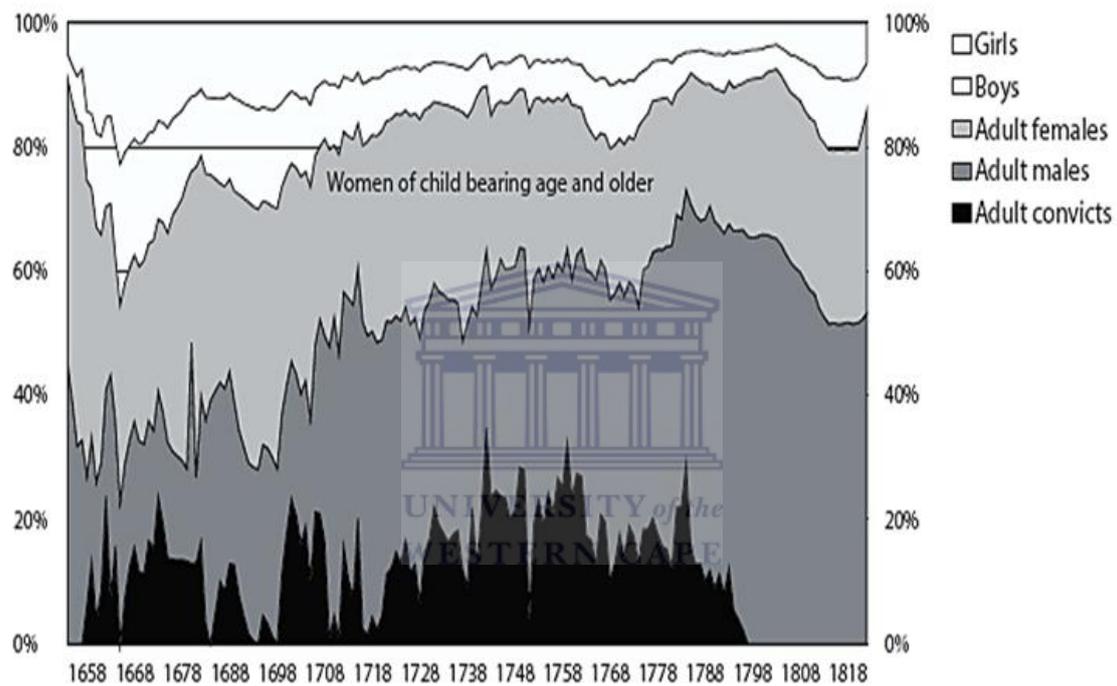


Figure 14: Age composition among Company slaves
Source: PopuCape: See "The Cape censuses" on page 191.

One might expect that among the Company slaves there were many women of childbearing age to ensure the reproduction of the slave force. This was not the case. Only after 1807 as the slave trade was shut down did the proportion of adult women increase. The Dutch sought out young, able-bodied male slaves to clear virgin land and build fortifications and, indeed, the entire Company infrastructure of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Cape Colony. Convicts, adult male slaves and boys made up nearly 75% of Company slaves throughout the period 1658 to 1818 (see Figure 14).

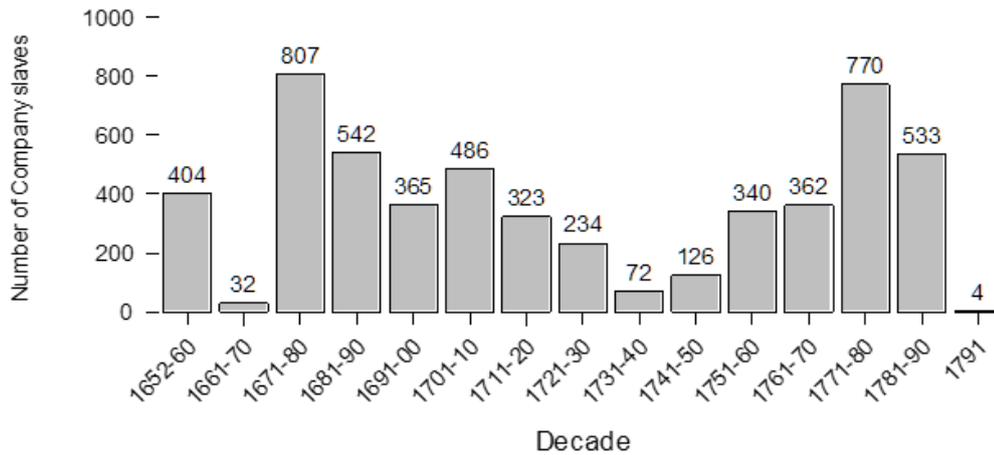


Figure 15: Number of Company Lodge slaves coming to the Cape Colony per decade, between 1658 and 1791, N= 5,400
 Source: *From Diaspora to Diorama*, Appendices.

A high proportion of males, however, limited the slave population’s growth and therefore the Company had to rely on continuous forced immigration using its considerable maritime resources. Seventy-nine voyages sailed forth to replenish the Company slave force between 1658 and 1791 and brought in over 5,000 slaves (see Figure 15).²⁷⁶ The 1650s reflect a higher number than the 1660s because of the West African slaves who came into the colony. By 1792, the slave trade was opened to free enterprise and by 1795 the Cape was under the First British Occupation.²⁷⁷

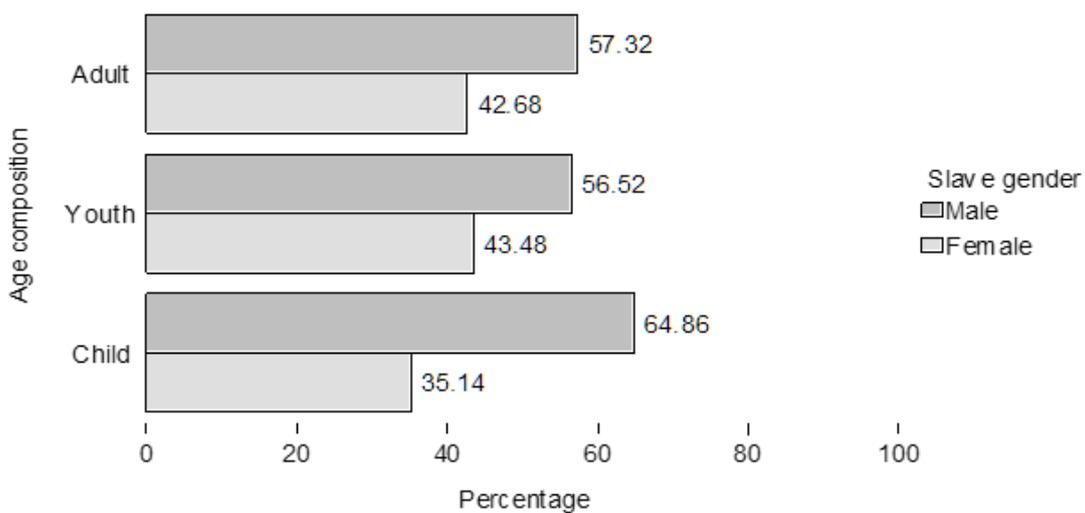


Figure 16: Age composition on board the slavers, by sex
 Source: Data from James C. Armstrong

²⁷⁶ See Appendix 4, “The Cape censuses” on page 191.

²⁷⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 417-418.

We have—thanks to James Armstrong—the cargo manifests of three slavers, the *Voorhout*, the *Soldaat* and the *Peter & Paul* that obtained slaves from Madagascar in 1676, 1696 and 1699.²⁷⁸ The voyages seemed normal, that is, uneventful, although seventy-six unnamed slaves were bought and trans-shipped to the *Peter & Paul* from Arab dhows with no recorded ages. A baby was born on the 1696 voyage of the *Soldaat*—and promptly named after the ship. The age composition is puzzling, as the highest sex ratios were among the youngest children (see Figure 16).

The huge number of slaves brought to the Lodge can be explained when one looks at the age composition of Company slaves as revealed by Linda Duvenage’s transcription of the death notices from 1719 to 1789. Most of the deaths are in the age groups 14 to 59, the most active part of any population with the lowest mortality. Duvenage's data set showed most deaths occurring in the adult (14-59) age group which is an anomaly because this group in any population has the lowest mortality. The graph reflected a high mortality rate in the Lodge because high population density is a risk for the spread of infectious diseases.

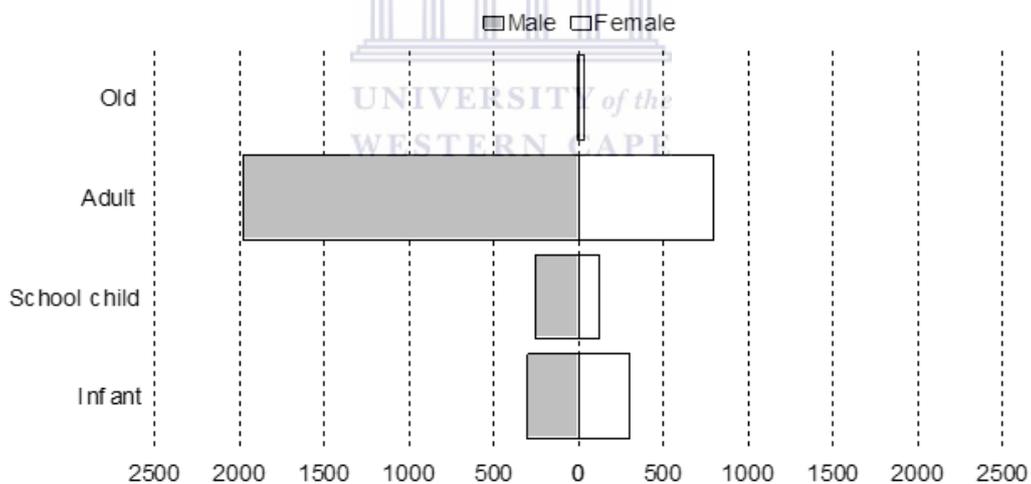


Figure 17: Age composition of deaths in the Slave Lodge, 1719 to 1789
 Source: WCARS: Linda Duvenage *Attestatiën*, line 16: Slave Lodge data set (N=3,638)

The figure shown above, “Age composition of deaths in the Slave Lodge, 1719 to 1789,” makes it possible to interpret further aspects of the age composition of company slaves. It

²⁷⁸ Shell, *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*. CD-ROM and explanatory booklet (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013).

can, for example, be seen that the sex ratios of the tiny creole sucklings (*zuigelinge*) were nearly equal to those of a normal population of 104.4. Also noticed are the extreme sex ratios²⁷⁹ of the adult slaves (236/100) a direct result of male imbalances in the Lodge slave trade, as well as, finally, the tiny sliver of “old” slaves who reached the highest ages. This clear pattern applied to all the Cape slave populations before 1807.

5.3 The age composition of the burghers’ and free blacks’ slaves

The age-sex composition played a vital role in slave preferences by slave owners. A high proportion of males, however, limited the slave population growth and therefore, the colony had to rely on the continuous forced immigration of slaves to the colony.



²⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion, see “The Sex Ratios of the Imported Slaves” on page 39.

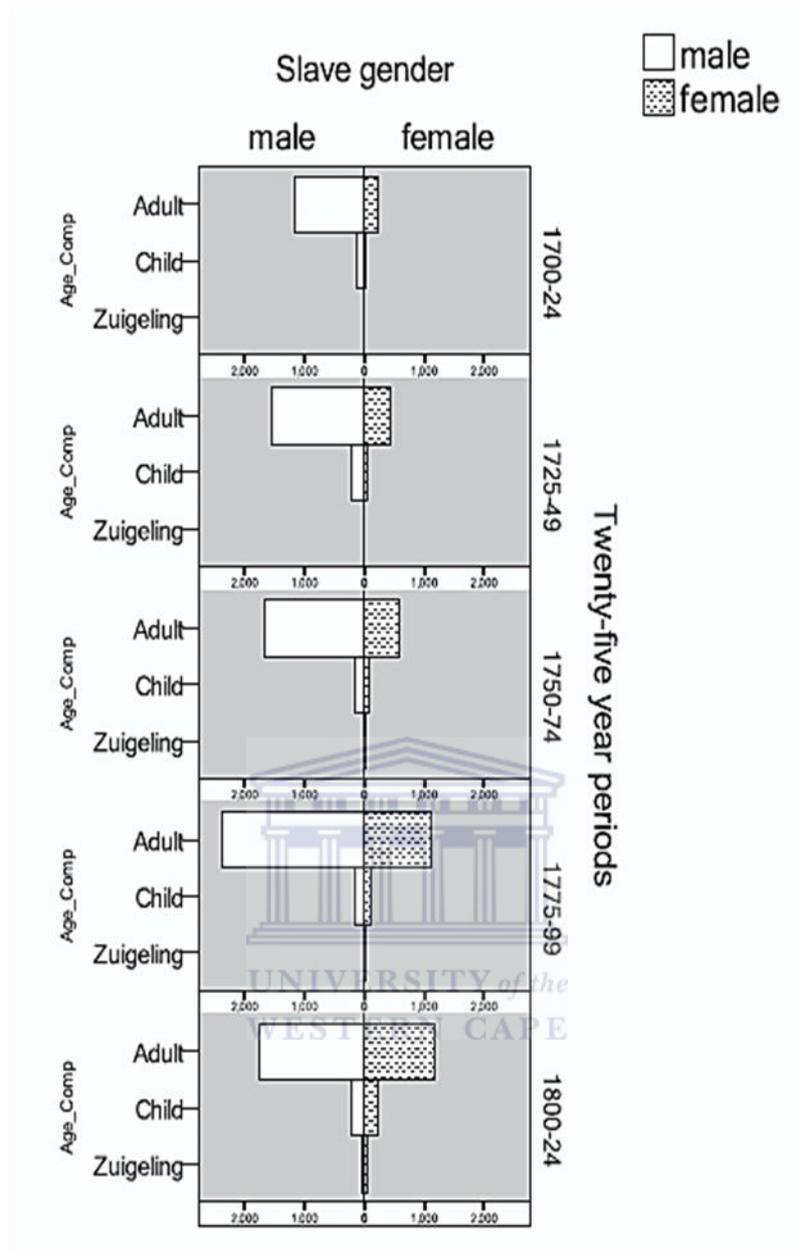


Figure 18: Population pyramids of slaves of burgher & VOC employees
 Source: MOOC data set, N=14,685

The panelled age composition graphic drawn from the MOOC data set shows an initial high sex ratio with an almost predominant adult profile (see Figure 18). This profile hardly changes over the eighteenth century revealing quite clearly that slave-owners relied mainly on the oceanic slave trade. The sex ratios even out in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and more children appear. This was the result of the abolition of the oceanic slave trade, which ushered in profound structural changes in all the slave populations.

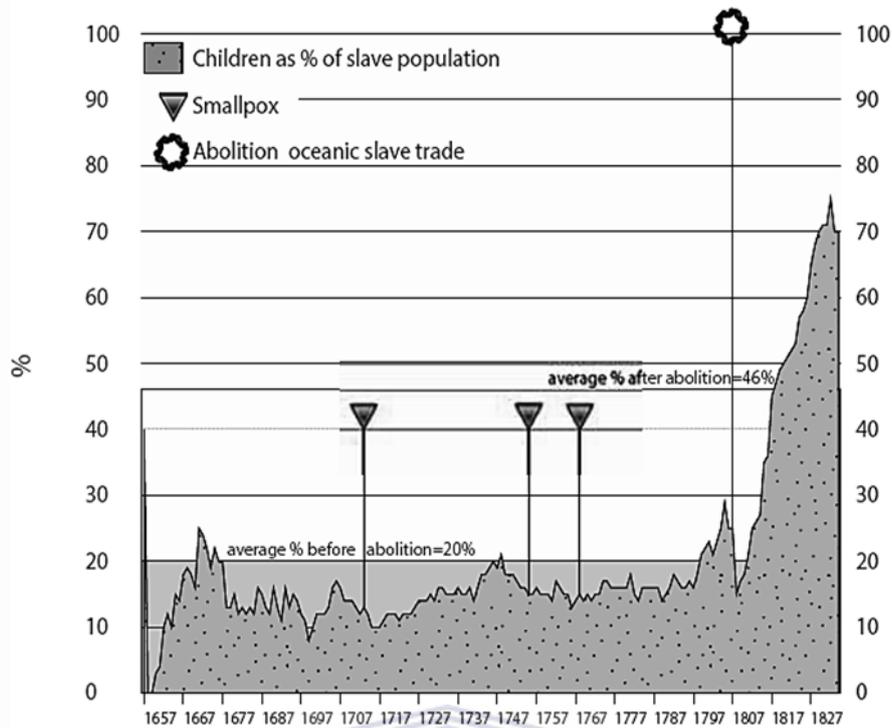


Figure 19: Slave children as % of all burgher and free black slaves, 1657 to 1834
 Source: PopuCape, n=177 years

The age composition of the burghers' slaves can be obtained from the *opgaaf* totals which also yielded the sex ratios of the previous chapter.²⁸⁰ As can be seen from the following graphic (Figure 19), the abolition of the oceanic slave trade fundamentally restructured the demography of the slave population. After 1807, the slave-owners realised that there would be no further slaves coming off the boats. The change is clear and shows how population history can change almost overnight. The new demographic regime ushered in by the abolition also accelerated the creolisation process, which is the subject of a subsequent chapter.²⁸¹ These processes are best appreciated when seen in a graph (Figure 19). Most notable is the steady percentage (average 20%) during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, while after 1807 the average jumps to 46%.

Not only did the farmers of the interior obtain female slaves after 1770 by capturing autochthonous persons (the Bushmen) but they also captured children of the interior to create a new type of bondsman, tied to the owner's property for 25 years. These would be termed

²⁸⁰ See "The Sex Ratios of the Imported Slaves" on page 39.

²⁸¹ See "Creolisation" on page 105.

“*Bastaards*” (Bastards). Khoe and San were not enumerated until 1798, so their children are not represented in the above graphic. As W.W. Bird commented:

The number of free Hottentots not being correctly ascertained, was stated, upon a rather vague estimate, in 1798, at 14,447. It has increased to 28,835; the number officially reported in 1821. This does not include the whole of the Hottentot population; but it does comprehend many of the bastard offspring of Hottentot mothers by European or Creole fathers.²⁸²

Bushman and “Hottentot” (Khoe) children who were captured in raids in the Nieuwveld, for example, were distributed among the commando members. On 2 September 1779, in a letter to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Cornelius van Wyk, stated that the little Bushmen captured in raids were divided among the men as follows: J.J. Swanepoel, a girl; Alewyn Johannes, a Hottentot; L.J. Vorie, a Hottentot; C. Harmse, a girl and W.S. van Beere, a little boy.²⁸³

In another letter, also to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Field Corporal Adriaan van Jaarsveld reported that the prisoners were too little and sickly and were therefore divided among the commandos.²⁸⁴ On the 11 December 1775, Jan Horran had a little Bushman girl named Sina registered for twenty-five years.²⁸⁵ He also registered a little Hottentot named Roman for twenty-five years. They were both saved from a battle. Because of their young age, they received the maximum apprenticeship of twenty-five years. Forty-six children who were among the prisoners captured by Zarel Marais's commando in 1774, and divided among the members of the commando for various periods, from ten to twenty years. Three (two were sucklings) were registered for twenty years and the rest went for a period of sixteen years. Among the remaining twenty-three female captives were twelve women with six sucklings and five girls. These were liberated, although some of the commandos' Hottentots took several as their wives.²⁸⁶ A second list mentions a total of thirty-nine prisoners, of whom twenty-four were divided among the same number of commando members. Six females with two sucklings were released. In the third list, Josua Joubert distributed eleven prisoners for periods from fourteen to nineteen years, with the length of the indenture—or bond period—

²⁸² See Appendix 5, “Vital rates” on page 194.

²⁸³ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, page 81 (page 633).

²⁸⁴ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, page 46 (page 593).

²⁸⁵ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, page 50 (page 597).

²⁸⁶ Moodie, *The Record*, vol. 3, 48-49 (page 585).

being dependent upon the age of the prisoner. Thus younger prisoners were indentured for a longer period.

5.4 Post-1807 age composition

The 1823 sale data set²⁸⁷ is the record of sales which took place between 1823 and 1830 for the purpose of compensation for slave owners. The data set contains 5,512 cases, and includes a record of the age of each slave. The mean age was 28.61 years. The graph below also shows a depression in the 15–34 years age group, as was the case for the MOOC data set. In this respect the 1823 sale data set seems to replicate the Orphan Chamber data set in terms of the age variable with a few variations. A possible explanation for this is that the age variable was uniformly recorded only from the late eighteenth century by the Orphan Chamber.

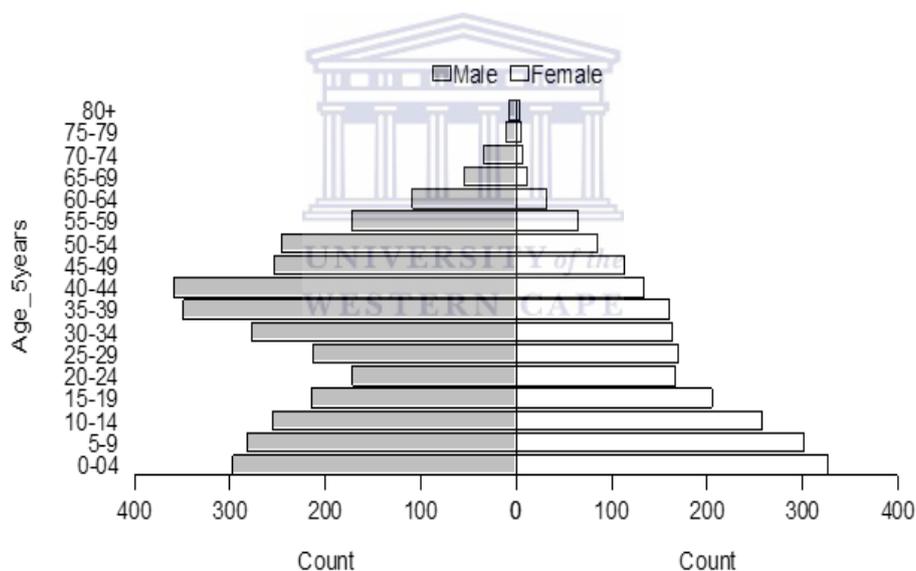


Figure 20: Population pyramid of the Cape slave population, 1823-1830
Source: 1823Sale: WCARS Slave Office 10/18 data, N= 5,510

The above graph displays a near complete age and sex profile of slaves from 1823 to 1830 with only two missing values. The Slave Office data confirms that the slave population was a young population because of the wide base in the young age-sex profiles. All the slaves in the 0-4 age group were Cape-born and their sex ratio was low, as it is reflected in the population pyramid. From 0-4 up to the 20-24 age group, the graph shows that the age-sex profiles for both males and females were equal and followed a normal population pattern or growth. It

²⁸⁷ See Appendix 3, Slave Office (SO) 10/18 on page 186.

shows that this population was in a transitional phase from a high fertility rate to a low mortality rate, hence the presence of a high proportion of youth. All the age groups in the population pyramid show a pattern similar to that of a developing population where the mortality rates are low and fertility rates are high. Therefore, the age-sex profiles in Figure 20 on page 74 exhibit the second phase in the Demographic Transition Theory (DTT).²⁸⁸ From the 35-39 age group, there were more males than females, right up to the 80+ age group—evidence of the male preference policy before 1807.

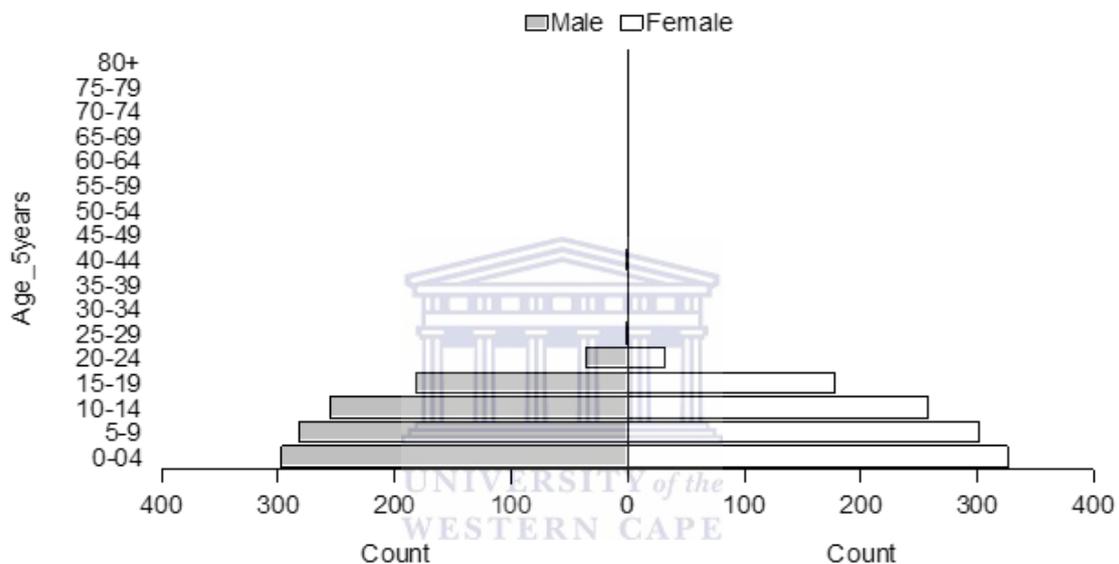


Figure 21: Population pyramid of the Cape creole slave population, 1823-1830

Source: 1823Sale: WCARS Slave Office 10/18 data

Figure 21 on page 75 shows that the Cape slave population was a young one because it had a wide base in the 0-4 and 5-9 age cohorts. The majority were children under the age of fourteen years who were born at the Cape. All the children born after 1808 were deemed to be creoles. The youngest slave was one month old.

²⁸⁸ W.P. Mostert, B.E. Hofmeyr, J.S. Oosthuizen and J.A. van Zyl, *Demography: Textbook for the South African Student* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1998), 13-15.

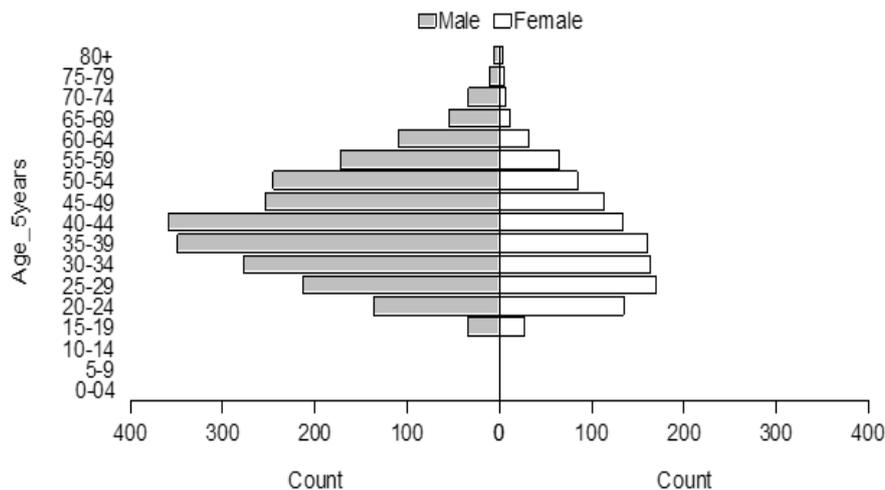


Figure 22: Population pyramid of the Cape foreign slave population, 1823-1830
 Source: 1823Sale: WCARS Slave Office 10/18 data

Males were in the majority in the 65 to 69 age cohort and up to the 80+ age cohort (see Figure 22). There were fewer female slaves than males in the 80+ age cohort. This is surprising demographically, as females tend to outlive males, but can be explained by the fact that fewer females came to the Cape via the oceanic slave trade. There were over a hundred male slaves to twenty-seven female slaves in these older cohorts. An explanation for this difference is found in the high sex ratios that were prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when more males were present in the colony than females. This pattern had, therefore, entrenched itself in the older age cohorts in the population pyramid.

The oldest slave was ninety-three year old Fortuin of Mozambique, a blind slave of Francois Alewyn Smit of Gedult, Camdebo, Graaff Reinet.²⁸⁹ Another male slave, Carolus of Mozambique, was ninety-one years old. His owner was Gysbertus van Reenen of Brakkefontein, who left forty-five slaves in his estate.²⁹⁰ The oldest Indian slave was an eighty-six year old male shepherd, Floris of Bengal, who belonged to Elisabeth Maria Olivier of Swellendam.²⁹¹ She made no special requests in her will pertaining to his freedom or special needs. Shell's claim that older slaves were sent off to the rural districts of the Cape to serve as shepherds was true in the case of this old Bengali slave.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ MOOC 8/72.6 dated 18 January 1830.

²⁹⁰ MOOC 8/42.26 dated 25 September 1827.

²⁹¹ MOOC 8/48.17 dated 31 May 1832.

²⁹² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 157-158.

There were two Malabari male slaves who were eighty years old. Caesar of Malabar was a labourer for Johan Adam Enslin of the Paarl district.²⁹³ Enslin made a provision in his estate that Caesar was not to be sold and was to be nursed for life. April of Malabar was a cattle herder for Hugo Hendrik van Niekerk of Weltevreden, Groot Drakenstein in Stellenbosch.²⁹⁴ April, however, was not as lucky as Caesar, as he was valued at 25 Rix Dollars for an auction sale with all the other slaves, the homestead and all its contents.

The oldest female slave was Debora of the Cape who was eighty-seven years old. Her owner was Reverend Jan Christoffel Berrangé of Table Valley who stated in his will that she should not to be disposed of and that his surviving widow, Cornelia Eliana Serrurier, should provide for her.²⁹⁵ Not all slave owners were indifferent to the needs of their slaves, because in the domestic setting the owner provided familial support to their slaves, as Reverend Berrangé and Johan Adam Enslin had demonstrated.

5.5 Implications

Modern South Africa was not built on gold and diamonds alone, as many people reason, but on the availability of cheap male labour of a fairly specific age group.²⁹⁶ The development of the Cape colonial economy was depended heavily on slave labour. To understand the modern labour system, the historical nature of the inequality within the world economic system needs also to be understood. Moreover, the historical and social repercussions of the two labour systems, one colonial and the other capitalist, underscores the rising unemployment and economic disparity between the peoples of contemporary South Africa.

In his ‘world system’ analysis, Immanuel Wallerstein, a sociologist and a world-system analyst, spoke about the strong social inequalities associated with a global capitalist system. He stated that in the aftermath of the feudal system in Western Europe, a new international division of labour within a capitalist economy emerged in the sixteenth century which

²⁹³ J. Hoge, “Personalia”; See also MOOC 8/75.57 inventory.

²⁹⁴ MOOC 8/75.57 dated 15 June 1801.

²⁹⁵ MOOC 8/41.41 dated 13 March 1827.

²⁹⁶ Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), 163-177.

supplanted national and political boundaries.²⁹⁷ Wallerstein divided the global economies and geographical regions into core and peripheral categories. He argued that the core regions such as Western Europe and the United States are the receivers and beneficiaries of the capitalist world economy, while on the other end of the scale are the peripheral regions such as Africa, Asia and South America. Ironically, these peripheral regions were previously slave colonies of Western Europe (one of the core regions). Since the peripheral regions were politically weak at emancipation and independence, they were subsequently exploited by the core regions. The sociologists, Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, therefore, see “migration as a form of development aid for the migration countries,”²⁹⁸ which are able to exploit the labour that costs them little or nothing to produce.²⁹⁹ According to them, from colonial times onwards, the former colonies have become a source of cheap, easily exploited labour and cheap raw materials. They argue, further, that the poor have been used as a reserve army of labour by the core regions during periods of economic prosperity and high employment. The peripheral regions ended up exporting their raw materials to the core, which relied on coercive labour practices, as did the slavers who brought in slaves to do the hard labour in the colonies, where, as the focus was on young males, it limited the possibility of reproduction.

Migration has a negative impact on poorer regions, as those who migrate are a valuable resource as they are usually young and vigorous. The society in which they grew up had to spend capital for their maintenance and in return they were not able to contribute to the prosperity of their nation. Migrants are also energetic and educated so psychologically they are ready to be hard workers because a new place gives them a new start. Therefore, the United States prides itself on migrants because it does not carry the cost of rearing them, for example, medical workforce from Africa and Asia are recruited for their skills, the cost of the acquisition of these skills is borne by the peripheral zone. The core-periphery argument and migration argument is relevant in the South African context, especially in the mining industry.

²⁹⁷ Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press; Philadelphia: Balaban Publishers, 1974), 349-350.

²⁹⁸ Stephen Castles and Godula C. Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

²⁹⁹ “What is Labour Broking?” [online resource] *Labour Brokers SA* <http://www.labourbrokersa.co.za> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

Labour recruiters or brokers operated in both the slave system and the migration system. Labour brokering is a form of outsourcing practiced in South Africa in which companies contract labour brokers to provide them with casual labour, predominantly in the mining industry.³⁰⁰ The Congress of South African Trade Unions had been vociferous in its condemnation of labour brokers, as the casual workers earn much lower salaries than permanent employees, and the brokers abuse the rights of workers.³⁰¹ Some labour brokers have been known to underpay the labourer and keep high fees for themselves, which is an unfair labour practice as well as an unscrupulous business practice.³⁰² The brokers recruit mainly young black males to herd them off to the mines. In slavery, the slavers were the labour brokers, acting on behalf of slave buyers to brutally abduct people from their places of origin for sale on lucrative slave markets (in South Africa, the markets were the mining companies).

Harold Wolpe, a sociologist and political economist, argued that “grand apartheid” ensured that the mining industry could subsidise its profits by externalising a significant part of the burden of social reproduction to rural subsistence economies.³⁰³ When the migrant labour system was introduced on the gold and diamond mines, rural economies were destabilised by the illegal dispossession of land and the introduction of a poll tax which had to be paid in cash, a financial burden for black people that encouraged black men to enter the labour market.³⁰⁴ The Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 in KwaZulu-Natal was a response against the poll tax as people could not afford the taxes.³⁰⁵ Young black males were forced to go to the mines where they were housed in hostels so that mine owners could control their labour.

The apartheid system in South Africa was extreme in its racial ordering of its people and was fine-tuned in the labour market to counteract violent resistance from black communities through the concept of “homelands.” The system was divided on two levels: grand apartheid

³⁰⁰ “What is Labour Brokering” [online resource] *Labour Brokers SA* <http://www.labourbrokersa.co.za> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

³⁰⁰ Harold Wolpe, “Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid,” *Economy and Society*, 1 (4) (1972): 425-455.

³⁰¹ B.P.S. van Eck, “Temporary Employment Services (Labour Brokers) in South Africa and Namibia,” in *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, 13, 2 (2010): 107-204.

³⁰² “What is Labour Brokering” [online resource] *Labour Brokers SA* <http://www.labourbrokersa.co.za> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

³⁰³ Wolpe, “Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa,” 425-455.

³⁰⁴ Shula Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 128.

³⁰⁵ Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, 171.

and petty apartheid. While petty apartheid focused on segregation on a day-to-day basis, involving primarily segregation of public facilities, education and transport, grand apartheid focused on separate “homelands” areas where black South Africans were forcibly moved and the separation of each racial group into their own residential areas in all of South Africa’s towns and cities.³⁰⁶ This was thus a territorial segregation of races which meant that black South Africans would reproduce the work force, that South Africa would not have to carry the cost of rearing: it is the extended family in the homelands that carries the burden of the reproduction of a the migrant workforce for which capitalism does not want to take responsibility.³⁰⁷ Because of this the black man has been unable to support his family in what has become a female-dominated households. Wives, children and the infirm were left behind in the rural areas to eke out a subsistence living dependent on remittances from their husbands. The current-day remittances are similar to the *peculium* (wage) slaves used to free their family.³⁰⁸ The situation has created permanent and serious social issues among black migrant workers and their families, in South Africa.

During colonial times, the only cost slave owners needed to expend was for the hire of slavers to capture slaves to perform manual labour at the Cape. The mining houses appointed labour recruiters to find workers to work on the mines. The sources of labour include not only areas such as South Africa (mainly the former homeland of Transkei and Ciskei), Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, but also as far afield as Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania.³⁰⁹ The black males from these migrations had little chance of obtaining skills because the men are on the whole were illiterate, innumerate and had low levels of competency in any one language in common.³¹⁰ The disadvantage the black migrants faced was that “the barrier of colour became also a barrier to advancement.”³¹¹ This was the analogous predicament slaves from Central Africa and East Africa encountered at the Cape as they were employed mainly as labourers with no chance of advancement. In contrast, many free blacks, mulattos and slaves from India and South-East Asia who were predominantly artisans managed through manumission to improve their social status and provide for their

³⁰⁶ Ralph Glücksmann, *Apartheid Legislation in South Africa*. [online resource]

http://ra.smixx.de/Apartheid_Legislation_in_South_Africa_2010-2.pdf. (accessed: 27 April 2014).

³⁰⁷ Claude Meillassoux, “From Reproduction to Production,” *Economy and Society* 1, 1 (1972): 102.

³⁰⁸ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 118-119.

³⁰⁹ J.S. Harington, N.D. McGlashan, and E.Z. Chelkowska, “A Century of Migrant Labour in the Gold Mines of South Africa,” *The Journal of The South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* (March 2004): 69.

³¹⁰ Harington, “A Century of Migrant Labour,” 70.

³¹¹ J. Lang, *Bullion Johannesburg, Men, Mines and the Challenge of Conflicts* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball: 1986), 509.

families, while slaves from Africa remained in the agricultural sector. When frustrated and jobless mineworkers returned to the Eastern Cape in the 1990s, many did not know what to do in a subsistence farming region with limited job opportunities, something that has led to predictably high crime rates and massive migration to urban areas. Miners were sent home for mine-related lung diseases without compensation which led to the social and economic burden borne by labour-sending communities.³¹²

After their emancipation in 1834 and the termination of slave apprenticeship in 1838, the former slaves were left in a limbo, as many did not know what to do with themselves. Some went back to their previous owners while others became cadastral labourers, tied to the land.

Linked with migrant labour is the highest sex ratios within the mining compounds, the cause of the same social ills, such as bestiality, homosexuality, violence and gambling found among male slaves at the Cape. Though, research by T. Dunbar Moodie, Professor of Sociology and Patrick Harries, Emeritus Professor of African History, showed that at the beginning of the twentieth century male to male marriages between African mineworkers had become prevalent.³¹³ The men, and even their female wives back home in the rural areas, subtly defended "boywives" or *izinkotshanein*. This set-up offered superior stability to the relationship than had their men turned to female prostitute on the mines.

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³¹² Anna S. Trapido, Nokuzola P. Mqoqi, *et al.*, "Prevalence of Occupational Lung Disease in a Random Sample of Former Mineworkers, Libode District, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa," in *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 34 (1994): 312.

³¹³ T. D. Moodie, V. Ndatshe and B. Sibuyi, "Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (2) (1988): 229-245; Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture And Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press: Heinemann, 1994).

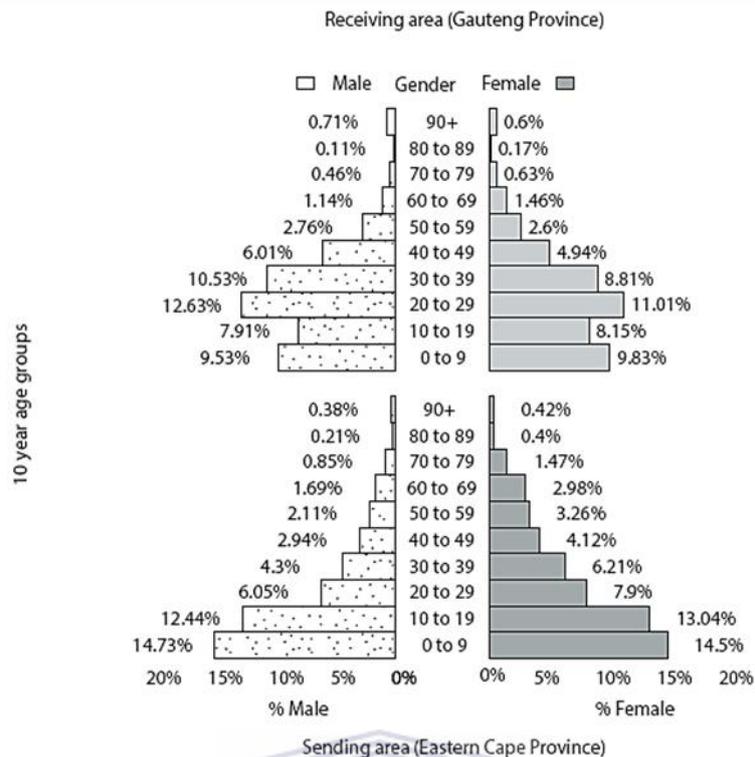


Figure 23: Sending & receiving regions age composition of migrant labour in SA, 1996
 Source: South African Census 1996, 10 percent sample: Africans selected.

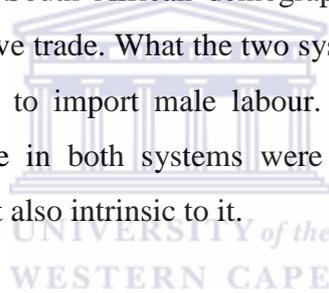
Figure 23 on page 82 was generated using data from the 1996 Census.³¹⁴ The 1996 census was revolutionary in the history of South African censuses as it was the first time that all the population groups were counted in a democracy. Censuses were undertaken by the Union government from 1911-1960 and thereafter up to 1991 for apartheid South Africa. Data collected during the apartheid era is uneven and unreliable, especially with regard to the African population. Legislation such as the Native Areas Amendment Bill and the Group Areas Act skewed official statistics and grossly underestimated the number of people living in cities. Earlier censuses—such as the 1991 Census—also excluded the populations of the then homelands of, for example, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The graph, above, highlights the age composition of the African population in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape to emphasise the core/periphery relationship between the two provinces. What is significant of the graph is the concentration of males in the 20-39 year age groups in the core province of Gauteng. In contrast, the Eastern Cape Province has the male concentration in the 0-19 year age groups. The data implies that young males are migrating to a province of opportunity,

³¹⁴ Statistics SA, *The People of South Africa, Population Census 1996: Age Tables for South Africa and its Provinces* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 1998).

where they are utilised mainly in the mining, construction, artisanal and agricultural sectors. This is not very different from the situation that existed in the Cape during the days of slavery, for slavers hunted and purchased for their human cargo males in the 15-29 year old age group.

5.6 Conclusions

This is the first time that the age composition of the slaves has been exclusively examined. The various data sets provided a congruent picture of the Cape slave age composition. This age selective model of labour migration applies both to slave systems and the modern apartheid/homeland regime of the South Africa under National Party rule. What the two systems share is that slave societies depended on the slave trade and while in the more recent homeland model the host country does not bear the cost of the reproduction and rearing of its labour force. Therefore, current South African demography shares some attributes of the demographic structures of the slave trade. What the two systems had in common was that the dominant groups had the power to import male labour. In other words, the costs of the reproduction of the labour force in both systems were borne by the peripheral regions extrinsic to the core economy, but also intrinsic to it.



CHAPTER 6

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF SLAVES

6.1 Introduction

While data for the age composition of the Indian and other slaves were sketchy, data for the origins of the whole slave population was detailed for a thorough analysis. A major challenge for Cape historians studying the slave trade has been to establish the origins of slaves. It is a central theme of this thesis. Researchers such as A. J. Böeseken, Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns produced pioneering work in this regard even though their data sources were limited to primary sources from the Deeds Office and published sources in the case of Bradlow and Cairns. Both only covered a specific time frame within the slave trade period. The thesis uses the new data extracted from the recently transcribed Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) series to conduct a more comprehensive analysis.³¹⁵ This is supported, where necessary, with information from the Saledeed data (1658-1731) and the new Slave Lodge data which were not covered in earlier works. The aim of this chapter is therefore, to analyse the count and origin of Cape slaves and map the new data over the entire period of Cape slavery from 1658 to 1834.

6.2 The background

Genealogy has become a catch phrase of the twenty-first century. The word is synonymous with lineage, ancestry and family history. Unlike the white, Indian and the black populations of South Africa, members of the coloured or mixed population who are of slave origin, are uninformed of their genealogical links to the Indian subcontinent. Likewise, the majority of contemporary Indian people in India and South Africa seem to be unaware their ancestors had left their genetic marker on the continent long before the 1860 indentured labourers came to work on the KwaZulu-Natal sugar cane plantations.³¹⁶ Without knowing about the origin of slaves, "we cannot make meaningful assumptions about the social, cultural, linguistic, and

³¹⁵ See Appendix 1 on "Description of the Master of the Orphan Chamber Data Set" on page 167.

³¹⁶ Enuga S. Reddy, *Articles, Papers, and Speeches* "Indian Slaves in South Africa a Little Known Aspect of Indian-South African Relations" (November 1990): 4 [online resource] <http://www.geocities.ws/enugareddy/southafrica.html> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

religious behaviour of *any* Cape slave-holding households.”³¹⁷ As the historians Vijaya Teelock of the University of Mauritius and Edward Alpers of the University of California, have stated of Mauritian slavery: "No study of language, culture, religion, social organization of slave and post-slave society can be ‘scientific’ unless it is underpinned by accurate empirical information about the origins of slaves.”³¹⁸ More than one and a half centuries after slavery had been abolished in the Cape Colony in 1834, there are many questions regarding the origin of slaves which remain vague and incomplete.

6.3 The origins question

In the beginning, Indian Cape slaves, who were in the majority, adopted the Malay language and culture and not that of the colonial Dutch. However, Asian slaves also spoke languages such as Portuguese, Tamil and Bugis at the Cape.³¹⁹ Malay and Portuguese vanished in the eighteenth century as a common language among slaves and was substituted with pidgin Dutch.³²⁰ In a slave society, slaves would seek desperately for kinship which was sorely lacking at the Cape, especially among the Indian slaves whose sex ratios were the highest recorded among all slave societies (see Chapter 4). Thus, it was mainly under the umbrella of Islam that such an affinity was promulgated among the Indian slaves and other slaves.³²¹ The role of South-East Asian political exiles and free blacks offered leadership and guidance to the Muslim slaves. Two such prominent figures among the exiles were Sheikh Yusuf and Tuan Guru. Sheik Yusuf was credited for bringing Islam to South Africa.³²² Tuan Guru’s teaching and philosophy offered the foundation of Cape Islam until mid-to-late nineteenth century.³²³ During this time there was a move away from a secret and mystical structure of Islam to a more open and public practice of the faith. He had memorised the Koran before his arrival as there were no copies at the Cape and he also established a *madrasah* on his release

³¹⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 40.

³¹⁸ Vijayalaksmi Teelock and Edward A. Alpers, *History, Memory and Identity* (Mauritius: Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, University of Mauritius, 2001), 1.

³¹⁹ Kerry Ward, “Southeast Asian Migrants,” in Nigel Worden, *Cape Town, Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 86.

³²⁰ Robert Ross and Alicia Schrikker, “The VOC official elite,” in Nigel Worden, *Cape Town, Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), 36.

³²¹ Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1978), 103-105.

³²² Ward, “Southeast Asian Migrants,” 98-99.

³²³ “The Cape Malay” [online resource] *South African History Online: Towards a People’s History* <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people-south-africa/cape-malay> (accessed: 3 September, 2013).

in 1792 and, in 1797, the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street, Cape Town.³²⁴ A *kramat* was erected in his honour on Robben Island. Former aristocratic exiles from South-East Asia were the Rajah of Tambora and his wife, who resided at Vergelegen, and Raden Djoerit of Madura who stayed in the Castle, served by his two slaves.³²⁵

There were not as many political exiles from India, although Kalaga Prabhu, a prominent *Goud Saraswat* Brahmin and merchant, together with his family, was exiled to the Cape for conspiring against the Dutch and the king of Cochin in 1771.³²⁶ The efforts of the South-East Asian exiles in bringing slaves into the Islamic fold in the colonial era cannot be underestimated as slaves clutched at straws because they wanted to belong. They contributed by firstly, manumitting mostly the Muslim slaves, by offering religious guidance and political leadership. Therefore, religion became the unifying force among Muslim slaves at the Cape which followed the same process of Malayisation in the Indonesian Archipelago and Malaysia.

Lady Lucy Duff Gordon, an English visitor to the Cape in 1861, had this to say about the Malays:

Malay here seems equivalent to Mohammedan. They were originally Malays, but now they include every shade, from the blackest nigger to the most blooming English woman. Yes, indeed, the emigrant-girls have been known to turn ‘Malays’, and get thereby husbands who know not billiards and brandy—the two diseases of Capetown. They risked a plurality of wives, and professed Islam, but they got fine clothes and industrious husbands. They wear a very pretty dress, and all have a great air of independence and self-respect; and the real Malays are very handsome. I am going to see one of the Mollahs soon, and to look at their schools and mosque; which, to the distraction of the Scotch, they call their ‘Kerk’.³²⁷

³²⁴ “The Cape Malay” [online resource] *South African History Online: Towards a People’s History* <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people-south-africa/cape-malay> (accessed: 3 September, 2013).

³²⁵ Ward, “Southeast Asian Migrants,” 87-91.

³²⁶ “Community Portal of Gowd Saraswat Brahmins of Kerala.” *A Story of the Longest Migration in India from Saraswat Desh in 1000 BC to Far and Wide* [online resource] <http://gsbkerala.com> (accessed: 27 April 2015). Also spelt as Gowd, Goud, Gaud or Gawd.

³²⁷ Lady Lucy Duff Gordon, *Letters from the Cape*, Letter no.2, 3 October 1864, edited by John Purves (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 26-34.

Finally, Timothy P. Barnard and Hendrik M. J. Maier in their collection of Malay-identity essays, confronted the Malay question:

What is the meaning of "Malay"? The question seems strange and unnecessary. "Malays" live in Malaysia, where they are the major population group. "Malays" are found in Indonesia, in Sumatra and along the coast of Indonesian Borneo. At first glance, it all seems very straightforward, but for centuries, definitions, boundaries, and origins of this word in the world of South-East Asia have proved elusive, and it seems unlikely that the word will acquire any greater precision in the future.³²⁸

We may be sure that persons called "Malay" in previous centuries were not all originating in modern day Malaysia.

The Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) has a plethora of official written documents dating back to 1652 regarding the origin of slaves. After 1731, transfer records of slaves ceased in the Deeds Office (DO).³²⁹ Slave registration—not sales—were begun again in 1817 when the Slave Office began its operations.

To establish the origin of the Cape slaves, researchers have used records from a variety of sources. These include the Deeds Office in Cape Town, inventories, auctions and wills from the Cape and Dutch archives, church baptismal records, annual censuses and travellers' narratives. Even manumission and crime records were examined to establish the origin of slaves at the Cape.³³⁰ Unlike the United States' southern colonies, few oral records of Cape slaves exist in the archives—nothing like the Federal Writers' Project, exists in Cape Town.³³¹ Thousands of notarial protocols are, however, scattered throughout the archival material in the WCARS, which are the last unexamined source of slaves at the Cape.³³²

³²⁸ Timothy P. Barnard and Hendrik M. J. Maier, "Melayu, Malay, Maleis: Journeys through the Identity of a Collection," in *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity Across Boundaries*, edited by Timothy P. Barnard (National University of Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004), ix-xii.

³²⁹ Robert C.-H. Shell, *Changing Hands, A Calendar of Bondage, 1550 to 1888*, CD-ROM (Gardens, South Africa: Ancestry24, 2005), 38.

³³⁰ Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald, (editors), *Trials of Slavery: Selected Documents Concerning Slaves from the Criminal Records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1705-1794*. Van Riebeeck Society: Second series, 36 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2005).

³³¹ President Franklin D. Roosevelt established this project in 1935 to provide work for historians, teachers, writers, librarians and other white-collar workers. [online resource] *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1938*. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html> (accessed: 14 May 2013).

³³² Notarial protocols were initially drawn up by the secretaries of the Council of Policy and the Court of Justice.

Initially in 1793 only two notarial practices were permitted in Cape Town, but the number of notaries increased in the nineteenth century. A notary was required to keep a protocol and register of all deeds drawn up by him. On ceasing to practice or on his death, the notary or executors of his estate handed his protocols and register to the Secretary of the Court of Justice for safekeeping (Personal conversation with Robert C.-H. Shell, 2007).



Map 1: Slaving areas of Indonesia

Sources: Adapted from Iziko Slave Lodge map for which the author contributed the place names

The foremost researcher to carry out seminal work into the origin of slaves was Anna J. Böeseken. She uncovered previously unknown information on Indian slaves from archival sources in the Deeds Registry which is a depository of all Cape Town's landed property registrations.³³³ Moreover, Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns researched the genealogy and origins of the Cape Muslim slaves.³³⁴ Hans Heese, Richard Elphick, Robert Ross, Robert Shell, Nigel Worden, Leon Hattingh, John Hoge, Achmat Davids and most recently Mansell Upham are other researchers that have vastly contributed in this field.³³⁵ While researchers have discussed and explored the origin concept, none had the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers at the Cape of Good Hope (TESCP) comprising the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) inventories (1685-1834) at their disposal to study the origin of slaves.

³³³ Anna J. Böeseken, see Literature Review.

³³⁴ Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, see Literature Review.

³³⁵ See Literature Review.

6.4 Origins of the Cape slaves

While the Portuguese and Spanish were exploiting their colonies in the East such as Goa, Malacca and the Philippines from the sixteenth century, countries in northern Europe were forming private companies to further their exploration activities.³³⁶ These included the English East India Company (1600), the Dutch East India Company (1602) and the French East India Company (1642). Of the three countries, the Dutch East India Company or VOC had by far the most capital and its cartel extended from Cape Town eastward to the New World. Throughout the 1605-1665 period, the Dutch were at war with Spain, who had a strong alliance with the Portuguese, but the Dutch chipped away at Portugal's power base in the East and within fifty years, they displaced the Portuguese largely in the Indonesian Archipelago, Sri Lanka, the Malabar Coast of India and Japan.³³⁷ However, the Portuguese managed to keep their base in Macau, but the Dutch were able to trade in Canton.³³⁸ Moreover, the Dutch also established bases in Batavia, Cochin and in the Bay of Bengal and consequently the conquests before 1652 made it possible for the VOC to procure Indian and other eastern slaves for the Cape Colony.

Slaves destined for the Cape were bought in the slave markets of Batavia, Chinsura, Cochin, Boina and Delagoa Bay or Mozambique Islands and they were brought to the slave markets via a network of traders, including *Bengali Banians*, *Buginese* trade-pirates, Chinese junk captains, *Sakalava* kings in Madagascar, *Prazeros* on the Zambezi, Portuguese officials in Delagoa Bay and kidnappers in South India.³³⁹ The VOC sent ships to places like Madagascar in exchange for firearms, brandy and Spanish *reals* for slaves. These slaves were then brought as cargo to the Cape. However, the presence of sea pirates made it dangerous to trade in the Mozambican Channel and as a result, the Dutch abandoned the idea of establishing a permanent slave station in Madagascar in the seventeenth century.³⁴⁰ The

³³⁶ Université de Montreal. Département d'Informatique et de Recherche Opérationnelle. [online resource] *Brief History of European-Asian Trade*. <http://www.iro.umontreal.ca/~vaucher/Genealogy/Documents/Asia/EuropeanExploration.html> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

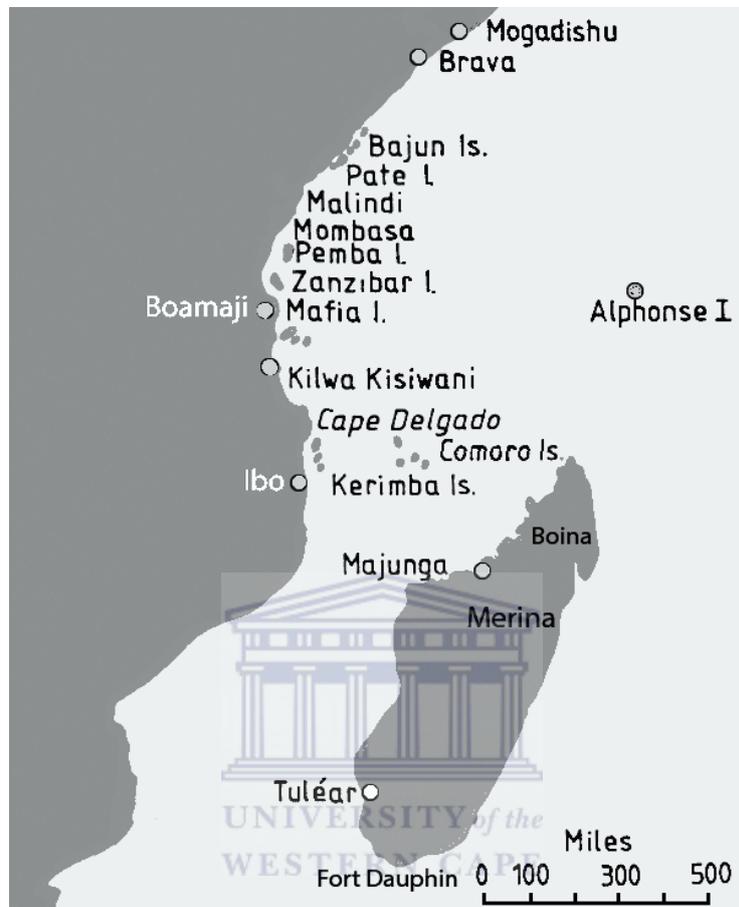
³³⁷ Université de Montreal. Département d'Informatique et de Recherche Opérationnelle. [online resource] *Brief History of European-Asian Trade*. <http://www.iro.umontreal.ca/~vaucher/Genealogy/Documents/Asia/EuropeanExploration.html> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

³³⁸ C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 86.

³³⁹ Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 13.

³⁴⁰ James C. Armstrong, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Omalu sy Anio*, 17-20

Dutch were mainly traders and not slave raiders. The amount of slaves depended on the availability of slaves in certain colonies.



Map 2: Southern Africa & Madagascar, 1600–1800

Source: Adapted from Robert Ross, *The Dutch on the Swahili coast, 1776-1778* ... pt 1, p. 306.

The first slaves came from Africa in the seventeenth century and the last slaves to arrive at the Cape in the nineteenth century were also from Africa.³⁴¹ The first African slaves came from west and central Africa in 1658 and the last African slaves came from the east coast of Africa, mainly from Mozambique and the island of Madagascar. Edward Alpers stated that slaves who were known as "Mozambiques" at Mauritius actually came from the East African hinterland and does not compare exactly with modern Mozambique.³⁴² Therefore, Cape

(1983-1984): 229. (211–233); TANAP, Introduction to the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, VOC trading post/fort at Rio de la Goa, Mozambique (1720-1729) (accessed: 23 May 2012).

³⁴¹ See Orphan Chamber data.

³⁴² Edward A. Alpers, "Becoming 'Mozambique': Diaspora and Identity in Mauritius," in *History, Memory and*

slaves who had the toponym, “van Mosambiek” came from countries as diverse as Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. They may also have come from the coast of Zanguebar in East Africa.³⁴³

The Indonesian Archipelago which formed an integral part of the Indian Ocean slave trade, contains more than 17,000 islands and is located in South-East Asia, west of Oceania. The term Indonesia was not used before 1884.³⁴⁴ A German student of ethnography, Adolf Bastian popularised the name among academic circles through his book, *Indonesien oder die Inseln des Malayischen Archipels*.³⁴⁵ However, Dutch scholars continued to call Indonesia the Malay Archipelago or the Netherlands East Indies.³⁴⁶ The Dutch brought in many slaves from South-East Asia and Oceania, the majority being from the Celebes (see Map 1, “Slaving Areas of Indonesia,” on page 88). Buginese trade-pirates would sell slaves to the Dutch in Batavia (Jakarta), the headquarters of the DEIC in South-East Asia.

6.5 Indian Slaves

Ansu Datta, an Indian historian of Africa, has written about the places of origin and the manner in which slaves were bought and sold on the Indian subcontinent.³⁴⁷ Indian slaves came from a wide area of the Indian subcontinent, extending from the Bay of Cambay in the north-west in the Gujarat Peninsula to the Bay of Bengal in the north-east up to Chinsura.

Identity, edited by Vijayalakshmi Teelock and Edward Alpers (Mauritius: Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, University of Mauritius, 2001), 120.

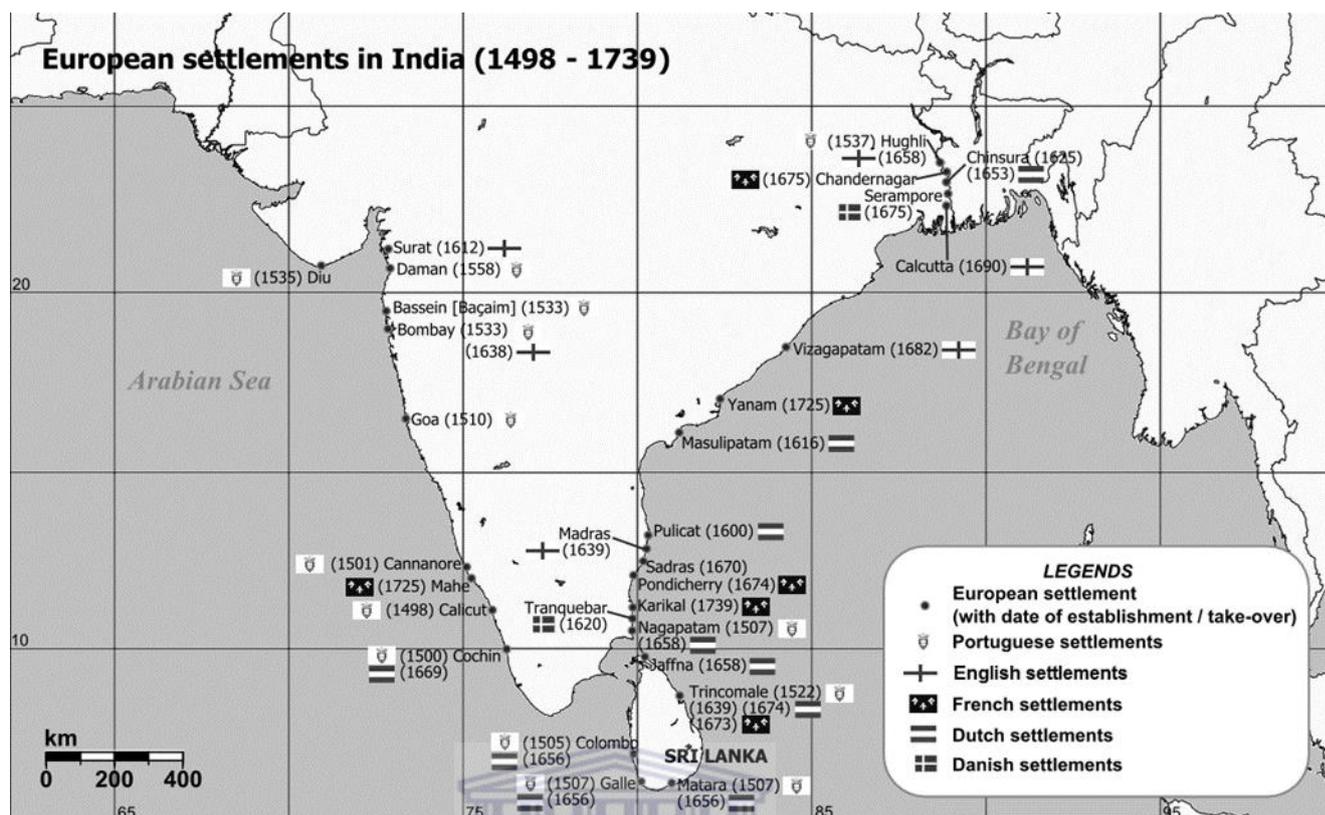
³⁴³ Linda Duvenage, “Slave Lodge Register: unpublished list of slaves who lived in the Slave Lodge from 1679-1810, compiled for the Southern Flagship Institution (present Iziko Museums) and the University of Cape Town 2000” in “A Digital Ossuary” in *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*; by Robert Carl-Heinz Shell (Cape Town: NagsPro MultiMedia, 2013), volume 10, chapter 1, 5496-6780.

³⁴⁴ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 80-81.

³⁴⁵ Justus M. van der Kroef, “The Term Indonesia: Its Origin and Usage,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 71 (3) (1951): 166-171.

³⁴⁶ Van der Kroef, “The Term Indonesia,” 166-171.

³⁴⁷ Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape, Bengali Slaves in South Africa from 17th to 19th century*. Xlibris, 2013. [e-book] Kindle edition.



Map 3: India under colonial rule

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AEuropean_settlements_in_India_1501-1739.png
 Luis wiki CC BY-SA 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5>)

India also included the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in the south. Ceylon changed its name to Sri Lanka in 1972, but it was previously called Lanka in India.³⁴⁸ The Portuguese gave it the name *Ceilão* when they arrived in 1505, and this was transliterated into English as *Ceylon*. Slaves came from the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Those from the Coromandel Coast were mainly from Trancquebar, Tuticorin, Nagapatnam, Pulicat and Masulipatnam.

The Malabari slaves came mostly from Calicut, Cochin and Goa and encompassed modern-day Kerala in South-west India.³⁴⁹ Portuguese mercenaries and Arakanese, known as “Maghs” in Bengal, sold several Asian slaves to the Dutch.³⁵⁰ The slaves were subsequently

³⁴⁸ Lareef Zubair, “Former Names of Sri Lanka: Etymologies of Lanka, Serendib, Taprobane and Ceylon” [online resource] *Internet Archive: Wayback Machine* http://web.archive.org/web/20070422115208/http://www.glue.umd.edu/~pkd/sl/facts/name_origin.html (accessed: 27 April 2015).

³⁴⁹ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 102-103.

³⁵⁰ Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape, Bengali Slaves in South Africa from 17th to 19th century*. Xlibris, 2013. [e-book] Kindle edition.

shipped to Batavia by way of Masulipatnam.³⁵¹ When the Mughal rulers captured the Portuguese bases such as Hooghly (in 1632) and Chittagong (in 1666), they expelled the Portuguese and the Magh pirates and forbade the enslaving of Muslims.³⁵² If this was true, then, more slaves other than Muslim slaves came to the Cape from Bengal in the subsequent centuries, but the slaving areas changed hands so many times between the colonial powers, the Mughals and the Hindu princely states, that the supply of slaves fluctuated.

The origins of the foreign slaves in some cases can be problematic as the European powers based their trading stations mainly on the coast or river ports (see maps on pages 88, 90 and 92). However, some slaves also carried the toponyms of European forts and factories on the Indian subcontinent and South-East Asia. For example, the Orphan Chamber data described a slave of Jan Blignault who had the toponym, Thomas van Fort St. David.³⁵³ St. David was a British fort near the town of Cuddalore, a hundred miles south of Chennai on the Coromandel Coast of India.³⁵⁴ Also, slaves who were caught in the interior, were marched to a port and given the toponym of that port. For example, Jan Tempel, had a slave with the toponym, Salomon van Malabar.³⁵⁵ Salomon could have come from any of numerous villages on the Malabar Coast or its interior. The naming of slaves from their place of origin was unique as this naming practice was not found in the New World.³⁵⁶ In only a few instances was the slaves' original ethnic name found in the Orphan Chamber data—Premi van de Kust and Cassem van Samboua.³⁵⁷ From the second generation onwards, the progeny of slaves (if they had any), bore the toponym *van de Kaap* which signified that they were creoles or Cape-born. In contrast to the burgher slaves, VOC slaves in the Slave Lodge were allowed to keep their original names.

³⁵¹ Wil O. Dijk, "An End to the History of Silence? The Dutch Trade in Asian slaves: Arakan and the Bay of Bengal, 1621-1665" [online resource] *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter* 46 (Winter 2008). http://www.old.iias.asia/files/IIAS_NL46_16.pdf (accessed: 27 April 2015). A total of 11,556 men, women, and children were involved.

³⁵² Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 49-50. Mughal is a Muslim dynasty of Chaghtai-Turkic origin that ruled India from 1526 to 1857. [online resource] *The Age of the Mughals*. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/the-age-of-the-mughals/> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

³⁵³ See MOOC 8/8.5

³⁵⁴ Fort St. David, India. <http://chestofbooks.com/reference/American-Cyclopaedia-V7/Fort-St-David-India.html#.VUVS7JNpuCc> (accessed: 29 April 2015).

³⁵⁵ See MOOC 8/4.122 1/2a.

³⁵⁶ Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976).

³⁵⁷ See MOOC 8/12.16 and MOOC 8/13.13, respectively.

The renaming and eradication of the slaves' original names had an adverse effect on their psyche and identity. Ironically, when slaves embraced Islam at the Cape, they underwent a second renaming or rebirth, but this time it was for inclusion and not alienation.

6.6 Cape slave origin analysis

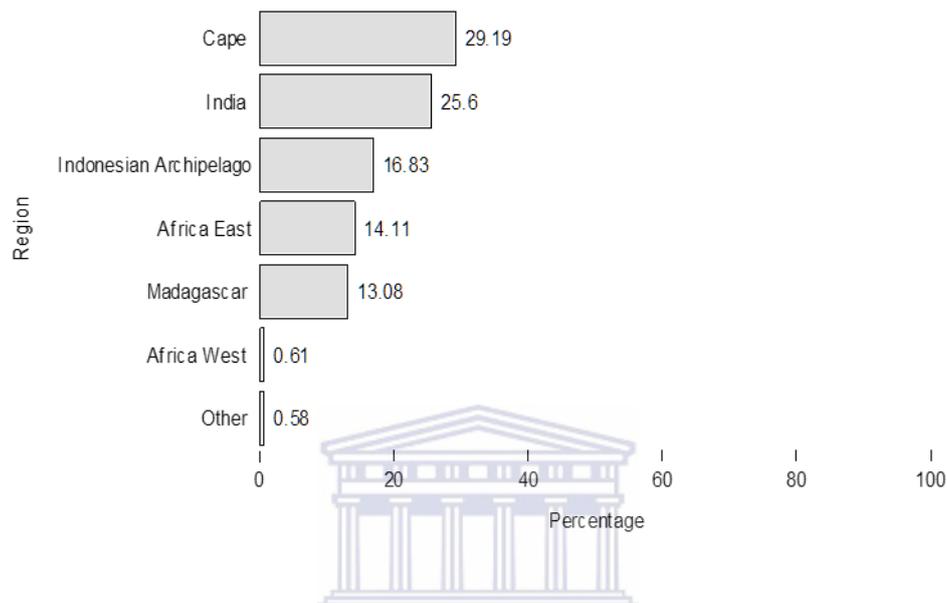


Figure 24: The composition and origin of slaves in the Cape Colony, 1658-1834
Source: Saledeed (1658-1731), MOOC Data (1684-1834), Slave Lodge (1719-1789), N= 17,366.

The above chart, in Figure 24, shows the composition of the slave population at the Cape from 1658 to 1834, in terms of their origin. The graph was generated by combining three data sets: the Shell-Böesecken-Hattingh Saledeed³⁵⁸ (4,123 cases), the MOOC (14,847 cases) and the Slave Lodge mortality data (3,638 cases) to arrive at a total of 22,608 slaves. There are 5,242 missing values which represents 23.2% of the total. The valid total is therefore 17,366 case-level entries for the origin frequency analysis. The Cape-born or creole slaves constituted the highest percentage of slaves at the Cape (29.19%). The foreign slave data comprised mainly of India (25.6%) and Indonesian Archipelago (16.83%), a proportion of 42.43% of the total slaves at the Cape. Other foreign slaves (27.8%) came from the African continent (East Africa, West Africa and Madagascar). Surprisingly, there were fifteen slaves who bore the toponym of *terra de Natal* and they were included among the East African slave tally. This is a hypothesis that was postulated by Julian Cobbing of Rhodes University that during the *Mfecane* in Zululand, individuals were captured and sold into slavery in Delagoa

³⁵⁸ The Shell-Böesecken-Hattingh data set will be referred to as the Saledeed.

Bay from 1815.³⁵⁹ According to the Orphan Chamber data, however, slaves from “terra de Natal” were present in the Cape Colony from the first half of the eighteenth century already.

The rest of the foreign slaves, 0.58%, came from diverse places like the Mascarene Islands, the Middle East, Malaysia, Oceania, China and the Arakan region in Burma. There were more slaves from East Africa and Madagascar than the entire Indonesian Archipelago. The graph shows that there was a healthy presence of Cape-born slaves throughout the VOC and British period at the Cape. If we discount the Cape-born slaves to zero of the total slave population, we get an altogether new picture of the relative percentage of imported slaves who came to the Cape Colony. Figure 25 showing “Origin of foreign slaves at the Cape Colony, 1658-1834” is a more accurate representation of foreign slaves at the Cape.

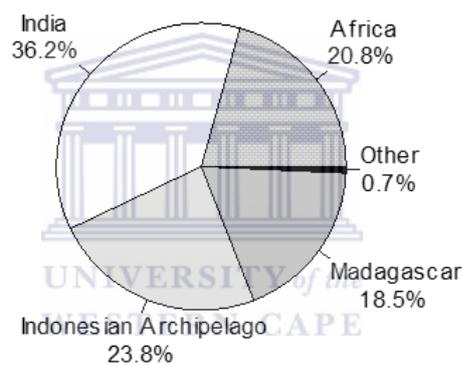


Figure 25: Origin of foreign slaves at the Cape Colony, 1658-1834

Sources: Böeseken-Shell-Hattingh Saledeed, MOOC and Slave Lodge data sets, N=12,297.

Figure 25 displays the relative percentage of the various foreign slaves who came to the Cape Colony. All the Cape-born slaves are excluded from the graph—only the progenitors that came via the oceanic slave trade into the Cape are tallied in the foreign origin count. There were all together 12,297 foreign slaves in the three data sets for the analysis. The Indian subcontinent, comprising of India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) had the most slaves imported into the Cape, namely, 36.15%. Africa supplied 20.79% and Madagascar, 18.48% of the foreign

³⁵⁹ Julian Cobbing, “The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo,” *Journal of African History*, 29 (1988): 478-519.

slaves. Indonesian slaves comprised 23.76% of all the slaves. The data showed more Indian slaves came to the Cape than previously calculated by Shell.³⁶⁰

Shell's estimates for the regional origins of slaves between 1652 and 1808 show that 25.9% came from India, 26.4% from Africa, 25.1% from Madagascar and 22.7% from Indonesia.³⁶¹ The three combined data sets illustrate the relative percentage for India is 10.25% higher than Shell's estimate for India, but his Africa and Madagascar estimates are more than the estimates shown in Figure 25 on page 95. Only the estimate of Shell for the Indonesian Archipelago did not deviate much from this analysis. Robert Shell has freely admitted that he modelled the later Madagascar imports without the new MOOC data to guide him. He also put far too much weight on the 1767 prohibition of Eastern male slaves.

In contrast, Bradlow and Cairns' findings were 39.50% for India and Ceylon and 31.47% for Indonesia. Their estimates for Africa East and Madagascar are collectively given as 26.65%.³⁶² Figure 25 gives a collective estimate of 39.27% for Africa and Madagascar which is 12.62% more than Bradlow and Cairns' estimate. Their Indonesian estimate is 7.71% higher than the Graph depicted.

There were only sixteen Malaysian slaves in the data set. After the emancipation of slaves in 1834, the term 'Malay' became synonymous to Muslim, and this mixed group became known as 'Slameiers' or 'Slamaaiers.'³⁶³ Today, the term 'Slaams' is often heard among the community.

What the three analyses demonstrate is that there was great disparity between the different research undertakings. The differences make it clear to researchers that great variation existed in the slave trade right through the colonial era at the Cape and that making assumptions about the origin from one set of data and time frame will give inconsistencies in the results and distort the true picture of the Cape slave origin. One of the limitations of the Orphan Chamber data set is that the set is not a complete data set, it is a sample and always a changing sample of the slaves who came to the Cape.

³⁶⁰ See Figure 2-1 in Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 41.

³⁶¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 41.

³⁶² Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 102.

³⁶³ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 85.

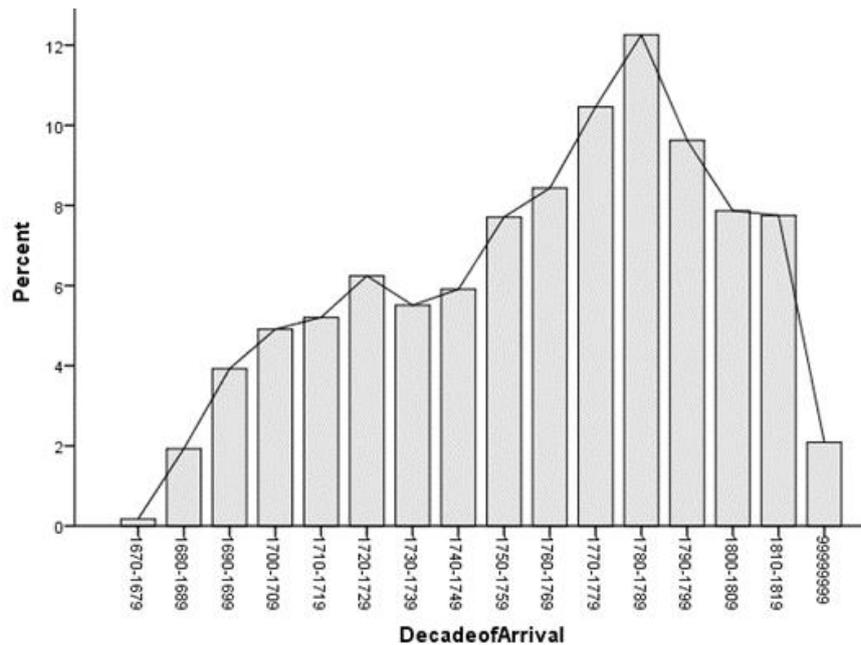


Figure 26: Percent of slaves arriving at the Cape per decade
Source: MOOC data set

After the 1780 to 1789 decade, the slave numbers started dropping (see Figure 26 on page 97). When the Orphan Chamber data is compared to the Slave Office 10/18 data set (1823-1830), 5,512 slaves were registered in this period, but the corresponding numbers are not reflected in the graph. The censuses in the *Children of Bondage*, in Appendix 4, show the slaves increasing in numbers in the nineteenth century and there were approximately 36,000 slaves in the colony.³⁶⁴ Another problem with the Orphan Chamber data are the males who decrease after 1808, but females and children increase. After 1767, most slaves came from East Africa, and none came from India (according to *plakkaat* of 1767), but the Orphan Chamber data set shows otherwise. The 1810-1819 decade shows a large number of slaves coming into the colony after the abolition of the oceanic slave trade in 1808. These were slaves and not *Prize* Negroes as the MOOC data confirms.

³⁶⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 445-448.

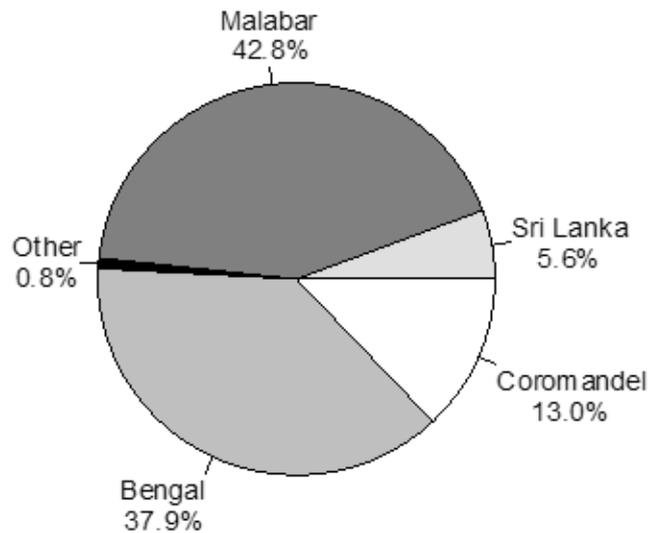


Figure 27: Origin of Indian slaves at the Cape Colony, 1658-1834
Sources: Saleded, MOOC and Slave Lodge data sets, N=4,445.

The above Figure 27 illustrates the regional variation of slaves from India. There were 4,445 Indian slaves out of the total of 12,297 foreign slaves who arrived at the Cape. From the pie chart it is evident that most of the slaves came from the Malabar Coast (42.77%), followed by Bengal (37.86%), the Coromandel Coast (12.98%) and then lastly by Sri Lanka (5.58%). A small number came from Gujarat, Bihar, Mysore and Orissa (see Map 3 on page 92).

Bradlow and Cairns also gave a detailed breakdown of the Indian slaves: Bengal, 498 (38.75%), Coromandel Coast, 271 (21.09%), the Malabar Coast, 378 (29.42%) and Sri Lanka, 102 (7.94%).³⁶⁵ Therefore, their research showed that the north eastern Indian slaves from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast far exceeded the slaves from the west coast of Malabar who were sent to the Cape. According to Figure 27 on page 98, the majority of the slaves originated from the Malabar Coast, but the combined northeast coast (Bengal and Coromandel) sent 50.84% of slaves to the Cape.

The Slave Lodge embodied an atypical grouping which is unique in slaving societies as the VOC housed most of its slaves, both males and females, in one large holding near the Company Gardens and several *buitenposten*.³⁶⁶ Since their profile differed from the burgher slaves, it would be interesting to see how their origin varied within the Lodge.

³⁶⁵ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 102.

³⁶⁶ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 172-173.

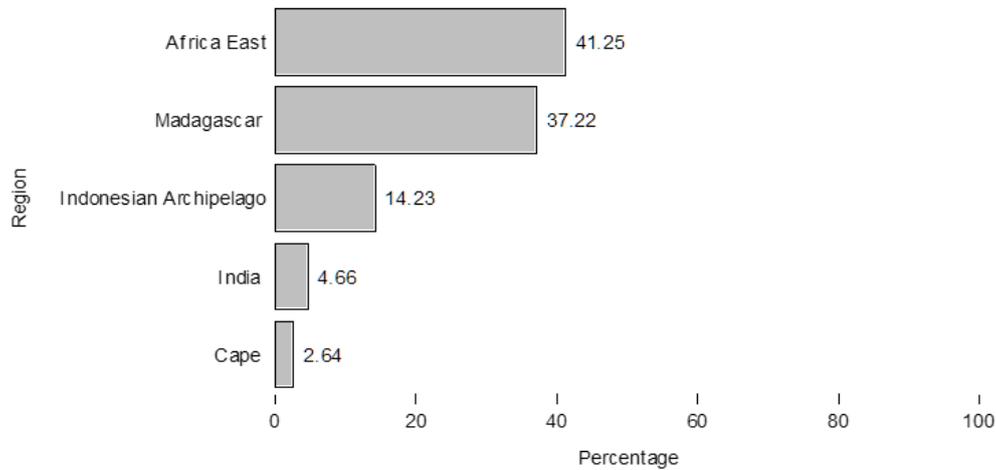


Figure 28: Origin of slaves at the Slave Lodge, 1719-1789
 Source: Linda Duvenage, according to death notices, *Attestatiën*: N=1,932

The Slave Lodge data set has 3,638 case-level entries of which there were 1,706 (46.89%) missing values. The Slave Lodge data set consists of slave death notices from 1719 to 1789 and was procured from Linda Duvenage.³⁶⁷ Although nearly half the origin information is missing, the analysis is a rough indicator where the slaves were procured. The graph reflects an inverse proportion to the burgher slaves in reference to India and the Cape, both of which had the lowest numbers in the Lodge.

The low percentage of Cape-born (2.64%) indicated that creolisation was not a factor in the Lodge because slaves were regularly replenished via the oceanic slave trade and in addition mortality in the Lodge was very high.

6.7 Diachronic analysis

A one-hundred percent surface chart depicts temporal changes in percent distribution of foreign slaves of the Cape Colony by decade. The vertical axis relates to the percent of the total population in a specified region and the horizontal scale relates to time.³⁶⁸ For each

³⁶⁷ Linda Duvenage, *Slave Lodge mortality data set, 1719-1789* (N= 3,638) in Excel format.

³⁶⁸ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 1: 235-236.

region and decade, the cumulative percent in the region is plotted against each decade. This reflects the changing proportion of the slaves in each region over time.

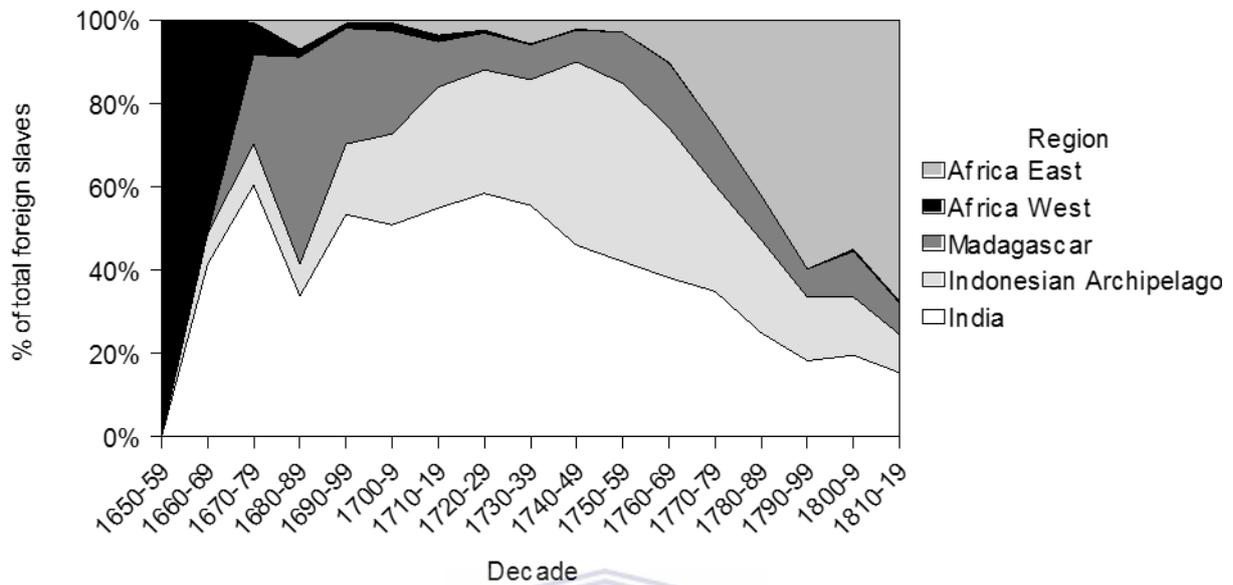


Figure 29: 100% surface chart of foreign slaves per decade from various regions at the Cape, 1658-1819.

Sources: Saledeed and MOOCData, N= 10,295

The 100% surface chart (Figure 29 on page 100) gives a full diachronic picture of the origins of the foreign slaves at the Cape from 1658-1819. There were 10,295 foreign slaves with information on their origin and decade of arrival which was calculated by cross-tabulation. This is 54.3% of the total 18,970 slaves in the Saledeed and MOOC Data sets. There were 3,716 missing values. There were 4,959 Cape-born slaves who formed 32.5% of the 15,254 known slaves who had origin information. The Cape-born slaves do not form part of the diachronic analysis because they were a population on their own. The foreign slaves therefore represents 67.5% of the slaves at the Cape, according to the two data sets. Of the foreign slaves, eighty-eight came from diverse regions such as the Arakan, China, Mascarene Islands, Middle East and Oceania and as they comprised barely 0.86% of all the foreign slaves, they were excluded from the analysis.

The analysis concentrates on the four broad regions of origin of the slaves: East Africa (Mozambique and regions such as Zanguebar), India (inclusive of Sri Lanka), the Indonesian Archipelago and the island of Madagascar. West Africa, a minor region, is also included because 174 slaves were off-loaded from the *Amersvoort* at the Cape in the seventeenth

century.³⁶⁹ In the very first decade when Jan van Riebeeck established a refreshment station at the Cape, the first group of slaves came from West Africa, from a captured Portuguese ship with 500 slaves on its way to South America. Many slaves died before reaching the Cape and only a few survived. Some disembarked at the Cape while the rest were sent to Batavia. Hence, the graph shows a 100% presence of West African slaves in the first decade of the colony.

The graph is conspicuous for its dramatic peaks. Slaves from West Africa dominated the first two decades of the colony, but they also came in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through clandestine shipping. Of the 174 West African slaves, however, only ten are present in the data for the 1650-1659 decade.

In 1670–1679, the Malagasy slaves were introduced for the first time into the colony as the slaves from West Africa start declining in numbers because the Dutch West India Company forbade the VOC at the Cape from trading in slaves to the west of Cape Town. Despite the prohibition, Angolan slaves and Guinea slaves kept on coming into the Cape Colony as the graph attested. This decade saw the import of East Africa slaves for the first time as it was a fortified Portuguese preserve.³⁷⁰ It was only in 1721 that the Dutch managed to establish a slaving station in Delagoa Bay as the Portuguese power waned in the Mozambique Channel.³⁷¹ In this decade, Indian slaves represented 60% of the foreign slaves who came to the Cape.

Indian slaves started coming to the Cape in the 1660–1669 decade and contributed 48% of the slave imports in the seventeenth century. This was due to the DEIC's strong presence in India's Malabar Coast, Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. There were not many Indonesian slaves from 1658 to the decade 1680–1689 compared to the Indian and Malagasy slaves. East African slaves were few in the seventeenth century. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, more Indonesian slaves started arriving at the Cape than in the previous decades. A decline in Indian slaves in the 1680–1689 decade, saw an increase in Malagasy slaves at the Cape. The Indian and the Indonesian slaves were increasing towards the decade,

³⁶⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 78-79.

³⁷⁰ Robert C.-H. Shell, "The Twinning of Maputo," in Vijayalaksmi Teelock and Edward A. Alpers, *History, Memory and Identity* (eds.) (Mauritius: Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, University of Mauritius, 2001), 180.

³⁷¹ Shell, "The Twinning of Maputo," 182.

1690–1699 and the Malagasy slaves were declining. The slave trade in the eighteenth century followed a similar variable pattern as the trade in the seventeenth century.

The first half of the eighteenth century, importation of Indian slaves remained at over 40% of all slave imports. There was also an increase in Indonesian slaves for the same period. It is in this half a century that more Indian slaves came into the colony than in any other period, despite the smallpox epidemic of 1713 which decimated the Khoe and slave populations. After the 1750–1759 decade, Indian imports started dropping in numbers significantly until the 1790–1799 decade before increasing slightly up to the 1800–1809 decade, before declining again. More Indonesian slaves started coming from the decade 1740–1749 to 1760–1769. The increase in Indonesian slaves reveals the changing pattern in the origin and number of slaves coming to the Cape.

From the 1760–1769 decade, the slave trade changed dramatically as the DEIC imported more slaves from East Africa (see Figure 29 on page 100) until slavery was abolished. The East African trade was just under 50% of all the foreign slaves imported at the Cape after this decade. The change in direction of the trade merely emphasised that the trade was not uniform as it changed not only from decade to decade, but also from century to century. As the Indian and Indonesian slave numbers decreased, the East African slave numbers increased dramatically from the 1770–1779 decade to the 1810–1819 decade. From the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century until the end of slavery at the Cape, the East African slaves became a vital supply of labour from the first British Occupation of the Cape in 1795 because the VOC officials no longer held the monopoly in the oceanic slave trade. The 1780–1784 Anglo-Dutch War weakened the DEIC's presence in the eastern colonies. The Company for the first time requested aid from the Dutch navy while the British planned to invade the Cape in 1781. Many ports were taken over by the British. The graph shows a corresponding dip for Eastern slaves in the 1770–1779 and 1780–1789 decades.

From the 1720–1729 decade, slaves from Madagascar maintained a constant percentage throughout the Dutch and British periods, after an initial peak in numbers in the 1680–1689 decade.

Although no slaves were supposed to have come from the Eastern colonies after the promulgation of the 1767 *plakkaat*, the graph showed a continuous stream of these slaves coming to the Cape right into the nineteenth century.

Researchers had thought that most of the Asian slaves came from Malaysia and Indonesia, but the data had found otherwise (see Figure 25 on page 100). Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns mention about the Malays that "although a good proportion of them did come from what was known as the 'Malay Archipelago', a larger proportion came from India."³⁷² The main regions of origin of the early Cape Indians suggest that they comprised an Indo-European-speaking group and a Dravidian-speaking group.³⁷³ The Indo-European group, residing mainly in northern India during Mughal and colonial rule spoke various languages such as *Bhojpuri*, *Urdu* and *Bengali*. The Dravidian-group in south India in areas such as the Malabar Coast, Coromandel Coast and Ceylon spoke predominantly in the *Malayalam*,³⁷⁴ *Tamil*, *Telegu* and *Sinhalese* vernaculars. Trade was extensive between India and South-East Asia. Since the regions surrounding the Bay of Bengal traded expansively with each other in goods and slaves since ancient times, an international language for trade would have developed over centuries—this language was Malay—in the same way English is used today as a common language for global trade.

A person wonders what traumatic experiences Indian slaves, especially for Hindus, and particularly the upper castes, as they had to overcome their fear of the sea, *Kala Pani*.³⁷⁵ Much has been written about the Middle Passage of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, but not much is known about the Middle Passage of the Indian Ocean slave trade to the Cape. Indian slaves were taken and embarked at ports for the Middle Passage across the ocean what they called the *Kala Pani* (black water). Crossing the *Kala Pani* was not a small matter as Hindus had a strong taboo against sea travel because of the Hindu belief that one undergoes significant pollution and loss of caste by crossing the black water.³⁷⁶ The psychological trauma experienced by the Hindu slaves during the Middle Passage and their subsequent

³⁷² Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 83.

³⁷³ Bradlow and Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims*, 103.

³⁷⁴ Malayalam should not be mistaken for Malay as it is a distinct language derived from Sanskrit and Tamil. [online resource] <http://www.prokerala.com/malayalam/language.htm> (accessed: 30 April 2015).

³⁷⁵ Rehana Ebrahim Vally, *Kala Pani: Caste and Colour in South Africa* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 137-138.

³⁷⁶ Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism: An Historical Sketch* (London: Routledge, 1998), 102.

enslavement at the Cape must have been far-reaching as this meant breaking family and social ties with India forever.

6.8 Conclusions

The analysis showed that the number of Indian slaves imported into the Cape far outnumbered the other nationalities. It also confirmed that the number of Malaysian slaves who came to the Cape was so insignificant that their contribution to the total slave output was negligible. It can therefore be concluded that people who call themselves Cape Malays did not originate from Malaysia, but rather cultivated a culture and language from Malay, Indian, Portuguese and Dutch influences. Although there was some data missing, the origins did correlate with Shell and Bradlow and Cairns' data. The methodology gave substantive data, but gaps were discovered because slaves were resold or auctioned. The diachronic analysis showed that the slave trade and therefore the origin of slaves was variable from decade to decade, dynamically changing, influenced by the changing political hegemony between European powers and by historical and social and economic events in the colonies. The slave trade showed dynamic changes with various cultures and languages being introduced into the Cape according to the vagaries of maritime history. The Malay identity versus the Muslim identity at the Cape is a troublesome quandary for the mostly slave descendants of this proud community who have contributed positively to the new political dispensation in South Africa. Cape Malays were distinct from other slaves and coloureds because of their religion and culture. The origin question has relevance in the South African race relations context because after twenty years of democracy, the country still grapples with racial, cultural and identity issues in a heterogeneous population.

CHAPTER 7

CREOLISATION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the process of creolisation of the slave force at the Cape. Although the focus of the thesis is on the Indian slaves, creolisation is a process involving the whole slave population. Few scholars have addressed creolisation, but those few have different dates and time frames. Robert Shell's research shows that from the 1770s the process has steadily been increasing.³⁷⁷ He is supported by Robert Ross and historian Anna Maria Rugarli, the latter having used data from the slaves' complaint registers in the nineteenth century. Nigel Worden and Andrew Bank, on the other hand, assumed that the process only started in the early nineteenth century after the oceanic slave trade came to an end.³⁷⁸ The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) lists estates and inventories that have the origin of slaves both born at the Cape and foreign slaves from 1684 to 1834. The analysis will use simple descriptive statistics by decade to calculate the process of creolisation. The purpose of the chapter is the examination of creolisation from beginning of Cape slavery to general emancipation.

7.2 Defining creolisation

Creolisation is the demographic process which occurs as a colonial population becomes locally born. It was only in the nineteenth century that the word 'creolisation' made its appearance.³⁷⁹ The word "creole" comes from the Spanish *crioulo*, meaning "a home-born slave." The Spanish first used the term in 1590 to classify a "Spaniard born in the New World."³⁸⁰ With time, this meaning was expanded to cover any plant, animal or person born in the New World, but of Old World progenitors.³⁸¹ Creole could therefore apply both to

³⁷⁷ Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 46-48.

³⁷⁸ See full discussion in Literature Review.

³⁷⁹ Charles Stewart, *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (California: Left Coast Press, 2007), 7.

³⁸⁰ Stewart, *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, 20.

³⁸¹ Stewart, *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, 7.

masters and slaves, which is how the word is used in the Mauritius national censuses from the 1830s to the present.

Creole also has various meanings in different slave societies. Creole originally did not have the connotations of "mixed race" or "black" that it has in the present day. Slaves who were born at the Cape were deemed creoles, irrespective of their parentage. The word creole was also used to distinguish Afro-descendants who were born in the New World in comparison to African-born slaves.³⁸² In the Caribbean, creole has been associated with cultural mixtures of African, European and autochthonous lineage.³⁸³ It was after the oceanic slave trade came to an end that researchers started to observe the number of locally born slave children in the population and an interest generated to identify when 50% of the slaves became locally born.

7.3 The Cape slave population

The main determinants of any human population are fertility, mortality and migration.³⁸⁴ In general, population growth depends on demographic factors such as normal sex ratios, high fertility rates and low mortality rates.³⁸⁵ In many slave societies, however, growth was dependent on forced migration mainly through the oceanic slave trade as fertility rates were usually very low and mortality rates high. In a short period, demographic trends such as fertility have minimal impact, but in a longer period they have cumulative and multiplicative consequences, similar to the cumulative effect of compound interest. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish fertility growth trends over one generational phase because fertility rates can fluctuate between different phases.

Fertility drives a population in terms of growth and structure and is a significant demographic factor in terms of creolisation. If sex ratios are high in a population, the growth will be below replacement levels as there are too few females to perpetuate the numbers. For a population to grow at replacement levels, the average natural reproduction rate must be at least 2.1%.³⁸⁶

³⁸² Stewart, *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, 1-25.

³⁸³ Juan Flores, *The Diaspora Strikes Back: Caribeño Tales of Learning and Turning* (London: Routledge, 2008), 27-30.

³⁸⁴ John Bongaarts, "Human Population Growth and the Demographic Transition," *Philosophical Transactions, The Royal Society London B Biological Sciences*, no. 1532 (October 2009): 2985–2990.

³⁸⁵ See "The Sex Ratios of the Imported slaves" on page 42 for a fuller discussion.

³⁸⁶ Amadu Jacky Kaba, "Sex Ratio at Birth and Racial Differences: Why do Black Women give birth to More Females Than Non-Black Women?" in *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 12, 3 (2008): 139-150.

At the Cape, the growth of the slave population was largely dependent on the oceanic slave trade. However, there was also a process of "natural increase" in the slave population, termed creolisation. These two demographic processes, natural increase and in-migration were completely separate from one another. The slaves from the oceanic slave trade were termed foreign-born slaves and those who were born within the colony were called Cape-born, creoles or locally born slaves. The foreign-born slaves were the new immigrants of the Cape slave population—together with the Cape-born slaves, these two slave populations existed within one society, each population whose growth was independent of one another. Thus, although the expanding Cape economy was reliant on the continuous import of foreign slaves, there were also the locally born slaves who became part of the labour force. Moses Finley, a pre-eminent classical slave writer, made the following assertion:

It is sometimes said that there is a demographic law that no slave population ever reproduces itself, that they must always be replenished from outside. Such a law is a myth: that can be said categorically on the evidence of the southern states, evidence which is statistical and reliable.³⁸⁷

Finley referred to the United States whose slave population increased in numbers from 1808 to 1860—more than ten-fold.³⁸⁸ This population growth was natural increase based on creolisation and not the oceanic slave trade.

Other factors such as fecundity, birth-spacing and breast-feeding practices among female slaves were also significant features of fertility.³⁸⁹ These factors fit in with Genovese's three indices on the treatment of slaves.³⁹⁰ From these indices, based on anecdotal evidence, inferences can be made on the slaves' vital statistics even if the data are not available. For instance, if evidence existed that female slaves were engaged in extreme external tasks, such as heavy labour and plantation fieldwork, the maternal mortality rate and infant mortality rate would be higher than if they were occupied with household chores. On Jamaica's sugar plantations, fertility among female slaves was uneconomical as 20% of maternities ended in

³⁸⁷ Moses Finley, "Was Greek Civilisation Based on Slave Labour?" originally published in *Historia*, VIII (1959), reprinted in *The Slave Economies*, vol. I: *Historical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Eugene Genovese (New York: John Wiley, 1973), 29.

³⁸⁸ Finley, "Was Greek Civilisation Based on Slave Labour?" 29.

³⁸⁹ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 462.

³⁹⁰ Eugene Genovese, see Literature Review, page 36.

stillbirths and the infant mortality rate was 520/1000.³⁹¹ Female mortality rates in the 15-29 year age group surpassed males, signifying that maternal mortality was high in Jamaica.³⁹² Natural decrease stunted the creolisation process in Jamaica. This made oceanic slaving therefore more economical than natural reproduction and raising of infants from birth. Cape women, in contrast, were not engaged in heavy fieldwork.

Females in the urban and rural districts of the Cape were typically held in small numbers, and most served as domestic servants, performing tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry work and as nannies and wet nurses within the immediate family. Male slaves, in contrast, performed numerous tasks, from clearing virgin land to serving as artisans and house servants, but they were essentially used as agricultural labourers.³⁹³ Soft occupational ranking for slave women at the Cape meant lower infant and maternal mortality rates. According to the Slave Office (SO) 10/18 data set (1823–1830), no female slave was sold in the agricultural occupational category.³⁹⁴ This peculiar phenomenon at the Cape was in strong contrast to the division of labour that existed in the rest of Africa where African women were involved in most forms of agricultural labour.³⁹⁵

In the Cape slave setting there were special problems in measuring fertility and mortality, as the only comprehensive statistical records that exist were from the nineteenth century during the British rule. These rates were collected since the British commercial record-keeping was robust and they believed that wills and testaments were more important than inventories. The SO 10/18 data set has excellent data for the period 1823–1830 of female slaves and their children, but the Orphan Chamber data has sparse information. The Dutch were administrative record-keepers for the reason that the collection of taxes significantly enhanced the management of the colony and therefore they ignored to record vital rates. Moreover, wills took over the functions of inventories as people became increasingly aware of their inheritance rights.

³⁹¹ Orlando H. Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (London: McGibbon and Kee, 1967).

³⁹² Barry W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834* (Kingston: The Press, University of the West Indies, 1995), 48-111.

³⁹³ SO 10/18: G. I. Rogers, Registrar of Slaves, "Addenda [Notes on Domestic Slave Trade Documents, 1823–1830]." Cape Town, 17 February 1834: 184–190. See Appendix 3 on page 186.

³⁹⁴ Slave Office 10/18 data set (1823-1830), see Appendix 3 on page 186.

³⁹⁵ Claude Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, eds. Claire Robertson and Martin Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 55.

The manifestation of a locally born slave population had several significant consequences. The foreign-born slaves were imported largely for their ability to perform physical labour. Initially, there were not many children who were imported with males outnumbering females. Local-born slaves, by contrast, began their slave careers as children which included an approximately equal numbers of males and females, giving a low sex ratio. This meant that their population growth was independent of the oceanic slave trade. This shift from foreign-born to Cape-born was closely related to what demographers would refer to as *natural population growth*. The Cape slave population experienced the unique characteristics similar to the slave population growth in the United States—natural increase.³⁹⁶ In other slave societies, in regions as varied as Brazil, Jamaica and Cuba, mortality rates exceeded birth rates and the growth of the slave population therefore depended on the continuous importation of new slaves from Africa.³⁹⁷ In only two regions of Brazil, the East and the South, did the slave population increase in numbers in the nineteenth century.³⁹⁸ Minas Gerais showed a larger slave population than any other region in Brazil for the nineteenth century and most were local-born.³⁹⁹ Therefore, regional variation existed in the demographic profile of slaves in Brazil. A good explanation for the increase in creolisation was that when the African imports ceased, this gave the local slave population a chance to become Brazilian-born.⁴⁰⁰ Once that importation ended, the slave populations began to decline in those countries. In the Slave Lodge, which housed the DEIC slaves, there was minor creolisation.

³⁹⁶ Michael Tadman, "The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas," *The American Historical Review* 105, 5 (December 2000): 1534.

³⁹⁷ Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³⁹⁸ Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, "Slave Economy and Society in Minas Gerais and São Paulo, Brazil in 1830," in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 36, (2004), 28.

³⁹⁹ Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), xvii.

⁴⁰⁰ Luna and Klein, "Slave Economy and Society in Minas Gerais and São Paulo, Brazil in 1830," 4-5.

7.4 Diachronic and synchronic analysis

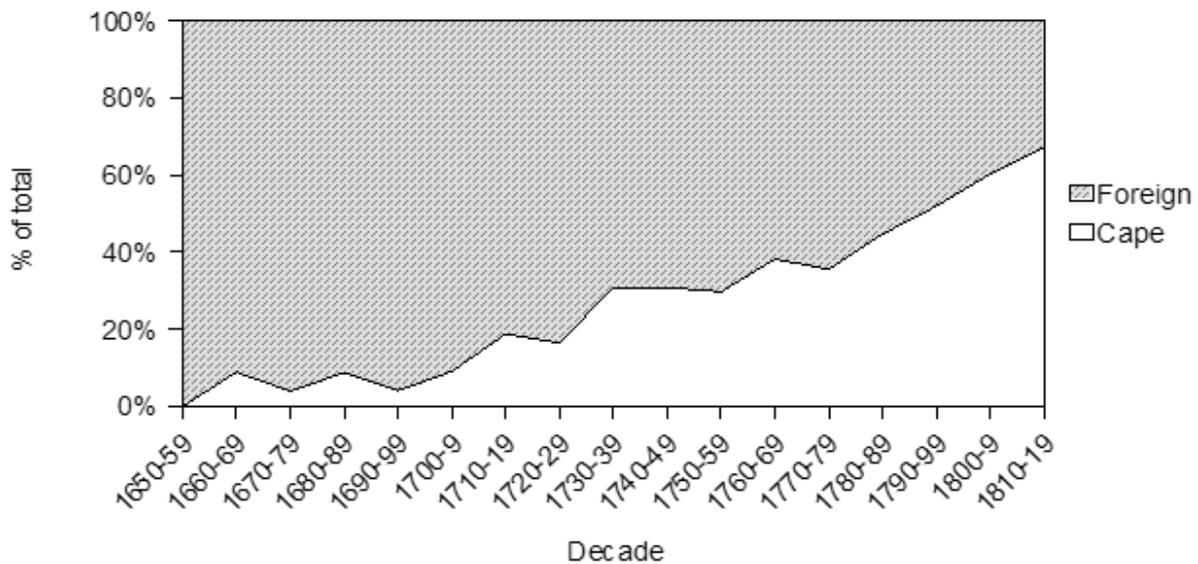


Figure 30: 100% surface chart of the Cape & foreign slaves per decade, 1658 to 1819
Sources: Saledeed and MOOC data sets, N=15,254

A diachronic analysis investigates the evolution of a premise over time and assesses the quantity and reasons for change within a historical context. It is therefore, an effective means to analyse the growth of the creole population as it is able to explore the impact of the change per decade. Once the diachronic analysis and selective snapshots have been done, a synchronic analysis will analyse a particular event at a fixed point in time. This point will be the decade 1800–809 when the oceanic slave trade ended.

Figure 30 on page 110, depicting a “100% surface chart of the Cape & foreign slaves, 1658 to 1819,” compares the relative percentage per decade of Cape-born slaves with those who arrived via the oceanic slave trade from regions such as India, Indonesia, Madagascar and Africa. There were a total of 18,970 cases of which the missing values were 3,716. There were 10,295 (67.49%) foreign slaves and 4,959 (32.51%) Cape-born slaves in the two data sets. The chart shows that Cape-born or creole slaves appeared at the Cape before the eighteenth century. The combined Saledeed and the MOOC data sets do show that the creolisation process was well underway in the seventeenth century.

In a patriarchal free society where the father heads a family unit, a child's status is inherited from its father. In contrast, according to the principle of *partus sequitur ventrem*, in a slave society the mother determined the social status of a slave child.⁴⁰¹ This principle, derived from the Roman civil law, became part of Roman-Dutch law, the legal system that was practised at the Cape. Thus, the “uterine descent” or matrilineal descent rule applied at the Cape, which meant that any child born to a slave mother was deemed a slave. This child then became a locally born or Cape-born slave—from the mother’s womb into slavery. The descent rule aided in the analysis of the creolisation process as it was uniformly applied for the duration of slavery at the Cape.

As the burghers expanded to the north and southeast of the colony, they needed labour to clear virgin land but found that they were unable to enslave the local Khoisan. Therefore, in 1687, they petitioned the VOC to open the slave trade to private enterprise, but met with no success, as the Company officials monopolised the slave trade.⁴⁰² This was in direct conflict with company policy as their official positions were to administer the colony and prohibited them from engaging in commercial enterprise.

The graph shows an increase in the creolisation process from the 1770-1779 decade onwards and reaches the 50% mark in the 1790-1799 decade. After the first British Occupation of the Cape in 1795, there was a slight surge in the oceanic slave trade in the last decade of the eighteenth century and for the first time the bulk of the slaves came from East Africa.⁴⁰³ The surge did not dampen the creolisation process as can be seen on the graph. This does not support the moment of creolisation put forward by Shell, Ross, Rugarli or Worden and Banks. However, it does support Worden and Bank’s claim that the creolisation process accelerated after 1808.

Under British rule, the burghers enjoyed the most freedom in terms of commercial enterprise in the oceanic slave trade. In terms of the Treaty of Amiens between England and France, the

⁴⁰¹ Felipe Smith, “The Condition of the Mother: The Legacy of Slavery in African American Literature of the Jim Crow Era,” in *Women and Slavery: The Modern Atlantic*. Volume 2, edited by Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph Calder Miller (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2007), 234.

⁴⁰² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 429-431.

⁴⁰³ Hermann Giliomee, *Die Kaap tydens die Eerste Britse Bewind, 1795-1803* (Cape Town: Hollansch Afrikaansche Uitgevers, 1975), 183-184.

British officially returned the Cape to the Dutch in 1803.⁴⁰⁴ However, the Dutch no longer had the monopoly over the oceanic slave trade.

Slave amelioration laws, such as Ordinance 50 of 1828, freed the Khoisan population and placed them on par with free blacks within the judicial system.⁴⁰⁵ Slavery was abolished in all British colonies in 1834 and about 38,000 slaves were freed on 1 December 1838 after serving a four year apprenticeship. According to the graph, creole slaves represented nearly 70% of all the slaves in 1819. It took the creole slave population one century, from the lowest point in the last decade of the seventeenth century to the highest point in the last decade of the eighteenth century, to achieve the moment of creolisation (see Figure 30 on page 110).

The study of creolisation is equally important in its economic aspect. To rear a slave from birth is more expensive than to buy a slave from the oceanic slave trade.⁴⁰⁶ Barry Higman, Professor Emeritus of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, spoke about the "high labour force participation rate" among children which reduced the cost to slave owners of rearing children in the British West Indies.⁴⁰⁷ Higman mentioned that "even among *predial*⁴⁰⁸ slaves as young as five years of age in 1813, 14% had an occupation" in the British slave colony of Trinidad in the Caribbean.⁴⁰⁹ However, creole slaves enjoyed greater longevity—their superior health status led to lower mortality rates than slaves born in Africa. Creole slaves, having being brought up in the host culture, shared the emergent language.

Finally the process of creolisation results in a slave population with near equal sex ratios, whereas the slave trade at the Cape resulted in a population of perpetual bachelors. In short,

⁴⁰⁴ Wilhelm Grutter and DJ van Zyl, *The Story of South Africa* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1981), 17.

⁴⁰⁵ Great Britain, An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 47, George III, Session 1, cap. XXXVI, 1807 (effective 1808); Cape of Good Hope (South Africa), *Ordinance 50 of 1828* (Cape Town: W. Bridekirk, Gazette Office, 31, Heerengracht, 1828); Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870, A Tragedy of Manners* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8.

⁴⁰⁶ Claude Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, edited by Claire Robertson and Martin Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 49.

⁴⁰⁷ Barry W. Higman, "Population and Labor in the British Caribbean in the Early Nineteenth Century," in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, eds. *Long-Term Factors in American Economic Growth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 605-624.

⁴⁰⁸ Predial slaves were attached to the land they worked on but who nevertheless could be alienated from it. [online resource] Black History-Slavery. <https://www.britannica.com/blackhistory/article-24156> (accessed: 17 May 2014).

⁴⁰⁹ Higman, "Population and Labor in the British Caribbean in the Early Nineteenth Century," 605-624.

creolisation emerges as an important dynamic factor in bringing about significant changes in any slave society.⁴¹⁰

7.5 Sex ratio of the Cape slave population

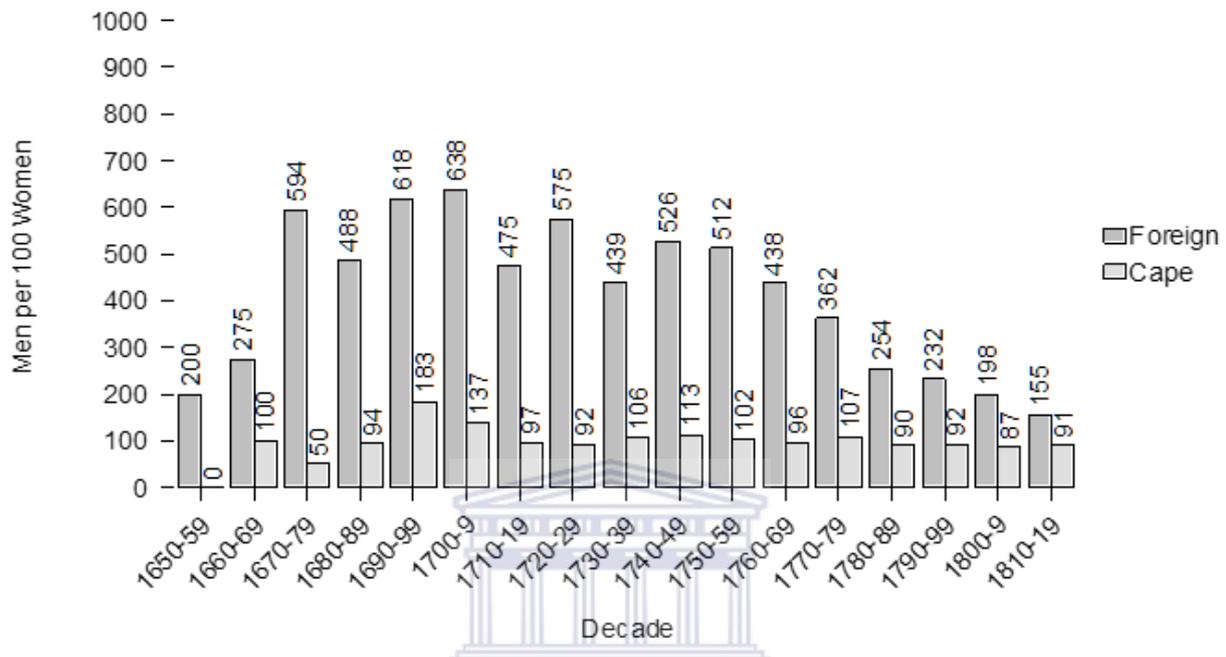


Figure 31: The number of males per 100 females for creole and foreign slaves per decade, 1658-1819, N=15,254

Sources: Saleded and MOOC data sets

By contrasting the creole slave ratio with the foreign slave ratio, a wholly new picture emerges, as Figure 31 on page 113 illustrates. There was a total of 18,970 case-level entries with 3,716 missing values. The graph shows that the differential contrasts between the creole sex ratio and foreign sex ratio are so stark that they highlight how the import of foreign slaves actually masked the creolisation process. The foreign sex ratios were so high throughout the slaving period that it is astounding that a creole slave population could materialise from such an anomaly. Hence, we have to question the living conditions under which these slaves lived.

Shell argued that there were low levels of demand for women in agricultural work⁴¹¹ and the Orphan Chamber and the SO 10/18 data revealed that females were engaged mostly in household chores. John Mason, however, states that "even though women slaves were employed in the domestic sphere, this did not exonerate them from routinely being employed

⁴¹⁰ Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, 83, 2 (1968): 190-218.

⁴¹¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 161.

in the fields with men.”⁴¹² However, the division of labour that existed in the rest of Africa, where women were involved in most forms of agricultural labour was not applicable to the Cape slave women. Few plantation systems existed at the Cape and therefore the sexual allocation of tasks was not tampered with. Moreover, the institution of family was peculiar in the Cape context.⁴¹³ It was this setup that contributed primarily to the creolisation process. Although on a psychological level, female slaves were sexually harassed by the colonial males and had to endure victimisation by the wives of the owners.

Genovese argued that after the oceanic slave trade, the United States slave population’s mortality rates fell and fertility rates rose as attention was focused on the health and comfort of the slaves. He suggests that after the abolition of the slave trade to North America, the conditions of daily living for slaves improved. As long as slaves were readily and cheaply available on the market, they were subject to cruelty and exploitation because they could easily be replaced.⁴¹⁴ Although, the social, economic and political conditions under which slaves lived and worked in the Cape Colony were dissimilar to those of slave societies in Africa or the New World, they nevertheless formed a creole population with a steady growth.

Manumission rates were low at the Cape and Elphick and Giliomee argued that these were mostly from Cape Town and not from the rural areas.⁴¹⁵ The Orphan Chamber data shows that manumission was mostly due to old age, therefore and would not have affected the creolisation process negatively. After the abolition of the oceanic slave trade in 1808, slaves were treated benignly because of their demographic scarcity. In 1826, Dr John Philip, a Scottish missionary, wrote to the London Missionary Society of the economic and demographic consequences of the slaves after 1808:

The price of slaves is so high in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade that the farmers are in a few instances able to purchase them. In the course of twenty-one or thirty years the colonial population has nearly doubled, consequently

⁴¹² John Edwin Mason, Jr., “Fit for Freedom: The Slaves, Slavery, and Emancipation in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 to 1842” (PhD diss., Yale University, May 1992), 311.

⁴¹³ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 206.

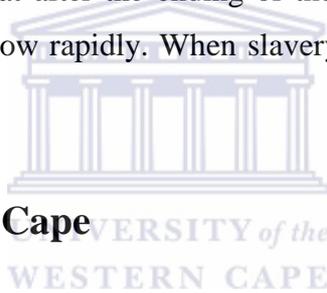
⁴¹⁴ Eugene Genovese, see Literature Review, page 36.

⁴¹⁵ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 338 and 539.

to supply that population with substitutes for the slaves, double the number is wanted; slaves cannot be got and the Hottentots are seized and reduced to a state of slavery.⁴¹⁶

Even in the rural districts of the Cape Colony, slaves were so highly valued that Lord Charles Somerset, the governor of the Cape stated that "slaves are the only property of value in this colony; land is of none in comparison."⁴¹⁷ The abolition of the slave trade motivated slave owners to enhance their slaves' lives—progressive living conditions led to improved vital statistics and a growth in the slave population.

In the beginning, the mortality rate would have been high among slaves and exceeded the birth rates at the Cape, but in the eighteenth century the Cape experienced a demographic transition as birth rates rose and mortality rates fell—the slave population became gradually self-reproducing because of the favourable sex ratios. It was a slow and rather obscure process. This transition meant that after the ending of the oceanic slave trade in 1808, the number of slaves continued to grow rapidly. When slavery ended in 1834, there were more than 30,000 slaves in the colony.



7.6 Creole slaves at the Cape

The graph in Figure 32 on page 116 shows the number of creoles at the Cape per decade, according to the Saleded and Orphan Chamber data. The male to female ratio among the creole slaves is approximately equal as the line graphs for both male and female are superimposed on each other—this is conducive for a positive population growth.

⁴¹⁶ John Philip, "Annexure No. 1: To the Directors of the London Missionary Society" (Layton: November 1826) in George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony (RCC)* (London: Clowes Printers for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1905) 30: 157.

⁴¹⁷ R. L. Watson, *The Slave Question: Liberty and Property in South Africa* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 17.

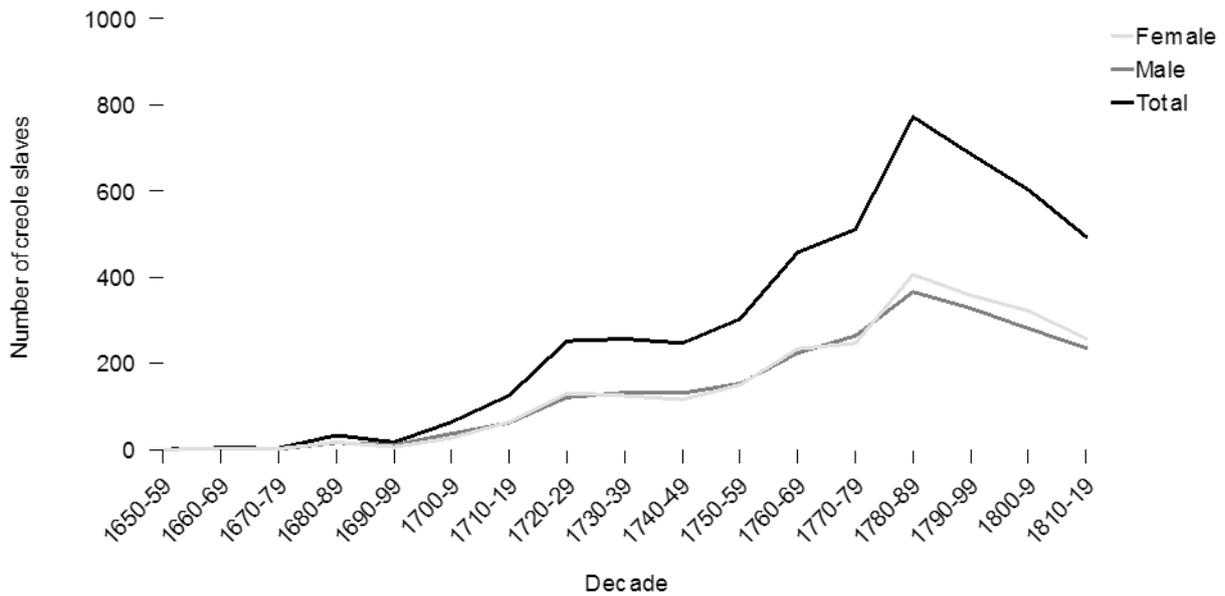


Figure 32: The number of creoles at the Cape per decade
Sources: Saleded and MOOC data sets, n= 5,018

The above chart clearly shows the natural growth in the population. After the 1780-1789 decade, the numbers of all inventories start dropping because official record-keeping by the Dutch became lax as the Cape was ceded to the British in 1795. The British favoured a system of wills over inventories. In 1816 the British started the registration of all slaves.

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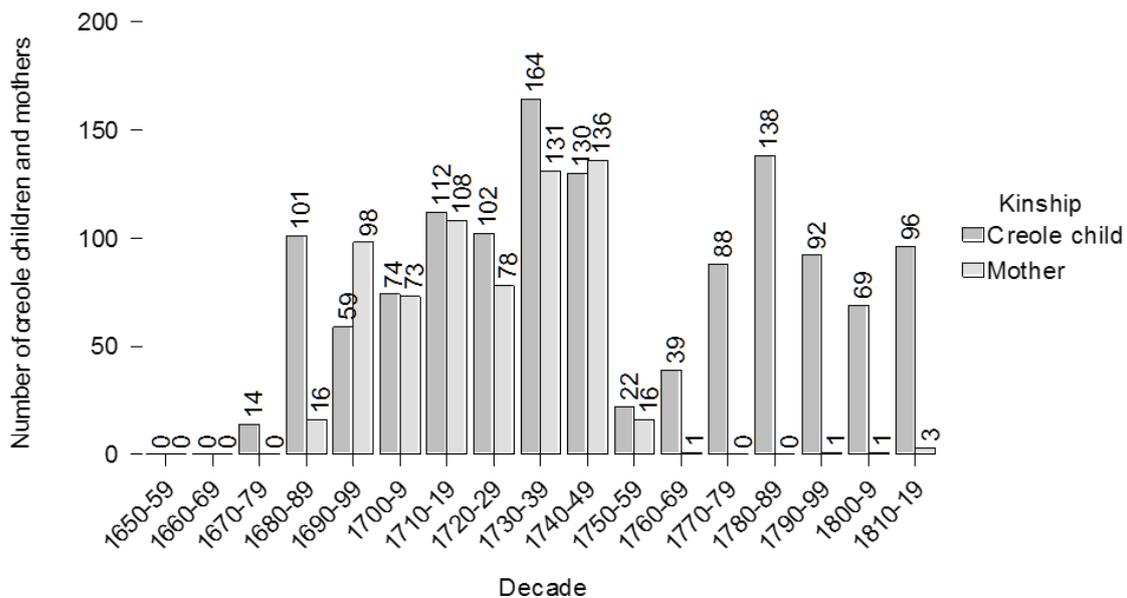


Figure 33: Creole children and their mothers per decade, 1658 to 1819
Source: MOOC data set, n=1,330

There were 1,001 children inventoried in the MOOC data set. The Orphan Chamber data also recorded the presence of 329 mothers over the decades. The number of creole children born in the colony indicated that the population was not stagnant. The number of children a parent gives birth to is known as the birth rate. Based on the figures in figure 33 on page 116, the average number of births was approximately three children per mother.

The graph shows that the number of creole children increases exponentially, but much of the data is missing and inadequate to show the increase meaningfully. The Slave Office (SO) 10/18 data set which contains 5,512 records of individual slave transfers between 1823 and 1830 for the purpose of compensation for Cape slave owners, shows that there were many more children in the 1820 to 1829 decade than what the Orphan Chamber data set records. It was only in 1823 that children could not be sold apart from their mothers. The MOOC data set did not always indicate the familial relationship and ages of slaves.

7.7 Application of the DTT to the Cape slave population

How the Demographic Transition Theory (DTT), which is a classic model of demographic transition showing patterns of changing birth and death rates over time, fits into the Cape slave population growth will be interesting to discern. The DTT shows a shift from high mortality and high fertility rates to low mortality and low fertility rates in human populations. Warren Thompson, an American demographer first described this model in 1929.⁴¹⁸ The model was developed further by Frank W. Notestein in 1945 to show that there was a correlation between population change and economic progress.⁴¹⁹ The debate keeps on probing if population growth must decline for economic expansion or if economic evolution leads to a sluggish population growth. In light of this debate, the completion of the demographic transition has come to be associated with socioeconomic progress or in the case of a slave population, the treatment of slaves by their owners. The DTT cannot be used on foreign slave populations as these populations experience differential mortality rates and birth rates for long periods of times or even for the duration of the slave trade which prevent them from going into transition. Slave societies in the Caribbean had such high mortality and low fertility rates that these populations could never go into transition and the populations were

⁴¹⁸ W. Thompson, "Population," in *The American Journal of Sociology* 34, 6 (1929): 959-975.

⁴¹⁹ F. W. Notestein, "Population: The Long View," in *Food for the World*; edited by T.W. Schultz (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 36-57.

sustained by continuous imports from Africa.⁴²⁰ A Demographic Evolution Model (DEM) is more applicable to this slave population. However, slave populations experience the demographic transition under variable social, economic, cultural and political circumstances bringing about variations in the transition process. The important point is that the demographic transition is attained across cultures. As D. Kirk noted, “They may accelerate or delay the transition, but the transition itself is inescapable.”⁴²¹

Moreover, differences in the foreign-born population and locally born population bear evidence for the *natural population growth* as the graph depicts (see Figure 31 on page 115). Therefore, the creole population at the Cape displayed similar features of transition as the European population at the Cape, but at much slower rates. Thus, the natural growth of the slave population led to a distinctive slave model in the Cape, and hastened the transition among slaves from foreign to creole.

More important in the Cape slave context was the ability of the creole slaves to speak Dutch which made them easily understood in the Dutch household way of life and also made them more valuable than the foreign slaves. Moreover, they were disinclined to run away. Also, their mortality and morbidity rates were lower than that of the foreign slaves because they were able to overcome epidemiological challenges and were easily assimilated into the colonial household.

Similarly, the slave society in the United States imported half a million African slaves via the Trans-Atlantic trade and ended up with four million African Americans when slavery was abolished in 1865.⁴²² One of the suggestions for this irregularity in the rise of the North American slave population was conscious slave breeding. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman challenged this hypothesis because their analysis of slave earning profiles in the Old South shows that those slaves were so productive that it was unnecessary for the owners to engage in “slave-breeding.”⁴²³

⁴²⁰ B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 78.

⁴²¹ D. Kirk, “Demographic Transition Theory,” *Population Studies*, 50, 3, (November 1996): 361-387.

⁴²² Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, 72-75.

⁴²³ Robert Fogel, and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods: A Supplement* (Boston: Brown and Company, 1974), 83.

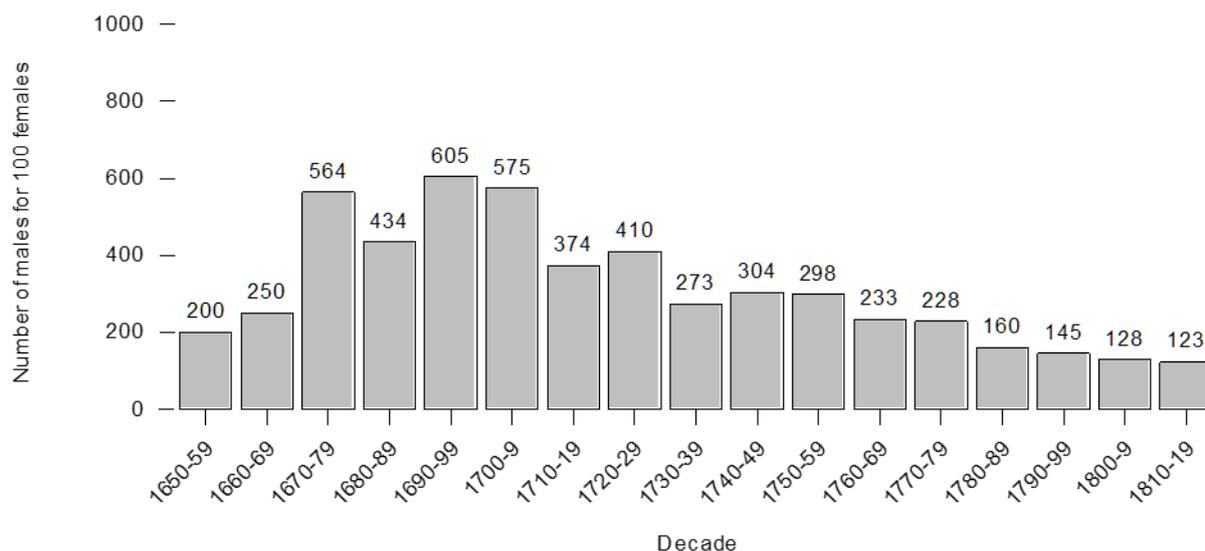


Figure 34: Sex ratio of the total slaves, Cape-born and foreign, from 1658 to 1819
Sources: Saledeed and MOOC data sets, N=15,254

In Figure 34 on page 119, we find that the ratios are unusually high and skewed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The highest ratios occur in the seventeenth century and the first four decades of the eighteenth century. The average sex ratio for the seventeenth century was 355 against the sex ratio of 300 for the entire slaving period. The ratios started dropping after the 1780 to 1789 decade when more female slaves were imported into the colony and only normalised in the nineteenth century.

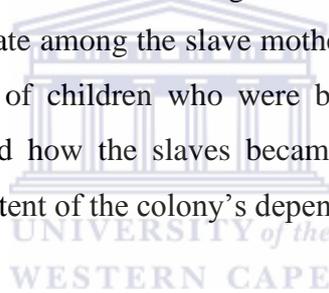
If there are many males to few females in any population, the growth is inhibited and becomes exceptionally slow. It stands to reason then, that for a slave population to increase there must be sufficient female slaves in the population, which the above graph does not support. Moreover, slave-owners preferred male to female slaves, taking on average, two males to one female, especially in the Occidental slave trade.⁴²⁴ Anna Böesecken's records for the seventeenth century endorses the statement as more males than females were brought into the Cape in the seventeenth century.⁴²⁵ Even if their living conditions favoured reproduction, the high sex ratio meant that there were too few women to maintain the population. This begs the question—why was there a steady increase of creoles at the Cape throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries despite the high sex ratios?

⁴²⁴ Patrick Manning makes a distinction between the Occidental, the Oriental and the African slave trade, see Literature Review, page 15.

⁴²⁵ Anna J. Böesecken, see Literature Review, page 25.

7.8 Conclusions

Defining the date or time frame of the moment of creolisation remains difficult as it was an ongoing process and the ratio of Cape born slaves to foreign slaves was constantly masked by the import of additional slaves. Several points of creolisation were also at loggerheads with Shell and Worden's findings. The Orphan Chamber data analysis showed that the creolisation process grew steadily throughout the slave trading period, although the slave population displayed the highest sex ratios of all occidental slave societies. The data suggests that the moment of creolisation happened in the last decade of the eighteenth century when the creole slave population exceeded the 50% barrier. This does not support Worden and Banks's claim that creolisation happened in the early nineteenth century. The data also does not support Shell's statement that it was during the 1770s that the moment of creolisation occurred. The data shows further that the steady increase in creolisation began much earlier. The revealing sex ratio of one among the creole slaves shows the growth of the slave population without immigration. The favourable birth rate among the slave mothers shows that conditions of living were compliant for the number of children who were born. The study of creolisation is important, as it shows when and how the slaves became absorbed into the host culture. Moreover, it sheds light on the extent of the colony's dependency on imported slaves.



CHAPTER 8

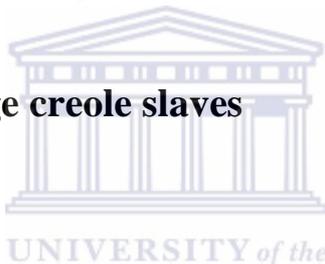
CALCULATING THE CREOLE POPULATION BORN AT THE CAPE

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the creolisation process was researched and explored. In this chapter we shall calculate the number of creole slaves born at the Cape. For the calculations, the *opgaafs* or censuses will be used to obtain the total locally born slaves. Several techniques may be used to obtain the number of locally born slaves in any given year. Each technique is staged according to the attributes of the primary sources.

8.2 The Company Lodge creole slaves

From the baptismal records



All slaves born in the Lodge were baptised. All Lodge slave infants were baptised within seven days of birth, even those whose parents who were not Christian.⁴²⁶ The Lodge baptismal register, therefore, provides the main primary source for slaves born in the Lodge. However, only baptisms between 1680 and 1731 have been transcribed in a case-level format and made machine readable.⁴²⁷ Altogether 1,084 slaves were baptised in this period. An anonymous researcher tabulated all the baptisms recorded in the registers of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1685 to 1798.⁴²⁸ We can add these to the primary baptismal graph (see Figure 35 on page 122).

⁴²⁶ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 343.

⁴²⁷ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Popucape* dataset (1652-1835). Data drawn from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁴²⁸ Shell, *Popucape* dataset (1652-1835). Data drawn from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

Slaves owners outside the Lodge were not obliged to baptise their slaves, so we may be certain that the primary records of baptised slaves *outside* the Lodge do not constitute anything but a fraction of the burghers' and Company officials' baptised creole slaves. The Lodge was supposed to represent a model for all other slave owners in the Colony (free burghers, free blacks (included among the burghers) and Company officials) to emulate. For example, if a father of a slave was not present, a Company official was obliged to stand in *loco parentis*. Only the most senior Company officials baptised their slaves. The total of the Company officials' slave children who were baptised amounted to 321.⁴²⁹

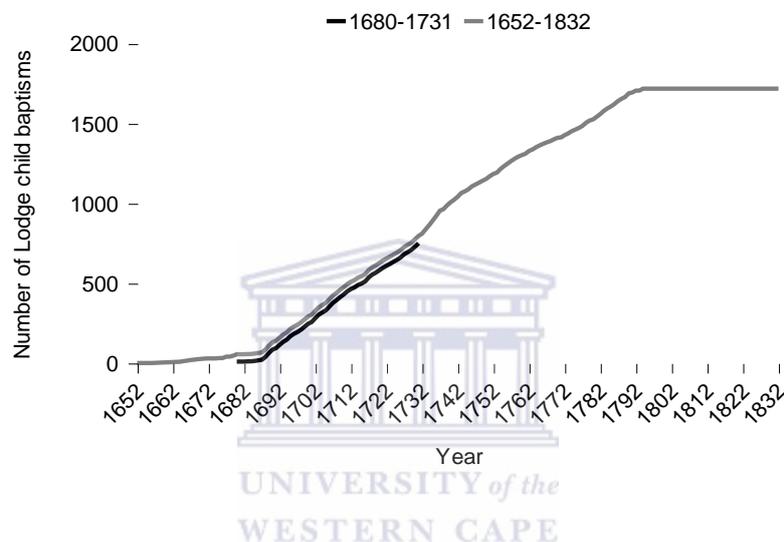


Figure 35: Baptisms of the 1680–1731 period compared to the 1652–1832 period
Sources: Dutch Reformed Church Archives and PopuCape, n=2,039

Figure 35 represents the baptisms of infants of the Slave Lodge. There were altogether 1,718 slave children who were baptised in the Lodge from 1652 up to 1798.

Not all privately owned slaves were baptised and therefore different methods are used for the burghers, free blacks and Company officials (see Figure 36 on page 123).

The Cape census or *opgaaf* divided the Cape slave population into four age/gender groups, viz. males above sixteen, females above fourteen, males below sixteen and females below fourteen.⁴³⁰ As noted below, a general attribute of all creole populations is their even sex

⁴²⁹ Dutch Reformed Church Archives: G1/4/34 and Doopboeke from Shell, *Popucape* dataset (1652-1835). Data drawn from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁴³⁰ See Chapter 5 on the age composition of the imported slaves.

ratios ranging between 100 and 104.⁴³¹ These even sex ratios are exhibited in the boy and girl slave population. Therefore, we may conclude that a portion of the totals on the Cape censuses is creole, without assuming that these constitute the entire creole population.

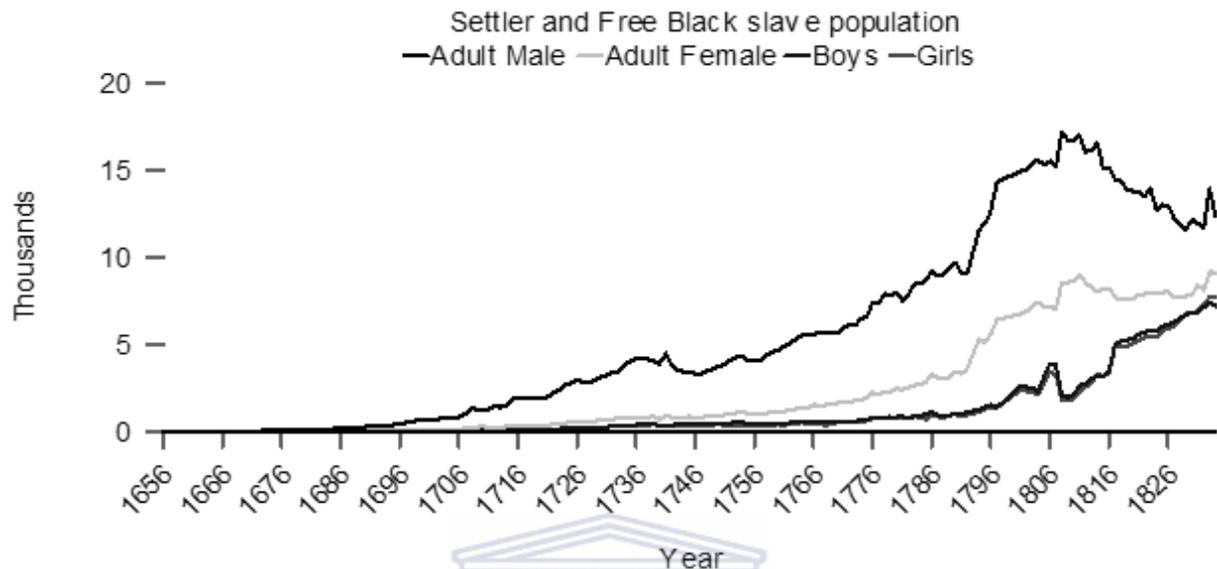


Figure 36: Settler and Free Black slave population, 1652-1834
Sources: *Opgaafs*, PopuCape

The above figure shows the total Cape slave population per annum from 1656 to 1834. There was a total of 36,278 slaves in 1834 when slavery ended in the British Empire.⁴³² The adult male and female slaves are not all creole slaves because their numbers were influenced by the oceanic slave trade. The *opgaaf* totals reflect the numerical supremacy of adult male slaves to adult female slaves. What the graph illustrates is the increase in females and a decrease in males after 1808 when the oceanic slave trade came to an end. However, it is known that after 1795, more slaves came in to the colony than any other period during Dutch rule.⁴³³ Even the MOOC data set shows a drop in male slave numbers in the late eighteenth century, but the decrease in males was more dramatic than what the *opgaaf* numbers displayed. We can observe a near equal number of boys and girls from the graph above.

⁴³¹ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971).

⁴³² Nigel Worden and James Armstrong, "The slaves, 1652-1834," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*; edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee 2nd revised edition. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 133.

⁴³³ Michael Reidy, "The Admission of Slaves and Prize Slaves into the Cape Colony, 1797-1818" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997).

8.3 Method 1: Aggregated data

A minimal estimate of the creole population of the privately owned slaves from the aggregated annual Cape Census (*opgaaf*)

A minimal count may be made calculating the number of creole slaves added to the census every year. This method is entirely arithmetical and may be calculated using a spreadsheet. This can be summarised by the equation:

$$Y = \text{Year}_{(y+1)} (B_{(y+1)} + G_{(y+1)}) - \text{Year}_{(y)} (B_{(y)} + G_{(y)})$$

Where Y is the number of births or increase in the creole population of a particular year

B = Boy slaves recorded in that year

G = Girl slaves recorded in that year

From the equation, we calculate the increase in the creole population by simple subtraction of the boy and girl columns from one year to the next. By following this method, we arrive at a total of 14,867 creoles born at the Cape altogether (7,206 males and 7,661 females) up to 1834.



Figure 37: The total number of creole boys and girls according to the *opgaaf*, n = 14,867
Source: PopuCape

The above graph does not show the cumulative data, but the total numbers per annum, whether positive or negative. An mean sex ratio of 94 is realised for the entire slaving period at the Cape, 1658 to 1834, according to the census or *opgaaf* total. A person expects a normal sex ratio among the creole population and the anomaly of 94 can be attributed to several factors. One of the main factors influencing the sex ratio is that the age structure is different for boy slaves and girl slaves.

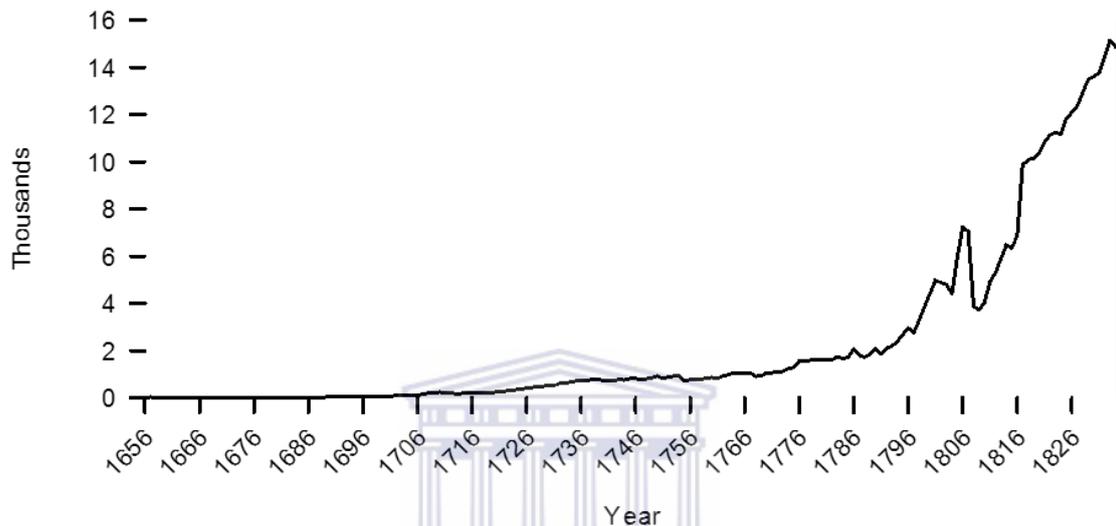


Figure 38: The cumulative or ogive of the total number of creole boys and girls according to the *opgaafs*, N=

14,867

Source: PopuCAPE

8.4 Method 2

Modelling the creole population from fertility estimates only

Since the annual censuses are age specific, one can also model the creole population using the sex specific general fertility formula (GFR). This will result in a maximum estimate of the creole population. The GFR formula is calculated by means of the total number of live births in a particular year divided by the number of women in a specific population. The GFR is limited to live births and does not include stillbirths or miscarriages. The age-specific fertility rate (ASFR) would be an enhanced rate to consider since it gives a detailed comparison between 5-year age groups for women of childbearing ages, that is, 15-19 to 45-49.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁴ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 2: 472-473.

Regrettably, the *opgaafs* do not have the ages of the slaves since the female slaves are divided in two distinct groups, namely, females above 14-years and females below 14-years. The two-tier age division inhibits ASFR calculations.

According to John Barrow’s estimation, the average fertility rate among female slaves was 4%⁴³⁵ for the period, 1658 up to 1798. W.W. Bird’s average fertility rate for the nineteenth century female slave population was also 4%.⁴³⁶ Barrow’s mortality estimation was 3% compared to 2% of Bird’s estimation.

We can then compare the two results. We may be fairly certain that the number of persons born into slavery lies between five thousand (minimum) and eight thousand (maximum), up to 1798, according to Barrow’s fertility rate estimation. This useful figure though cannot provide the proportion of creole slaves in any given year, but the two envisaged ogives are very similar, so we can say we have arrived at an approximation of the total creole slaves ever born at the Cape (see Figure 39 on page 126).

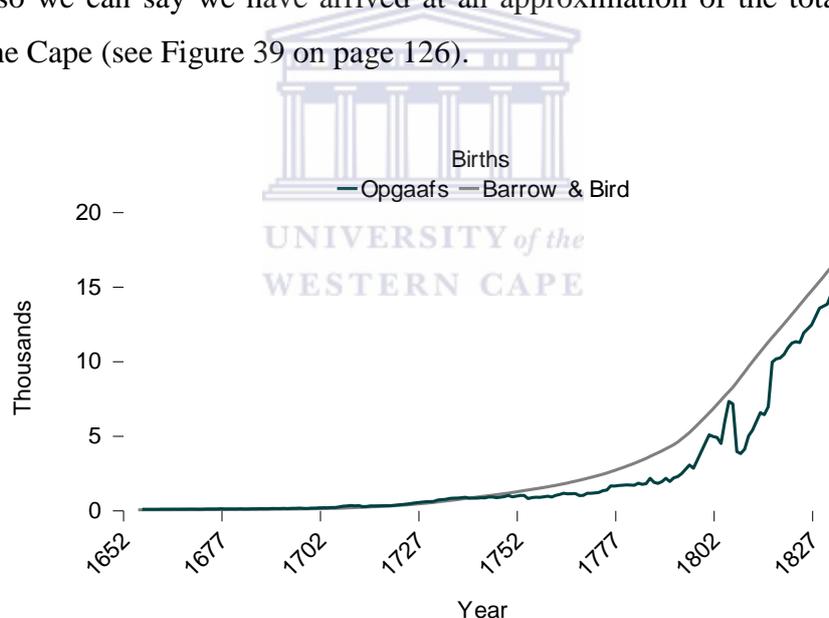


Figure 39: Cumulative counts or ogives of the growth of the creole slaves using the *opgaafs* and modelling Barrow and Bird’s fertility rate, 1658 to 1834

Source: Cape censuses, PopuCape

The above figure reflects the cumulative counts from the *opgaafs* and from modelling by using Barrow and Bird’s estimated fertility rate of 4% in the GFR formula. By 1798, Barrow’s rate shows a sum of 5,700 creoles against the 3,307 creoles in the *opgaafs*. The difference is massive. When the simulation is extended to 1834, the slope for the *opgaafs*

⁴³⁵ See Appendix 5, page 194.

⁴³⁶ See Appendix 5, page 194.

follows the exponential graph created by the modelling closely. By the end of 1834, the *opgaafs* reflected 14,867 creoles compared to the modelling estimate of 17,013.

The *opgaafs* show erratic variability because of problems associated with census-taking such as over counts and undercounts. Moreover, the smallpox epidemics in 1713, 1755 and in 1767 reflect a dip in the ogive generated by the *opgaaf* numbers. The substantial dip in 1808 when the oceanic slave trade came to an end, illustrates that slave owners under-reported their slaves because of fear of taxation under the new British administration. In 1817 there is a sudden spike in the graph which indicates the time when the British started to keep a registry of slaves to encourage slave owners to register their slaves within two years or risk setting them free without compensation.

By comparing the two methodologies, the graph reveals that modelling does not echo the demographics of the Cape. Modelling shows an uninterrupted upward curve unaffected by the epidemics and political resolutions at the Cape. The first method by census derivation is superior since at least the final figures reflect the demographic effects of smallpox and other demographic events, while modelling the population only reflects a linear extension entirely governed by the fertility rates of Barrow (1798) and Bird (1834).⁴³⁷ We may therefore assume the number of creoles would lie between the two numbers, 14,867 and 17,013.

When the rate of increase as given in the *opgaafs* was compared between the Lodge creole slave population and the privately owned creole slave population, it was shown 5.64% for the Lodge slaves compared with 3.4% for the privately owned. It can thus be seen that the Lodge creole slave population grew faster than that of the privately owned creole slaves for most of the slaving period.

8.5 Conclusions

For the first time in Cape slave history, the data analysis was able to confirm the total number of creole slaves born at the Cape. The analysis showed that creole figures obtained by census derivation were greater than those obtained by the modelling technique. What the rate of

⁴³⁷See Appendix 5 on page 194.

increase exposed between the Lodge and the privately owned slaves was that the creole population in the Lodge grew at a faster pace than the privately owned creole slaves.

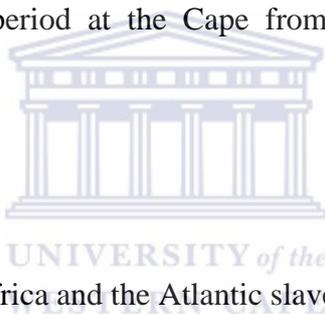


CHAPTER 9

THE INDIAN CAPE SLAVE TRADE: A CENSUS

9.1 Introduction

Various scholars have been able to create slave trade census for the Cape based on a range of data. For example, Robert Shell drew his data from a combination of aggregated censuses, 1658 to 1834;⁴³⁸ synchronic censuses of the Slave Lodge 1693, 1714, 1728, 1802, 1824 and 1826, and two diachronic prosopographies (1658 to 1730 and 1823 to 1830)⁴³⁹ to arrive at a figure of approximately 64,000 for the whole Cape slave population,⁴⁴⁰ while Nigel Worden estimated the slave trade at 80,000.⁴⁴¹ The recent availability of the Orphan Chamber data which covers the whole slave period at the Cape from 1684 to 1834 provides a more comprehensive set of data.⁴⁴²



9.2 Background

Philip D. Curtin, a historian on Africa and the Atlantic slave trade, wrote in his book, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, estimates of the number of individuals transported across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World.⁴⁴³ His analysis of shipping contracts and data from the ports of entry enabled him to arrive at an estimate of between nine and ten million individuals who were transported with a margin of error of 20%.⁴⁴⁴ Preceding Curtin's research, estimates of the number of individuals brought from Africa as slaves ranged from 3.5 million to numbers as high as 100 million individuals.⁴⁴⁵ Instead of basing his research on assumptions

⁴³⁸ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Popucape* dataset (1652-1835). Data drawn from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁴³⁹ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Saledeed* aggregated dataset in Excel format drawing on the Deeds Office records (DO) and records in the Western Cape Archives and Records Services (WCARS) and incorporating data compiled by Anna Böeseken and Leon Hattingh, 1658-1731 (N=4,123). A discussion of the *Saledeed* dataset is in Appendix 2 on page 181; see Appendix 3 "The Slave Office dataset" on page 186.

⁴⁴⁰ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 426-448.

⁴⁴¹ Nigel Worden mentions this number in Markus Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History* 14, 2. (June 2003): 144.

⁴⁴² See Appendix 1, "Description of the Master of the Orphan Chamber Data Set" on page 167.

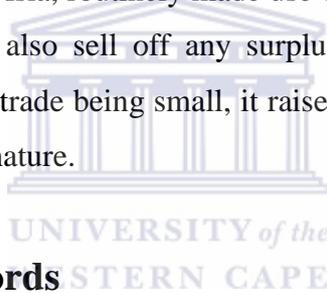
⁴⁴³ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

⁴⁴⁴ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 86-89. His figure was 9,566,100 slaves.

⁴⁴⁵ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 3-13.

and hearsay, Curtin applied modern quantitative analysis to the scholarship for the Atlantic slave trade and provided the first detail measurement of the overall dimension of the trade. David Eltis, a historian on the African diaspora, revised Curtin's slave trade data by using extensive shipping data from Africa to the New World, though, Eltis' figure (9,468,000) did not deviate much from that of Curtin.⁴⁴⁶ One of the limitations of Curtin's research was the lack of case-level data for his estimation of slaves coming to the Americas. Since the publication of Curtin's book in 1969, scholars have attempted to apply the same methodology to the Indian Ocean slave trade.⁴⁴⁷

The number of slaves imported into the Cape Colony never reached the heights of the Trans-Atlantic trade. It was a much smaller trade, and over a shorter period, but its impact was momentous for the Cape Colony as it linked the Indian Ocean basin with that of the Atlantic Ocean economic system—all the European countries, including the United States who had bases in the South-East Asia, routinely made use of the Cape to replenish their ships with fresh water and food, and also sell off any surplus slaves from East Africa to the colonists. Despite the Cape slave trade being small, it raises several challenges to researchers due to its sometimes clandestine nature.



9.3 The Cape slave records

There were three slave populations of slaves at the Cape: the Company slaves and the Company officials' slaves, and finally, the burghers' and free blacks' slaves. All three classes of slaves need to be separately analysed to get an improved estimate of the slaves brought to the Cape. The Orphan Chamber dataset enhances and improves on the research that was done by previous researchers as they did not have access to this data. Also, the research has to take into consideration the Orphan Chamber dataset is not a true representation of the slave population at the Cape—it recorded only partial inventories.

9.4 Previously used data

⁴⁴⁶ David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 58 (2001): 17-46. Eltis' estimate was 9,468,000 slaves who arrived in America and the Caribbean Islands.

⁴⁴⁷ Markus P. M. Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History*, vol.14 no. 2. (June 2003).

The first researcher to quantify slaves at the Cape was Anna Böeseken who perused volume I on *Schepenkennis* (1652-1662) and volumes 2-22 on *Transporten* and *Schepenkennisse* (1663-1700) to transcribe the names and origin of slaves (2,000 cases).⁴⁴⁸ Margaret Cairns' subsequent research went beyond the *Transporten* and *Schepenkennisse* volumes in the Deeds Registry. She examines especially the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) documents in the Western Cape Archives Records Service (WCARS) for the sale or transfer of slaves. Together with Frank Bradlow, Cairns acquired information from various scholarly studies on the places of origin of both the slaves and free blacks between 1658 and the early nineteenth century. However, her data is incomplete after 1700 and covers only a little over 3,000 slaves.

9.5 Aggregated data from the census or opgaafs

The Dutch East India Company, which ruled the Cape from 1652 to 1795, compiled a census/tax list and military muster— the *opgaaf*—of the free inhabitants, black and white, their slaves and free children of the Cape for every year from 1657 to 1795 which the British continued until the late 1830s.⁴⁴⁹ This list was continued under successive British and Batavian administrations until it disappeared with the granting of municipal government in 1828, the same year the Hottentots and slaves were emancipated. The *opgaaf* rolls or censuses of the Cape are in aggregated form, with gender, two age groups (adults and children).

9.6 Slave sale deeds

In the early years, the Dutch kept excellent documentation of all the property transactions and slave records at the Cape from the beginning of the refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. Among the land transfer records were slave transfer documents. The slave Saledeed data set was compiled by Robert Shell and contains all the sale transfers from *obligatien*, *schultbrieven*, *schepenkennis* and *transporten* documents. The transactions are dated from 1658 to 1731. Many researchers contributed towards the Cape slave transaction list and both

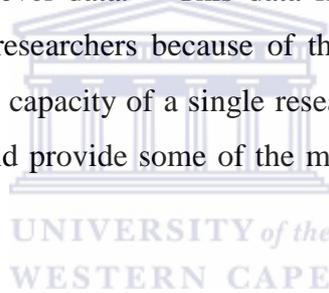
⁴⁴⁸ Anna J. Böeseken, *Cape Slave Transactions: based upon A.J. Böeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, Project Coordinator, A.M. van Rensburg, assisted by M Emslie, R Kroes and G Pieterse. [online resource] <http://www.stamouers.com/index.php/people-of-south-africa/slaves/slave-transactions/1-cape-slave-transcriptions/file> (accessed 28 April 2015).

⁴⁴⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 439-441.

Anna Böeseke's and Leon Hattingh's corrections were incorporated.⁴⁵⁰ The records were obtained from documents in the Deeds Office and the WCARS. From this detailed dataset we can obtain precise estimates for the formative years of the Cape Colony. Fully seventy-five years of slave transfers are included.

9.7 MOOC inventory data

The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) documents are unique to the WCARS because the MOOC documents were never copied and sent to the Netherlands. With generous funding from the Dutch Consulate in South Africa, as of October 2004, the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers from the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (TESCP) project undertook to transcribe inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*). The project yielded information of numerous slaves who came from both the East Indies and Africa. The data set comprises of over 15,000 case-level data.⁴⁵¹ This data fill the gap after 1731 which was largely unavailable to previous researchers because of the colossal effort required for the transcription and was beyond the capacity of a single researcher. The new Orphan Chamber data looks encouraging as it could provide some of the missing data for the period 1732 to 1834.



9.8 Indian Ocean data

After the accession of the remaining Dutch establishments in India to the English authorities in 1825, parts of the archives of the Indian establishments (Coromandel, Surat and Bengal) were sent to Batavia, from where they were shipped to the Netherlands in 1863. It now forms the collection of the *Voormalige Nederlandse Bezittingen in Voor-Indië* (former Dutch Possessions in India) in the National Archives of the Netherlands. Archival records of the Dutch slave trade have survived also in repositories in Jakarta, Colombo, Chennai and Cape Town. It is a pity that archival records in India are in a sorry state as this has left a critical gap

⁴⁵⁰ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, *Cape Slave Transactions 1658–1731*. Project coordinator AM van Rensburg.

⁴⁵¹ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), *MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01-MOOC 8/40, (1673-1834)* (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC 8/01- MOOC 8/40 (1673-1834). See also Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town: Hansa Reprint, 2005), 5.

in South African/Indian history. Few Indian researchers have tried to translate the archival material that would give some insight as to how some of these slaves came to be enslaved.⁴⁵²

On the Indian side, there have hardly been any researchers on the export of Indians to slavery in Indonesia and South Africa.⁴⁵³ Therefore, local researchers have had to rely solely on the data from the WCARS, the Deeds Office in Cape Town and *Towards a New Age of Partnership* (TANAP) which is a Dutch, Asian and South African programme of cooperation.⁴⁵⁴

9.9 The challenges

David Henige has asserted that no global estimate of the slave trade is possible, “though carefully constructed micro-studies might provide limited answers.”⁴⁵⁵ The methodologies which were developed to enumerate slaves from different regions of the globe, were groundbreaking.⁴⁵⁶ However, much of the numbers were based on assumptions. For example, Philip Curtin, made estimates based on assumptions on the mortality rates during the Middle Passage and the average number of slaves captured and sold.⁴⁵⁷ In the Cape slave context, the assumptions differ from the Occidental and Oriental studies since the Dutch East Indian Company left impressive records of its slave trade. In addition, the Cape slave trade also differed from the other slave trades because it was of a shorter duration, fewer slaves were imported, but their origin was more diverse and unique.

Assumptions are driven above all by intent, historical slave population patterns and comparative studies. Historical demographers also use the technique of "stable population" if data is missing or large gaps exist in the data.

⁴⁵² Ansu Datta, *From Bengal to the Cape: Bengali Slaves in South Africa from 17th to 19th century*. Xlibris, 2013. [e-book] Kindle edition.

⁴⁵³ Enuga S. Reddy, *Articles, Papers, and Speeches* “Indian Slaves in South Africa a Little Known Aspect of Indian-South African Relations” (November 1990): 4 [online resource] <http://www.geocities.ws/enugareddy/southafrica.html> (accessed: 27 April 2015).

⁴⁵⁴ Objectives of the TANAP Programme <http://www.tanap.net/content/about/objectives.cfm> (accessed: 7 April 2013).

⁴⁵⁵ David Henige, “Measuring the Immeasurable: The Atlantic Slave Trade, West African Population and the Pyrrhonian Critic,” *Journal of African History*, 27, 2 (1986): 295-313.

⁴⁵⁶ Ralph Austen, “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census,” in Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn, (editors), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 23-76.

⁴⁵⁷ Curtin, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, 275-286.

The Slave Lodge in Cape Town was the dwelling of slaves who were the possessions of the DEIC from 1652 to 1795. The Company slaves did all the work for the DEIC at the Cape and they had minimal contact with burgher slaves and private citizens. Some Dutch administrators owned covert farmsteads and carried out private commerce for own gain against company policy. For these secret enterprises they had their own private slaves who were not on the official register and these slaves were also not present in the *opgaafs* or censuses.⁴⁵⁸ None of these officials' names are found in the MOOC inventories. However, some of the names of the owners and slaves are found in Anna Böeseke's Cape Slave Sales.⁴⁵⁹ This is how we know that these officials possessed slaves whose presence only became known when they were sold or auctioned.

The *burghers* or private individuals bought their slaves from off the Dutch ships and from passing English, Danish, French and Portuguese vessels on the homeward bound journey from the east to Europe or the New World and also from sales and auctions.

9.10 The slave count

The central theme of the thesis is establishing the origin of slaves at the Cape, which has been a major challenge to historians. Compounding this challenge is to ascertain the number of Indian slaves who came from the Indian subcontinent. A major technique utilised by early historians was that they made estimates on the origin of slaves in different periods and assumed that they could infer the statistics to the entire slaving period. For example, from 1795 and 1808 more slaves were imported at the Cape than any other period and from a different direction (East Africa).⁴⁶⁰ Therefore, estimates made by Anna Böeseke from 1652-1700 are valid only for that particular period, and not for the duration of the slave trade as a whole.⁴⁶¹ The geographical origin and the volume of slaves was not constant during the different periods. Although the Orphan Chamber data set is a random sample of all the inventories at the Cape, it would be interesting to see what the origin and count were for the slaves and how they differed from previous studies.

⁴⁵⁸ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 429-431.

⁴⁵⁹ Böeseke, *Cape Slave Transactions: Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape, 1658-1700*.

⁴⁶⁰ Robert Ross, "The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony," *Slavery and Abolition*, 9, 3 (December 1988): 209-219.

⁴⁶¹ Böeseke. *Cape Slave Transactions, 1658-1700*; Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 431.

The inclusion of creoles or locally born slaves among imported foreign slaves in the tabulations was problematic as their existence was quite independent of the slave trade.⁴⁶² For example, many creoles who had the toponym, “*van der Kaap*” were included in the tally. Although they were counted as part of the slave population in the censuses, they were not imported—only the progenitors who came via the oceanic slave trade into the Cape had the privilege to be tallied in the foreign origin count. The Orphan Chamber data set will purge the creoles from the foreign origin count.

An overall estimate of the slave trade has been done, but lacks consensus.⁴⁶³ Researchers who have investigated the Company slaves, burgher slaves and the DEIC Officials' slave populations tended to make generalisation and assumptions based on origin, crime records, manumission records or the date of arrival which were inexact as the Cape slave trade fluctuated depending on supply and demand from year to year. Only the Lodge slave trade was well documented.⁴⁶⁴ In this regard, the Dutch East India Company kept outstanding records.⁴⁶⁵ On the other hand, no one has made an estimate of the number of slaves imported by the DEIC officials.⁴⁶⁶ Boëseken's records show that many Company officials sold slaves to burghers in private transactions.⁴⁶⁷ For example, Jan Jansz van Oldenburgh and Johan Bax were but a few Company officials who traded in slaves.⁴⁶⁸

Sampling errors, using crime records and manumission records to estimate the proportion of the slaves' origin are evident in the research done by J. L. M. Franken and H. P. Cruse,

⁴⁶² Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1978); J. L. Hattingh, “Naamgewing aan Slawe, Vryburghers en Ander Gekleurdes,” *Kronos* 6 (1983): 5-13.

⁴⁶³ Robert C.-H. Shell, “Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680 to 1731,” 352–353. Between 1652 and 1808 approximately 63,000 slaves (62,964) were imported to the Cape from four main areas: Africa 26.4%; Madagascar 25.1%; India 25.9%; Indonesia 22.7%, see Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 40–41. Nigel Worden has revised Shell's estimate upward from 63,000 to 80,000. The 80,000 figure was quoted in Markus Vink, “The World's Oldest Trade: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 14, 2. (June 2003): 144.

⁴⁶⁴ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, compiler. *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*, CD-ROM and explanatory booklet (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013), 1931-2746.

⁴⁶⁵ See *Schepenkennis* and *Transportenkennis*, Volumes 1-22, documents in Deeds Registry, Cape Town and Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01-MOOC 8/40, (1673-1834). Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01-MOOC8/40 (1673-1834).

⁴⁶⁶ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 427.

⁴⁶⁷ Boëseken, *Cape Slave Transactions, 1658-1700*.

⁴⁶⁸ Boëseken, *Cape Slave Transactions, 1658-1700*.

respectively.⁴⁶⁹ Crime records were problematic because they were not representative of all the Cape slaves and in addition, rural crimes were not often reported. Similarly, Cruse also assumed that the Cape manumission records were a representative sample of Cape slaves.⁴⁷⁰ Who were the slaves that were manumitted the most? These slaves were predominantly urban—they were Dutch-speaking from the East Indies and India who manumitted themselves more easily than the slaves from East Africa.⁴⁷¹

Official census returns do not correlate with official shipping documents relating to the known individual slave trading voyages (there were more slaves according to the annual censuses) nor do annual census increases correlate with the estimated totals of recorded slave trade imports. Robert Shell has argued that slaves who belonged to the Company officials and those who belonged to a select group of wealthy, retired and urban burgher councillors (Shell refers to them as the port's "patriciate"),⁴⁷² who did not form part of the burgher census, but were among the chief traders in the Cape slave traffic. Jan Dircks de Beer and Johannes Theophilus Rochlits were two such port slave dealers at the Cape.⁴⁷³ There are many more revealed in Böeseke's *Cape Slave Transactions*.

Slaves who were manumitted or resold, or were part of a deceased estate, were frequently counted twice. This error arose from slaves who were already recorded in ship-to-shore transactions in the slave trade. Therefore, the same slave, if he or she formed part of a wound up estate, would be counted twice and, if the same estate was wound up more than once in the lifetime of that slave, he or she might have been counted more than twice.⁴⁷⁴ There is evidence of this in Boëseken's and Shell's slave data sets. The inventories in the Orphan Chamber data set revealed the double count.

When the slave owner died and the estate was in distress, all the goods, together with the slaves would be auctioned to pay off the creditors. Thus the estate was both inventoried and auctioned. This resulted in a double count, but was eliminated from the Orphan Chamber data

⁴⁶⁹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 431.

⁴⁷⁰ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 431-432.

⁴⁷¹ Andrew Bank, *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806-1843*, Communications no.22 (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991).

⁴⁷² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 429-431.

⁴⁷³ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 106. See also Böeseke, *Cape Slave Transactions, 1658-1700*.

⁴⁷⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 433-435. Margaret Cairns argued that most documents refer to the sale or manumission of a particular slave or slaves with no reference whatever to a previous transaction concerning him, in "Slave Transfers, 1658-1795": A Preliminary Survey, *Kronos* 6, (1983): 21.

set. Also, a widow who inherited from her husband's estate and whose estate was also part of the Orphan Chamber data set, her slaves were also double counted and eliminated from the set.

There was an under-representation of slaves among the officials, burghers and the free black population because this private Cape slave trade was complex, illegal and covert in nature for which the official records are poor or non-existent. In cases like these, historical demographers have resorted to techniques of stable population theory for populations with inadequate data.⁴⁷⁵ Alfred J. Lotka demonstrated in 1907 “if a population is subject to a fixed schedule of age-specific fertility rates and a fixed schedule of age-specific mortality rates for an indefinite period of time, and, if meanwhile there is no migration, ultimately the age composition of the population would assume a fixed characteristic distribution.”⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, in 1925 Lotka proved “that a closed population with constant age-specific and mortality schedules would eventually have a constant rate of natural increase.”⁴⁷⁷

By comparing Boëseken’s early entries with the MOOC inventories, the owners and their slaves should correspond and if they do not, it could mean that the record keeping was poor and incomplete, slaves were renamed, slaves were sold many times and slaves were exchanged frequently between owners. In addition, many slave owners such as Simon van der Stel, Samuel Elsevier, Barend Borchard and Hans Hendrik Smit, who are registered as owners in Böeseken’s records, however, do not appear in the inventories. Either the owners had emigrated from the Colony or they had been part of the “port patriciate” who dealt in the illicit slave trade.

The MOOC data set offered its own challenges as the set is a sample and not a full deck.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, the inventories decrease in numbers in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Moreover, the additional slaves who arrived after the First British Occupation at the Cape in 1795 are not all part of the MOOC data. This makes conducting reliable estimates of the number of slaves who came into the Cape Colony difficult. Shell

⁴⁷⁵ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 428. Stable population theory is a population with an unchanging rate of growth and an unchanging age composition because of age-specific birth and death rates that have remained constant over a sufficient period.

⁴⁷⁶ Henry S. Shryock and Jacob Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1971), 2: 526-527.

⁴⁷⁷ Shryock and Siegel, *Methods and Materials of Demography*, 2: 526-527.

⁴⁷⁸ See Appendix 1 on page 167.

used retrodiction techniques to reconstitute the number of slaves from wills, auctions and inventories from 1658 to 1798.

9.11 Conclusions

The Cape slave census compiled by Worden and Shell can only be described as being an estimate of the slaves brought to the Cape. The Orphan Chamber data set extended the time frame and contained information not previously known which provided a much clearer but could not give a clearer picture of the actual number of slaves brought to the Cape during the period 1673 to 1834 because of inherent limitations.



CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

This thesis addresses various demographic themes relating to Cape slavery. Although the analysis includes all Cape slaves, the thesis showed that emphasis was on Indian slaves. People have always assumed that the first Indians to arrive in South Africa were the indentured labourers to KwaZulu-Natal in the 1860s. Few are aware that the Indian Cape Diaspora had begun at the commencement of a trading station in Cape Town by the Dutch corporation, the VOC, and even an earlier date according to other sources such as in the Portuguese archives. Research by eminent Cape scholars has come up with varying numbers for the origin of Indian slaves from European trading regions in the Indian Ocean. However, the legacy of slavery has left refracted memories of these Indian slaves, where they came from, how they were procured and their demographic profile. Consequently, researchers who have written about them, have touched on their origin and numbers based on limited data for the slave period at the Cape. The target of this thesis is the analysis of case-level data for the entire slaving period at the Cape which enabled the researcher to give a clearer picture of the demographic profile of the imported Indian slaves.

By using various research methodologies, such as prosopography, descriptive statistics and comparative analysis, this study has analysed several themes of Indian slaves at the Cape. The prosopography method was the main research instrument to analyse the common characteristics of the Indian slaves and will hopefully allow the research to be free from bias and cherry picking. The MOOC data set, which covered the period 1684-1834, was supplemented by using additional archival material to aid in the prosopographical analysis. The emphasis of the study was on the origin of the Indian slaves, the number who came, the sociological impact of their sex ratios and their age composition. Moreover, the creolisation process at the Cape gave an indication when 50% of the slave population became locally born.

The literature review examined the scope, periodisation and literature of the topic and gave a detail discussion of the demographic impact of the slave trade. While Philip Curtin, Ralph Austen and David Eltis have dealt with aggregated data and worked on the count of the

slaves, the studies by Robert Shell were based on case-level data. This study used both counting and statistical inference. The review reflects the contrasting evidence of the origin and creolisation of slaves at the Cape. Every aspect of Cape slavery has been well researched by scholars, but even so, the slave trade holds many mysteries.

The sex composition of the Cape slave population has revealed that this demographic variable can have profound and serious implications for the Cape slave society. This is the first time that the sex ratio variable of the Indian slaves has been examined. The data provided sufficient information to deliver a comprehensive sex ratio analysis and the results show that the sex ratios of the Indians were the highest of all the imported slaves. More Indian males were imported because the Indian subcontinent was a Dutch stronghold in the beginning of the slave trade and female slaves were used in the domestic household unlike the females in New World societies who had to work on labour-intensive plantations with the males. The sociological impact of skewed ratios within the slave society had serious negative behavioural repercussions at the Cape which were attributed to the ethnicity of the Eastern slaves. However, when crime records from the Court of Justice were examined, the contrasting crime sentences between slaves with low sex ratios and high sex ratios were startling. The Indian slaves and other Eastern slaves were highly represented in the crime records compared to the Cape-born slaves. The Cape-born slaves who had overall near-normal sex ratios at birth, the crime incidences were the lowest among these slaves. The high crime statistics among the Indian and other Eastern slaves were most likely the result of the extreme sex ratios which remained skewed from 1658 to 1807, and even beyond emancipation. Therefore, the ability of creating a family life among young males was absent at the Cape which had not only sociological repercussions but also psychological effects on their mental state as Anders Sparrman had observed. Thus the creole slaves whose sex ratios were normal—became the most valued slaves in the Cape Colony because culturally they adapted to the settler mentality.

The study of the age composition of the imported slaves shows that the data did not provide sufficient information to deliver a comprehensive analysis of the age composition of the slaves because most of the age data was missing as slaves were referred to by the four sex specific cohorts identified by Robert Shell. However, the various data sets afforded a compatible representation of the age composition. The MOOC data set is sparse with the age variable as the age composition only starts appearing from the 1780s when the VOC started

to lose control of the Cape. The only time when age made a strong appearance was after 1808 in the SO 10/18 data set between 1823 and 1830, when the age information for 5,510 case-level entries were given for compensation purposes. It seems that the British administration was imbued with an abolitionist agenda and therefore collected as much information as possible of slaves in all her colonies after the end of the oceanic slave trade. In contrast, during the VOC period, the Orphan Chamber did not attach much importance to the ages of the slaves when they did the inventories, but in most cases the origin of the slaves were recorded. Perhaps their ages were not a factor because the slaves were divided among family members after the death of the slave owner. The age composition, in both the slave society and labour migration model in modern South Africa, was based on importing young males. The most important factor in Wallerstein's core and periphery model is that the host country does not bear the cost of rearing the young labour force. For example, this cost was borne by the homelands in the apartheid-era in South Africa when young males were forced to go and work on the mines for low wages. Moreover, the sex ratios on the mining compounds were high which also led to male on male violence, rape and high crime rates among migrant males which bear the same hallmark as the crime records among the Eastern slaves who experienced one of the highest sex ratios among all slave societies. The behaviour of the black male is seen in the same light as the Eastern male slaves where their violent nature was attributed to their ethnicity. In this regard, modern South African demography has a distinct echo from slavery.

Unlike the scarcity of information on the age composition of the slaves, there was sufficient data on the Cape-born slaves for the whole period of the slave trade to analyse the creolisation process. However, the time frame involved in the creolisation process at the Cape has been difficult to identify because the progression was influenced by the ratio of Cape-born to foreign slaves which ebbed and flowed right through the slave period. The number of foreign slaves who came into the colony continuously masked the creolisation process. Some of the findings in the analysis did not agree with Robert Shell and Nigel Worden's conclusions on creolisation. The MOOC data confirmed that creolisation was an ongoing, steady expansion of the locally-born slaves that was not discernible when one observed the data synchronically. A diachronic analysis of the data illustrated the steady growth of the creole slave population which modelled a normal sex ratio. The slave population as a whole did not show any positive growth in a generational analysis because all the slaves were analysed as one population which tended to conceal the creolisation process.

Furthermore, the data analysis was able to confirm the total number of slaves born at the Cape, although not the exact proportion year in, year out. The data suggest that the moment of creolisation happened in the last decade of the eighteenth century when the creole slave population exceeded the 50% barrier. This does not support Worden or Banks's claim that the moment of creolisation happened in the early nineteenth century after the abolition of the slave trade. The data shows further that the steady increase in creolisation began much earlier. The revealing sex ratio among the creole slaves shows the growth of the slave population without in-migration. At the Cape, it was difficult to define the moment of creolisation as it was an ongoing process. However, the Orphan Chamber data clearly shows that there was a steady increase in creole slaves, which without the import of foreign slaves, would have illuminated the process. The study of creolisation is important, as it shows when and how the slaves became absorbed into the host culture. Moreover, it sheds light on the extent of the colony's exact dependency on imported slaves. Most of all, a new type of slave was revealed: a slave with enhanced longevity and linguistically and culturally acclimated to the owners. This slave would dominate the nineteenth century.

Similar to the creolisation process, the origins of the slaves in the Cape slave trade had always been a challenge to historians. One of the vexing questions at the Cape has been the origin of the 'Malay' slaves. The presence and identity of Malay slaves have been a contentious issue at the Cape as both Indian and Indonesian slaves have been lumped together and referred to as Cape Malays. This construct has blurred the perception of the origin and identity of the Indian slaves. Since the 1940s, researchers such as Böeseke and Cairns had tried to establish the origins, but the data at their disposal was on the whole incomplete. Nevertheless, they still managed to lay down the groundwork for future researchers to identify the origin of slaves. The present research is based on the Orphan Chamber data which covers the period, 1684-1834. The data is supplemented by the Saleded and the Slave Lodge data sets to give a comprehensive analysis of the count and origins of the Cape slaves. The analysis confirmed that most of the slaves came from the Indian subcontinent. The majority of the Indian slaves came from the Malabar Coast, but Bengal was a close second. The Indian statistics differed from Bradlow and Cairns' detailed breakdown of Indian slaves because according to their research, most of the slaves came from Bengal. The Indian slaves in the VOC Slave Lodge showed the least number of slaves as the majority came from East Africa and Madagascar. The number of slaves from Malaysia was negligible and therefore a person may conclude that the Cape Malays were actually slaves who constructed a culture

from a combination of Indian, Portuguese, Malayan and Dutch influences. The analysis did correlate to some extent with Shell and Bradlow and Cairns' data regarding the origins. The diachronic analysis showed that the origin of the slaves was variable decade by decade as the geographical direction of the slave trade changed influenced by the political, social and economic climate in the sending and receiving regions and maritime history.

There has been a debate as to the number of slaves who were brought to the Cape. The estimates have ranged from 64,000 to 80,000 by Shell and Worden respectively. The Cape slave census compiled by Worden and Shell can only be described as being an estimate of the slaves brought to the Cape. Since the MOOC data set provided an extended time frame from 1684-1834, a better estimation of the actual number of slaves brought to the Cape becomes apparent. It also showed that Indian slaves far outnumbered the rest. The absolute number of slaves in the Cape slave trade, just as the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the other slave trades will never be known. However, demographers perform population projections to determine estimates of the slave trade to get a sense of the possible numbers. Even Phillip Curtin's number for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was based on estimates with a margin of error of 20%. Globally, national censuses, even with the help of modern computers and modern enumeration techniques, have to contend with over counts and under counts. For example, many countries use various methodologies such as a sampling frame or a post-enumeration census to make adjustments to the raw census data. Hence, a census undertaking is a challenging task in any society, more so in pre-modern societies with slave populations. Therefore, census undertakings even in the modern era are all estimations and not absolute numbers. Historically, South African censuses have always been problematic because of separatist policies based on its four population groups of which the black population was never fully enumerated. In the Cape colonial censuses, the Khoe-San were never enumerated and were only counted for the first time in 1798 under British rule. The other challenges Cape census takers faced were officials and soldiers who were stationed at the *buitenposte* in the Colony and the population who were on the frontier of the colony. The annual ebb and flow of settlers, Company employees and slaves did not make census-taking any easier.

The Cape Colony was relatively unlike most New World slave societies. Although New World slave societies did not import Indian slaves or any other eastern slaves, it would be interesting to contrast the slave trade in four colonies, namely Brazil, the Cape Colony, Jamaica and the southern United States. Although a number of scholars have studied the

slave trade in each of these colonies, an analysis to contrast the demographic themes highlighted in this thesis, namely the sex and age composition, the process of creolisation, the origins of the slaves and the differences between the number of slaves imported and the numbers who survived would be thought-provoking. The results will place the Cape analysis within a global perspective and highlight how demographic and economic factors moulded life chances, memory, identity and culture within the respective colonies. However, this is an undertaking for future researchers.

In summary, the MOOC data, which continue from the seventeenth century to the year when slavery ended in the Cape colony in 1834, gave the researcher a chance to study the slave trade from the beginning to the end. Since the emphasis was on the Indian slaves, the prosopography methodology gave the researcher the technique to analyse their demographic profile at the Cape. As a result, this thesis provides a full demographic analysis of the Indian slaves and their impact on Cape society—the number of slaves who came, their sex ratios, their age composition, their specific origins and their creolisation. This thesis has given the researcher an opportunity to bring forth the lives of the Indian slaves which were hidden under the “Malay” banner and the diaspora of these slaves had thus become forgotten. Without the input of previous historians, the existence of these Indian slaves at the Cape would not have been possible. The VOC's record-keeping at the Cape colony allowed for a detailed—but not full—analysis of the demographic profile of the slaves. By supplementing the MOOC data with other data sets helped in the comprehensive analysis of the Indian slaves. Counting all slaves from the sub-continent (male and female), Indian slaves did have the critical mass, but in the unusual Abrahamic religious setting, the more polytheistic Hinduism and Buddhism were not allowed to flourish. Indian slaves who were Hindu or Buddhist became thoroughly absorbed into the Muslim or Christian faiths in the female-starved Cape because the settlers preferred Indian women as marriage partners. Those who became Muslim took on the Malay identity and this applied to the Muslim Indians as well. It is therefore not surprising that this diaspora has largely become forgotten. Because Indian females, especially in the seventeenth century, were absorbed via marriage into the settler population, the Indian women did not contribute significantly to the creolisation process of the slave population at the Cape. In contrast, the Indian male slaves' role in the Cape colony has been underestimated. They were the most numerous of all the slaves who arrived at the Cape via the oceanic slave trade. The Dutch administration and colonists tended to blame the Eastern slaves for crimes committed at the Cape on a presumed ethnic tendency to be violent,

but nobody linked the violence to the highly skewed sex ratios at the Cape. Bereft of female and family liaisons, the male slaves took their frustrations out through acts of violence as the crime records attested. What the records and data reflect is that Cape slave society was violent and unjust as the crime records show, but the underlying symptoms of slavery such as skewed sex ratios and cultural alienation were the main drivers of violence. It was not that the Cape slave owners were treating their slaves poorly because, as Shell has argued, slaves from an early date became part of the settler family and were therefore punished relatively mildly.

The number of slaves who arrived at the Cape will never be known because after 1731, the record-keeping of ship-to-shore transactions at the Cape collapsed. The clandestine nature of the slave trade dominated by officials also added to uncertainty. The presence of Khoisan and Prize slaves in the labour market did not make the calculation of the census any easier since they had a semi-slave status. Moreover, as the status of a slave depended on the slave mother, a person has to question the status of the offspring between a slave father and the autochthonous mother. Although they were called Bastards and had a slave-like status, why were they not counted as slaves? We also do not have full records of voyages (i.e. names of ships) for the whole period of the slave trade. Some researchers also tended to add the creole slaves to the count, a population that was entirely separate from the foreign slaves. All these issues, together with the clandestine trade, contributed towards perhaps an undercount of slaves at the Cape. What the thesis has managed to reveal for the first time was the number of creole slaves born at the Cape.

The literature on the Cape slave trade developed after the 1970s. The sex ratios, origin and creolisation of the slaves showed a multifaceted picture of the slave trade. Racial, cultural and identity themes are infused in contemporary South African society as they were in the colonial Cape which show that these themes were established social and political markers since the establishment of the VOC refreshment station in 1652. Once the oceanic slave trade ended in 1808 the slave force creolised. They also became absorbed into the host culture. The custom of importing young males for colonial labour resonates in many contemporary South African labour institutions. In both the colonial and contemporary eras, the alienation of young males has led to behaviour among this segment of the population for which South Africa is still paying a price in terms of social stability. The prosopographical technique has thus yielded a richer demographic analysis of the Cape slave trade. This research has

implications for further enquiry into the demography of the slave trade and leaves the current analysis as a stepping stone for additional probing.



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TIMELINE

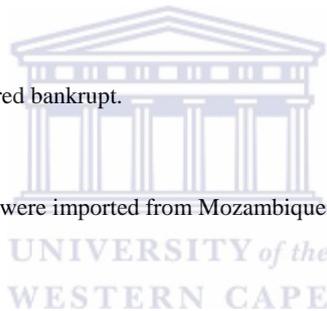
Timeline emphasising demographic events

Years	Events
1652	A refreshment station is established by the Dutch VOC to provide provisions for passing ships on their way to and from the East.
1653	Abraham from Batavia is the first slave to arrive at the Cape.
1658	<i>The Amersvoort</i> lands 174 Angolan slaves, captured by the Dutch from a Portuguese slaving ship carrying 500 slaves. A further 228 slaves arrived from Benin.
1650 to 1680s	The Dutch explore Madagascar for slaves.
1687	Free burghers petition for slave trade to be opened to free enterprise.
1693	Slaves at the Cape outnumber free people for the first time. They are mainly from India, Indonesian Archipelago and Madagascar.
1700	A <i>placcaat</i> is issued restricting the importation of male slaves from the East.
1713	Smallpox epidemic causes high mortality among burghers, slaves and especially the Khoe-San population.

- 1717 Dutch East India Company discontinued assisted immigration from Europe and keeps slavery as the main labour system in the Cape.
- 1719 Free burghers petition again for slave trade to be opened to free enterprise.
- 1722 Dutch East India Company establishes a slaving post in Maputo in Mozambique.
- 1731 VOC imports slaves from Delagoa Bay in Mozambique.
- 1732 Slaving post in Maputo is abandoned due to mutiny.
- 1745-46 Free burghers petition again for slave trade to be opened to free enterprise.
- 1753 Governor Rijk Tulbagh codifies slave law.
- 1754 The governor, Tulbagh, consolidated the numerous VOC slave regulations into a single *placcaat* the Cape Slave Code. A census taken of the Cape colony at the time showed the two populations, both slaves and settlers to be roughly equal to about 6,000 each.
- 1755 Second small-pox epidemic affects population numbers negatively.
- 1767 Placcaat issued
- 1767-68 Third smallpox epidemic.
- 1779 Free burghers petition again for slave trade to be opened to free enterprise.



- 1784 Free burghers again petition for the slave trade to be opened to free enterprise. Government directive abolishing the importation of male slaves from Asia repeated. Anglo-Dutch War was a watershed date for the origin of slaves as Dutch loses supremacy in the East to the British which allows foreign slavers to bring in more female slaves than male slaves.
- 1786 The *Meermin* brings in slaves from Mozambique to the Cape.
- 1787 Government directive abolishing the importation of male slaves from Asia repeated again.
- 1792 Slave trade opened to free enterprise.
- 1795 Britain takes control of the Cape Colony.
- 1796 The VOC is declared bankrupt.
- 1797–1803 Over 3,000 slaves were imported from Mozambique.
- 1803 The Dutch Batavian Administration regains control of the Cape. 2,228 slaves were imported into the Cape.
- 1806 Britain occupies the Cape again.
- 1807 Britain passes Abolition of Slave Trade Act, banning the oceanic sale and buying of slaves.
- 1808 Britain enforces the Abolition of Slave Trade Act, ending the external slave trade. Slaves can now be traded only within the colony which increases the value of the creole slaves.
- 1808–1856 At least 5,000 "Liberated Africans" or Prize Negroes enter the Cape Colony.



- 1813 Fiscal Dennyson codifies the Cape Slave Law.
- 1817 A slave register is issued where slaves must be registered every two years or they must be set free.
- 1823 Trinidad Order in Council ameliorates conditions of slaves throughout the British Empire.
- 1825 Royal Commission of Enquiry at the Cape investigates Cape slavery.
- 1826 Guardian of Slaves appointed. Revolt by Cape slave owners.
- 1828 Company slaves freed and Ordinance 50, amelioration laws for the slaves, free blacks, Khoe.
- 1833 Emancipation Decree issued in London.
- 1834 Slavery abolished. Slaves become "apprentices" for four years.
- 1838 End of slave "apprenticeship."



APPENDIX 1

DESCRIPTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ORPHAN CHAMBER DATA SET

A.1.1 Purpose of the data set

According to previous research, approximately 25 per cent of all slaves imported to the Cape Colony came from the Indian subcontinent. A major problem encountered by Philip Curtin when he researched the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was that he worked with aggregated data per annum for each slaving region to arrive at conclusions. One limitation attached to aggregated data is that it only reflects averages, not individual attributes. Since the data is collected from several sources, it provides summary information within the database. Consequently, Curtin used aggregated data to find the average attributes for a group of slaves, but was limited by the lack of individual variation which is found just in case-level data. For instance, Curtin could not trace the movement of individual slaves from their places of origin in Africa to subsequent changes in ownership and possible changes in places of disembarking. Hence, aggregated data has a tendency to neglect influences affecting individuals within the data set. Case-level data can look at long-term effects of variables on individuals over an extended period of time, something that is impossible with aggregated data. The purpose of the MOOC data set is to fill in the data that was not available in the Saleded data set (1658–1731) to show how many slaves came from India and other places of origin.

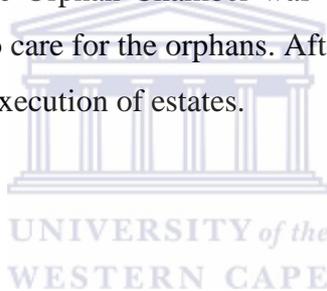
A.1.2 Sources of the data

The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) documents are unique to the Western Cape Archives, because the MOOC documents were never copied and sent to the Netherlands. With generous funding from the Dutch Consulate in South Africa, the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers from the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (TESCP) project undertook to transcribe inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*). These yielded the names and origin of numerous slaves, both from the East Indies and Africa. The data set comprises of over 17,000 case-level data. The data came exclusively from the Master of the Orphan

Chamber (MOOC Series, WCARS), since these papers were deemed to be the most appropriate series for transcription to investigate social life under the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC).

A.1.3 Orphan Chamber at the Cape

The Orphan Chamber (*Wees-en-Boedelkamer*) is an institution that was well known in the different states of the Netherlands.⁴⁷⁹ The Dutch Law relating to this institution was transplanted and adjusted to Cape colonial conditions—it made life more familiar, continuous and civil for the free people and their children. Therefore, the Orphan Chamber was established in the Dutch colonies to secure and transmit property to succeeding generations because life expectancy was low among the pioneers. The Orphan Chamber was set up in 1673 and functioned throughout the VOC period and early British period.⁴⁸⁰ During the British period, the function of the Orphan Chamber was diluted and, although it no longer administered estates, it still had to care for the orphans. After the abolition of slavery in 1834, private companies took over the execution of estates.



A.1.4 Original documents

The original documents are certified MOOC inventories (1673–1834) that recorded the estates or assets of deceased persons at the Cape. These inventories were compulsory at death. The estate papers incorporate both inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*). The *vendurollen* list all the goods sold, names of the purchasers and the prices paid at public auctions of deceased estates, including slaves. Inventories catalogue all the goods in a deceased estate going to probate.

A probate is the forensic distribution of property through legal documents such as wills and testaments—the process where the executor for the estate of a deceased person sells property from the estate in order to divide the property among the beneficiaries or relics. The assets

⁴⁷⁹ Adriana E. van Zwieten, “The Orphan Chamber of New Amsterdam” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 53, 2 (1996): 319-340.

⁴⁸⁰ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC) Transcription Team, Cape Town. Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber [online resource] http://tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/Introduction_to_the_Inventories_of_the_Orphan_Chamber.pdf (accessed: 30 April 2015).

could consist of movable and immovable properties and would form part of a probate. The immovable property could be a house and its contents and the movable commodities could be wagons, livestock and slaves. Since a slave was a commodity that could be bought and sold in an auction (*vendu*), slaves were probated. After the estate was finalised, the assets, both movable and immovable were shared out amongst the heirs. If the estate owed money to creditors, the goods were auctioned off and consequently inheritance was often in the form of cash and not property. These documents, which form part of the voluminous VOC administrative records of the Cape, were digitised and made available to the public in 2006.⁴⁸¹ These valuable records provide a glimpse into what Company employees, free burghers and free blacks owned, acquired, traded in and treasured at the Cape. Moreover, researchers can study the dynamics of the early Cape population, by tabulating the humans, both slave and free.

The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) data set includes the following:

Table 2: The MOOC documents in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service⁴⁸²

Series	Volumes	Description	Dates
MOOC 7/1	1-140	Wills and Appraisals	1688-1835
MOOC 8	1-48	Inventories	1673-1834
MOOC 8	49-74	Inventories and Appraisals	1780-1834
MOOC 8	75	Unbound Inventories	1673-1825
MOOC 8	76-77	Index to Inventories	1692-1834
MOOC 10	1-49	Auctions	1691-1834

The transcriptions were done from both the MOOC 8 series and MOOC 10 series in the archives. The MOOC 8 series contain inventories and appraisals while the MOOC 10 series is limited to auctions or *vendu* sales of the same deceased estates.

The Master of the Orphan Chamber recorded the documents (inventories and auction lists) in numerical order. Below are the criteria used by the Orphan Chamber to catalogue the documents:

⁴⁸¹ Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town: Hansa Reprint, 2005), 76-77.

⁴⁸² Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 11.

7/1 or 8 or 10-volume set or series
 /1 (and following) volume number
 .1 (and following) document number

If a MOOC document had the following reference number, for example, MOOC 8/75.70, it meant that, the inventory comes from the MOOC 8 series, volume 75 and document number 70.

The data for this research came from the following MOOC series and volumes:

Table 3: TECP MOOC

Series	Volumes	Description	Dates	Number of Slaves
MOOC 8	1-48	Inventories	1673-1834	12,387
MOOC 8	49-74	Inventories and Appraisals	1780-1834	3,202
MOOC 8	75	Unbound Inventories	1673-1825	390
MOOC 10	1-5	Auctions	1691-1834	1,196
				Total=17,175

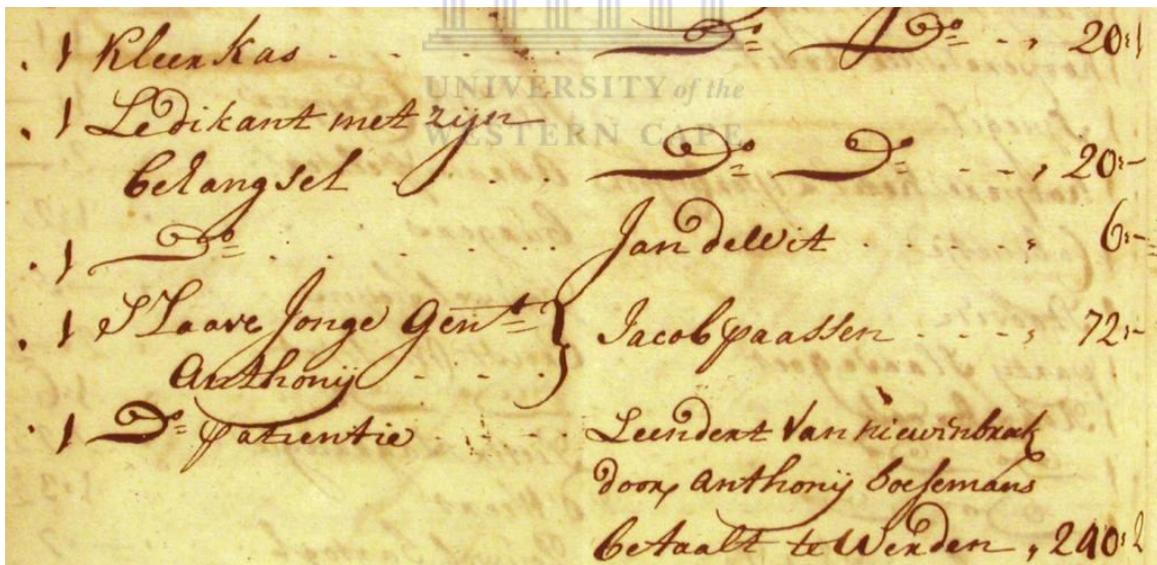


Figure 40: The slaves Anthonij & Patientie auctioned with bed & wardrobe ⁴⁸³

Robert Shell designed the data set and purchased it from Helena Liebenberg and Antonia Malan for research purposes. Helena Liebenberg was the project leader for the transcription process.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸³ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01–MOOC 8/40, (1673–1834). Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01–MOOC8/40 (1673–1834).

A.1.5 The transcription process

The TECP team, consisting of transcribers and editors, first deciphered the handwriting of the original documents from Old Dutch to Afrikaans. Then the documents were transcribed using a computer program called Corel™ XmetaL®, which is an Extensible Markup Language (XML) editor, where the coding was done according to the internationally acknowledged TEI standard⁴⁸⁵ (Text Encoding Initiative).⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, XML is an infobase. It is a single file electronic repository for large volumes of reference information that is primarily free-format or semi-structured. The infobase will divide into units of information, such as the first paragraph and quotes. There are no variables, but there is tagged text, for example, the reference number of the inventory, the date, names of places and people will be tagged to make searching quicker and easier. In addition, infobases offer hypertext linking, topical grouping and automatic tables of contents.⁴⁸⁷

The Centre for Business and Language Services/Sentrum vir Besigheids- en Taaldiens (Bellville, Cape Town), a company which renders and manipulates digital documents into XML according to clients' requirement, developed an algorithm to capture the most important data from the translated inventories and *vendurollen*.⁴⁸⁸ They also coached the TECP team in XML and TEI application.⁴⁸⁹ The digitised transcripts are available on a CD-ROM in Acrobat Reader for researchers and to the public via the Internet this prevents a deterioration of the original documents. The researcher is able to extract from the infobase a record of the name of the deceased's name, his/her heirs, slaves and the contents of her/his

⁴⁸⁴ Helena Liebenberg, *Introduction to the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope* [online resource] Towards a New Age of Partnership (TANAP) http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/Introduction_English_Resolutions_of_the_Council_of_Policy_of_Cape_of_Good_Hope.pdf (accessed 30 April 2015).

⁴⁸⁵ The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is a consortium, which collectively develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts in digital form. Its chief deliverable is a set of Guidelines, which specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, chiefly in the humanities, social sciences and linguistics. Since 1994, the TEI Guidelines have been widely used by libraries, museums, publishers and individual scholars to present texts for online research, teaching and preservation. <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

⁴⁸⁶ Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 74.

⁴⁸⁷ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01–MOOC 8/40, (1673–1834). Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01–MOOC8/40 (1673–1834).

⁴⁸⁸ Centre for Language and Business Services (Sentrum) <http://www.sentrum.co.za> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

⁴⁸⁹ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope - Making the Inventories available in digital format <http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan Chamber-Cape of Good Hope/introduction/14.htm> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

estate. This is entered onto a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and then to the IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) database for analysis.

The transcription team at the Cape Archives were guided and supported by researcher Annemarie Krzesinski-de Widt who had an extensive knowledge of the transcription process, having been responsible for the transcriptions relating to Stellenbosch district inventories (MOOC and STB/1 series), which were the first undertaken at the Cape.⁴⁹⁰

A.1.6 The electronic data set

The architecture of the file is straightforward. The data set comprises 17,175 case-level entries. The data is in the form of a matrix in which columns are variables and cases are rows. Each row represents a single slave, but since some deceased owners had many slaves, these owners would occupy more than one row. There are an equal number of variables for both the deceased owners and the slaves. Each inventory of the deceased estate gives the MOOC reference number, name of the deceased owner, status of the owner, date of death of the owner and the residing Cape district (urban or rural), the slave's original name, a list of slaves, their names and toponyms.

The data set also has derived variables. The variables found in each dataset can be categorised as either *original* or *derived* variables. The original variables contain the raw data obtained from the MOOC transcripts. The derived variables were created from the original variables to enable more detailed analysis of the data. For example, the variable "continent" is derived from the slave's toponym—thus Cupido van Malabar's "continent" would be recorded as "India" next to his name and Anna van Batavia's "continent" would be the Indonesian Archipelago.

A.1.7 Limitations of the original documents

As mentioned above, the data set comprises 17,175 case-level entries. With such a large data set, there are bound to be errors in the transcription process. The data required careful inspection and recoding before any analysis could be done. The MOOC documents are legal documents and therefore judged to be accurate. Nevertheless, there were inaccuracies and

⁴⁹⁰ Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 6.

limitations. The following is a brief description of some of the challenges presented by the data set, and attempts made to resolve them:

- No sex or gender information of slaves.
- The data set does not constitute a full deck.
- Age is also absent and slaves may have been unsure of their ages even if they were baptised at birth.
- The date of arrival of the slave at port of entry was not present.
- MOOC slaves could have been part of a previous deceased sale and could thus be counted more than once.
- MOOC inventories and MOOC auction lists could overlap.
- Some slaves could have been from the local Khoe-San population who were enslaved– the so-called “zombie” slave to take the place of dead slaves .⁴⁹¹



A.1.8 Correcting duplicates

When the TANAP on-line inventories were perused, 1,238 slaves were eliminated from the original data set as there were double counts from inventories that were executed twice, for example, MOOC 8/9.5a and MOOC 8/9.5b. This then put the MOOC data set at 15, 938 case-level entries. Furthermore, 766 cases were also eliminated as they were double counts between inventories and auctions in the MOOC data set. Thus the final total for the MOOC data set stands at 15,172 cases.

For the purpose of analysis, the Saledeed (4,123), Slave Lodge (3,638) and the MOOC data sets (15,172) were combined into one set. For this reason, further double counts had to be eliminated between the data sets. There were 278 slaves whose names appeared in both the Saledeed and the MOOC data sets. These were eliminated from the MOOC data set and not from the Saledeed, as the Saledeed had rich information as to the arrival of slaves from the oceanic trade. Moreover, there were cases in which the slaves of widows who had inherited them from their spouses' estate appeared in the MOOC data, the Saledeed data set and also in the inventories. These slaves, 47 in all, were also eliminated from the combined data set. Hence, the final tally for the combined data set was 22,608.

⁴⁹¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 34.

A.1.9 Sex

There was a complete absence of a record of the sex of slaves. The sex variable was later added to the data set, and each slave was allocated a sex based on his/her first name. Many slaves had names that were well-known, for example, Maria or Jacob. However, some slaves had names which were both masculine and feminine (n=42), for example, Francis. Then, there were slaves with less common names such as Calester, Orestes and Spaas whose sex was unknown (n=1,402). The determination of the gender of many slaves who originated from the Indonesian Archipelago and India was assisted through the social network, “Facebook.” By typing the name in the “Look for” window, the name and the gender appeared in the search engine. In this way, the gender of the contemporary population in South-East Asia assisted in determining the gender of hundreds of slaves in the data set.

A.1.10 MOOC data set is a sample

Another challenge was that the original 17,175 cases in the data set. The number of inventories diminished as the nineteenth century approached. When slavery ended in 1834, there were many more slave owners spread across the Cape Colony compared to the 8,000 owners who populated the MOOC data set over a period of 200 years.

This implies that not all the records survived. Therefore, it must be assumed that the 17,175 cases were merely a sample of the slave population. Moreover, Cornell and Malan acknowledge that household inventories are found in other places in the Archives such as in the records of the Council of Justice and the Master of Insolvent Estates.⁴⁹² The inventories of the MOOC 7 and 1\STB series pertaining to Stellenbosch are also absent from the database as this transcription was completed in 2002, independently of the TEPC project.

A.1.11 Age

The age of the slaves is absent—this was peculiar, as the slaves’ monetary values were based firmly on age and sex.⁴⁹³ It was only in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century

⁴⁹² Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 11.

⁴⁹³ Robert C.-H. Shell and Parbavati Rama, “Breeders or Workers? The Structure of Slave Prices in the Cape Colony, 1823-1830,” *Safundi, The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 8, no. 4 (October, 2007).

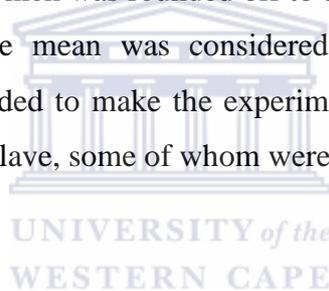
that the age of slaves began appearing in inventories. Perhaps Cape slave owners under VOC rule found it unnecessary to record the vital statistics of their slaves and preferred rather to describe their physical attributes: young, old, infirm or blind.

A.1.12 Date of arrival

The date of the arrival of the slaves from the oceanic trade was not recorded in the inventories or auctions. This problem was solved thanks to an examination of the A.J. Böseken and R. Shell Saledeed data set from 1658–1731. The slaves listed in the Saledeed data were correlated with those in MOOC data, and came up with 278 cases. The date of arrival of the slave was then subtracted from the date of death of the owner for each of the 278 cases to get establish how long it was that the slave was the property of the owner before the owner's death. The sum of these values were then divided by 278 to arrive at a mean value of 14 years and 8 months which was rounded off to the nearest whole number, 15. The 278 cases used to calculate the mean was considered statistically significant, since a minimum of 150 cases were needed to make the experiment significant. In many instances slave owners had more than one slave, some of whom were bought on the same date.

A.1.13 Double count

There were slaves who were sold multiple times through auctions or who were passed on to heirs in a will had to be tallied again. Since the data set extends over two centuries (1673–1834), a strong possibility exists that these slaves were counted more than once. Given that the data set contains both inventories and auctions, slaves could also be counted twice—once in the inventory and later in an auction—for in instances when the debts of the estate exceeded the value of assets in the inventory, the goods were auctioned to pay the outstanding debt.



A.1.14 Toponym

Although the toponym was present in the majority of cases, the researcher had to search for names in gazetteers such as the *Fuzzy Gazetteer* and *GeoNames Search*⁴⁹⁴ to link the toponym with a geographical position.

A.1.15 Description of the original variables

The original variables from the MOOC documents will be described at the outset, then the explanation or rationale for the derived variables will be confirmed.

The original variables are as follows:

Table 4: Description of the original variables of the MOOC data set

Variable	Type
MOOCRef	Nominal
MOOCdate	Ratio
Deceased Name	Nominal
Deceased Sex	Categorical
Place of Origin of Slave	Categorical
Slave name	Nominal

A.1.16 MOOCRef

The MOOCRef is the reference to the MOOC files in the Cape Repository. The data were assembled from the MOOC 8 and MOOC 10 series. The data came mainly from the MOOC 8 series, as inventories were common in this series. There are 1,196 cases (7%) from the MOOC 10 series (Auctions) and 93% from the MOOC 8 series (Inventories). All the MOOCRef cases are present and there are no missing values.

⁴⁹⁴ *Fuzzy Gazetteer* [online resource]; developed by Christian Kohlschütter for the Interoperable Services for Data Products (ISODP) Project <http://isodp.hof-university.de/fuzzyg/query/> (accessed 30 April 2015); United States. National Geospatial–Intelligence Agency. *GeoNames Search* [online resource]. <http://geonames.nga.mil/namesgaz/> (accessed: 30 April 2015).

A.1.17 MOOC Date and yyyyymmdd

All the data have the same format. The values reflect the year, month and day of the death of the owner. For example, 17380330 in a single cell shows first the year, which is 1738, then 03, which is the month of March, and lastly 30, which is the day of the month. SPSS records the date arithmetically as a single number. Moreover, the year 1699 was adjusted when twelve days were taken out of it to make an allowance for the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in the Netherlands. By having the date in this configuration, the range can be computed and will provide a sort in either ascending or descending order—thus the year can be sorted from 1685 to 1700. SPSS will calculate the day of the week when death occurred.

A.1.18 Deceased's Name

This variable gives the deceased owner's name. The surname is given first and then the given name, for example, Vlok, Nicolaas. If the deceased owner had more than one slave, his name would appear many times in the data set. For example, Johannes Paulus Eksteen had six slaves from Mozambique. Therefore, there were six cases: six slaves and one owner. There was an over-representation of German owners. The researcher will provide numbers to each owner.

A.1.19 Sex of owners

The dead owners' forenames provided proof of sex.

A.1.20 Place of Origin of Slave

This variable indicated the place of origin of the slaves. Many slaves had toponyms attached to their names which indicated their place of origin. For example, “Jan van Malabar” and “Lea van de Caab.”

A.1.21 Slave Name

Names were changed when slaves disembarked from ships. Slaves were given Biblical names, such as Dawid and Rachel, and Greek and Roman mythological names, such as

Apollo and Cupido. They were also given senseless names, based on the whim of a port official, such as “Aap van Madagascar” and “Uil van Bengal” (Ape and Owl). Names were also given based on the anthropometrics of slaves, such as Dikkop and Dikbeen. One of the favourite categories of names was the months of the year. Even today, names such as January, February, April and September feature in contemporary Cape society. Only in the Slave Lodge, where the VOC Company slaves were held, did slaves keep their original names.

A.1.22 Derived or recorded variables

From 1652 to 1838, a period that encompasses two centuries, political, economic and social transformations took place that had far-reaching implications for free people and slaves alike. The slaves’ origin fluctuated over this 200-year period, during the different administrations at the Cape.

A.1.23 IDNO or additional variable

The IDNO or Identity Number is a reference number that gives each case a unique identity. The identity number is not analysed as its role is to keep the values of each case in the same row when they are sorted. In the absence of the IDNO variable, the information of the rows will become disorganised and make the data set invalid. By sorting the IDNO in an ascending or descending order, the data set returns to its original format. This variable is therefore by nature a full house, that is, $N=17,175$.

A.1.24 Decade

Decade is a derived variable that was created from the date of arrival to show how many slaves came in a particular decade. In addition, the creation of graphics is facilitated by this derived variable so that the audience can see how many slaves came by decade and how the origin and direction of the slave trade changed by decade. A 100% surface chart is an ideal depiction to show the diachronic analysis of the arrival of slaves by decade and origin.

A.1.25 Year

The year starts from 1685 through to 1834. The year is derived from the slave owner's date of death. This is also the date of the inventory.

A.1.26 MonthAlpha

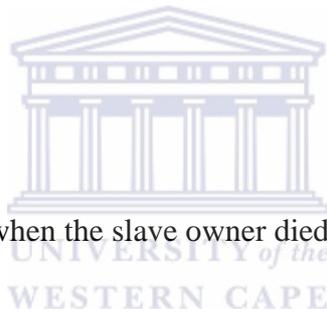
In a spreadsheet, the cells contain either alphanumeric text or numeric values. Alphanumeric contains a mixture of text and numbers. For this variable, only text was used for the names of the months, for example, March and April. The month is the month when the slave owner died.

A.1.27 Monthnumeric

In contrast to the alpha text, the month is in numeric form, that is, March and April will be 03 and 04 respectively.

A.1.27 Date

The date is the day of the month when the slave owner died.



A.1.28 Continent or region

Slaves came from various continents. Continent is a derived variable to help show from which direction the trade was dominant at various periods. The variable, continent or region is fairly well populated.

A.1.29 Date of arrival of slaves

The Saleded dataset contains information on arrival dates (see page 181 for the full discussion).

A.1.30 Slave gender

The gender of the slaves was derived from their forenames. See page 174 for a full discussion.

A.1.31 Urban/Rural

The Urban/Rural variable indicated the slave owners' place of residence or farm.

A.1.32 District

The district indicates the municipal district in which the owner and slaves lived.



APPENDIX 2

SALEDEED DATA SET

A.2.1 Purpose of data set

The purpose of this data set is to test certain hypotheses current in the comparative literature concerning the mechanisms, patterns and social effects of the oceanic and domestic slave trades. Nearly all the American studies have used aggregate totals of slave sales per annum: this type of data has limited potential for answering the questions that are on the historiographical agenda. Indeed, aggregate data may never help to answer these questions. For instance, using aggregate data one cannot trace the paths of individual slaves through the market mechanism. One cannot, for example, investigate the likelihood of the re-sale of slaves. For this type of question—and most questions in Herbert Gutman's comprehensive agenda are of this sort—it is essential to have data which are based on individual slaves, which allows one to trace the paths of slaves through various owners. If the region is too large, or the population too great, the data collection for this type of inquiry is not feasible. In short, the questions that are currently being asked of the nineteenth-century slave-markets of the American South cannot be answered, given the above limitations in the nature of the American material, and the large size of the ante-bellum slave population which at emancipation stood at 4,000,000. In short, the size of this population works against the problems which are based on the possibility of tracing individuals across states and time.

Not only is the Cape slave population small enough to allow this sort of analysis, but the colony also has an almost complete archival record. The geographically bound nature of the Cape population has a further advantage, since one can trace through the sale records not one slave's but all slaves' ownership paths through the colony. The only escape for the slave from the legendary record keeping energies of the Dutch clerks, or soldiers-at-the-pen—as they were called—was to join a Cape maroon community on Table Mountain or Cape Hangklip.

A.2.2 Sources of data

The data are records of all slave sales at the Cape of Good Hope between 1680 and 1731. The records of the burghers' and officials' slaves up to 1717 are in the Deeds Office, Cape Town,

thereafter in the Court of Justice (CJ) records in the Cape Archives. There are no records for 1713 and few for 1717 and 1718. The absence of any records in 1713 is probably explained by the smallpox epidemic of that year, which either disrupted the Dutch East India Company clerical system, dissuaded captains from unloading any slaves, or discouraged farmers from purchasing any. Smallpox arrived with the first return fleet of that year and was spread throughout the Cape by slaves washing the seamen's laundry in the streams feeding into the Table Valley water supply.⁴⁹⁵ One would have expected that many slaves would have come onto the market after the smallpox epidemic; this did not occur. Many owners died, but [Colin Graham] Botha records that fundamental changes were made to legislation affecting deceased estates after the smallpox epidemic. This might explain why many bereaved families did not go through the usual practice of putting the slaves on the market, but kept them in the family, or sold them without recording the sale.

Using unusual archival material, Maurice Boucher, a South African historian, claims that in 1714 a Huguenot farmer, Pierre Joubert, bought two "negro Ladds" from an English ship, the *Delecia*, through "an agent," probably Giles Sollier, who understood English.⁴⁹⁶ There is no record of this transaction in the Deeds Office, lending support to the belief that there was a breakdown in the clerical system. However, the system continued to function with respect to property transfers of land, among which slave deeds of sale were always interfiled.

The 1717 and 1718 gap is less easy to explain. Because of a labour crisis at the Cape, precipitated in part by the smallpox epidemic of 1713, the Company directors appointed a special commission to review the Cape economy and to decide whether the Cape should be based on free or slave labour. With one dissenting vote, the commission decided in favour of slavery. Perhaps they also decided that henceforth slave transfers should be recorded separately from landed property. Be that as it may, from 1717 onward no slave trade transfers, apart from the occasional "cadastral" slave transfer, appear in the Deeds Office, but are found instead in the Court of Justice records, at first, for 1717 and 1718 in odd scattered volumes, then in a consecutive series. This series was not copied and sent to Holland with all

⁴⁹⁵ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Jan Smiesing, Slave Lodge Schoolmaster and Healer, 1697-1734" in *Cape Town Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town*, Nigel Worden, (ed.) (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2012), 138.

⁴⁹⁶ Maurice Boucher, "The Cape and Foreign Shipping, 1714-1723," *South African Historical Journal* 6 (1974): 12.

the other CJ papers; the only slave transfers at The Hague pertain to the slaves of the Van der Stel family and were probably copied specially for his [W.A van der Stel's] trial after 1706.

This breakdown in record-keeping settled down only in 1719. The trade thereafter, as reflected in this series of transfers, is in the same format as the earlier series. The remarks in the daily fort journal about foreign slavers passing the Cape in 1717 and 1718 suggest that this was not a period of acute international slave shortage. These theories go some way to explaining the small number of recorded slave sales in these two years.

A.2.3 Validation of the sales transfers

The annual census or *opgaaf*, which detailed all the individual burgher's holdings also recorded the burgher's slaves in four categories: male adults, female adults, male and female children. Since the Company did not tax slaves, there was no reason why the burghers should have under-reported their slaves. Although the census reflected the birth rate in the slave population as well as purchases from the Company officials' ghost slave population (especially in 1706–1709), the census remains the single most consistent independent check on the fluctuations in the oceanic and domestic slave trades as revealed by the slave transfers. Insofar as the transfers mirror the numerical reality of the slave trade, they should be roughly consonant with the detailed estimates of the burgher slave population in the censuses. As the accompanying illustrations show, this was the case. The years 1717, 1718 and 1719, during which there were few recorded slave sales, prove to be years in which the burgher slave population actually decreased. The absence of disease during these years suggests that there was, in fact, a shortfall in the trade itself. More sophisticated statistical checks confirm that the two sets of independently collected data (excluding 1706, 1707, 1708 and 1709 when company officials were forced to divest), were in lock step with each other. Using the annual adult slave sex ratios (i.e. controlling for natural increase) as a dependent target variable and the annual trade figures as the independent variable, a strong positive linear relationship emerges. Bearing in mind that there were a few creole slaves entering the population, and many runaways and dying slaves leaving the population, the 0.4035 correlation coefficient is reasonably high. About 40 percent in the variation of the census is explained by the slave trade imports and domestic sales to the burghers.

A.2.4 Coding of sales data

There are both analytical and descriptive elements in this inquiry. For the purposes of this appendix, the analytical aspects of the project are not dealt with here as they have a secondary or inferential relationship to the variables. For instance, the answer to the analytical question, "Was an ethnic premium paid for slaves?" is imbedded in four variables, namely slave origin, caste status, price and age. The various chapters deal with the analytical inquiry itself. This appendix describes how the primary documents were coded for analysis by computer.

These sale data are part of a larger prosopographical data set that attempts to capture all systematically retrievable facets of the Cape slave's life cycle. Other facets include manumission, birth, death, arrival in the colony. Since all these facets are discreetly recorded in separate documents, the only practical method of collating all this information is by nominal linkage, or a relational database. The computer reads the separate files: manumissions, arrivals, sales, etcetera and sorts them according to (say) slave name, age and owner and creates a "master" index file which indicates the other recorded events in the slave's life. Since some events can only occur once e.g. birth, death, manumission, arrival, only one observation is required for these events. On the other hand, there are events which can occur many times in the life of a slave, such as re-sale or criminal acts by recidivists. This is termed the "clinic visit problem" by statisticians. The coding format must allow for the maximum number of such events. No sampling was possible because of the linkage design. Such a research design is only possible with near complete records.

Four thousand and seventy-six slave transfers have been unearthed, 2,622 of which related to the internal trade. Each slave transfer recorded the date, name of the slave, his or her caste status, or point of origin. Also recorded was the age of the slave to the nearest year, the sex, price and family relationship of the slave to other slaves in the sales. The document included the name, sex, district and citizen status of the seller of the slave and the same details for the buyer. The type of sale had to be inferred from the type of document in which it was recorded, or other internal evidence: whether a gift, deceased estate, etc. Often the occupation and district were not given, and had to be added from another source. To take a sale transfer as an example:

Appearing today, on the 19th January 1709, before me [the VOC clerk], *in Loco* for the Secretary of the Honourable Governor and the Council of Policy the seller, hereafter named, Abraham Hartog, a *burgher* surgeon in Table Valley, who hereby acknowledges to have sold, transported, and ceded by this transaction, to the benefit of Jan Casilius Kruijtsman, a *burgher* shoemaker in Table Valley, a certain slave of 25 years of age, named Hannibal of Batavia, who is the Seller's legal slave, and that the buyer promises to pay the seller the purchase money of 129 *Rixdaalders* and [the nominal clerical costs of] 48 *stuijvers*, the last penny with the first.

<Signature or mark of seller>

<Signature or mark of buyer>

Note: In the above document the occupations of both seller and buyer had to be added from other contemporary documents.

This dataset is drawn from Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope: 1680-1731" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1986), 297-322.

APPENDIX 3

THE 1823 SALE DATA SET

A.3.1 Introduction

The data for the 1823 Sale data set is housed in the WCARS in the Slave Office series. The data set consists of 5,511 slave sales, which is the compensation list used for purchasing all the slaves in the Cape Colony in 1834. The original document was carefully constructed. The initial year 1823 was chosen because this was the year of the Trinidad Order in Council which specified that Christian slaves could marry. Moreover, children under twelve could not be separated from their mothers by sale. This return includes all the public sales of slaves from the first of 1823 to 31st December 1830 and records of where slaves have been sold by the sequestrator, Orphan Chamber, executors, the sheriff or trustees.

The following nineteenth century extracts pertain to the dataset:

Notes⁴⁹⁷

There are no instances at the Cape where slaves have been sold with land in the same lot for one sum. When Public Sales of slaves take place, three months' time is given to the purchaser to produce his Vendue Bill upon which Transfer is made. The said bill being entered in what is termed the Vendue Bill Book kept in the Slave Registry office, and the original Bill given back to the new Proprietor attached to the transfer. The institution of such a practice has now enabled the Registrar to furnish this Return.

This return includes all the Public Sales of slaves from the first of 1823 to ultimo 1830 and where slaves have been sold by The Sequestrator—Orphan Chamber—Executors—The Sheriff or Trustees, it is noted in the column of Remarks, where this is not done the sales have /page 185/ been effected by the auctioneers in the common mode under direction of their possessions.

⁴⁹⁷ WCARS, G. I. Rogers, Registrar of Slaves, "Notes on Domestic Slave Trade Documents, 1823-1830"; SO 10/18 Addenda, pages 184-190 (Cape Town, 17 February 1834).

It has in a few instances not been practicable to insert the amount of the sale, as some transfers were effected upon a certificate of the auctioneer or agents to save the parties from the penalties a fine of seven pounds ten shillings being incurred, although in few instances enforced to the full amount if the transfer be not completed within three months, and in some of the these certificates the price given for the slaves was not entered. There is also an omission of this kind in the district of Albany, as the *vendue* Master had absconded and the documents were not able to be found.

The former Court of Justice was abolished at the end of the year 1827 and the new charter published. The Supreme Court opened on the first day of the year 1828. In the former Court many causes had been reserved without judgement given, but the more speedy mode of proceeding in the new Court /page 186/ led claimants to get their cases concluded. Execution immediately followed this sudden interruption of a ruinous system of credit caused much distress both to the debtors and securities and coupled with the sweeping changes recommended by the commissioners of enquiry was productive of great depression for a time and had the effect of depreciating all property and as the slaves sold by the Sheriff were to be paid for in Cash on the instant, the prices of that year may in many instances, be considered as a questionable average.

It will be observable throughout this return that cooks and artificers all bear a high price.

There have been instances of cooks being valued at ,400 and upwards and this return will show No 3744 that a cook was sold at £383-5s-0d and as much as £375 Sterling given for a carpenter Vide no. 3626.

Besides these public sales there have been /page 187/ no less than 3,859 transfers effected within the same period in Cape Town alone, under Wills, Donations, *Inter Vivos* and like gifts and private agreements. But as the prices are unknown at this office, I could not make any return of them. But the auxiliary Commissioners can have ready reference to the Transfer book should they deem it necessary to examine any of the parties who have sold or bought privately, of which private sales there may probably be two thirds in the number before given. But I should doubt whether the prices so sold would be satisfactorily averaged as those in the list of Public sales as

many of these [private sales] have either bought a price above their value because the purchasers had a particular fancy for the slaves, or were bought on long credit or on mortgage, or they have been sold under their value into the country on account of some dislike taken to them, or for some bad qualities which the seller did not wish to /page 188/ transpire. On the whole I should presume that the most just average would be from the list of Public sales, excluding those in 1828 which appear on references to similar sales of the other years to have depreciated for the causes before stated.

The Form of this return differs from that sent out by the Commissioners. This one was already in a state of progress before that from the commissioners in London was received and could not be altered without a very serious delay. It is however hoped that it will give satisfaction as it is apparently more comprehensive than Copy sent here, inasmuch as it included the Sex ages and occupations of the slaves, which is in the form of the Commissioners and only omits the name of the vendor and Purchaser which it does not appear to be so material that the Commissioners in England should be made acquainted with possible reason to keep London in the dark of operations of slave traders.

I would take the liberty Respectfully to suggest that it be recommended to the Home government \page 189\ that whenever the grand amount of the Compensation to the slave holders under the Abolition Act shall be awarded to this colony, the sum shall be immediately turned over to the colonial Government in order that Individuals should be paid as speedily as possible after the first of December, for why should there be any further expense incurred or delay suffered in cases where no dispute can arise as to the right of property. There are no claimants out of the Colony or if any very few indeed upon slave property here, who are not represented by their attorney or agent on the spot and it would be most unfair that those proprietors who have no mortgage at all on their slave property should have to await further Communications with the Commissioners in London before they receive compensation although the slaves are declared to be no longer such after the 1st December next. The mortgagees will take care to put in their Claim in time, and the proprietors /page 190/ whose slaves are bonded cannot receive compensation but with their consent it might be established as a rule that those proprietors who in law had the right and power to sell their slaves should have an equal right also to receive their compensation forthwith.

That those whose slaves are mortgaged should be paid only with the written consent of the mortgagees and that in causes of dispute and of appeal to England only as to the right of any slave Property should any delay or respite be put upon the amount of compensation. Some remedy of this sort is absolutely indispensable to calm the minds of the people here, who from the circuitous way in which the compensation is awarded in the Abolition Act have the strongest fears that is done with a view to frustrate payment altogether.

A.3.2 From Theal's History⁴⁹⁸

The sum of twenty million pounds sterling was voted to compensate the owners in the nineteen slave colonies of Great Britain, and the share of each colony was to be determined by the value of its slaves, based upon the average prices during the eight years preceding the 31st of December 1830.

There was a general impression that the money voted by the imperial parliament would suffice to meet the whole, or nearly the whole value of the slaves, and this impression was confirmed by the exulting declaration of the philanthropic party everywhere that Great Britain had not confiscated property, but had purchased the freedom of those who were in bondage. The number and value of the negroes in the other eighteen colonies was entirely unknown, still there was very little uneasiness felt on this point. Most people supposed "that a vagrant net would be passed before the day of final emancipation, and in that belief they were disposed to accept the new condition of things without demur or heartburning.

Colonel Wade was therefore able to report vary favourably upon the reception which the emancipation act met with. He also added his testimony to that of his predecessors in office upon the feeling with which the system was regarded by the colonists. In a despatch to the secretary of state, dated 6th of December 1833, he affirmed that "the inhabitants in general could not with justice be accused of brutal or inhuman treatment of their slaves, that there was not then and never had been at the Cape an attachment to slavery, that the existence of it had been a matter of necessity not of

⁴⁹⁸ George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol. 6 (Cape Town: Struik, 1964), 74-75.

choice, and that until the last few years there had been no disinclination on the part of the colonists to emancipation on fair and equitable principles.” “On the contrary,” he wrote, “more than one plan for the gradual extinction of slavery had emanated from the proprietors themselves.”

On the 26th of March 1834 the governor appointed Messrs. P. M. Brink, H Christian, W. Gedney, D. J. Says, H. A. Sandenberg, and J. J. L Saints “assistant commissioners of compensation,” and the appraisal of the slaves commenced. They were divided into a number of classes and the average value of an individual of each class was ascertained from a comparison of all the sales that could be ascertained to have taken place during the period defined in the emancipation act. A few objections were made to this manner of appraisal by persons who thought it unfair that their slaves should be put on an equality with those disposed of at forced sales, but in general the plan was regarded as the safest that could be adopted.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the colony thirty-nine thousand and twenty-one slaves, of whom twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirteen were males and seventeen thousand four hundred and eight were females. Five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one were under six years of age. Of the whole number, three thousand two hundred and seventy-six were aged, infirm, or otherwise unfit for work, and were regarded as having no pecuniary value. A few weeks later, when the appraisal rolls were finally completed, it was ascertained that to meet the value of the remaining thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five £3,041,290 8s. would be required.

On the appointed day—1st of December 1834—slavery ceased to exist in the Cape Colony. In most of the churches throughout the country thanksgiving services were held in the morning, and in the towns and villages the afternoon was generally devoted to festivity.

The negroes themselves, whose idea of freedom was a state of idleness, were mostly unable to realise the change that had taken place in their condition, and were by no means enthusiastic upon becoming apprentices; but the European philanthropic party was exceedingly jubilant.

APPENDIX 4

THE CAPE CENSUSES

A.4.1 The *opgaafs* and *monsterrollen*: adapted from Leonard Guelke and Robert Shell

The Cape has several advantages for the historian interested in historical demography and social history, of which the full documentation covering a wide variety of economic, geographical and demographic details is probably the most critical. The Dutch East India Company, which ruled the Cape from 1652 to 1795, compiled a census/tax list—the *opgaaf* of the free inhabitants of Cape for almost every year of its rule from 1657 to 1795. Only a few items on the listing were taxed, which explains the equivocation of “census/tax list.” The original censuses are available at The Hague and some inferior copies are at the Cape (in the J series). The Historical Research Institute at the University of the Western Cape has alphabetised and printed some of the J series versions and others from the originals in The Hague. These are also available at the Cape Archives.

After a few years the Company separated the company personnel from the *opgaaf*. This series is called the annual *monsterrollen*, which have been transcribed by the TANAP project and are available on a CD (from Antonia Malan at the University of Cape Town).

The census (*opgaaf*) contains details of each free householder, excluding Khoe-San people (the Hottentots and Bushmen were first included in 1798) and Company officials and servants.

A typical listing would include: the name of the head of household, the spouse if present, the number of males (some brothers farmed together); number of females over 15 (usually spouses, widows became heads of household); boys and girls under that age; indentured servants (*knechts*); males slaves; women slaves; boy and girl slaves under fifteen years of age; the number of horses; cows; oxen; heifers; sheep and pigs; units of ground allocated to the head of household; the amount of that ground that the householder had under cultivation⁴⁹⁹; *muids* of Sicilian corn (wheat) sown; *muids*⁵⁰⁰ of corn harvested; the same set

⁴⁹⁹ These details are only available for the seventeenth century.

of figures for rye and barley; the number of vines and the amount of wine processed in *leggers*.⁵⁰¹ The number of pistols, sabres and carbines in the household was also recorded. Finally, the district in which the householder lived was recorded. There were three districts; unfortunately it is difficult to distinguish the inhabitants of the only sizeable towns, Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Many important patterns would be obscured if the user invoked only this variable. This variable should be regarded as applying to an administrative region and to nothing else. The Cape census was one part muster, one part tax list and one part census. The Cape *opgaaf* is probably the fullest demographic record of a pre-industrial society that has come to light.

A.4.2 The reliability of the Cape Census

Several contemporary accounts discuss the accuracy of these documents. Peter Kolbe, the son of a European tax collector and an astronomer, visited the Cape soon after 1705. He felt the taxes were mild. His benign view of the tax was not predicated on any desire to ingratiate himself with the Company. During the settler revolt of 1707, he sided with the colonists against the ruling authorities. He observed:

The Company has a tenth of the crops of all corn at the Cape: And this All the Company gets by the Grant of Lands there for Tillage. The colonies therefore, under so easy tribute, are very happy; and the company has 'em bound in Gratitude to defend her Interests at the Cape against all Enemies.”

However, there was no on the spot inspection of ground, as Kolbe observes:

The Government commissions several Persons every Year, while the Corn is on the Ground, to go throughout all the Colonies (districts), and make a judgement of the approaching Produce. This they do, not by visiting each Crop on the Ground, but by going to all the owners of 'em, and asking the following Questions. How much of every Kind they sow'd? What Quantities they propose to sell to the government and What to lay up for their own Use? And they are, in a manner, obliged to furnish to the Government the Quantities they propose

⁵⁰⁰ A *muid* contains 12 *setiers*. 18.72 1 *muid* = hectoliters or 53.12 US bushels.

⁵⁰¹ 1 *legger*=150 gallons.

to these commissioners.⁵⁰²

On the days in which the census was taken in Stellenbosch on the 6-8th January 1706, Adam Tas, a colonist who later became a census collector himself, wrote: “This day Mr. van der Bijl presented his return ... from this return I can see that I have made my return more than half too big.” Company vigilance was, however, acute, for on the 18th January, Tas discloses that the same French farmer who had made a false return was fined 60 Rixdollars for his offense.⁵⁰³ A comparison of wills and census returns—documents which had diametrically opposed purposes—does show that there was mild (1-10%) systematic downward bias of the four taxable items, i.e. wine, wheat, rye and barley.

The researcher can therefore expect some downward bias in all taxable items, produce and livestock, but as this bias is systematic, the researcher may treat the material as is, or correct for the bias using probate checking. Even where downward bias is prevalent, ordinal relationships would remain as robust as is needed. Independent sources confirm that the census is reliable for all untaxed items: children appear when they are baptised in the discreet church registers, people disappear shortly before their inventories are drawn up; free blacks appear when they are manumitted by the Council of Policy, and so on.

This dataset is drawn from Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, “Popucape data set (1652-1835)” which he aggregated and generated from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁵⁰² Peter Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1731, ed., (1968) 2 vols, 2:75.

⁵⁰³ See Leo Fouché, Anna Böeseken, eds., *The Diary of Adam Tas, 1705–1706*. Van Riebeeck Society: Second series, 1 (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1970), 145, 149-151.

APPENDIX 5 VITAL RATES

A.5.1 Notes on vital rates by John Barrow and W. W. Bird

The following extracts are the most useful for understanding the Cape populations as both authors had access to the death records of the colony, which are now missing.

The following table shows the number of marriages, christenings, and burials in Cape Town for eight years.⁵⁰⁴

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POPULATION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

See p. 107.

THE population of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was estimated by Mr. Barrow,* on the authority of official returns, in 1798, at 61,947 persons. It now amounts to nearly double that number ; and the progress has been as follows:—

Table 5: Barrow's table of marriages, Christenings and burials

1798.	1806.	1810.	1814.	1819.	1821.	1821.	1822.
61,947	75,145	81,122	84,069	99,026	113,903‡	Corrected. [116,044]	Estimated. 120,000

The number of free Hottentots not being correctly ascertained, was stated, upon a rather vague estimate, in 1798, at 14,447.‡ It has increased to 28,835 ; the number officially reported in 1821. This does not include the whole of the Hottentot population; but it does comprehend many of the bastard offspring of Hottentot mothers by European or Creole fathers.

Official returns of other free inhabitants have uniformly been more correct. They exhibit a quicker growth of populousness.

⁵⁰⁴ John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa: ... with a Statistical Sketch of the Whole Colony Compiled from Authentic Documents* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1804), Vol. 2: 344.

Table 6: W. W. Bird's Progress of Cape population

1798.	1806.	1810.	1814.	1819.	1821.
21,746	25,172	30,937	34,339	42,854	51,561

This very rapid increase has, doubtless, been partly owing to immigration ; and notably in the year 1820, when more than 4,000 persons arrived as settlers.§

Emigration from Great Britain to South Africa, so far as can be ascertained, had previously been—

Table 7: W. W. Bird's table – official returns of other free inhabitants

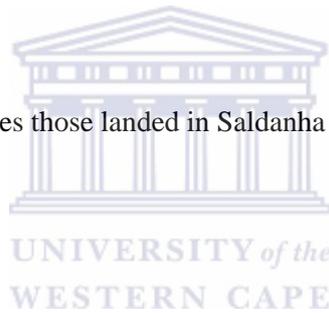
In 1815	46	In 1818	230
1816	85	1819	429
1817	419		

*S. A. ii. 378. (1sted.)

†Including settlers who arrived in 1820. Add slaves, more registered than reported to the tax-office, 2,141.

‡S. A. ii. 378.

§ Landed in Algoa Bay, 3,659; besides those landed in Saldanha Bay, and a very few in Table Bay.



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As the proportion of male emigrants is always greatest, a disparity of the sexes has been uniformly shown by the census of every year. The ratio of males to females was nearly the same for thirteen years, from 1806 to 1819, viz. 11 to 10. It was 10 to 9 in 1821. The actual number of females, nearly 25,000 in 1821, answers to a settled population of more than 50,000 free inhabitants of both sexes.

[ms. Marginal note: 20 per mille 40 per mille]

Deaths, according to the Register of 1821, are to the whole free population as 1 in 50. Births more than twice as many.

Among slaves, the disparity of the sexes was very great, while importation was permitted : for more males than females were constantly imported. The proportion was in consequence nearly 19 to 10. But since the abolition of the slave trade, the number of females is augmenting; and by degrees approximating to equality with that of males; as might be expected. Confining the attention to females, as it is their offspring which is born to slavery, without any reference to the servitude or freedom of the father, the ratio of annual increase appears to have risen from 2 per cent. To 25 per Mille. [ms.: 20 to 25; + marginal note: contradicts]

This likewise was a result to be looked for. Full grown slaves were relatively numerous, while the slave trade continued ; and mortality among them was, of course, relatively great. It is rated by Barrow* at 3 per cent. Annually. It is now short of 2 per cent.; and among female slaves, barely exceeds 15 per milk. Births are as 4 per cent. [ms note: 40]

A remark, however, should be here made. The registry of slaves, which may be implicitly trusted for the number existing at given dates, is not equally to be relied upon for intermediate casualties. No owner, indeed, will neglect to register his young slave, lest the property be forfeited, and the child become free ; nor will he omit to report the death of a registered slave, lest the poll-tax continue to be payable. Yet a few slave children die in early infancy, previous to registration; as some free-born infants die before baptism : and neither the births nor the deaths of such children are officially reported. This presumable source of error affects the proportion of deaths and births, but not their difference, which determines the ratio of increase to the population.

The register of slaves exhibits a greater number than the official returns of taxes, as has been before intimated ; probably runaway slaves are included in the register, and suppressed in the tax-returns. The registry is continued, as the claim of property is retained ; for the sale of a runaway, untaken, is no unfrequent transaction. Every week's Gazette contains advertisements of such sales. Yet that is not the chief source of disagreement

*S. Af. li. 344.

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between the register and the opgaaf ; for the discrepancy is greatest in respect of females; but runaway slaves are for the most part male.

The number of female slaves, at the beginning of the year 1821, was 14,000; and, increasing at the rate of 25 per mille annually, would be doubled in 28 years; or, allowing for that increase being not immediately prolific, in about 30 years. For the annual augmentation of the number of female breeders is not exactly proportionate to the total increase of females within the year: but to that of a former year. The ratio of 25 per mille, when the increase took place, is nearer to 2 per cent when it becomes available for an augmentation of breeding females.

The number of male slaves, at the same date, in 1821, exceeded 20,000; and the probable increase, in the like period of 30 years, may raise it to 32,000.

Table 8: Table of male and female slaves per opgaaf

SLAVES.								
	Per Opgaaf.						Per Registry.	
	1798	1806	1810	1814	1819	1821	1820	1821
Male	16882	18956	19821	19862	19507	19164	20098	20312
Female	8872	10163	10600	11366	12802	13024	13743	14017
Total	25754	29119	30421	31128	32309	32188	33841	34329

Emancipation of slaves sometimes taking place, tends, so far as it goes, to augment the free population, and to detract from the increase of slaves. The number set free is not great ; (no more than six male slaves and twenty-six females were manumitted in the course of one year, 1820 ;) and the general result, therefore, is not much influenced by this cause.

Another class of persons remains to be noticed. It consists of prize-slaves, or people rescued from illegal slave trade, who have been bound to service for a term of years, and are reported in the census as apprentices. In 1819, the number was 1,373 ; viz. 961 male and 412 female : in 1821, 1,369; viz. 918 male and 451 female.

Other apprentices, whether expressly articulated as such, or becoming so by operation of law, are blended with freemen or with slaves, under one or the other designation. The master of a Hottentot servant, who is at the charge of bringing up his servant's children, is entitled to the service of each child, as an apprentice, for a definite term; that is, to a specific age. The master of a rescued slave, or prize apprentice, will, probably, be deemed, in like manner, entitled to the service of the offspring

born and bred up in his family. The whole class falls then naturally among free persons of colour.

A question, not devoid of interest, arises concerning the disposal of prize-apprentices, on the expiration of the term (14 years) for which they are bound. They neither can be held in thralldom, with any semblance of justice, after that term expires; nor can they be with safety cast loose, and abandoned to their own sole guidance and discretion. Fancy may conjecture a middle course as likely to be pursued. Perhaps they may be required to bind themselves in annual service, but allowed to seek masters for themselves, in the first instance ; subject to be treated as vagabonds if they remain out of service or employment, and with no visible means of livelihood; and liable, therefore, as the penalty of their vagrancy, to be articulated anew, for a limited term, to a master selected by the magistrate.

Data are wanting to distinguish the proportion of free persons of colour among the Creole population. A conjectural estimate may, however, be deduced from the relative numbers among householders in Cape Town. The whole of the free population of the town, according to the census of 1821, was 9,761 ; enumerated householders were, at the same time, 1,553; and among these, 160 appear to have been persons of colour; Christian and Muhammedan. The proportion, therefore, is rather more than a tenth, and would imply nearly a thousand persons for the whole number resident in Cape Town. Mr. Barrow* reckoned 718 in the Cape district, in 1798, when the total of free population in that district was rated at 6,261. The proportion then was little more than a ninth. It certainly is even less in the country than it is in the town ; and free persons of colour (exclusive of Hottentots) are by no means numerous throughout the colony, nor fast increasing.

The census of the Cape, deduced from returns to the tax-office, does not comprise sojourners ; nor the troops in garrison ; nor crews of ships in harbour ; nor those of vessels belonging to the port, but voyaging; nor unsettled inhabitants, homeless and roaming, as runaway slaves, wandering Hottentots, and servants out of place. Without taking these to be numerous, yet added to presumed concealment or suppression, in official returns, they strengthen the opinion which is prevalent, that the actual population of South Africa is greater than has been stated. It may be safely affirmed to exceed 120,000 persons in the present year (1822).

Cape Town, which, in 1798,† was estimated to contain about 5,500 white inhabitants and free people of colour, and 10,000 blacks ; and which in 1806, according to the census then taken,

*S. Af, ii. 342. †Barrow's S. Af. ii, 340.

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did contain 6,435 of the one class, and 9,993 of the other ; is now inhabited by nearly ten thousand of each description ; viz. in 1821, free inhabitants, 9761 ; slaves, apprentices, and Hottentots, 9,661.

Cape District, including Cape Town and Simon's Town, had a population of 18,152 in 1798; and 23,998 in 1806; according to the census taken in those years respectively. It now contains 26,487 persons, according to a recent census corrected by the registry of slaves. The number of slaves in the district has not increased. It was in 1798, 11,891 ; in 1810, 12,084 ; in 1821, 11,784. The augmentation has been among the free inhabitants, from 6,261 to 12,345 ; nearly doubled in 23 years.[ms. Annotation: entered into popuCape]

The more rapid increase is in the eastern division of the colony, GraafReynet, which contained 4,262 free inhabitants, according to the census of 1798, and 5,786, according to that of 1806 (including the district of Uitenhage). It now contains 14,081; or, with the old and new settlers of Albany, 19,247.

Emigration from the western districts of South Africa has contributed to this quick growth of populousness in the eastern division ; and the western districts have nevertheless made great advances in the same time towards doubling their numbers, being increased from 11,223 in 1798, and 13,508 in 1806, to 19,969 in 1821.

It is needless to pursue a detailed comparison farther. Enough has been said to show that the growth is rapid ; and that it is so, even apart from immigration. The increase of slaves, without accession from abroad, goes to double their number in thirty years ; and a yet quicker augmentation is to be looked for, as marriage becomes more sanctioned, and promiscuous intercourse discountenanced. Hottentots, according to local registers of missionary stations, recording births and deaths, multiply at a rate which should double their number in twenty-five years. Creoles multiply not less rapidly. It would be no very presumptuous stretch of fore-knowledge, to hazard a prospective estimate of a much augmented population in South Africa, a few years hence.

A curious speculative topic might be proposed, to consider the probability of the population in the South African colony becoming ultimately creole white. At the earliest census which has been published, the free inhabitants (for the most part white) were but one-third of the whole number. According to the latest census, which has been yet made up, they approach to one-half. Would it be too much to expect that the white inhabitants will continue to multiply faster than the black ; and that the tinge in mixed blood will grow continually fairer? From moral causes, (or, in another sense, from immoral likewise,) the

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offspring is rarely darker than the female parent, but very often fairer. The mixed blood assuredly tends more towards the white than the swarthy hue. In process of time, the same causes, continually operating, may have a sensible influence. In any case, it is devoutly to be hoped, that the population of South Africa will, by and by, exclusively consist of free inhabitants, whatever be their complexion ; for the existence of slavery is an evil, of which the removal is to be earnestly desired.

This reflexion appertains to a different subject, abrogation of slavery and emancipation of slaves.

