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**THE ADMISSION OF SLAVES AND 'PRIZE SLAVES' INTO THE CAPE  
COLONY, 1797-1818**

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**This thesis is dedicated to the one who walks and does not walk.**

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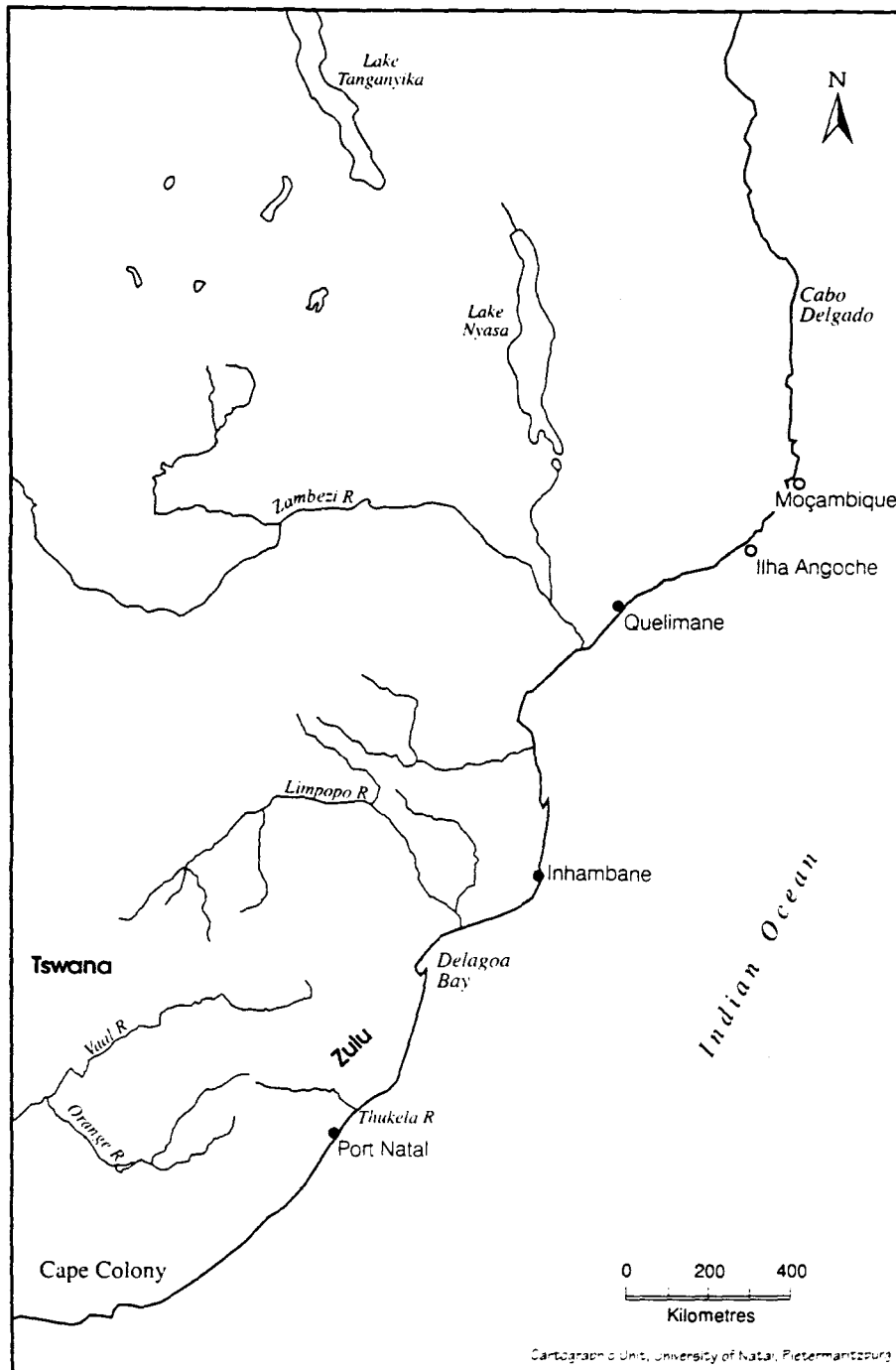
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## ABSTRACT

This study supports the thesis that slaves were admitted into the Cape colony by the Cape colonial government, even though the government was opposed to slave importation in principle and law (Slave Trade Act, 1807) from 1797-1818. The colonial demand for slaves was at its height after the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie's (VOC) capitulation to the British in 1795. This demand forced the first British occupation government to forgo their anti-slave trade principles and accede to a limited importation of slaves into the colony. Portuguese colonial and British colonial merchants, therefore, arranged for the importation of a regular supply of slaves from the northern coast of Mozambique to the colony c.1799. The British colonial government's strict regulation and supervision of slave importation to the Cape, however, led to covert slave importation on the part of Portuguese and British colonial slave merchants (1797-1808). This slave traffic was terminated by the Slave Trade Act (1807). Thereafter, 'Negro apprenticeship' was implemented, 1808-1818.

Given the covert nature of slave importation to the Cape and the controversies arising out of 'Negro apprenticeship', research on slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century is a tricky task. The history of slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century is presented from the perspective of official documentation. There is little information on slave merchants. The official documentation, therefore, used in this project comprised: descriptions of the Cape colony relative to the demand for imported slave labour at the Cape; shipping registers; petitions for the importation of slaves; responses from Cape governors to the petitions of Cape slave merchants; Commissions of Inquiry into matters relating to slave importation; and, advertisements for the sale of imported slaves.

The study of slave importation to the Cape from 1797-1818 has not been given the treatment it deserves by historians. This state of affairs is attributable to the lack of a uniform source on slave importation at the turn of the 19th century. This study, therefore, is a revision of the history of slave importation to the Cape from 1797-1818. It is also an original contribution to the existing literature on slavery and slave importation. This study doubles the numbers of previous studies on the admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the colony from 1797-1818. These numbers are significant not only from a revisionist point of view: they are proof of the inability of the British colonial government to stem slave importation to the Cape from 1797 to 1818. This study provides two detailed appendices which contain information on slave boats which passed the Cape from 1797-1818. These appendices should prove useful to historians of the slavery and the Cape colony.



Map 1. Coast of south-eastern Africa in the early nineteenth century

This map appears in Elizabeth Elderedge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered', in *Journal of African History*, 33 (1992), p.1-35; the article appears in, Hamilton Carolyn, *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*, (Johannesburg, 1995), p.122.

**Introduction: The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape colony, 1797-1818.**

This thesis examines the admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape colony during a period when the colonial government was opposed to slave importation, 1797-1818. Relevant information on the admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' is contained in Appendices I and II. This thesis demonstrates how the Cape colonial government attempted to limit slave importation to the Cape (1797-1807). It also examines the introduction of British anti-slave trade legislation (1807) at the Cape. This thesis examines, and gives evidence of, the continual flow of Mozambican slaves and 'prize slaves' into the colony from 1797-1818. It therefore demonstrates the extent to which *historians have underestimated slave importation to the Cape* from 1797-1818.

There are no monographic studies on slave importation to the Cape from 1797 to 1818. Secondary literature on slave importation to the Cape on this period is, therefore, insufficient. Slave importation to the Cape has not been treated as an historical theme in its own right.

Hermann Giliomee<sup>1</sup> and W.M Freund<sup>2</sup> have incorporated slave importation in their studies of the first British occupation (1795-1803) and the Dutch Batavian administration (1803-1806). Empirically, they provide only outlines of slave importation to the Cape, 1795-1806. These studies, which are 'political' and 'societal' in approach, have not examined the economic and geographic workings of slave importation to the Cape. James Armstrong, Nigel Worden<sup>3</sup> and Robert Shell have based their research pertaining to the first British occupation and the Dutch Batavian Administration on the work of Giliomee and Freund<sup>4</sup>. This thesis, however, differs

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<sup>1</sup>Hermann Giliomee, Die Kaap Tydens die Eerste Britse Bewind 1795-1803, (Cape Town, 1975), (Hereafter, Eerste Britse Bewind), p.125, 139, 182-184 and 258. This study focusses on political interrelationships between the constituent population 'groups' of the Cape within the context of British rule. Giliomee uses the old reference numbers for the Cape Archives (CA), British Occupation series (BO). Robert Ross, 'The Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony', in William Clarence Gervase-Smith, The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1989), p.209-220. Although this article is a good overview of slave importation to the Cape during the late 18th century, it is inaccurate. H.L.G Swart, 'Die ontwikkeling van handel aan die Kaap tussen die jare 1795-1806' (M.A., Economics Dept., UCT, 1949), (Hereafter, 'Die ontwikkeling': slave importation from 1795-1806, p.132-147. Chapter III of this thesis is a reworking of my essay, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade at the Cape during the first British occupation, 1795-1803', (B.A Hons., History Dept., UCT, 1993). Marc Bloch's book of discrete essays on medieval European slavery, Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages, (transl. W.R Beer), (University of California Press, Berkeley and California, 1975) was a source of inspiration.

<sup>2</sup>William Freund, 'Society and Government in Dutch South Africa, The Cape and the Batavians, 1803-1806', (unpublished Ph.D., Yale University, 1972).

<sup>3</sup>J.C Armstrong and N.A Worden, 'The slaves, 1652-1834', in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, (second edition, Cape Town, 1989), (Hereafter, Shaping), p.109-168. A slightly different version of this article appears in Elphick and Giliomee (eds.), Shaping (first edition, Cape Town 1979), p.75-115.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Shell, Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838, (Johannesburg, 1994), (Hereafter, Children of Bondage), p.45. Shell writes of two historiographical approaches to slavery at the Cape: the anthropological approach (looking at the impact of slavery on African societies from an Afrocentric viewpoint) or the historical-abolitionist approach (ie. analysis of slave societies created and maintained by European colonizers). The nature of the primary documentation used in this research places this thesis in Shell's latter category.

from the above-mentioned studies in that it considers the demand for slaves in relation to the decision-making process behind slave importation at the Cape. Slave importation to the Cape is also examined in relation to international (Portuguese colonial, French colonial, American and English) slave traffic in the south-west Indian Ocean region.

Christopher Saunders has written several articles on the colony's indirect participation in international slave trading in the south-west Indian Ocean after 1808<sup>5</sup>. His articles consider the status and vicissitudes of "prize negroes" at the Cape in the early 19th century. Saunders pays little attention to the Cape's involvement in slave traffic from Mozambique to Brazil, and Mozambique to the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Reunion). Susan Newton-King has argued that there was a 'continuum' in labour legislation at the Cape - from the passage of the Slave Trade Act (1807) to Ordinances 49 and 50 (1828)<sup>6</sup>. The colonial government introduced labour legislation in the hope it could control the intake of 'unfree' labour at the Cape and assuage the labour shortage at the Cape in the early 19th century. Robert Shell, however, has included slave importation to the Cape from 1797-1818 in Children of Bondage. Some of Shell's quantitative results on slave imports to the Cape are tenuous, since he has relied on Giliomee, Freund and Saunders. Further, he has ambitiously posited that slave importation

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<sup>5</sup>Christopher Saunders, 'Liberated Africans in the Cape Colony in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', International Journal of African Historical Studies, 18, (1985), (Hereafter, 'Liberated Africans'), p.223-39; and, 'Free, Yet Slaves' Prize Negroes at the Cape Revisited', in Crais, C. and Worden N. (eds.), Breaking the Chains, (University of Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1995), p.99-116.

<sup>6</sup>Susan Newton-King, 'The labour market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa, (London, 1980), p.170-207.

to the Cape from 1658 onwards is quantifiable<sup>7</sup>. This sort of claim is speculative.

This study situates the importation of slaves to the Cape within its broader geographic context - the south-west Indian Ocean. Slaves were brought to the Cape by foreign slave traders, especially Portuguese colonial slave merchants (1797-1818); Cape merchants (1797-1808); and, the British Royal Navy (1797-1818). Governors issued licenses to Cape merchants, permitting slave importation to the colony at the turn of the 19th century. European colonial slave merchants imported slaves from the northern coast of Mozambique to Brazil (Portuguese) and the Mascarene islands (Portuguese and French)<sup>8</sup> Cape Town was a convenient slave market for Portuguese colonial slave traders who stopped there for refreshments, medical attention and ship repairs at the turn of the 19th century. Cape participation in this slave traffic was not a clear-cut activity. Although Britain wanted to 'regulate' slave importation to the Cape, more slaves were imported on a yearly basis to the Cape between 1797 and 1807 than during the

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<sup>7</sup>Shell, Children of Bondage, p.40: approximately 63,000 slaves were imported to the Cape between 1652 and 1808.

<sup>8</sup>There are several works on slave traffic in and around the south-west Indian Ocean area at the turn of the 19th century. J.C Miller, Way of Death (1989), studies slave importation from the west and east coasts of Africa to Brazil in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Miller's work (on Brazil) is complemented by Edward A. Alpers (on slave importation from the east coast of Africa), Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns in International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century, (London, 1975). J.M Filliot's, La Traite des Esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIe Siecle, is the recognised work on European slave importation from Mozambique and Madagascar to the Mascarenes during the 18th century. See U. Bissoondoyal and S.B.S Servansing, Slavery in the South West Indian Ocean, (Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka, Mauritius, 1989), for current developments in research on slavery and slave importation in the south-west Indian Ocean area. See also: Gwyn Campbell, 'Madagascar and Mozambique in the Slave Trade of the Western Indian Ocean 1800-1861', in William Clarence Gervase-Smith, The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1989), p166-194. This book is a collection of essays on slavery and slave importation in the south-west Indian Ocean region, from articles originally published in Slavery and Abolition, (1990). A useful background study of slave importation from the east African coast, is Reginald Coupland's: East Africa and its Invaders from the earliest times to the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, (Oxford, 1938).

Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) period (1652-1795).

It is difficult to determine the number of slaves imported to the Cape at the end of the VOC period<sup>9</sup>. The so-called 'colonial crisis' allowed bureaucratic corruption and colonial disintegration to set in at the Cape after c.1780. Britain, however, allowed the importation of slaves to the Cape after 1795 - paying attention to extant Dutch laws and practices relative to slave importation. Slave importation was limited because the British colonial government was anti-slave trade in its outlook<sup>10</sup>. Over 7,200 (over 650 slaves per annum) slaves were imported into the colony from 1797 to 1808<sup>11</sup>. About 2,900 slaves were imported into the colony during

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<sup>9</sup>Primary documentation on slave importation is variegated. Information on slave importation to the Cape is mainly found in official documentation (overseas correspondence of governors, shipping registers and in sources such as Cape Archives (CA), British Occupation series (BO) 90 and 91, 'Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves'). A summary of these 'Documents' is contained in, G.M Theal, Catalogue of Documents, September 1795 to February 1803, (Cape Town, 1880), p.35-41. A useful source for the period after 1795 is G.M Theal's Records of the Cape Colony, (London, 1897 and 1905), (Hereafter, RCC). A weakness of this source is its pro-British bias: it was published during the Anglo-Boer War, at the height of British colonial imperialism in southern Africa (esp. the Cape colony). South African Library (SAL), Cape Town, Manuscripts Collection, MP 1027 (Microfiche), The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 16 August 1800 - September 1822 (abbreviated to CG (ie. Cape Town Gazette), contains information on shipping movements to and from the Cape, and slave auctions. The CG was called the Kaapsche Courant (KC) during the Dutch Batavian administration (1803-1806). This thesis does not examine the internal slave market at the Cape, for which there are many sources.

<sup>10</sup>Brenthurst Library (BL), Oppenheimer Collection, Johannesburg, MS 61/3, John Barrow's 'Description of the Cape Colony'. This document (credited to Macartney) reflects Britain's aversion to direct involvement in slave importation to the Cape in the statement that the British occupation government had introduced a 'prohibition of the usual [ie. VOC] trade'.

<sup>11</sup>During the first British occupation (1795-1803) c. 2,900 slaves were imported to the Cape; c.2,288 slaves were imported into the colony during the Dutch Batavian administration (1803-1806); and, over 2,000 slaves were imported during the second British occupation (prior to the Slave Trade Act (in effect from 1 January 1808)).

the first British occupation (1795-1803)<sup>12</sup>; c.2,288 slaves were imported during the Dutch Batavian Administration (1803-1806)<sup>13</sup>; and, over 2,000 slaves were imported to the Cape prior to the Slave Trade Act (put into effect in 1808)<sup>14</sup>. More slaves were imported into the colony from 1803-1808 (4, 100 slaves) than during any equivalent period under VOC rule - despite the limitations placed on slave importation by the British occupation and Dutch Batavian colonial governments.

Limitation and regulation of slave importation resulted in illicit and underhand slave importation, especially on the part of British colonial merchants (1798-1808). There was a marked decline in the Cape's participation in south-west Indian Ocean slave traffic after the introduction of the Slave Trade Act (1807). Over 3,300 'Prize slaves' were admitted into the

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<sup>12</sup>Giliomee, Eerste Britse Bewind, p.184: 'Altogether, approximately 2,000 slaves entered the colony from 1795 to 1802, it is doubted whether this number relieved the agricultural labour shortage'. Armstrong and Worden, 'Slaves', in Shaping p.120: 'Altogether about 2,000 slaves were imported between 1795-1803, an average of about 250 per year'. Robert Ross, 'Last Years of the Slave Trade to the Cape Colony', p.216: 'In total perhaps 2,000 slaves entered the colony legally during the period of the First British Occupation, while there may well have been others who were imported without licenses. Giliomee has provided an estimate of the colony's population in 1798 from the opgaaf (tax returns on farms) in Eerste Britse Bewind, p.15: there were 21,764 'Christene' (ie. whites and vrijswarten); 25,754 slaves; and 14,447 Khoikhoi.

<sup>13</sup>Any information on the Cape's population from the opgawe (VOC tax returns) is bound to be faulty before 1794, since farmers omitted information (such as the number of slaves they owned) in order to be lightly taxed by the government. Shell has documented the slave population from the opgawe at the Cape, in Children of Bondage, p.448: in 1803 there were 15,659 adult male slaves (m); 7,304 adult female slaves (f); 2, 541 boys (b); and, 2,302 girls (g). In 1806 there were: 15,713 (m); 7, 194 (f); 3, 846 (b); and, 3, 409 (g).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.: Slave population figures for 1808: 17, 364 (m); 8, 587 (w); 2, 052 (b); and 1, 840 (g).

colony and indentured as 'Negro apprentices' or 'Negroes' from 1808-1818<sup>15</sup>. The government's restrictions on the admission of slaves and 'Negro apprentices' (1797-1818) into the colony led to much controversial activity on the part of Cape officials and merchants.

Further contents of this thesis:

Chapter I: Background to slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century.

The first part of this chapter is a literary review of the secondary historical literature on VOC-regulated slave importation to the Cape during the 18th century. A brief description of the 'Burgher Memorial' of the 'Cape Patriots' follows this review. Amongst other things, the petition called for burgher slave importation at the Cape (1779). This chapter then examines slave importation to the Cape, c.1780-1793. The second part of this chapter deals with the rise of international slave importation from Mozambique to Brazil (Portuguese colonial) and from Mozambique to the Mascarenes (Portuguese and French colonial) at the end of the 18th century<sup>16</sup>. This sub-section views slave importation to the Cape within the historical context of the Napoleonic Wars. Finally, this chapter gives an overview of British imperial anti-slave trade and antislavery thought, and the effect of this thinking on slave importation to the Cape

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<sup>15</sup>The main source on the admission of 'Negro apprentices' (ie. "apprenticed negroes" and "prize negroes") at the Cape is CA Colonial Office (CO) 4453, 'Papers and Report of Commissioners re Inquiry upon conduct of messrs Blair and Bird in the disposal of Prize Negroes'. These papers have been reproduced in British Parliamentary Papers, 1826-27, xxi (42), p.125. Theal has reproduced the report of the Commissioners in RCC, vol. XXII. Unfortunately, he has excluded the informative annexures which are part of the original document. Shell, p. 448: slave population for 1818: 14, 447 (m); 7, 663 (w); 5, 207 (b); and 4, 917 (g).

<sup>16</sup>The Cape received few importations of slaves from West Africa and the East Indies after 1770.

at the start of the first British occupation. This chapter briefly examines slave importation in terms of the relationship between the British metropolitan government and the Cape colonial government at the start of the first British occupation.

Chapter II: Slave importation to the Cape during the first British occupation, 1797-1803.

This chapter is significant because strict limitation on slave importation to the Cape was first imposed by British colonial governors during the first British occupation. Slave importation to the Cape was tightly regulated from 1797-1803 as a result of the increase in the volume of Brazilian slave traffic from northern Mozambique past the Cape. British governors limited slave importation to the Cape without establishing a fixed policy on slave importation. Isaac Stromboom, Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant (Cape colonial merchants) received licenses to import slaves from Mozambique and the west coast of Africa in 1798 and 1799, respectively. Hogan and Tennant's early acquisition of slave trading licenses (for the Harbinger and Joaquim) allowed them to dominate slave importation to the Cape when such importation was permitted by the colonial government. The low numbers of slaves imported to the Cape by these boats meant that these expeditions were unsatisfactory. The colony's demand for slaves was great, and its supply was low. Merchants, therefore, unscrupulously created a market for the sale of human 'merchandise' at the Cape. This chapter gives a detailed examination of the government's supervisory role in the importation of slave cargoes to the Cape from the Joaquim (January 1797, March 1799 and March 1800), Good Hope (March 1799), Harbinger (June 1799), and Collector (March 1800).

Chapter III: The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves', 1803-1818.

The Dutch Batavian administration (1803-1806) followed the first British occupation. Like the first British occupation government, the Dutch Batavian administration failed to live up to the ideal of minimizing slave importation to the Cape. Slaves were, however, increasingly imported into the colony. Again, slaves were imported to the Cape during the second British occupation (1806-1808), despite the colonial government's intentions of disallowing the landing of slaves at the Cape. The Slave Trade Act (1807) put an end to mercantile slave importation to the Cape from 1 January 1808. This chapter briefly examines the 'Commission of Inquiry into illicit slave trading' (May to June 1808) which assembled shortly after the Slave Trade Act took effect.

Even though Cape Town was no longer an active slave market after 1808, 'prize slaves' were admitted into the colony and indentured as 'Negro apprentices'. The system of 'Negro apprenticeship' facilitated the continued importation of 'unfree' labourers to the Cape. Most 'Negro apprentices' were "prize negroes" - French slaves which had been captured by the British Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. "Prize negroes" were indentured as 'apprentices' for fourteen years by the navy's Vice-Admiralty Court. Slaves confiscated from grounded Portuguese slave boats (ie. 'prize slaves') were emancipated, and indentured by the fiscaal for ten years as "apprenticed negroes". This chapter describes the transition from imported slave labour to imported indentured labour at the Cape (1808-1818).

Chapter IV: Cape Town's slave market, 1797-1808.

Slave importation from the northern coast of Mozambique to the Cape was conducted by British and Portuguese colonial merchants (1798-1808). Opportunistic Cape colonial

## Chapter I: Background to slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century<sup>1</sup>.

### 1. Background.

The VOC imported slaves to the Cape from India, the East Indies, Madagascar and the east coast of Africa from 1658-1795<sup>2</sup>. They were employed by the VOC in a municipal capacity<sup>3</sup> and by vrijburghers on the wine and grain farms of the south-western Cape<sup>4</sup>. Jan Van Riebeeck asked the Heeren XVII<sup>5</sup> if it would be possible to enslave the Khoikhoi and Khoisan peoples<sup>6</sup>. The Heeren XVII maintained that the indigenous peoples living within the confines of the Cape colony were to remain free<sup>7</sup>. However, European settlers used various strategies

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<sup>1</sup>Shell, Children of Bondage, p.119. Shell denotes three categories of Cape slaves: government-owned slaves (domiciled in the Slave Lodge), farm slaves (rural) and household slaves (urban).

<sup>2</sup>CA A (Accessions) 455 Dundas-Melville Collection, 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, B.P 12(10)', W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Replies to the Questions on the Importation etc., of Slaves into the Colony; - Proposed by His Excellency the Earl of Macartney etc., etc.' dated 29 November 1797 (presented to the Cape Archives by G.W.A Mears, the original mss. destroyed by fire), (Hereafter, 'Replies'): according to Van Ryneveldt, the colony's slaves were 'of Madagascar, of Mozambique, of the Cape itself, of Bengal, of Malabar, of Ceylon, of Java and of other countries'.

<sup>3</sup>The first VOC slaves worked in the garrison.

<sup>4</sup>There were also stockfarmers in the south-western Cape who sold meat, wax and tallow on the market in Cape Town. These farmers did not demand slave labour as much as their agriculturalist counterparts.

<sup>5</sup>The Heeren XVII were the Company's directors and they were based in Holland.

<sup>6</sup>Andre Du Toit and Hermann Giliomee (eds.), Afrikaner Political Thought, Analysis and Documents: 1780-1850, (Cape Town, 1983'), p.9: 'in law and in practice the colonial government consistently discriminated among four primary legal categories: company servants, free burghers and indigenous aliens [ie. Khoikhoi and Xhosa]'.

<sup>7</sup>Nigel Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa, (Cambridge, 1985), (Hereafter, Slavery), p.7; and R Elphick and V.C Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828', in Elphick and Giliomee (eds.),

to coerce the Khoikhoi into 'unfree' labour in the latter part of the 18th century<sup>8</sup>. Without devising an alternative labour system, the Cape gradually became a 'slave society'. Consequently, burghers continually petitioned the colonial government to allow the importation of slave cargoes into the colony during the 18th century. The VOC's Indian Statutes formed the legal basis for the regulation of slave importation to the Cape until the introduction of the Slave Trade Act by Britain (1807)<sup>9</sup>.

There is no definitive monograph on slave importation to the Cape for the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Slave importation is considered a 'theme' in the history of Cape slavery rather than as a topic in its own right. James Armstrong and Nigel Worden have provided a comprehensive overview of slave importation to the Cape from the 17th century to the 19th

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Shaping, p.11. A455 Dundas-Melville Collection: lieutenant-colonel Henry Pemberton scouted the region of St. Francis Bay (c.1780), noting: 'The Original Inhabitants the Hottentots are of peaceable, mild and laborious dispositions making most excellent Household and Farm Servants, and free from Slavery'.

<sup>8</sup>See Nigel Penn, 'The northern Cape frontier zone, 1700-c.1815', (Ph.D, (History), UCT, 1995), for an excellent assessment of the developments of coerced labour in the interior of the Cape colony in the 18th century. See also, R Elphick and V.C Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828', in Shaping, p.3-65.

<sup>9</sup>Janssens issued the only two proclamations counter to slave importation in 1803 and 1805. See Chapter III.

century<sup>10</sup>. J.A Armstrong<sup>11</sup>, W. Blommaert<sup>12</sup> and Anna Boeseken<sup>13</sup> have examined VOC slave trading activities before 1700. Frank Bradlow and Margaret Cairns have studied slave importation to the Cape during the 18th century<sup>14</sup>. Robert Shell has provided a detailed critique on secondary literature dealing with slave importation to the Cape<sup>15</sup>. His reliance on inaccurate secondary literature, however, weakens Shell's theories with respect to numbers of slave imports to the Cape at the end of the 18th century<sup>16</sup>. Maurice Boucher has examined slave importation to the Cape from the 1730s-1750s<sup>17</sup>. Nigel Worden has provided a succinct overview of slave importation to the Cape during the VOC period (1658-1792)<sup>18</sup>. Victor De

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<sup>10</sup>James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, 'The slaves', in Shaping, p.109-168. Slaves were imported to the Cape by VOC ships, foreign ships, retourscheppen, privately owned ships and were by smugglers in the 18th century.

<sup>11</sup>Armstrong, J.C., 'Madagascar and the slave trade in the Seventeenth Century', Omalysy Anio nos. 17-20 (1983-1984). Nigel Worden gave me his copy of this article.

<sup>12</sup>W. Blommaert, 'Het Invoeren van de Slavernij aan de Kaap', Archives Yearbook, Vol.I, (Cape Town, 1938), pp.1-29.

<sup>13</sup>Anna J. Boeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, (Cape Town, 1977). See L. Hattingh's critique of Boeseken in: 'A.J Boeseken se addendum van Kaapse slawe-verkooptransaksies: foute en regstellings', Kronos IX (1984), p.3-21.

<sup>14</sup>Frank R. Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, The Early Cape Muslims (Cape Town, 1978).

<sup>15</sup>Robert Shell, Children of Bondage, Appendix 2, 'The Records of the Slave Trade', pp.427-438. Shell's book is an excellent study of the Cape's internal slave market during the 18th and 19th centuries.

<sup>16</sup>So far as oceanic slave importation to the Cape is concerned, Shell is limited by his sources. For example, the slave transfers (Deeds Office, Cape Town, 'Transporten and Schepenkenis') he has analysed only extend to 1731. His study, however, is the most reliable study presently available on slave importation to the Cape.

<sup>17</sup>Maurice Boucher, The Cape of Good Hope and Foreign Contacts 1735-1753 (Pretoria, 1985). According to Greg Cuthbertson (personal correspondence), a footnoted manuscript of this book is available at the University of South Africa. Many English ships called at the Cape (over 210 English East India Company (EIC) calls) c.1735-1753.

<sup>18</sup>N.A Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa, (Cambridge, 1985), Chapter 4., 'Slave trading', p.41-52.

Kock has provided an anecdotal account of slave importation during the 18th century<sup>19</sup>. Robert Ross<sup>20</sup> and Maurice Boucher<sup>21</sup> have published annotations of the logbooks of the VOC slave boats, the Somerset (1747) and De Brak (1741). Altogether, secondary literature on slave importation to the Cape during the 18th century is fragmentary.

The first VOC settlers brought slaves to the Cape in 1652. The Company had no qualms about the importation of slaves into the Cape colony, since there had been a tradition of Dutch slave importation in the East Indies since the 16th century. The VOC made a couple of abortive attempts to import slaves from Antongil Bay (north-west coast of Madagascar) to the Cape in the Roode Vos and Tulp (1654), before sizeable slave cargoes were obtained from Dahomey and Angola (west coast of Africa)<sup>22</sup>. These expeditions were conducted in secret. The VOC had to buy its slaves east of the colony, since the Vereenigde Wes-Indische Compagnie had a monopoly on Dutch trade west of the Cape. No distinction, however, was made between east and west after 1784<sup>23</sup>. Earl Macartney (first British governor of the Cape, 1797-1799) allowed Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant (Cape merchants) to import slaves from the west coast

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<sup>19</sup>Victor De Kock, Those in Bondage, (Cape Town, 1950; reprint, 1960). This poorly referenced and anecdotal book is useful at times.

<sup>20</sup>Robert Ross, 'The Dutch on the Swahili Coast, 1776-1779: Two Slaving Journals', International Journal of African Historical Studies, 19, 2 (1986), p.304-60; and 19, 3 (1986), p.479-506.

<sup>21</sup>Maurice Boucher, 'The Voyage of a Cape Slaver in 1742', Historia 24, 1 April 1979.

<sup>22</sup>Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves', p.111. Armstrong, Shaping (first ed., 1979): these shiploads were 'the only West African slaves brought to the Cape during the Company period', p.77. The Maria and the Hasselt imported slaves to the colony from west Africa. Boeseken documents 't Waterhoen's unsuccessful attempt to import slaves from the west coast of Africa to the Cape in the early 1660s.

<sup>23</sup>Shell, p.43.

of Africa (1798) during the first British occupation of the Cape (1795-1803)<sup>24</sup> Macartney was worried Cape merchants would violate the English East India Company's trade charter if they became involved in slave importation in the south-west Indian Ocean (ie. Mozambique and Madagascar)<sup>25</sup>. Macartney may have intended to nip slave importation to the Cape under the first British occupation in the bud. This measure, however, was unsuccessful. This thesis demonstrates how large slave cargoes were imported from Mozambique to the Cape (1798-1808) despite the humanitarian intentions of the respective colonial governments.

The VOC sponsored Cape colonial slave trading expeditions to Madagascar in the 1680s<sup>26</sup>. According to Willem Stephanus Van Ryneveldt<sup>27</sup>, most of the VOC's slave voyages were for the acquisition of slaves for the Slave Lodge<sup>28</sup>: 'to be employed on the public work' (ie. roadworks and in a municipal capacity)<sup>29</sup>. Robert Shell states that slave importation to the Cape 'turned east' after 1706<sup>30</sup>. Most of the slaves brought to the Cape in the early 18th

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<sup>24</sup>State Archives Cape Town (CA), British Occupation series (BO), Volume 90, 'Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves', 25 May 1798. The importation of slaves from the west coast of Africa to the Cape was fraught with difficulties. Angola was not a free port and journeying further northwards was difficult for ships flying British colours.

<sup>25</sup>Swart, 'Die ontwikkeling', p.133: even though the English East India Company did not trade in slaves, slaves were classified as 'eastern goods' by the English East India Company.

<sup>26</sup>Boeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks, p.68-69.

<sup>27</sup>Van Ryneveldt (1765-1812) was the colony's fiscaal from 1795-1809. He was promoted to Chief of Justice in 1809 and was on the circuit court in 1811.

<sup>28</sup>Shell, p.68: the Slave Lodge had its own slave boats. The Slave Lodge housed Cape Town's municipal workforce, slaves who worked for the garrison and prostitutes.

<sup>29</sup>W.S Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', 29 November 1797.

<sup>30</sup>Shell, p.65.

century were Indian<sup>31</sup>. M.P de Chavonnes and G.W von Imhoff (VOC commissioners) issued a plakkaat (proclamation) precluding vrijburghers from slave importation to the colony in 1717<sup>32</sup>. This legitimised the VOC's monopoly on slave importation to the Cape. The VOC retained this precedent until 1792. Moreover, the colonial government had to authorise the landing of slaves at the Cape from Batavian retourschepen (return fleets from the East Indies) and foreign slave boats<sup>33</sup>. There was a proposal for a burgher-financed slave trade of 'een vrijen vaart' of slaves from either Madagascar or the east coast of Africa soon after the future of slave importation was affirmed by the commissioners (in 1719)<sup>34</sup>. Although there was a great demand for slaves on the part of Cape burghers in the 18th century, the Company satisfied its requirements for imported slave labour first. From 1731-1765 most of the Cape's slaves were from the Indonesian Archipelago and Madagascar<sup>35</sup>. The VOC made an estimated 33 slaving voyages to Madagascar from 1654-1786<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.42: the VOC considered importing slaves from Ceylon in 1742.

<sup>32</sup>1717 was a significant date in the colony's history. Leonard Guelke, 'Freehold farmers and frontier settlers, 1657-1780', in Shaping, p.78: 'In 1717 the Heeren XVII decided not to encourage further European migration to the Cape but rather to continue reliance on slave labour for the development of the colony'.

<sup>33</sup>RCC Vol. 9, p.411: the VOC established a rule whereby the introduction of slaves into the colony was prohibited 'without the express License of the Government'.

<sup>34</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.42.

<sup>35</sup>Shell, p.44. Boucher, Foreign Contacts, p.10: 'the slave trade between Madagascar and the Americas, which frequently touched the Cape in the earlier years of the 18th century, had virtually come to an end by May 1730 as far as the Dutch settlement was concerned, when Francis Williams took the Rudge galley out of Table Bay on a voyage to the River Plate'. Worden, Slavery, p.42: slaves from Dutch Eastern possessions outnumbered all other nationalities of slaves at the Cape by 1731.

<sup>36</sup>Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves', Shaping, p.114.

The Company imported slaves to the Cape from its Delagoa Bay outpost in 1731<sup>37</sup>. Delagoa Bay slaves, however, were considered murderous and thievish. Consequently, this slave trade did not last long<sup>38</sup>. The VOC's direct involvement in slave importation declined after 1765. Statutes prohibited the importation of male slaves from the East Indies to the Cape in 1767<sup>39</sup>. This statute was devised to stop the transportation of male slaves 'free of charge' from Batavia to the Cape by captains of Dutch retourschepen<sup>40</sup>. The Batavian Council ordered the careful search and apprehension of Cape-bound ships carrying slaves at various VOC stations in the East Indies<sup>41</sup>. This ban was updated with the imposition of fines in 1784 and 1792. The VOC's heavy financial losses in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) reduced its shipping from the East - this included slave traffic. Foreign slave traffic led to the importation of slaves from foreign vessels at the Cape in the 18th century<sup>42</sup>. The colony received slaves from

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<sup>37</sup>James Armstrong, 'The Slaves, 1652-1795', in The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820 (first ed., Cape Town, 1979), p.83: 'The Delagoa Bay slaves were held in very low esteem, and are characterised in the documents as murderous and thievish', c.f governor Hendrik Swellengrebel (1739). Portuguese colonial merchants traded prolifically in Delagoa Bay slaves after 1825.

<sup>38</sup>Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves', Shaping, p.125.

<sup>39</sup>Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies' (1797): there had been a 'frequently repeated prohibition of Eastern slaves (ie. Malays) being imported here [ie. at the Cape]'

<sup>40</sup>Shell, p.43, fn.8.

<sup>41</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.44.

<sup>42</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.43: Company permission was required for such importations, and a duty had to be paid to the fiscaal. The fiscaal's records have, unfortunately, been lost.

French<sup>43</sup> vessels. However, slaves were 'seldom' imported to the Cape by the English<sup>44</sup> and 'never' by the Swedish at this stage<sup>45</sup>.

## 2. VOC and burgher slave importation during the late 18th century, 1779-1795.

The Kaapsche Patriotten ('Cape Patriots') listed the VOC's monopoly of slave importation to the Cape as a grievance in their 'Burgher Petition' (1779)<sup>46</sup>. This petition was signed by J. Von Plettenbergh and sent to the Heeren XVII. Hendrik Swellengrebel (son of a former Cape governor) drafted another petition on behalf of the 'Cape Patriots' in 1784. These petitions attacked the VOC's monopolistic practices and its corrupt officialdom at the Cape. The 'Patriots' requested that Cape burghers be allowed to import slaves from Madagascar, Mauritius and Zanzibar.

Prior to 1780, the Council of Policy deemed the yearly importation of 200 to 300 slaves to the Cape sufficient to meet the demands of the Cape burghers. The government failed in its efforts

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<sup>43</sup>The Dutch and the French were allies during the 1780s. Relations between the French and the Dutch, on the one hand, and the English and the Dutch, on the other hand, fluctuated in the last decades of the 18th century. The VOC and English East Indian Company were trading rivals in the Indian Ocean.

<sup>44</sup>Boeseken, Slaves and Freeblacks, p.69: the English imported slaves from the south-west Indian Ocean to New York and the West Indies during the 17th and 18th centuries.

<sup>45</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.42.

<sup>46</sup>The 'Burgher Petition' or 'Burgher Memorial' was the first expression of the late 18th century "colonial crisis" at the Cape. See A. Du Toit and H. Giliomee: Afrikaner Political Thought, Analysis and Documents: 1780-1850, (Cape Town, 1983). Burghers petitioned the government on slave importation last in 1717. The seminal work on the 'Cape Patriots' or Kaapsche Patriotten is by Coenraad Beyers: Die Kaapsche Patriotte Gedurende die Laaste Kwart van die Agtiende Eeu en die Voortlewing van hul Denkbeelde, (2nd ed., Pretoria, 1967).

to establish slave importation from Zanzibar and Kilwa (on the east coast of Africa) between 1776 and 1786<sup>47</sup>. French slave boats, however, imported Mozambican slaves to the Cape during 'boom conditions' in the 1780s<sup>48</sup>. The Company bought 279 slaves from L'Union (1782), 194 slaves from the Portuguese ship L'Estrelle d'Afrique and 75 slaves from the French ship Le Telemacque (Both in 1785 'at the initiative of Governor van de Graaff')<sup>49</sup>. It is worth noting that French slave imports overtook the Cape's population of 'creolized' slaves (ie. slaves born at the colony) in the 1770s<sup>50</sup>. French shipping was halted during the first and second British occupations of the Cape (1795-1803 and 1806-1815). French slave boats (eg. La Legere (1803)) landed slaves at the Cape during the Dutch Batavian Administration (1803-1806)<sup>51</sup>. The VOC commissioned the importation of 100 to 200 slaves yearly to the Cape at the end of the 18th century<sup>52</sup>.

The VOC commissioned Françoise Renier Duminy (a former French marine officer) to import rice and slaves to the Cape from Madagascar in 1785<sup>53</sup>. The Company hoped that a cargo of

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<sup>47</sup>T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History (Cape Town, 1987 ed.), p.26. See G.S.P Freeman-Grenville, The French at Kilwa Island, (Oxford University, 1965), for background to Cape Dutch contacts with Kilwa Island in the late 1780s.

<sup>48</sup>See Shell, Children of Bondage: p.41 (fig 2.1) and p.44 (fig. 2.2).

<sup>49</sup>Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves', in Shaping, p.118. See: The Memorandum of Commissary J.A De Mist, transl. by G.M Jeffreys, (Cape Town, 1920), p.252: French slave boats were responsible for the importation of Mozambican and Malagasy slaves at the end of the 18th century. See Worden, Slavery, p.45, for the sale of these vessels.

<sup>50</sup>Shell, p.47.

<sup>51</sup>The Peace of Amiens (between France and England) was signed in 1802.

<sup>52</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', 29 November 1797.

<sup>53</sup>J.L.M Franken, Duminy Dagboeke or Duminy Diaries, (Cape Town, 1938), p.1-63: Françoise Reinier Duminy (1747-1811), a former French naval officer, was first employed by

wife received a gift of 'one petite Negresse' from Monteiro's daughter<sup>59</sup>.

S.C Nederburgh and S.H Frijkenius<sup>60</sup> (VOC Commissaries-General) were sent to the Cape from Holland in 1791 to formulate solutions to the colony's mounting problems<sup>61</sup>. The commissioners issued a proclamation (21 November 1792) for 'a private Navigation and Trade [to] the Inhabitants', which opened slave importation to vrijburghers, pending government approval. Van Ryneveldt noted that the slave trade was under the supervision of 'the Regency' (ie. the Dutch stadtholder) after 1792. The commissioners recommended, however, the VOC end its slave trade to the Cape. The financially troubled VOC discontinued its slave trade c.1788<sup>62</sup>. Thereafter, the VOC government approved of all slave importations to the Cape, 1792-1795. There is evidence of burgher slave importation in 1792 preserved in a fragmentary record of duties paid to the fiscaal<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup>BO 126, Monteiro to Duminy, 3 November 1801.

<sup>60</sup>S.C Nederburgh (1762-1811) was chief advocate of the Company and Lieutenant-Colonel S.H Frijkenius was a naval commander. The Commissaries-General were sent to the Cape by the Heeren XVII to introduce reforms there.

<sup>61</sup>Anna Boeseken has written the seminal work on Nederburgh and Frijkenius: 'Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse en die 18de Eeuse Samelewing aan die Kaap', Archives Yearbook for South African History, vol.2, 1943, (Cape Town, 1943), p.70.

<sup>62</sup>This is Van Ryneveldt's version. Ships' logbooks suggest otherwise. W.S. Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', (1797): 'The Dutch Company, since the first beginning of this colony, sent every year to Mosambique and Madagascar, sometimes one and sometimes two ships on the slave trade until the year 1787 or 1788, in which year the said Company lessening the extensiveness of their affairs here, has given up the said trade.' There is evidence of VOC-sponsored slave voyages in the Indian Ocean c.1790: CA C (Council of Policy), vols. 2258 (1780 and 1788) and 2259 (1793), Ships Journals. It is uncertain whether these voyages were successful or not. R. Anstey, The Atlantic slave trade and British abolition, 1760-1810, (London, 1975), p.261: 5,700 slaves were imported from Mozambique to Brazil from 1791-1800. The number of slaves imported from Mozambique to Brazil must have been higher, given that over 7, 200 slaves were imported to the Cape from 1797-1808.

<sup>63</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.45.

The Fanny (American) imported a large cargo of Mozambican slaves in 1793<sup>64</sup>. There is a likelihood that slaves were imported to the Cape by Portuguese and French slave vessels between the years 1788-1797. Commander James Henry Craig maintained that there had been no slave imports to the Cape after 1793<sup>65</sup>. There was, therefore, a 'lull' in the importation of slaves to the Cape from 1793-1797<sup>66</sup>. There were major political and economic changes at the Cape between these years: the VOC's debts forced the Company into liquidation in 1796 and the Britain conquered the Cape in 1795<sup>67</sup>. Isaac Stromboom (a Cape merchant of Swedish descent) was granted a license to import slaves from Mozambique Island to the Cape in the Eliza<sup>68</sup> (1795). The voyage was postponed by winter and the conquest of the Cape by Britain (September 1795). Macartney renewed Stromboom's license during the first British occupation (1797). Stromboom finally returned to the Cape with a disappointing cargo of 150 slaves aboard his boat the Good Hope (1798).

### 3. Slave importation in the south-west Indian Ocean at the turn of the 19th century

Writing on comparisons between Cape and Mauritian slavery, Nigel Worden has remarked that 'links between the Cape and the south-west Indian Ocean region has been little appreciated'

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<sup>64</sup>The Fanny arrived at the Cape on 12 December 1792 and left Salem on 7 August 1792 (private e-mail correspondence, 27 October 1995, from Gretchen Walsh, at the Library for African Studies Boston University - obtained via Nigel Worden).

<sup>65</sup>RCC, Vol. 2, J.H Craig to H. Dundas, 14 January 1797, p.39

<sup>66</sup>No slave importations from foreign boats have been documented in the secondary literature on slave importation to the Cape from 1788-1793.

<sup>67</sup>The VOC existed in name for two more years (1796-1798).

<sup>68</sup>Stromboom named the boat after his wife, Eliza. See Chapter II, n.34.

by historians of slavery and slave importation<sup>69</sup>. This thesis incorporates slave importation to the Cape within the economic, political and geographic context of the SWIO in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Omani arabs imported slaves from the east coast of Africa long before Europeans arrived on the scene. They were active in Zanzibar, Mozambique and the Comores. The Portuguese began to exert an economic and political influence on the east coast of Africa in the 16th century. They bought gold, then ivory<sup>70</sup>, and eventually displaced their Omani and Indian competition on the coast around Mozambique. Eventually, Portuguese and French merchants made greater profits out of slave traffic than from ivory in the 1770s<sup>71</sup>. There was a considerable upsurge in slave importation from the northern coast of Mozambique from 1785 onwards. The volume of this slave importation increased well into the 19th century. Spanish, English, Danish and American merchants also took part in slave traffic from

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<sup>69</sup>This quotation is from an article which has since then been reworked and published: Nigel Worden, 'Diverging Histories: Slavery and its Aftermath in the Cape Colony and Mauritius', South African Historical Journal, 27 (1992), p.3-25. This article phrases the above quotation differently, saying the significance of 'links, parallels, and contrasts between slavery at the Cape and Mauritius has been little appreciated' by historians. It is by no means a definitive comparative study. J.M Filliot, La Traite des Esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIe Siecle, is a study of French slave trading activities in the region. Auguste Toussaint (a French-Mauritian historian) has called the south-west Indian Ocean a 'neglected ocean', so far as scholarship is concerned, in: History of the Indian Ocean, (transl. June Guicharnard), (London, 1966).

<sup>70</sup>European merchants bought ivory from as far inland as Lake Nyasa from African ivory merchants.

<sup>71</sup>E.A Alpers has examined the internal workings of ivory and slave traffic from the east coast of Africa in: Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns in International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century, (London, 1975). J.C Miller, Way of Death, (1989), p.456: Miller demonstrates the decline of west African slave traffic in conjunction with the rise of east African slave traffic. Alpers, p.212: c.40,000 slaves were transported from Mozambique to Brazil from 1822 to 1830. See R.W Beachey, Select Documents on the Slave Trade of Eastern Africa, (London, 1976), particularly for information on Zanzibari slave trading and British suppression of the slave trade on the east African coast.

Mozambique at the turn of the 19th century<sup>72</sup>.

Two major slave routes extended from the northern coast of Mozambique. One was the Portuguese colonial slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil; and the other was the Portuguese and French slave trade from Mozambique to the Mascarene islands (Mauritius and Reunion). Madagascar was also a source for slaves in the south-west Indian Ocean. Mozambican slaves were sometimes landed at Madagascar and re-exported to the Mascarenes. Until the confiscation of French slaves by British navy boats in the south-west Indian Ocean during the Napoleonic Wars, no slaves were imported from Madagascar to the Cape (the Meermin was the last to do so in 1786). Cape merchants imported slaves from slave boats bound for Brazil from 1797-1808. Merchants imported slaves on a legitimate and a clandestine basis<sup>73</sup>. The Napoleonic Wars resulted in the capture of French slave boats by the British Royal Navy in the Mozambique channel. Attractive bounties were offered by the metropolitan government for the seizure of these so-called 'prize slaves'. 'Prize slaves' were brought to the Cape in the event of capture ("prize negroes" indentured by the Vice-Admiralty Court under Britain's anti-slave trade statutes) and abandonment ("apprenticed negroes" indentured by the fiscaal under colonial law) between 1808 and 1818<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup>Italians and Russians even partook in trade in the south-west Indian Ocean at the turn of the 19th century.

<sup>73</sup>See Chapter II, the Collector episode (May 1800).

<sup>74</sup>Christopher Saunders, 'Free, Yet Slaves' Prize Negroes at the Cape Revisited', in Crais and Worden, Breaking the Chains, (University of Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1995), p.99-116. See also, Patrick Harries, 'Labour Migration from Mozambique to South Africa; with special reference to the Delagoa Bay hinterland, c.1862 to 1897', (Ph.D (History), University of London, 1983), p.47-49.

4. Britain's suppression of international slave trading in the south-west Indian Ocean prior to 1825.

Granville Sharp's Somerset case (1772) was the first significant British antislavery decision of the late 18th century. The outcome of the case established that West Indian planters were not allowed to hold slaves in England since slavery was contrary to English law. The Quakers (Society of Friends) added impetus to growing abolitionist sentiment in England in the early 1780s. The Abolition Society was formed in 1787. William Wilberforce was the society's leader and Thomas Clarkson its researcher. Wilberforce zealously campaigned against the British colonial slave trade and slavery in parliament. Conservative West Indian planters ('the Interest') opposed Wilberforce and his co-workers. The 'Interest' was preoccupied with profits of West Indian Sugar. They saw Wilberforce as a sentimental libertine. Wilberforce, however, was committed to his antislavery cause. The abolition of slavery in the states north of Maryland (America) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries encouraged Wilberforce and his sympathisers<sup>75</sup>.

European colonial capitalism was, therefore, dependent on imported African slave labour during the 19th century. North America, the Caribbean and South America imported slaves by way of the transatlantic slave trade from the west, and later, the east coast of Africa. Slave-produced Brazilian sugar and coffee and West Indian sugar were bought with enthusiasm on the European markets of the late 18th century<sup>76</sup>. J.C. Miller has noted, however, that Britain's commercial interests indirectly supported Portuguese slave importation and slavery, even

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<sup>75</sup>Britain and America abolished slave importation in 1807.

<sup>76</sup>Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (Oxford, 1944).

though the British imperial government was supposedly suppressing international slave traffic<sup>77</sup>. Britain enjoyed the maximum tariff (15%) on imported goods to Brazil, a good enough economic reason for them to be lenient towards the slave trading Portuguese. The Slave Trade Act (1807) was the result of political and economic pressure and humanitarian agitation on the part of Wilberforce's antislavery movement. The Act took effect on 1 January 1808. Thereafter, Britain suppressed slave traffic from the west coast of Africa to the Americas; in the Mozambique Channel; and in the seas around the Mascarene islands. Suppression of the transatlantic slave trade, however, led to the creation of the 'Negro apprenticeship' labour system, 1808-1818<sup>78</sup>. It was impossible for the Cape to be detached from the mushrooming slave importation from northern Mozambique to Rio de Janeiro and the Mascarenes during the early 19th century. 'Negro Apprentices' were admitted into the colony, therefore, even after the Slave Trade Act (1807).

European slave trading nations were encouraged to follow Britain and America's anti-slave trade example after 1807-8.

America assisted Britain in the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade from the west coast of Africa to the West Indies and the Americas with the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. Britain's conquest of Mauritius (1810)<sup>79</sup> gave Britain greater scope for the suppression of slave importation in the south-west Indian Ocean. Fewer slaves were imported to Mauritius after 1810. Reunion, however, remained a lucrative slave market for Portuguese and French

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<sup>77</sup>J.C Miller, *Way of Death*, p.xv. Miller gives an account of the transformation in the financing of the Portuguese colonial the west and east African coasts to Brazil.

<sup>78</sup>See Chapter III, section entitled 'Negro apprentices, 1808-1818'.

<sup>79</sup>Mauritius was officially a British colony in 1815.

colonial slave traders. Slaves were smuggled from Madagascar to the Mascarenes, in reaction to Britain's suppression of slave importation. Portugal and Spain were the only European nations who sanctioned the importation of slaves to their colonies after the Congress of Vienna (1814). The Prince Regent of Portugal consented to Britain's demands that the nation gradually abolish its Brazilian slave trade (Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, 1810). The next treaty of this kind was signed in 1815. Article two of this second treaty stipulated that Portuguese ships could trade with Portuguese dominions south of the Equator 'so long as the trade was permitted by law and treaty'<sup>80</sup>. The governor of Mozambique, however, prohibited slave importation from Mozambique in 1815. This ban temporarily curbed the outflow of slave traffic from Mozambique<sup>81</sup>. This prolific slave traffic could not be brought to a standstill. The conditions which Britain placed on the Portuguese slave trade to Brazil were updated in 1817. The Brazilian slave trade from the east coast of Africa was to be confined to the area between Cape Delgado and Lourenco Marques. Additionally, Portuguese slaving vessels which traded in slaves above the Equator were liable to be detained by the Royal Navy. Britain made further anti-slave trade treaties with Portugal and Spain in the early 1820s. These treaties paved the way for anti-slave trade legislation in Brazil (1822)<sup>82</sup>.

##### 5. Henry Dundas, 'gradual abolition' and the Cape colony.

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<sup>80</sup>Leslie Bethell, The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869, (Cambridge, 1970).

<sup>81</sup>Portuguese and Spanish slave boats from Zanzibar began to stop for refreshments at the Cape c.1818-1822. See Appendix II, Table II.

<sup>82</sup>Brazilian independence did not lead to the abolition of slave importation to Brazil. Brazil was supplied with slaves up to the 1850s. Spanish slave merchants supplied Cuba with slaves from the east coast of Africa to 1862.

Westminster's House of Commons was divided on the matter of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade when it reached parliament in the form of a proposed bill under the auspices of William Wilberforce in 1789<sup>83</sup>. Nothing came of this bill. The bill resurfaced for parliamentary debate as a 'General Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade', in 1792. Henry Dundas<sup>84</sup> argued the conservative position in favour of the continuation of the British West Indian transatlantic slave trade. His rejection of the bill was supported by the landed West Indian planters ('the Interest'):

'that the slave trade ought to be abolished, I have already declared. But I believe that any other than a gradual abolition will be attended with bad consequences to the public....The co-operation of the legislators of the West Indian Islands will be absolutely necessary to give effect to that mode of abolition which I conceive to be the most eligible.'<sup>85</sup>

The 'Interest' argued that abolition of slave importation, particularly to the West Indies, would be advantageous to France so far as the sale of Caribbean sugar in Europe was concerned<sup>86</sup>. Dundas held the view that slave importation was 'not founded in policy'. Further, the continuation of slave importation did not affect trade between Britain and the West Indies. He

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<sup>83</sup>Suzanne Miers, Britain and the Ending of the Slave Trade, (London, 1975), pp.3-7, provides a succinct overview of Britain's abolition of the slave trade. Detailed studies relevant to the movement at the time of the first British occupation of the Cape (1795-1803) and the Second British Empire, include: Roger Anstey's The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810, (London, 1975) and Robin Blackburn's The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848, (London-New York, 1988). See also, Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (Oxford, 1948).

<sup>84</sup>Henry Dundas was British Secretary for War and the Colonies from 1794-1801.

<sup>85</sup>Michael Fry, The Dundas Despotism, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.200.

<sup>86</sup>Robin Blackburn, The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, p.143.

also noted that there was no 'deadly mortality' amongst the West Indian slaves - if anything, the slave population was on the increase<sup>87</sup>. Two-thirds of a dozen of the ministers present at this sitting of parliament were patrons of land in the West Indies. These ministers were most vocal against the Bill. Conversely, Edmund Burke<sup>88</sup> and William Pitt the Younger (Prime Minister) supported abolition. Burke wanted the slave trade to be 'regulated and reformed' rather than discontinued<sup>89</sup>. Pitt spoke against the slave trade in parliament to maintain his image as a reformer. To avoid controversy, however, he took no direct action against slave importation<sup>90</sup>. Dundas saw no sudden end of the slave trade from his perspective<sup>91</sup>. The 'Interest' added another five years to Dundas's estimate and the Bill was, therefore, dismissed.

Wilberforce had presented several additional anti-slave trade bills and proposals before parliament by the time Britain conquered the Cape in 1795. These bills were crushed by the influential West Indian 'Interest'. The antislavery movement, which promoted anti-slave trade thought, had, however, become a force to be reckoned with. Wilberforce produced another General Bill for the abolition of the slave trade in 1795. This bill was better received by the House of Commons than the previous bills. Dundas and the 'Interest' opposed the Bill. Consequently, it stood no chance in the House of Lords. It was, however, passed as an Order

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<sup>87</sup>Michael Fry, The Dundas Despotism, p.200.

<sup>88</sup>Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was an Anglo-Irish philosopher-statesman.

<sup>89</sup>Robin Blackburn, Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, p.147.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p.144.

<sup>91</sup>Michael Fry, The Dundas Despotism, p.200.

in Council by the House of Commons in 1796<sup>92</sup>. The Order in Council stipulated that slaves could only be landed at British possessions with the consent of the metropolitan government. Slave importation to the Cape colony during the first and second British occupation was thus tightly limited and regulated. Limited slave importation prepared Britain for abolition of colonial slave importation. This was accomplished by the Slave Trade Act in 1807. Slaves were continuously imported to the Cape from 1797-1808. 'Negro apprentices' made up for the deficit of imported slaves to the Cape from 1808-1818.

Decisions relative to slave importation to the Cape were placed in the hands of the British Secretary for War and the colonies, Henry Dundas<sup>93</sup>. Dundas was a 'gradual abolitionist' who wanted to avoid the pitfalls which the British imperial government had experienced in the West Indies. He discouraged indiscriminate slave importation to the Cape. After all, there were so many factors that weighed against slave importation to the Cape: there was worry of a repeat of Toussaint L'Ouverture's slave revolt (Barbados, 1792); Gallophobia ('Jacobinism'); the imperial government's obligation to protect English East India Company chartered trade; and, smallpox (endemic on the east African coast). Macartney's first license to import slaves to the colony was issued in 1797. Earl Macartney (first British governor of the Cape) shared Dundas's 'gradualist' philosophy with respect to abolishing colonial slave importation and

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<sup>92</sup>RCC, Vol. 3, Letters from Captains of the Royal Navy to John H. Greene, Esquire, Collector of Customs, 7 March 1800, p.79: 'By the 7th Geo 1st Stat. 1st, Cap. 21, Sec. 9, and by his Majesty's Order in Council dated the twenty-eighth of November 1796' slave trading without the metropolitan government's consent was outlawed.

<sup>93</sup>While he was Secretary for War and the colonies, Dundas was also in charge of the Board of Control. Phillip Lawson, The East India Company: A History, (London, 1993): under Royal direction, this body oversaw dispatches between the English East India Company and Britain's imperial dominions.

slavery<sup>94</sup>. Macartney was basically Dundas's representative at the Cape. The matter of colonial slave importation was a big issue, considering the influence of the antislavery movement in London. As a slave society, the Cape relied on slave labour.

Dundas permitted the Cape's governors to license slave importation when the time was right at the Cape. He allowed governors to use their discretion on his behalf, since postal communications (by ship) were slow and because 'exceptional circumstances' always arose. Slave importation was, therefore, managed by the first British occupation's governors who maintained the VOC ruling that slaves had to be landed with the consent of the governor. Sir George Yonge was the only governor who allegedly abused this power of discretion (Collector scandal, May 1800). The admission of 'prize' slaves into the colony after 1798 was the only other legitimate means whereby slaves could be landed at the Cape<sup>95</sup>.

Licenses for slave importation were sparingly issued by British governors after 1797. According to the Order-in-Council of December 1796, the British metropolitan government approved of licenses for the importation of slaves into the Cape colony<sup>96</sup>. Macartney considered that in the colony's 'state of actual necessity' it would be wise to follow 'the

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<sup>94</sup>Craig's acting-governorship (September 1795 to May 1797) was too brief to influence the British colonial government's approach to slave importation. Craig, however, wanted to repatriate the colony's Indianen ('banished Indian' labourers who were 'apprenticed' for twenty-five years) population at the start of the first British occupation. He was worried this criminal element would adversely Cape Town's urban community.

<sup>95</sup>Before 1808 'prize slaves' were captive slaves from French slave boats which were captured by the Royal Navy. After condemnation at the navy's Vice-Admiralty Court in Cape Town, these slaves were sold into slavery. After 1808, however, 'prize slaves' were 'condemned' by the Court, "emancipated", and indentured for fourteen years as 'apprentices'. The influx of "prize negroes" from French slave boats ceased after the Congress of Vienna (1814).

<sup>96</sup>CA A (Accession) 1415 (74), 'The Andrew Barnard Letterbook, 1797-1803', Andrew Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800.

dictates of good sense and public duty' (ie. to feed the inhabitants and occupants of the colony) rather than 'the whims of ignorance and fanaticism' (ie. Wilberforce and the antislavery lobby)<sup>97</sup>. Dundas then permitted Macartney to issue a second and even a third license if necessary. Dundas, however, did not want this controversial subject to be broached in public correspondence. Macartney acceded to his requests. For example, Macartney assured Dundas in a 'private' correspondence (7 May 1798) that he had 'purposely avoided the Negro-Subject' in his 'public' correspondence to him<sup>98</sup>. Since Dundas could not openly allow slave importation at the Cape, even licensed slave importations at the Cape were issued in a secretive manner in spite of anti-slave trade principles of the first British occupation government.

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<sup>97</sup>BL MS 63f, 'Macartney Papers', Macartney to Henry Dundas, 24 July 1797.

<sup>98</sup>Gubbins Africana Collection, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 'Macartney Papers', Macartney to H. Dundas, 7 May 1798. I am grateful to Nigel Penn for recommending this source to me.

**Chapter II: Slave importation to the Cape during the first British occupation, 1797-1803.**

We have seen that the VOC ceased to import slaves to the Cape c.1788. Slave importation to the Cape, however, was continued during the first British occupation government between 1797 and 1803<sup>1</sup>. The first British occupation government nullified the hopes of the Cape burgher population for private slave importation from the east coast of Africa by limiting slave importation to the Cape. British colonial governors were instructed by the British imperial government to moderate slave importation to the Cape. This resolution was prompted by Wilberforce's antislavery movement as a reaction on the part of conservative British parliamentarians to the complexities which had arisen out of slave importation to Jamaica. British governors<sup>2</sup> were empowered ('absolute') representatives of the British monarchy and government at the Cape. The first British occupation's governors, therefore, represented the imperial government so far as jurisdiction over slave importation to the Cape was concerned. These governors arrived at the Cape with 'gradual' abolitionist ideas. 'Gradual abolitionism', however, became statutory abolition in the form of the Slave Trade Act (1807). The Act, however, did not put an end to 'unfree' labour importation to the Cape<sup>3</sup>.

Politics (ie. the decisions of colonial governors), economics and war influenced slave

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<sup>1</sup>Britain occupied the Cape twice: 1795-1803 and 1806-1814. W.W Bird, State of the Cape in 1822 by a Civil Servant, (facsimile reprint, Cape Town, 1966), p3: 'During the occupancy of the Cape by the English from 1795 to 1802, some cargoes of slaves were imported, although the traffic was then beginning to be odious'.

<sup>2</sup>British colonial governors acted in a proconsular capacity and were called proconsuls.

<sup>3</sup>'Negro apprentices' were admitted into the colony from 1808-1818. See Chapter III.

importation to the Cape from 1797-1803<sup>4</sup>. Political instability was the most favourable condition for slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century. Cape Merchants took advantage of the various changes of government and governorship at the Cape between 1798 and 1808<sup>5</sup> to import slaves into the colony eg.: the Joaquim (March 1799 and March 1800); Collector (February 1800); Felicia Eugene (January 1803); Arroyo de Buenos Aires (January 1806); Restaurador (December 1807); and the Constantia (arrived in December 1807)<sup>6</sup>.

The colony's British governors were initially bewildered by the institution of slavery and the activity of slave importation to the Cape. These governors did not regard the renewal of the slave population at the Cape by way of slave importation as being their primary concern; they wanted, more than anything else, to stabilise a disordered colony<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, the primary

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<sup>4</sup>Vincent Harlow, The Founding of the Second British Empire, Vol. 1, (London, 1952): the 'Second British Empire' was at its height at the end of the 18th century. 'Imperial trusteeship' was introduced in Canada by the Quebec Act (1774). Britain established a pattern of colonial rule ('trusteeship') whereby colonies retained their laws and the structure of their governments, but were subordinate to imperial rule. The Cape proved to be a suitable strategic post for Britain in the protection of trade routes to India. A455, Dundas-Melville Papers, 'Macartney's Description of the Cape colony': Macartney referred to the Cape as the 'masterlink of connection' between the West and the East. Du Toit and Giliomee argue in Afrikaner Political Thought, p.12: although Roman-Dutch law was retained, the first British occupation introduced a 'new' political order at the Cape. The custom of 'breaking slaves on the wheel' for capital offences was abolished at the Cape in 1797 by Craig and Macartney.

<sup>5</sup>The first British occupation (1795-1803), the Dutch Batavian Administration (1803-1806) and the second British occupation (1806-1808). There were ten governors (or, at least, acting-governors) at the Cape from 1795-1808. Merchants imported slaves into the colony during the administrative confusion that ensued during the periods between governorships and governments at the Cape.

<sup>6</sup>See Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>7</sup>There were burgher revolts on the colony's frontier in 1795 and 1798; and there were wars between the burghers and government, on one side, and the Khoikhoi and Xhosa peoples, on the other, from 1799-1803.

concerns of the first British occupation government were politics and war: the Cape was to be a habitable territory for the protection of the English East India Company's trade routes during the Napoleonic Wars. However, the British military, naval and administrative presence at the Cape trebled the number of mouths the colony had to feed in 1795. This sudden increase of population imposed huge demands on the colony's agricultural sector. Agricultural demand stimulated the demand for imported slaves to labour on Cape farms. Cape Town, therefore, was a viable slave market for Portuguese colonial and American slave traders from 1797-1803<sup>8</sup>.

Soon after Britain conquered the Cape, J.H Craig (acting-governor and military commander)<sup>9</sup> prohibited shipping between the east coast of Africa and the Cape. This measure was taken because of an act of piracy involving the importation of slaves to the Cape<sup>10</sup>. The Diana (1796) arrived at the Cape flying Portuguese and Danish flags<sup>11</sup> with a cargo of Mozambican slaves<sup>12</sup>. A false logbook informed Cape harbour officials that the boat was bound to Brazil. The

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<sup>8</sup>See Chapter IV. CA PC 3/1: the Albuquerque (Portuguese slaving boat) was headed for the Cape or 'another market'.

<sup>9</sup>Commander James Henry Craig (1748-1812) was acting-governor of the Cape (September 1795 to May 1797).

<sup>10</sup>There were several instances of maritime deception in the importation of slaves to the Cape. Such was the nature of the trade. Owners of notorious slave trading vessels disguised their boats by changing their eg. the General Izedro changed its name to the Restaurador (1807), the Neptun Afriquin changed to the Constantia (1807) and the Collector (1800) went under the name Mountain when it illicitly bought slaves from the coast of Mozambique. See Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>11</sup>Britain's allies flew 'neutral' flags or 'colours' on their masts during the Napoleonic Wars. The Diana was an enemy vessel (ie. French) posing as a neutral vessel. This type of deception was commonplace in the south-west Indian Ocean during the Napoleonic Wars.

<sup>12</sup>RCC, Vol. 2., John Pringle (EIC agent at the Cape) to Evan Nepean, 24 January 1796. Theal has paraphrased this account.

vessel's real logbook revealed a different story: the owners of the vessel intended to purchase Cape grain with the money accrued from the sale its slave cargo at the colony. This grain would then be supplied to French troops in Mauritius. Should this plan fail the boat would make way for Rio de Janeiro - the destination stated in its false logbook. The Diana, however, was taken as a 'prize' and its slaves were confiscated by Craig. This is one of several cases of fraudulent shipping in relation to slave importation to the Cape from 1797-1808. Some of the other cases eg. the Joaquim and Collector (March 1800) are discussed below.

The Joaquim<sup>13</sup> arrived at the Cape under captain Jose Dominges with 370 slaves, late November 1796<sup>14</sup>. The boat belonged to Joaquim Rosario Monteiro. Monteiro was a Portuguese colonial slave merchant who was based in Mozambique<sup>15</sup>. The Burgher Senate petitioned J.H. Craig in December 1796 (the Acting-Governor of the first British occupation) to allow the landing of the Joaquim's slave cargo shortly after its arrival at the colony. Craig was informed that 'since three years no slaves have been brought [to the Cape]' and that the importation of this slave cargo would help to assuage the colony's labour-shortage. Craig

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<sup>13</sup>The vessel was also called the Rosario or Roseiro (B.O. 90, December 1796 the Burgher Senate to Commander J.H. Craig) on this particular voyage. The Joaquim landed a number of slaves at the Cape from 1797 to 1801. Its name has been documented as the 'Joachim', 'Joachem', 'Joaquin' and 'Joaquina'. These eponymous names stem from the boat's original owner, Joaquim Rosario Monteiro. Gubbins, A 24, Craig's 'Homeward Letterbook', enclosure dated November 1796. Monteiro requested protection from the British and 'all Strangers' in 1796.

<sup>14</sup> BO 90, 'Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves, Dec.1796-Dec.1800', Burgher Senate to Craig (Acting-Governor), 3 December 1796. It is called the Roseiro in this source.

<sup>15</sup>Peter Philip, British Residents at the Cape 1795 to 1819, (Cape Town, 1981), p.182-184 and Appendix I, Table I: the transferred ownership of slaving vessels from Monteiro to Hogan (eg. the Joaquim, Boa Coetana and Sea Nymph) suggests that Monteiro's business links at the Cape were strong. When the records state that his boats are headed for Rio de Janeiro, this is merely done to cover up planned slave importation to the Cape.

passed these opinions on to his superior, Henry Dundas in January 1797, when he wrote that no slaves had been 'brought into the Colony since the year 1793'<sup>16</sup>. Acting on Dundas's permission (of June 1796) allowing him to land and sell a cargo of slaves, Craig imported 354 slaves from the Joaquim into the Cape colony<sup>17</sup>. This was the first time during the first British occupation that slaves were imported from a foreign slave boat. This was Craig's only license for slave importation. It is evident Monteiro ran his business from his place of residence, Mozambique. This was the first of several cargoes of slaves imported to the Cape by Monteiro.

#### 1. Macartney and licensed slave importation to the Cape, 1797-1798.

Although Henry Dundas had permitted Craig the importation of a slave cargo into the colony, he had not instructed Craig on the matter of slave importation to the Cape. Craig's military role as Commander of the Cape colony accounts for his inattention to the serious matter of slave importation to the Cape. Earl George Macartney (May 1797 to November 1798), Craig's successor and first British governor of the Cape, represented a more specific policy

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<sup>16</sup>Gubbins Collection, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 'J.H Craig's Letterbook', Craig to H. Dundas, 14 January 1797. BO 90, 3 December 1796, Burgher Senate to Craig, the Burgher Senate informed Craig that 'since three years no slaves have been brought here'.

<sup>17</sup>BL MS 61/2, Barrow's 'Description': 'A privileged ship [ie. the Joaquim] consisting of 354 slaves; and the slaves that had been brought in three prize brigs and a schooner since the accession of the Colony to the British Government which is to say in 33 months [September 1795 to March 1798] amount to 251 male and female'. These vessels were the Joaquim (354 slaves), the Indispensable's Spanish 'prize' (251 slaves) and the Good Hope (150 slaves). John Barrow was Macartney's private secretary and was later Auditor-General of the Cape colony. Barrow authored Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, 1797 and 1798, (London, 1801), amongst numerous other books and articles. Barrow was vehemently opposed to slave importation and even declined a lucrative position in West Indies because it involved slave importation.

with respect to slave importation to the colony<sup>18</sup>. His carefully regulated slave importation was followed by successive governors until 1808. Dundas and Macartney were conservative, 'gradual abolitionists'. Britain did not want slave importation to the Cape to disturb English East India Company trade in the Indian Ocean. Macartney's tenth instruction on government of the Cape colony (30 December 1796) was to ascertain 'whether the Importation [of slaves] might not henceforth be prohibited, without material Injury or Inconvenience to the Settlement'<sup>19</sup>. On 7 May 1798, Macartney wrote to Henry Dundas: 'In pursuance of His Majesty's 10th instruction, I have endeavored to inform myself of the footing on which the importation of negroes here formerly stood, and of the expediency of its being continued or relinquished'<sup>20</sup>. Anti-slave trade and antislavery campaigning - directed at West Indian planters - had gathered momentum in Britain after 1786. Consequently, a watered-down interpretation of the antislavery campaign was put into practice by British proconsuls throughout the British Empire. Britain, therefore, kept slave importation to a minimum at the Cape. Macartney was tactful in decisions regarding slave importation to the Cape.

Macartney drafted a number of questions to Willem Stephanus van Ryneveldt (the fiscaal of

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<sup>18</sup>Maurice Boucher and Nigel Penn (eds.), Britain at the Cape, (Johannesburg, 1992), p.171: Macartney (1737-1836) experienced the slave trade on a larger scale when he was governor of Grenada, the Grenadines and Tobago in the West Indies (1774-1779). The importation of slaves to the West Indies was at its height during this time. Lord Macartney (1748-1812) was the first British governor of the Cape colony. He had vast proconsular experience in Ireland, the Antilles, Madras (1780-85) and China (1782-1794). J. Barrow, Autobiographical Memoir, (London, 1847), p.40: 'Lord Macartney was not a man to be trifled with'.

<sup>19</sup>RCC, Vol. 1., Macartney's Instructions, article no.10, 31 December 1796, p.10.

<sup>20</sup>BL MS 63f, Macartney to Henry Dundas, 7 May 1798.

the colony<sup>21</sup>) on Cape slavery and slave importation to the colony<sup>22</sup>. These questions were motivated by British anti-slave trade and antislavery thought. Macartney's questionnaire was, therefore, concerned with the past, present and future of Cape slavery and slave importation to the colony. He asked questions about the VOC's position on slave importation to the Cape and on the colony's legal position with respect to slave importation and slavery at the time of Britain's conquest of the Cape. Lastly, Macartney questioned the fiscaal on the effects that prohibition or partial prohibition of slave importation might have on the colony. He completed his inquiry with speculative suggestions on the use of European 'peasant' labour at the Cape. These questions reveal an overt interest in the prohibition of slave importation to the Cape and the use of local or imported wage labour<sup>23</sup>. Macartney saw two alternatives to slavery: hired labour and European immigrant labour<sup>24</sup>.

Van Ryneveldt's answers to Macartney's questions were simple. He argued in favour of slave

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<sup>21</sup>The fiscaal of the Cape colony acted as both Chief of Justice and public prosecutor. During the second British occupation, the office of procureer-generaal (attorney-general) replaced that of the fiscaal. Thereafter, the offices of Chief of Justice and public prosecutor were held by different people.

<sup>22</sup>W.S Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', 29 November 1797.

<sup>23</sup>British colonial travel literature on the Cape contains much argument in favour of European colonization during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Two examples of this literature which express antislavery sentiment are: John Barrow's, An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798, (London 1801; 1806) and Robert Percival's, An Account of the Cape of Hope, (London, 1804).

<sup>24</sup>Systematic implementation of hired labour (particularly Khoikhoi who had been dispossessed of land or coerced into "unfree" contractual labour) was rapidly increasing at the turn of the 19th century. By the 1820s, European immigrant labourers (eg. Irish and English skilled and unskilled labourers) were added to the colony's labour force.

importation on the grounds that the high mortality of slaves and the infertility of slave women<sup>25</sup> stunted the growth of a 'creolized' slave population at the Cape<sup>26</sup>. He recommended a supply of 500 to 600 slaves a year (the Burgher Senate's average for slaves imported to the Cape during the government of the VOC<sup>27</sup>). Surprisingly, Van Ryneveldt made no mention of Portuguese colonial slave importation from Mozambique to the Cape before the British occupation. He focussed on the demand for imported slaves as a means of replenishing the colony's static slave labour supply. According to the *fiscaal*, the Cape was supplied with 250 to 400 Mozambican and Madagascan slaves a year c.1787-88. Van Ryneveldt predicted 'that the culture, especially the two principal branches thereof, viz. corn and wine, first would begin to languish and afterwards entirely to decay', should there be 'an immediate interdiction to the importation of slaves'. The labour shortage (1798) was partly brought about by the inability for slave imports to match the population increase of the colony, which was compounded by the addition of British troops and officialdom in 1795.

Macartney was informed that Van Ryneveldt was a 'competent and unprejudiced' authority on the colony and its affairs<sup>28</sup>. Political sympathies were of importance to the first British

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<sup>25</sup>Venereal disease was a major cause of female infertility amongst the government slaves in the Slave Lodge (a notorious brothel in the 18th and 19th centuries).

<sup>26</sup>See Chapter IV for an elaboration on the distinction between 'creolized' (Shell has made use of this term in *Children of Bondage*) slaves and imported slaves.

<sup>27</sup>VOC-regulated slave importation to the Cape is described in Chapter I.

<sup>28</sup>H Giliomee, *Eerste Britse Bewind*, p.49: Van Ryneveldt had represented the Council of Policy alongside J.J Le Seuer when the VOC capitulated to Craig on 15 September 1795. Aside from his replies to Macartney's questions on slave importation to the Cape (November 1797), Van Ryneveldt was the author of another work which made reference to slave importation to the Cape: 'Beschouwing van de Kolonie de Kaap de Goede Hoop, in 1805', serialised in *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift*, (1831-1833). A portion of this

occupation's governors during the Napoleonic Wars. Since Van Ryneveldt was neither a 'Jacobin' (a French sympathiser) or an 'Anglomaan' (an English sympathiser), he was deemed trustworthy by the British<sup>29</sup>. He was allowed to retain his office as the colony's fiscaal<sup>30</sup>. Macartney agreed with many of Van Ryneveldt's opinions on slave importation. He wrote to Dundas that: 'We must therefore either metamorphose every white husbandman into a Geryon or Briarens, or allow him to make up for his weakness by the strength of two-handed Negros'<sup>31</sup>. This allusion to the impossibility of transforming Cape farmers into hundred-handed creatures, coupled with the acknowledgement that several hundred 'two-handed Negros' could prevent the destruction of agricultural output, suggests that Macartney was in favour of the importation of slaves to the Cape.

Macartney reported to Dundas on 24 July 1797: 'soon after my arrival here, I had, after mature consideration, granted a permission for the importation of Negros, without a certain proportion of whom, the extensive cultivation of this Country cannot be carried on'<sup>32</sup>. This license was granted to Isaac Stromboom (Good Hope). Macartney informed Dundas that the

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article, pertaining to coerced Khoi labour, has been published in A. Du Toit and H. Giliomee (eds.), Afrikaner Political Thought, p.50-53.

<sup>29</sup>Giliomee, Eerste Britse Bewind, p.49.

<sup>30</sup>Van Ryneveldt had strong Dutch sympathies. His devotion to the 'Moederland' is borne out in his 1805 'Description' ('Beschouwing') of the Cape, p.118: wherein he described the Cape as a child of the Netherlands ('Het Moederland') which required looking after.

<sup>31</sup>BL, MS 63f, 'Macartney Papers', Macartney to Henry Dundas (Wimbledon, London), 24 July 1797. The Geryon and Briareus were many-armed creatures. Barrow's memoir of Macartney informs us of the governor's accomplishment as a classical scholar and his fondness of Roman classical literature. Virgil, The Aeneid, (transl. by W.F Jackson), (Penguin Books, London, 1956), 'Visit to the Underworld', p.155-6, describes these creatures: 'Briareus the hundredfold' and 'the three-bodied Geryon'.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

presence of British officials, troops and the navy increased the demand for agricultural production in the colony. Consequently, this demand increased the demand for slaves. He wrote: 'In addition to the former inhabitants [ie. Cape Dutch burghers of the late VOC period], we have an army of between four and five thousand men, a navy of eighteen or twenty ships-of-war, an increasing number of trading vessels and merchants, and a most prolific population to supply, so that within the Cape Town district I calculate near three times as many mouths to feed as formerly, and that even were no deficiency to happen in the usual harvest, it might still fall short of demand'<sup>33</sup>. The 1798 harvest was in fact spoiled by drought - another factor which stimulated the colony's demand for slaves. Isaac Stromboom noted that drought had increased the demand for slave labour in 1798<sup>34</sup>.

Macartney was sensitive to Wilberforce's anti-slave trade and antislavery campaign (which was directed from London). He was aware of the anti-slave trade lobby when he issued his first license allowing Isaac Stromboom to import slaves to the colony<sup>35</sup>. Macartney reflected on this license in a letter he wrote to Dundas: 'I paid, however, such respect to the prejudices of the day as to confine my license to a single ship, and shall be cautious in extending it till the proper authority shall have decided this point, which seems to have been at issue for some years past, between rashness and experience, thoughtlessness and reflection, ancient wisdom

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>BR (Batavian Republic), Resolutions (Political Council), Vol. 32, Stromboom to Janssens, 13 March 1804.

<sup>35</sup>Stromboom was of Swedish ancestry. He had business connections in London by the time of the Dutch Batavian Administration of the Cape (1803-1806). See Chapter IV for more information on Stromboom's slave trading activities.

and modern philosophy'<sup>36</sup>. He added: 'In the meantime, as the slaves for this colony are brought from the short distance of Mozambique and Madagascar, they have to encounter neither the hobgoblins of the middle passage nor the scramble of a West India market'<sup>37</sup>. He deemed the VOC's short-distance slave trade from the Cape to Mozambique and Madagascar as more humane than the much-maligned transatlantic 'middle passage'. Macartney spent several years in the West Indies (1774-1781), when slave traffic was at its height there. His words on slave importation, therefore, are imbued with the authority of an informed critic.

Dundas wanted Macartney to avoid the subject of slave importation in their public correspondence. Macartney assured Dundas that he had: 'purposely avoided the Negro-subject, as relating to this Colony in my public despatch, as indeed I shall always endeavor to avoid any other subject the mention of which might induce discussion or inquiry...The care and security of those under whom I act, are most interesting considerations with me, so that I trust if all my public letters were to undergo the ordeal either of Parliament, or the India House, no prejudice would arise to those whom they are addressed to [ie. Henry Dundas]'<sup>38</sup>. Henry Dundas informed Macartney on 26 January 1798 of how he had been 'very glad' Macartney had 'not introduced the subject of the Importation of Negroes at the Cape', in his public despatches to Dundas<sup>39</sup>. Dundas wrote to Macartney: 'as [the importation of slaves] is one of the very few points in which Mr Pitt and I differ in our view of the public interest, it

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<sup>36</sup>BL MS 63f, Macartney to Dundas, 27 July 1797.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. V De Kock, Those in Bondage, (Pretoria, 1963), p.47: slaves were sold 'by scramble' in the West Indies (ie. there was a rush or 'scramble' on the part of prospective owners at slave auctions to claim the slaves of their choice).

<sup>38</sup>BL MS O63f, Macartney to Dundas, 7 May 1798.

<sup>39</sup>Gubbins, MS 63f, Macartney to Dundas, 26 January 1798.

is my wish as much as possible to avoid its being mentioned in such a shape as might bring on a discussion between us, or call the public attention to the subject'<sup>40</sup>.

Macartney's advocacy of a 'limited importation of Negroes' to the Cape pleased Dundas<sup>41</sup>. Dundas assented to Macartney's permission of a second and even a third license to import slaves into the colony, provided that this was 'essential to the interests of the Colony'<sup>42</sup>. Dundas was happy with Macartney's assurance that the importation of slaves was under his 'immediate check and control'<sup>43</sup>. Macartney prudently followed Dundas's words, granting three licenses during his brief governorship (1797-99). Two of these licenses were carried out during his stay at the Cape. Francis Dundas (acting-governor in 1799), however, revoked the third license, but reissued the license later in 1799. Macartney further ensured Henry Dundas that the importation of slaves to the Cape would 'be managed with all possible caution and reserve'<sup>44</sup>. Macartney, therefore, imported slaves into the colony even though it was his responsibility as governor of the colony to limit slave importation.

Craig and Macartney endorsed the landing of slaves at the Cape, albeit with the consent of Henry Dundas. Macartney's first two licenses (the Good Hope and the Harbinger), however, fell short of their expected cargoes and the governor, therefore, allotted a third license (to

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid. Macartney was referring specifically to the Good Hope in this instance. This 'limitation' of slave importation to the Cape, however, describes Macartney's reasoning towards the colonial government's licensing of slave imports to the Cape.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>BL MS O63f, Macartney to Dundas, 7 May 1798.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

import 400 slaves to the Cape) to business partners, Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant. This coveted license was obtained by their agreement to undertake a risky slave trade to the west coast of Africa in 1799. Although the west coast of Africa offered little in way of profit, it put the merchants in the front of the queue for the next license. Macartney sanctioned the importation of one slave cargo from the west coast of Africa, to prevent Cape merchants from trading in slaves with Portuguese colonial slave merchants from Mozambique<sup>45</sup>. He did this to protect the English East India Company's trade charter<sup>46</sup>. Macartney's successor, Francis Dundas (acting-governor) annulled, but then reissued, Macartney's third and final license.

From the reissue of Macartney's third license (1799) to the putting into effect of the Slave Trade Act (1 January 1808), successive British and Dutch Batavian governors and acting-governors (Yonge, De Mist, Janssens, Baird, Grey and Caledon) permitted the landing of slaves on the basis of an unfulfilled "promise". Cape merchants manipulated circumstances to their favour by leading newly-appointed governors to accept the retrospective validity of their predecessors 'permissions' to import slaves into the colony - as licenses. The underlying cause of this "promise" was the scarcity of slave labour and the hope that it could be assuaged by the supply of a quantity of imported slaves. The labour scarcity, however, could not be solved by the importation of a single slave cargo at the Cape.

Isaac Stromboom was the only Cape burgher to obtain a license from the VOC to buy slaves off the east coast of Africa. He intended to send the Eliza to Mozambique Island in 1795.

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<sup>45</sup>BO 157, Day Book (Diary), 23 May 1799.

<sup>46</sup>BO 153, 'Letters Despatched: Jan 1799-July 1799', F. Dundas to Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant.

Winter, and the arrival of the British occupation, postponed the voyage. After some 'mature consideration'<sup>47</sup>, Macartney renewed Stromboom's license on 17 May 1797<sup>48</sup>. It was the only instance in the history of slave importation to the Cape whereby a private citizen was allowed to send a vessel to Mozambique to purchase slaves for the colony. Macartney's license, however, bore two conditions: the English East India Company's trade charter was to be respected and the slaves were to be sold at a public auction<sup>49</sup> in the same manner as the Joachim<sup>50</sup>. Stromboom's boat, the Good Hope, left Table Bay for Mozambique Island after some delays (August 1797)<sup>51</sup>. The overdue boat was still 'daily expected' (2 December 1797) nearly three months after its departure<sup>52</sup>. There were speculations that the boat, flying British colours was, or would be, captured by French cruisers in the in the Mozambique channel (January 1798). The Good Hope returned to the Cape with 150 slaves after six months at sea. It was reported that 'owing to various accidents [the Good Hope] had not been able to procure half the number of slaves in her permission'. The disappointing cargo was sold in April 1798, leaving the colonial demand for slaves for 'the usual cultivation' (ie. the harvest at the start of

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<sup>47</sup>BL MS O63f, Macartney to Dundas, 24 July 1797.

<sup>48</sup>BO 160, 'Day Book', 18 May 1797.

<sup>49</sup>Public auctions were auctions permitted by the colonial government.

<sup>50</sup>BO 160, 'Day Book', 18 May 1797: '...the slaves shall be sold by public vendue after due notice in the manner prescribed by Major General Craig for the last Cargo suffered to be landed and sold here'.

<sup>51</sup>BO 150, 'Letter's Despatched: 1797 August - 1798 January', H. Ross to the Burgher Senate, 2 December 1797.

<sup>52</sup>BO 150, Andrew Barnard to Isaac Stromboom: 'owing to various accidents [the Good Hope] had not been able to procure half the number of slaves in her permission'.

the year) unsatisfied<sup>53</sup>.

On 28 March 1798, Alexander Tennant and his partner Donald Trail (the 'House of Trail & Co. ') applied to Macartney for a license to import 400 slaves into the colony. This application was refused on the grounds that Isaac Stromboom had already been granted a license for this purpose. Tennant submitted another request to import slaves from Mozambique to the Cape (in the Carolina) to Macartney in April 1798<sup>54</sup>. He justified this license with the Good Hope's failure. Tennant tried to win the governor's sympathy by mentioning the failure of an earlier business venture (rice importation). His ploy failed. Even though these early applications on the part of Tennant were refused, they indicate the persistence with which merchants petitioned the colonial government for licenses for the importation of slaves. Macartney wrote to Dundas of his consideration the granting of a 'much importuned' second license to import slaves<sup>55</sup>. He would deal with slave importation in such a way that it would 'be so restricted and regulated, as to be of general benefit and unobnoxious to particular complaint' to the British antislavery movement<sup>56</sup>. Henry Dundas wrote to Macartney that he had been 'perfectly satisfied' with Macartney's management of licenses for the importation of slaves into the colony. He urged the governor, however, to be discreet on this matter in his public correspondence<sup>57</sup>. He had scrupulously rejected petitions for slaves. The Burgher Senate was the most persistent

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<sup>53</sup>BL MS O63f, Macartney to Dundas, 7 May 1798. BO 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800: these slaves were sold for approximately 500 rijksdaalders each.

<sup>54</sup>Gubbins, 'Macartney Papers', Tennant to Macartney, 9 April 1798.

<sup>55</sup>BL MS O63f, Macartney to Dundas, 7 May 1798.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Gubbins Collection, 'Macartney Papers', Henry Dundas to Macartney, 26 January 1798.

petitioner for slaves at this time. There were, however, other petitioners<sup>58</sup>. In fact, Macartney was so irritated by the Burgher Senate's tireless petitioning that he asked the body to concentrate on their municipal duties and see to the maintenance of the roads of Stellenbosch<sup>59</sup>. Merchants, however, kept up the stream of petitions into the governor's office throughout the first British occupation.

On 23 May 1798, Macartney offered shares in a license for one ship to import slaves from the west of the Cape to 'Merchants or residents in the Cape Town [who had] at various times made pressing application for permission to import Slaves from Mozambique'<sup>60</sup>. The ship was 'to bring a Cargo of Slaves from the West Coast of Africa, from Angola, or from Calabar on the bight of Benin'<sup>61</sup>. Shareholders stood to loose their portion of the 5,000 rijksdaalder 'bond' (and ship and cargo) if they imported slaves or 'India Goods' to the Cape from east of the colony<sup>62</sup>. Peterson and Bougaard declined Macartney's offer, as there 'was no security' for British ships at the port of Angola<sup>63</sup>. Also, the customary barter of slaves for European and East India goods further up the west coast of Africa was impracticable for Cape merchants. On

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<sup>58</sup>Petitioning for licenses for the importation of slaves is covered in some more detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>59</sup>BO 152, 'Letters Despatched', Macartney to the Burgher Senate, 10 February 1798. Macartney admonished the Burgher Senate for the 'disgraced' state of the colony's upkeep.

<sup>60</sup>BO 157, Day Book, 23 May 1798, lists these merchants: Hogan, P. Cloete, Stromboom, Peterson and Bougaard (partners) and Roos.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.: 'Gentlemen as accept a share of this indulgence give Bond of 5000 Rd. with forfeiture of Ship and Cargo not to import from the Eastward of the Cape'.

<sup>63</sup>BO 90, Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant to Macartney, 30 May 1798. The partnership were willing to import slaves from Mozambique or Madagascar should the eventuality arise.

30 May 1798, Macartney received a proposal from Hogan and Tennant to import 400 slaves from the west coast of Africa to the Cape. The governor accepted the application and gave the merchants twelve months (1 June 1798 to 31 May 1799) to complete their license<sup>64</sup>.

Through this license, Macartney tried to prevent communication between Cape colonial merchants and Portuguese colonial slave merchants at Mozambique and Madagascar (areas of VOC slave supply). Hogan informed Macartney that it was from Mozambique and Madagascar 'alone' that 'some solid advantages' could be 'expected in that very necessary article of commerce [ie. slaves]'. The partnership regretted that Macartney had prohibited 'communication with Mozambique and Madagascar'<sup>65</sup>. In January 1798, however, Macartney granted Françoise de Lettre a passport to Mozambique on condition that he did not purchase slaves or proceed to any other place. De Lettre's occasional involvement in slave importation to the Cape suggests this voyage was related to slave importation from Mozambique to the Cape.

Hogan confirmed his acceptance of this license, writing: 'as it is an undertaking that no other person or persons would enter into, totally unknown, never has been attempted<sup>66</sup>, and in

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<sup>64</sup>Francis Dundas was appointed acting-governor in November 1798.

<sup>65</sup>BO 90, Hogan to Macartney, 25 May 1798. BO, 'Memorials', 111-115, Françoise de Lettre to Macartney, 20 January 1798: De Lettre applied for a pass to proceed to Mozambique on 20 January 1798. Macartney allowed him to go there on condition that he only went to Mozambique. It is evident Macartney was concerned about the EIC's trade charter to the east of the Cape.

<sup>66</sup>A slave voyage to the west coast of Africa had not been attempted during the first British occupation of the Cape. The first slave trade expeditions to the Cape were from Angola, before the Dutch West India Company curtailed that trade. Michael Hogan would have been aware of this trade, however. See Armstrong and Worden, 'The slaves', in *Shaping*, p.109-111.

consequence attended with great difficulty and much risk to the first adventurers, we humbly hope that Government will extend its indulgence as far as the existing laws will admit'. Significantly, the partners hoped Macartney would 'consider that the risks we have to run will entitle us to a preference in any future Speculation of the Same nature'. Should the West African slave trade be successful, Hogan argued, 'many Applications [would] be poured in [to the governor's office] by persons less enterprizing who only wait the issue of our undertaking'<sup>67</sup>. Hogan and Tennant's success in slave importation during after the first British occupation suggests that this license secured the monopoly on slave importation to the Cape they so eagerly sought. The Harbinger's license was a means to an end for Hogan and Tennant: they obtained preferential treatment in licenses to import slaves to the Cape. This voyage basically secured future 'rights' for the merchants to import slaves to the Cape. Short-term profit, therefore, was never on the cards so far as the Harbinger was concerned.

We know the date of the Harbinger's departure from the following piece of information: Lady Anne Barnard hoped that Macartney, whose ship had stopped at St. Helena on the way back to England, would receive a letter which she had sent with 'Hogan's schooner' in November 1798<sup>68</sup>. Before the Harbinger returned from Guinea<sup>69</sup>, however, Joaquim Rosario Monteiro's boat, the Joaquim arrived at the Cape. The Joaquim arrived laden with 450 Mozambican slaves, under Manoel Jose Gomes on 27 January 1799. The boat's crew and slaves wanted

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Dorothea Fairbridge, Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape (Cape Town.), p.81; and BO 90, Hogan and Tennant to Macartney, 5 March 1799.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

'Water and Refreshments'<sup>70</sup>. The boat was ostensibly bound for Rio de Janeiro<sup>71</sup>.

Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas<sup>72</sup> (newly-appointed acting governor) was flooded with requests for the landing of these slaves. On 19 February 1799, Francis Dundas wrote to the Burgher Senate<sup>73</sup>, quoting their argument on the interdependence of corn production and slave labour at the Cape: 'You represent that on account of the Want of Slaves the Culture of hands cannot increase in proportion to the Consumption, to which you ascribe the high prices of Grain, an article of the first necessity; of this I am perfectly persuaded, that I have had it in Contemplation to admit to an entry a Cargo of Mozambique slaves are proper for the Colony; and if, in your opinion, an importation of Four Hundred Slaves ought to be allowed'<sup>74</sup>. The Burgher Senate believed that 400 slaves were necessary for the colony. Dundas agreed with their opinion. Francis Dundas wrote to Henry Dundas on 6 April 1799: 'I was the more easily induced to consent to the importation of a certain number of slaves by Messrs. Hogan and Tennant from the consideration that the late Governor Earl Macartney had already granted them his permission to import 400 slaves from the West Coast of Africa, which they had

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<sup>70</sup>RCC, Vol.3, Donald Campbell (Port Captain of Table Bay) to Henry Dundas, 8 May 1800, p.126. CA NCD (Notarial Protocol Series) 1/32: Monteiro's outfitting of the vessel to import slaves to the Cape (March 1798). NCD 1/20, several entries late March 1799: Hogan settles some debts with Monteiro (completed in 1803).

<sup>71</sup>RCC Vol.3, p.126, Donald Campbell (Controller of Customs) to Henry Dundas, May 1800.

<sup>72</sup>Francis Dundas was Henry Dundas's nephew.

<sup>73</sup>B.O 153, W. Somerville (Garrison Surgeon) to Hercules Ross (Secretary of the Colony), March 1797: describes the Burgher Senate's 'urgent representations' to the colonial government for slaves.

<sup>74</sup>B.O 153, Dundas to the Burgher Senate, 19 February 1799.

undertaken to do but failed in the attempt<sup>75</sup>. Dundas allowed the landing of the Joaquim's slave cargo in February 1799<sup>76</sup>.

On 8 March 1799, Michael Hogan explained to Dundas that only fifty slaves were expected from the Harbinger<sup>77</sup>. He was hopeful Dundas would 'not object' to the admittance of the Joaquim's cargo in the light of the failure of the West African voyage<sup>78</sup>. If Dundas allowed them the importation of these slaves, Hogan and Tennant would 'consider [their] special license as Annulled'. Tennant asked the acting-governor to persuade the Collector of Customs to issue him a permit to land the slaves (10 March 1799). Dundas ordered John Hooke Greene (Collector of Customs) to land the slaves - not, however, before 10 March 1799<sup>79</sup>. Once he had seen the certificate of the slaves' health, he requested that Donald Campbell (Port Captain of Table Bay) allow the slaves to be landed<sup>80</sup>. The landdrost of Stellenbosch, R.J van der Riet, was instructed to advertise the public auction (14 March 1799) of these slaves in the

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<sup>75</sup>RCC, Vol. 3., F. Dundas to H. Dundas, 6 April 1799.

<sup>76</sup>BO 90, Burgher Senate to F. Dundas, 25 February 1799.

<sup>77</sup>The slaves may have been from Guinea, since two Guinea slaves which had been brought to the Cape 'five years' beforehand were advertised in the Kaapsche Courant (KC), 14 January 1804. BO 153, 'Letters Despatched: Jan. 1799 - July 1799', F. Dundas to H. Dundas, 14 June 1799: the boat arrived at the Cape with 47 slaves in June 1799.

<sup>78</sup>CA A (Accession) 1415 (74), 'The Andrew Barnard Letterbook, 1797-1803', Andrew Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800: Hogan complained of his losses to Francis Dundas. Andrew Barnard (c.1762-1807) was Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony, 1800-1803.

<sup>79</sup>BO 153, 'Letters Despatched: January 1799 - July 1799', Dundas to J.H. Green (Collector of Customs), 8 March 1799. The slaves were not to be landed before the 10 March 1800.

<sup>80</sup>BO 153, 2 March 1799, Dundas to Campbell; RCC, Vol.3, Campbell to Henry Dundas, 8 May 1800; and, BO 153, F. Dundas to Campbell, 11 March 1799.

Stellenbosch, Paarl and the Drakenstein and Zwartland regions<sup>81</sup>. Hogan and Tennant<sup>82</sup>, however, sold 381 slaves<sup>83</sup> from the Joaquim (April 1799), after the 'longest quarantine on record'<sup>84</sup>.

## 2. George Yonge and the Collector scandal, March 1800.

Michael Hogan used legitimate and clandestine methods to bring slaves into the colony from La Rose, La Africano, the Joaquim and Collector<sup>85</sup> between November 1799 and April 1800. Shortly after the Joaquim's departure (March 1799) from the Cape Hogan sent the Collector on a "privateering" 'cruise' for slaves in the Mozambique Channel - to seek out 'such Prizes

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<sup>81</sup>BO 153, Hercules Ross (Secretary of the colony) to R.J. v.d Riet (Landdrost of Stellenbosch), 4 March 1799.

<sup>82</sup>RCC, Vol.3, Campbell to Henry Dundas, 8 May 1800. Campbell wrote that Tennant and Trail were responsible for the sale of these slaves and 'they no doubt for good reasons admitted Mr Michael Hogan to a share'.

<sup>83</sup>South African Library (SAL), Cape Town, Manuscripts Collection, MSB 252, 'The Diary of Samuel Eusebius Hudson, Chief Clerk of Customs, Cape Town. November 1798 - April 1800', (copied from the original now lost, with errors by A.C.G Lloyd). Samuel Eusebius Hudson wrote that 204 males and 20 females were sold at an auction of slaves from the Joaquim on 14 March 1799. BO 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800: Hogan related to Yonge that he had sold 321 slaves from the Joaquim from 17-20 March 1800. BO 40, 'Customs House - Duties and Fees Paid - 1798 October - 1802 December', 1 January to 31 March 1799: 422 slaves were to be sold c.14 March 1799. Andrew Barnard wrote that the House of Tennant and Trail had a share in the cargo. Until an exact number can be determined, the number from customs should be accepted as most accurate - 422.

<sup>84</sup>BO 153, 10 March 1799, F. Dundas to Hogan and Tennant, 2 March 1799: Dundas permitted the landing and sale of the Joaquim's slave cargo, 'as soon as she shall have finished the quarantine'. S.E Hudson, MSB 252: the Joaquim left the Cape for Mozambique on 24 March 1799.

<sup>85</sup>Peter Philip describes the Collector in, British Residents at the Cape, p.182.

as she may take'<sup>86</sup>. This was the only legitimate way in which Hogan could work around the British colonial government's tight regulation of slave importation to the Cape<sup>87</sup>. He first, however, had to obtain lettres de marque from John Holland (judge of the Royal Navy's Vice-Admiralty Court). Yonge was rumoured to have permitted Hogan the importation of at least 600 slaves into the colony during his first week as governor of the colony<sup>88</sup>.

The Collector did not, however, capture slaves from French slave boats in the Mozambique channel. With the Joaquim's assistance, the boat was used to purchase slaves at Mozambique (late 1799). This covert transaction ran contrary to the colonial administration's anti-slave trade stance. The 'prize slaves' were escorted to the Cape by the Collector, aboard its two French 'prize' vessels - La Rose and La Africano<sup>89</sup>. On 10 November 1799, the Collector escorted La Rose into Table Bay<sup>90</sup>. Forty-eight (out of sixty-eight) of the vessel's 'prize

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<sup>86</sup>BO 116, 'Memorials', Hogan to Yonge, 16 April 1800.

<sup>87</sup>BO 116, 'Memorials', Memorial 23, Michael Hogan to George Yonge, 16 April 1800.

<sup>88</sup>Accounts vary on this number. The various sources pertaining to this episode suggest that Yonge allowed Hogan to land 600 slaves at the Cape. This is assumed from the fact that another firm of merchants, Walker and Robertson, petitioned Yonge for the same number - which they stated to be 600 slaves. A 1415 (74) vol.1 (B), 'The Andrew Barnard Letterbook', A. Barnard to Macartney, 14 May 1800, gives the number to be 1600 slaves; K.L, Macartney Papers, 20 December 1800, Barrow to Macartney: 'A Certain respectable Merchant here, very highly connected in England, is said to have paid 3000 pounds sterling for permission to bring into the Colony 800 slaves'; and, KL, Macartney Papers, Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800: 'Mr. Hogan having obtained the exclusive permission to import 1200 slaves into this colony including the cargo [ie. the Joaquim] already landed'. KL, Macarney Papers, Barrow to Macartney, 23 December 1800: Barrow reported to Macartney that Yonge received a fee of 3,000 to allow 'a certain respectable merchant' (ie. Michael Hogan) to import 800 slaves into the colony. Barrow and Barnard exaggerated Yonge's misconduct (see below).

<sup>89</sup>RCC, Vol. IV, 'Original Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate certain charges against Sir George Yonge' (Original Report), 16 March 1800, p.263.

<sup>90</sup>The arrival of La Rose and La Africano is documented in RCC, Vol. IV, 'The Commissioner of Inquiries Report', 16 March 1802.

slaves' survived quarantine on Robben Island. The Collector's crew testified before the Vice-Admiralty Court that the boat and its cargo had been taken in an abandoned state off the Mahie islands<sup>91</sup>. On 25 December 1799, the second 'prize' vessel, La Africano, arrived at the Cape with 25 slaves. Nine of the Collector's crew testified before the Vice-Admiralty Court they had found the boat abandoned near the Seychelles<sup>92</sup>. The Court was under the impression that the vessels were headed for Mauritius.

The Joaquim arrived at the Cape with 422 slaves c.3 March 1800<sup>93</sup>. Hogan reminded Yonge of the permission to import slaves, which the governor had been 'pleased to allow...under the date of the 15th of last February [1800]'<sup>94</sup>. Andrew Barnard (colonial secretary) recounted the details of Hogan's slave trading escapades to Macartney in a private correspondence<sup>95</sup>. He related how, in advance of Yonge's arrival at the Cape, Hogan had submitted a petition to import slaves to General Fraser (who was in command at the Cape between governorships). Hogan asked General Fraser to leave the petition in the governor's office: 'in case permission

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<sup>91</sup>The Mahe islands are now known as the Comores.

<sup>92</sup>The crew's contradictory testimony is well-documented in: RCC, vol. IV, 'Original Report'; KL, Macartney Papers, Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800, Acheson Maxwell (Controller of Customs) to Macartney, 15 July 1800.

<sup>93</sup>Andrew Barnard to Earl Macartney, 10 March 1800. Barnard wrote to the ex-governor that the Joaquim had arrived 'about a week ago with a Cargo of Slaves from Mozambique bound to Rio de Janeiro'. BO 40: 'Customs House - Duties and Fees Paid: 1798 October - 1802 December, List for Ships' duties 1 January 1799 to 31 March 1799. The Joaquim's import duties were 4,220 rijksdaalders. Divide these duties by the 10 rijksdaalder head tax on imported slaves and the number derived is 422 (ie. slaves). BO 153, 'Letters Despatched: Jan. 1799 to Jul. 1799', F. Dundas to J.H Greene (Collector), 8 March 1799: 420 slaves were let through customs.

<sup>94</sup>Yonge became governor of the Cape on 10 December 1799.

<sup>95</sup>CA A 1415 (74), Andrew Barnard 'Letterbook', Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800.

was granted for Slaves to be imported from Mozambique...as he had made the first application'<sup>96</sup>. Michael Hogan submitted a second petition through Yonge's personal office (and private secretary, Mr Blake) shortly after Yonge's arrival at the Cape in mid-February 1800. This second petition reinforced the claims of his former petition (submitted to acting-governor General Fraser in 1799). Hogan anticipated the Joaquim's arrival for March 1800 would be arriving at the Cape early in March 1800. He informed Yonge of the Harbinger's losses. Hogan believed the Joaquim's slaves would benefit the colony and be a meaningful response to the colony's great demand for slaves. He had bought the cargo and the captain of the ship had given him power to sell the slaves where he pleased. Without investigating the matter, Yonge permitted Hogan the landing of the slave cargo.

Royal Navy captains (stationed in Table Bay) complained to John Hooke Greene (Collector of Customs). They threatened to seize and 'prosecute according to Law' the Joaquim and its cargo in the event of the landing of a single slave on Cape soil<sup>97</sup>. They were of the opinion that the transaction was contrary to the Order in Council (28 December 1796) and 'several Acts of Parliament'. The following day, however, Greene informed the captains that governor Yonge had ordered the cargo's landing with his 'Express Permission'. Lady Anne Barnard witnessed the landing of some of these slaves on 9 March 1800: 'I passed a sort of open coast which had a paling round and on looking in saw an immense number of black bowls fixed to etruscan looking figures all in one attitude. I never saw anything so strange. I stopd the carriage and on inquiring what it was, was told it was 300 slaves of Mr Hogan's, part of his

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid: the Naval captains felt the transaction was against the Order in Council of 28 December 1796 and 'several Acts of Parliament'.

cargo which were to be sold next day and that 300 more were to be landed the day after tomorrow'<sup>98</sup>. Hogan sold 321 slaves from the Joaquim by auction at 485 rijksdaalders per slave, from 17 to 20 March 1800<sup>99</sup>. Andrew Barnard notified Macartney on this issue: 'I recollect right you declared a man should not be landed; however when your back was turned it proved otherwise'<sup>100</sup>. On the morning of 26 March 1800, Hogan sold a lading of 'prize slaves' on commission for the navy. After this sale, Hogan ostensibly sent the Joaquim to Rio de Janeiro. The boat was, in fact, sent to Mozambique.

The Collector returned to the Cape in February 1800. Its slave cargo was put through a lengthy quarantine period on Robben Island<sup>101</sup>. On 12 April 1800, 164 'prize slaves' passed through customs into the colony, having satisfied the requirements of the Surgeon-General and the Vice-Admiralty Court. Donald Campbell (Port Captain of Table Bay at the time), however, received reports of foul play with respect to the Collector from Walker and Robertson (business rivals of Hogan and Tennant). These reports were corroborated by the captain and crew of a Danish vessel, the Holger Dansche. Campbell wrote to governor Yonge and to W.S Van Ryneveldt 'stating that he had full proof to produce that the Prizes when taken had not a slave on board the Privateer'<sup>102</sup>. It was unusual, too, for the Collector to have only

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<sup>98</sup>Lady Anne Barnard's Cape Journal cited from, Margaret Lenta, 'Degrees of freedom: Lady Anne Barnard's Cape Diaries', in Mike Leighton (ed.), Eighteenth Century Studies: The Rights of Man, (HSRC, Pretoria, 1992), p.76.

<sup>99</sup>S.E Hudson, MSB 252, 10 March 1800: the Joaquim landed 410 slaves at the Cape.

<sup>100</sup>CA A 1415 (74), Andrew Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800.

<sup>101</sup>Ninety slaves died during the Collector's voyage from Mozambique to the Cape.

<sup>102</sup>CA A 1415 (74), Andrew Barnard to Macartney, 14 May 1800: 'the whole of [the slaves] had been purchased at Madagascar where the Prizes took them on board'.

returned to the Cape with L'Auguste's 'prize slaves', and not the boat together with its slave cargo<sup>103</sup>. Since there was a possibility that Yonge was involved in this business, Campbell sent a despatch to the former governor Macartney (in London). Yonge had made veiled threats to Campbell in the hope that he would drop the matter<sup>104</sup>. At first, suspicion of false witness fell on Campbell. Andrew Barnard went to some trouble to get Yonge to alert Van Ryneveldt on this matter. Yonge's aversion to an investigation, for the obvious reason that he was implicated in the importation of the slave cargo to the Cape, was 'manifested in the beginning'<sup>105</sup>. Van Ryneveldt formed a Commission of Inquiry, to investigate these allegations against Captain Smart and the Collector's crew (16 to 20 April 1800). Meanwhile, Van Ryneveldt confiscated the 'prize slaves'.

Captain Smit and the crew of the Danish boat, the Holger Dansche, testified before the Court of Justice that they had witnessed the occurrence of a transshipment of slaves on the Zambezi river mouth between the Joaquim and the Collector (under the name Mountain)<sup>106</sup>. It was unusual for the the Collector to have flown British flags over French flags (signifying the

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<sup>103</sup>RCC, Vol. 4., p.266: the 'counterfeit prize' slaves were bought at Mozambique. The name, L'Auguste, was a confabulation.

<sup>104</sup>RCC, Vol. 4., p.265; see also, CA A1415 (74), vol. I (B), Andrew Barnard Letterbook, Barnard to Macartney, 14 May 1800: 'At first the parties talked big and threatened Campbell with everything that was terrible'.

<sup>105</sup>KL, 'Macartney Papers', Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.: the Danes 'corroborated the fact of the slaves being purchased partly in Mozambique and partly at a small village near Mozambique called Quilimango'. The Joaquim was light enough to negotiate the sand-bar and transship slaves onto the Collector. BO 157, 'Letters Despatched 1801 October - 1802 March', 23 February 1802: Hogan sold the Holger Dansche and its 'prize' contents in February 1802.

capture of French 'prize vessels') when it had arrived at Mozambique without slaves<sup>107</sup>. At first, the Collector's crew presented a confusing 'equipoise of evidence' before the Court of Justice<sup>108</sup>. However, one of the officers aboard the Collector eventually testified that two logbooks had been kept during the boat's voyage.

A strange series of events thus unfolded. Firstly, nine of the Collector's crew - witnesses at the hearing of the Vice-Admiralty Court - vanished. Campbell found the boat's 'true' logbook in the chief mate's trunk and 'the Defence was given up'. Captain Smart, who had made an oath on the false logbook before the Vice-Admiralty Court, mysteriously disappeared the day after the authentic logbook's discovery. He had allegedly visited Alexander Tennant the evening before his disappearance from the colony, and told him that it was in his power to ruin Michael Hogan. Donald Campbell summed up the activities of these vessels at Mozambique for Henry Dundas (April 1800): 'I clearly proved by the Officers and Crew of the Collector itself, and by the regular Logbook of the Vessel, that the Slaves on two small Vessels La Rose and Africa, as stated by the Danes, were purchased by the Commander of the Collector, Mr. Smart, at Mozambique, and that the Collector had sailed from thence to the River Quilimane on the Coast of Mozambique, where her Commander not only purchased the Cargo of Slaves on board the Joaquim, which arrived at this port a few days before the Collector'<sup>109</sup>. The Court of Justice concluded that the Collector's 'prize slave' had not been seized from French vessels in the south-west Indian Ocean, but purchased illegally at Mozambique. Unsurprisingly, the boats arrived together.

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<sup>107</sup>KL, Donald Campbell to Yonge, 15 April 1800.

<sup>108</sup>KL, Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800.

<sup>109</sup>RCC, Vol. 3., p.126.

Michael Hogan, therefore, was suspected of fraud. He appeared before the Court of Justice near the end of the trial (ie. after the discovery of the logbook). His former confidence sank low when the authentic logbook was produced before the court<sup>110</sup>. Hogan stood to lose the profits from the sale of the slave cargo. He also stood to be severely fined should evidence of his guilt be produced. Hogan was worried his family would suffer as a result of this trial<sup>111</sup>. Further, Hogan wrote to Yonge: 'what is of still greater Importance to him [ie. himself, the 'memorialist'], His Character as a Merchant and a Man has no resource left, but that of Reference to Your Excellency, pledging himself most solemnly to prove in any manner that shall be required of him, the fairness and legality of the transaction...'<sup>112</sup>. Being owner of the the Collector and Joaquim made him look guilty - but there was no evidence of his guilt. Hogan reportedly paid off Smart with 2,000 rijksdaalders and had him rushed out of the colony on a boat bound for Rio de Janeiro<sup>113</sup>. When the second logbook was produced in court, Campbell relaxed. He could no longer be accused of false accusation. Campbell compassionately agreed to drop charges Hogan<sup>114</sup>. The Court of Justice did not fine Hogan, since the loss of profits on the slave cargo were punishment enough. None of the Collector's crew were punished for perjury.

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<sup>110</sup>KL, Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800.

<sup>111</sup>BO 116, Hogan to Yonge, 16 April 1800.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid. John Holland (Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court since 1797) was allegedly involved in Hogan's suspect activities. KL, Macartney Papers, Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800. After the Court of Justice's trial, Hogan and Holland were sarcastically dubbed the 'Par nobile fratrum' (noble brothers).

<sup>113</sup>RCC, Vol.4, p.265.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.: p.264-265.

A Commission of Inquiry was formed to investigate charges made against Yonge in March 1802<sup>115</sup>. Yonge was the alleged recipient of a bribe worth several thousand pounds for a license which permitted Michael Hogan to import 600 slaves into the colony<sup>116</sup>. This business was transacted through Yonge's private office by his niece's husband and private secretary, Blake, and Yonge's aide-de-camp, Major Cockburn. Blake and Cockburn had bought shares in Hogan's projected slave trade. Blake, however, fell out with Hogan over the Joaquim's 18,147 rijksdaalder profits when the boats slave cargo was sold in March 1800<sup>117</sup>. The Commissioners concluded that: 'A very strong degree of presumption appears in the several circumstances brought forward, that [Yonge] connived at and promoted the corrupt practices carried on in his family'<sup>118</sup>. Cockburn claimed that these activities were bona fide and that he had profitted only from the sale of ten slaves (his share in the venture). Yonge informed the Secretary of State that he had 'consented to the supply of slaves being completed' in March 1800<sup>119</sup>. The Commission of Inquiry (1802) concluded that Hogan was to blame for the Collector's illicit activities<sup>120</sup>. Campbell, however, had dropped the charges against Hogan in 1800.

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<sup>115</sup>The October 1801 Commission comprised: T.P van de Leur (Brigadier-General), J. Pringle (English East India Company agent and Commissary General), E. Buckley (Civil Paymaster) and John Barrow (Auditor General). They submitted their report on 16 March 1802.

<sup>116</sup>KL, Acheson Maxwell to Macartney, 15 July 1800.

<sup>117</sup>RCC, Vol. 4, p.258.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid.: p.280.

<sup>119</sup>CA A1415 (74), Barnard to Macartney, 10 March 1800: 'I know not that your rule of conduct so far from serving as a model for [Yonge] is seldom approved of, and still seldomer following'.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

Barrow noted that slave importation to the Cape was 'in its Zenith' during Yonge's governorship<sup>121</sup>. When Dundas replaced Yonge in 1800, he was adamant to follow Macartney's example of a 'limited importation' of slaves to the Cape. Dundas permitted only one importation of slaves into the colony from 1801-1803: Dundas granted the merchant firm Walker and Robinson permission to land slaves from La Calypso (170 slaves) and Le Claire (245 slaves) in 1802<sup>122</sup>. These slaves were transhipped from the Joaquim, which was in Table Bay at the time. This was the last 'permitted' admission of slaves of the first British occupation period.

Aside from the slave boats and slave cargoes mentioned in the text, one other notable slave cargo was landed at the Cape by the Nimfa da Mer, in April 1802. Over 250 'prize slaves' were captured from French slave boats (the Oisseau (June 1799), Le Gleneur (December 1800), La Raisable (Sept 1801) and Les Deux Amis (late 1801)) by the Royal Navy during a flash-point of Anglo-French hostility from 1799-1802. W.S Van Ryneveldt noted that slaves were imported to the Cape at a 'moderate' yearly rate during the first British occupation<sup>123</sup>. He failed to mention that this 'yearly rate' was unintended.

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<sup>121</sup>KL, Macartney Papers, Barrow to Macartney, 23 December 1800.

<sup>122</sup>BO 126, 'Letters Received from various individuals', F. Dundas to J.H Greene, 9 February 1802.

<sup>123</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing', p.120.

**Chapter III: the admission of slaves and 'Negro apprentices' at the Cape, 1803-1818.**

1. The Dutch Batavian Administration, 1803 to 1806<sup>1</sup>.

The peace of Amiens restored the Cape to the Dutch on 25 March 1802<sup>2</sup>. This took place during the first British occupation of the Cape, which ended in February 1803. Five hundred slaves were sold from the Felicia Eugene (January 1803)<sup>3</sup> at the Cape, between February and March 1803<sup>4</sup>. The sale of this cargo seems to have taken place contrary to the VOC precedent

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<sup>1</sup>The seminal work on the Dutch Batavian Administration is W.M Freund's, 'Society and Government in Dutch South Africa: the Cape and the Batavians, 1803-1806' (Ph.D, Yale University, 1972), on slavery and slave importation see pp.243-251. Freund has claimed that approximately 1,095 slaves were imported to the Cape during this period. Owing to the sociopolitical emphasis of his thesis, Freund has not elaborated on slave cargoes, slave boats and slave prices. J.C Armstrong and N.A Worden quote Freund's incorrect figure in, 'The slaves, 1652-1834', in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (Cape Town, 1989), p.249. See also J.P van de Merwe, Die Kaap Onder die Bataafse Bestuur, 1803-1806, (Amsterdam, 1926), Chapter XIV, 'Arbeid en Slawerny', pp.271-282. Freund has drawn much of his empirical information from Van der Merwe. P.J Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the 18th Century, (Universitaire Pers, Leiden, 1963), esp. 91-95. H.L.G Swart, 'Die ontwikkeling', p.132-147. See also Robert Ross, 'Abolitionism, the Batavian Republic, the British, and the Cape Colony', in Gert Oostindie, Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit, (Leiden, 1995), p.179-187. This article is concerned more with Dutch antislavery in Europe and its repercussions at the Cape. The article does not say much on the influence of Dutch antislavery on decisions relative to slave importation to the Cape.

<sup>2</sup>The Dutch Batavian Administration began on the 21 February 1803. The British reoccupied the Cape on 18 January 1806.

<sup>3</sup>This boat was called the Felix Eugenia in the Dutch Batavian Administration's scheepsrolle (shipping rolls), 1803-1806, CA ZK 4/35. This boat is listed in Table I in the appendix of this thesis. KC 5 February 1803, the 500 slaves (400 male and 100 female) were described as 'zeer gezonden' (very healthy). KC 19 February 1803: the sale of the Felicia Eugene's slaves was disturbed by the presence of three other Portuguese colonial slave boats at the Cape.

<sup>4</sup>KC 19 March 1803, Michael Hogan appears to have had an interest in the sale of these slaves. KC 19 February 1803: the sale of the Felicia Eugene's cargo was disturbed in February 1803 when a rumour was spread amongst the inhabitants of the colony that slaves from three Portuguese boats lying in Table Bay were to be sold at the Cape. The boats

of governor approval of slave importation, no matter what the nationality of the slave boat. This was the result of administrative confusion during the changeover between the first British occupation government and Dutch Batavian Administration. William Ferrar Venables<sup>5</sup> imported slaves into the colony from the Juno shortly after the Felicia Eugene's slave cargo was sold<sup>6</sup>. Two further loadings of slaves were imported before the Dutch Batavian administration attempted to control slave importation to the Cape. These slaves were delivered to the colony by an unidentified slave boat and a French slave boat, La Legere<sup>7</sup> (March 1803). Slaves were only imported from 'foreign' vessels during the first British occupation. Like the first British occupation (1795-1803), the Dutch Batavian Administration (1803-1806) was influenced by the ever increasing volume of slaves that was being transported from the east coast of Africa to Brazil and the Mascarenes.

The political philosophy of the Dutch Batavian Administration was based upon 'natural law' principles of Roman-Dutch jurisprudence<sup>8</sup>. This 'natural law' was also a secular philosophy of church (Protestantism) and state. The Dutch Batavian government was, therefore, opposed

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proceeded to Rio de la Plata. The slaves were sold at several auctions.

<sup>5</sup>Peter Philip, British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819, (Cape Town, 1981), p.437: Venables was a British colonial merchant who started his mercantile career at the Cape in the service of Alexander Tennant.

<sup>6</sup>Table I, Appendix I.

<sup>7</sup>La Legere imported 130 slaves to the Cape. France and Holland were allies. Therefore, it was acceptable for the Dutch Batavian Administration to admit La Legere's cargo into the colony.

<sup>8</sup>A.H Murray, The Political Philosophy of J.A. de Mist (Cape Town, no date): discusses De Mist's philosophy and its relation to 18th century European 'natural law'; and William Freund, 'Society and Government', p.82. Freund, p.8, describes De Mist and Janssens as 'reform-minded'.

to slavery in terms of European notions of 'natural law' (ie. slavery ran against the 'enlightenment' conception of the ideal society wherein every member of that society was entitled to "equal rights"). Ross has noted how scholars have come to regard British abolitionism as a liberal revolutionary ideology. On the other hand, late 18th century Dutch antislavery had a politically conservative Protestant basis. The Dutch Batavian Administration adhered to this philosophy<sup>9</sup>. Jacob Abraham De Mist<sup>10</sup> and Jan Willem Janssens<sup>11</sup> opposed slave importation to the Cape. However, the Dutch Batavian Administration's management of slave importation resembled that of the first British occupation government so far as slave importation is concerned. The only major difference between these two administrations was that De Mist (April 1803) and Janssens (November 1805) issued proclamations which forbade slave importation to the Cape<sup>12</sup>.

Janssens believed that the colony had never needed to import slaves and he wished slavery had

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<sup>9</sup>Robert Ross, 'Abolitionism', p.184. Ross says that at the time of the restoration of the House of Orange (1813), abolitionism was seen as part of a rejected ideology.

<sup>10</sup>G.M Theal, History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872, Vol. V, (Cape Town, 1964 ed.), p.119: De Mist was Commissioner-General at the Cape for seven months (21 February to 25 September 1804). De Mist toured the colony for just over five months from 9 October 1803 and returned to the Castle on 23 March 1804.

<sup>11</sup>Janssens was governor of the Dutch Batavian Administration from 1 March 1803, until he capitulated to the second British occupation forces on 18 January 1806. He was a Military Governor like Major-General J.H Craig had been in the first year-and-a-half of the first British occupation. Janssens had been Secretary-General of the Ministry of War (1800). Theal, p.122, Janssens began a tour of the eastern part of the colony on 3 April 1803 in an attempt to placate the warring Khoi and Xhosa.

<sup>12</sup>W.W Bird, State of the Cape in 1822, p.70: Bird noted in 1822 that Janssens' proclamation 'still in force, prohibits the landing of slaves'.

never been introduced to the Cape<sup>13</sup>. The colony's tradition of slave importation caused him anxiety. The Dutch Batavian Administration was averse to slave importation. Janssens, however, understood the colony's demand for slaves in spite of the anti-slave trade stance of the Dutch Batavian Administration (December 1804). His opinion was that the 'whole industry' of the colony relied on slave labour, and the 'abolishment of slavery in South Africa would destroy all property and plunge the Colony into misery (perhaps for good)<sup>14</sup>. Ending the 'recruitment' of slaves to the Cape (ie. prohibiting slave importation) would 'have the most disastrous consequences' for the colony. Janssens and Van Ryneveldt shared similar views on slavery and slave importation<sup>15</sup>. Van Ryneveldt informed the Dutch Batavian administrators in his 1805 'description' of the colony that 'now and then' a moderate ('matige') importation of slaves had been permitted by first British occupation government<sup>16</sup>. Van Ryneveldt informed De Mist and Janssens that there was no alternative to slave labour at the Cape and that 'slaves must be imported' to the colony by the government in 1805<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup>The Dutch Batavian Administration introduced one major reform to slavery at the Cape: all children born of slave mothers after 1805 were to be declared free.

<sup>14</sup>C.f P.J Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the Eighteenth Century, (Universitaire Pers, Leiden, 1963), p.91: Janssens (Liesbeeck Headquarters), Enclosure F of 'Memorial' dated 10 December 1804.

<sup>15</sup>See Chapter II for more information on Van Ryneveldt's views on slavery and slave importation.

<sup>16</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing', p.121.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.196 and p.202. G.M Jeffreys, (transl. and ed.), The Memorandum of Commissioner J.A De Mist, containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope, 1802, Van Riebeeck Society, Vol.3, (Cape Town, 1920), p.252: De Mist recommended that slave importation from Java be 'immediately forbidden by the Government. On the other hand, he stressed that the number of slaves imported to the Cape by foreign slave boats be 'decreased annually, until the traffic entirely ceases'.

The Batavian government proclaimed that no slave importation to the Cape would be allowed without government approval on 12 April 1803<sup>18</sup>. This proclamation was publicised in the Kaapsche Courant (23 April 1803). After 1801, this weekly periodical published the details of Cape slave auctions in its 'advertiser' supplement. The significance of slave importation during the Dutch Batavian Administration should not be underestimated. More slaves were imported to the Cape during the Dutch Batavian Administration than during the first British occupation - on a proportional scale. In spite of their good intentions (expressed by way of proclamations which banned slave importation), the Dutch Batavian Administration's limitation of slave importation was even less effective than that of the first British occupation. Françoise de Lettre, Alexander Tennant, Isaac Stromboom and Rynier Beck participated in slave importation during the first British occupation and the Dutch Batavian Administration<sup>19</sup>. Michael Hogan, however, left the colony in 1804. Joaquim Monteiro supplied the Cape with slaves from Mozambique up to 1808. This slave importation took place with the government's approval. Certain merchants made repeat slave trades from Mozambique to the Cape, for example: Hippolite Mordeille (1803 and 1804), George Love (1804) and Manoel Pedro de Almeida (1804 and 1805)<sup>20</sup>.

In December 1804, Janssens expressed the opinion that 'those slaves who are absolutely

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<sup>18</sup>KC 23 April 1803 (translation from Dutch): 'by provision and until later disposition, no permission for the landing and importation Slave Cargoes shall be given by the Government'. The phrase 'until later disposition' ('tot verdere dispositie') let the importation of slaves hang in the balance; Freund, p.248.

<sup>19</sup>See Chapter IV.

<sup>20</sup>The men and their boats are listed in Appendix I, Table I.

necessary must be brought over in our own ships'<sup>21</sup>. Janssens wanted to re-establish government control over slave importation to the Cape. Like the VOC government of the 18th century before him, he believed the sale of slaves at the Cape by foreigners was causing an outflow of specie. No slave trading expeditions were sent to Mozambique by Cape merchants or the Dutch Batavian government<sup>22</sup>. With the exception of two importations of slaves - one by a French<sup>23</sup> and the other by a Spanish slave boat<sup>24</sup> - the majority of slaves imported to the Cape during the Dutch Batavian Administration were from Portuguese and American boats. This was the natural result of the increasing flow of Portuguese and American slave traffic from the east coast of Africa to the Americas. In spite of a proclamation prohibiting the importation of slaves to the Cape, the Batavian government permitted the entry of eleven loadings of slaves between June 1803 and January 1806, namely: the Pimpolla de Rosa (June 1803); Ave Maria (November 1803); Nimfa do Mar (January 1804 and February 1805); Minerva (March and June 1804); Horison (May 1804); Susanna (November 1804); General Izedro (December 1804 and March 1805); and Elizabeth (November 1805). Slaves were imported to the Cape during the Dutch Batavian period as a result of the Cape burghers' demand for slave, the landing and sale of slaves during the first British occupation (which legitimised slave importation to some extent) and the lack of a solid anti-slave trade policy during the Dutch Batavian Administration.

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<sup>21</sup>Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope, p.94, cites Janssens's 'Memorial', 10 December 1804.

<sup>22</sup>One Batavian ship, De Hoop (July 1804), may have brought slaves to the Cape from Rio de Janeiro on its way to Batavia (Java). The vessel's captain, Hypolite Mordeille, had imported slaves to the Cape on another occasion in La Legere (March 1803). See Table I.

<sup>23</sup>Appendix I, Table I, La Legere (March 1803).

<sup>24</sup>Pimpolla da Rosa (June 1803). KC 19 November 1803, the boat had been renamed Rose-Budd; ZK 4/35, "scheepsrolle", name changed to Priam Poace.

Janssens issued another proclamation prohibiting slave importation to the Cape in November 1805<sup>25</sup>. Janssens permitted the importation of 100 slaves (December 1805) on condition that the slaves were not bought with Spanish coin (ie. "hard cash" or specie)<sup>26</sup>. The colony's defence from Britain took precedence over its labour supply during the last months of the Dutch Batavian Administration. A large slave cargo of slaves was admitted into the colony from the Arroyo de Buenos Ayres (January 1806)<sup>27</sup>. The duration of the Dutch Batavian government was too short for its governors to make any changes to slave importation to the Cape. Slave importation to the Cape gradually increased after the first British occupation. This was a result of international slave traffic in the south-west Indian Ocean. Once again, slaves were imported to the Cape in spite of anti-slave trade rhetoric.

## 2. The second British occupation (1806-1808)

Britain's Slave Trade Act (1807) came into effect throughout the British Empire (including the Cape) in January 1808<sup>28</sup>. Although Britain encouraged suppression of slave importation to the Cape between these years, slave importation flourished. Between 1804 and 1807, Joaquim Rosario Monteiro imported five separate loadings of Mozambican slaves (1,075 slaves) to the

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<sup>25</sup>Swart, 'Die ontwikkeling', p.146.

<sup>26</sup>Van der Merwe, Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Bestuur, p.279.

<sup>27</sup>Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>28</sup>W.W Bird, State of the Cape in 1822, p.2-3: 'The first important event [at the Cape colony], after the capitulation in 1806, was the abolition of the slave trade'. Bird went on to write that: 'Slaves were also landed in 1807, one year after the second capture, and one year previous to the abolition; which, taking place in 1808, may be considered as having at the time some immediate influence; and which must, before this period, have had a perceptible operation on domestic life, as well as on the habits, manners and morals of the inhabitants'.

Cape in the General Izedro<sup>29</sup>. The General Izedro was his slave trading replacement for the Joaquim<sup>30</sup>. George Grey<sup>31</sup> (Military Commander and acting-governor, January 1807 to May 1807) refused Monteiro's application to import 100 slaves from the Diana (January 1807)<sup>32</sup>.

Alexander Tennant asked Lieutenant-General David Baird<sup>33</sup> (acting-governor, 9 January 1806 to 18 January 1807) for permission to import 1000 slaves into the colony in June 1806<sup>34</sup>. Baird allowed Tennant to import 500 slaves into the colony in reciprocation for Tennant's advice on colonial matters<sup>35</sup>. Tennant's opportunity soon arose. The General Izedro, under Joaquim Monteiro's brother, Antonio Salvador Monteiro, arrived at Table Bay with 420 slaves on 10

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<sup>29</sup>The General Izedro arrived at the Cape as the Restaurador, on 20 November 1807. Table II, Appendix II, Four hundred and fifty-one "prize negroes" were admitted into the colony from the Restaurador (January 1812), when it was wrecked in Table Bay.

<sup>30</sup>Through the combined efforts of Michael Hogan and Joaquim Monteiro, at least 1,396 Mozambican slaves were imported to the Cape in the Joaquim, 1797-1802. Figures from Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>31</sup>Henry George Grey (1766-1845).

<sup>32</sup>CA, Council of Policy (CO) 3861, 'Memorials 1807', J.R Monteiro to Grey, Monteiro had 'no means of liquidating [his expenses at the Cape] but by a sale of Some part of his Cargo'.

<sup>33</sup>David Baird (1757-1829).

<sup>34</sup>CA CO 5, 188 and 189, 'Returning Papers relative to Mr Tennant', enclosed letter, Alexander Tennant to Sir David Baird (Governor and Commander-in-Chief), 13 June 1806.

<sup>35</sup>CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth (Colonial secretary) to Tennant, 7 November 1806; and, Alexander Tennant to Earl of Caledon, 19 December 1807, 'Your Memorialist encouraged by the condescension of His Excellency [Sir David Baird], was...induced to Solicit permission to land one thousand slaves in this colony on his own account, and obtained a licence from His Excellency for the importation of Five Hundred'.

February 1807<sup>36</sup>. The boat left Mozambique (20 November 1806) and Quelimane (16 December 1806) for Mauritius<sup>37</sup>. Two months later, however, the boat was forced to change its course for Table Bay (19 January 1807). It was severely affected by a storm and its passengers needed food, water and repairs. Tennant repeatedly asked Grey to authorise the importation of the General Izedro's slave cargo. Grey eventually submitted to Tennant's requests. Tennant sold the whole of the General Izedro's cargo (383 slaves) in March 1807<sup>38</sup>.

The boat was 'to sail back for Mozambique' on 10 April 1807<sup>39</sup>. Antonio Salvador Monteiro, however, was caught smuggling Spanish coin out of the colony. He was fined by the government and forced to borrow 14,000 rijksdaalders from Rynier Beck (J.R Monteiro sometimes employed Beck as his agent at the Cape) in order to cover the fine, legal costs and

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<sup>36</sup>The slaves were placed in quarantine on Robben Island for thirty days before they were disembarked at Cape Town.

<sup>37</sup>PC 3/1, the boat left Mozambique on 20 December 1806.

<sup>38</sup>CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth to Tennant, 6 March 1807, for permission; CO 3864, 'Memorials 1807', this source appears in CO 5, 188 and 189, Customs House, 11 September 1807, Tennant imported 383 slaves into the colony and paid 8,320 rijksdaalders in duties. There was controversy over the amount of slaves Tennant was allowed to import from the General Izedro. Tennant had sold 221 slaves on behalf of the owners of the Nossha Sinhora May des Homens in December 1806. CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth to Tennant, 23 February 1807, he was allowed to land 279 slaves from the General Izedro in fulfillment of his permission to land 500 slaves at the Cape. CO 5, 188 and 189, Tennant to Grey, 6 March 1807, Tennant demonstrated to governor Grey that he had sold the Nossha Sinhora May des Homens on commission for the owners of the boat. CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth to Tennant, 6 March 1807, Tennant was allowed to land the whole of the General Izedro's cargo.

<sup>39</sup>That is according to an elderly passenger aboard the General Izedro. Table Bay Harbour Officials gave 11 April 1807 as the date of departure.

expenses which he had incurred at the Cape<sup>40</sup>. Beck lent the money in ready cash. A.S. Monteiro finally left Table Bay on 18 April 1807 and Simon's Bay c.30 May 1807. The boat was laden with ballast. Monteiro was left with debts. Joaquim Rosario Monteiro returned to the Cape to pay off his brother's debt with a cargo of slaves aboard the General Izedro on 20 November 1807 - which was now called the Restaurador<sup>41</sup>. The government, however, had to ratify this private arrangement. Monteiro feigned ignorance of the colony's opposition to slave importation in order to overcome the restrictions which the second British occupation government had placed on slave importation after 1806, in anticipation of the forthcoming anti-slave trade legislation. There is, unfortunately, no record of the importation of the Restaurador's slaves at the Cape.

Tennant was determined to complete Baird's license (of 500 slaves) before the enforcement of the Slave Trade Act (1 January 1808). He wrote up a contract of sale (2 February 1807) for a consignment of slaves with Tormaso Guitera, supercargo of Portuguese colonial slave boat the Neptun Afriquin<sup>42</sup>. The cargo was expected in October 1807<sup>43</sup>. Guitera stipulated that all slaves landed alive at the Cape would be Tennant's property. Tennant, therefore, had a vested interest in the boat's arrival. His success, however, depended on the ratification of Baird's permission before the enforcement of the forthcoming anti-slave trade legislation. Tennant

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<sup>40</sup>CO 3866, Memorials, 1807: extract from notarial record of Antonio Salvador Monteiro (1 May 1807), enclosed in memorial of Joaquim Rosario Monteiro, 8 December 1807.

<sup>41</sup>PC 3/1, J.R Monteiro was captain and supercargo of the Restaurador. The 220 ton boat departed from Mozambique on 25 October 1807.

<sup>42</sup>CO 3866, Memorials 1807, Act of sale of slaves, signed Alexander Tennant and Januario de Quitera, 2 February 1807.

<sup>43</sup>CO 3864, Memorials 1807, Tennant to Caledon, 7 September 1807.

applied to Grey for the importation of the Neptun Afriquin's slave cargo<sup>44</sup>. The Neptun Afriquin arrived under the name, Constantia, with 260 slaves, on 17 December 1807<sup>45</sup>. For the benefit of the Cape administration, the boat stated its destination to be Rio de Janeiro. We know from the 'Act of Sale', however, that the boat was really intended for the Cape. Its slave cargo was 'bona fide [Tennant's] sole property'. The Constantia's unseaworthiness validated Tennant's claim to the importation of its cargo. In the same manner as the General Izedro (December 1806), the delay caused by ship's repairs endangered the boat's living cargo<sup>46</sup>.

Understandably, the Constantia's arrival prompted intercommunication between Tennant, Grey and Caledon. Grey felt Tennant's claim of having 'exclusive permission' to import slaves to the Cape was an unreasonable interpretation of Baird's original intentions (November 1806). Tennant's primary concern, however, was the importation of the slave cargo. He informed governor Caledon<sup>47</sup> (19 December 1807) that the governor had been mistakenly informed by Andrew Barnard that his license had been completed. Additionally, Grey produced a letter from Baird to Tennant as evidence against Tennant's claim that the to an 'exclusive permission' to an importation of slaves<sup>48</sup>. Tennant knew the problem lay in the number of slaves he had

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<sup>44</sup>Grey was acting-governor of the Cape from 17 January 1807 to 22 May 1807.

<sup>45</sup>PC 3/1. The Constantia weighed 138 tons.

<sup>46</sup>CO 5, 188 and 189, Tennant to Grey, 6 March 1807, the General Izedro's (March 1806) slaves 'were landed by the owners, as act of humanity in Sir David Baird, in consequence of their being laid under embargo'.

<sup>47</sup>Du Pre Alexander, Earl of Caledon (1777-1839) was governor of the Cape from 1807-1811.

<sup>48</sup>CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth to Tennant, 1 November 1806: 'His Excellency's Orders to acquaint you that it is his intention to permit You to import a certain number of negroe slaves into this settlement but that he never can consent to grant You any exclusive privilege to that effect according to Your request'.

imported into the colony and not on the license itself. He provided Grey with proof of his sale of 221 slaves from the Nossha Senhora May dos Homens on commission (5%) for its owners in December 1806<sup>49</sup>. These slaves were not imported into the colony as a result of Baird's license. Likewise, he demonstrated that the General Izedro's cargo had been sold wholesale by its captain, Manoel Pedro de Almeida in March 1806. On the other hand, Tennant acknowledged that he had sold the whole of the General Izedro's (March 1807) slave cargo (383 slaves). Grey, however, left the colony before this issue could be straightened out. Tennant, therefore, brought this matter to the attention of Grey's successor, the Earl of Caledon<sup>50</sup>.

Tennant convinced Caledon that he was worthy of Baird's license. Caledon allowed him to import 117 of the Constantia's slaves into the colony in March 1808<sup>51</sup>. According to Caledon, the 117 slaves would complete Baird's permission of 500 slaves. With the exception of seven slaves, which belonged to the captain and master of the boat, Tennant sold 110 slaves at Jan

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<sup>49</sup>CO 5, 188 and 189, Smyth to Tennant, 23 February 1807 and Tennant to Caledon, 9 September 1807. This is a deduction.

<sup>50</sup>The Earl of Caledon (Du Pre Alexander) was governor of the Cape from 22 May 1807 to July 1811. CO 5, 188 and 189, Tennant to Caledon, 9 September 1807 and 19 December 1807.

<sup>51</sup>CO 9, Items 27 and 28, 'Committee appointed by Government, by Proclamation bearing date the 29th April 1808 for the purpose of making Enquiry into an illicit Traffic of Slaves clandestinely landed in this settlement in defiance of the laws, and for taking such further informations as are directed by the aforesaid Proclamation' [note: this is abbreviated as COI (Commission of Inquiry) in Appendix I]. Following the specifications of the contract, seven slaves out of this number went to the masters of the vessel, Perreira and De Souza. Tennant sold 118 slaves in a private capacity from December 1807 to May 1808: 6 from the Ann; 12 from the General Izedro; and, 110 from the Constantia.

Breda's<sup>52</sup> public auction on 11 and 12 January 1807<sup>53</sup>. The boat and the remainder of its slave cargo left Table Bay on 20 January 1808<sup>54</sup>. It foundered at 'Schaapen island' off Saldanha bay and the remainder of its slave cargo was sent to Robben Island (13 February 1808)<sup>55</sup>. Tennant, however, was contractually bound to buy those slaves from the Constantia which were landed on Cape soil. Baird's permission was thus complete. Caledon indentured the remaining 99 slaves to Tennant as "apprenticed negroes" in terms of the Slave Trade Act<sup>56</sup>. The introduction of the Slave Trade Act put an end to the Cape's role as a slave market.

A slave cargo was rumoured to have been clandestinely sold at the Cape shortly after the passage of the Slave Trade Act (1 January 1808)<sup>57</sup>. Caledon, therefore, established a Committee of Inquiry to investigate illicit slave importation to the Cape in the months shortly after the implementation of the Slave Trade Act. The Committee of Inquiry (W.S van Ryneveldt, Clemens Matthiessen and T. Dashwood) held twelve sittings from 2 May to 13 June

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<sup>52</sup>Commission of Inquiry (1808), refers to the auction in one instance as 'Tennant's Auction'. Of the 96 slaves traced in the COI there were: 82 'adults', 12 boys and 2 girls. Many of these slaves were resold in the course of the year 1808 by their buyers. The slaves (boys and men) sold at an average price approximately 495 rijksdaalders each at this auction.

<sup>53</sup>Guitera and his first mate were allowed to keep seven slaves (crew and servants), as specified in Guitera's contract with Tennant (February 1807).

<sup>54</sup>PC 3/1, records the Constantia's detention by navy on the same day by the Harrier. See also CO 3868, Memorials 1807, Memorial of Alexander Tennant, 8 March 1808: the slaves had been on the boat for so long, they were landed on Robben Island at the request of the Deputy Marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court. Tennant was obliged to pay for these slaves (12 of whom were dead) and for their food and water.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>See below for an explanation of 'Negro apprenticeship'.

<sup>57</sup>CO 9, items 27 and 28.

1808, complemented by two 'extraordinary' sittings on the 27 and 30 June 1808<sup>58</sup>. Van Ryneveldt was a proponent of gradual abolition of slave importation to the Cape during the first British occupation and the Dutch Batavian Administration. Clemens Matthiessen was the colony's vendue master and had presided over many public auctions of slaves. Buyers and sellers of slaves during the period prescribed by Caledon's proclamation were questioned and had to produce the receipts of their slave transfers to the Commission.

Failure to appear before the Commission on the arranged dates warranted a 1,000 rijksdaalder fine. The commission investigated the sale of slaves from the Ann, Rosalia, Albuquerque, Paroquito and the Constantia (January to May 1808)<sup>59</sup>. The slaves which were landed at the Cape from these boats were sold to the colony's urban and rural slaveholders. There were buyers from as far inland as the Bokkeveld region (north-west of Cape Town). The slaves were sold at auctions and private sales in first quarter of 1808. Some of the slaves were resold within the six month period examined by the Committee. Alexander Tennant, Louis Antoine<sup>60</sup> and Jean Des Vasges were amongst those questioned for the importation of slaves to the Cape during the period investigated by the Committee. The auction of the Constantia's slaves at Jan Breda's garden (11 and 12 January 1808) was investigated in detail. The Commission wrote the following in a letter to Caledon on 9 August 1808: 'We beg leave to state that a rumour having been circulated respecting a Portuguese Slave Ship, which sailed from Table Bay some months past having landed slaves under the Shore of Blue Berg - we have made every enquiry,

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid: Antoine was a Portuguese seaman who arrived at the Cape aboard the General Izedro in 1806. He sold slaves on commission for the Rozalia's crew in 1808. He appears to have worked with a certain Jean Des Vasges at this time.

& have reason to believe the Report has been without foundation.<sup>61</sup>

### 3. 'Negro Apprentices', 1808-1818<sup>62</sup>

Britain wanted to eradicate slavery throughout its Empire. Britain, therefore, discouraged slave importation to its colonies in the first quarter of the 19th century. Conversely, the British metropolitan government encouraged the systematization of wage labour in its colonies. The Slave Trade Act (1807) prohibited slave importation throughout the British Empire and promoted the suppression of European slave importation from the slave coasts of Africa. The Act led to the implementation of 'Negro apprenticeship'<sup>63</sup> at the Cape. 'Negro apprentices', from grounded Portuguese ships, were indentured indentured for a term of "unfree" labour at the Cape. This abolitionist labour system bridged the gap between unfree contracted chattel labour and 'free' wage labour at the Cape<sup>64</sup>. Over 3,400 'Negro apprentices' were distributed

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Christopher Saunders has published two articles on "prize negroes": 'Liberated Africans in Cape Colony in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', International Journal of African Historical Studies, 18 (1985), pp. 223-39 and, a revision of 'Liberated Africans', 'Free Yet Slaves: Prize Negroes at the Cape Revisited', in C. Crais and N. Worden, Breaking the Chains (Cape Town). Craig Iannini has studied the dynamics of master-servant relationships of "prize negro" apprenticeship in, 'Contracted Chattel: Indentured and Apprenticed Labor in Cape Town, c. 1808-1840', M.A, (UCT 1996). Susan Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828', Ch.7 in S. Marks and A. Atmore, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa, (London, 1980), p.170-207.

<sup>63</sup>The term 'Negro apprenticeship' encompasses the terms "apprenticed negroes" and "prize negroes". The distinction between "apprenticed negroes" and "prize negroes" is elucidated below.

<sup>64</sup>A similar system of 'apprenticeship' was introduced at the Cape after the Emancipation Act (1834). See Nigel Worden, 'Adjusting to emancipation: Freed slaves and farmers in the mid-nineteenth-century South-Western Cape', in W. James and M. Simons (eds), The angry divide: social and economic history of the western Cape, p.31-39 (Cape Town, 1989).

amongst the navy, colonial government and colonists from 1808 to 1818<sup>65</sup>. The majority of these 'Negro apprentices' were so-called "prize negroes" - ie. slaves captured from French slave boats by the British Royal Navy and thereafter indentured at the Cape. The first wave of 'Negro apprenticeship' co-existed with slavery until indentures of the last 'prize slaves' (La Neptune) expired, after ten years, on 1 December 1830<sup>66</sup>. Theoretically, these were the last "prize negroes" at the Cape<sup>67</sup>.

'Negro apprenticeship', however, accomodated the continued admission of "unfree" Mozambican labourers ('Mozbiekers') to the Cape after 1808<sup>68</sup>. Between 1808 and 1818, Cape governors confiscated 658 slaves on humanitarian grounds from the following Portuguese: the

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<sup>65</sup>Saunders, 'Free Yet Slaves', p.102, 'at least 2,000 Prize Negroes were introduced into the Cape Colony in the decade after British involvement in the slave trade ceased on the first day of 1808'; Patrick Harries, 'Labour Migration from Mozambique to South Africa; with special reference to the Delagoa Bay hinterland, c.1862 to 1897', (Phd., University of London, 1983), p.48: 'During the Napoleonic wars a total of 2,032 "prize Negroes" captured from British and French slavers were landed at the Cape and indentured for a period of up to 14 years'. Shell, Children of Bondage, p.145: c. 5,000 "prize negroes" were brought to the Cape from 1808 to the 1840s. Also, Thompson's Travels, vol. II, cites census: there were 1,118 male and 652 female "prize negroes" at the Cape in 1823.

<sup>66</sup>Craig Iannini, 'Contracted Chattel: Indentured and Apprenticed Labour in Cape Town, c.1808-1840', M.A Thesis (History), (University of Cape Town, 1996), (Hereafter, 'Contracted Chattel'), p.16. CA ZP/1/1/30, microfiche transcripts from the Public Record Office in London (P.R.O), CO (Colonial Office) 48/60: 150 'prize slaves' from La Neptune were condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court on 16 December 1816 and indentured by the Collector of Customs (Blair) on 21 December 1816. RCC, Vol. XV, Blair to Somerset, 18 December 1822, Le Jeune Victor and La Neptune were the last "prize negroes" admitted into the colony during Blair's time of office as Collector of Customs. Iannini, 'Contracted Chattel', p.109, William Duckitt (Agriculturalist), for example, employed slaves and "prize negroes" at the same time. These indentures would expire shortly before the slaves were emancipated.

<sup>67</sup>This was not to be the case, however, since "prize negroes" were imported into the colony during the 1840s.

<sup>68</sup>Robert Shell, Children of Bondage, p.147, has erroneously suggested that "prize negro" 'apprenticeship' was a euphemism for 'a semi-clandestine and unsuspected slave trade to the Cape'.

Constantia (1807-1808), Rosalia (1808), Flor de Bahia<sup>69</sup> and Pacquet Real (1818)<sup>70</sup>. The fiscaal manumitted these slaves and indentured them as "apprenticed negroes" for seven years<sup>71</sup>. The Pacquet Real arrived at the Cape on 14 April 1818, after seventy-one days at sea<sup>72</sup>. The boat required repairs and its passengers (crew and slaves) required refreshments and medical care. Unable to pay his creditors for services rendered at the Cape, J.P de Souza saw the indenture of his slave cargo as the only means of paying his debts. According to Governor Charles Somerset<sup>73</sup>, the slaves could be considered to be the abandoned goods (according to Roman-Dutch Law) of a neutral nation (ie. Portugal). Somerset concluded that the slaves were subject to the colony's laws. There was a bit of a struggle over between Somerset (representative of the colony's laws) and the Vice-Admiralty Court (representative of British imperial maritime laws) the jurisdiction of the slaves, since the Vice-Admiralty Court claimed that the slaves were under the jurisdiction of the navy. The boat was destroyed

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<sup>69</sup>RCC, Vol. 12, Somerset to Golbourn (Secretary for War and the Colonies): Somerset hospitalised the Flor de Bahia's dying slave cargo at Simon's Town, while he waited for instructions from the Secretary of State ('proper authorities'). He did not allow the Vice-Admiralty Court to condemn the slaves as "prize negroes".

<sup>70</sup>RCC, Vol. 12, p.5-6: Somerset's admission of the Pacquet Real's slave cargo into the colony sparked off controversy between the colonial government and the Vice-Admiralty Court.

<sup>71</sup>CA ZP/1/1/30.

<sup>72</sup>PC 3/1, gives 11 April 1818 as the date. It says that the boat landed 167 slaves and registered 160 tons. It left Mozambique for St. Salvador on 2 February 1818.

<sup>73</sup>Somerset was Governor of the colony from 1814-1827

by a north-westerly gale in Table Bay and about 20 slaves were drowned<sup>74</sup> (18 May 1818)<sup>75</sup>. The survivors were indentured as "apprenticed negroes" by the fiscaal.

The Royal Navy captured 'prize slaves' from French slave boats in the south-west Indian Ocean during the Napoleonic Wars<sup>76</sup>. 'Prize slaves' were 'condemned as forfeited' by the Vice-Admiralty Court<sup>77</sup>. Thereafter, "prize negro" 'apprentices' were indentured for fourteen years<sup>78</sup>. The selection of "prize negroes" took place at the Customs House under the auspices of the Collector of Customs, Charles Blair (who held the post from 1808-1826)<sup>79</sup>. Blair offered

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<sup>74</sup>Glenda Cox, has studied the skeletons of twenty-five of the Pacquet Real's Mozambican slaves in: 'Historical Background and Isotopic Analysis of Skeletons Found Near the Site of Fort Knokke, Cape Town Foreshore', (unpublished BA (Hons.) (Archaeology), University of Cape Town, 1995).

<sup>75</sup>PC 3/1: the brig, Jane, and the schooner, Rambler, also parted from their anchors and were driven ashore. This source gives an incorrect date here: 18 April 1818. See also, K.C 23 May 1818, on storm. The 60th regiment saved 140 of the Pacquet Real's cargo of c.160 slaves. Seven died in hospital.

<sup>76</sup>French slavers imported Mozambican and Madagascan slaves to work on the sugar plantations of the Mascarenes. Technically, slaves confiscated from British slavers by the Royal Navy could also be indentured as "prize negroes" at the Cape. At least 502 'prize slaves' were admitted into the colony and enslaved during the first British occupation (1795-1803). British 'prize agents' (ie. Cape merchants) sold these slaves on a commission basis for the navy.

<sup>77</sup>For more on the establishment and role of the Admiralty Court (also called the 'Prize Court' and 'Piracy Court') see C.J De Villiers, 'Die Britse Vloot aan die Kaap', 1795-1803, unpublished M.A thesis (History), (UCT, 1967), pp.169-174; on the Vice-Admiralty Court during the first British occupation ('Prize Court'), see pp.174-182. John Holland (Postmaster General) was the first judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court (1798). Similar courts were established in Sierra Leone (1808) and Cuba (1820) to promote Britain's suppression of slave importation.

<sup>78</sup>Saunders, 'Liberated Africans', p.226: condemned 'prize slaves' were called 'liberated Africans' by Sierra Leone's Vice-Admiralty Court. The phrase 'prize slave' like 'prize goods' was derived from the maritime word, 'apprized' (meaning seized).

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p.226.

the indentures of the fittest individuals (ie. those 'prize slaves' which were to become "prize negroes") to the army, navy and government. Those remaining were divided amongst his friends and creditors and, lastly, the colony's inhabitants<sup>80</sup>. Over 2,800 "prize negroes" were indentured at the Cape from 1808-1818. The Royal Navy brought large consignments of 'prize slaves' to the Cape aboard the following vessels: the Albuquerque (January 1808), La Suffleur (November 1808), La Esperance (December 1808), La Charlotte, Esperance, Trois Amis (February 1810), Elizabeth (January 1812), Restaurador, an unnamed slave boat (February 1812), Sao Joaquim (March 1815), La Jeune Victor (January 1816) and La Neptune (December 1816)<sup>81</sup>.

The British Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst, ordered Cradock (governor from 1811-1814) to issue a proclamation prohibiting the admission of 'slaves' into the colony (November 1812) when smallpox broke out at the Cape<sup>82</sup>. Another proclamation was issued in March 1813, requiring illegally imported slaves to report themselves to local magistracies (26 March 1813). Close surveillance of internal slave transfers at the Cape, however, was introduced with the Slave Register and the office of the Registrar for Slaves in 1816. The Register enabled authorities to monitor the movements of slaves and 'Negro apprentices' within the colony, thereby preventing the addition of illicitly imported slaves to the colony's 'unfree' population. In 1822, a wealthy Cape merchant, Launcelot Cooke, charged Charles Blair with corruption on the grounds that he had profitted from the re-apprenticeship of "prize negroes" whose

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<sup>80</sup>Blair was corrupt. There was a Commission of Enquiry into his dealings in 1825. This source contains a considerable amount of information on the admission of "prize negroes" into the Cape colony. Mention Blair's 'Return', from 1808 to 1816.

<sup>81</sup>Table II, Appendix II provides relevant details on these boats.

<sup>82</sup>RCC, Vol. 8, Bathurst to Cradock, 13 July 1812.

masters had died<sup>83</sup>. The imperial Commissioners sent to investigate the affair (in 1823), J.T Bigge and W.M.G Colebrooke, did their best to exonerate Blair. Blair and his assistant, William Wilberforce Bird (a customs clerk), were exposed for corruption in the indenture of "prize negroes" in 1825<sup>84</sup>. Blair was criticised for his wrong-doings and retained his post<sup>85</sup>.

What was the purpose of 'Negro apprenticeship'? 'Negroes' were trained to cope with wage labour in order to be assimilated into 'free' society. According to the Order in Council of 1808, 'Negro apprenticeship' enabled slaves to acquire 'the knowledge of their business as servants'<sup>86</sup>. Progress 'in the employment, by which he or she were to earn a lively hood' was closely monitored<sup>87</sup>. The system inculcated a sense of the early 19th century "protestant work ethic". On the other hand, habits which led to vagrancy and dependency - idleness, intoxication and disobedience - were to be abhorred by the assignees of indentures. The reality of the situation in the early 19th century was that creolized slaves had adjusted better to Cape

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<sup>83</sup>Saunders, 'Free Yet Slaves', p.106. CA CO 4453, 'Papers and Report of Commissioners re Inquiry upon conduct of messrs Blair and Bird in the disposal of Prize Negroes'; Saunders makes use of a reproduction of this informative source on "prize negroes", in British Parliamentary Papers, 1826-27, xxi (42), p.125. Theal has reproduced the report of the Commissioners in RCC, Vol. XXII. This excludes the annexures. See also J.B Peires, 'The British and the Cape, 1814-1834', in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, (Cape Town, 1992), p.478.

<sup>84</sup>RCC, Vol. 22, 'Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry to Earl Bathurst upon the complaints of Mr. Lancelot Cooke, Cape Town 22 July 1825', p296-328. The commissioners had been instructed 'to obtain some general information...respecting the disposal and treatment of Prize Negroes in the colony', before setting out to the colony's interior in November 1823.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid, p.107: re-apprenticeship only took place when "prize negroes" were unable to earn a wage.

<sup>86</sup>Iannini, 'Contracted Chattel', p.111.

<sup>87</sup>ZP/1/1/30.

society than 'Negroes'. Consequently, 'Negro apprentices' had low status in the colony and remained on a par with their predecessors - chattel slaves.

Christopher Saunders has argued that 'Negro apprentices' 'constituted an important labour source [in the south-western Cape] after the importation of slaves came to an end'<sup>88</sup>. There had always been a demand for imported labour at the Cape, and 'Negro apprenticeship' was, therefore, readily adopted as a suitable alternative to slavery. When governor Cradock was instructed to find labourers for the colony (1813)<sup>89</sup>, it was understood that "prize negroes" would supplement the existant supply of coerced labourers (ie. slaves, Khoikhoi, Bastaard-Hottentoten, convicts and bandietten). The Khoikhoi were increasingly coerced into 'unfree' labour after 1774<sup>90</sup>. This trend continued well into the 19th century. 'Negro apprenticeship' was at its peak just when slavery, as a labour system, was gradually being phased out. However, state intervention in labour (especially Ordinances 49<sup>91</sup> and 50 of July 1828<sup>92</sup>) at the Cape after the Slave Trade Act (1807) led to an acute labour shortage in the south-western

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<sup>88</sup>Saunders, 'Liberated Africans', p.236; and, Saunders, 'Free, Yet Slaves', in Crais and Worden (eds.), Breaking the Chains, p99.

<sup>89</sup>Saunders, p.226.

<sup>90</sup>The broad trend of coerced labour outside of slavery can be traced from the 1770s to 1841. The Master and Servants Act (1841) facilitated the 'proletarianization' of labour at the Cape after the Emancipation of Slaves Act (1834). Penn, 'The northern Cape frontier zone', p.216: much of the colony's Khoi were coerced into 'unfree' labour or killed during the VOC's implementation of the Commando system on the colony's frontier from 1774-1798.

<sup>91</sup>Ordinance 49 (14 July 1828) stipulated that people (ie. Khoikhoi) moving across the colony's 'frontier' were obliged to carry passes.

<sup>92</sup>Ordinance 50 (17 July 1828): the Khoisan had to carry carry passes (ie. their movements were restricted) and they had to accept other terms as defined in law.

Cape<sup>93</sup>. This shortage of 'unfree' labourers was protracted by the arrival of 5000 British settlers in the new district of Albany in 1820<sup>94</sup>.

In 1820, Sir Rufane Donkin was convinced the Spanish slave boats the Isabella, Caridad and San Jose wanted to disembark slaves at the Cape<sup>95</sup>. However, the vessels proceeded to Havannah. It is evident slave importation was successfully suppressed by the colonial government and Royal Navy at the Cape from 1808 to 1818<sup>96</sup>. "Prize negro" 'apprenticeship' facilitated the implementation of the Slave Trade Act during the Napoleonic Wars. This system allowed British colonial administrators to redefine 'unfree labour' at the Cape. The bottom line on "prize negro" 'apprenticeship', is that it allowed for slaves (albeit 'prize slaves') to be imported into the colony. After this, few 'prize slaves' were admitted into the colony after the admission and indenture of the Pacquet Real's slave cargo. There is evidence of the admission of "prize negroes" into the colony during the 1820s (eg. the Maria Leonora (February 1828))<sup>97</sup>. The supply of "prize negroes", however, dwindled until a 'second wave' were admitted into the colony during the 1840s.

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<sup>93</sup>Susan Newton-King discusses labour transformations at the Cape from 1807-1828, in 'The labour market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa, (London, 1980), p.170-207.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.: Irish and English indentured labourers supplemented 'Negro apprenticeship' labour in the 1820s.

<sup>95</sup>RCC, Vol. 13., Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin to Earl Bathurst, 16 February 1820, pp.26-27.

<sup>96</sup>Saunders, 'Liberated Africans', p.224, 'Between December 1808 and December 1816 twenty-seven ships' were brought to the Cape and their cargoes (over 2,100 slaves) condemned and forfeited.

<sup>97</sup>Craig Iannini, 'Contracted Chattel', p.21, n.24: cites The Colonist (28 February 1828) and describes the poor living which 'prize slaves' endured aboard the Maria Leonora.

## Chapter IV: Cape Town's Slave Market, 1797-1808.

This chapter examines Cape Town's role as a slave market at the turn of the 19th century. It focusses on the role of Cape colonial merchants in the importation of slaves to the Cape from 1797-1808. This Chapter therefore differs from Chapters III and IV which focussed on the colonial government's regulation of slave importation to the Cape. This chapter begins with a description of the demand for slaves at the Cape at the turn of the nineteenth century. Origins and destinations of slave boats which stopped at the Cape from 1797-1822 are listed in order to give an idea of the kind of slave traffic which passed the Cape. Thereafter, the supply, sale and pricing of slaves is described.

### 1. The demand for slaves at the Cape, c.1797.

VOC informed Jan Van Riebeeck in the latter part of the 17th century that the Khoikhoi were not to be enslaved<sup>1</sup>. If supplementary labour was required, slaves could be imported to the Cape. The VOC sanctioned slave importation to the Cape without considering an alternative. By the end of the 18th century, therefore, slavery was accepted as the most effective form of labour for the successful tillage of the colony's fields and cultivation of the colony's vines.

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<sup>1</sup>By the end of the 18th century, the most of the Khoisan people were forced into coerced labour. The VOC had reduced the Khoi to this servile status by way of the Commando system in the 1770s and 1780s. Baastard-Hottentotten (progeny of slaves and Khoi) were registered for twenty-five year indentures in what was called the inboek system. Khoi labourers had to carry passes and were force to register as "contracted" labourers at local veldwagtmeesters (regional magistrates).

The Cape's slave population was made up of 'creolized' and imported slaves after 1770<sup>2</sup>. Farmers preferred imported male slaves to 'creolized' slaves. Imported slaves could also be used as chattel labourers, whereas acculturated 'creolized' slaves were skilled and domesticated and, therefore, unsuited to field labour. Farmers bought male slaves, since female slaves and slave progeny were too expensive to maintain. Healthy, young, male slaves were preferred for employment in rigorous farm labour. Female slaves were also prone to infertility<sup>3</sup>. Double the number of male slaves (to female slaves) were imported into the colony from c.1780-1808<sup>4</sup>. Male slaves outnumbered female slaves 5:11 at the end of the 18th century<sup>5</sup>.

The colony was doing badly at the end of the 18th century. Giliomee and Du Toit have called the colony's troubled state a "colonial crisis". The burghers who lived on the colony's frontiers were lawless and the VOC was tyrannical in the areas under its direct control<sup>6</sup>. The VOC's mismanagement of the colony seriously affected agricultural production. Farmers were subject

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<sup>2</sup>Shell, Children of Bondage, p.56: the number of 'creolized' slaves (ie. slaves born at the Cape) added to the colony's slaves population overtook the colony's intake of imported slaves at various times between 1780 and 1808. 'Creolization' became significant after the Slave Trade Act banned slave importation to the Cape in 1807.

<sup>3</sup>Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', 29 November 1797, ascribes the infertility of female slaves to: pre-pubescent intercourse, promiscuity and hard labour.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.58.

<sup>5</sup>Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies', 29 November 1797.

<sup>6</sup>Cape society under the VOC was nothing less than tyrannical, especially from the viewpoint of slaves. Nigel Worden has observed in 'Adjusting to Emancipation: Freed slaves and farmers in the mid-nineteenth-century South-Western Cape', in James, W. and Simons, M. (eds.), The angry divide: social and economic history of the western Cape, (Cape Town, 1989), p.31, that by the mid-19th century arable agriculture and the colony's markets were: 'accompanied by the privatisation of land, the stratification of producer wealth and credit, and a labour force more completely divorced from the means of production than elsewhere in the sub-continent'. This was the VOC's legacy.

to heavy taxes on low-priced produce and hardly profitted from the yields of their crops. There were several occasions in the 18th century when grains had to be imported from the East Indies and even America<sup>7</sup>. The colony's "crisis" worsened with the advent of the British at the Cape in 1795. Grain was in demand, because the number of mouths to feed trebled. Van Ryneveldt observed in 1805: 'before 1794, the country produced more grain, than it does now'<sup>8</sup>. The reasoning behind the demand for imported slaves at the Cape was that grain production would increase if the labour force increased. Slave importation was deemed the best solution for an immediate increase of the colony's slave population. Governor Janssens noted in 1804 that: 'Those who possess many slaves can easily be recognized by the conditions of their farms; everything looks better and more prosperous than with those who have to work with scanty means'<sup>9</sup>.

The first serious petition for slave importation to the Cape in the late 18th century was submitted to the VOC government by the 'Cape Patriots' in 1779. As we have seen, this petition did not make a big impact on the VOC<sup>10</sup>. The colonial government was petitioned many times for licenses for the importation of slaves to the Cape from 1797-1808<sup>11</sup>. The

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<sup>7</sup>Robert Ross, 'The Cape Economy and the Cape Gentry', in Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa, (Johannesburg, 1993), p.15: the Cape was forced to import grain from North America c.1780.

<sup>8</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing', p.117-118: before 1794, farmers transported 60-70,000 mudden per annum to be sold at Cape Town. About 1805, 10-45,000 mudden of corn was being bought to Cape Town on a yearly basis.

<sup>9</sup>P.J Idenburg, The Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the 18th Century, p.102-3.

<sup>10</sup>See Chapter I for background information on slave importation to the Cape at the end of the VOC period.

<sup>11</sup>Slaves were still being sold on the internal slave market after the Slave Trade Act (1807). The Slave Register, however, regulated the internal transfer of slave ownership in 1816.

Burgher Senate was most vocal in its requests for slaves on behalf of Cape burghers in the first couple of years of the first British occupation. The Burgher Senate<sup>12</sup> petitioned J.H Craig for leave to import slaves into the colony, until the release of the Joaquim's cargo in January 1797<sup>13</sup>. The Burgher Senate recommended that Dundas allow 1,000 slaves to be imported to the colony yearly<sup>14</sup>. This petition for an annual quota of 1,000 slaves illustrates the degree to which slave importation was expected by Cape colonists at the start of the first British occupation<sup>5</sup>. The colony's fiscaal (W.S van Ryneveldt), the Court of Justice, farmers, officials<sup>15</sup> and merchants all petitioned the first British occupation government for the landing and importation of slaves into the colony.

The Burgher Senate argued that the shortage of slaves in the colony was the cause of underproduction in the agricultural sector: 'Husbandry...is so unhappily retarded only from a want of slaves or Hands'<sup>16</sup>. A farmer would 'rather choose to make shifts with the small

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<sup>12</sup>Freund, 'Society and Government', p.84, writing of the Burgher Senate c.1807: 'Of the seven members of the Burgher Senate at the time of the Batavian takeover, five, A. Fleck, H.A Truter, J.G van Reenen, J.J Vos and O.M Bergh, were among only thirty-four men and women in Cape Town who owned over twenty-five slaves in 1807, and a sixth, P.L. Cluter, was the brother of two of the richest landowners in the colony'.

<sup>13</sup>Bird, State of the Cape in 1822, p.31.

<sup>14</sup>James Armstrong, 'The Slaves, 1652-1795', in Shaping (1st ed., 1979), p.81: governor Van de Graaff and his Council estimated that the burghers needed 200 to 300 imported slaves a year in 1786.

<sup>15</sup>BO 90, 'Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves', Burgher Senate to J.H Craig, 3 December 1796: Roger Bernardus van Blerk (former Commissary of petty civil and matrimonial matters) was one of the first Cape Dutch colonists who was willing to import slaves to the Cape during the first British occupation. He was not trusted by the British colonial government, during this period of Anglo-French enmity, because of his French-Mauritian contacts.

<sup>16</sup>BO 90, 3 December 1796, Burgher Senate to Craig.

number of slaves he has at hand, and to sow & plant rather less than to run the risk of losing by the Death of a single Slave, the whole profit of his Harvest'<sup>17</sup>. How was it possible to produce an agricultural yield without a sufficient number of labourers? Burghers were not prepared to perform manual labour. Consequently, there was always a shortage of 'unfree' labourers (ie. slaves and 'Negros') at the Cape from before 1780 until well after the 1820.

Tillage was the 'basis of the Colony's prosperity'<sup>18</sup>. The Burgher Senate argued that without imported slave labour 'the Cultivators of Grains and Vines are not able to enlarge their business'<sup>19</sup>. The extensive nature of Cape farming required many labourers, whereas the intensive nature of European farming required relatively few labourers. The Dutch were often accused of idleness by members of the Dutch and British colonial official class eg. John Barrow, Lady Anne Barnard and W.S Van Ryneveldt. The fact of the matter was that young white frontier settlers wanted land, slaves and independence. Their independence, however, could only be assured if cheap slave labour was available. The colony's demand for slaves was most pleadingly expressed before and during the harvest time<sup>20</sup>. Drought, crop failure and military presence resulted in a demand for imported slaves in 'two unusually lean years' (1798 and 1801). The Burgher Senate was concerned that the spread of the Napoleonic Wars into the south-west Indian Ocean might 'possibly remove the Security of a constant importation' of slaves to the Cape. British anti-slave trade thinking, however, jeopardised the hope for a

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>. Marincowitz, 'Rural production and labour in the Western Cape, 1838-1888, with special reference to the wheat growing districts', (Ph.D., University of London, 1985).

<sup>19</sup>BO 90, 29 November 1797, Burgher Senate to Craig.

<sup>20</sup>The Cape's harvest months were January and February.

steady, predictable supply of imported slaves at the Cape.

Van Ryneveldt<sup>21</sup> was an advocate of slave importation, even though he thought that slavery was 'as it is stiled [in the political language of the 18th century], a necessary evil'. Slave importation and slavery were interdependent phenomena to him, in spite of his reservation: 'of this necessity, as far as the Cape is concerned we are not at all convinced', since the soil 'produces abundantly with very little assistance from man'<sup>22</sup>. In his responses to a questionnaire composed by governor Macartney in 1797, Van Ryneveldt estimated that it). The farmer, who accrued a yearly income of 2,300 rijksdaalders functioned at a loss whe cost approximately 2,880 rijksdaalders to hire 30 labourers for a year (240 rijksdaalders a month n he used hired labourers rather than slaves<sup>23</sup>. Expenses included: food, shelter and clothing for the slaves; payment of hired labourers; and the costs of repairing and restoring equipment. Slavery was, therefore, preferable to the budding system of hired labour during the late 18th and early 19th centuries at the Cape. In 1805, Van Ryneveldt repeated his predictions of 1797 that the colony would be ruined without imported slave labour<sup>24</sup>.

## 2. Slave traffic at the Cape, 1797-1818.

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<sup>21</sup>See Chapter II.

<sup>22</sup>Van Ryneveldt, 'Replies'.

<sup>23</sup>BO 50, Burgher Senate to Craig, 10 July 1797: it cost twenty-five rijksdaalders a month to hire a Khoi labourer and six rijksdaalders a month to hire a slave. BO 236, 'Diary of James Callendar': in areas closer to the colony's perimeters, Khoi labourers cost eight to ten rijksdaalders a month to hire. The Cape was debt-ridden at the turn of the 19th century. Farmers loaned money against fixed securities from the Lombard Bank (Loan Bank) at the Cape at the turn of the 19th century.

<sup>24</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing', p.125.

The origins of slave cargoes which stopped at the Cape is of relevance to the study of Cape Town as a slave market<sup>25</sup>. Cape colonial governors were compromised into participating in the slave trading activities of European and American slave traders in the south-west Indian Ocean. Here is a description of the slave cargoes which passed the Cape and their stated origins and destinations. Although this chapter deals with the period 1797-1808, this subsection extends to 1822. Slave vessels which stopped at the Cape from 1797-1822 were usually en route to slave markets of South America (1797-1822), North America (c.1800-1808), the West Indies (1803) and Cuba (1803 and 1819-1820). The most prolific slave traffic was the Portuguese colonial slave trade from the northern coast of Mozambique (simply called 'Mozambique' in the records pertaining to slave boats) to Rio de Janeiro<sup>26</sup>. Portuguese colonial slave traffic was not the only slave traffic to pass the Cape. French, American, English and Spanish slave merchants imported slaves from the east coast of Africa to the various markets of the south-west Indian Ocean and the Americas.

Several eccentric places of origin are ascribed to Mozambican slave cargoes. They are: the Good Hope (April 1798) - Mozambique Island; Nimfa da Mar (January 1804) - Kilwa; and the Elizabeth Sarah (April 1803) - Sofala. Eight slave boats from Quelimane stopped at the Cape from 1800-1822. These were: the Almanac (December 1800), Felicia Eugene (February 1803), Favorite (March 1803), General Izedro (February 1807), Mato Grosso (February 1818), General Cavalante (April 1819) and the Bahiaste (February 1822). David Smart, captain of

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<sup>25</sup>The details (including references) on these boats can be found in Appendices I and II. The slave boats are listed in chronological order.

<sup>26</sup>The South American market is sometimes referred to as 'Brazil', 'the Brazils', 'the Brazells' and 'the Americas'. Rio de Janeiro (River of January) is often called 'Rio Janeiro' and the River Plate, 'Rio de la Plata'.

Michael Hogan's privateer, the Collector, obtained slaves at the village 'Quilimango' on the Zambesi river mouth in tandem with the Joaquim in March 1800. Inhambane (south of Quelimane) was the source of four large slave cargoes which arrived at the Cape from 1804-1812: the Minerva (March 1804), Africano do Rio (November 1805), Doas Iramons Paroquito (January 1808 and October 1809) and the Eneas (January 1812). There was some Spanish slave traffic between Zanzibar and Havannah (Cuba) from 1818-1820). Britain prohibited Spanish slave traffic after May 1820.

Earl George Macartney granted Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant a license to import slaves to the colony from the west coast of Africa in the Harbinger in 1799<sup>27</sup>. This slave cargo was reportedly bought on the Guinean coast. The only other boat to land Guinean slaves at the Cape, was the American slave boat the Ann (December 1807). An English vessel the Resource was captured as a 'prize' off Loango (on the Angolan coast) by the French vessel the Maringo in January 1806. Ironically, the Maringo was declared a prize by the British navy when Britain reoccupied the Cape on 18 January 1806. VOC retourscheppen landed a small number of slaves from the East Indies at the Cape in the early 19th century. Widow Deneys obtained 13 slaves (both sexes) from an unnamed vessel from Coromandel in March 1801. These slaves were her personal property. The Maria Elizabeth (September 1801) landed slaves from the East Indies as remuneration for a debt incurred at the Cape. 'Prize slaves' were admitted into the colony from two Dutch Batavian vessels, the Tilsit and the Marshal Daendals, in February 1810.

British naval vessels brought slave boats which were captured in south-west Indian Ocean (ie.

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<sup>27</sup>See Chapter II for the story of the Harbinger.

the Mozambique Channel and the seas around Madagascar and the Mascarene Islands) to the Cape as 'prizes' during the Napoleonic Wars. Slaves from these vessels became 'prize slaves' (1799-1808) and 'Negro apprentices'(1808-1816)<sup>28</sup>. The British were able to enforce suppression of slave importation in the Indian Ocean when they obtained Mauritius in 1810. The Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Reunion) imported slaves from northern Mozambique and Madagascar functioned as a drop-off point for slaves destined to be re-exported to the Mascarenes. Slave cargoes which were transported from Madagascar to the Mascarenes, therefore, could have originated from Mozambique. The H.M.S Star brought one Madagascan slave (personal property) to the Cape in July 1800. The Harrier arrived at the Cape with a French 'prize', La Suffluer, in October 1808. French 'prize vessels' capture around Madagascar by the British Royal navy included<sup>29</sup>: the Jeune Claire and Pasipic (1808); La Victor (January 1810); La Charlotte, La Creole, Prairie, Esperance, Aventure and Trois Amis (February 1810); the Eliza (March 1813); and La Jeune Victor (January 1816).

Below are the destinations of the Portuguese, American, English and Spanish colonial slave traders who stopped at the Cape, 1797-1822. Logbooks which stated the destinations of boats stopping at the Cape were presented to the Port Captain of the colony. Portuguese colonial slave merchants who intended to sell slaves at the Cape, kept two logbooks aboard their ships: one for the journey from Mozambique to the Cape (the true logbook), and another for the journey from Mozambique to Rio de Janeiro (the false logbook). Slave merchants, therefore,

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<sup>28</sup>See Chapter III.

<sup>29</sup>It is uncertain whether the Goube Mouche (February 1810), La Mouche (April 1810), Lilie (May 1813) and the Lucie (July 1813) were captured off Mauritius or Madagascar. Names of the captor vessels of these French 'prizes' have not been documented. See Appendix Two, Table II.

sometimes concealed slave importation to the Cape by presenting false logbooks (stating Rio de Janeiro as their destination) to the Cape authorities (eg. the Joaquim (1799 and 1800)), Restaurador (1807) and the Flor de Bahia (1818))<sup>30</sup>.

Most of the slave boats which stopped at the Cape from 1797-1812 were headed for Rio de Janeiro. These boats usually undertook their voyages between the months of October and May<sup>31</sup>. When Brazilian-bound slave boats stopped at Table Bay, crews and slaves disembarked at Cape Town and obtained water, medical attention and food. Simon's Bay was used as a harbour in winter, although winter slave traffic in the south-west Indian Ocean was rare. Here are examples of slave boats which were bound for Rio de Janeiro: La Nimfa da Mer (April 1802 and January 1804), Bellisario (November 1803), Diana (December 1806), Dois Iramons Paroquito (January 1808 and October 1809), Prince Regent (January 1809), Paroquito (November 1809), Restaurador (January 1812), Felis Dio (January 1812), Resolution (January 1812), Eneas (January 1812), Esquerria (December 1812), Consession Esperanza (December 1821) and the Bahiaste (February 1822). Some slave boats simply stated their destination to be Brazil (the 'Brazils'): the Animagrande (February 1806), Dido (October 1806), Nossha Senhora May dos Homens (November 1806), Triumfola Iorvija (January 1807), Espada da Ferro (February 1807), Rozalia (March 1808) and the Sao Joaquim (February 1815). Other boats were bound for the River Plate or Rio de la Plata: the Rio (American - October 1803), New York (American - January 1805), General Izedro (March 1805), Arroyo de Buenos Aires (November 1805), Elizabeth (November 1809) and the Dido (November 1809). The Susanna

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<sup>30</sup>Portuguese colonial slave merchants found excuses (eg. low food supplies or debts) to land slaves at the Cape and avoid going to, or pretending to go to, Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>31</sup>The south-west monsoon favoured the passage of boats from Brazil to Africa from August to October.

(American - November 1804) was headed for Buenos Ayres. After 1813, many of the Portuguese slave boats which stopped at the Cape were headed for Bahia (the Flor de Bahia (December 1816 and 1818)) and Pernambuco (the Felis Dio (January 1813 and 1815), Triumfola Iorvija (March 1814), St. Mark (1815) and the Mato Grosso (Spanish - February 1818).

Slave boats headed for destinations other than South America are listed below. During the Dutch Batavian Administration, the Excellentissimo Augusta (1803) called at the Cape en route to Havannah, Cuba. This was an eccentric destination for this time. However, the rise of Spanish colonial slave importation from Mozambique and Zanzibar to Cuba, meant that several Spanish colonial slave boats stopped at the Cape from 1818-1820: the Dos Hermanos (January 1819), Isabella (January 1820), Cariçad (February, 1820) and the St. Joze (February 1820). Several Spanish and Portuguese colonial slave boats were destined for San Salvador from 1818-19: the Flor de Bahia (February 1818), Pacquet Real (April 1818) and the General Cavalante (Spanish - April 1819). The Horison (March 1804) was headed for the 'Americas'. A couple of American vessels were headed for Charleston: the Elizabeth (November 1805) and the Charles and Harriet (February 1806). Here are some eccentric destinations : the Rio (American - 1806), from Mozambique to the west coast of Africa; the H.M.S Fyne (English - October 1816)<sup>32</sup>, for England; the Ave Maria (Portuguese - November 1803), Lisbon; Aventure (January-February 1810), St. Helena.

### 3. Supply and sale of slaves at the Cape, 1797-1808.

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<sup>32</sup>It is uncertain whether the H.M.S Fyne was a slave boat.

Chapters II and III demonstrated colonial government's limitation of slave importation from 1797 to 1808. Britain's anti-slave trade ethos made slave importation to the Cape unpredictable. Consequently, Cape Town was a very restricted market for the sale of imported slaves. Merchants ingratiated themselves towards the colony's governors so as to receive permission to import slaves into the colony. The few merchants<sup>33</sup> who could afford to partake in slave importation seldom received permission to import slaves into the colony. Merchants were able to dominate the Cape's slave market on those occasions when slave importation was allowed. Slave merchants, therefore, were frequently accused of overpricing imported slaves sold at the Cape. British colonial slave merchants dominated the lucrative business of slave importation to the Cape from 1798 to 1808<sup>34</sup>. However Isaac Stromboom imported over 450 slaves into the colony from 1798-1804<sup>35</sup>. Michael Hogan was active in slave importation from 1798-1804 and Alexander Tennant was active from 1798-1808.

Slave importation to the Cape was stimulated by the regular passage of Portuguese colonial slave boats bound for Brazil<sup>36</sup>. Portuguese colonial merchants found any excuse for importing slaves at the Cape after 1797: remuneration of debts and delays in harbour (from ship's repairs, medical care and refreshments). The Cape welcomed the slave boats which stopped at its harbours. There was no need for Portuguese slave boats Rio de Janeiro, when slaves could

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<sup>33</sup>These merchants were Hogan, Tennant, Stromboom and the partners Walker and Robinson. Hogan and Tennant are discussed below.

<sup>34</sup>Shell refers to Hogan and Tennant as 'some freebooters' in Children of Bondage, p.xxviii.

<sup>35</sup>Isaac Stromboom was the first Cape merchant who was allowed to send a vessel to Mozambique to obtain slaves (the Good Hope, 1798). He had offices and warehouses in Cape Town and Simon's Town.

<sup>36</sup>Few ships ventured from the Cape into the south-west Indian Ocean during the rainy Cape winter. There was, therefore, very little slave traffic at the Cape during winter.

easily be sold at the Cape<sup>37</sup>. There was a greater likelihood that Portuguese colonial slave merchants would lose their en route to Rio than on a voyage to the Cape - amounting to a loss of profits to the slave trader. Hogan and Tennant bought slave cargoes and slave vessels from a Portuguese colonial slave merchant from Mozambique, Joaquim Rosario Monteiro. Monteiro and his slave boats stopped at the Cape between 1797 and 1812. Merchants devised schemes to bypass the limitations placed on slave importation by the colonial government at the turn of the 19th century. The most outrageous plan which merchants came up with was the 'privateering' voyage of the Collector (March 1800)<sup>38</sup>.

The persistent efforts of Cape merchants made the Cape a receptive market for the sale of Mozambican slaves from 1798-1808. Hogan, Tennant and Monteiro employed agents such as Francoise de Lettre (Tennant and Hogan), Rynier Beck (Monteiro), Charles Jacks (Tennant) and Paul Roux (Hogan) to conduct their slave importation between Mozambique and Cape Town<sup>39</sup>. Licenses were granted to Isaac Stromboom (the Good Hope) and the partnership of Hogan and Tennant (the Harbinger) during the first British occupation. Only 220 slaves were imported to the Cape by these boats. Michael Hogan bought slaves from Portuguese slave traders at first. He even bought a Portuguese slave boat, the Sea Nymph<sup>40</sup>. He obtained lettres de marque (authorising 'privateering' activities) for the Harriet, Sea Nymph, Harbinger and

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<sup>37</sup>Mozambique was three weeks away from Cape Town and sixty days away from Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>38</sup>See Chapter II.

<sup>39</sup>Owing to the covert nature of slave importation to the Cape, there is virtually no information on the agents of Cape slave merchants. Their names crop up in notarial records and in sources pertinent to slave merchants.

<sup>40</sup>BO 90, 'Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves', Samuel Peckham (chief mate) and W. Bangez (second mate) to Andrew Barnard, 5 April 1802.

Collector<sup>41</sup>.

Michael Hogan's international mercantile career began as a cattle trader in New South Wales<sup>42</sup>. He arrived at the Cape in search of business opportunities shortly after the first British occupation (1798). His earliest 'memorials' to the British colonial government requested permission to import tallow and dried beef from New South Wales to the Cape. However, it was not long before he expanded the field of his interests. Hogan increased his capital by speculating on the property market. His relations with the colony's burghers and the occupation officialdom were cordial<sup>43</sup>. General De Mist visited Hogan at his residence in New York (1805)<sup>44</sup>. Andrew Barnard believed that the "well-connected" (amongst businessmen in London) merchant was too ambitious for an undeveloped colony like the Cape. Aspersion were cast on his character when he was accused of fraud during the case of the Collector (May 1800). His prominence as a merchant, however, helped him save face a little. Hogan settled accounts with J.R Monteiro prior to his departure from the Cape to New York, in 1804. Hogan became quite wealthy through land transactions in New York state, until he encountered financial reverses in 1811. He was the American Agent of Commerce in Havannah (Cuba)

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<sup>41</sup>Phillip, British Residents. p.183; and, KC August 1800: Hogan sold the 'prize' contents of two Spanish vessels. The second vessel was a slave boat which had been captured by the Harbinger.

<sup>42</sup>Philip, British Residents. p.182-83. Thanks to M.D Nash, I was put into contact with Michael Stiles, a distant relative of Michael Hogan (personal correspondence). Stiles has provided me with biographical details on Hogan from his forthcoming biography on the merchant.

<sup>43</sup>A.M.L Robinson (ed.), The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard (Cape Town, 1973): Andrew Barnard to Henry Dundas, 14 May 1800, p.279.

<sup>44</sup>KC 5 October 1805.

from 1819-20<sup>45</sup> and American consul and navy agent in Valparaiso (South America) from 1821-1831. He died in Washington D.C in 1832.

Alexander Tennant (1767-1814), a shopkeeper of Scottish ancestry, was Michael Hogan's slave importing counterpart at the Cape at the turn of the 19th century<sup>46</sup>. His mercantile career at the Cape began in September 1796. Donald Trail was Tennant's regular partner in the early years - the two often did business together under the name of the 'House of Tennant & Trail & Co.'. Tennant sold general merchandise, partook in whaling and speculated in property transactions<sup>47</sup>. As we have seen in Chapter II, Tennant and Hogan were regular partners and co-shareholders in slave importation. Tennant, however, was an unscrupulous businessman. In one instance, he overcharged the Portuguese slave merchant Manoel de Costa Guimarains in the sale of a boat (1798)<sup>48</sup>. This duplicitous sale was conducted at the risk of the loss of future slave importation with Guimarains. Nothing withheld Tennant from making money. Tennant broadcasted his intentions to leave the Cape in 1805 (the British occupation government was no longer in power)<sup>49</sup>. Tennant, however, never left the Cape. Like Hogan (the Collector episode), Tennant was also involved in covert slave importation. In 1807 and 1808, he was involved in a painstaking attempt to import slaves into the colony from the

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<sup>45</sup>Hogan was most likely cashing in on the Spanish slave trade in Havannah. It would not be surprising if he still had dealings with Portuguese slave traders. Appendix II, Table II: Spanish slave boats stopped at the Cape from 1818-1820 mid-journey between the east coast of Africa (Mozambique, Quelimane and Zanzibar) and Havannah.

<sup>46</sup>Philip, British Residents, p.416-418.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. Tennant made over one hundred property transactions during his stay at the Cape.

<sup>48</sup>Gubbins Collection, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, A1152, South African Historical Society, Journal of Secondary Education, June 1930.

<sup>49</sup>KC 15 June 1805.

Constantia (1807-8)<sup>50</sup>. Tennant sold 'Negro apprentice' indentures until about 1810.

W.S van Ryneveldt noted how shortly after the first British occupation 'Engelsche Kooplieden' (English merchants) viewed the colony as a 'gold mine for trade'<sup>51</sup>. 'Everything was trade' ('alles was dan handel') during the first British occupation<sup>52</sup>. Merchants established "packhouses" (warehouses which contained a variety of merchandize<sup>53</sup>) all over Cape Town. They converted residential houses into shops for the retail of warehouse goods and lived near their shops<sup>54</sup>. Merchants also worked as commissioned agents on behalf of the navy in the purchase and sale of 'prize cargoes' and 'prize boats'. Imports, however, outweighed exports at the Cape at the turn of the eighteenth century<sup>55</sup>. This situation was the result of the Dutch and English East India Companies blatant disregard for the Cape's export trade. Slave importation, however, did not concern the English East India Company. The Company merely collected import duties from slave imports. Slave importation was, therefore, dealt with by

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<sup>50</sup>See Chapter III.

<sup>51</sup>W.S van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing' (1805), p.119.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>These merchants were jacks-of-all-trades, who sold just about anything: imported liquor; exotic pets; books; globes; imported racehorses; large quantities of consumables such as tea, coffee, and sugar; cutlery and crockery; furniture; and chandler's goods. Merchants profited from the British propensity to enjoy imported luxury items from 1795 onwards.

<sup>54</sup>Merchants lived close to their shops for the purposes of convenience and security.

<sup>55</sup>David William Rush, 'Aspects of the Growth of Trade and the Development of the Ports in the Cape Colony, 1795-1882', (Unpublished M.A (Economics), University of Cape Town, 1972), p.9: this imbalance only improved after 1814 when Britain began to take the economic value of the Cape a more seriously. See also Marcus Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: A History of the agency under Pringle (1794-1815) based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"', Archives Yearbook for South African History, 1960, Vol. II, (Cape Town, 1961).

the colonial government.

Cape colonial merchants bought wholesale slave cargoes from Portuguese colonial merchants and seamen by way of contract (eg. the Joaquim (1799) and General Izedro (1807)). These contracts were often drawn up in advance of the arrival of ships at the Cape. The formulation of these contracts was a covert activity, since slave importation had to be sanctioned by the colonial government. Wholesale slave importation was expensive. Wholesale purchase of slave cargoes could only be afforded by partnerships or syndicates of merchants (eg. the 'House of Tennant and Trail & Co.' and 'Walker and Robertson'<sup>56</sup>. British and Dutch colonial inhabitants of the colony bought shares in slave cargoes. Owing to the forbidden nature of slave importation at the Cape, wholesale slave importation to the Cape was often covert. Merchants also sold slave cargoes on commission for Portuguese colonial merchants and seamen. Alexander Tennant received a five percent commission, for example, when he sold the Nossha Senhora May dos Homens's slave cargo in 1807. Joaquim, 1799 - Donald Campbell believed the boat was headed for Rio de Janeiro. A contract was drawn up by Alexander Tennant and Joaquim Monteiro in advance of the Joaquim's arrival (March 1799) at the Cape<sup>57</sup>. Charles Jacks, one of Tennant's employees, was in Mozambique in 1798 'to take in his charge' the Joaquim's slave cargo. He accompanied the vessel from Mozambique to the Cape. Monteiro, the master and some of the officers aboard the vessel 'had intended

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<sup>56</sup>The capitation or 'head' tax for slaves was 10 rijksdaalders during the first British occupation. CO 5, enclosure, 'Reply to the Memorial of Joze Domingues Master and Owner of the Portuguese Ship Dido petitioning permission to land and dispose of his Cargo consisting of Mozambique Slaves': adult males, 50 rijksdaalders; females, 40 rijksdaalders; and, boys and girls, 30 rijksdaalders.

<sup>57</sup>CA Notarial Protocol Series (NCD) 1/20 (entry number 471), 21 March 1799.

to bring some Slaves on their own account on freight'<sup>58</sup>. According to the contract: 'all the slaves without distinction that were to be brought to the Cape, should and did belong to Mr Tennant, and those who desired to take Slaves on freight, should be bound to deliver the same to him, for the same price that was stated his contract.' Aside from informing the Joaquim's captain and officers of the this contract, Monteiro expected to obtain the 'same price for his Slaves' originally specified in his contract. Monteiro owned 316 of the Joaquim's slaves and these were branded with his initial - 'M'<sup>59</sup>.

It was routine for slave cargoes to be quarantined for thirty days at Robben Island when slave boats arrived at Table Bay<sup>60</sup>. Proclamations were issued to advertise the arrival of slave boats at the Cape. Cape governors sometimes allowed the cargoes to be landed at the Cape on humanitarian grounds (eg. General Izedro (1807)). Slave boats presented their logbooks to the Port Captain on arrival at the Cape. Customs officials waited for the colonial government's approval before landing slave cargoes. Usually at this stage of the slave voyage, the slaves were detained on Robben Island. When the importation of a slave cargo was authorised, each slave imported into the colony was subject to a 10 rijksdaalder capitation tax which was paid to the English East India Company. Alexander Tennant, for example, paid 8,320 rijksdaalders in duties for the General Izedro's cargo of 245 men, 84 boys, 25 women and 29 girls. The British colonial government enforced a number of embargoes on shipping at the Cape during the Napoleonic wars. For example, a 2000 rijksdaalder fine was imposed on boats which

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.: 'door 't merk M'. The Joaquim's remaining slaves belonged to the master of the vessel, Manoel de Saldanha; the captain, Gomes; and, Charles Jacks.

<sup>60</sup>KC December 1803.

attempted to import slaves into the colony c.1798. Portuguese colonial slave boats such as the Nossha Senhora May dos Homens and General Izedro were subjected to shipping embargoes in 1807. Britain enforced strict tonnage laws upon slave boats after 1803<sup>61</sup>. Such laws were devised out of a humanitarian concern for the lives of the slaves aboard such vessels. Slaves were landed at the Cape after the quarantine period had expired<sup>62</sup>. Sometimes slaves awaited auctioning in pens on the beaches near Cape Town and sometimes they were sold aboard slave boats.

Imported slaves were sold privately and publically<sup>63</sup>. They were sold to the army, government and colonists<sup>64</sup>. Buyers of imported slaves from 1798-1808 include well-known Cape personalities such as Governor J.W Janssens, I. Stromboom, the Cloete family, W.S Van Ryneveldt, S.E Hudson, W. Wilberforce Bird and Lady Anne Barnard. Sir George Yonge (governor from 1799-1801) was rumoured to have been bribed into allowing Michael Hogan

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<sup>61</sup>CO 5, letters 188 and 189, Captain Smyth (acting-secretary) to Tennant, 29 July 1806.

<sup>62</sup>Margaret Lenta, 'Degrees of freedom: Lady Anne Barnard's Cape Diaries', in M. Leighton (ed.), Eighteenth Century Studies: The Rights of Man. (HSRC, Pretoria, 1992), p.76.

<sup>63</sup>Records of slave transfers until 1731 have been kept in the Public Deeds Office, Cape Town. Unfortunately, the records do not go beyond this point. The loss of this valuable source has rendered the study of the relationship between slave importation and the internal slave market at the Cape after 1731 a painstaking procedure.

<sup>64</sup>Shell lists the three main ways in which slaves were sold on the domestic slave market, in Children of Bondage, p.104-123: discretionary (sale and barter), mandatory (ie. with the sale or liquidation of an entire estate or via intestate succession) and donation (manumissions and gifts) sales. Slaves were regarded as items of property. It is not surprising, therefore, that slave owners were distressed when the compensation money for the loss of their slaves was half the expected two-and-a-half million pounds after the Emancipation Act of 1834. Kathleen Mary Butler's study of attorney's letters and compensation returns, The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados, 1823-1843, (University of Carolina Press, 1995), emphasises the interests of European high finance (ie. the landed gentry and banking families such as the Rothschilds) in the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire.

to import slaves to the colony in March 1800 (the Collector). Slaves were sold privately at the houses and premises of Cape merchants (Stromboom, Hogan, Tennant, Walker and Robertson) and aboard slave boats (eg. the Rozalja (1808)). Slave cargoes were sometimes transshipped eg. from the Joaquim to Le Claire and La Calypso (1802). Transshipment usually occurred when the cargo was too large for one ship, or, when governors clamped-down on slave trade activity.

Public slave auctions were authorized and advertised by the colonial government. They took place in the gardens of Cape auctioneers such as Clemens Matthiessen (vendue-master of the colony), Paul Cloete, Jan Kannemeyer (some slaves from the Felicia Eugene's (1803), Nimfa da Mar (1804) and Minerva (March 1804)<sup>65</sup>, Adam Siedel (Pimpolla da Rosa (June 1803)), Josiah Brink (Resource (1806)) and Jan Breda (Constantia (1807))<sup>66</sup>. The Commissary General publically sold slaves on at least one occasion during the first British occupation (Joaquim (1797)). The rekenkamer (ie. Commissary General) and Procureur-General (Attorney General) took care of some slaves which were sold at the Cape from the Pimpolla da Rosa (June 1803) during the Dutch Batavian Administration.

Strict rules were applied to slave auctions in order to prevent slave merchants from exploiting the colonists (eg. overpricing of slaves). These rules were devised to safeguard the colony from inequitable practices on behalf of slave merchants. 'Public' auctions were publicised ten days in advance of auctions for the benefit of the colony as a whole. Public auctions were held

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<sup>65</sup>These slaves from the Nimfa da Mar and the Minerva were sold by Rynier Beck. See Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>66</sup>KC 11 April 1807: Maude and Robertson advertised the sale of the about 150 'fine strong Slaves from the Coast of Guinea' from the Ann. The sale was to take place at the Mount Nelson: 'for the benefit of those to whom the property shall ultimately be adjudged to belong by the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain'.

in the 'open' and vendue-masters had to submit certificates of authentication to the colonial government. Heavy fines were levied on slave transactions which were made with Spanish coin and colonial produce. The governor had to be satisfied with the landing and sale of the slaves before the slave boat was allowed to leave the colony.

Most of the slaves which were imported into colony were bought with paper money<sup>67</sup>. Mozambican slave traders preferred Spanish coin (specie or 'hard cash') to paper money, promissory notes and Bills of Exchange. Bills of Exchange could be cashed or drawn at Rio de Janeiro, Rio de la Plata, Cape Town, Mozambique and Bombay. Silver coin was forwarded to India where Portuguese colonial slave merchants purchased cotton goods which were then exchanged for slaves in the Mozambican interior<sup>68</sup>. J.R Monteiro's brother, Antonio Salvador Monteiro, was fined for smuggling Spanish coin out of the colony, after the sale of the General Izedro in 1806. Sometimes several instruments of exchange were used to purchase slaves, for example Isaac Stromboom bought slaves from the Minerva (1804) with coin (including tax on the coin), bills of exchange<sup>69</sup> and colonial produce<sup>70</sup>.

Imported slaves were more expensive at the Cape from 1797 to 1808 than during the late VOC period. This inflation, however, had little to do with the passage of time. It is possible,

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<sup>67</sup>Robert Ross, 'The Cape of Good Hope and the world economy, 1652-1835', in Shaping p.259-60: paper money had been in circulation at the Cape from c.1782 and was used at the Cape until 1825 - 'theoretically backed by government land and buildings, not by silver'.

<sup>68</sup>J.C Miller, Way of Death, p.427-33: it was the custom for Mozambican 'creole' slave merchants to be paid in Spanish coin by Portuguese colonial slave merchants in the late 19th century.

<sup>69</sup>These particular Bills of Exchange could be cashed or drawn at Rio de Janeiro, Rio de la Plata or Bengal.

<sup>70</sup>BR 31, 'Resolusies', Stromboom to Janssens, 14 March 1804: Stromboom promised not to use specie in this transaction (hence the payment of a tax on the coin he did use).

however, that Cape burghers sentimentally recalled low prices ('One Hundred and Fifty Rixdollars each at most') at this time. The Burgher Senate wrote to J.H Craig in on 3 December 1796 that aside from being scarce, 'there is also required almost a Treasure to purchase the necessary number of Slaves'<sup>71</sup>. Since merchants often acted as middlemen in slave importation, slave were overpriced in order for them to profit from such sales. Merchants were often unscrupulous in their overpricing of slaves sold from wholesale cargoes. In W.S Van Ryneveldt complained on behalf of Cape colonists to governor George Yonge in 1808 that Michael Hogan had been selling slaves at 'exorbitant' prices. Francis Dundas remarked in April 1799 that slave importation ('that Traffic') was 'attended with great profit'<sup>72</sup>. It was further alleged that Hogan had not complied with auction regulations in some of his sales before April 1800<sup>73</sup>. The high prices of slaves was part of the general inflation on 'goods' at the Cape during the first British occupation. In the light of the high demand for slaves at the Cape, John Barrow noted that slaves were expensive as a result of 'a prohibition of the usual trade'<sup>74</sup>. The Burgher Senate stated: 'it is an Axiom that Scarcity of Slaves occasions their high price'<sup>75</sup>. Farmers complained to the first British occupation government that some farmers and merchants kept more slaves than they required simply to sell them at high prices when market conditions were right<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup>BO 90, The Burgher Senate to Craig, 3 December 1796.

<sup>72</sup>RCC vol. III, p.417, F.Dundas to H.Dundas, 6 April 1799.

<sup>73</sup>BO 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800.

<sup>74</sup>BL MS 61/2.

<sup>75</sup>BO 90, Burgher Senate and Individuals to Macartney, 30 January 1798.

<sup>76</sup>Worden, Slavery, p.48.

John Barrow observed that in VOC times a male slave could be purchased for 200 to 300 rijksdaalders, whereas in 1797 they were sold from 500 to 600 rijksdaalders<sup>77</sup>. His figures are, however, generalizations. The Burgher Senate remarked, for example, in 1799 that 'healthy new slaves' were being sold from 600 to 800 rijksdaalders. The proceeds of the Joaquim's (January 1797) slave cargo amounted 'to something more than 100,000 Dollars in paper money' (given a 20% discount)<sup>78</sup>. The slaves were sold at an average of 389 rijksdaalders each (282.5 rijksdaalders after 20% discount). It was reported that male slaves were sold from 400 to 500 rijksdaalders, whereas females were sold for 200 rijksdaalders<sup>79</sup>. Michael Hogan sold slaves from the following boats: La Rose (December 1799) for 463 rijksdaalders each; La Africano (February 1800) for 408 rijksdaalders; Joaquim (March 1800) for 346.5 rijksdaalders; and, 'prize slaves' from an unnamed boat on behalf of the navy (March 1800) for 502 rijksdaalders each<sup>80</sup>. Samuel Eusebius Hudson purchased a slave boy for 500 rijksdaalders in February 1799. De Mist noted in his Memorandum that during 'ordinary times of peace [slaves] value is very small, according to their age, sex and strength'. They averaged 100 to 300 gulden each. In 1807, the General Izedro's slaves were sold for twenty-two pounds on average. At this time, the captors of 'prize slaves' received forty pounds per slave. The slaves from the Albuquerque, Ann, Rosalia and Constantia were sold for approximately 495

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<sup>77</sup>Van Ryneveldt, 'Beschouwing' (1805), p.120. According to Van Ryneveldt, many of these slaves were sold to Cape Town residents. Shell, Children of Bondage, p.53: slave prices were determined along ethnic divisions: Malays, who were usually skilled in some way or other, fetched higher prices than Mozambican and Madagascan slaves.

<sup>78</sup>Gubbins, 'Craig's Letterbook', Craig to Henry Dundas, 14 January 1797.

<sup>79</sup>BL MS 61/2.

<sup>80</sup>BO 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800.

rijksdaalders each in 1808<sup>81</sup>.

Skilled slaves fetched higher prices at the Cape than imported slaves. 'Creolized' slaves were more expensive than imported slaves because of their longevity, high level of acculturation, proficiency at Dutch and the skills which they had learned<sup>82</sup>. Mozambican and Madagascan slaves were bought to be employed at the Cape as chattel labourers and drawers of water and hewers of wood<sup>83</sup>. Racial and cultural stereotypes, therefore, was a determinant in the pricing of imported and local slaves. Isaac Stromboom sold the following skilled slaves in his employment in 1810: 'His best Cook' (2,000 rijksdaalders); house servants (1,500 rijksdaalders each); a carpenter (1,500 rijksdaalders); a gardener (1,200 rijksdaalders); and 'Workboys' (1,000 rijksdaalders each)<sup>84</sup>.

Taking the expense of the investment in an imported slave, therefore, it was understandable that the purchaser of an imported slave would want to maximise the use of such a slave at the Cape at the turn of the 19th century. The slave "paid itself off" through its labour - provided the slave was well-kept by its owner for a number of years<sup>85</sup>. The purchaser of a slave could.

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<sup>81</sup>CO 9, Items 27 and 28, 'Committee appointed by Government, by Proclamation bearing date the 29th April 1808 for the purpose of making Enquiry into an illicit Traffic of slaves clandestinely landed in this settlement in defiance of the laws, and for taking such further informations as are directed by the aforesaid Proclamation'.

<sup>82</sup>Shell, Children of Bondage, p.56.

<sup>83</sup>Bird, State of the Cape in 1822, p.73. Shell and Armstrong and Worden make use of this source. See Shell, Children of Bondage, p.50, for a discussion of racial stereotypes. The ethnology of Cape slavery is a topic in its own right.

<sup>84</sup>KC 14 July 1810.

<sup>85</sup>Shell, Children of Bondage, p.93, n.27: a slave cost as much as a small frontier farm in the 18th century.

therefore, profit from the investment in an imported slave. However, the purchaser would lose out when the slave died, became ill or was a bad servant (slaves were 'perishable goods'). Health and strength were vital criteria, therefore, in the purchase of a slave.

The poor fund of primary source material on Cape slave merchants at the turn of the 19th century is a limiting factor in the study of slave importation to the Cape. We do know, however, that Cape and Portuguese colonial slave merchants made arrangements for the landing and sale of Mozambican slaves at the Cape. Slaves were sold both publically and privately at exorbitant prices. Prices were high because slave importation was a "forbidden", expensive and risky activity; the colony's slave labour force was overburdened at the turn of the 19th century and slaves were, therefore, in demand; and, Cape colonial slave merchants sold slaves on a middleman basis. Altogether, slave importation to the Cape was a complex phenomenon.

**Conclusion.**

Slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century was a complex phenomenon. Slaves and 'prize slaves' were admitted into the colony in spite of the British imperial government's aversion to slave importation<sup>1</sup>. This thesis provides a detailed analysis of this contradictory situation. The contradictions of slave importation to the Cape at the turn of the 19th century are difficult to explain. This is an attempt.

The governors of the first British occupation were the colony's first rulers to endeavour to abolish slave importation to the Cape. Slave importation was a well-established VOC tradition by the end of the 18th century. By the turn of the 19th century the Cape colony was a fully-fledged 'slave society' with a slave population composed of 'creolized' and imported slaves. Slave labour was, therefore, the accepted solution (ie. the "necessary evil") to the colony's agricultural demands in the late 18th century.

The first British occupation government (1795-1803) tried to 'gradually' abolish slave importation to the Cape at the instigation of the British metropolitan government. The colony required a cheap and readily available supply of labourers to relieve the colony's disordered state after the VOC's demise and to meet the increased demand for grain in 1798. Colonists looked to slave importation as the immediate solution to the colony's increasing degeneration. A paradoxical situation arose c.1798: slaves were in demand, yet the British occupation government was lukewarm towards slave importation. Seeing no immediate alternative labour

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<sup>1</sup>For the sake of convenience the term 'slave importation' encompasses the admission of 'prize slaves' at the Cape.

supply to imported slaves Lord Macartney, Francis Dundas and George Yonge allowed several large slave cargoes into the colony. Slave importation was carefully regulated by these governors from 1797-1803.

British and Cape colonial merchants (Michael Hogan, Alexander Tennant and Isaac Stromboom), however, persistently tried to import slaves into the colony. Cape colonial merchants bought slaves from Portuguese colonial slave traders who visited the colony (especially Joaquim Rosario Monteiro). Slave merchants were aware of the colonial government's opposition to slave importation. Prior to 1807, however, there was no legislation banning slave importation to the Cape. Governors, therefore, had the power to authorize slave importation to the Cape. Merchants, therefore, imported slaves to the Cape throughout the Dutch Batavian (1803-1806) and second British occupation (1806-1808) administrations. Over 7,200 slaves were imported to the Cape from 1797-1808.

Slaves were no longer imported into the colony by merchants after the Slave Trade Act (1808). 'Prize slaves' and "abandoned" slaves, however, were admitted into the colony, emancipated, and indentured as 'Negro apprentices' from 1808-1818. The system of 'Negro apprenticeship' was a by-product of French and Portuguese slave traffic in the south-west Indian Ocean. 'Negro apprenticeship' ("prize negroes" were subject to fourteen year apprenticeships and "apprenticed negroes" ten) facilitated the transition from imported slave labour to 'unfree' indentured labour at the Cape (1808-1818). The transformation from the use of slave labour to indentured labour ('apprenticeship') at the Cape was part of Britain's attempt to systematize labour throughout its Empire. Britain's attrition of slavery, therefore, began with the Slave Trade Act (1807) and ended with the Emancipation of Slaves Act (1834). These statutes were

applied at the Cape.

The topic of slave importation to the Cape in the early 19th century is of significance to the history of southern Africa in general. Some of the credibility of the so-called mfecane debate depends on the verifiability of slave importation from the Delagoa Bay region to the Cape. c.1817-1822. Julian Cobbing has argued that profuse internal and external slave importation from this region contributed to the political fragmentation which took place in the Natal lowlands at this time - the mfecane<sup>2</sup>. Elizabeth Elderedge has demonstrated some of the empirical and qualitative shortcomings of 'the Cobbings thesis'<sup>3</sup>. No slaves evidently were imported from Delagoa Bay (now Lourenzo Marcques) to the Cape c.1817-1822<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, slave importation (ie. European maritime slave trading) from Delagoa Bay could not have contributed to the disturbances which characterised the sociopolitical disruptions of the mfecane.

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<sup>2</sup>Julian Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', in the Journal of African History, (1989), p.487-519. Cobbing has recommended his conjectures be more systematically investigated. See also: Patrick Harries, 'Export and Domestic Slavery in South East Africa. Its Growth and Articulation with other forms of Social Oppression', (University of Cape Town, unpublished paper from the Africa Seminar, July 1980), p.1-5: this article provides a description of Portuguese colonial slave traffic from Mozambique to Brazil after 1810.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Elderedge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c.1800-1830: the 'Mfecane' Reconsidered', in Journal of African History, 33 (1992), p.1-35. This article has been published in a Carolyn Hamilton's (ed.) collection in response to Cobbing, entitled: The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History, (Johannesburg, 1995), p.123-163.

<sup>4</sup>The movements of slave boats are well-documented for the period 1797-1818. Arrivals and departures of slave boats are well-documented in State Archives Cape Town (CA), 'Port Captain's Register, January 1806 to December 1823', (PC) 3/1. The earliest mention of boats arriving at the Cape from the Delagoa Bay region occur in 1823. These boats were laden with ivory, not slaves.

Many of South Africa's present day problems are part of a legacy of social inequities based on the organization of labour. The VOC introduced slavery to the Cape. The Abolition of Cape slavery by Britain did not suddenly solve the colony's problems. Slavery, which was basically a tyrannous institution, simply became 'apprenticeship', "unfree" and 'minimum wage' labour after the Emancipation Act (1834). The 'colour bar' (wage disparity on the basis of skin colour) was the expression which described unequal labour relations on the diamond mines of Kimberley and the gold mines of the Vaal reef. Mozambicans, in particular, suffered from discrimination on the mines. Apartheid was the South Africa's most recent expression of abusive labour relations - government control of labour influx into urban areas on the basis of skin colour. This inequitable system merely facilitated the perpetuation of the social upheavals of slavery and its by-products.

The solution to these social upheavals will not be found in textbooks and philosophies which sanction economic and social 'development'. Social inequity will continue so long as there are inappropriate designations in the workplaces (labour markets) of democratic governments and multinational corporate conglomerate capitalist institutions. The cultivation of a responsible society is the solution to the servile situation in which South African society finds itself today. Labour will always be 'unfree' so long as natural resources are irresponsibly utilised by governments.

## Appendix I: Table of slave boats and slave cargoes at the Cape, 1797-1808<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The letters appearing in brackets after names of slave boats in the 'Boat column' denote the nationality of the boat: Portuguese (P), French (Fr), English (E), American (Am), Danish (Da), Dutch (D), Batavian (Ba) and Spanish (Sp). When the number of slaves indicated in the 'Slaves' column is in square brackets (eg. Bellisario (November 1803), [342]) this indicates that no record of the landing of the slaves was found.

1797	<u>Joaquim</u> (P) <sup>1</sup>		Mozambique			1796 Nov	1797 Jan 1	Commissary General (p)		354
1798	'Spanish Prize' <sup>2</sup>	<u>Indispensable</u>					1798 May		'prize'	251
	<u>Good Hope</u> (Cape) <sup>3</sup>		Mozambique Island		Cape	c. 1798 Apr	1798 Apr	Stromboom		150
1799	<u>La Prudente</u> (Fr) <sup>4</sup>	'prize'	Mozambique & Mauritius			1799 Mar			'prize'	90
	<u>Joaquim</u> <sup>5</sup>	Manoel Saldanha	Mozambique		Cape	1799 Mar 27	1798 Apr	Hogan & Tennant		422 <sup>6</sup>
	<u>Harbinger</u> <sup>7</sup>		West Africa		Cape	1799 Jun		Hogan & Tennant		47
	<u>Oisseau</u> (Fr) <sup>8</sup>	Capt Lindsay's 'prize'				1799 Jun 1			'prize'	c.27
	<u>Sceptre</u> (Eng) <sup>9</sup>					1799 Nov			wreck	4
	<u>La Rose</u> (Fr) <sup>10</sup>		Mozambique		Cape	1799 Nov 10	1799 Dec 7 <sup>11</sup>	Hogan	'counterfeit prize'	48 <sup>12</sup>
1800	<u>La Africano</u> (Fr)		Mozambique		Cape	1799 Dec 25	1800 Feb 1 <sup>13</sup>	Hogan	'counterfeit prize'	26 <sup>14</sup>
	<u>Joaquim</u> (P)		Mozambique		Cape	c. 1800 7 Mar <sup>15</sup>	1800 Mar 17-20 <sup>16</sup>	Hogan		450 <sup>17</sup>
	? <sup>18</sup>	'prize'					1800 Mar 26		'prize'	?
	<u>Collector</u> (Cape)	David Smart	Mozambique		Cape	1800 Feb 11	after 1800 Apr 12	Confiscated	'counterfeit prize'	164 <sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.O 90, "Documents Referring to the Importation of Slaves", petition of the Burgher Senate to JH Craig, 3 December 1796. This vessel is also called the Joachim in the records.

<sup>2</sup> B.O 150, "Letters Despatched: 1797 August - 1798 January", Deputy Secretary Hercules Ross to the President and Members of the Burgher Senate, 2 December 1797; evidence that a Spanish 'prize' containing slaves was to land its Cargo at the Cape after it was quarantined; also B.O 90, Michael Hogan to George Yonge, 27 March 1800; and, B.L. M.S 61/2, Barrow's "General Description".

<sup>3</sup> B.O 150, "Letters Despatched: 1797 August - 1798 January", Andrew Barnard (Secretary of colony) to Isaac Stromboom.

<sup>4</sup> B.O 153, Letters Despatched, F.Dundas to W.P Smith Esq., 2 March 1799.

<sup>5</sup> B.O 90, Hogan and Tennant to Macartney, 25 February 1799. Theal's "Catalogue of Documents: September 1795 - February 1803" gives an incorrect date here - 5 March 1799.

<sup>6</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800; according to Hogan, the vessel brought 383 Mozambican slaves into the colony; B.O 40, "Customs House- Duties and Fees Paid : 1798 October - 1802 December", List for ships' duties 1 January 1799 to 31 March 1799- John Hooke Green (Collector of Customs at Table Bay) acknowledged that 422 slaves were admitted into the colony. The Joaquim's import duties amounted to 4220 rijksdaalders. Divide this number by the 10 rijksdaalder Head Tax levied on slave imports and the result is 422 slaves. In B.O 153, "Letters Despatched: January 1799 to July 1799", F.Dundas to JH Greene, 8 March 1799, Dundas wrote that 420 slaves entered customs, having been subject to the standard import duty.

<sup>7</sup> B.O 153, F Dundas (Acting Governor) to WP Smith Esq., 2 March 1799; B.O 40, indicates by the importation duties on this ship that 47 slaves passed through customs.

<sup>8</sup> SE Hudson, "Diary" (November 1798 - March 1800), MSB 252, (S.A.L). Hudson was a clerk at the colony's Custom's House.

<sup>9</sup> B.O 90, Marshal of the Vice Admiralty Court (VAC) to F Dundas, 29 November 1799.

<sup>10</sup> The full story of La Rose, La Africano, the Joaquim (1800 lading) and the Collector appears elsewhere in this study. Three consignments of 'prize' slaves were brought into the colony (two aboard the French vessels and one aboard the Collector) by Michael Hogan's privateer, the Collector. After a lengthy trial in the COJ, it was discovered that these so-called 'prize' slaves were purchased at the Zambezi estuary at Mozambique by the ship's captain David Smart. They are called 'counterfeit prize' slaves here.

<sup>11</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800.

<sup>12</sup> B.O 40, "Customs House - Duties and Fees Paid, 1798 October - 1802 December"; there was a 480 rijksdaalder importation duty levied on this boat; see also: B.O 155, "Letters Despatched", 5 December 1799.

<sup>13</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800.

<sup>14</sup> RCC, Vol 4, "Original Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate certain charges against Sir George Yonge", 16 March 1802, p262.

<sup>15</sup> S. E Hudson, MSB 252, (S.A.L), documents this data as 10 March 1800. Lady Anne Barnard's Journal offers the same date

<sup>16</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800; SE Hudson, MSB252, SAL, 204 males and 20 females were sold at this auction.

<sup>17</sup> KL Macartney Papers, D Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800.

<sup>18</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 27 March 1800.

<sup>19</sup> RCC, Vol 4, "Original Report" 16 March 1802, p263; and KL Macartney Papers, Donald Campbell to Macartney, 8 May 1800.

	<b>HMS Star (Eng)</b> <sup>20</sup>		Madagascar			1800 Jul	personal property			1
	<b>Fanny (Eng)</b> <sup>21</sup>	Capt MacKellan	Cape	22 Sept 1800	Mozambique		on a slave expedition			
	<b>Le Gleneur (Fr)</b> <sup>22</sup>	HMS <u>Euphrosyne</u> 's 'prize'			'prize'	1800 Oct	1800 Oct 20 (sale allowed on Oct 17)	Widow Oosterheeze's storehouse <sup>23</sup>	'prize'	34 [of cargo]
	<b>Boa Caetana (P)</b> <sup>24</sup>	Da Luz <sup>25</sup>	Mozambique			1800 Dec				161
	<b>Almanac (Am)</b> <sup>26</sup>	Samuel Chase	Quelimane			1800 Dec 20				25 (out of 350)
1801	? <sup>27</sup>					1801 Jan				11
	? <sup>28</sup>		Coromandel			c. 1801 Mar	personal property			11 and 2 children
	<b>Maria Elizabeth (Da)</b> <sup>29</sup>	C Kooffort	East Indies			c. 1801 Sept 19	debt payment			4
	<b>La Raisable (Fr)</b> <sup>30</sup>	'prize'			'prize'	1801 Sept			'prize'	70
	<b>Les Deux Amis (Fr)</b> <sup>31</sup>	Arthur Hogue's prize ( <u>Matilda</u> )	Mozambique		'prize'				'prize'	30 <sup>32</sup>
1802	<b>Ganges (Am)</b> <sup>33</sup>	Bregs	Mozambique			1802 Jan	gift			1
	? (Am) <sup>34</sup>		Mauritius			1802 Jan	personal property			6
	<b>Henry Dundas (Eng)</b> <sup>35</sup>		Rio de Janeiro			1802 Jan	personal property			2
	<b>Benedict (P)</b> <sup>36</sup>	Joze Antonio D'Oliveira	Mozambique			1802 Feb		Joze Antonio D'Oliveira		6
	<b>Pegasus (Eng)</b> <sup>37</sup>	Venables				1802 Mar	debt			1
	<b>La Nimfa da Mer (P)</b> <sup>38</sup>	Simao Jose de Barros (master &	Mozambique		Rio de Janeiro	1802 Apr				49

<sup>20</sup> B.O 90, Mr Maude to Yonge, 26 July 1800. The slave was brought to the Cape by HMS Star.

<sup>21</sup> C.G 27 September 1800.

<sup>22</sup> B.O 119, "Memorials", William Proctor Smith and William Parry Wallis's Memorial (HMS Euphrosyne to F Dundas, 17 October 1800; also, KC 18 October 1800.

<sup>23</sup> C.G 18 October 1800.

<sup>24</sup> B.O 90, Hogan to Yonge, 23 December 1800. It is highly likely that these slaves were landed at the Cape, since Yonge had allowed Hogan to land 600 slaves shortly before this cargo arrived.

<sup>25</sup> B.O 90, Rynter Beck (employed by Michael Hogan) to Yonge, 26 January 1801.

<sup>26</sup> B.O 90, Samuel Chase to Yonge, 12 January 1801; and B.O 119, petition of Samuel Chase to Yonge, 29 December 1800.

<sup>27</sup> Unnamed; see C.G 24 January 1801.

<sup>28</sup> B.O 91, 'Documents referring to the Importation of Slaves', Widow Deneys to Yonge, 30 March 1801.

<sup>29</sup> B.O 91, Captain Kooffort to F Dundas, 19 September 1801.

<sup>30</sup> C.G 3 October 1801.

<sup>31</sup> B.O 91, Arthur Hogue (for the officers and crew of the Matilda) to F Dundas, 9 November 1801.

<sup>32</sup> C.G 21 November 1801.

<sup>33</sup> B.O 91, Cape Town resident to F Dundas, 5 January 1802. A gift from the captain of the Ganges.

<sup>34</sup> B.O 91, Cape Town resident to F Dundas, 9 January 1802.

<sup>35</sup> B.O 91, Cape Town resident to F Dundas, 21 January 1802.

<sup>36</sup> B.O 91, Joze Antonio D'Oliveira (Captain of the Benedict) to F Dundas, 27 February 1802.

<sup>37</sup> B.O 91, Venables to F Dundas, 17 March 1802.

<sup>38</sup> B.O 91, Simao Jose de Barros (Master and Supercargo of the Nimfa de Mer or Sea Nymph) to F Dundas, 1 April 1802; B.O 91, Samuel Peckham and W Bangez Cmates of the Nimfa de Mer to F Dundas, 5 April 1802; B.O 91, De Barros to Dundas, 7 April 1802 - allowed to land 40 slaves; and, B.O 91, Cape Town resident to F Dundas, 9 April 1802 - permission to land 6 slaves.

		supercargo)							
	<u>La Calypso</u> (P) <sup>39</sup>	from Monteiro's Joaquim	Mozambique			1802 Apr		Walker and Robinson	170 <sup>40</sup>
		Guezy (supercargo)	Mozambique			1802 Apr	debt		34- part of above number <sup>41</sup>
	<u>Le Claire</u> <sup>42</sup>	Domingo Joze Lopez	Mozambique			1802 Apr			245
	<u>L'Appollon</u> <sup>43</sup>	Joseph Mercea							
	<u>Serah</u> <sup>44</sup>					1802 Dec			
	<u>Chapman</u> (Da) <sup>45</sup>						personal property		2
1803	<u>Felicia Eugene</u> <sup>46</sup>					1803 Jan	1803 Feb 7, 1803 Feb 23 & 1803 Mar	several auctions <sup>47</sup> Hogan	500 (m & f) <sup>48</sup>
	<u>Juno</u> <sup>49</sup>	Venables							
	<sup>750</sup>					1803 Mar 15			80
	<u>La Legere</u> (Fr)	Hippolite Mordeille	Mozambique	24 Mar 1803 <sup>51</sup>	'West Indies'			Francoise de Leftre <sup>52</sup>	50 <sup>53</sup>
	<sup>754</sup>					1803 Jun 2			c. 50
	<u>Excellentissimo Augusta</u> (P) <sup>55</sup>	Francisco Luz Madeira			Havannah		on a slave trade		1803 Oct 19 [slaves]
	<u>Pimpolla de Rosa</u> (Sp) <sup>56</sup>	Bernabe de Escalada	Coast of Mozambique			1803 Jun 21 <sup>57</sup>	two auctions <sup>58</sup>	sold	170

<sup>39</sup> B.O 126, "Letters Received from Various Individuals", especially pertaining to trade, January 1800 to December 1802, Francis Dundas to JH Greene, 9 February 1802. Dundas wanted Greene to divert the transshipment of slaves from the Joaquim to the Calypso. The captain of the Calypso was Domingo Joze Lopes and the supercargo was Charles Joseph Guezy.

<sup>40</sup> B.O 126, Domingo Joze Lopes to F Dundas, 30 April 1802.

<sup>41</sup> B.O 91, PL Cloete to F Dundas, 4 June 1802.

<sup>42</sup> B.O 126, Lopes to F Dundas, 30 April 1802.

<sup>43</sup> B.O 91, Joseph Mercea to F Dundas, 5 October 1802. This request was refused.

<sup>44</sup> B.O 91, Michael Hogan to F Dundas, 30 December 1802. Hogan wrote: 'that as Your Excellency has thought it necessary to refuse me permission for landing them for sale in this Colony, which is to me a great loss as it obliges me to send them to South America, or the West Indies'.

<sup>45</sup> B.O 91, Request of AB Dietz to F Dundas, to land two slaves from the Chapman.

<sup>46</sup> This sizeable lading of slaves has been thinly documented in the Kaapsche Courant (hereafter KC), as the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser (C. ) was called during the Dutch-Batavian Administration. Also called Felix Eugenia. KC 19 February 1803, reports the presence of three other slave boats bound to Rio de la Plata with Felicia Eugene.

<sup>47</sup> Three auctions were advertised for this cargo. The first was to take place at Jan Kannemeyer's garden on 7 February - vendue master, Clemens Matthiessen. Two hundred males and 40 females were for sale at the same venue on 23 February 1803: 'Het overige gedeelte van de lading der slaven, met de Felicia Eugene aangebragt' (the remainder of this lading of slaves). [KC 19 February 1803]. It took nearly a month to dispose of the entire cargo: in March 1803 '6 of the best slaves, from the lading of the Felicia Eugene' were for sale at Michael Hogan's packhouse [KC 19 March 1803].

<sup>48</sup> KC 5 February 1803. The KC shipping movements for the Dutch Batavian Administration are also found in CA 2K 4135: "scheepsrolle" (shipping rolls)

<sup>49</sup> B.O 91.

<sup>50</sup> William Freund, 'Society and Government in Dutch South Africa, The Cape and the Batavians, 1803-1806', (unpublished Ph.D, Yale University, 1972), table, pp. 248-249. It is difficult to trace Freund's cargoes, since he attributes no name to his numbers. His referencing is also hard to follow.

<sup>51</sup> KC 9 April 1803.

<sup>52</sup> BR 3, Thursday 7 April 1803.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Freund, p.248.

<sup>55</sup> KC 22 October 1803

	<b>La Legere</b> (Fr) <sup>59</sup>		Rio de la Plata <sup>60</sup>	22 Aug 1803	Mozambique				1803 Oct 15 Simon's Bay <sup>61</sup>	[Ballast]
	<b>Rio</b> (Am) <sup>62</sup>	Thomas Wain			Rio de la Plata				1803 Nov 2	[slaves]
	<b>Ave Maria</b> (P) <sup>63</sup>	Manuel de Souza Ferreira			Lisbon	1803 Nov 8	1803 Nov 16			46
	<b>Bellisario</b> (P) <sup>64</sup>	Domingo Christadlosó	Mozambique	23 Oct 1803	Rio de Janeiro	1803 Nov 16			1803 Dec 2 <sup>65</sup>	[342]
1804	<b>Nimfa da Mer</b> (P) <sup>69</sup>	J Paula <sup>66</sup>	Mozambique	Dec 1803	Rio de Janeiro	1804 mid Jan <sup>67</sup>	1804 Jan 24 (Zanctions) <sup>68</sup>	Rynier Beck - commission		110 [on record]
	?					1804 Jan 11				12
	?					1804 Feb 14				17
	<b>Minerva</b> (Am) <sup>71</sup>	George Love	Inhambane	14 Feb 1804		1804 Mar 5	1804 mid Mar	two auctions: Beck <sup>72</sup> and Stromboom <sup>73</sup>		c. 326
	<b>Horison</b> (Am) <sup>74</sup>	J Maston	Mozambique	10 Mar 1804	'Americas'	1804 Mar 19 (SB)	1804 May 5, 1804 May 11	several auctions <sup>75</sup>		25 [of unspecified cargo]
	<b>Minerva</b>	George Love	Mozambique		?	1804 Jun (TB) 1804 Jun 24 (SB) <sup>76</sup>	1804 Jun 25, 1804 Aug 24	W Duckitt and Venablesand Co. <sup>77</sup>	1804 July 9 <sup>78</sup>	60

<sup>56</sup> BR 12, 25 August 1803; note, the records differ when they describe what kind of boat the Pimpolla da Rosa was - a 'Spaansche Brig Schip' (KC 27 August 1803) and a 'Schoener Scheepe' (a schooner - BR12), KC 16 July 1803, also called Espagnola et Pimpola de Rosa.

<sup>57</sup> KC 25 June 1803

<sup>58</sup> On 16 July 1803, Adam Siedel advertised the sale of 30 male and 20 female slaves (KC 16 July 1803). He arranged another auction of 30 slaves (both sexes), for 8 August 1803 [KC 16 August 1803]. The rekenkamer and Procureur Generaal (Attorney General) arranged a public sale of 50 slaves (both sexes), to be held on 30 August 1803 [BR12, 25 August 1803]. Two public auctions, on 6 and 7 September 1803, were advertised [KC 27 August 1803]. The dates of the public venues seem close enough to be referring to the same sale of fifty slaves. In September 1803, 'the last of Escalada's cargo' (40 'healthy' slaves), were to be sold [KC 10 September 1803]. KC 19 November 1803: the ship was sold at the Cape. Therefore, its whole cargo must have been imported into the colony.

<sup>59</sup> KC 22 October 1803

<sup>60</sup> KC 14 September 1803

<sup>61</sup> KC 15 October 1803

<sup>62</sup> KC 12 November 1803

<sup>63</sup> BR 18, 16 November 1803; this vessel returned to the Cape on 24 January 1804 [KC 28 January 1804]; KC 12 Nov 1803, arrived at the Cape on 8 November 1803 (for Lisbon).

<sup>64</sup> KC 19 November 1803. This vessel's cargo was inspected on Paarden Eiland in an experiment with the smallpox vaccination.

<sup>65</sup> KC 10 December 1803

<sup>66</sup> KC 28 January 1804; KC 14 January 1804 - Franmcisca de Polma, captain.

<sup>67</sup> KC 14 January 1804

<sup>68</sup> K.C 14 January 1804: Raynier Beck arranged to sell 'over a hundred healthy Mozambican slaves' at Kannemeyer's garden on 24 January 1804. Beck was commissioned to sell the Nimsa de Mer's slaves by Paula. It was to hold another auction on Tuesday 24 January 1804: 'met toestemming van de Heer C Cruywagen, die op dien dag zal gehouden worden in de Strandstraat, publieklyk te laten verkoopen: Tien Baarse Slaaven' ('with C. Cruywagen's permission, he was to hold a public auction at Strand Street: Ten Healthy Slaves').

<sup>69</sup> Freund, p248.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid

<sup>71</sup> KC 10 March 1804; The name here, George "Lav" must be a misspelling of "Love".

<sup>72</sup> KC 17 March 1804: Beck was to sell 86 slaves (both sexes) at Kannemeyer's garden in the middle of March 1804; BR 31, landed on account of stormy weather with Janssen's permission.

<sup>73</sup> KC 17 March 1804 and BR 18. Stromboom was responsible for the sale of 'about 240' slaves from the Minerva. He had reserved the right to sell these slaves by way of an agreement with Captain Love, before the boat arrived at the Cape (ie. When it was on its way to Mozambique); BR 32, Stromboom sold 240 slaves from the Minerva.

<sup>74</sup> KC 20 April 1804.

<sup>75</sup> KC 5 May 1804: Hendrik Christiaan Carinus had 7 male and 2 female slaves up for sale at his mother's house (in Bree Street) on 5 May 1807. This was endorsed by the Dutch Batavian Administration. PD Roubaix was also allowed to sell '14 or 15' slaves at Alexander Tennant's 'Household Auction' on Friday 11 May 1804. At the time of the last sake, the Horison was anchored in Simon's Bay.

	<b>De Hoop (Bat)</b> <sup>79</sup>	Hypolite Mordeille	Rio de la Plata			1804 Jul 4			1804 Aug 2	?
	<b>Susanna (Am)</b> <sup>80</sup>	Lymon Evans	Mozambique	3 Nov 1804	Buenos Aires		1804 Nov 22	Capt John Rider <sup>81</sup>		190
	<b>Africano do Rio (P)</b>	Jose Domingos	Rio de Janeiro <sup>82</sup>	27 Aug 1804	Mozambique	1804 Oct 13			1804 Oct 27 <sup>83</sup>	[Ballast]
	<sup>84</sup>									[400]
	<b>General Izidro (P)</b> <sup>85</sup>	Manoel Pedro de la Maide	Mozambique			1804 Dec 10	1804 Dec 22	<sup>86</sup>		20 [out of 450]
1805	<b>New York (Am)</b> <sup>87</sup>	Richard Nulle	Mozambique		Rio de la Plata	1805 early Jan			c. 1805 Jan <sup>88</sup> 19	[129]
	<b>Margriet of Charlestown (Am)</b> <sup>89</sup>	William Livingstone	Mozambique	5 Jan 1805		1805 Feb 4			1805 Feb 12	[300?]
	<b>Ninfa da Mer (P)</b> <sup>90</sup>	Manoel Antonio Ionesco <sup>91</sup>	Mozambique	5 Jan 1805	Rio de Janeiro (Montevideo)	1805 Feb 1		Ionesco	1805 Feb 17 <sup>92</sup>	82 (out of 300) <sup>93</sup>
	<b>General Izidro (P)</b> <sup>94</sup>	Jose Joaquin Mereilles (supercargo); Manoel Pedro de la Maide (capt)			Rio de la Plata	1805 Mar		Mereilles	1805 Mar 12 <sup>95</sup>	30
	<b>Arthur (Am)</b> <sup>96</sup>	E Talbot	Rio de Janeiro	27 Jun 1805		1805 Jul 26				[provision]

<sup>76</sup> KC 23 June 1804. The *Minerva* left Table Bay for Simon's Bay on 21 June 1804. It arrived at Simon's Bay on 24 June 1804 (KC 30 June 1804).

<sup>77</sup> KC 23 June 1804: William Duckitt was to sell 'Thirty good Mozambique slaves' from this cargo on 25 June 1804. KC 21 July 1804: the firm Venables & Company were to sell thirty Mozambican slaves (both sexes) at their packhouse at Strand Street on 24 August 1804. Slaves could be purchased 'uit de hand' before this sale, upon inquiry at the packhouse by prospective buyers.

<sup>78</sup> KC 16 July 1804: on 9 July 1804 the *Minerva* left Table Bay again. It was bound for Mocha. KC 25 May 1805: the *Minerva* was to leave the colony in May 1805.

<sup>79</sup> KC 7 July 1804: this has been included, because Hippolite Mordeille has appeared elsewhere in this appendix (eg *La Legere* - 1803); here it is called a 'Bataaffsche Kaperschip'.

<sup>80</sup> KC 10 November 1805.

<sup>81</sup> KC 17 November 1805. There is a discrepancy as to who the captain of the ship was: Lymon Evans (sailed the vessel from Mozambique to the Cape) and John Rider (who had sold the slaves). John Rider: 'Cap. Van het Americaansch Schip Susanna, aan de Tuin van Adrian Arandze, worden verkogt Honderd en negentig Mozambiësche Slaven.'

<sup>82</sup> KC 13 October 1804. Domingos has also been spelled 'Domingez'.

<sup>83</sup> KC 27 October 1804.

<sup>84</sup> HLG Swart, 'Die Ontwikkeling van Handel aan die Kaap tussen die Jare 1795 en 1806' (unpublished MA, UCT, 1949), p141. On 23 November 1804, Rynier Beck asked for permission to sell 400 Mozambican slaves at the Cape. Freund, p249, documents the landing of 340 slaves in December 1804. No further information is given here. However, it is possible that Swart and Freund are referring to the same boat.

<sup>85</sup> KC 15 December 1805.

<sup>86</sup> KC 22 December 1805. The sale of 20 (out of 450) slaves was to take place at House 12, Strand Street, on 22 December 1804.

<sup>87</sup> KC 12 January 1805.

<sup>88</sup> KC 19 January 1805.

<sup>89</sup> KC 16 February 1805.

<sup>90</sup> KC 16 February 1805.

<sup>91</sup> BR 65.

<sup>92</sup> KC 23 February 1805.

<sup>93</sup> This cargo was sold in three consignments by Ionesco, with government consent: BR 65 - 56 slaves; BR 14 (February 1805) - 26 slaves

<sup>94</sup> BR 68 Tuesday 5 March 1805; the slaves were sold to enable Mereilles to finance his return voyage to Montevideo.

<sup>95</sup> KC 16 March 1805.

<sup>96</sup> KC 3 August 1805.

										and strong drink]
	<b>Gustavia (Am)</b> <sup>97</sup>	Mordicai J Hill			Mozambique				August 1805	
	<b>Elizabeth (Am)</b> <sup>98</sup>	John Latimer	Mozambique	1 Oct 1805	Charlestown	1805 Nov 1	1805 Nov 28 & 30	? <sup>99</sup>		180 (men, boys and girls)
	<b>Africano Do Rio (P)</b> <sup>100</sup>	Jose Domingos				1805 Dec				340
1806	<b>Arroyo de Beunos Aires (P)</b> <sup>101</sup>		Mozambique	1 Oct 1805	Rio de la Plata	1805 Nov 14	1806 Jan 6	? <sup>102</sup>		'a number' of slaves
	? (D) <sup>103</sup>						personal property			1
	? <sup>104</sup>						1806 Feb			some slaves
	<b>Resource (Eng)</b> <sup>105</sup>	the 'Marirgo' a French 'prize' <sup>106</sup>	Loango (in Angola)							
	<b>Resource</b> <sup>107</sup>	Robyn Hambleton				1806 Jan 27	1806 Feb 21	? <sup>108</sup>	1806 Apr 6 <sup>109</sup>	slaves [m&f] & trade goods
	<b>Animagrande (P)</b> <sup>110</sup>	Jose Joseff	Mozambique	15 Jan 1806	'Brazils'	1806 Feb 4			1806 Mar 30	[300]
	<b>General Izedro (P)</b> <sup>111</sup>	Manoel Pedro de la Maide	Mozambique	5 Feb 1806	Cape	1806 Mar 18	1806 Mar 21, 22; & 1806 Apr 1	Manoel Pedro de Almeida and Sorrel and Robertson <sup>112</sup>	1806 Apr 16	242 [m&f]
	<b>Charles and Harriet (Am)</b> <sup>113</sup>	Robin Earl	Mozambique	9 Jan 1806	Charleston	1806 Feb 9			1806 Mar 13	3 [170]

<sup>97</sup> KC 24 August 1805.

<sup>98</sup> KC 9 November 1805; and KC 16 November 1805 - government allowed the release of this cargo.

<sup>99</sup> BR 95, 5 November 1805 and 12 November 1805: men, boys and girls were to be sold by public auction on 28 and 30 November 1805 at Josias Brink's garden in Table Valley.

<sup>100</sup> KC 16 November 1805.

<sup>101</sup> KC 16 November 1805; see also : KC 8 March 1806, where it is referred to as El-Aroy.

<sup>102</sup> KC 26 December 1805. Josias Brink's garden was to be the venue for a public sale of slaves on 6 January 1806. 'Een aantal' (a number) of males and young girls were to be sold by one Bolo German.

<sup>103</sup> CO 4437, 'Committee of Inquiry held under Proclamation of 29 April 1808', "Commissions to land slaves in this colony from March 1806 to March 1808 - Cape of Good Hope". JC Jurgens was allowed to land a slave from an unnamed Danish vessel at the Cape.

<sup>104</sup> C.G February 1806 (KC 'has reverted back to 'C.G', since the paper was in English again after the second Occupation of the Cape on 18 January 1806).

<sup>105</sup> KC 15 February 1806

<sup>106</sup> Port Captain (P.C 3/1) of the Cape of Good Hope, 'Register of Arrivals of Ships in Table Bay, January 1806 to December 1823'. This primary source contains information on ships which stopped at the Cape colony from 1806 to 1823. It contains information on the following: Ships at the Cape; their nationality; origin; date of departure; destinations; arrivals at the Cape; cargoes; captains and supercargoes; tonnage; and departures from the Cape. This register is in table form. Hereafter, it is referred to as : PC 3/1. Ships' departures and arrivals in the Cape Town Gazette after 1806 generally match PC 3/1.

<sup>107</sup> KC 15 February 1806. Rybyn Hambleton brought the Resource to the Cape on 27 January 1806. The Dutch surrendered the Cape to the British on 18 January 1805.

<sup>108</sup> KC 15 February 1806. An auction was arranged for 21 February 1806: 'Some prize Slaves, belonging to the before mentioned cargo, both boys and girls, the finest ever brought to this Colony, may be viewed at ant time previous to the day of sale at Mr Brink's Garden.' The sale was to take place at 46 and 47 Strand Street.

<sup>109</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>110</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>111</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>112</sup> CO 4437, "Commission", for Sarrel and Robertson's sale. See also: C.G 5 April 1806 - c. 132 'prize' slaves (both sexes) were to be sold at Josiah Brink's garden. There is a possibility that these slaves were from the General Izedro.

<sup>113</sup> CO 4437, "Commissions"; also see PC 3/1

	<b>Rio (Am)</b> <sup>114</sup>	W Gale (master)			West Coast					
	<b>Commerce</b> <sup>115</sup>					1806 Jun	personal property			2
	? <sup>116</sup>					1806 Jul	personal property ?			16
	<b>Young Adam</b> <sup>117</sup> (Am)	Haveland (master)			Mozambique	1806 Sept 23			c. 1806 Sept	Ballast
	<b>Dido (P)</b> <sup>118</sup>	Jose Dominges	Mozambique	18 Sept 1806	'Brazells'	1806 Oct 18		Jose Dominges <sup>119</sup>	1807 Jan 22	420
	<b>Variara (P)</b> <sup>120</sup>					1806 Oct/Nov				full cargo of slaves
	<b>Nossha Sinhora Maydos Homers</b> (P) <sup>121</sup>	Antonio da Costa Pintio (master)	Mozambique	31 Oct 1806	Brazil	1806 Nov 26	1806 Dec 27	Tenant (sold on commission for the owners) <sup>122</sup>	1807 Jan 17	260 (m&f)
	<b>Pitiato (P)</b> <sup>123</sup>	MP Almeida	Mozambique	18 Sept 1806		1806 Dec 20			1806 Dec 12	[260]
1807	<b>Triumfola Iorvija</b> (P) <sup>124</sup>	Jose Joaquim Ferreira	Mozambique	22 Nov 1806	Brazil	1807 Jan 1			1807 Feb 3	?
	<b>Diana (P)</b> <sup>125</sup>	Joaquim Rosario Monteiro (captain and supercargo)	Mozambique	10 Dec 1806	Rio	1807 Jan 14			1807 Feb 3	285
	<b>General Izedro</b> (P) <sup>126</sup>	Antonio Salvador Monteiro	Mozambique and Quelimane	20 Nov 1806; 16 Dec 1806		1807 Feb 10	1807 Mar 23, 24	Tenant (sold 383 slaves)	1807 Apr 18 (TB), 1807 May 30 (SB)	245 m, 84 boys, 25f, 29 girls <sup>127</sup>
	<b>Espada da Ferro</b> (P) <sup>128</sup>	Joas Joze de Faria	Mozambique	20 Dec 1806	Brazil	1807 Feb 23			1807 Mar 6	[316]

<sup>114</sup> C.G 10 May 1806.

<sup>115</sup> CO 4437, "Commissions".

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> C.G 27 September 1806. This vessel was probably on a slave trade.

<sup>118</sup> PC 3/1; CO 4437, "Commissions", all of the Dido's cargo was sold at the Cape. CO 5, 21 October 1806, 'Reply to the Memorial of Joze Domingues Master Owner of the Portuguese Ship Dido petitioning permission to land and dispose of his Cargo consisting of Mozambique Slaves' from Smyth, a clerk of the Cape Customs House. KC 10 Jan 1807, Dominges unaware his cargo had measles.

<sup>119</sup> RCC, vol 6, 30 October 1806, 'Proclamation by Sir David Baird', p 49. By this proclamation, Dominges was allowed to sell his slave cargo at the Cape. He had to tender a 1000 rijksdaalder bond as security, forcing him to sell the cargo by public sale only. Dominges would have forfeited the 'bond' had he sold any of the slaves privately.

<sup>120</sup> CO 4437. No number for the cargo is provided.

<sup>121</sup> PC 3/1. Another departure date - 2 February 1807 - is given here, too.

<sup>122</sup> C.G 20 December 1806. On 27 December 1806, 'a number of excellent' slaves (both sexes) were to be sold at a public auction at Arnoldus Ziedel's garden. CO 4437, 'Commissions' - the whole cargo was landed at the Cape. CO 5, 4 December 1806, Tennant sold the Nossha Sinhora Maydos Homers on commission.

<sup>123</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>124</sup> PC 3/1 and KC 3 January 1807.

<sup>125</sup> PC 3/1. C.G 17 January 1807. CO 3861 refers to Joaquim Rosario Monteiro as 'Joao Ayres Monteiro'. This must be an error. KC 7 February 1807.

<sup>126</sup> The full account of the General Izedro is related in the main body of this thesis. PC 3/1 and CO 386, 16 February 1807 'The Memorial of Joao de Luz Pereira Master and Antonio Salvador Monteiro SupraCargo of the Portuguese Ship General Izedro, now anchored in Table Bay.' CO 5, 23 February 1807, gives evidence that Tennant was allowed to land 279 slaves.

<sup>127</sup> CO 5 (enclosure to letters 188 and 189) Customs House, 11 September 1807, report of Charles MacSean (Collector of Customs).

<sup>128</sup> PC 3/1

**Appendix II: Table of slave boats and 'prize' boats at the Cape, 1808-1818**

Year	Boat <sup>1</sup>	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
1808	<u>Dois Iramons Paraquito</u> (P) <sup>2</sup>	Joze Joaquim Mareilles Paraquito (master)	Mozambique and Inhambane	[20 Dec 1807]	Rio de Janeiro		Jan 1808	personal property	8 Mar 1808	84	10 ('left with slaves')
	<u>Albuquerque</u> (P) <sup>3</sup>	MP de Almeida	Mozambique	[1 Jan 1808]	'Cape or Markit'	Captain Davis - Otter			13 Feb 1808 (with <u>Constantia</u> ) <sup>4</sup>	70	140
	<u>Rozalia</u> <sup>5</sup>	Joaquim Lino da Costa (master)	Mozambique	[26 Jan 1808]	'Brazells'		6 Mar 1808	[sold by Antoine c.20 Apr 1808] <sup>6</sup>		550	40 [out of 400]
	<u>Animigrande</u> (P) <sup>7</sup>	JJ da Silva (master)	Mozambique	[27 Jan 1808]			4 Mar 1808	[sold in Mar 1808 - Stromboom]	18 Mar 1808	200	c. 20 [out of 362]
	<u>La Suffleur</u> (Fr) since named 'Hope' <sup>8</sup>		'off Madagascar' <sup>9</sup>	19 Oct 1808		<u>Harrier's</u> 'prize' <sup>10</sup>	21 Dec 1808		19 Feb 1808	60	142 [and cargo Ivory] <sup>11</sup>
	<u>Jeune Claire</u> <sup>12</sup>		Madagascar			'prize'					6 (m) and 3 (f)
	<u>Pasiphic</u> (Fr) <sup>13</sup>		Madagascar				Dec 1808	Dec 1808			8 (m) and 6 (f)
	<u>La Esperance</u> (Fr) <sup>14</sup>		'off Mauritius'	7 Nov 1808		<u>Leopard;</u> Grant (prize master)			'Drove Onshore'	120	'cotton, ivory, wood and 72 slaves'
	<u>Prairie</u> (Fr) <sup>15</sup>		'off Mauritius'	7 Nov 1808		<u>Leopard;</u> Woodriff				70	'coffee and 19 slaves'

<sup>1</sup> This includes the 99 'prize negroes' apprenticed to Tennant from the Constantia. Note, too, that passing slave boats have been documented for the purposes of general reference on the east African slave trade from Mozambique in this list. This is taken as far as 1822.

<sup>2</sup> PC 3/1. This ship was also called the Two Brothers.

<sup>3</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>4</sup> This may not be correct. The Constantia ran aground at Saldanha Bay.

<sup>5</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>6</sup> Forty of this vessel's slaves were sold by Louis Antoine. This has been documented in COI (1808), meeting no 7 (23 May 1808). Anthony Rietmulder, concluding his purchase of slaves on one side of the Rosalia was aware that Antoine was buying 40 slaves on the other side of the boat. Antoine had arrived at the Cape in February 1807, as part of the General Izedro's crew. He bought slaves from the Rosalia's crew: 28 from the boatswain; 8 from the steward; and 4 from a 'sailor'. These slaves were sold between February and April 1808. Most of them were sold illicitly by Antoine c 20 April 1808. Antoine received 10 rijksdaalders commission for every 210 Spanish dollar sale he made at the Cape.

<sup>7</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>8</sup> CG 26 March 1808: '15 or 20 capital slaves' were to be sold at Isaac Stromboom's packhouse (and business premises) in Heerengracht street - by auction.

<sup>9</sup> PC 3/1: also provides information on this boat. This detail is from PC 3/1.

<sup>10</sup> PC 3/1 and RCC 15, 'A Return of the Slaves imported into this Colony since the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1808, distinguishing the Males from the Females, and stating what ship they were seized in, when condemned, and the manner how disposed of', (signed) Charles Blair (Collector of Customs), pp212-213, (hereafter, 'Return'). This list covers some of the slaves let into the colony from 1808 to 1816. It is complemented by: CO 4453, Mr Charles Blair, 'Papers and Report of Commissioners re Inquiry upon conduct of messrs Blair and Baird in the disposal of Prize Negroes', 22 July 1825. CO 4453 provides lists of "prize negroes", too. It gives names, which the 'Return' does not do. This list also appears in British Parliamentary Papers ((BPP), 1826-7, xxi (42).

<sup>11</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'. Blair recorded the admission of 106 male and 36 female "prize negroes" into the colony.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

Year	Boat	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
	<u>Prairie</u> cont.					(prize master); Hernbody (ships master)					
1809	<u>Prince Regent</u> (P) <sup>16</sup>	Joze Francisca Calada	Mozambique	[14 Dec 1808]	Rio de Janeiro		24 Jan 1809		10 Feb 1809 <sup>17</sup>	100	[160]
	<u>Trois Amis</u> (Fr) <sup>18</sup>			Oct 1809		'Squadron'; Bell (prize master)	31 Oct 1809		16 Apr 1809	65	'rice and 12 slaves'
	<u>Dois Iramons</u> <u>Paraquito</u> (P) <sup>19</sup>	JJ de Mareilles Paraquito	Inhambane	[6 Oct 1809]	Rio de Janeiro		31 Oct 1809		26 Dec 1809	141	[210]
	<u>Carolene</u> (Fr) <sup>20</sup>		Reunion	6 Oct 1809		'Squadron'; Lieut Bluett (prize master); Corbett (captain)	5 Nov 1809		Dec 1809		21
	<u>Le Fanny</u> (Fr) <sup>21</sup>		Reunion	6 Oct 1809		'Squadron'; Oakes (prize master)	6 Nov 1809			127	17
	<u>Elizabeth</u> (P) <sup>22</sup>	PJ Branco	Mozambique	[21 Oct 1809]	River Plate		18 Nov 1809		25 Nov 1809	255	[373]
	<u>Dido</u> (P) <sup>23</sup>	LP Malruga	Mozambique	[25 Oct 1809]	River Plate		27 Nov 1809		1 Dec 1809	236	[400]
	<u>Peraquito</u> (P) <sup>24</sup>	JJ Mareilles			Rio de Janeiro				26 Nov 1809		
1810	<u>Tilsit (Bat)</u> <sup>25</sup>		Batavia						13 Feb 1810		1 (m) and 6 (f)
	<u>La Charlotte</u> (Fr) <sup>26</sup>		Madagascar						6 Feb 1810		26 (m) and 15 (f)
	<u>La Creole</u> <sup>27</sup>		Madagascar						6 Feb 1810		

<sup>16</sup> Ibid; CG 28 January 1809.

<sup>17</sup> C.G 18 February 1809, states that the Prince Regent left Table Bay on 11 February 1809.

<sup>18</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. This French frigate was captured by the 'Squadron' off Reunion, on 6 October 1809.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Ibid; and, CG 25 November 1809 and 9 December 1809.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. CG 9 December 1809.

<sup>24</sup> C.G 9 December 1809.

<sup>25</sup> RCC 15, 'Return': Customs officer W Bird executed these transfers.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid; and, C.G 24 February 1810.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

Year	Boat	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
	<b>Victor (Fr)</b> <sup>28</sup>		Madagascar					23 Jan 1810			3 (m) and 1 (f)
	<b>Goube Mouche (Fr)</b> <sup>29</sup>							6 Feb 1810			6 [crew?]
	<b>La Mouche (Fr)</b> <sup>30</sup>							13 Apr 1810			3 (m)
	<b>Prairie (Fr)</b> <sup>31</sup>		Madagascar					6 Feb 1810			22 (m) and 5 (f)
	<b>Esperance (Fr)</b> <sup>32</sup>		Madagascar					6 Feb 1810			31 (m) and 28 (f)
	<b>Aventure (P)</b> <sup>33</sup>		Madagascar		St Helena			13 Feb 1810			4 (m) and cattle and sheep
	<b>Trois Amis</b> <sup>34</sup>		Madagascar					13 Feb 1810			51 (m) and 4 (f)
	<b>Marshal Daendels</b> <sup>35</sup>		Batavia					13 Feb 1810			6 (f)
	<b>Venus</b> <sup>36</sup>		Mauritius					1 Mar 1810			2 (m) and 1 (f)
	<b>La Urania</b> <sup>37</sup>		St Luce	7 Mar 1810 <sup>38</sup>		Samuel Berkingstone (prize master)	1 Apr 1810	30 Apr 1810	[sold] <sup>39</sup>		5 (m) and 1 (f) [and rice]
	<b>Amazonc</b> <sup>40</sup>		Mauritius					30 Apr 1810			1 (f)
	<b>Elizabeth (P)</b> <sup>41</sup>	PJ Branco	Montevideo		Mozambique		June 1810 (Simon's Bay)		6 Jul 1810 (S.B) <sup>42</sup>		['ballast and specie']
1811	<b>Alexandre (P)</b> <sup>43</sup>	Joaquim Joze de Souza	Mozambique	[28 Nov 1811]			17 Jan 1811		30 Jan 1811	150	[214]

<sup>28</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> Ibid; and, PC 3/1.

<sup>38</sup> C.G 7 April 1810. This source credits 'Berkingstone' as 'prize' master of the vessel.

<sup>39</sup> C.G 5 May 1810. Maude, Robertson and De Cartlogen were 'prize' agents to La Urania. The sale of the boat was to take place at the store of 'the late I van Bihl' at the Market Square on Tuesday 6 May 1810: 'the brig named L'Uranie, with her Masts, Yards, Sails, Rigging and Furniture, as she now lies in Table Bay. Condemned by a Decree of the Vice Admiralty at this Settlement - This Vessel is exceedingly well adapted to the Coasting Trade'. The six slaves mentioned here may have been servants on the ship.

<sup>40</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>41</sup> C.G 16 June 1810.

<sup>42</sup> C.G 14 July 1810.

<sup>43</sup> PC 2/1; also C.G 10 January 1811 and C.G 2 February 1811 (departure).

Year	Boat	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
	<u>Eneas</u> (P) <sup>44</sup>	Luiz Perreira Madruga	Rio de Janeiro	[14 Mar 1811]	Cape and Mozambique		26 Apr 1811	sale of goods <sup>45</sup>	25 May 1811 <sup>46</sup>		[sugar, tobacco and sundries]
	<u>Religion</u> (Sp) <sup>47</sup>	D Pedro Negrete	Montevideo		Mozambique		17 Jul 1811		1 Aug 1811 (for T.B) <sup>48</sup>		[ballast and specie]
1812	<u>Elizabeth</u> (P) <sup>49</sup>							26 Jan 1812			344 (m) and 92 (f)
	<u>Restaurador</u> (P) <sup>50</sup>		Mozambique		Rio de Janeiro		19 Jan 1812	15 Feb 1812	wrecked; contents of ship sold <sup>51</sup>		451 slaves [and ebony] <sup>52</sup>
	<u>Felis Dio</u> <sup>53</sup>		Mozambique	[17 Dec 1811]	Rio de Janeiro		21 Jan 1812		6 Feb 1812	100	[250]
	<u>Resolution</u> (P) <sup>54</sup>	Joaquina Souza	Mozambique	[18 Dec 1812]	Rio de Janeiro		26 Jan 1812		28 Jan 1812	250	[450]
	<u>Eneas</u> (P) <sup>55</sup>	Luis Perreira Madruga	Inhambane		Rio de Janeiro		28 Jan 1812		29 Jan 1812	75	[154]
	<sup>56</sup>		Mauritius	10 Jan 1812		Henry Jackson's Hercules Transport	3 Feb 1812		30 Apr 1812		143
	<u>Elizabeth</u> <sup>57</sup>						5 May 1812				9
1813	<u>Esquerra</u> (P) <sup>58</sup>	JP Guilman	Mozambique	[8 Nov 1812]	Rio de Janeiro		28 Dec 1812		4 Jan 1813	220	[440]

<sup>44</sup> C.G 4 May 1811.

<sup>45</sup> C.G 11 May 1811. On 11 May 1811, a public sale of the Eneas's cargo was to be held at the stores of Venables and Co. 'Together with a variety of other Articles', items to be sold included : confit, cheese, tobacco, tallow, beams and planks.

<sup>46</sup> C.G 1 June 1811. On 25 May, the Eneas left for Simon's Bay with a 'cargo Sundries'.

<sup>47</sup> C.G 20 July 1811.

<sup>48</sup> C.G 7 September 1811. This relates that the Paz Religion was 'bound to Table Bay in ballast.'

<sup>49</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>50</sup> PC 3/1; RCC 15, 'Return'; and, C.G 8 February 1812.

<sup>51</sup> PC 3/1 states that the Restaurador was wrecked. C.G 13 June 1812 provides details on the sale of this ship. At noon on Wednesday 17 June 1812, a 'prize' sale of the Restaurador's contents was to be held 'at the Wharf'. The boat was to be sold 'with her Masts, Yards, and Rigging rove, as she now lies stranded on the beach'. C.G 27 June 1812, another sale was set for Wednesday 1 July 1812. Numerous items from the vessel were for sale : coir rope; coconut oil; a medicine chest; ebony wood; empty casts and tubs, hoops, staves and ships' stores; and, the 'Anchor and Cable, as it now lays on the Wharf'.

<sup>52</sup> C.G 8 May 1812 - An announcement was made by Charles Blair ((Collector Customs) on 7 May 1813. He wanted : 'those Persons that have not executed the Identures for the Prize Negroes from the ship Restaurador ... to call at the Custom House between the hours of 11 and 1 the day.

<sup>53</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 25 January 1812.

<sup>54</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 8 February 1812, says that LJ Souza was captain of the vessel. See also: RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>55</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 8 February 1812.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>58</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 9 January 1813.

Year	Boat	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
	<u>Felis Dio</u> <sup>59</sup>	VLC Almeida	Mozambique	[19 Dec 1812]	Pernambuco		21 Jan 1813		23 Jan 1813 <sup>60</sup>	100	[270]
	<u>Eliza</u> <sup>61</sup>		Madagascar			'prize'	c. 11 Mar 1813	31 May 1813			87 (m) and 51 (f)
	<u>Lilie</u> <sup>62</sup>					'prize'		31 May 1813			8 (m)
	<u>Lucie</u> <sup>63</sup>					'prize'		5 Aug 1813			1 (m) and 9 (f)
1814	<u>Triomfola Inveja</u> (P) <sup>64</sup>	Domingo Antonio Gomez	Mozambique	[24 Dec 1813]	Pernambuco		8 Mar 1814		27 Mar 1814 <sup>65</sup>	140	[242]
	<u>Felis Dio</u> (P) <sup>66</sup>	Victoran do Cruz Almeida	Mozambique	[6 Feb 1814] <sup>67</sup>			13 Mar 1814		14 Mar 1814	100	[272]
1815	<u>St Mark</u> (P) <sup>68</sup>	John Bonifacio	Mozambique	[11 Jan 1815]	Pernambuco		5 Feb 1815		9 Feb 1815	200	[450]
	<u>Sao Joaquim</u> (P) <sup>69</sup>	Jose de Senhos	Mozambique		'Brazils'		27 Feb 1815 (S.B)	17 Mar 1815	[sold] <sup>70</sup>		233 (m) and 65 (f) <sup>71</sup>
	<u>Felis Dio</u> (P) <sup>72</sup>	PJ Negram	Mozambique	[1 Mar 1815]	Pernambuco		11 Apr 1815		11 Apr 1815	100	270
1816	<u>La Jeune Victor</u> (Fr) <sup>73</sup>		Madagascar			'prize'		25 Jan 1816			36 (m) and 19 (f)
	<u>Minerva</u> (Eng) <sup>74</sup>	James Mackie	Quebec	[28 Sept 1815]			23 Feb 1816		11 May 1816	534	'timber, slaves and coals'
	<u>Felis Dio</u> (P) <sup>75</sup>	AB Ferreira					4 Apr 1816		5 Apr 1816	100	[215]
	<u>HMS Fyne</u> (Eng) <sup>76</sup>				England		23 Oct 1816		27 Oct 1816		landed 'prize' slaves - Robben

<sup>59</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 23 January 1813.

<sup>60</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 6 February 1813.

<sup>61</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'. William Bird transferred a male slave to an unknown buyer. Two male slaves were transferred to R Escolais by Bird. Charles Blair transferred slaves to : J Amber ((3 male slaves); E Durham (3 male slaves); C Dixon (a male and a female slave); G Hodgson (2 females); and J Lawrence (a female slave). Overall, 87 male and 51 female slaves were imported into the Cape from the Eliza.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

<sup>64</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 19 March 1814.

<sup>65</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 9 April 1814.

<sup>66</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 26 March 1814.

<sup>67</sup> C.G 26 March 1814 - date of departure from Mozambique here is 5 February 1814.

<sup>68</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 11 February 1815.

<sup>69</sup> C.G 5 June 1815. The boat was 'detained and sent in [to Simon's Bay] by H.M Ship Cumberland, Capt. Thos. Baker'.

<sup>70</sup> C.G 12 August 1815; 'The Brig Sao Joachim, with her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and sundry stores, will be sold by Auction [in Simon's Bay], on Saturday the 19<sup>th</sup> instant [1815], at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. - An Inventory of the Stores, & c. may be seen, by application to Mr Read, Shipwright, No 4 Berg St. C.T.'. C.G 5 February, advertised the sale of whatever was left to sell of the Sao Joachim.

<sup>71</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'. The boat landed 233 male and 65 female slaves at the Cape. Bird indentured several slaves to an unknown buyer. Charles Blair sold "prize negro" indentures to : William Duckitt (5 adult males); an unknown party ((one male - listed as 'dead'); J Amber (one male); and JS Merrington (one male). W Corbitt alienated a male to Charles Blair.

<sup>72</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 5 April 1815.

<sup>73</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>74</sup> PC 3/1.

<sup>75</sup> PC3/1; C.G 15 April 1815.

<sup>76</sup> PC 3/1; C.G 26 October 1816.

Year	Boat	Captain	From	Date	Destination	Captors	Arrived	Condemned/[Sold]	Departure	Tons	Slaves/ "Negroes"
	<b>Flor de Bahia</b> (P) <sup>77</sup>	Joze H Gomez	Mozambique	[17 Oct 1816]	Bahia		2 Dec 1816		8 Dec 1816	240	[480]
	<b>La Neptune</b> (P) <sup>78</sup>					'prize'		16 Dec 1816			96 (m) and 59 (f)
1818	<b>Mato Grosso</b> (Sp) <sup>79</sup>	JJ de Mellor	'Quelimana'	[29 Dec 1817]	Pernambuco		12 Feb 1818		15 Feb 1818	240	[430]
	<b>Flor de Bahia</b> (P) <sup>80</sup>	Jose dos Santos Ferreira	Mozambique	[17 Jan 1818]	St Salvador and Bahia		11 Feb 1818 (in S.B)		1 Mar 1818 (S.B) <sup>81</sup>		386
	<b>Pacquet Real</b> (P) <sup>82</sup>	JP da Souza	Mozambique	[2 Feb 1818] <sup>83</sup>	St Salvador		14 Apr 1818		wrecked <sup>84</sup>	160	133 [out of 171]
1819	<b>Dos Hermanas</b> (Sp) <sup>85</sup>	Joze Botet	Zanzibar	[17 Dec 1818]	Havannah		17 Jan 1819		19 Jan 1819	223	[495]
	<b>General Cavalante</b> (Sp) <sup>86</sup>	PJ Negro	Quelimana	[14 Mar 1819]	St Salvador		11 Apr 1819		15 Apr 1819	265	[479]
1820	<b>Isabella</b> (Sp) <sup>87</sup>	Campaneiria	Zanzibar	[19 Dec 1819]	Havannah		18 Jan 1820		31 Jan 1820 <sup>88</sup>	208	[236]
	<b>Caridad</b> (Sp) <sup>89</sup>		Zanzibar	[9 Jan 1820]	Havannah		3 Feb 1820		31 Jan 1820 <sup>90</sup>	210	[216]
	<b>St Jose</b> (Sp) <sup>91</sup>	Santiago Cauteau	Zanzibar	[10 Jan 1820]	Havannah		6 Feb 1820		15 Feb 1820	262	[370]
1821	<b>Consession Esperanza</b> (P) <sup>92</sup>	AJ Carvalha	Mozambique	[20 Oct 1821]	Rio de Janeiro		11 Dec 1821		27 Dec 1821	200	[320]
1822	<b>Bahiaste</b> (P) <sup>93</sup>	JS Pinheiro	'Quelimana'	[10 Jan 1822]	Rio de Janeiro		27 Feb 1822		'run without payment'	168	[309]
	<b>Consession Esperanza</b> (P)		Santos, Brazil				6 Aug 1822 <sup>94</sup>		'bound eastward for a market' <sup>95</sup>		'bound to this port for orders, cargo, sugar and

<sup>77</sup> PC 3/1; C.G 14 December 1816.

<sup>78</sup> RCC 15, 'Return'.

<sup>79</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 14 February 1818.

<sup>80</sup> This boat's story is told in the main body of this thesis. C.G 21 February 1818: the boat was 'detained and sent in [to Simon's Bay] by the Ship Atlas, under the charge of HE Christie, Mate, and six Men of said Ship'.

<sup>81</sup> C.G 7 March 1818.

<sup>82</sup> This boat's story is told in the main body of this thesis. PC 3/1.

<sup>83</sup> C.G 18 April 1818 - gives 18 April 1818 as the date of this departure. This is probably a misprint.

<sup>84</sup> Again, in the body of this thesis. However, PC 3/1 gives this information : '18<sup>th</sup> May Stranded and broke in pieces'.

<sup>85</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 23 January 1819. C.G 13 March 1819 says: 'Passengers, BJ de Bastoe, Master of the late Portuguese Ship Esperance, lost on the Europa Rocks, and 12 of her Crew, taken up at Sea in an open Boat'. H.M.S Podargus was in Simon's Bay at the time, too, 'with 19 men of the late Portuguese Brig L'Esperance wrecked on [Europa] Island.'

<sup>86</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 17 April 1819.

<sup>87</sup> PC 3/1; and C.G 29 January 1820.

<sup>88</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 5 February 1820.

<sup>89</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 3 February 1820.

<sup>90</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 12 February 1820.

<sup>91</sup> PC 3/1

<sup>92</sup> Ibid

<sup>93</sup> PC 3/1; and, C.G 2 March 1822.

<sup>94</sup> C.G 14 September 1822. Notice was dated 10 September 1822, in the section documenting ships arrivals in this newspaper.



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