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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

THE ENSLAVED PEOPLE OF SIMON'S TOWN
1743 TO 1843

Dissertation presented in fulfilment of the requirements

for the

Degree of

MASTER OF THE ARTS IN HISTORY

by

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Signature:..... **Date**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of slavery and emancipation in Simon's Town for the period 1743 to 1843. Through the compilation of a slave database derived from VOC era wills and British colonial era slave registers, quantitative details pertaining to slave demography, religion, mortality, occupation, gender and levels of creolisation were recorded to monitor how the experience of slavery in Simon's Town changed over time. These details are attached in the form of a Slave Database CD.

The use of magisterial and slave office correspondence afforded a qualitative enquiry of the society that existed in Simon's Town during this period and offered insights into how this was experienced by slaves. Two oral history interviews were also conducted.

Significantly the data shows that slaveholders exerted their power through a combination of violence and differential treatment, intended to cause fear and division amongst slaves. Conversely, the data suggests that slaves derived agency through religion, ethnic group strength and random acts of 'slave justice'.

Furthermore, it shows that the landscape of Simon's Town district provided unique opportunities for escape both by land and sea. In addition it shows that the arrival of the British Navy created opportunities for some slaves to transcend slavery by becoming wage earning crew members on its fleets. Significantly too it shows that the arrival of many working class British seamen into Simon's Town impacted on both male and female slaves in Simon's Town in ways that would see them re-evaluate and reject the institution of slavery.

Pertinent findings are suggestions of ethnic awareness and ethnic spatial separation that existed in Simon's Town. These findings imply that theories derived by historians of Cape slavery that are informed by quantitative studies based on the Cape as a whole, do not necessarily match data within specific urban areas of the Western Cape.

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INTRODUCTION¹

The last few decades have seen significant strides made by historians to bring Cape slave historiography to the fore, a subject which before this had received scarce attention beyond Victor de Kock's *Those in Bondage*, published in 1950.²

This surge of interest in Cape slavery began in the 1970's and it was in fact in 1979 that James Armstrong penned the first systematic account of slavery in the VOC period.³ More comprehensive analyses of the VOC period is Robert Ross's, *Cape of Torments* published in 1983⁴ and Nigel Worden's *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* published in 1985, the latter of which offers comparative data of slaveholdings in the Cape district, Stellenbosch, the Drakenstein and Swellendam.⁵ Robert Shell's *Children of Bondage*, which was published in 1994, covers both the VOC and British colonial periods and is probably the most comprehensive inquiry into Cape slavery by a single historian, which includes the experience of Company slaves at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town.⁶ However, in recent years the impact of the 'cultural turn' has seen a move from quantitative to qualitative studies.⁷ Through social histories and scholarly work new layers of knowledge have been added to our understanding of Cape slavery by a host of historians and scholars among whom are Pamela Scully, Susan Newton-King, Andrew Bank, Anna Maria Rugarli, Michael Reidy, John Edwin Mason and Robert Ross. Thus scholars today benefit from a wealth of new information. With each new publication our knowledge and understanding of Cape slavery grows. For example John Edwin Mason has challenged Orlando Patterson's social death hypothesis with regards to Cape slavery by showing how slaves at the Cape retained 'a cultural and moral community of their own.'⁸ Michael Reidy has shown that the admission of slaves into the Cape continued for at least a decade after the slave trade was abolished.⁹

¹ Please note: Constant changes in spelling have been found to occur in Dutch archival documents. Thus Rossouw is sometimes spelt Rossoué and sometimes Rousseau, Abdolgaviel is sometimes spelt Abdol Gaffel, Volraath is sometimes spelt Volraad and Souble is sometimes spelt Soubblet. These deviations in spelling occur in the text to match their spellings on particular documents cited.

²Victor De Kock, *Those in bondage: An account of the life of the slave at the Cape in the days of the Dutch East India Company* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950)

³James Armstrong, 'The slaves, 1652 – 1795' in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The shaping of South African society 1652 – 1820*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1979) pp. 75-115

⁴Robert Ross, *Cape of torments* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983)

⁵Ibid, dustcover and p. 29

⁶Robert Shell, *Children of bondage: A social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994)

⁷Nigel Worden, *Cape Town between east and west, social identities in a Dutch colonial town* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012) p. xi

⁸John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection, slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003) dustcover

⁹Michael Reidy "The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves into the Cape Colony, 1797 – 1818" (UCT: MA, 1997) p.1

Andrew Bank on the other hand has argued that slavery in urban Cape Town was eroding during the period 1806 – 1838, which saw the ‘trend from slavery towards capitalism’.¹⁰

Contrasts between urban and rural slavery are highlighted by Pamela Scully who has revealed the plight of many rural slave mothers who lost maternal rights to their children when farmers were allowed to indenture their children owing to a ‘loophole in the original Abolition Act of 1833’.¹¹

As Ruglarli has shown, urban slaves were able to form networks that rural slaves were not able to do.¹² This is highlighted in a recent publication where Susan Newton-King as well as Robert Shell and Archie Dick reveal that social stratification and an intellectual hub existed within urban slave societies.¹³ Our knowledge of Cape slavery has thus greatly expanded. However, there are still notable gaps.

Apart from Andrew Bank’s study of 19th century Cape Town, no other local study of an urban area in the Western Cape pertaining to slavery has been done. The contrasts and differences that emerge between Bank’s study of urban Cape Town and this examination of Simon’s Town district has further implications for our understanding of urban slavery and opens the door for future scholars to study each area in the Western Cape as distinct entities. For example did the gender imbalance that Worden and Shell identify for the Cape occur on every slaveholding or were there areas or individual slaveholdings in the Western Cape where gender ratios were more balanced?¹⁴ Did every slaveholding follow the diverse ethnic proportions that Worden speaks about or were there certain areas or individual slaveholdings in the Western Cape where ethnic awareness and same ethnic partnerships were in fact possible?¹⁵ Furthermore, were levels of social stratification amongst slaves ethnically based?¹⁶ This thesis raises these questions for Simon’s Town.

¹⁰Andrew Bank, *The decline of urban slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991) p. 45

¹¹Pamela Scully, *Liberating the family? Gender and British slave emancipation in the rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823 – 1853* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997) p. 53

¹²Anna Maria Rugarli, “Slavery at the Cape Colony from acquisition to the process of creolization c. 1790 – 1830” (Universita’ degli Studi di Milano, Facolta di Scienze Politiche, MA,1998) p. 97

¹³Susan Newton-King, “Family, friendship and survival among freed slaves” in Nigel Worden (ed) *Cape Town between east and west* (Auckland Park: Jacana 2012) pp. 153 – 175; Robert Shell and Archie Dick, “Jan Smiesing, Slave Lodge schoolmaster and healer, 1697 – 1734” in Nigel Worden (ed) *Cape Town between east and west* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012) pp. 128 - 152

¹⁴Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp. 52-53; Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 67

¹⁵Ibid, p. 4

¹⁶Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750 – 1870, a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 37

Simon's Town was established in the 18th century as the winter anchorage of the VOC. As the sources show, its utilisation was both urban and rural; an unusual dynamic. Furthermore its seaside location, its backdrop of mountain ranges and its combined urban and rural landscape make it an intriguing setting to explore historically.

Significant too is its history of isolation up until at least 1751, as the 'mountains limited the possibilities of land communication before proper roads could be cleared'.¹⁷ Simon's Town was also the point of entry for British occupation of the Cape in 1795¹⁸ and the site where Britain established its naval station in 1814.¹⁹

Simon's Town itself has been the topic of many historical narratives. For example Boet Dommissie and Tony Westby-Nunn have written *Simon's Town, An illustrated historical perspective*,²⁰ and Boet Dommissie has also written about Admiralty House.²¹ However, most of the historical narratives about Simon's Town have focussed on VOC and British colonial hierarchies. An exception is Michael Whisson's *The Fairest Cape?* which is a study of the subaltern community who were forcibly removed from Simon's Town during the era of Apartheid forced removals. Although he does mention slaves, they are not the focus of his study.²² Thus apart from some references to slave occupations and deaths in Dan Sleight's *Die Buiteposte* and less so in A.E. Bekker's *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, contemporary studies of Simon's Town offer little insight into the lives of the slaves who formed the bulk of the labour force of this town during both VOC and British colonial rule. This thesis attempts to fill that gap.

The creation of a database provides a unique record of enslaved individuals in Simon's Town who are recorded in VOC wills and British colonial slave registers for the period 1743 to 1838. This study spans a period of one hundred years, commencing in 1743 and ending in 1843, which includes the first five years after emancipation.

¹⁷Janet-Anne, Cladingbowl, "A study in the Development of Simon's Town 1898 – 1910" (UCT: BA Honours in Historical Studies, 1984) p. 8

¹⁸Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 40

¹⁹Sir Jahleel Brenton, *Memoir of the Life and Services of vice Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton*, edited by The Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester (London: Hatchard and Son, 1846) pp. 432-433

²⁰Boet Dommissie, & Tony Westby-Nunn, *Simon's Town, An illustrated historical perspective* (Simon's Town: Westby-Nunn, 2002)

²¹Boet Dommissie, *Admiralty House, Simon's Town* (Cape Town: CTP Book Printers, 2005)

²²Michael Whisson, *The fairest Cape?* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972)

Distinctive periods in the history of Simon's Town from 1743 to 1843

This study has identified key periods as being distinctive in the history of Simon's Town.

The initial period 1743 to 1751 marked isolation because most ships still preferred to anchor in Table Bay during this time. However, much building work was being carried out as the VOC and a few burghers were establishing their presence in the district.²³ Decisions by the VOC to give freehold land grants to burghers in Simon's Town were motivated by the need for the supply of refreshment for crews of ships anchoring there as well as the need to secure the area from outside invasion.

During 1751 to 1795 the population of Simon's Town swelled during the winter months, when hopeful traders arrived from Cape Town to conduct business activities in the town. Local farmers benefited too, as they sent their slaves from ship to ship to sell a variety of farm produce, such as meat, milk and fruit.²⁴ This period is also notable for a surge in slave escapes, particularly in large groups. It is likely that while they were trading for their owners, slaves were making contacts for themselves that facilitated their escapes.²⁵

The period 1795 to 1815 saw the movement of power from the Dutch to the British, the British to the Batavian Republic and then back to the British again. Pertinently this period saw the abolition of the slave trade in 1808.²⁶ From this time onwards a number of 'prize negroes' arrived in Simon's Town after having been 'liberated' off slave ships by the British Anti-Slavery patrols.²⁷ In 1814 Britain established a naval base in Simon's Town and in addition the town became the food basket for St Helena during the Napoleonic war.²⁸ A number of British citizens also became resident in the town.²⁹

The period 1816 to 1843 saw at its inception the final cession of the Cape to Britain. This was the most significant period in Cape slavery as it saw the implementation of laws which ameliorated living and working conditions for slaves and ended with Emancipation.³⁰

²³For an insight into the settlement of free burghers in Simon's Town see Dan Sleight, *Die Buiteposte* (Pretoria: Protea, 2004) pp. 303-304

²⁴Ibid, p. 305,

²⁵WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 30, p. 178, 2 May, 1767

²⁶Christopher Lloyd, *The Navy and the slave trade* (London: Frank Cass, 1968) p.3

²⁷Peter, P Hinks, John R McKivigan and Owen R. Williams, *Encyclopedia of antislavery and abolition* (Oxford: Greenwood, 2007) Volume 2 J-Z, p. 2

²⁸Brenton, *Memoir*, p. 434

²⁹See names of British slave owners on the database

³⁰WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves

A significant feature of this period was the influx of many working class British seamen into the town, some of whom formed contacts, alliances and marriages with slaves in Simon's Town.³¹

This thesis is structured around the following themes:

Chapter 1 – The distribution of slaves in Simon's Town

This chapter focuses on the distribution of slaves in Simon's Town, as recorded on the database. The database is a record of slaves found in archival records for the Dutch and British colonial periods and is included in the form of a CD (Appendix II). The data for the Dutch colonial period is derived mainly from wills of slaveholders in Simon's Town whereas the data for the British colonial period is derived mainly from the Simon's Town Slave Register. However, this is not exhaustive since many slaves who have emerged in British colonial era correspondence are not listed in wills or in the Slave Register.

The data is broken into four sections and patterns and trends concerning slave demography, gender ratios, occupations, the slave naming system and slave manumissions are examined throughout this chapter. The first section covers the period 1743 – 1795 and focuses on the era of VOC rule in Simon's Town. Pertinently for the VOC period, a few individual slaveholdings are examined. These offer illuminating insights and reveal that not all slaveholdings followed the same trends in terms of gender ratios and ethnic diversity. The second section covers the period 1796 to 1815 and through examination of the data we become aware of the introduction of the hireling system and the emergence of Free Black slave owners. The third section covers the period 1816 to 1826 and focuses on data gleaned from the Simon's Town Slave Register. Pertinent aspects are origins and gender of slaves, the age ranges of child and adult slaves, patterns of longevity and adult and child deaths. The fourth and final section covers the period 1827 to 1838 and through the data we become aware of the acknowledgement of Islam in the naming system. The data also shows that the ban on Eastern slaves was not strictly adhered to in Simon's Town.

³¹Jacob Philip Legg, *Some facts in the history of the parish of St Francis Simons's Town* (Claremont: Peninsula Herald, 1903) 20 December 1813

See also 'Chapter 4 – Resistance' for an insight into the interaction between British seamen and slaves in Simon's Town

Chapter 2 – The Landscape

This chapter focuses on the landscape that came to be known as Simon's Town district. The first section briefly explores the dispossession of the Khoi and the beginnings of Dutch settlement in Simon's Town. Significantly it focuses on the arrival of slaves in Simon's Town and the impact of their presence in the town not only through their labour, but also by way of their cultural and religious contributions to the town. This section also deals with Company and private slaves in Simon's Town and shows how their labour was used to create physical changes to the landscape that came to be synonymous with VOC power and control. It also shows how the slaves themselves altered the landscape in ways that manifested their cultural and religious roots.

The second section of this chapter focuses on British colonial rule and shows how slave and 'prize negro' labour was used to create the physical pillars of British colonial power. It shows too how slaves, prize negroes and people of mixed slave and Khoi descent, referred to as Bastard Hottentots, were ethnically grouped and separated on the landscape in ways that suggest social stratification in Simon's Town which privileged slaves of Asian descent and also those people referred to as Bastard Hottentots.

Chapter 3 – Control and treatment

This chapter deals with the control and treatment of slaves in Simon's Town. During the VOC era, 1743 to 1795, the postholder represented state control. Evidence of control and slave treatment exerted by private slaveholders comes through in the wills, which suggest differential treatment, with some slaves being sold and others kept in the family, or of certain slave families kept intact and others sold separately. State power during the transitional period, 1796 to 1815 was represented by the wardmaster J H Roselt and forms of VOC state control continued for the first two years of this period. During the period 1816 to 1843 state control was represented by the Resident Magistrate. State and private slaveholder control of slaves was exerted through a system of punishment meted out at the Simon's Town prison. The British colonial era practice of moving corporal punishment from the domestic arena to the Simon's Town prison was one engaged in particularly by British slaveholders in Simon's Town.

These punishments were carried out by ‘Black Constables’ who were themselves convicts. Although outlawed in 1828, the system of privately-owned slaves being punished at the Simon’s Town prison at the request of their owners continued until 1829.³²

The establishment of a Slave Office in Simon’s Town in 1824 created opportunities for slaves to complain about ill-treatment and as this chapter shows, British slaveholders were capable of being as heavy-handed towards slaves as their Dutch or burgher counterparts. Pertinently this chapter shows how the dynamics of power played themselves out during the apprenticeship period, when slave children were particularly vulnerable and closes with the control of labour during the post emancipation period, ending in 1843.

Chapter 4 – Resistance

This chapter looks at forms of slave resistance that took place in Simon’s Town during the period 1743 - 1838 and shows how this changed over time. During the period 1751 to 1795 groups of slaves successfully escaped from Simon’s Town, some by sea and others to the mountains, most notably Hanglip across False Bay. The case of Julij, which occurred during the period of Batavian rule in 1804 illustrates the existence of underclass networks that were developing which extended from Simon’s Town to Cape Town.

By May 1806 there was a rise of bold escapes from Simon’s Town with many slaves taking advantage of the seaside location and contacts with working class seamen to stowaway by ship. With the abolition of the slave trade and the arrival of ‘prize negroes’ in Simon’s Town, levels of resistance increased as ‘prize negroes’ partook in similar patterns of resistance to those of the slaves. The implementation of ameliorative laws, rather than making slaves content with their lot, in fact gave slaves, especially female slaves who were no longer allowed to be flogged, an added buoyancy to resist. However, as this chapter will show, not all slaves resisted by running away and it appears that there were slaves in Simon’s Town who engaged in acts of ‘slave justice’ by getting their own back at cruel slaveholders in novel ways. Several slaves in Simon’s Town were able to bridge the terrain of psychological enslavement through the practise of Islam.

³²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, SMT 10/21 (Letters Received from December 1827 to December 1830) folio 32 and 32A, 9 May, 1828

CHAPTER 1 – THE DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES IN SIMON’S TOWN

This chapter places slaves within the evolving maritime milieu of Simon’s Town during the eras of VOC and British colonial occupation at the Cape for the period 1743 - 1838. The chapter has a somewhat statistical cast¹ that is offset by individual details of different holdings, which include both urban and rural slave-holding arrangements and a range of occupational structures that contributed to the establishment and continued economic functioning of this port town.

Sources

Information was obtained from the following sources:

1. For the period 1743 – 1795, data was extracted from slave listings from inventories and auction lists, using the Western Cape Archives and Document Service research facilities as well as the Cape Transcripts digital research CD.²
2. For the period 1796 to 1815, data was extracted from wills, an insolvent estate record (Jan Endres), vendurollen and the Cape Transcripts digital research CD.
3. For the period 1816 to 1834 data was extracted from the Slave Registers, which were commenced by the British colonial government at the Cape in 1816.

Limitations

While the information gathered offers a unique insight into a part of Simon’s Town’s history that has hitherto been obscured from historical view, it also has limitations in that it is dependent on the accuracy and prudence of the record keepers of the past. Thus while some of the wills for the Dutch colonial period give complete lists of slaves and offer a rich source of information about them, others only mention slaves by numbers.³ Furthermore, only slaves listed in the *Simon’s Town Slave Register* and not those of known Simon’s Town residents listed in the *Cape Town and Simon’s Town Residency Register* were included in this study.

¹ The database, which is included as Appendix II (CD-ROM) is a compilation of information concerning people who were slaves in the Simon’s Town District during the period 1743 - 1838. Wherever possible it reflects origin, slave names, slave owners, occupations, transfers and manumissions affecting this group of people. It has a ‘remarks’ column that records pertinent data such as instructions from wills or remarks made on slave registers. It also records dates of birth or dates of death and mother and child connections, where available. This chapter comprises an analysis of the data.

²WCARS, Vendurollen, 10/1/1 Index for 1691 – 1833

³WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/6, folio 42 ½, 21 July, 1745; WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/32, folio 83, 3 May 1785; MOOC 7/1/25 folio 41, 5 Dec. 1777

The reason for this is because it cannot be determined with complete certainty that the latter group of slaves were from Simon's Town and not from a second residence in Cape Town or some other location, owned by the same slaveholder. Thus they were excluded for fear of distorting the data.⁴ To this end this chapter does not claim to include all the people who were slaves in Simon's Town, but rather the ones that were found and who can with certainty be located to this area. These limitations notwithstanding, the available data offers a valuable insight into the experience of slavery within this enclave, for the period 1743 to 1838.⁵

Time-frames within which the data was analysed

While the initial plan was to analyse the data over periods of 10 years at a time; the documents from which the data has been derived for the Dutch and early British colonial periods do not make this possible. Thus they have been broken up into periods that are historically relevant and workable in terms of the data. With the exception of Tables 1 & 2, all tables referred to in this chapter are attached as Appendix I.

Table 1: Time periods through which the database is analysed

TIME PERIODS THROUGH WHICH THE DATABASE IS ANALYSED		
TIME PERIOD	HISTORICAL RELEVANCE	PRIMARY SOURCES
1743 – 1795	The Dutch colonial settlement in Simon's Town, which ended with British occupation in 1795. ⁶	Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Wills and vendurollen ⁷ Cape Transcripts digital research CD ⁸
1796 – 1815	The British occupation, except for the period 1803 – 1806 when through the Treaty of Amiens the Cape was returned to the Netherlands. ⁹	Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Wills and vendurollen Cape Transcripts digital resource CD
1816 – 1826	The commencement of the amelioration laws by the British colonial government and the institution of a slave register from 1816. ¹⁰	Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Slave registers for Simon's Town Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Wills, Insolvent records and vendurollen Cape Transcripts research CD
1827 – 1838	The period of further amelioration laws, which ended with Emancipation in 1834 followed by a four year apprenticeship period from 1834 – 1838. ¹¹	Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Slave registers for Simon's Town Western Cape Archives and Document Service: Wills and vendurollen Cape Transcripts research CD

⁴ For the benefit of future researchers, some of these slave names have not been deleted from the database

⁵ Michael Whisson, *The fairest Cape?* (Johannesburg: South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1972) p. 5 (The isolation of Simon's Town 'involved the traveller in hazards in the quicksands of Fish Hoek and Elsie Bay (Glencairn). An alternative route was to take a boat at Kalk Bay')

⁶ Cape Old Freeholds, Vol. 2-5, 13.04.1717 to 28.11.1807

⁷ See attached database for all references

⁸ See attached database for all references

⁹ Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p.39

¹⁰ George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, "Letter from Fiscal Denysen to Sir John Cradock," (16 March, 1813) Vol. 9, pp.143-145; WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35, Notes on Proclamation of 18th March, 1823

¹¹ Nigel Worden, "Between slavery & freedom" in Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais (eds.) *Breaking the chains, slavery and its legacy in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994) p. 118

1.1. The database 1743 – 1795

The data compiled for this period is derived mostly, but not exclusively, from wills of deceased slaveholders who resided in Simon's Town. Table 2 gives the name and location of slaveholders listed on the database whose wills offered details about slaves for this period.

Table 2: Slave holders whose wills list slaves for the period 1743 – 1795

SLAVE HOLDERS WHOSE WILLS LIST SLAVES FOR THE PERIOD 1743 – 1795		
NAME OF OWNER	LOCATION	PERIOD
Christina Diemer ¹²	Imhoff's Gift Farm situated in the rural district of Simon's Town	1743 – 1765
Johannes Volraadt ¹³	De Goede Gift, a lodging house situated in the town ¹⁴	1765 – 1768
Hendrik Fehrsen ¹⁵	A lodging house on 1 morgen of land in the town	1749 – 1757
Fredrik Kirsten ¹⁶	Imhoff's farm situated in the rural district of Simon's Town	1765 – 1783
Hendrik Elshoud ¹⁷	Property named 'Constantia' situated in the town ¹⁸	1761 – 1806

Other slaveholders who resided in Simon's Town during this period, but whose wills did not list their slaves by name were Anthonij Visser¹⁹, Jan Fredrik Kirsten²⁰, Carel George Weiser,²¹ Gerhardus Munnik²² and Johan Willem Hurter.²³

¹²WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/16 folio 42 ½, 10 February, 1765

¹³Cape Transcripts, Master of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Transcripts MOOC8/13.18, 16 October, 1768

¹⁴WCARS, C. 37, Resolutien, 20 July, 1745 as cited in A.E. Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795* (Simon's Town: Simon's Town Historical Society, 1991) p. 74

¹⁵WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/34, folio 51, 28 August, 1779

¹⁶Cape Transcripts, Master of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Transcripts MOOC8/18.52, 28 April, 1783

¹⁷WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/38 folio 50, 5 September, 1783

¹⁸WCARS C.53, Resolutien, 13 January, 1761, p. 67; Bekker, *The history of False Bay*, p. 74 [This property encompassed Fehrsen's original property which Elshoud bought in 1757 plus 'an additional piece of land across the wagon road abutting the sea as "Annex Garden Ground" bought in 1761.] See also Cape Old Freeholds 06.10.1746 – 27.08.1782 Vol. 3, Deeds Registry 608 Simon's Town 29 April, 1757 and Deeds Registry No. 835 Simon's Town 2 February 1761

¹⁹WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/6, folio 159, 21 July, 1745

²⁰WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/32, folio 83, 3 May, 1785

²¹WCARS Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/19 folio 40, 13.08.1759; Carol George Weiser owned the farm Poespaskraal see Cape Freeholds Vol. 2 part 3, 13 April 1717 to 10 August 1746, Vol. 2 Page 446, 27 May, 1743.

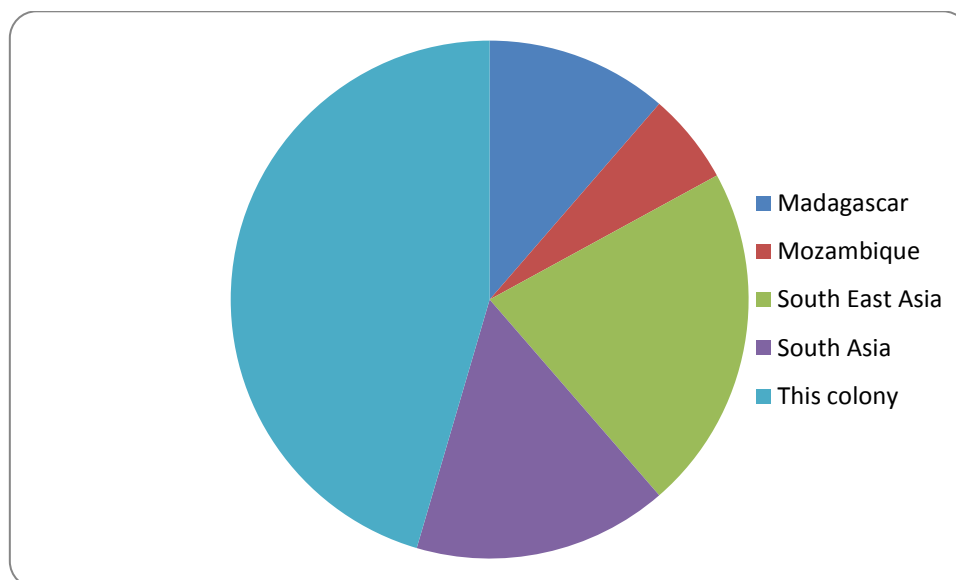
²²WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/28, folio 71, 24 September, 1774

²³WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/25 folio 41, 5 December, 1777

1.1.1 Slave demography in Simon's Town 1743 - 1795

A total of 88 slaves have been recorded as being located in Simon's Town during the period 1743 to 1795²⁴. South Asian and South East Asian slaves, both male and female, had a stronger combined presence in the district during this period than did Mozambican and Madagascan slaves.²⁵ Overall 44% of the total slaves were locally born.

However, Imhoff's farm circa 1743 – 1765 shows a figure of 47% for Cape-born slaves, which places it more or less in line with Shell's findings that more than 50% of all slaves were locally born in the period 1760 – 1769.²⁶ Based on Shell's findings, these figures suggest that overall the treatment of slaves in Simon's Town was below the norm for the colony, but that the treatment of slaves at Imhoff's farm was in line with the norm for the colony.



Graph 1: Demographic profile of slaves in Simon's Town for the period 1743 - 1795

²⁴ See Table 3 in Appendix 1 attached. It should be noted that Table 3 also lists Joseph Dempfile who is not recorded above as his 'slave ownership' in this section of the database falls within a different context. He was in fact the junior surgeon at False Bay and Michiel of the Cape was his own son whose freedom he purchased for 100 rixdollars. Michiel, whose mother was Sophia of the Cape, represents a very small proportion of slave children who were acknowledged by biological fathers of European descent. ²⁴ Christoffel Brand is also listed here within a different context as Rosetta van Bengalen was released into freedom by Brand's mother-in-law, but into his care.²⁴

²⁵ See Table 4 in Appendix I attached for a detailed list and also pie chart below

²⁶Robert Shell, *Children of bondage: A social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994) p. 47

1.1.2 Slave names 1743 – 1795

The slave naming system in Simon's Town can be divided into a variety of categories, and include Calendar names, i.e. April and July,²⁷ classical names such as Titus and Caesar,²⁸ biblical names such as Martha, Mosis, Goliath and Rachel,²⁹ geographical names such as Amsterdam of Siam and Dutch family names such as Carel and Sara.³⁰ An unusual finding in the naming system is the appearance of Asian names such as Ismail, Mandar, Pagtra and Arij. This was a somewhat rare phenomenon during this historical period.³¹ Such concessions suggest a level of preferential treatment that was granted to a very small group of slaves. Strikingly the majority of slaves who had Asian names belonged to Christina Diemer, the widow of Frederik Russouw.³²

1.1.3 A look at individual slaveholdings listed on the database

This section focuses on individual slaveholdings in Simon's Town for the period 1743 - 1795. The value of evaluating the data in this way is that it shows that demographic patterns differed from one slave-holding to the next. Seen in this way it becomes clear that although the findings of Ward and Worden show that 'India and Madagascar were the main source of supply for Cape slaves',³³ this does not mean that individual slaveholdings were patterned in strict conformance of this larger picture. This is significant in that it shows that individual slave-holdings did not fit into rigid forms, but were influenced by other factors such as the labour requirements, economic base and the personality of the owner.

1.1.3.1 The slaves of Christina Diemer of Imhoff's Gift

The majority of foreign born slaves at Imhoff's farm circa 1743 to 1765 were South Asian and South East Asian, just less than 50%, with a smaller proportion coming from Mozambique and Madagascar, less than 10%.³⁴ Although revealing a huge gender imbalance at a ratio of 4 to 1, it is interesting that all the female slaves were South Asian or South East Asian.

²⁷ Although these names give the impression that they might have represented the month of arrival of the slave into the slave-holders possession, Shell suggests that calendar names were sometimes just given 'in order of the slave's appearance on the block'. See Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 241

²⁸ Both these names were given to male slaves. The mockery of denoting powerful names to taunt men disempowered by slavery is clear.

²⁹ Biblical names were mostly given to locally born slaves

³⁰ A surprisingly large amount of slaves had Dutch family names – see Appendix I

³¹ Frank R. Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The early Cape Muslim: a study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1978) pp. 130-32

³² WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/16 folio 42 ½, 10.02.1765

³³ Kerry Ward and Nigel Worden, "Museums, Memorials, and Public Memory" in Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee (eds.) *Negotiating the past, the making of memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 214

³⁴ For a list of slaves owned by Christina Diemer see Table 5 of Appendix I

Certainly, the variety of ethnic groups would have made conditions conducive for what Michael Whisson describes as the “de-nationalising” experience of slavery.³⁵ However, the possibility existed for some ethnic origin partnerships between people from the Sulawesi speaking Bougies, Bengal and Malabar, in at least one case for each group. Given the strong cultural and religious identities of people from South Asia and South East Asia, particularly in relation to Islam, it is likely that these women would have partnered with men from similar cultural and religious backgrounds to themselves. To this end it is likely that an overwhelming number of the children born at Imhoff’s farm during this period were the offspring of parents from South Asia and South East Asia, areas which carried strong links to Islam.³⁶ Evidence of Islam within the naming system at Imhoff’s farm is linked to six names, i.e. Ismail, Pagtra, Arij, Tuan, Mandaar and Malade. This use of Islamic names during a period when Islam was a banned religion at the Cape is unusual.³⁷ Lists of slave names compiled by Bradlow and Cairns show that this was not the norm.³⁸

This suggests that these slaves were acknowledged differently compared to the other slaves whose birth identities were overridden. Oral tradition suggests that Ismail van Bougies³⁹ was a Muslim priest.⁴⁰ Significantly too is that a slave from Mozambique is named Tuan van Mozambique. The word Tuan is an Asian word which means ‘teacher’.⁴¹ Certainly the naming system on this farm whereby 20% of the slaves had Asian names suggests that the practice of Islam on this farm, if not sanctioned, was definitely acknowledged.

With the pervading sense of fear that apparently existed amongst the colonialists for Eastern slaves, particularly those from Bougies who it has been said were particularly slighted when disciplined by women⁴², it is interesting that 6 out of 20, or just above 25% of foreign-born slaves at Imhoff’s farm were in fact from Bougies and their owner was a widowed woman.⁴³

³⁵Michael Whisson, *The fairest Cape?* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972) p. 5

³⁶Helene Vollgraaff, *The Dutch East India Company’s Slave Lodge at the Cape* (Cape Town: S A Cultural History Museum, 1997) p. 29

³⁷Frank R. Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The early Cape Muslims: a study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1978) p. 19. It was not until 25 July 1804 that religious freedom was officially proclaimed at the Cape)

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 130–2

³⁹ See also mention of Ismail in the Landscape chapter p. 53 and Resistance chapter p. 139

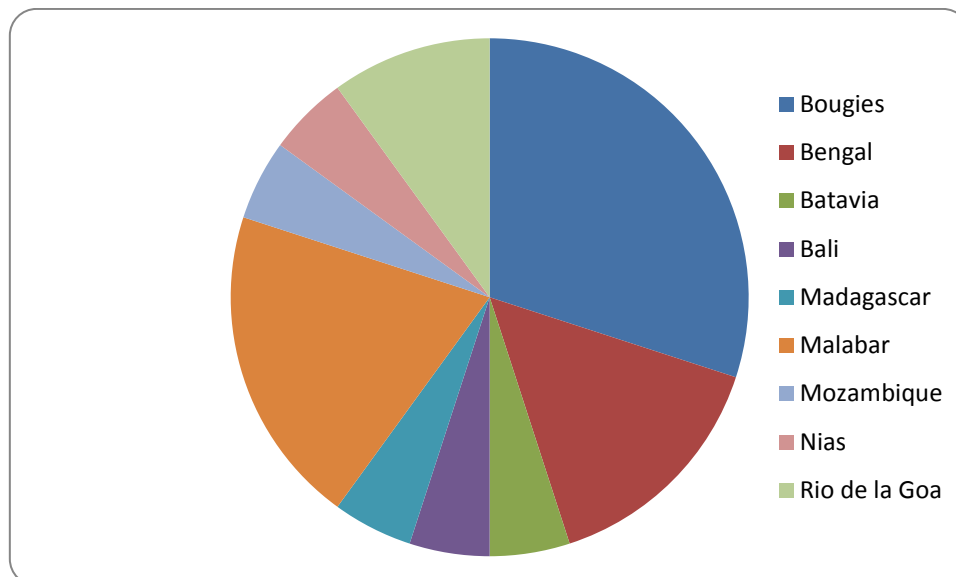
⁴⁰I conducted an interview with Mrs Patty Davidson of The Heritage Museum in Simon’s Town on 27.02.2013 and she informed me that at least seven Muslim families, namely the Solomon, Karriem, Manuel, Baker, Fakier, Jenkins and Anthony family claim to be the descendents of Gatiep (meaning assistant Imam) Ismail who they date back to the period of Dutch settlement in Simon’s Town. It is possible that this Ismail is the same person, however, I do not have documented proof that he was. Nevertheless, in their study on early Cape Muslims, Bradlows and Cairns do assert that Muslims were worshipping in private houses from as early as 1777, and possibly earlier. (Bradlow and Cairns, *The early Cape Muslims*, p. 19)

⁴¹ Oral history interview Ms Kobera (Auntie Kobie) Manuel Ocean View , 02.08.2009

⁴²Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750 – 1870: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 36

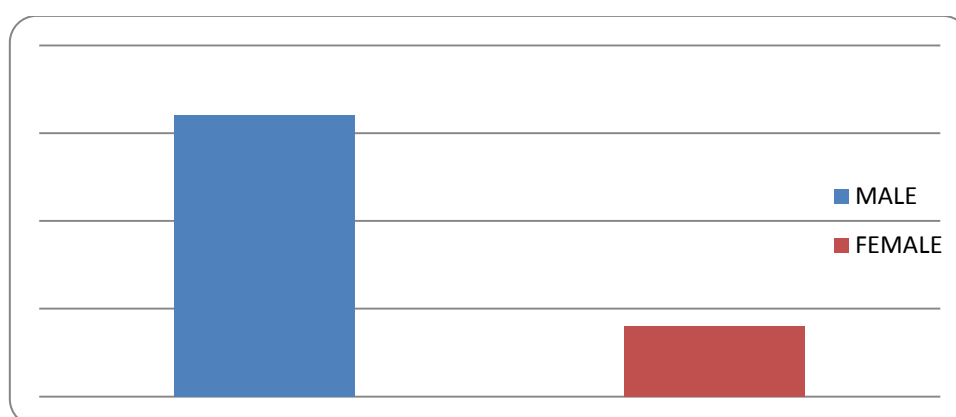
⁴³A) See landscape chapter p. 53. B) Christina Diemer was the widow of Fredrik Rossouw

Overall the large groups of South Asian and South East Asian slaves held by Christina Diemer suggests that unlike her peers, she did not perceive having many Eastern slaves from the same region a threat in terms of resistance.⁴⁴



Graph 2: Demographic profile of slaves owned by Christina Diemer 1743 - 1765

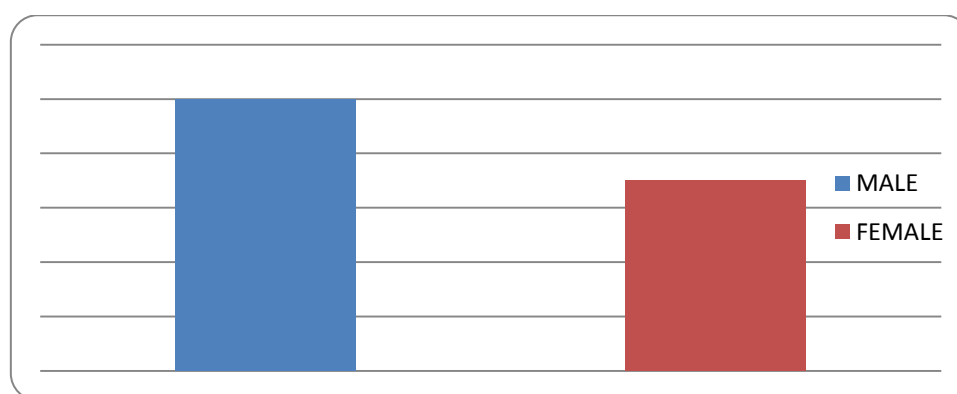
The gender imbalance suggests that a proportion of foreign-born male slaves on this farm had partnerships either with slave women from other farms or with women of Khoi descent. Levels of creolisation on this farm deviate from the norm for Simon's Town, but according to Shell's findings is more or less in line with the rest of the colony.



Graph 3: Gender ratios of foreign born slaves owned by Christina Diemer 1743 – 1765

⁴⁴ Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 35

The gender imbalance of foreign born slaves at Imhoff's farm⁴⁵ is not unusual when compared to the findings of Shell and Worden and infers that Christina Diemer, like many freehold farmers at the time, had a greater need for male rather than female labour.⁴⁶ With this in mind it is likely that the majority of the Cape-born slaves at Imhoff's farm, who do reflect an almost balanced gender ratio, were children. If they were, then it may well be that not all of them survived to adulthood. Worden says that slave birth rates in the Cape colony during the VOC period were extremely low and puts this at 16%. He suggests self-induced abortions by female slaves as being one of the possible reasons for this. Poor diets and long working days are others.⁴⁷



Graph 4: Gender ratio of Cape-born slaves owned by Christina Diemer 1743 – 1765

Jacob van Mallebaar and Jan van de Caab appear in the will of Christina Diemer in 1765 and later in the will of Fredrik Kirsten, the subsequent owner of Imhoff's farm, in 1783. This suggests that they were sold with the farm in what Shell refers to as cadastral transfers.⁴⁸ It is very likely too that an even larger number of Imhoff's farm slaves were transferred to Kirsten in cadastral transfers, but that they died in the eighteen year period between the death of Diemer and the death of Kirsten.

1.1.3.2 The slaves of Johannes Volraadt

The two male slaves listed in the inventory of Johannes Volraadt and his wife, Johanna van Jacoba van de Kaap, who owned de Goede Gift from 1765 until his death in 1769,⁴⁹ are unnamed and thus hidden in a cloak of anonymity.

⁴⁵ See Tables 6 and 7 of Appendix 1

⁴⁶ Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 76; Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, pp. 52-54

⁴⁷ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 59. See also Wilma King, *Stolen childhood, slave youth in nineteenth-century America*, (Bloomington Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) p. 9

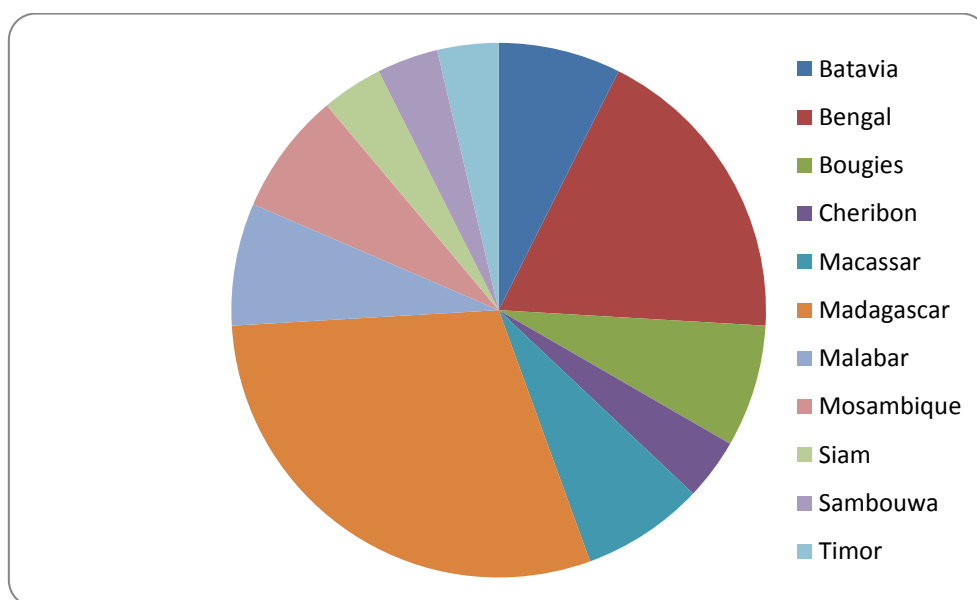
⁴⁸ Cadastral transfers = 'a system whereby persons are sold along with land'. See Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 421

⁴⁹ Cape Transcripts Digital CD – TEPC Project 1673 – 1834, Inventories, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC8/13.18, 16 October, 1768

At the time of their listing they had already run away, having been part of a group of twelve slaves who ‘absconded with the flat-bottomed boat belonging to the bay’ and who were thought to have escaped to Hanglip across the bay.⁵⁰ It is likely that they were foreign-born as during the VOC era foreign-born slaves were more likely to run away than those slaves who were locally born.⁵¹

1.1.3.3 The slaves of Fredrik Kirsten - Imhoff’s Farm 1765 to 1783

From 1765 to 1783 Imhoff’s farm was owned by Fredrik Kirsten. The database lists 43 slaves who formed the labour force at the farm during this period.⁵² The demographic composition of slaves at Imhoff’s farm during this period constitutes smaller ethnic groups of South Asian and South East Asian slaves and thus shows a changing pattern. This hints at the underlying colonial fears of Eastern slaves, which culminated in the prohibition on the importation of Eastern slaves to the colony on 20 October, 1767.⁵³ Significantly only one Bougies slave is listed and he a highly skilled craftsman. Fewer foreign slaves retained their birth names during Kirsten’s ownership of Imhoff’s farm. Those who did were Doela van Boegies, Joemat van Timor and Batjoe van Macassar. A single deviation in the naming system for locally born slaves is that of Rakina van de Caab, which hints at the practice of Islam.



Graph 5: Demographic profile of slaves owned by Fredrik Kirsten 1765 - 1783

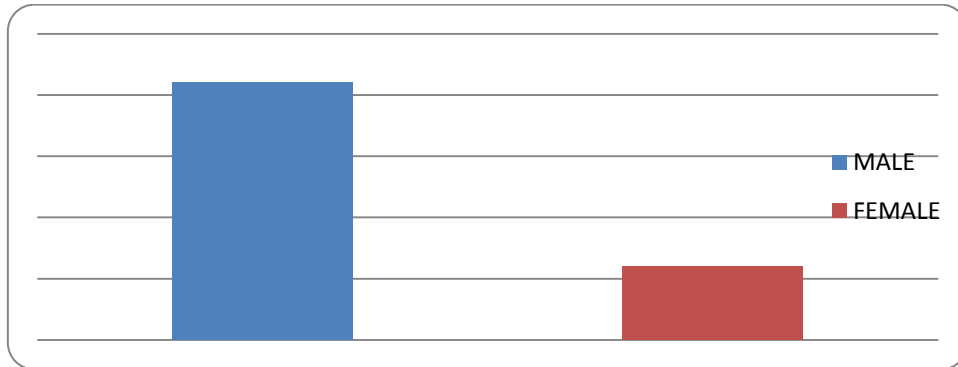
⁵⁰WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 30, p. 178. 2 May, 1767

⁵¹Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p.123

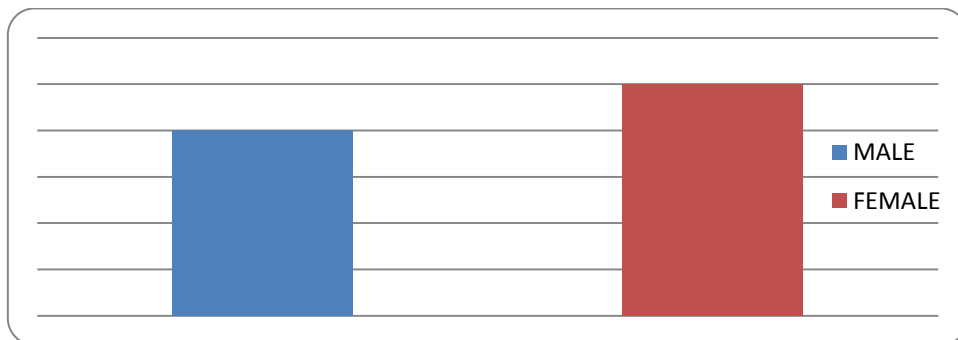
⁵²For an inventory of slaves owned by Fredrik Kirsten see Table 8 of Appendix 1

⁵³WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 ‘Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of Slavery and Indian Statutes 1652 – 1818’, 20 October 1767

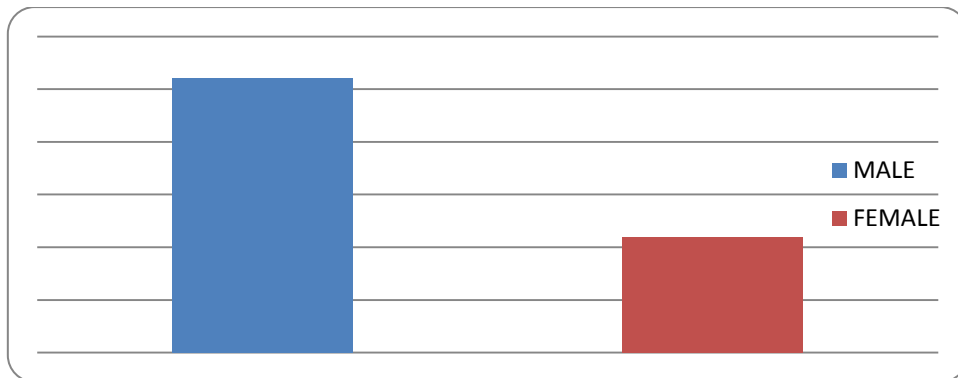
According to Ross, Madagascan slaves in Simon's Town were stereotyped by colonialists as being 'only fit for menial labour'.⁵⁴ However, at least two Madagascan slaves owned by Kirsten were skilled, one being a bricklayer and the other a carpenter. Overall occupation lists show that a number of highly skilled slaves were owned by Fredrik Kirsten. They were tailors, cooks, bricklayers and carpenters, and included one cabinet maker. The majority of skilled work was performed by Asian slaves.



Graph 6: Gender ratio of foreign born slaves owned by Fredrik Kirsten of Imhoff's farm 1765 – 1783

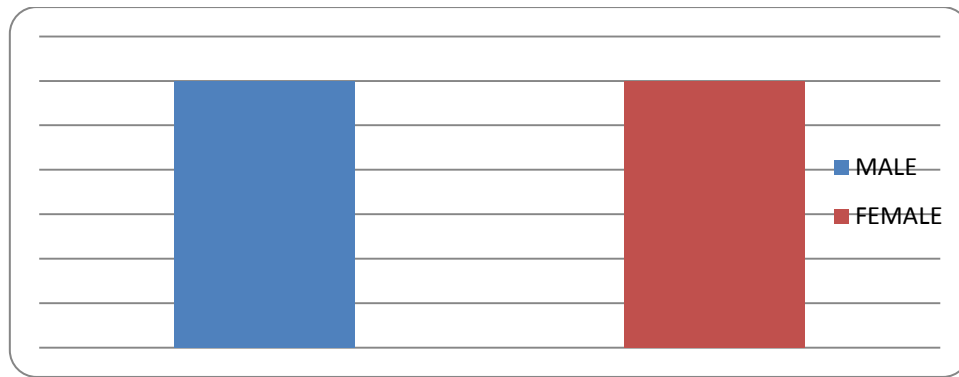


Graph 7: Gender ratio of Cape-born slaves owned by Fredrik Kirsten of Imhoff's farm 1765 – 1783



Graph 8: Gender ratio of adult slaves owned by Fredrik Kirsten of Imhoff's farm 1765 - 1783

⁵⁴ Ross, *Status and respectability*, p.36



Graph 9: Gender ratio of child slaves owned by Frederik Kirsten of Imhoff's farm 1765 - 1783

Cape-born children listed form 11% of the total number of slaves at Imhoff's farm, i.e. Cape-born and foreign born slaves, however, they form 27% of the total number of Cape-born slaves at the farm. This is double the norm for this period, indicating comparatively better living conditions compared to their peers.⁵⁵ The gender ratio for adult slaves shows that overall male slaves outnumbered female slaves by just over two to one. A balanced gender ratio is registered for slave children.⁵⁶ All the children except one Mozambican child were locally born. It is possible that this child, Goliath van Mozambique was the son of Sara van Mosambique and that the two were captured and brought to the Cape together. It is also possible that he was not her child and that he had been separated from his parents in Mozambique or along the slave route.

The will of Fredrik Kirsten dated 28 August 1783⁵⁷ suggests that there were favoured slaves and also those slaves who fell out of Kirsten's favour. The instructions of his will illustrate the uncertainty of slave life and how the death of the owner had ramifications for the slave. Furthermore, these instructions⁵⁸ are revealing in the way they show that the experience of slavery was not uniform. Evidence of the 'outsider status'⁵⁹ come through most strongly for foreign born slaves. The data shows that the majority of the slaves who were kept within the Kirsten family after the death of Fredrik Kirsten were Cape-born, while all the slaves who were deemed to be sold were foreign born plus two Cape-born children of foreign born mothers.

⁵⁵ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 9

⁵⁶ See Tables 10, 11, 12 and 13 of Appendix I which lists gender ratios and demography of slaves at Imhoff's farm 1765 - 1783

⁵⁷ Cape Transcripts Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC8/18.52, 28 April 1783

⁵⁸ See Table 14 of Appendix I

⁵⁹ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and social death* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982) p. 7

The instruction that Dina of Batavia be sold separately from her daughter, Rakina van de Caab, raises many questions. According to Willie Lee Rose, slave-owners often used the threat of family separations as a means of controlling slaves. Her line of thinking is that slaveholders ‘attempted to see that slaves would have something to lose, should they choose to rebel’.⁶⁰ With this in mind it is interesting that Kirsten chose to exercise this type of control after his death rather than while he was alive. Could it be that he feared an unpleasant reprisal from Dina? According to Kirsten McKenzie, ‘Eastern women’ were particularly adept at poisoning. This is something that Hudson, a British resident at the Cape and other travellers noted no doubt with some trepidation.⁶¹ As things turned out, Kirsten’s instruction was not honoured and mother and daughter were jointly sold to Jan Look for Rds 520 on 21.05.1783.⁶²

*Auction prices fetched for the Kirsten slaves*⁶³

The differential prices fetched at the auction of the slaves who Kirsten deemed to be sold is suggestive of levels of skill, state of health and age. The prices fetched were high in relation to comparative prices of rural slaves during 1780 – 1784.⁶⁴ The majority fetched amounts in excess of the norm, and some excessively so. The highest price fetched was for Maart van Batavia, a Batavian cook, who was bought by Kirsten’s son-in-law Jan Gie for 1000 Rds. This is more than three times the average price for slaves fetched during this era and was attained for only 5.5% of all adult male slaves at rural auctions held within this time frame.⁶⁵ That he was bought by a member of Kirsten’s family for such a high price speaks to a longterm relationship with the family and possibly highly valued culinary abilities. Of note, the majority of the slaves who were bought back into the Kirsten family were Eastern. Of the balance, the majority were purchased by people who were resident in Simon’s Town. This is significant in that it would have allowed some continuity in social and kinship relationships.

The price of 520 Rds that Dina of Batavia and her daughter were sold for on the auction block was much lower than the 620 Rds fetched for Sara of Mozambique and her son Africa.

⁶⁰As cited in John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection, slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003) p. 212

⁶¹Kirsten McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner: Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796 – 1807* (Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press, 1993) p. 101

⁶²WCARS, Venduerollen, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 10/14, folio 10, 21 May, 1783

⁶³See Table 15 of Appendix I

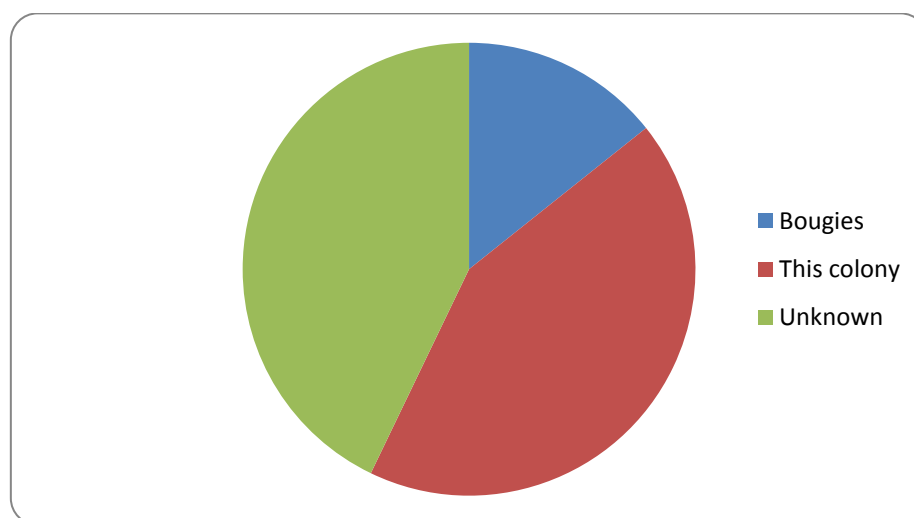
⁶⁴Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 74

⁶⁵Ibid

It is possible that the latter price was influenced by an idea that Africa as a male represented greater labour potential than Rakina.⁶⁶ The extremely low auction price of 25 Rds that was fetched for Februarij van Bengalen suggests at first glance that he was past a viable working age. However, a year later he is listed on the database as a slave of Jeremias Auret being tried for murder.⁶⁷ This suggests that he might have had a violent history which made him a less attractive option at the auction.⁶⁸ Thus within a year of him being bought by W Kirsten he was re-sold to Auret, a relative newcomer to Simon's Town at this time.⁶⁹ The joint purchase of Amsterdam of Siam and Leah of Madagascar by Christoffel Brand⁷⁰, the VOC Resident might have been a method of purchasing them at a lower price; however, their joint fetching price was still in excess of the median price range. Although unusual, it is possible that they were jointly sold as they were a 'couple'.⁷¹

1.1.3.4 The slaves of Hendrik Elshoud

The 1783 will of Hendrik Elshoud, owner of the property 'Constantia' near the sea-side in Simon's Town, lists seven slaves. In the context of Simon's Town they would be defined as 'urban' as they were located in the town proper.⁷² Elshoud owned 7 slaves of which five were male and two were female.



Graph 10: Demographic profile of slaves owned by Hendrik Elshoud

⁶⁶ Andrew Bank, *The decline of urban slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Rondebosch: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991) p. 186 (Bank asserts that women slaves were cheaper and fetched lower prices at auctions)

⁶⁷ Cape Transcripts, CJ 31872/13, Annotatie der gevangens n:02, 1786 [Found guilty of murder on 14 January 1784]

⁶⁸ Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 97 (All low-priced slaves were either very young, very old, or sold in a state of infirmity. Shell also speaks of the practice of purchasing 'slaves of bad, perhaps infamous character for a low price' in Cape Town and re-selling them, usually up country)

⁶⁹ Auret is recorded as having received a land grant in Simon's Town in 1781, two years before the auction sale of Februarij van Bengalen, see Cape Old Freeholds 06.10.1746 – 27.08.1782, Vol. 3, p. 205, Deeds Registry No. 749, Simon's Town, 13 March 1781

⁷⁰ See Table 15 of Appendix I which lists the auction prices fetched for the Kirsten slaves

⁷¹ Worden says that slaves formed permanent unions before legal marriage was formalised for slaves in 1824 and mentions 'a farmowner in the Western Cape who kept separate quarters for his 'married' slaves'. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, pp. 57-58

⁷² Cape Old Freeholds 06.10.1746 – 27.08.1782 Vol. 3 page 85, Deeds Registry No. 835, Simon's Town, 2 February 1761

As the instructions of the will reveal⁷³ Elshoud took a paternalistic interest in his slaves. Through these instructions we see the first evidence of the hireling system taking place in Simon's Town as he instructs that Aletta van Bougies should hire out her services in order to raise 200 Rds to pay for her freedom. They also reveal evidence of differential treatment and thus the multiplicity of the slave experience, with some slaves being passed on to relatives while others were allowed to purchase their freedom. Certainly considerations for ageing slaves come through in the case Clara who Elshoud instructed was to live with his niece, stating that she was 'old and not to be sold'.⁷⁴ As in all the wills of this era, the state attempts at encouraging Christianity comes through in this will with the statement that slaves who adopt Christianity are not to be sold.⁷⁵

1.2 The database 1796 - 1815

Described by historians of Cape slavery as the transitional period, this period commenced with the Cape falling to the British in 1795.⁷⁶ During 1803 and 1806 the Cape fell under Batavian rule, through the agreement of the Treaty of Amiens⁷⁷ before being returned to the British. In 1804 the Dutch Reformed church monopoly on religion was relaxed and Islam could legally be practised.⁷⁸

Significantly, with the return of British Colonial rule at the Cape, mostly due to pressure from abolitionists at home, Britain abolished the slave trade in 1808. This resulted in the value of slaves increasing and the introduction of 'prize negroes' into Simon's Town.⁷⁹ An important development for Simon's Town in 1814 was the establishment of the British Navy in the town.⁸⁰

⁷³ See Table 16 of Appendix I

⁷⁴ WCARS Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/38 folio 50 dated 05.09.1783

⁷⁵ Ibid, (See also, Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 341)

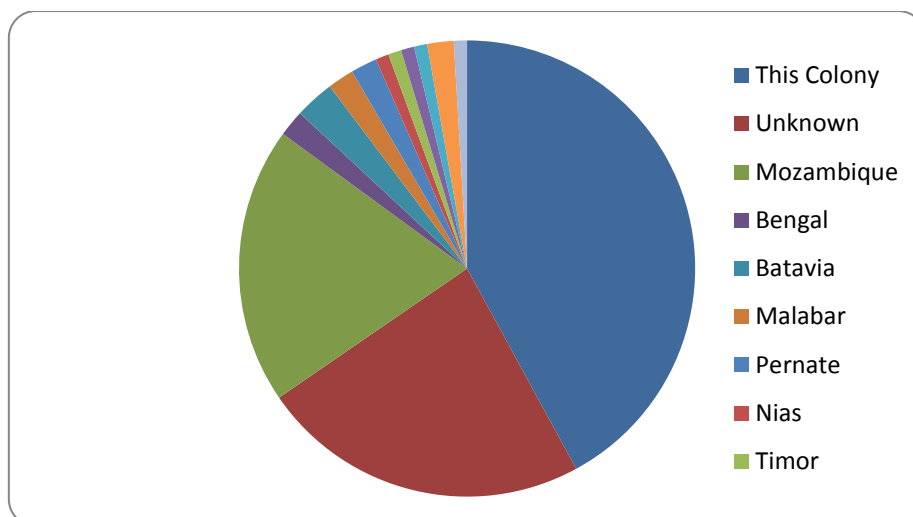
⁷⁶ Boet Dommissie & Tony Westby-Nunn, *Simon's Town, An illustrated historical perspective* (Simon's Town: Westby-Nunn, 2002) p.14

⁷⁷ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p.39

⁷⁸ Helene Vollgraaff, *The Dutch East India Company's Slave Lodge at the Cape*, p. 29

⁷⁹ Christopher Lloyd, *The Navy and the Slave Trade*, (London: Frank Cass, 1968) p.3

⁸⁰ Dommissie & Westby-Nunn, *Simon's Town, An illustrated historical perspective*, p.14



Graph 11: Demographic composition of slaves in Simon's Town 1796 - 1815

One hundred and seven slaves are noted on the database for the period 1796 – 1815.⁸¹ There is a larger African component than was evident during the period 1765 to 1795 with a significant growth in the Mozambican sector of the foreign-born slaves.⁸² As Michael Reidy has shown, the period 1798 to 1808 saw huge injections of Mozambican slaves arriving at the Cape.⁸³ He further states that the flow of Mozambican slaves into the Cape continued right up until 1818.⁸⁴

Slave traders who benefited from licences to import slaves from Mozambique (and the West Coast of Africa) between 1798 and 1808 were Isaac Stromboom, Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant.⁸⁵ Locally born slaves formed 42% of the total slaves in Simon's Town during the period 1796 to 1815, which is slightly lower than the 45% recorded for the period 1743 - 1795. However, it is highly likely that those slaves without toponyms, who are listed in the 'Unknown' category were also Cape-born. If we add them to this equation then the total Cape-born slaves during this period is 65%. This suggests a decrease in infant mortality that could be related to improved nutrition and living and working conditions. With the rise in prices of slaves from 1795 onwards slaveholders would have felt compelled take better care of their slaves as 'marketable commodities'⁸⁶, rather than for humanitarian reasons. Mozambican slaves formed 19% of the total slaves recorded whereas slaves from South Asia and South East Asia comprised only 13%.

⁸¹ See Table 18 of Appendix I

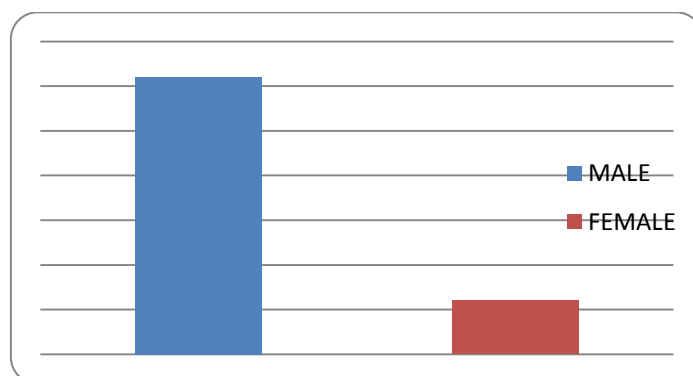
⁸² See Table 19 of Appendix I

⁸³ Michael Reidy "The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape Colony, 1797 – 1818" (UCT: MA, 1997) pp. 14-15

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 1

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 8

⁸⁶ Sir Jahleel Brenton, *Memoir of the life and services of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton*, edited by The Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester (London: Hatchard, 1846) p. 437



Graph 12: Gender ratio of foreign born slaves in Simon's Town 1796 - 1815

Indications that the greater demand for male labour continue into this period are illustrated by the low ratio of foreign born female slaves as compared with foreign born male slaves.⁸⁷ Certainly male slaves in Simon's Town performed a larger variety of occupations as compared to female slaves.⁸⁸

The naming system for the period 1796 – 1815

More than half the names listed on the database for this period are Dutch names, for example Klaas, Annetta and Maria, with a much greater number of women than men having Dutch names. Classical names that appear on the database for this period are mostly Cupido. Shell describes the use of classical names for slaves as a cultural joke of the slave-holding class as these names were also given to household pets, most notably dogs.⁸⁹ Given that most of the enslaved men named Cupido were Eastern and thus possibly of the Muslim faith, the insult would have been amplified.⁹⁰

The name Cesar given to specifically to male Mozambican and Madagascan slaves seems a further mockery of men who were not only emasculated, but often relegated to the lowest rungs of slavery as compared to 'the 'Malay' who was considered to be 'the king of slaves'.⁹¹

⁸⁷ See Table 19 of Appendix I which profiles origin and gender of slaves 1796 - 1815

⁸⁸ See Table 20 of Appendix I which profiles the genders ratios

⁸⁹ Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 242

⁹⁰ Muslim people have cultural attitudes towards dogs as being unclean and therefore do not keep dogs in their homes

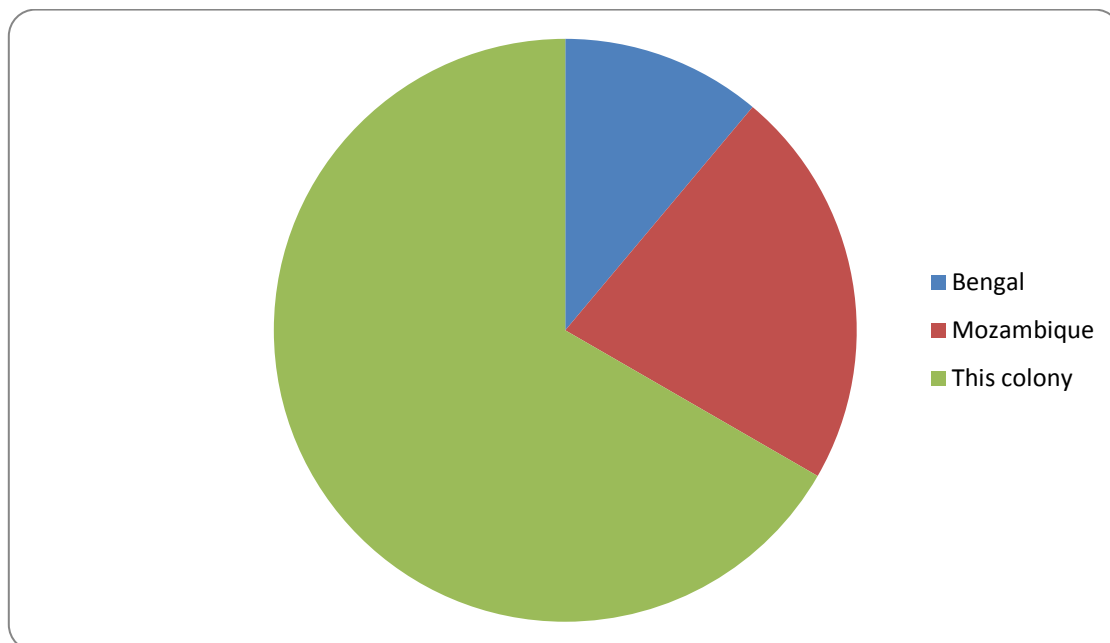
⁹¹ Ross, *Status and respectability*, p.35

A number of birth names appear on the database, such as Drammat van Batavia and Cambang (origin unknown). An interesting link to an Asian ancestral origin emerges in the names of Soentoeng of the Cape and her son Sait Telemachus whose slave name was Hendrik. Of interest is that Sait is an Asian name, however, Telemachus can be linked to a French slave ship named ‘Le Telemacque’.⁹² Such acts of self-identification by enslaved people were referred to by the Dutch colonialists as a ‘*skuilnaam*’ i.e. a hidden name.⁹³ An example of an acknowledged original name is that of Cacao vernoemd [meaning known as] Tobias van Mosambique. In this unusual case the original name of Cacao is acknowledged in the re-naming process.⁹⁴

1.2.1 A look at individual slaveholdings in Simon’s Town 1796 - 1815

1.2.1.1 Slaves at Poespas Kraal farm

The slaves of Poespas Kraal emerge from the inventory of Margaretha Smith, the widow of Nicolaas Sertijn, dated 29.08.1796.⁹⁵ Four adults are listed, who reflect a gender ratio of 3:1. Dina van de Caab, the only female slave owned by Sertijn/Smith, was the mother of all the five children listed. The occupations noted suggest that Poespas Kraal was a cattle farm, which would explain the rather small size of the slaveholding.



Graph 13: Demographic profile of slaves from Poespas Kraal circa 1796

⁹²Reidy, “*The admission of slaves and ‘prize slaves’ into the Cape Colony*”, p. 19

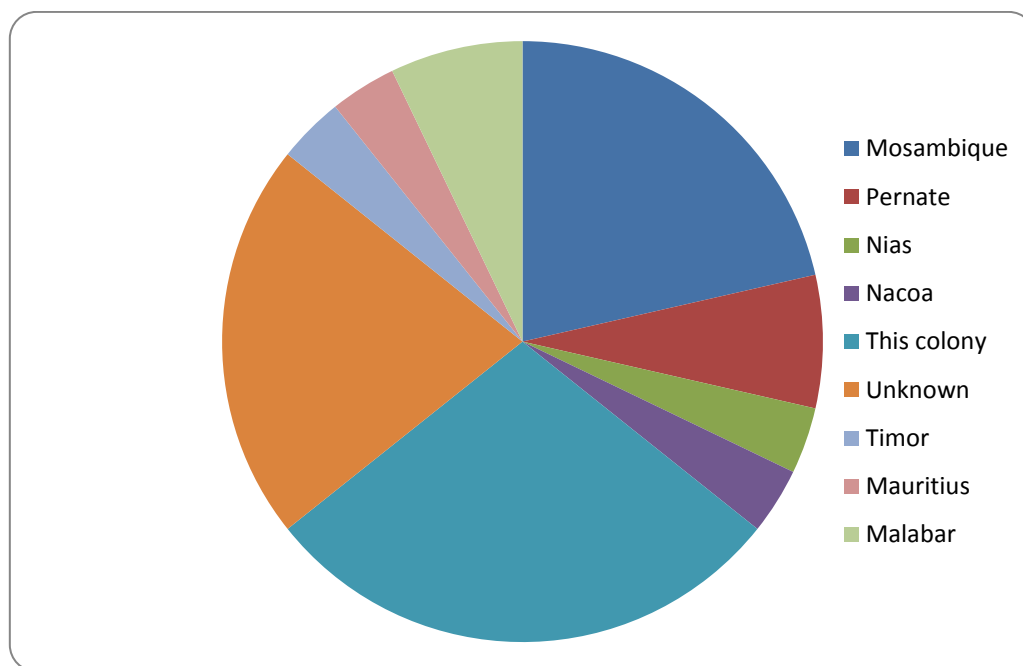
⁹³Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 244

⁹⁴WCARS MOIC 2/36, Insolvent Estates No. 300 (1812), Insolvent Estate of Jean Michiel Endres

⁹⁵Cape Transcripts Masters of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 8/21.44, 29.08.1796 and WCARS, Vendurollen 10/7/17, folio 49, 29.08.1796

1.2.1.2 The slaves of Buffelsfontein Farm

This section concerns the slaves originally belonging to Jeremias Auret, but also offers an insight into a case of insolvency that affected this group of slaves who appear on the database for the period 1799 – 1812.⁹⁶ They emerge from a complicated insolvent estate court case concerning Jan Michiel Endres who through his partnership with Christina Rosseau, the widow of Jeremias Auret, asserted himself as their owner. Having put these slaves up as a guarantee for a bond that Jan Michiel Endres raised with John David Piton,⁹⁷ his subsequent mismanagement of the Auret estate led to its bankruptcy. One of the consequences of Auret's mismanagement was the sale of the slaves.⁹⁸ The modus operandi for insolvent estates was that all goods, including slaves, of insolvent estates were disposed of by the Insolvency Chamber. In cases such as these the slaves were normally removed from the property and placed 'in the custody of the messenger' or in the town prison.⁹⁹



Graph 14: Demographic profile of the Buffelsfontein slaves

The demographic profile of the Buffelsfontein slaves shows that the majority were locally born.

⁹⁶ A detailed list of the Buffelsfontein slaves is listed in Table 22 of Appendix 1

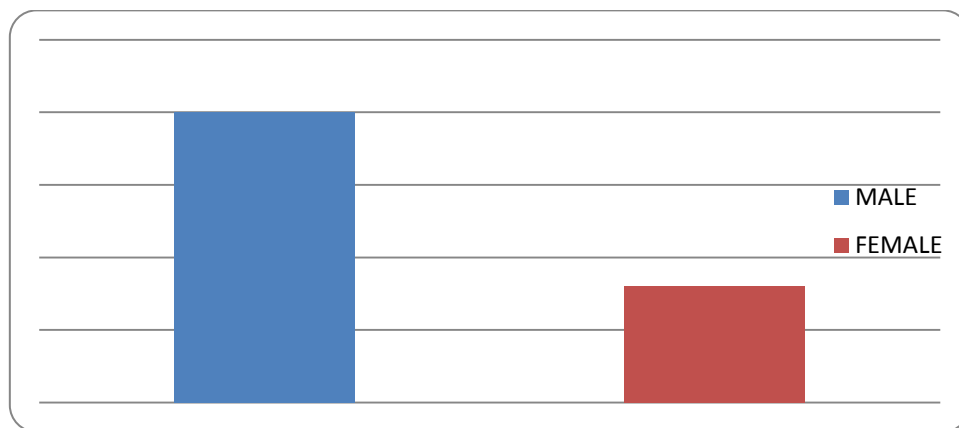
⁹⁷ O. Pryce-Lewis, *When first we practise or the life of Jan Michiel Endres surgeon* (Simon's Town: The Simon's Town Historical Society, 1989) p. 53

⁹⁸ Shell, *Children of bondage*, pp. 99 – 100

⁹⁹ WCARS, MOIC 2/36, Insolvent Estates No. 300, (1812) For an insight into the complex story of Jan Michiel Endres see: O. Pryce-Lewis, *When first we practise*

⁹⁹ Shell, *Children of bondage*, pp. 99 – 100

As mentioned before, those slaves without toponyms who were placed in the ‘unknown’ group, were more than likely locally-born. Should this be the case, then this holding registered a 50% creolisation rate during this period. Significantly too is that just under 25% of the Buffelsfontein slaves were Mozambican with the balance hailing from the East. As was the case with most farmsteads, the majority of slaves on this holding were male.



Graph 15: Gender ratio of the Buffelsfontein slaves

1.2.1.3 Slaves at Widow Hurter’s Lodging House

In 1784 Jan Willem Hurter and his wife Martha Maria Munnik set up a lodging house from the present day Admiralty house.¹⁰⁰ After Jan Willem died it became known as the Lodging House of the Widow Hurter. The widow died in 1815. Twenty six slaves are recorded in her will dated 12 May 1807¹⁰¹ of which 12 were male and 14 female.¹⁰² The high number of female slaves would concur with the domestic labour requirements of a boarding house. Unlike most of the slaveholdings listed on the database, the gender ratio for foreign slaves owned by the Hurter’s is equally balanced with one male and one female slave from Batavia and three male and three female slaves from Mozambique.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰Deeds Office: Transporten en Schepen – Kennissen, 18.11.1784, T. 5813 as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 74

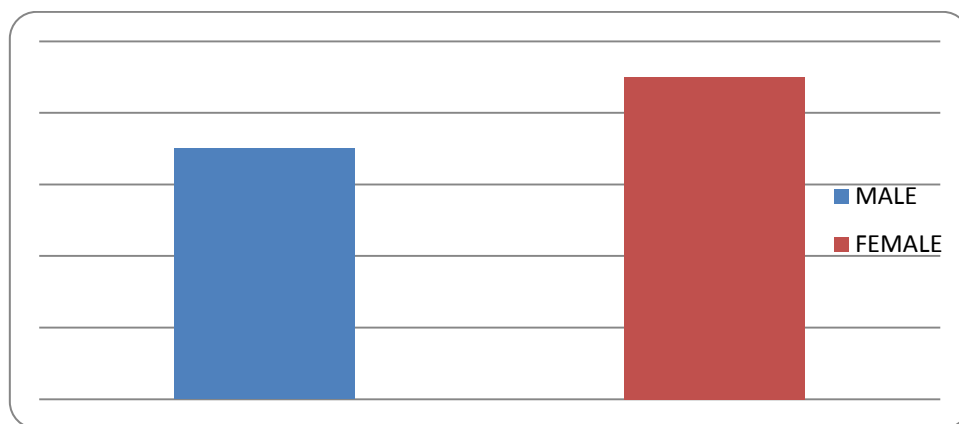
¹⁰¹ WCARS Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/69, Folio 64, 12 May 1807. See Table 24 of Appendix 1 for a record of slaves listed.

¹⁰² For a detailed list of the slaves of the Widow Hurter see Table 25 of Appendix 1

¹⁰³ See Table 25 of Appendix I



Graph 16: Gender ratio of foreign born slaves owned by the Widow Hurter



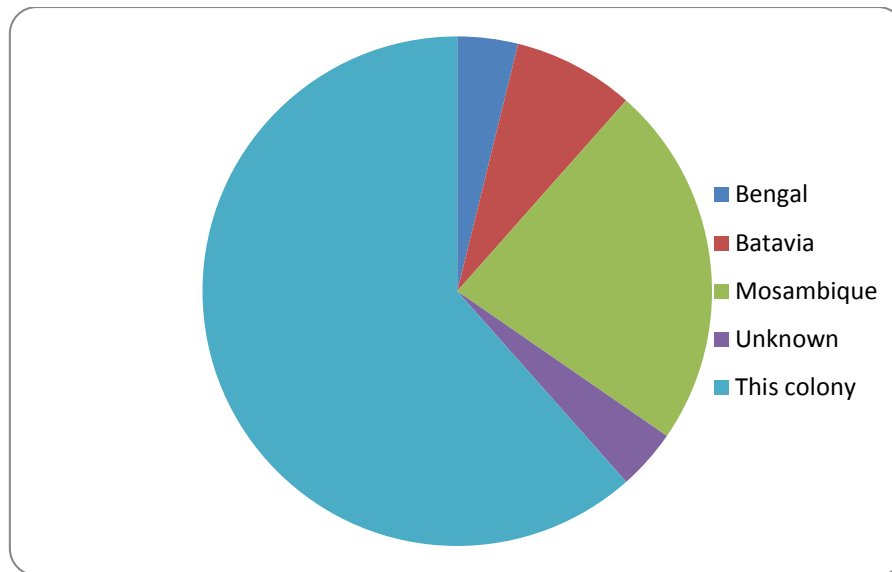
Graph 17: Gender ratio of locally born slaves owned by the Widow Hurter

At the death of the Widow Hurter in 1815 her slaves were divided amongst her various children as well as her grandson, Jan Willem Hurter who inherited Adam van de Kaap. Of interest is the way the children inherited ‘pairs’, i.e. a male and female slave.

This suggests that slave marriages, and notably same-ethnic partnerships, occurred within this household.¹⁰⁴ It is likely too that a number of slaves listed in the locally born category were in fact children. Evidence of the hireling system comes through in the will of the Widow Hurter wherein she instructs which hirelings were to benefit which beneficiaries.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴WCARS Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/69 Folio 60, 12 May 1807

¹⁰⁵ See Table 26 of Appendix I



Graph 18: Demographic profile of slaves owned by the Widow Hurter

1.2.1.4 Slaves of Jan Willem Hurter Junior Circa 1809

Jan Willem Hurter Junior lived in the house belonging to his mother ‘*de weduwe wylen Willem Hurter senior*’ in Simon’s Town. He died two years after the death of his mother; was obviously unmarried and it is possible that he was still a young child. His possessions are listed as bedroom furniture, clothing and three slaves.¹⁰⁶ As these slaves are not listed in the inventory of the Widow Hurter, he likely inherited them from his father Jan Willem Hurter or a grandparent.

1.2.1.5 The slaves of Mosis Pietersen from Klaver Valley

In terms of the slave-holders aforementioned, Mosis Pietersen of Klaver Valley is an interesting deviation. He is described in the records as a Bastard Hottentot, a derogatory Dutch expression for someone of half Khoi and half slave descent.¹⁰⁷

His life partner was a former slave, namely Helena van Batavia. Mosis Pietersen was also a substantial landowner in Simon’s Town, being the owner of Klaver Valley.¹⁰⁸ Mosis and his life partner were referred to as free blacks, *vryswarten* and represent a small group of black landowners in Simon’s Town.¹⁰⁹

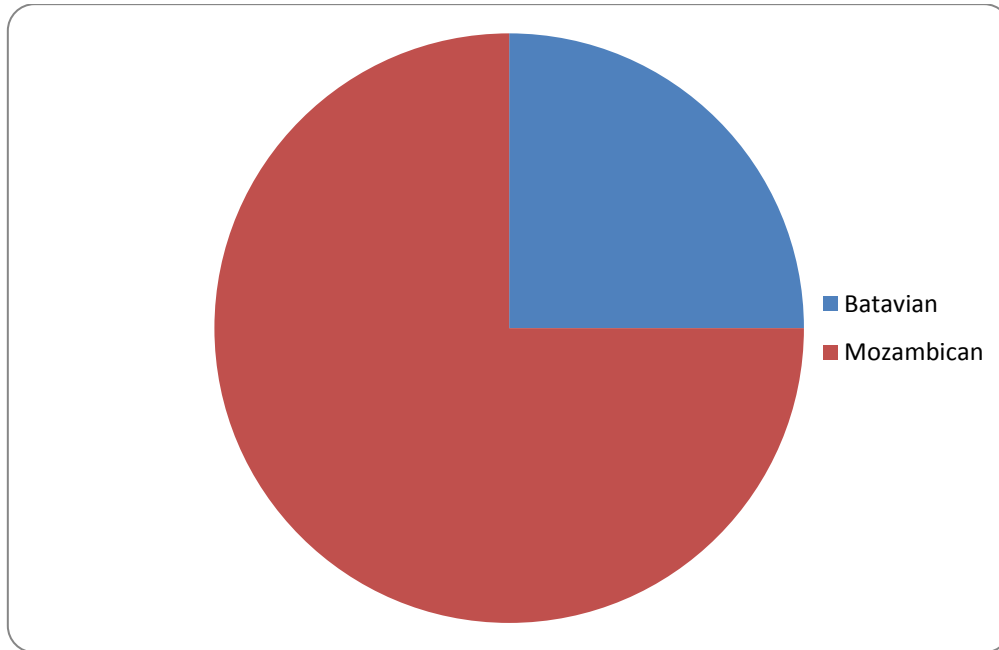
¹⁰⁶Cape Transcripts Inventory of Willem Hurter J:r, WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 8/2714, 01.11.1809. See Table 27 of Appendix 1 for a list of slaves recorded in this inventory.

¹⁰⁷Pamela Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British slave emancipation in the rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823 - 1853* (Claremont: David Philip) p. 19 (Scully states that the term ‘Bastaard Hottentot’ was reserved for someone who was of half Khoi and half slave descent and that the term ‘Bastard’ was reserved for someone who was of half European and half slave descent)

¹⁰⁸WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/54 Folio 46, 18 July 1807.

¹⁰⁹ See Landscape chapter p. 60, which discusses Mosis Pietersen’s landownership in Simon’s Town

The all male component of Pietersen's slaves is telling and suggests that Pietersen did not see the need for female labour and that housework was done by the female members of his family.¹¹⁰ It is possible that these male slaves had partners outside of Klaver Valley, however, if they did, their children would have been owned by the slaveholder of their mothers.¹¹¹



Graph 19: Demographic profile of the slaves owned by Mosis Pietersen

The differential instructions in his will dated 18 July 1807 suggests a favouring of the only slave from Batavia, who was not to be sold, but to choose which of Mosis's children he would like to stay with. This decision might have been influenced by the fact that Helena was herself Batavian or possibly that this slave was old and infirm. While Mosis left the remaining three Mozambican slaves to three of his seven children, they were manumitted not long thereafter by his children on 14.09.1807.¹¹² Such philanthropic action on their part is noteworthy, occurring as it did at the dawn of abolition when slave prices were high.

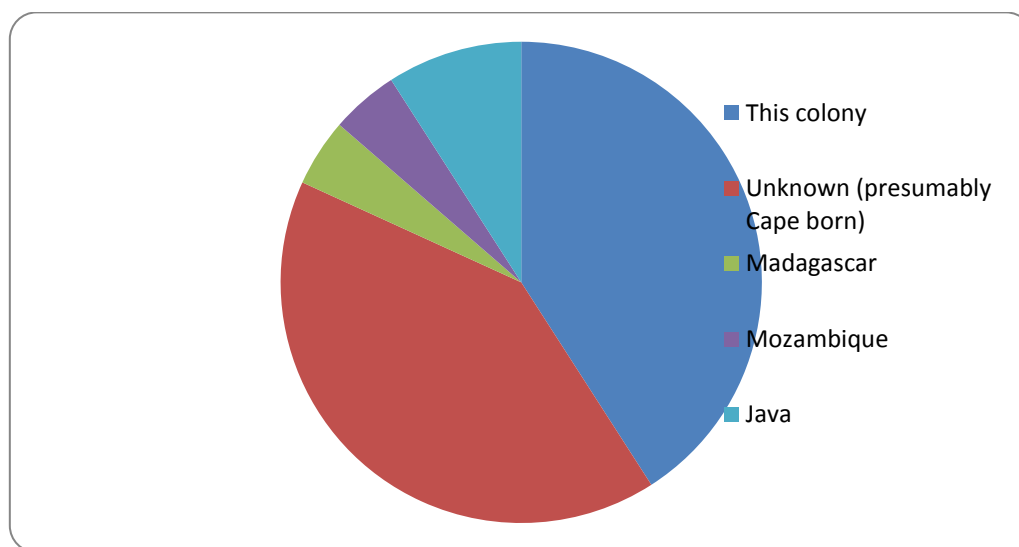
¹¹⁰ See Table 28 in Appendix 1 for a list of the slaves owned by Mosis Pietersen

¹¹¹ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 57

¹¹² See slave database

1.2.1.6 The Slaves of Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen Circa 1815

At his death in 1815 Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen owned 22 slaves, 14 males and 8 females.¹¹³ The majority of slaves were locally born. Three of the four foreign-born slaves are mentioned as being of advanced age, which suggests that in the post abolition period van Reenen relied on the births of slave children to increase his slave supply.¹¹⁴



Graph 20: Demographic profile of slaves owned by Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen

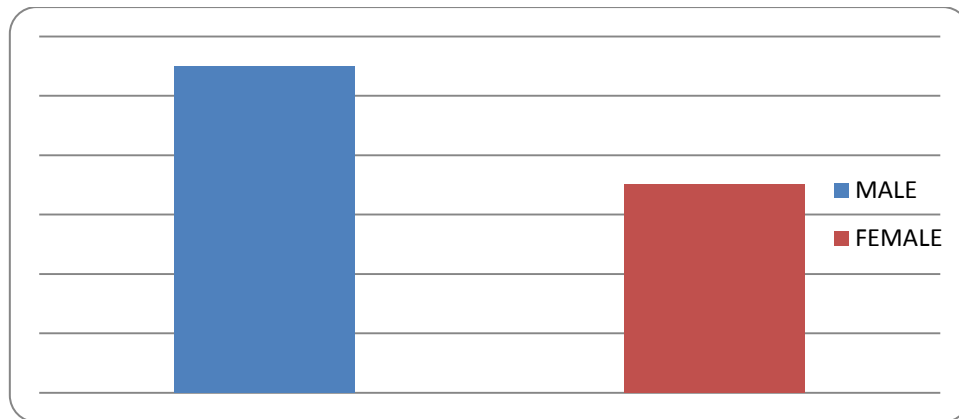
The slave woman Maria from Mozambique was likely purchased between 1798 and 1808 when huge cargoes of Mozambican slaves arrived at the Cape.¹¹⁵ Crude as it may sound it is possible that she was bought particularly for her child-bearing abilities. By 1815 she had a ‘marriage’ with Adrian (presumably of the Cape) from which union they had four children. Certainly the formation of this family served van Reenen’s interests.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ See Table 29 of Appendix I for a list of slaves owned by Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen

¹¹⁴ See Table 30 of Appendix I for details of origins of slaves owned by Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen

¹¹⁵ Reidy, “The admission of slaves and ‘prize slaves’ into the Cape Colony”, p. 9

¹¹⁶ John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection, slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003) p. 212



Graph 21: Gender ratio of slaves owned by Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen

The remarks from his will, as listed on the database, suggests that van Reenen took a paternal interest in his slaves, stating that those who were old and frail should be treated with humanity '*zal moeten werden bezorgt en menschlyk behandel*'¹¹⁷ and ensuring that Soronie and her son Willem van de Kaap were not separated. Another example of an 'intact' family is suggested in the bequest of Adrian who is left to Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen together with Maria van Mosambicque with her four children. This paternalism also extended to Soentoeng van de Kaap and her son Sait Telemackus. In this case he instructs that she be left to his son Jacob van Reenen along with her son '*nevens haar Zoon, in naamen Sait Telemackus en Hendrik*'.¹¹⁸ Overall, van Reenen's will shows the dynamics of slaveholder power and slave powerlessness in that it was at his discretion to decide how much consideration he would bestow and how much personal power he would allow each individual enslaved person to have. As this will suggests, this was never equally distributed, reminding us once again of the multiplicity of the slave experience.

¹¹⁷WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber MOOC 7/1/71, folio 23 & 24, 12.09.1815

¹¹⁸Ibid

1.3 The database 1816 - 1826

The Cape was formally ceded to Britain by the Dutch on 13 August 1814.¹¹⁹ This saw the British colonial government instituting ameliorative laws pertaining to slaves.¹²⁰ Significantly, registration of slaves was made compulsory¹²¹ and a Slave Office was established in Cape.¹²² By 1824 slaves were allowed to marry and slaveholders were no longer allowed to sell young children separately from their mothers.¹²³ The implementation of Slave Registers from 1816 offers the most concise list of slaves in Simon's Town for this entire period. Through the Slave Register we are afforded illuminating insights into the lives of slaves in Simon's Town, literally at a glance.

1.3.1 Slave names 1816 - 1826

The naming system for this period is interesting in that it shows the emergence of typically British names such as Charles, George and Charlotte. Jek becomes Jack and Willem becomes William. Overwhelmingly the majority of names on the database are still Dutch. Islamic names appear with a greater frequency during this period and names like Gasiba, Amina, Camodien, Abdol, Gamoodi and Nakeba are among infant names.

1.3.2 Gender imbalances 1816 – 1826

The gender imbalance amongst the locally born slave community with 95 males compared to 57 females.¹²⁴ This raises the possibility that female slaves were being sold out of Simon's Town for domestic work during this period. Significantly the age range from birth to 16 years shows huge gender imbalances.¹²⁵ This suggests either a higher birth rate for boys during this period or a higher death rate amongst infant girls. This is in striking contrast to Andrew Bank's table of gender ratios for Cape Town, the Cape District and Stellenbosch District for the period 1806 – 1833.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹William M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795 – 1814" in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society 1652 – 1820* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989) p. 213

¹²⁰WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves

¹²¹ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652 – 1840" in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989) p. 548

¹²²Anna Maria Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony from acquisition to the process of creolization c. 1790 – 1830", *Universita' degli Studi di Milano, Facolta di Scienze Politiche* (MA 1997 – 1998) p. 49

¹²³Nigel Worden, *The chains that bind us* (Cape Town: Juta, 1996) p. 73

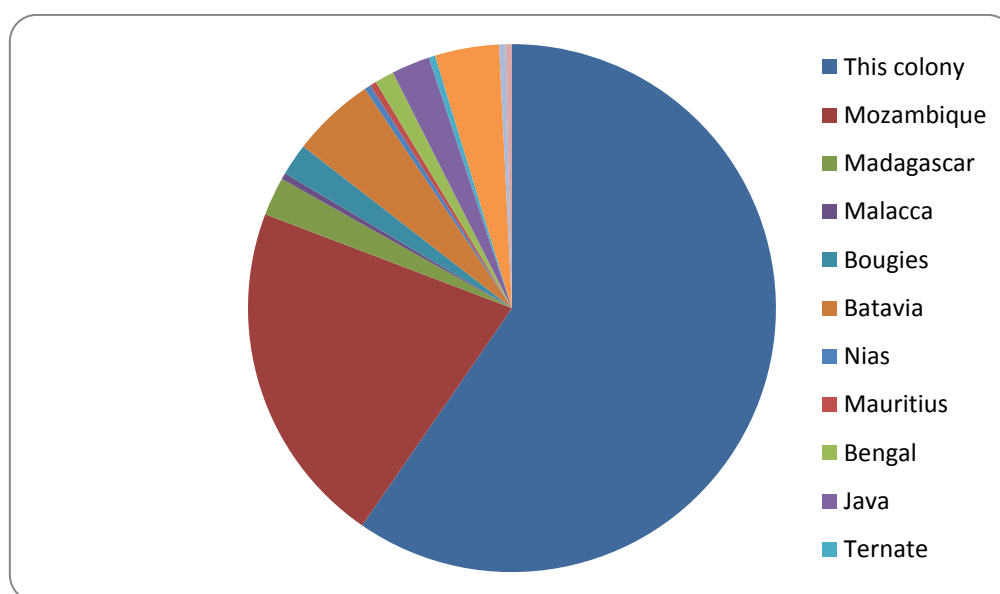
¹²⁴ For details of origins and gender of slaves in Simon's Town for the period 1816 – 1826 see Table 32 of Appendix I

¹²⁵ For details of this see Table 33 of Appendix I

¹²⁶Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 233

Increased registrations

A huge increase in slave registrations in the Simon's Town slave register is evident in 1824. This coincides with the appointment of C M Lind as the Functionary in Simon's Town.¹²⁷ An unusual listing in the Simon's Town Slave Register at this time is the registration of a slave in the name of a minor.¹²⁸ Olisa Sturt was the daughter of Reverend George Sturt and was the registered owner of an enslaved woman named Hendryn, who died in 1832.¹²⁹ Reverend Sturt was known to have financial problems so it is possible that this was the reason for the registration in his daughter's name.¹³⁰ This opinion is reinforced by the fact that Hendryn was mortgaged to the Government Discount Bank for seven thousand two hundred guilders on 30 October 1824, an exorbitant amount.¹³¹ Nevertheless, Hendryn's previous owner was also a minor, noted in Slave Office correspondence as the 'Minor daughter Maria Carolina Blake' daughter of Major M G Blake.¹³²



Graph 22: Demographic profile of slaves in Simon's Town 1816 - 1826

¹²⁷ See Table 33 of Appendix I

¹²⁸ I have in fact found a number of such slave registrations to minor children in the Cape Town and Simon's Town District slave register, the surnames of whom match those of people in Simon's Town, but who were excluded from this study for the reasons stated in the introduction of this chapter

¹²⁹ WCARS Slave Office: Slave Register SO 06/79 30.10.1824 and SO 7/13 30.11.1824. As a note in comparison in 1826 six slaves of Gideon Rossouw were mortgaged to the Government Discount Bank for an amount of 7200 guilders for all six slaves WCARS Slave Register SO 6/79 M - W 1824 - 1834; WCARS SO 1/23 Slave Registry Dept correspondence, 10.11.1826

¹³⁰ Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 100 ("Slaves [of sequestered owners] are placed either in the custody of the messenger or when greater security is required, in the town prison". By probating slaves early or transferring them to junior (even infant) members of the family, owners could avoid all such risks).

¹³¹ WCARS Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, SO 1/23, 5 November 1824

¹³² Ibid

1.3.3 Slave demography and patterns of longevity 1816 - 1826

This period shows a growing creolised slave society and significantly, during this period, the proportion of Mozambican male slaves in Simon's Town trebled as compared to the earlier period of 1796 – 1815. Interesting patterns for longevity emerge with foreign born slaves showing greater longevity when compared to enslaved persons who were locally born.¹³³ Of interest, only one locally born slave is listed on the database as having lived beyond the age of 60 years during this period, whereas four foreign born slaves had already reached their seventies.¹³⁴ It is notable that 3 out of these 5 slaves were males from Malabar.

1.3.4 Slave occupations 1816 - 1826

Certain occupations, i.e. smiths, bakers, blacksmiths, boatmen, cooks, fishermen and gardeners were performed by foreign born male slaves, whereas only locally born male slaves were coachmen.¹³⁵ Slave coachmen were also exceedingly expensive and Golovnin circa 1806 mentions a slave coachman being sold for 3000 rix dollars.¹³⁶ According to Shell, Cape-born slaves were the most expensive, followed by Indonesian, African, Indian and Madagascan, in this order.¹³⁷ The introduction of coaches during this historical period suggests the emergence of a small, but sophisticated merchant class in the town. However, the more numerous waggoners suggest that the environment was still largely agricultural. Carpenters were mostly foreign born while the majority of labourers and all herdsmen were Mozambican. The masons and shoemakers on the other hand were either Eastern or locally born.

Occupations listed for female slaves in Simon's Town show less of a variety compared to their contemporaries in Cape Town.¹³⁸ Those few occupations that required more specialised skill were assigned to locally born slave women.¹³⁹ The youngest housemaid recorded was Maria aged 12, and the youngest houseboy was Marthinus aged 11, illustrating the use of child labour.

¹³³ See Table 35 for patterns of longevity

¹³⁴ Chrispyn from Malabar had reached the age of 72 and Mey from Malabar had reached the age of 70. Even in the age range 51- 60 years, the majority were foreign

¹³⁵ A) See Table 36 of Appendix 1 for details of occupation by origin of male slaves in Simon's Town. B) Admittedly only two coachmen are listed in this thesis, however, of the data extracted for slaveholders which was not used for my database due to the uncertainty of whether they resided only in Simon's Town or whether they in fact had properties in Cape Town, all coachmen listed for them were also locally born.

¹³⁶ V.M. Golovnin, *Detained in Simon's Bay, the story of the detention of the Russian Sloop Diana, April 1808 – May 1809* (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1964) p. 75

¹³⁷ Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 50

¹³⁸ Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, pp. 237 - 241

¹³⁹ For details of occupations by origin for female slaves see Table 37 of Appendix I

1.3.5 Slave mortality 1816 - 1826

Seven child deaths are recorded on the database for this period, representing just under 10% of the total children listed for the period 1816 – 1826.¹⁴⁰ The majority were infants. The deaths of these children were recorded long after they occurred, which makes obvious the fact that there would have been no medical enquiries into their deaths. Rugarli states long working hours, poor nutrition, insufficient clothing and being ‘exposed to the inclemency of the weather’ as factors that contributed to rates of mortality amongst infants and young children.¹⁴¹ The adult deaths listed on the database for this period show the levels of longevity aforementioned for some foreign born slaves while at the same time records shortened lifespans for the Cape-born slaves listed.¹⁴² This resonates with the assertion by Elphick and Giliomee that during the 1810’s and 1820’s, following the abolition of the slave trade, slaves were ‘driven harder than ever’.¹⁴³

1.3.6 Slave mortgages and transfers 1816 - 1826

During this period of economic instability there was an increased trend for slaveholders to raise loans using slaves as collateral.¹⁴⁴ This trend had its roots in the formation of the Lombard Bank, founded in 1792, which saw people using slaves as what Shell describes as ‘peripatetic bank deposits’.¹⁴⁵ The problem arose when slaveholders became over-extended and could not honour their loans. Twenty four slaves in Simon’s Town were affected by transfers and mortgages between 1816 and 1826.¹⁴⁶ Ten were transferred to Cape Town and approximately 12 of the transfers occurred within Simon’s Town itself.¹⁴⁷ This represents a movement of 10% of the slave population in Simon’s Town during this period who became, in the words of John Fairbairn, ‘subjects of mortgage’.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ For details of these deaths see Table 38 of Appendix 1

¹⁴¹ Rugarli, “*Slavery at the Cape Colony*”, p. 44

¹⁴² For details of these adult slave deaths see Table 50

¹⁴³ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, “The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652 – 1840”, in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1989) p. 553

¹⁴⁴ Shell, *Children of bondage*, pp. 109 – 110 See also Mary Isabel Rayner, “Wine and slaves, the failure of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 – 1834” (Duke University: PhD, 1986) p. 246

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 99

¹⁴⁶ See Table 40 of Appendix I for information concerning transfers, mortgages and sequestrations for the period 1816 - 1826

¹⁴⁷ The surnames Kirsten, Rossouw and van Reenen resonate with slaveholding families in Simon’s Town, but these details are not stated.

¹⁴⁸ As cited in Meltzer, Lalou, “The growth of Cape Town Commerce and the role of John Fairbairn’s Advertiser (1835 – 1859)”, (UCT: MA, 1989) p. 47

Only one up country sale is registered, this being for Nella, the 27 year old housemaid of Pieter Wickboom. Shell describes up country sales as the worst fate for enslaved people because of the harsh environment and working conditions that they found there. This was often a punishment for ‘difficult’ or ‘troublesome slaves’.¹⁴⁹

The majority of transferred slaves were locally born, comprising 9 adults and 4 children. Other slaves affected hailed from Bengal, Malabar, Madagascar, Mozambique and Nias. Overall the majority were male.¹⁵⁰

The year 1826 appeared to have been a financially challenging year for Gideon Rossouw¹⁵¹ who mortgaged six slaves who were all eventually transferred out of his possession. Rayner describes the period 1826 to 1834 as one that was marked by bankruptcy for many wine farmers.¹⁵² It is possible that this ricocheted into other categories as well. Shell states that the period 1821 to 1826 was a period when many sequestrations took place, due to a credit scheme that saw people becoming enmeshed in debt that they could not repay.¹⁵³

1.3.7 Manumissions 1816 - 1826

Some of the rare manumissions for this period were prompted either by slaves themselves or their families.¹⁵⁴ The case of Hendrik, a coachman, is interesting in that his mother Louisa bought him in 1816, but the deed of emancipation was only requested and processed in 1826. It is likely that Louisa did not have the money to pay for the administrative costs of this, which is why this was done so much later.

Three other manumissions listed for this period are that of Abraham, the 30 year old slave waggoner owned by Pieter Francois Hugo, Gert the 30 year old slave mason owned by Johanna Susanna de Necker and Toon the 57 year old Mauritian slave cook owned by Gerhardus Hurter. In the case of Toon his freedom was short-lived as he died just months later.

¹⁴⁹Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 97

¹⁵⁰ A) See Table 41 of Appendix I for a listing of transfers and mortgages of slaves from 1816 to 1826 by origin. B) See Table 42 of Appendix I for details of transfers by year from 1817 to 1826

¹⁵¹This Gideon Rossouw is most likely the son of the late Gideon Rossouw and the Widow Rossouw, Sussana de Necker who was born in 1796. WCARS, Slave Office, Register of Slaves, SO. 6/28 (1816 - 1833) p. 119

¹⁵²Rayner, “Wine and Slaves”, p. 218

¹⁵³Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 99

¹⁵⁴ See Table 43 of Appendix I for details of these manumissions

The prices paid by the slaves Abraham, Toon and Gert for their manumissions were very high. This suggests that they had benefited from the hireling system whereby they were able to accumulate funds. Given the dates of their manumissions, it is likely that at least Gert might have saved his funds through the savings bank instituted for slaves in 1823.¹⁵⁵

Given the historical period of these manumissions it is not surprising that they all benefited male slaves. As Shell so rightly states, female slaves had much smaller chances of transfer in the period after the abolition of the slave trade.¹⁵⁶ Thus whereas before abolition male slaves were more sought after for their ability to perform harsh physical labour; in the period post the abolition of the slave trade, female slaves were sought after for their reproductive capacities.

1.4 The database 1827 – 1838

This period saw the establishment of further ameliorative laws and ended with emancipation. Slaveholders were ordered to keep a punishment book, which was to be monitored periodically by the Protector of Slaves. Significantly, whipping of female slaves was no longer allowed.¹⁵⁷ In addition an Anglican Free School, which catered for the education of slave children, was established in the town.¹⁵⁸ Slaves, both adults and children, could hire out their labour on Sundays and thus start building up a capital base. It was also a period where a significant amount of skilled artisan slaves earned money through the hireling system.¹⁵⁹

Slaves who had amassed enough savings could manumit themselves and members of their families through the system of compulsory manumissions.¹⁶⁰ Although slaves were supposedly emancipated in 1834, this was extended to 1838 through a mandatory Apprenticeship period. With Emancipation looming, this was a period where there was a lot of pressure on child labour, with slaveholders trying to retain the labour of slave children through manipulating the child indentureship clauses of the Abolition Act.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵WCARS Slave Office, SO 7/35, Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves

¹⁵⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 106

¹⁵⁷*The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette* No. 1391 Friday August 31, 1832

¹⁵⁸Michael Whisson, *Group Area: The case of Simon's Town* (Unpublished manuscript, 1972) p. 29

¹⁵⁹WCARS SO 1/23 Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, 19.12.1827

¹⁶⁰WCARS, Slave Office SO 2/16 Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, 28 July 1826

¹⁶¹Pamela Scully, *Liberating the Family?* p. 53

The last entry in the slave register¹⁶² is in fact dated 1837 and records the birth of a child during the period of apprenticeship 1834 – 1838. However, the remaining entries end at 1834, the year when slavery officially ended, after which a four year apprenticeship period was commenced.¹⁶³

An increasing number of British slave-holders names appear on the database for this period, i.e. William Cooper, John Clarence, Thomas Delozier Palmer, Thomas Brownrigg Woolls and of course John Osmond. John Snell, the local auctioneer, was probably also British.

1.4.1 Slave names 1827 – 1838

The naming system for children during this period is interesting for two reasons: Firstly, it shows that 25% of the children had Muslim names, suggesting that during the ameliorative period slaves were given ownership of the naming process. With this in mind it is interesting to note that the majority of children were not given Islamic names, nor even British names, but the Dutch names that slaves in Simon's Town had become psychologically accustomed to. Secondly, it suggests that the Christian Free School whose aim it was to spread Christianity among the slave class was meeting with some success.¹⁶⁴

1.4.2 Gender ratios for the period 1827 – 1838¹⁶⁵

The database records 110 enslaved persons who were registered for the period 1827 – 1828; comprising 57 males and 52 females and one person whose gender is not listed. This smaller figure compared to the 1816 – 1826 figures is indicative of the lead up to emancipation when slavery was being replaced by a wage labour system.¹⁶⁶ The gender imbalance of the period 1816 – 1826 that showed a greater complement of locally born male slaves compared with locally born female slaves, seems to have reversed during this period.¹⁶⁷ The foreign complement of slaves was dwindling during this period, when the slave community was mostly creole (88%).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² See Table 44 of Appendix I for details of slaves listed in the Simon's Town Slave Register for the period 1827 to 1838

¹⁶³ Worden, *Between Slavery & Freedom*, p. 117

¹⁶⁴ Whisson, *Group area: The case of Simon's Town*, p.29

¹⁶⁵ The genders of two people listed is unknown

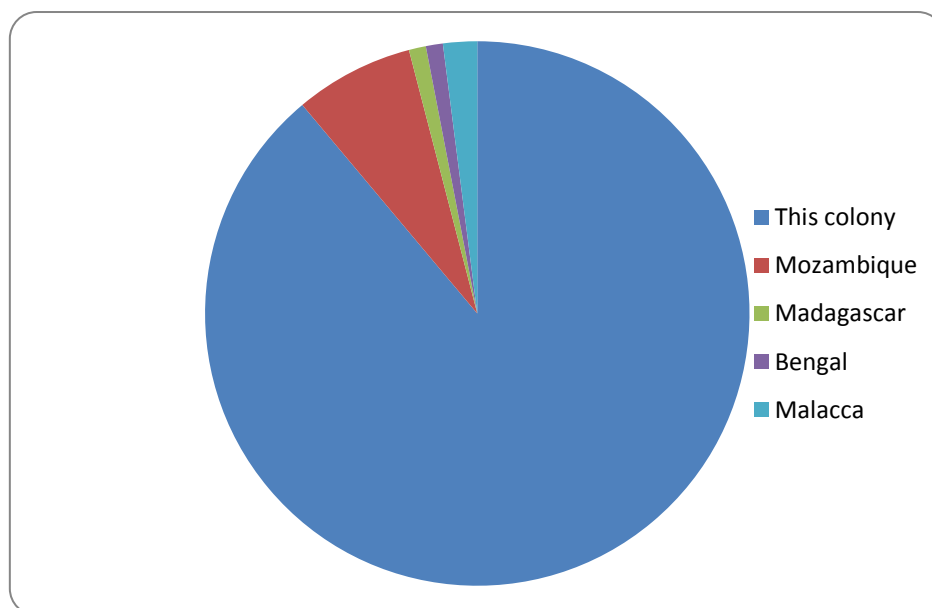
¹⁶⁶ Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p.21

¹⁶⁷ See Table 46 of Appendix I for population details of locally born slaves in Simon's Town 1827 - 1838

¹⁶⁸ See Table 45 of Appendix I for details of origins of slaves in Simon's Town for the period 1827 - 1838

1.4.3 Slave deaths 1827 - 1838

While the majority of deaths recorded during this period were for foreign slaves, this is indicative of their older age. However, it is interesting that 25% of locally born slaves who died during this period were of a much younger age range.¹⁶⁹ Mozambicans constituted just under 50% of all deaths with the balance being South Asian and South East Asian, with just one Madagascan listed. At this time there would have been much fewer Madagascans in the colony and those surviving would have been quite old, as the turn to Mozambique had overtaken the arrival of Madagascans from 1797 onwards.¹⁷⁰



Graph 23: Demographic profile of slaves in Simon's Town 1827 - 1838

1.4.4 Manumissions 1827 - 1838

Only two manumissions are recorded for this period, that of Floris and Gert, both of the Cape. Significantly they were both skilled slaves. The manumission of Floris was obtained through a 'private disposition of the Late L Alexander'.¹⁷¹ However, Gert of the Cape, secured his freedom himself at a price of 1200 Rds. As he was a skilled mason, it is likely that he earned this amount through the hiring out system.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ For details of adult and child slave deaths for the period 1827 – 1838 see Tables 49 and 50 of Appendix I

¹⁷⁰ See Reidy, "The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape colony"

¹⁷¹ See remarks column of database

¹⁷² See Table 51 of Appendix I for details

1.4.5 Slave transfers 1827 - 1838

The transfers show that approximately 15% of the slaves listed on the database for this period experienced transfer to new owners, of which 5% occurred within Simon's Town itself. The remaining 10% went largely to Cape Town with a few being transferred up country.¹⁷³

1.5 The database: Overall conclusions

Settlement in Simon's Town District during the VOC period 1743 – 1795 was both urban and rural, as the economy was both agricultural and service orientated. There were farm-owners in the outlying areas and a few people were running lodging houses in the town.

The presence of South Asian and South East Asian slaves influenced the practise and spread of Islam in the town.¹⁷⁴ Initially slaves from South Asia and South East Asia were in the majority, but the gap between Asian and Malagasy slaves was closing towards the latter part of this period. Few slaves were manumitted.¹⁷⁵

During the VOC period the majority of highly skilled slaves were Asian males, with a smaller proportion being Madagascan. Through the nature of their occupations, male slaves had greater opportunities to form networks outside of slaveholdings compared with female slaves who were based in the home. Conversely, the shortage of female slaves resulted in some male slaves being absorbed into the domestic arena as 'houseboys'.¹⁷⁶

Infant mortality was high, but in some cases still lower than the norm for the colony during this period. Mother / child separations occurred, but those found in this data are relatively few. Fathers were not officially acknowledged.

The instructions in wills show that slaves were differentially treated with some being sold at the death of their owners and others passed down in slave-holding families as a sort of parallel slave family.

¹⁷³ See Table 52 of Appendix I for a list of slaves transferred 1827 - 1838

¹⁷⁴ See 'Landscape' and 'Resistance' chapters

¹⁷⁵ For a record of manumissions during this period see Table 17 of Appendix 1

¹⁷⁶ See occupations listed in Table 8 of Appendix 1 for an example of this

Individual slaveholders such as Christina Diemer and the Widow Hurter stand out in that their slaveholdings did not match general trends. For example unlike her peers, Christina Diemer kept large groups of South Asian and South East Asian slaves from the same countries of origin, most notably Bougies. Significantly too is the large amount of Asian slaves on her slaveholding who retained their birth names. The Widow Hurter's slaveholding also deviated from the norm and showed a propensity for pairing and same ethnic slave marriages.

The huge gender imbalances on most slaveholdings suggest that many male slaves sought partnerships with Khoi women. The first documented evidence of Free Black slave ownership in Simon's Town emerges during this period, through the will of Mosis Pietersen who was himself of mixed Khoi and slave descent.

The period 1796 – 1815 shows changing demographics of slaves in Simon's Town with the largest component of imported slaves originating from Mozambique. This was a period of rapid creolisation and roughly 65% of slaves in Simon's Town were locally born.

Evidence of British colonial occupation is revealed in the anglicised names of slaveholders in the database during this period and is notable in the naming system of slaves with Jek becoming Jack and Willem becoming William. Furthermore, an emerging merchant economy is hinted at with the introduction of coachmen during this period. These coachmen probably also transported officials of the Royal Navy, which established itself in Simon's Town in 1814.

Notwithstanding these new elements in Simon's Town, it appears that Simon's Town was never the highly developed and stylish urban area that Cape Town was. This impression is gained by comparing lists of occupations for Cape Town compiled by Andrew Bank compared to the occupations listed for Simon's Town.¹⁷⁷

Stricter regulation of slave ownership emerges during the British colonial period with the implementation of Slave Registers and the appointment of C M Lind as the slave functionary in Simon's Town in 1824.

¹⁷⁷ Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, pp. 237-239

Manumissions in Simon's Town during the British colonial period benefited skilled male slaves who paid for their compulsory manumissions through benefiting from the hireling system.

Overall, the database reveals that the slave experience was neither uniform nor static, but rather that it changed and evolved over this historical period. Furthermore at any given time the individual slave experience was dependent on a number of factors which included gender and levels of skill. Sometimes it just hinged on the personality of the slaveholder or the predisposition of the slaveholder to a particular slave.

On balance, it appears that the slave-holders trump card was in fact the differential treatment of slaves. Some were allowed to become economically self sufficient through the hireling system and others were not. Some families were kept together and others were sold apart. In so doing the slave-holders possibly created allies of some slaves and isolated these favoured slaves from those who did not receive favour. All these factors may have contributed to preventing a unified, socially cohesive slave class that might have resisted slavery more powerfully than was the case. In the chapters that follow we will learn how these tactics played themselves out in Simon's Town.

CHAPTER 2 – THE LANDSCAPE

Introduction

This chapter will explore the experience of enslaved people within the backdrop of the landscape that came to be known as the Simon's Town district. Pertinently it will show how slave labour was used to change the landscape in order to create tangible reminders of VOC and British power. To this end it will focus on the living and working conditions of enslaved people in this town during both the VOC and British colonial period. In addition it will explore how its location, being both coastal and situated along the mountainside, would have lent itself to certain types of economic activities that would have influenced slave labour and how place, labour and identity possibly became interlinked.¹ In essence it will explore how slaves *created, changed* and became *changed by* this landscape as they fulfilled the 'expectation that the landscape be resolved into familiar and understandable terms'² that reflected firstly the Dutch- inspired VOC and burgher settlement and subsequently the British-inspired 'imperial gaze'.³

2.1 The original occupants of the landscape

The impact of VOC sanctioned burgher expansion into the False Bay area sounded the deathknell for the last vestige of Khoi and San lifestyle that still existed in the False Bay area in the 1700's. The Khoi experience with the Dutch at the Cape was one of dispossession. As Guelke and Shell have point out this dispossession was asserted through armed force and through 'a slow, non-catastrophic process [in which] the Khoikhoi were gradually squeezed out of the lands they had once occupied as European settlers alienated the springs and permanent water courses'.⁴

¹TANAP Resolutions of the Council of Policy of the Cape of Good Hope 1651 – 1795, Cape Transcripts (Cape Town: Nationaal Archief and Sentrum, 2008) Transcriptions of manuscripts from the WCARS about people and places at the Cape of Good Hope 1673 – 1834 (Cape Town: TEPC Project and Sentrum, 2008), Prof Robert C-H Shell, *From Diaspora to Diorama, The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*, (Cape Town: Ancestry 24, 2003)

² Nicholas Shepherd, "Landscape in transformation Simon's Bay 1760 – 1970", Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, Africa Seminar (March 1993) p. 7

³Ibid

⁴Leonard Guelke and Robert Shell, "Landscape of conquest: Frontier water alienation and Khoikhoi strategies of survival, 1652 – 1780" in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (December 1992) p.803

Like the indigenous American Indians,⁵ the San and Khoi had a different relationship to the land than did the Europeans. For the San and Khoi people land was communally shared and not individually owned.⁶ The survival of their nomadic mode of living and the Khoi pastoral economy depended on this. The European concept of land ownership⁷ was thus alien to their understanding and a threat to their continued survival.

2.2 VOC expansion into False Bay

Overall Dutch expansion in the colony was slow and False Bay a long way off from Table Bay, the place of initial Dutch settlement.⁸ However, in 1687 Simon van der Stel did a survey of the area and advised the VOC to declare it a winter anchorage for the VOC. Although he re-named the town then known as Yzelstein Bay, to Simon's Bay after himself, his advice to utilise the area as a winter anchorage for the VOC went unheeded until for another 56 years.⁹



Figure 1: Simon van der Stel (standing) with his son seated on the horse
Source Diaspora to Diorama digital research CD compiled by Prof R C-H Shell

⁵Shannon Sullivan, *Revealing whiteness: The unconscious habits of racial privilege* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) pp. 129-130

⁶Guelke and Shell, "Landscape of conquest", p. 805

⁷Sullivan, *Revealing whiteness*, p. 130

⁸Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford Smith, *Cape Town: The making of a city* (Claremont: David Philip, 1998) p.15

⁹Simon's Town (South Africa) municipal and naval regatta, *souvenir of Simon's Town, Van Riebeeck tercentenary souvenir brochure of the Simon's Town municipal and naval regatta 1952* (Cape Town: Weeden, 1952) p. 7

2.2.1 The build up to Simon's Town being declared a winter anchorage for the VOC

By 1725 there was one burgher in the area, namely Anthonij Visser, whose house was the shell that evolved into present day Admiralty House in Simon's Town.¹⁰ The surrounding land was farmed by Visser with the use of an unknown number of slaves.

He reportedly farmed 'grain and vegetables, and kept some livestock'.¹¹ During this period he was considered a life-line to ships that occasionally made emergency landings on the sea-shore.¹² Although he eventually received this land as a freehold grant in 1743, the benefit to him was short-lived as he died just two years later.

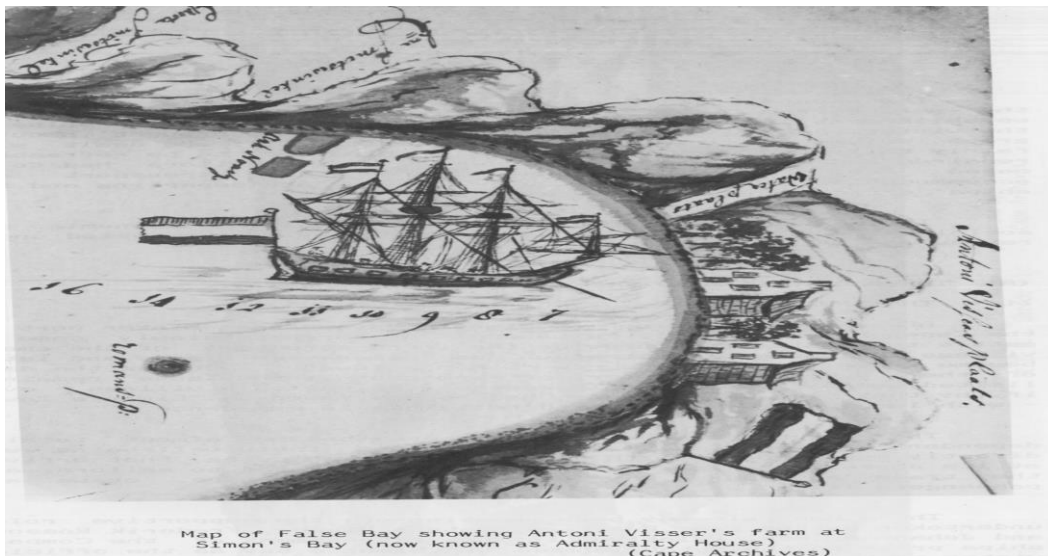


Figure 2: Map of False Bay showing Antoni Visser's farm at Simon's Bay
Source: Bekker – The history of False Bay up to 1795

With the exception of the Visser family, from the perspective of the Dutch, Simon's Town was an isolated place that was difficult to access by land because of hazardous quicksand.¹³ However, for the Khoi and San people the Visser settlement was further encroachment to their pasturage routes, which was taking place within the colony.

¹⁰Hans Fransen and Mary Alexander Cook, *The old buildings of the Cape* (Cape Town: A A Balkema, 1980) p. 125

¹¹Boet Dommissie, *Admiralty House, Simon's Town* (Cape Town: CTP Book Printers, 2005) p. 13

¹²WCARS, C 450 Inkomende Brieven: A. Visser – J. de la Fontaine, 20.8.1737, pp. 40 – 41 as cited in Dan Sleigh, *Die buiteposte* (Pretoria: Protea, 2004) p. 301

¹³Michael Whisson, *The Fairest Cape?* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972) p. 5

As late as 1796 a visitor to the area made mention of ‘parties of Hottentots’¹⁴ shooting at British sentry guards with bows and arrow; an expression of their frustration at their dispossession.

The decision by the VOC to encourage Dutch burghers to settle in Simon’s Town through a freehold land grant system was twofold: With the establishment of Simon’s Bay as a winter anchorage for the VOC there was a need to provide succour for the crews of ships anchoring in the bay. Although a VOC Company Garden had already been established in Simon’s Bay, the requirements of VOC and visiting ships surpassed the supply.¹⁵ In addition, because of its regional isolation from Cape Town, the False Bay was vulnerable to occupation by foreign European enemies. Thus the establishment of a VOC and burgher base in the area was considered vital for security.¹⁶

In order to achieve these goals the landscape needed to be transformed from one conducive to hunter-gatherer and pastoral usage to one that was conducive to an agricultural economy. In short, the landscape needed to be re-created. The labour force that was pivotal to this re-creation was the labour of people who were slaves. However, it should be noted that although the VOC wanted burgher settlement in Simon’s Bay, they did not intend it to be a permanent winter anchorage site. They had instead planned that this would be an interim measure pending the construction of the breakwater in Table Bay.¹⁷ The construction of the breakwater was eventually abandoned due to high costs and while it took some time for ships to become accustomed to changing their anchorage from Table Bay to Simon’s Bay, by 1751 Simon’s Bay was operating as a fully-fledged winter anchorage for the VOC.¹⁸

¹⁴Robert Warden, “Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden, seamen on board H.E.I.C.S. Lord Camden, 1796-7; with an introductory note by A.M. Lewin Robinson”, *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, v. 7, No’s 3 and 4, (March/June 1953) pp. 68-79 as cited in S.M. Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town, 1770 – 1899* (Cape Town: UCT School of Librarianship, 1964) pp. 21-22

¹⁵WCARS, C. 37 Resolutien, 23.2.1743, p. 103 as cited in A.E. Bekker, *The history of False Bay Up to 1795* (Simon’s Town: Simon’s Town Historical Society, 1991) p. 93

¹⁶WCARS, C.20 Resolutien, 20.8. 1725, p. 150, as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 47

¹⁷WCARS, C 711 Instructien: Memorie voor H. Swellengrebel, 25.2.1743, p. as cited in Sleigh, *Die buiteposte*, p. 303

¹⁸WCARS. C 482 Inkomende Brieven: Here XVII- R. Tulbagh, 8.10.1751, p. 32, as cited in Sleigh, *Die buiteposte*, p. 304

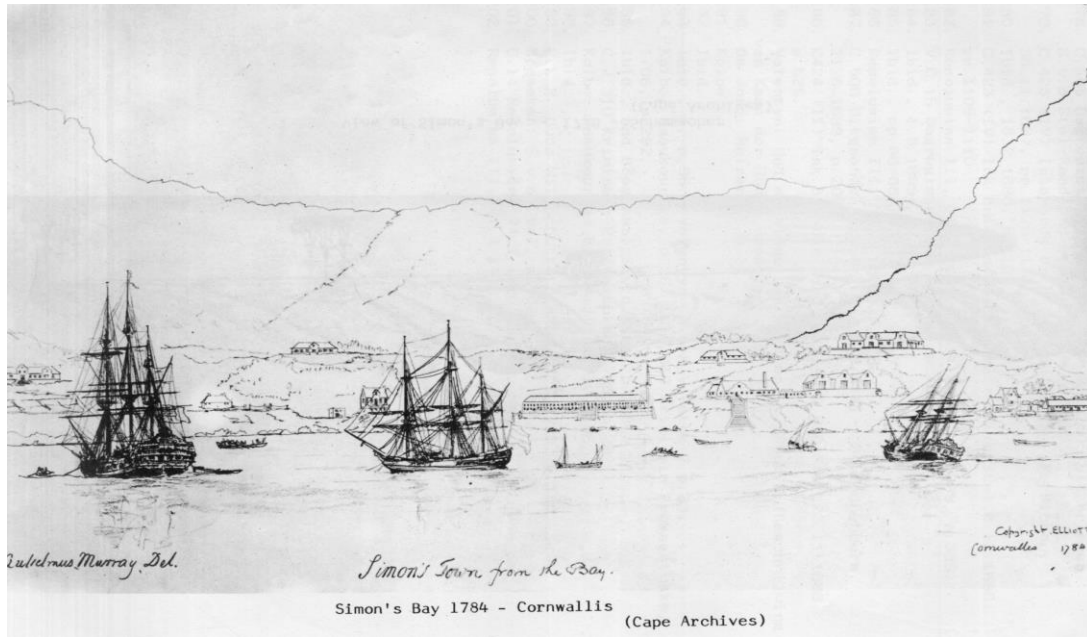


Figure 3: Simon's Bay 1784 - Cornwallis
Source: Bekker – The history of False Bay up to 1795

2.2.2 18th century Simon's Bay

In order to get a sense of the living and working conditions of enslaved people during the Dutch and early British colonial periods of settlement into the area, one needs to imagine the landscape. Diaries of travellers paint a picture of an isolated, desert-like place that could hardly be called a town.¹⁹ At night the silence was interrupted by the sounds of wolves searching for their prey²⁰ and a soldier at a sentry post wrote of dodging the arrows of the angry Khoi, hostile at their dispossession.²¹ On the mountainside visitors reported encountering 'small species of stag and a race of very large monkeys' who were not averse to sending down torrents of stones on the heads of unsuspecting travellers.²²

Beyond the challenges of the landscape, which would have been especially gruelling for slaves, it is important to consider this settlement within the backdrop of a smallpox epidemic at the Cape during the period 1743 – 1744.²³

In fact by 1747 slave mortality at the Cape had reached such endemic proportions that on 1 February 1747 a Public Day of Prayer was ordered.²⁴

¹⁹ Georg Forster *A voyage round the world in His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the year 1772, 3, 4 and 5* (London: White, Robson, Elmsly and Robinson, 1777) pp. 551-553 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 9

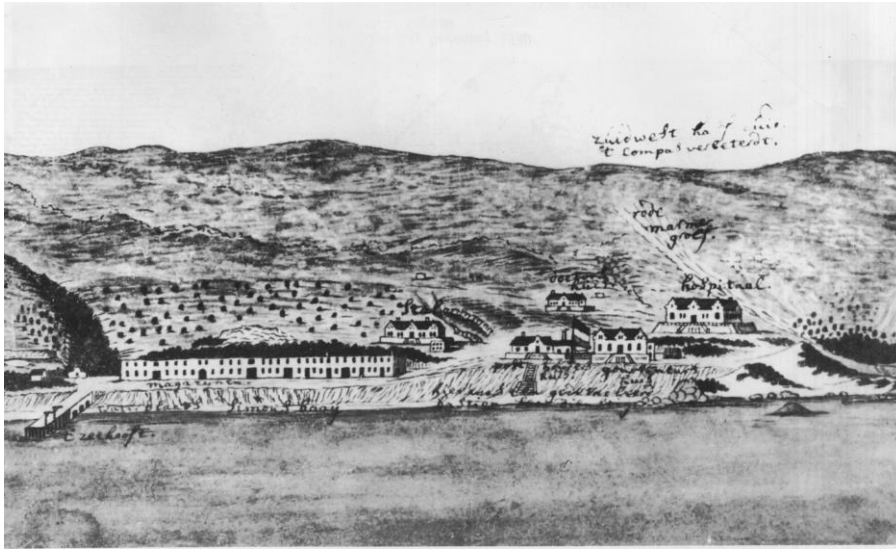
²⁰ Samuel Plummer, *The journal of Samuel Plummer* (London: Blanchard, 1821) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town*, p. 29

²¹ Warden, "Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden", pp. 68-79 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 21-22

²² Pierre Marie Pages, *Voyage of M. de Pages towards the South Pole in 1773 and 1774* (Paris: Moutard, 1782) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 6

²³ Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 62

Due to its relatively small population, which according to Bekker by 1786 consisted of just six families,²⁵ the economy of the town relied on the patronage of visitors. Thus it functioned as a service industry with the majority of its slave-owning landowners operating as ‘inn-keepers, bakers, market gardeners or tradesmen’²⁶ utilising the labour and skills of people who were slaves.



Simon's Bay c. 1778 by Col R J Gordon
Source: Western Cape Archives and Document Service

Representations of the landscape

For the VOC the landscape represented the fulfilment of the need for a winter anchorage and the necessity of improving security from foreign invasion. For burgers receiving freehold land to farm, this landscape where ‘fish and game were plentiful’,²⁷ represented an opportunity for economic upward mobility and the ownership of land. For the San and Khoi whose relationship with the land was that of communal ownership, the changing landscape was a reminder of what they had lost. For foreign born slaves still coming to terms with the trauma of enslavement and displacement, it is likely that the landscape was experienced as a frightening and hostile place, the transformation of which exacted a great physical burden on themselves.

²⁴WCARS, Slave Office SO 17/1 ‘Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of Slavery and Indian Statutes 1652 – 1818’, 1 February 1747

²⁵WCARS, C. 318 Memorien en Rapporten: F.W. Rheede van Oudtshoorn – C.J. van de Graaff, 15.5.1786, p. 204 as cited in A.E. Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795* (Simon's Town, Simon's Town Historical Society, 1991) p.76

²⁶Cornelius De Jong, ‘Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Voorwegen, in de jaren 1791 tot 1792 ... met het onder zijn bevel staande’ (Haarlem, Bohn, 1802 – 1) pp. 5-59 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town, 1770 – 1899*, p. 16

²⁷*Ibid*

One of the earliest recipients of the land grant system was Christina Diemer, who established Imhoff's farm, consisting of sixty morgen of land between Noordhoek and Kommetjie. The labour-force that transformed this area of *fyntbos* into workable agricultural land was performed by only 'six slaves.'²⁸ However, by the time of her death in 1765 her complement of slaves was recorded as 36 (25 males and 11 females).²⁹ Other homesteads that were established in the Simon's Town district during the VOC era and which are identified by name in the Cape Freeholds are Poespaskraal, de Goede Gift and Constantia.³⁰

2.2.3 Slaves [re]creating the landscape

During the VOC period the labour of Company slaves was pivotal in creating a new landscape that symbolised VOC conquest and power. This changing landscape included the construction of West Dockyard, which was commenced in 1743 and 'the erection of a building to accommodate store-houses, a bakehouse, a smith's shop and quarters for the garrison and workmen'.³¹ Furthermore a warehouse was erected for the storage of anchors, rope, wood and dry provisions. An elongated building stored ships goods and provided accommodation for postal officials, soldiers, medical officers and the infirm.³²

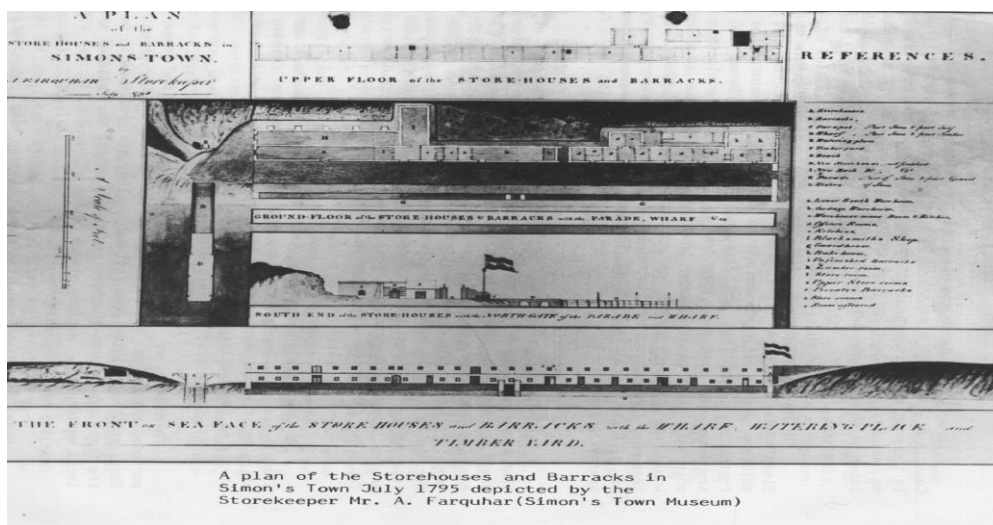


Figure 4: A plan of the storehouses and barracks in Simon's Town July 1795
Source: Bekker 'The history of False Bay up to 1795'

²⁸Michael Whisson, *Group area: The case of Simon's Town district* (Unpublished manuscript, 1971) p. 21

²⁹WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/16 folio 42 ½, 10.02.1765

³⁰A total of ten land grants are listed between 1743 to 1795, however, they are not all identified by farm name or name of residence. Cape Old Freeholds, Vol. 2 Part 3, 13.04.1717 to 10.08.1746, number's 318 – 486, Cape Old Freeholds, 06.10.1746 to 27.8.1782 Vol. 3, Deeds Registry No. 608, Simon's Town, Cape Old Freeholds 21.01.1783 to 21.11.1791, Vol. 4, Deeds Registry No. 825, Simon's Town and Cape Old Freeholds 22.12.1791 to 28.11.1807, Vol. 5, Deeds Registry, No. 793, Simon's Town. (Sourced from the Willis Files, Simon's Town Museum). I am grateful to Margaret Cartwright for making me aware of this information and to Victoria of the Simon's Town Museum for allowing me access to it and for making copious photocopies.

³¹The Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa, Sixth Annual General Meeting, Simon's Town, 1969, p. 3

³²WCARS C 121 Resolusies van die Politieke Raad: 22.1.1743, p. 85, as cited in Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, pp. 302-303

By March 1745 work was commenced on the construction ‘of a magazine, a hospital and quarters for the people in charge’.³³ More lavish residences that were constructed were *The Drosty*, which was residence to the postholder Justinus Blas and his successor Adriaan de Neys (1751) and *The Residency*, which was completed by 1776.³⁴ The Residency was built as a home for the first VOC Resident, namely Jan Frederik Kirsten.³⁵ While all these buildings represented ‘the inscription of [VOC] authority in the details of architectural form’³⁶, it was the place of execution located in the vicinity of Custom House that represented control.³⁷

Overall, the Company slaves were migratory and for the most part their presence in Simon’s Town was temporary and linked to specific and fluctuating labour requirements of the Company in Simon’s Town. Their more permanent home would have been the Slave Lodge in Cape Town.³⁸ However, a few resided in Simon’s Town on a more permanent basis, serving the labour requirements of the various VOC postholders who were permanently stationed in Simon’s Town over this time.³⁹ These Company slaves assisted with boats or nets that needed to be hauled in and also performed such mundane tasks as collecting water and wood.⁴⁰

The winter months saw an increased presence of VOC officials as well as the migration of ‘junior officials and slaves who regular assisted the Postholder’. These periods also saw the arrival of Chandling and shipping clerks, artisans and tradesmen who ‘were sent from Cape Town to cater for the visiting shipping’. The migration of company slaves to Simon’s Town fluctuated according to needs. The smaller number of 21 in 1744 as compared to the total of 83 in 1775, which included ‘25 slaves used for quarrying stone’⁴¹ reflect the increased labour needs brought about after Simon’s Bay became a fully-fledged winter anchorage for the VOC.

³³The Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa, Sixth Annual General Meeting, Simon’s Town, 1969, p. 1

³⁴Ibid, pp. 1-3

³⁵The building known as The Residency survives today and houses the Simon’s Town Museum. However, The Drosty was demolished in 1954

³⁶ Shepherd, “Landscape in transformation”, p. 5

³⁷Robert C-H Shell (ed) with the assistance of Raymond and Edward Hudson, “*Out of livery, the papers of Samuel Eusebius Hudson, 1764 – 1828*” (Cape Town: Unpublished manuscript, 2013) p. 372

³⁸VOC slaves were housed together in the VOC Slave Lodge in Cape Town, see Robert Shell, *Children of bondage, a social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994) p. 343

³⁹WCARS C. 618 Dagregister, 30.6.1744, p. 306 and WCARS, C. 643, Dagregister, 30.6.1775, p. 174 as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 81

⁴⁰WCARS: C384 Attestation: Verklaring van J. Becker, 26.7.1767, p. 451; C 385 Attestation: Verklaring van J. Mizaros, 2.1.1768, p. 1; C 504 Inkomende Brieven: J.F. Kirsten – R. Tulbagh, 11.9.1761, p. 180, as cited in Sleigh, *Die buiteposte*, p. 292

⁴¹ Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 81

Stones from Simon's Bay were also used for building work in Cape Town and in 1762 the postholder mentioned Company slaves having to carry stones from high up into the mountains to the awaiting 'Schuerwaens' which delivered them to Cape Town.⁴²

Company slaves were also tasked with loading and unloading of ships and the indelicate tasks of patient care in the VOC hospital. In addition they performed a multitude of other duties at the hospital such as cooking, washing clothes, scrubbing of floors and cleaning toilets.⁴³

These Company slaves were also given the life-risking tasks of guarding patients with infectious diseases and assisting with their care.⁴⁴ Dan Sleigh mentions that the arrival of the Wurtembergse Regiment in 1788 placed a huge burden on the hospital and an even greater burden on the five slaves who had to wash and take care of 380 patients.⁴⁵

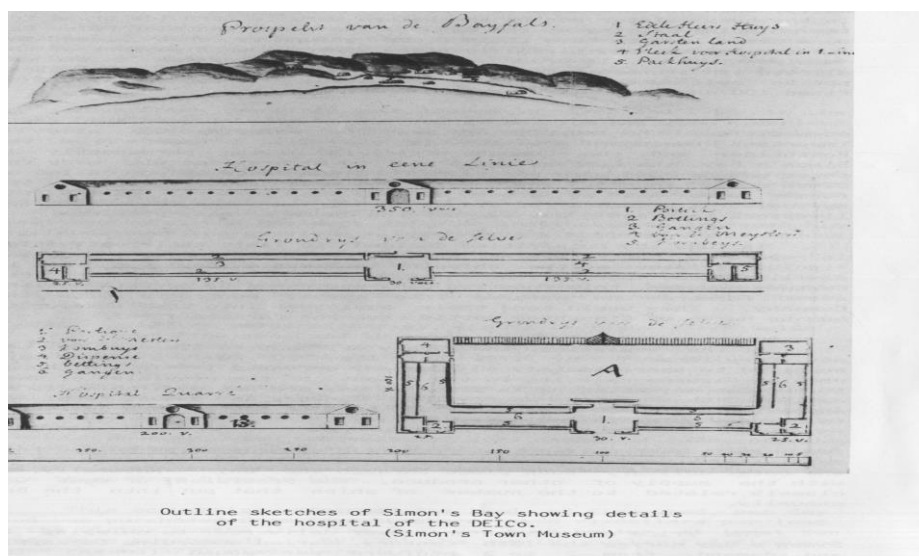


Figure 5: Sketches of the hospital in Simon's Bay during the VOC era
Sourced from Bekker, 'The history of False Bay up to 1795'

In 1767 a Slave Lodge was built in the Company vegetable garden in Simon's Town.⁴⁶ There were two Company Gardens in Simon's Town during the VOC era, the larger one named *Groot Tuin* (Oatlands) and the smaller one named *Kleintuin* (Seaforth).⁴⁷

It is likely that the Slave Lodge would have been situated at Groot Tuin. Thus with the construction of the Slave Lodge in Simon's Town, the presence of VOC slaves became etched into the landscape.

⁴²WCARS, C 547 Uitgaande Brieven: R. Tulbagh – J. Kirsten, 27.9.1762, p. 991, as cited in Sleigh, *Die buiteposte*, p. 326

⁴³Ibid, p. 318

⁴⁴Ibid, pp. 319 - 320

⁴⁵Ibid, p.321

⁴⁶WCARS, C 566 Inkomende Brieven: C. Brand - van de Graaff, 15.5.1787, p. 11; VC 30 Dagregister: 12.7.1767, p. 101 as cited in Sleigh, *Die buiteposte*, p. 101

⁴⁷WCARS. 37 Resolutien, 23.2.1743, p. 103, as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 93

This Lodge would have had to accommodate a complement of Government Slaves which ranged from two throughout the year to 25 during the busy winter months when labour needs were greater.⁴⁸

The larger number were ‘duly returned to Cape Town’⁴⁹ after the winter season. Typical vegetables grown by slaves in the Company gardens were carrots, turnips, red cabbage, cabbage, lettuce and legumes’.⁵⁰ In addition Company slaves took animals out to graze beyond the Steenberg mountains and slaughtered animals in the slaughter-house.⁵¹

In 1772 Sparrman, the visiting Swedish physician said of the town: ‘the slaughter-house makes a distinct building by itself, as do likewise the Resident’s house and the hospital’.⁵²

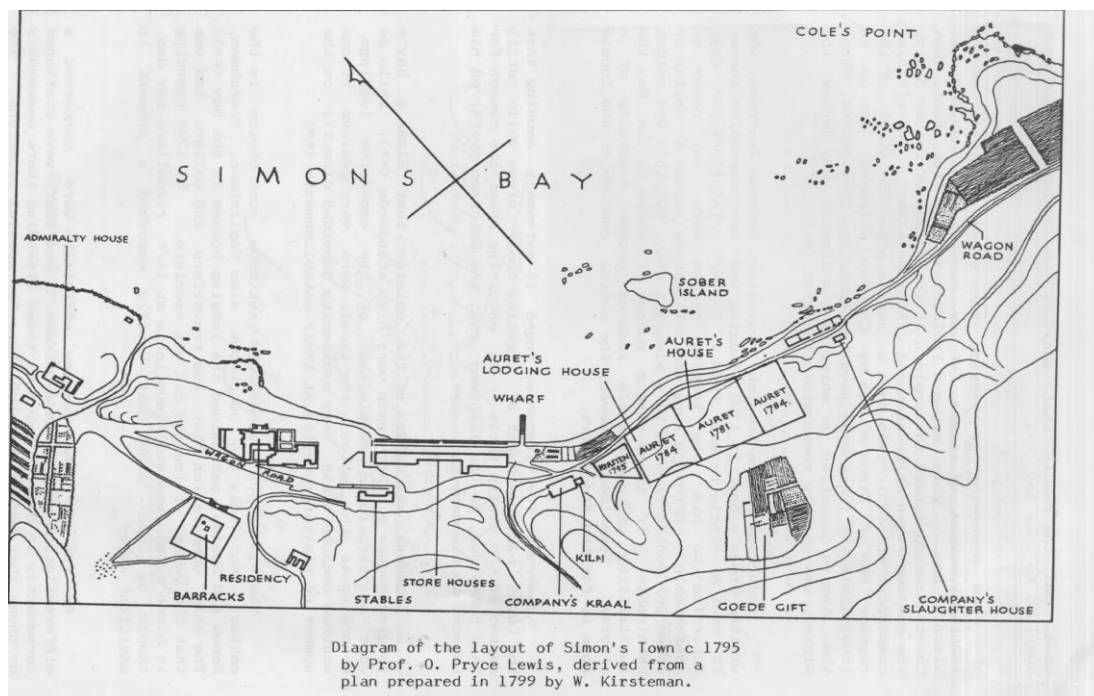


Figure 6: The lay-out of Simon's Town c 1795
Source: Bekker – The history of False Bay up to 1795

2.2.4 Privately owned slaves [re]creating the landscape

In as much as the Company-owned slaves were the physical labour force that re-created the landscape into a symbol of VOC power, privately-owned slave labour created the symbols of land-ownership of the burghers who received freehold land grants from the Company.

⁴⁸Ibid, p. 93

⁴⁹Ibid p. 94

⁵⁰Ibid, p. 94

⁵¹WCARS, C 129 Resolusies van die Politieke Raad: 23.2.1751, pp. 61-66; Ibid, 25.1.1751, p. 53, as cited in Sleight, *Die buitposte*, pp. 304-305

⁵²Andrew Sparrman, *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (Perth: Morison, Mudie & Lackington, 1782) pp. 15 – 33 as cited in Jones, *Personal Accounts of Visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 4

Thus it was these slaves who undertook the back-breaking task of carrying rocks from the sea from which farm homesteads were built.⁵³ They also laid out vegetable gardens, herded sheep, collected water and wood, drove wagons and were housemaids and ‘houseboys’.

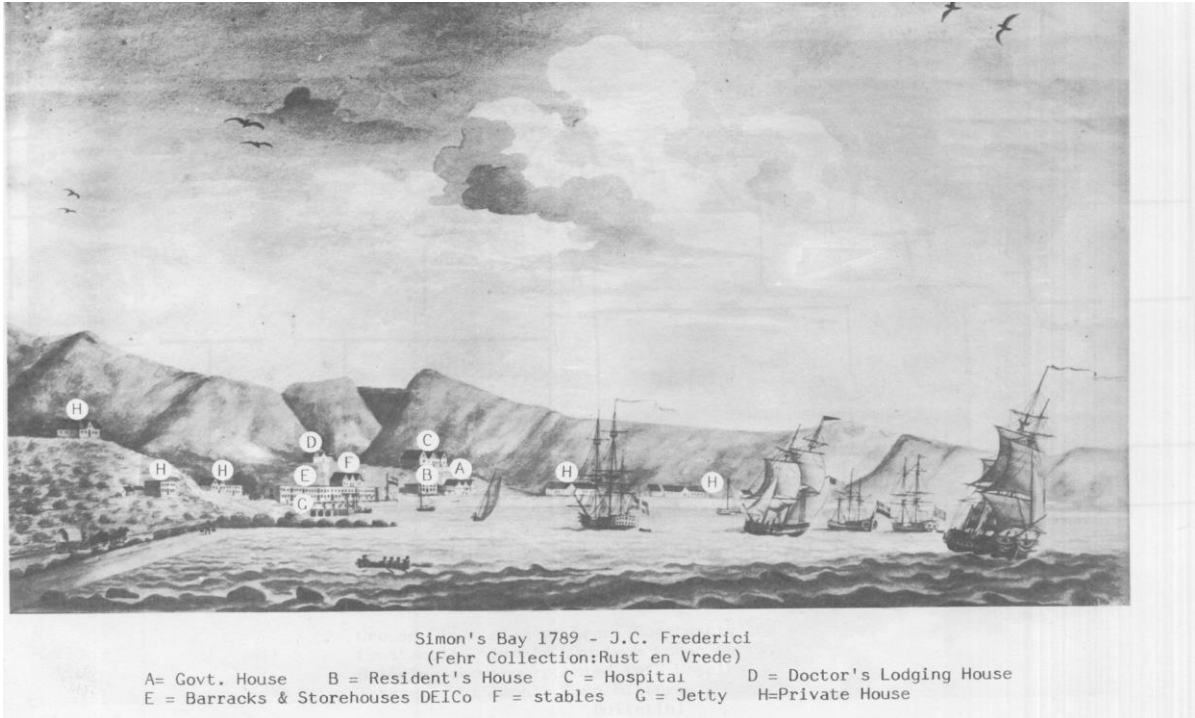


Figure 7: Simon's Bay 1789
Sourced from Bekker, 'The history of False Bay to 1795'

2.2.5 Slaves changing the landscape

Slaves in Simon's Town changed the landscape in a number of ways. In fact just their physical appearances on the landscape created difference. They were neither San nor Khoi, nor were they European. Thus their arrival introduced an Asian and African 'feel' to the landscape that was once the exclusive home of the nomadic San and Khoi.

⁵³Judy Rowe, *The story of Rocklands Farm Simon's Town, South Africa 1815 – 2010* (Privately compiled by Judy Rowe, 2010) p. 11

2.2.5.1 Slave culture and religion

Slaves in Simon's Town changed the landscape through the way they utilised its spaces to accommodate their natal cultures. The naming of rocks in the district by Eastern names such as Bat Besar, Bat Sattoe and Blinde Poetri and Panoepang by Muslim fishermen is mentioned in a Tercentenary Souvenir brochure of Simon's Town that was published in 1952. It is possible that this claiming of a part of the landscape as their own occurred during the period of slavery, however with no dates supplied this cannot be stated as fact.⁵⁴

Echoes of the East resonate through Muslim burial sites that emerged on the landscape and through secret spaces on the landscape that bore witness to the practice of Islam.⁵⁵ The transplantation of the religion of Islam onto this landscape by South Asian and South East Asian slaves was arguably the most important change to the landscape by slaves in Simon's Town.

During a course of oral history interviews conducted amongst twelve Muslim families residing in Simon's Town in 1969, a UCT student was informed that they all stemmed from a single ancestor named Ismail, who came from Java.⁵⁶ The name Ismail also emerges as a prominent deviation in the naming system for slaves at Imhoff's farm owned by Christina Diemer circa 1743 - 1765, and he is one of only six slaves who retained their natal names. Mason suggests that 'to strip a slave of his or her original name was to strip that person of his or her identity'.⁵⁷ Thus the fact that Ismail was allowed to keep his natal name is significant and suggests that he was a man who carried some influence. The Ismail of Imhoff's farm is listed as Ismail from Bougies, whereas the families interviewed in 1969 stated that their ancestor Ismail was from Java. However, such errors in VOC documentation were not uncommon. For example in 1712 a slave woman belonging to Simon van der Stel was recorded in 'emancipation documents' as 'Christina van Canarie'. In 1719 her toponym was 'van Canarien', in 1720 it was 'van de Coromandel' and in her will her toponym is listed as 'kus Coramandel', however, Margaret Cairns has shown that this is one and the same person.⁵⁸

⁵⁴Simon's Town (South Africa) municipal and naval regatta, *Souvenir of Simon's Town, Van Riebeeck tercentenary souvenir brochure of the Simon's Town municipal and naval regatta 1952* (Cape Town: Weeden, 1952) p. 40

⁵⁵ Mansoor Jaffer, *Guide to the kramats of the Western Cape* (Cape Town: Cape Mazaar (Kramat) Society, 1996) pp. 20-21

⁵⁶M. Muller, "Aspects of social composition of twelve Malay households in Simonstown" (UCT: BA Honours in Social Anthropology, 1969) p. 3

⁵⁷John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection, slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London, University of Virginia Press, 2003) p. 86

⁵⁸Margaret Cairns, "Freeblack landowners in the southern suburbs of the Cape Peninsula during the eighteenth century", *Kronos*, Vol. 10 (1985) p. 24

The presence of Islam during the VOC era is further etched into the landscape through the Kramat in Dolphin Way, Simon's Town.⁵⁹ This staking of a claim on the landscape in the name of Islam is interesting when one considers that during the VOC era, and well into the British colonial era, there were no Christian churches in Simon's Town.⁶⁰ Such a religious claim to the landscape becomes even more significant when one considers that it was not the conquerors, but the conquered who made the first religious claim to the landscape.

It also goes against the assertion by Mason that 'few slaves professed Islam when they arrived at the Cape.'⁶¹ Furthermore, the existence of the kramat is tangible evidence that 'invisible social exchanges'⁶² amongst slaves took place on this landscape in the name of Islam. In 1816 Hudson wrote that 'a large store at Simons Town has been opened and consecrated as a church. The inhabitants hitherto have had no place to worship.' According to Hudson this was very necessary in Simon's Town 'where depravity and wickedness abounded'.⁶³

Agricultural activities that utilised slave labour

Altering the landscape from its natural habitat to one that would sustain an agricultural economy would have required backbreaking labour in an environment where 'the sun is so powerful at the top as to destroy all vegetation'.⁶⁴ In the view of Major-General Burn in 1779 the soil 'was not worth cultivating'.⁶⁵ Other hindrances to farming were the 'the parching south-east winds'⁶⁶ and the 'great numbers of monkeys, who come down from the hills in the night, and do considerable mischief in the gardens'.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Jaffer, *Guide to the kramats of the Western Cape*, pp. 20-21

⁶⁰ V.M. Golovnin, *Detained in Simon's Bay, The story of the detention of the Russian sloop Diana April 1808 – May 1809* (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1964) p. 47

⁶¹ Mason, *Social death and resurrection*, p. 178

⁶² Shepherd, "Landscape in Transformation", p. 3

⁶³ Shell, 'Out of livery', p. 371

⁶⁴ Plummer, *The journal of Samuel Plummer* as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 29

⁶⁵ Andrew Burn, *Memoirs of the life of the late Major-General Andrew Burn, of the Royal Marines, collected from his journals, with copious extracts from his principal works on religious subjects* (London: Winchester, 1815) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 - 1800*, p. 10

⁶⁶ James Kingston Tuckey, *An account of a voyage to establish a colony at Port Phillip in Bass's Strait, on the south coast of New South Wales in His Majesty's ship Calcutta in the years 1802-3-4* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1805) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 33-34

⁶⁷ Plummer, *The journal of Samuel Plummer*, as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 29

However, farmers in Simon's Town such as Jeremias Auret, Arend Munnik and Willem Hurter were considerable producers of grain, the labour supply of which was their slaves.⁶⁸ Evidence of grain farming still exist at Imhoff's Farm today in terms of the threshing floor, which is a physical reminder of the slave labour that occurred on this part of the landscape. The cultivation of barley and grain were particularly popular farming activities in this district.⁶⁹ Other farming activities were cattle farming, such as the farm of Anthonij Visser, where he ran a cattle farm and on which he had erected 'a house, kraals and other buildings'.⁷⁰ The farm Constantia that was situated close to the shore produced fresh produce for supplying VOC ships.⁷¹ The slave labour-force listed on this farmstead in 1783 are Carin 'slave jongs', Clara, Jan van de Caab, January, Joseph van de Caab, Leander van de Caab and Aletta van Bougies.⁷²

2.2.6 Slaves changed by the landscape

In as much as slaves in Simon's Town created and changed the landscape through their labour and cultural skills, their survival on this landscape meant that they had to adjust to its strangeness, its isolation and its climatic temperance from a vantage point of powerlessness. Gruelling physical labour in the extreme heat and lack of shade in Simon's Town no doubt took its toll on the health, and possibly lives, of many slaves.⁷³ In 1775 a visitor to Simon's Town described how the 'heat of the summer had, in many places, darkened all the tints of green, on that immense variety of low shrubs and plants'.⁷⁴ Furthermore, whereas for the Khoi the mountain was a place to roam freely, for the slaves it was a place on the landscape from which to escape the ravages of slavery. Certainly too it was a place that invoked within themselves a sense of free space away from the roving eyes of slaveholders.

⁶⁸WCARS, C. 322 Memoriën Rapporten: J.N. van Lijden – C.J. van de Graaff, 4.5. 1790, pp. 319 – 323; C. 87 Resolutien, 30.4.1790, pp. 727-730, as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 98

⁶⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, SMT 10/20 (Letters received from 4 October 1826 to December 1827) folio 127/C, 16 March 1827

⁷⁰H.C.V. Leibbrandt, 'Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope Requesten (Memorials)', *Volume IV 1715 – 1806* (1743): T-Z (No. 77) (Cape Town: South African Library, 1989) p. 1280

⁷¹John Yeld, "Protecting Simon's Town history", *The Sunday Argus*, March 3, 2013, p. 19

⁷²This information was taken from the database of slaves in Simon's Town compiled for this research

⁷³(Certain fatal illnesses such as systemic lupus erythematosus which are said to be prevalent amongst Asian people are reportedly brought on by exposure to sunlight.) For an insight into this see Daniel J Wallace, *Dubois lupus erythematosus* (Baltimore, Md: Williams & Wilkins, 1997)

⁷⁴Forster *A voyage round the world in His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution*, pp. 551-552 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 9.

2.2.6.1 Slave children born on the landscape

Slave creolisation in Simon's Town during the VOC era was higher than the norm for the colony. However, having said this, it was still low. This can be attributed to imbalanced gender ratios of foreign born slaves as well as poor nutrition and hard physical labour.⁷⁵

Rugarli states that in the Cape overall, between 1790 and 1830, one out of five slave children died during infancy.⁷⁶ Table 3 below lists the names of children born in the Simon's Town district during the VOC era who have emerged from wills. Unfortunately their dates of birth are not recorded in archival documents.

Table 3: Slave children recorded in wills to have been born in the Simon's Town during the VOC era

SLAVE CHILDREN RECORDED IN WILLS TO HAVE BEEN BORN IN THE SIMON'S TOWN DISTRICT DURING THE VOC ERA ⁷⁷		
Name of child	Name of mother	Place of birth
Jan van de Caab	Rebecca of the Cape	Imhoff's farm
Africa van de Caab	Sarah van Mozambique	Imhoff's farm
Rakina van de Caab	Dina van Batavia	Imhoff's farm
Samuel van de Caab	'Aletta' (origin not stated)	Imhoff's farm
Hester van de Caab	Not stated	Imhoff's farm
Aletta van de Caab	Not stated	Imhoff's farm
Aaron van de Caab	Not stated	Imhoff's farm
Moses van de Caab	Not stated	Imhoff's farm
Abraham van de Caab	Not stated	Hurter Lodging house (Admiralty House)
Carin van de Caab	Not stated	'Constantia', Simon's Town (Farmstead of Hendrik Elshoud)
Abraham van de Caab	Dina van de Caab	Poespas Kraal farm
Fredrik van de Caab	Dina van de Caab	Poespas Kraal farm
Hannetje van de Caab	Dina van de Caab	Poespas Kraal farm
Jeannet van de Caab	Dina van de Caab	Poespas Kraal farm
Leentje van de Caab	Dina van de Caab	Poespas Kraal farm
Julia of the Cape	Rosina	Oliphant's Bosch
Carolina of the Cape	Rosina	Oliphant's Bosch
Albert of the Cape	Rosina	Oliphant's Bosch
Charlotta of the Cape	Peggy from Mozambique	Oliphant's Bosch
April of the Cape	Peggy from Mozambique	Oliphant's Bosch

⁷⁵Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 9

⁷⁶Anna Maria Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony from acquisition to the process of creolization c. 1790 – 1830" (Universita' degli Studi di Milano, Facolta di Scienze Politiche, MA 1997 – 1998) p. 51

⁷⁷Data taken from the Database of Slaves in Simon's Town 1743 – 1838, compiled for this research

The births of slave children in Simon's Town saw the emergence of a Cape cultural identity, an identity which carried with it a sense of belonging to the landscape. However, while some slaves remained on the landscape and developed parallel slave families to slave-owning families from one generation to the other, others were sold through auction sales. Some sales were random or occurred because owners were moving and others occurred with the death or insolvency of a slaveholder.

Thus when the Widow Hurter sold her lodging house (present day Admiralty House) she also sold '20 good slaves, among whom are wagon drivers, fishermen, bakers, gardeners, masons, shoemakers.'⁷⁸ Similarly in 1814 the Widow Rossouw of Imhoff's farm sold some of her slaves to pay her children their share of inheritance.⁷⁹

Three years later some slaves were sold on account of Gerrit Hurter of Oliphant's Bosch, namely 'a man slave named Tom, from Mauritius, and cook, one ditto named Batjoe from Bengal, a carpenter, one ditto named Thomas, from Mozambique, a slave women named Peggy from Mozambique with her two children Charlotta and April, both of the Cape, one ditto named Rosina with her 3 children, Julia, Carolina and Albert, all of the Cape'.⁸⁰ The threat of being sold and separated from family and friends and thus removed from their spaces on the landscape, was no doubt an ever-present fear in the psyche of every slave.⁸¹

Miscegenation with the indigenous people

As is evidenced by the database, gender imbalances for slaves in Simon's Town were huge, a phenomenon that concurred with the rest of the Colony. Some male slaves were thus compelled to seek companionship and affection outside of their immediate slave circle. An unknown amount of male slaves had children with Khoi women and the children of these unions were referred to as '*Bastard Hottentots*'.

⁷⁸*Cape Town Gazette*, 5 March 1814 (NLSA, Cape Town)

⁷⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5 (Inkomende briewe 1820), 1/SMT. 10/12, 1 December 1814

⁸⁰*Cape Town Gazette*, 20 September 1817 (NLSA, Cape Town)

⁸¹Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and social death, a comparative study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982) p. 6

2.2.6.2 The landscape, labour and identity interlinked

The close proximity to the sea offered opportunities for some male slaves to become fishermen. De Jong stated that ‘the inhabitants caught fish for their own consumption and to feed to prisoners or to sell to ships in the bay’.⁸² A traveller to the Cape in the 18th century stated of the burghers that ‘many of their slaves are employed in catching fish’.⁸³ Male slaves who were fishermen thus had much freedom of movement on this landscape, away from the eyes of slaveholders. According to Ross slave fishermen from the False Bay were a great resource to the runaway slaves at Hanglip.⁸⁴ Most importantly fishing offered slaves the opportunity to supplement meagre diets and offered them a means of nutritional security that they might otherwise not have had.⁸⁵

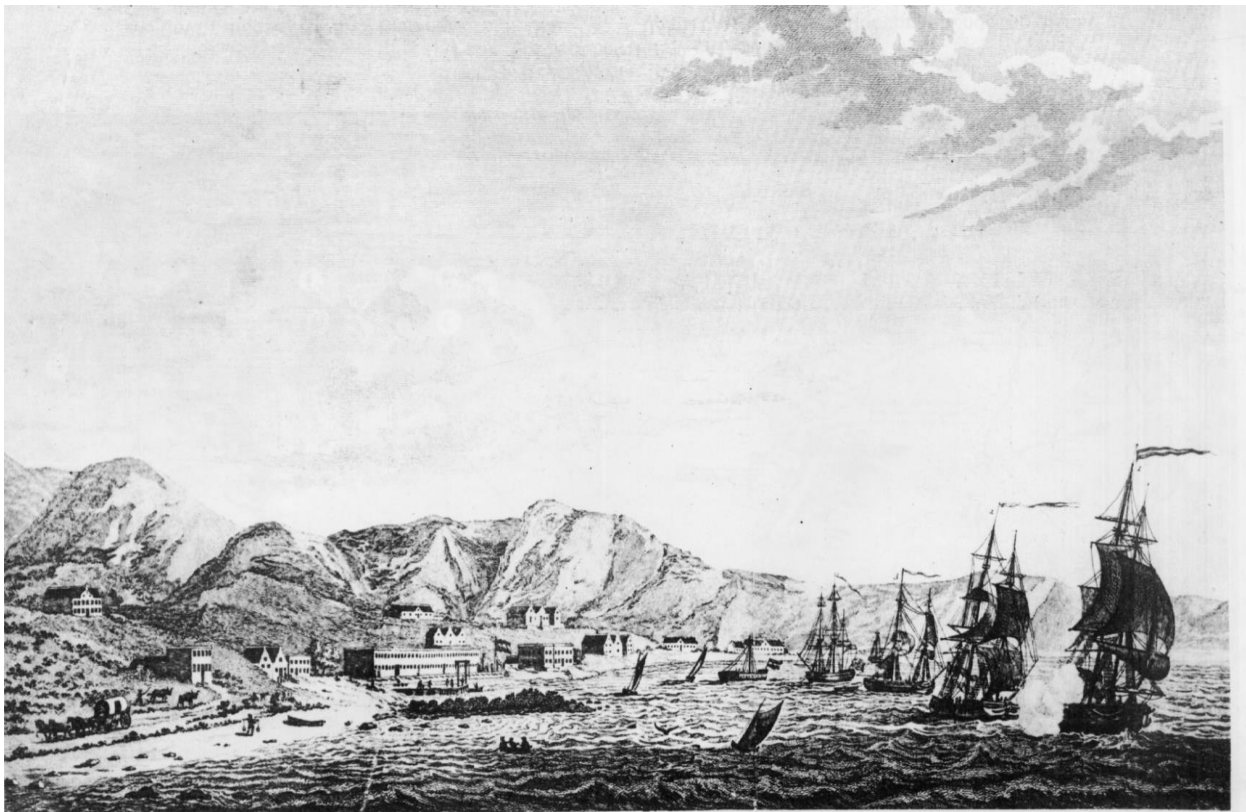


Figure 8: View of Simon's Bay by de Jong 1795
Sourced from Bekker, 'The history of False Bay up to 1795'

⁸²Cornelius De Jong, "Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Voorwegen, in de jaren 1791 tot 1792 ... met het onder zijn bevel staande" (Haarlem: Bohn, 1802 – 1) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 16

⁸³Forster, *A voyage round the world in His Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution*, p. 570 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*

⁸⁴Robert Ross, *Cape of torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983) p. 57

⁸⁵Kim Geheb and Tony Binns, "Fishing farmers' or 'farming fishermen?' The quest for household income and nutritional security on the Kenyan Shores of Lake Victoria" *African Affairs*, 96, No. 382, (1997) p.75. Genovese similarly mentions the importance of fishing to slaves in the American South who he said varied monotonous and inadequate diets by catching fish. Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, *Jordan roll, The world the slaves made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976) p. 486

Racial hierarchies on the landscape

The racial hierarchies that existed during this historical period meant that within this landscape the best chances of survival were related to whiteness, or where one stood in relation to whiteness. Thus during her marriage to Johannes David Souble, the Simon's Town Postholder circa 1760, Hester of the Cape was assured of her space on the landscape. This space consisted of a little cottage with a vegetable garden situated behind the mountains in Simon's Town.⁸⁶ However, when Souble died her ownership of the land on which their home was built was called into question by C Bird who wrote to P S Buissine, the deputy fiscal in Simon's Town 'wanting to know the circumstances attending this ground and the tenure of which Soubblet (sic) has occupied it'.⁸⁷ This enquiry was subsequent to a petition by Barend Muller who was of the opinion that Hester of the Cape only had title to the buildings thereon, for which he was entering into a 'bargain' with her.⁸⁸

In a somewhat similar fashion, on the death of Mosis Pietersen, '*Bastard Hottentot*', even though he had left a will which instructed that his farm Klaver's Valley be left to his concubine Hester van Batavia and their children, it was up to Frans Rossouw and Nicolaas Sertyn, prominent members of Simon's Town's burgher society, to ensure that the land rights of the family were protected.⁸⁹



Figure 9: Map of Klaver Valley
Source: David Erickson, vice-chairperson, Simon's Town Historical Society

⁸⁶Adolphe Linder, *The Swiss regiment Meuron at the Cape and afterwards, 1781 – 1816* (Cape Town: Castle Military Museum, 2000) p. 527

⁸⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town (1/SMT 2/5), SMT 10/2, folios 99 and 100, Letters received 11 April 1808

⁸⁸Ibid

⁸⁹WCARS, Colonial Office Memorials, CO.3873, Ref. 365, 21 October 1808

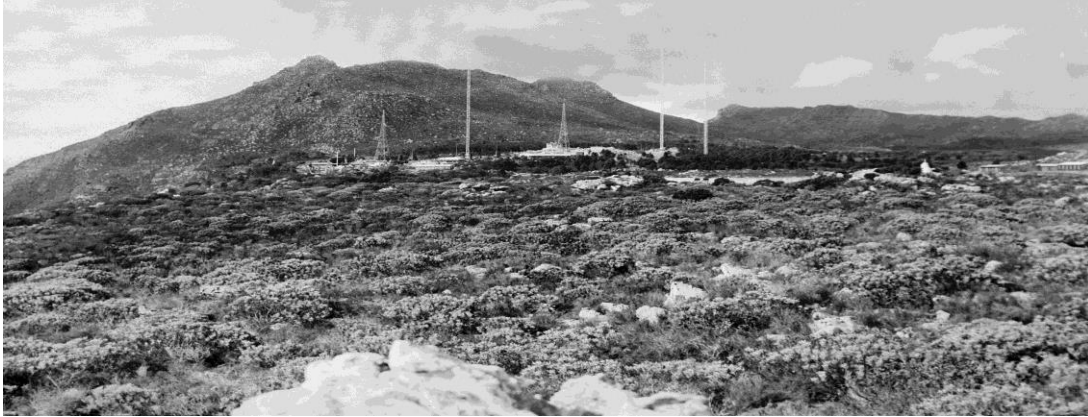


Figure 10: Klaver Valley in Simon's Town.
 Courtesy David Erickson, vice-chairperson, Simon's Town Historical Society

Final words on Simon's Town during the VOC era

A feature of Simon's Town during the VOC era was its extreme isolation during the summer months and the heightened activity of the winter months. During this era there was a strong South Asian and South East Asian element in the slave 'community' whose sense of being was anchored in Islam. It was this group and their converts who made the most indelible physical marks on the landscape during this period.

2.3 The British colonial period

In 1795, within a background of war and political tension in Europe, Britain took occupation of the Cape to protect their trade route to the East Indies by preventing French occupation of the Cape.⁹⁰ With the arrival of British troops in Simon's Town, most of the burghers 'took flight and decamped with torch light and took all their cattle and other effects along with them'.⁹¹ An interesting anomaly is that the slaves of the Resident Christoffel Brand were left behind. Thus while he left the landscape, his slaves remained. This is alluded to in a letter from General Craig to Henry Dundas on 27 December 1795:

Major Orde who happened to be there, having sent to ask my permission to take a room in the Residents house, I gave it to him, expressly pointing out that especial care must be taken of Mr. Brandt the former Residents furniture, and that *his slaves who I knew to be in the house, and who I imagined to be the only inhabitants in it, must have access to it whenever they thought necessary.* [emphasis added]⁹²

⁹⁰Worden, van Heyningen and Bickford Smith, *Cape Town: The making of a city*, p. 36

⁹¹Roderick Innes, *The life of Roderick Innes, lately of H.M. Seventy-eighth regiment. Written by himself* (Stonehaven: Clark, 1844) p. 274 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 18

⁹²George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* Vol. 32, p. 28, 'Letter from General Craig to the Right honourable Henry Dundas, 27.12.1795' Sourced from Robert C-H Shell *The Cape Omnibus: A finding aid for the works of John Hoge, H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Donald Moodie, G.M. Theal, Robert Wilson and other Cape authors* (Cape Town: NagsPro, 2011) p. 433.

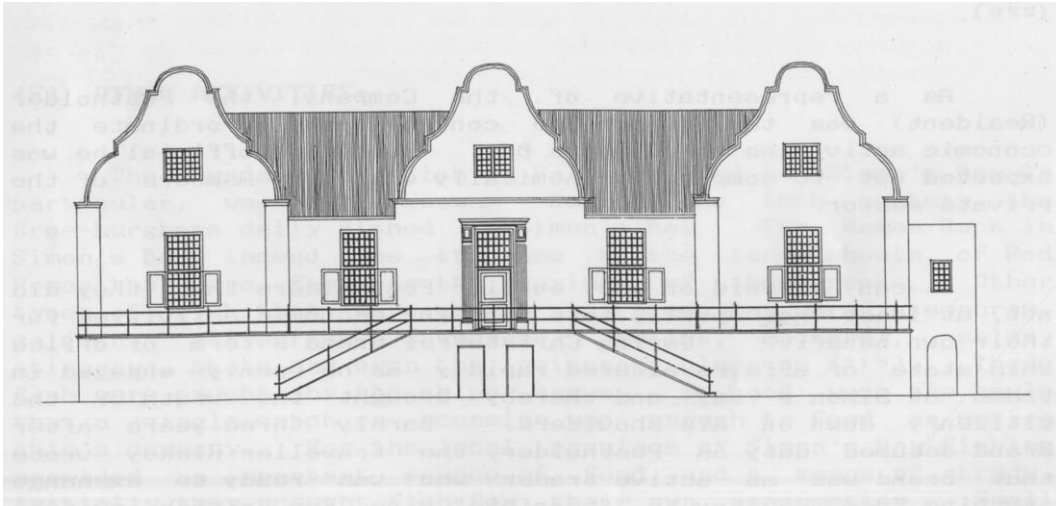


Figure 11: Plan of The Residency – home of Christoffel Brand circa 1795
Source Bekker – The history of False Bay up to 1795

This comment by General Craig is interesting as it suggests certain autonomy by the slaves of Brand who lived either in or close to the house, thus needing to be given ‘access to it whenever they thought necessary’. It is also interesting that the slaves of Brand did not attempt to escape during this time.

Certainly some people believed that British occupation had disturbed agricultural activities with one visitor writing that ‘the Company gardens [in Simon’s Town] had been badly neglected since the downfall of the Dutch regime’.⁹³ ‘Frans Rossoue of Slangekop’ (Imhoff’s farm) also complained that ‘with British occupation in 1795 part of the troupes marched over his ground and caused him important damages’.⁹⁴ By 1797 the Company’s garden came under the control of Donald Traill who through utilising slave labour became ‘very rich by selling vegetables and other supplies to ships which called at the Bay’.⁹⁵ Traill, who refused to sell his produce to the Navy, did not endear himself to Lady Anne Barnard who described him as a ‘great rogue’.⁹⁶

⁹³P.F. Henry, *Voyage au Cap de Bonne-Esperance, fait pendant les années 1796 et 1801* (Paris, Dentu, 1808) cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 20-21

⁹⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town (1/SMT 2/5) Letters received (1809) Simonstown 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 193A, 20 September 1809

⁹⁵H.J Andersen, *South Africa a century ago (1797 – 1801; Pt. 1; Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope. Pt. 2: Extracts from a journal ... Selected for reading in schools,* (Cape Town: Miller, 1924) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 23

⁹⁶Ibid

However, during the period of Batavian rule (1803 – 1806), Hermanus van der Schyff petitioned the commissioner General de Mist to appoint him ‘Superintendent of the large vegetable garden near Simon’s Bay, and that, as those before him he may be assisted with six Government slaves’.⁹⁷ He was quick to promise that vegetables would be readily available for the ships of the Batavian Republic and emphasised that the prices would be reasonable ‘as may be fixed by your Honour’.⁹⁸



Figure 12: Simon’s Bay circa 1803 to 1806

Source: *Gleanings of Africa*, courtesy African Studies Library, UCT

2.3.1 Slaves [re]creating the landscape during British Colonial rule

During the British colonial era the dynamics of slave labour changed, which had much to do with the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 as well as the establishment of Simon’s Town as a British Naval port. This period also saw a number of British residents and soldiers arriving on the landscape who influenced the nature of slavery in Simon’s Town in a number of ways.

2.3.1.1 The slaves of the British Royal Navy

The most immediate transformation of the landscape under British rule was influenced by the need to improve security and the need to maintain and improve the existing agriculture required to feed and house the British garrison⁹⁹. This saw the reinvention of The Residency to officers’ barracks for the British.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten (Memorials)*, Volume III 1715 – 1806: P-S, p. 1171

⁹⁸Ibid

⁹⁹Francois Le Vaillant, *Second voyage dans l’intérieur de l’Afrique par le Cap de Bonne Espérance, dans les années 1783, 84 et 85* (Paris: Jansen, 1795) pp. 128 – 129 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 13

¹⁰⁰Henry, *Voyage au Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 20-21

Urgent steps were taken to secure British occupation and it was to these ends that slave labour was first applied. In 1796 a British seaman commented that ‘The old Battery is repaired and new Guns mounted on it, and at present there is a new Battery building opposite to Noah’s Ark on which there are severall (sic) Guns, nigh to the Battery at the foot of the highest Mountain, almost six Regiments are encamped.’¹⁰¹ However, according to Golovnin, a Russian naval officer, circa 1808 – 1809 ‘the batteries were too weak to defend the roadstead or prevent the landing of an invader’.¹⁰² By this time Simon’s Town was still a fairly isolated place consisting of ‘about twenty-five private dwellings’.¹⁰³ Access to Cape Town from Simon’s Town required walking ‘five or six miles along a narrow pass, between the sea on one side and high, steep mountains on the other’.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Warden, Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden , pp. 68-79 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 21-22

¹⁰²V.M. Golovnin, *Detained in Simon’s Bay, The story of the detention of the Russian sloop Diana, April 1808 – May 1809* (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1964) p. 47

¹⁰³Ibid, p. 47

¹⁰⁴Ibid, p. 47

The British Navy and Naval Dockyard

With the establishment of the Naval Department and Naval Dockyard in Simon's Town in 1814, the landscape was once again altered, through the creation of 'Naval Buildings.'¹⁰⁵ These included a jetty in the dockyard, 'a spacious mast house erected with a working sail loft over it, and a very ornamental range of houses for the officers of the yard constructed upon a terrace overlooking the bay.'¹⁰⁶ These buildings were enclosed to resemble a compound, which Sir Jahleel Brenton described as 'forming a remarkably neat and compact arsenal'.¹⁰⁷ Another development was the construction of a Cattle yard in the Bay.¹⁰⁸ In this way the British colonial government sought to put its own stamp on Simon's Town.



**Figure 13: Simon's Town during the British colonial era with the entrance to the dockyard on the right-hand side
Print in possession of Martin Plaut. Courtesy Prof Robert C-H Shell.**

¹⁰⁵Sir Jahleel Brenton, *Memoir of the life and services of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton*, edited by The Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester (London: Hatchard, 1846) p. 431

¹⁰⁶Ibid, pp. 432 - 433

¹⁰⁷Ibid, p. 433

¹⁰⁸Ibid, p. 434

2.3.1.2 Re-captured slaves and their contribution to creating a ‘British Landscape’ in Simon’s Town

From 1808 onwards, enslaved people brought into British colonies as slaves were to be ‘forfeited to the Crown’¹⁰⁹ and apprenticed for not more than fourteen years.¹¹⁰ It was to this purpose that in Simon’s Town a British naval squadron was established to intercept slave ships on route to the Americas, whose human cargoes of mainly East African people were claimed as ‘prizes’.¹¹¹

Much of the work that went into creating a changed landscape for the British Navy and Naval Dockyard was in fact performed by these ‘prize negroes’. Sir Jahleel Brenton later claimed that ‘some of these negroes, as many as were required, were assigned to the government departments, colonial, military, and naval, as labourers’.

Table 4 lists the names of ‘prize negroes’ who are mentioned in secondary correspondence as being assigned to the Navy, Naval Dockyard or to Naval Personnel.¹¹²

Table 4: Prize Negroes assigned to the navy, naval dockyard or to naval personnel

PRIZE NEGROES ASSIGNED TO THE NAVY, NAVAL DOCKYARD OR TO NAVAL PERSONNEL		
Name of ‘prize negro’	Gender	Assigned to
Catherine	Female	Lieutenant Hurter ¹¹³
Catherina	Female	Lieutenant Steele ¹¹⁴
Sara	Female	Lieutenant Wm Steele ¹¹⁵
John Campbell	Male	Royal African Corps Sierra Leone and subsequently Mr le Brand ¹¹⁶
Anthony	Male	Naval Dockyard ¹¹⁷
Morrison	Male	Naval Dockyard ¹¹⁸
Monday	Male	Naval Dockyard ¹¹⁹
Joseph	Male	Naval Dockyard
George	Male	Naval Dockyard
Ceroffe	Male	Naval Dockyard
Adam	Male	Naval Dockyard
Charlie	Male	Naval Dockyard

¹⁰⁹Christopher Saunders, “Liberated Africans’ and labour at the Cape of Good Hope in the first half of the 19th century”, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, Africa Seminar (March 1983) p.2

¹¹⁰Ibid, p. 2

¹¹¹Peter P Hinks, John R McKivigan, R Owen Williams, *Encyclopedia of antislavery and abolition* (Oxford: Greenwood, 2007) Volume 2 J – Z, p. 427

¹¹²This data is taken from magisterial correspondence where their names are mentioned . It is unfortunately not possible to ascertain their dates of capture or assignation from these documents.

¹¹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985; 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT. 10/10, folio. 98, 24 May 1818

¹¹⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/10, folio 137, 12 August 1818

¹¹⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/10, folio 168, 18 September 1818

¹¹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1847, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/16, folio 95, 25 June 1824

¹¹⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1847, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/15, folio 90, 18 September, 1823

¹¹⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1847, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/21, folio 189, 29 June 1830

¹¹⁹Audrey Read, “Black Town in Simon’s Town” *Simon’s Town Historical Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (July, 1999) p. 139

Adam	Male	Naval Dockyard
Layeff	Male	Naval Dockyard
Simpson	Male	Naval Dockyard
Friday 2 nd	Male	Naval Dockyard
Friday 3 rd	Male	Naval Dockyard
Chuff	Male	Naval Dockyard
Chengur	Male	Naval Dockyard
William	Male	Naval Dockyard
Figami	Male	Naval Dockyard

In 1817 as the building of the Dock yard was nearing completion, Sir Jahleel Brenton became concerned about the long-term living arrangements of a group of ‘recaptured slaves, [with] only five years to serve’.¹²⁰ To this end he asked that a piece of ground ‘a part lying behind the Commissioner’s garden, and part beyond the Naval Hospital’¹²¹ [the site of the present Simon’s Town Library] be given to them, saying that ‘Upon each lot a small house should be built by the black artificers themselves, to whom two days in the week should be given up for that purpose’.¹²²

The Navy Board agreed to this provided that ‘such an indulgence to the black people, will not afford any just ground of dissatisfaction and complaint to the European artificers; and provided an absolute power is reserved to the Commissioner to deprive the people of their houses and grounds in case of misbehaviour, or if required for the public convenience’. A further condition was as follows:

No man to have more than a life interest in the property; but as deaths occur, you will in giving the houses to others, make it a condition that the family of the deceased shall have some small sum paid by the new occupant.¹²³

Nevertheless by 1819 the Commissioner ‘selected four of the most meritorious blacks’¹²⁴ who were given one day off their labour at the Dockyard to prepare the foundations for their cottages and lay out their gardens. This saw the birth of Black Town.¹²⁵

¹²⁰Ibid, p. 445

¹²¹Ibid, p. 446

¹²²Ibid, p. 446

¹²³Ibid, p. 448

¹²⁴Ibid, p. 448

¹²⁵Robert C-H Shell, “Islam in South Africa, 1653 – 2001”, Paper presented to the Seminar on Slavery and Political Exile, Slave Lodge Cape Town (March 2005) p.10

Eventually a further four cottages were built and its earliest occupants were registered as Monday and Joseph, George and Ceroffe, Adam and Morrison, Charlie and Adam, Layeff and Simpson, Friday 2nd and Friday 3rd Chuff and Chengur and William and Figami.¹²⁶ Their separate accommodation illustrates that the space they occupied on the landscape was demarcated to engender what Orlando Patterson terms the ‘outsider status’.¹²⁷ By the 1830’s the small group of ‘prize negroes’ had grown into a flourishing Malagasy community and when a visiting clergymen visited Black Town in 1835 he ‘found about 80 assembled’.¹²⁸

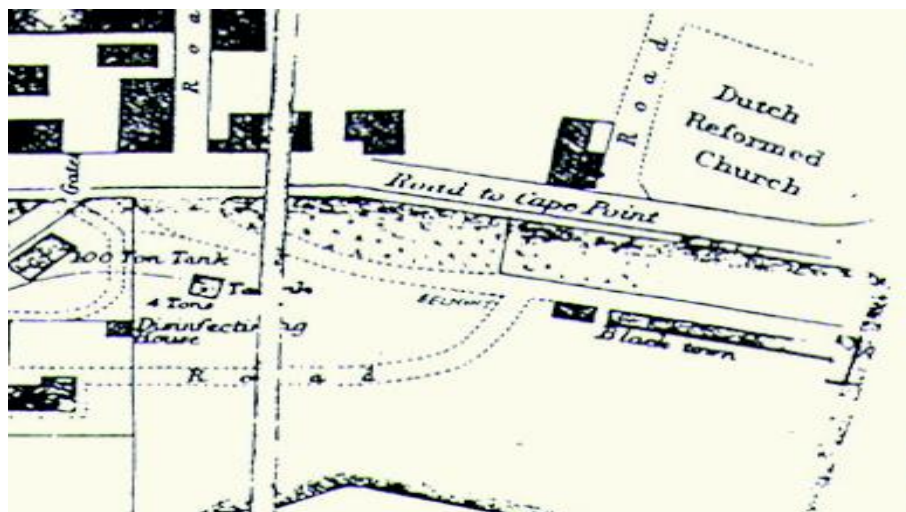


Figure 14: A map of Black Town in Simon's Town
Source: Diaspora to Diorama Research compiled by Prof R C-H Shell

2.3.1.3 The impact of British soldiers on the landscape

The presence of British soldiers on the landscape created a new dynamic for female slaves who interacted with them. Kirsten McKenzie states that in her opinion Hudson did not remark on interracial marriages in his diary ‘probably because such marriages only took place amongst the very poor’ whites.¹²⁹ Pertinently while many of these soldiers may have been part of the British underclass, these were men who had not been psychologically disempowered by slavery. Furthermore, they had arrived into a slave-holding society that enforced deference for whites, ‘even of the lowest class’.¹³⁰

¹²⁶Audrey Read, “Black Town in Simon’s Town” *Simon’s Town Historical Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (July, 1999) p. 139

¹²⁷Patterson, *Slavery and social death*, p. 7

¹²⁸Pier Larson, *Ocean of letters, language and creolization in an Indian Ocean diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p. 239

¹²⁹Kirsten McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796 – 1807* (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1993) p. 81

¹³⁰George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* (London: William Clowes, 1898) “Letter from Fiscal Denysen to Sir John Cradock,” (16 March, 1813) Vol. 9, pp.143-145

Thus when Frederick Ehrenberg of the 1st Battalion 60th Regiment married Helena Wilhelmina van de Kaap in 1813, she might have been encouraged by the fact that Frederick would have been able to offer her and their offspring social protection that a slave husband would not have been able to do.¹³¹

British soldiers of the 60th Regiment were known to interact with local ‘Hottentot’ women, about which the Fiscal received numerous complaints from owners.¹³² Their presence also created a market for prostitution for women whose options were few. Whether any slave women in Simon’s Town partook in this trade is unknown as the only women linked to prostitution with the soldiers in archival records are Khoi servants¹³³ and some women with British names.¹³⁴

However, the soldiers did provide an income for slave washerwomen, although in 1816 a complaint was made to the Fiscal about an officer who refused to pay his washing bill.¹³⁵ Overall, their presence on the landscape resulted in the re-creation of identities for some slave women, through marriage and income.

Slave Auctions

Private slave trading was a new phenomenon in Simon’s Town, which commenced towards the end of the Dutch colonial era. It started with Isaac Stromboom, a Swiss immigrant who was the only person to be granted a licence to ‘acquire slaves from Mozambique’¹³⁶ by the VOC in 1795. This licence was renewed by Earl McCartney in 1797 and between 1798 and 1804 Isaac Stromboom alone ‘imported over 450 slaves into the colony’.¹³⁷ Earl McCartney also granted licences to Michael Hogan and Alexander Tennant, from Britain and Scotland respectively, who imported slaves from West Africa to Simon’s Town between 1797 and 1799.¹³⁸ Through the slave trading activities of these three individuals, an unknown number of nameless, faceless people arrived as slaves on the landscape.

¹³¹Jacob Philip Legg, *Some facts in the history of the parish of St Francis Simons’s Town* (Claremont: Peninsula Herald, 1903) p. 29

¹³²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/10, folio 212, 27 November 1818

¹³³Ibid

¹³⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/21, folio 130, 27 July 1829

¹³⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/8, folio 156, 19 July 1816

¹³⁶Michael Reidy, “The admission of slaves and ‘prize slaves’ into the Cape Colony, 1797 – 1818” (UCT: MA, 1997) p. 45

¹³⁷Ibid, p. 96

¹³⁸Ibid, p. 50

It is likely that some of these slaves were bought by local residents, however, for many of them, Simon's Town would have been just an arrival point, where they were auctioned as chattel for the gain of the Stromboom, Tennant and Hogan. Stromboom, a Swiss national, resided at The Residency during this time and it was from these premises that he sold slaves by 'public sale'.¹³⁹

In 1806 an advertisement in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser read:

Public Sale on Friday 28 Feb in Simons Bay at the house of Mr Stromboom, the following goods will be sold: household furniture, porcelain, table glasses, 2 small boats, slaves, etc, etc¹⁴⁰

2.3.1.4 Privately-owned slaves re-creating the landscape during the British colonial era

Recreation of the landscape under British colonial rule was not swift in the residential sense. In the late 1790's houses in Simon's Town were typical of Dutch architecture, which a traveller described as being 'built with stone and lime, with a flat roof they are from one to tw(o) stor(i)es high and in the outside being whited with some kind of whitening'.¹⁴¹

In 1810 a traveller said it consisted of 'a few small shops, an inn kept by Mynheer Vanderskaff, for the accommodation of strangers, the barracks and a small navy yard'.¹⁴² By 1835 Simon's Town was still described as being 'built much in the Dutch style'.¹⁴³

Road repairs were a constant feature of life during both the VOC and British colonial era. However, this responsibility was now placed firmly in the hands of private slave-holders. Slave-holders were also to make available 'some slaves and the necessary tools'¹⁴⁴ when road repairs in Simon's Town became necessary. Privately-owned slaves were also expected to clean the streets outside of slave-holders homes at least twice a week.

¹³⁹Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 22 February 1806

¹⁴⁰Ibid

¹⁴¹Warden, "Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden" pp. 68-79 as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 21-22

¹⁴²James Prior, *Narrative of a voyage in the Indian seas, in the Nisus frigate, to the Cape of Good Hope, Isles of Bourbon* (London: Phillips, 1820) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 36

¹⁴³Harriette Ashmore, *Narrative of a three months' march in India; and a residence in the Dooab, by the wife of an officer in the 16th foot*, (London: Hastings, 1841) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 52

¹⁴⁴George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* (London: William Clowes, 1898) "Proclamation by Sir George Young", Vol. 3 (19 February 1800) pp. 45-46

2.3.1.5 Muslim slaves creating a 'Malay Quarter' on the landscape

Vernal says that 'South Asian and South East Asian slaves found common cause in their cultural similarities'.¹⁴⁵ Through their engagement with Islam, Muslim slaves corroborated with Free Black Muslims to create religious, cultural and living spaces on the landscape that were uniquely their own. Thus in 1810 Shaik Musden wrote to the Resident Magistrate requesting permission to hold a special religious ceremony, 'being an Atonement to the Almighty for our transgressions as well as to implore his Divine Assistance'.¹⁴⁶

Abdol Gaffel, a slave carpenter was able to transcend the powerlessness that categorises slavery by becoming the Simon's Town Imam in the 1820's. In this capacity and jointly with 'Thomas de Manilla from Batavia, Manuel, Joseph, January, Carolus, Marie and Rejap of the Cape and Lendor from Bengal, the first a slave and the latter a Free Black',¹⁴⁷ he secured a space on the landscape as a burial ground for followers of Islam.

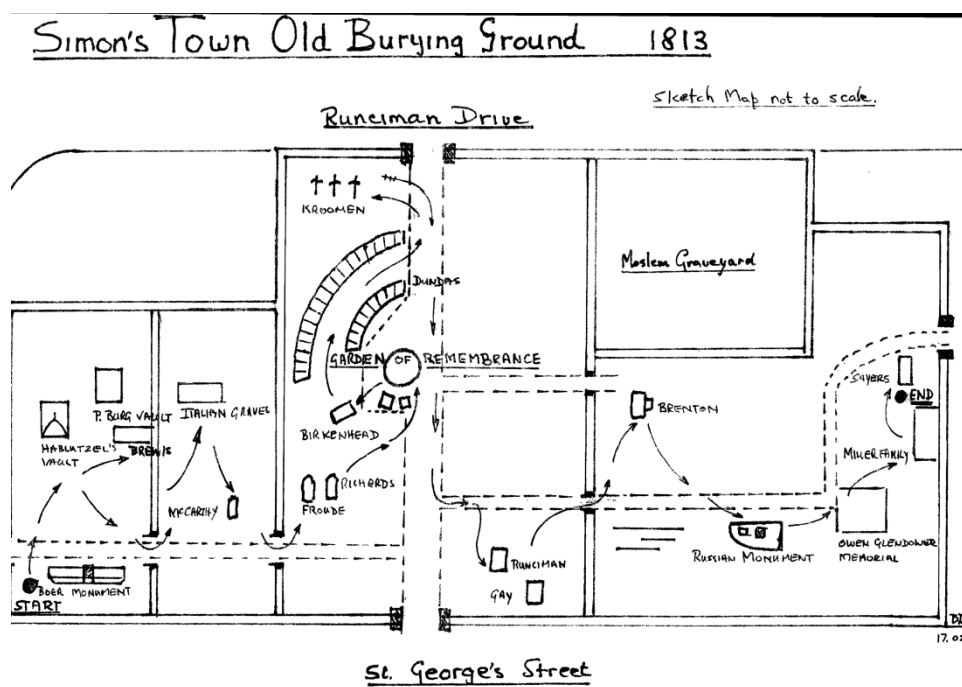


Figure 15: A sketch of the Old Burying Ground which shows the Moslem graveyard top right. However, the date appears to be incorrect as the grant was only made in 1822. Source: Mr David Erickson, vice-chairperson of the Simon's Town Historical Society.

¹⁴⁵Fiona Vernal, "Discourse networks in South African slave society", *African Historical Review*, 43:2 (2011) p. 19

¹⁴⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/3, folio 119, 13 December 1810

¹⁴⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 129, 4 Dec 1822 and WCARS, CTD 20, Simon's Town Quitrent leases 1814 – 1825, p. 47

Significantly the cottages in Thomas Lane and the surrounding area came to be known as the Malay Quarter and were occupied by Muslim Free Blacks and Muslim Slave hirelings.¹⁴⁸ Abdolgaviel and Manuel, who were able to earn independently through the ‘hireling’ system, both rented the cottages they occupied from the Widow Russouw, also known as Johanna Susanna de Necker.¹⁴⁹

An additional Asian component on the landscape existed in Noordhoek where on the land of A Joone, the Governor General interviewed ‘The whole of the indentured apprentices brought by him from Java [who] were assembled and numbered upwards of 120 in men, women & children’.¹⁵⁰

It is interesting that in Simon’s Town the terms ‘indentured apprentices’ and ‘prize negroes’ also referred to Asian people. For instance in 1820 G Buyskes of Simon’s Town petitioned the colonial government for permission to take his ‘Prize Negro girl named Finna born at Batavia’¹⁵¹ who was apprenticed to his family when she was eight, back to Batavia to be ‘restored to her Native country (Batavia) her family & Friends’,¹⁵² but promising that she would be returned to the colony within two years.

2.3.1.6 ‘Re-captured’ slaves creating a space on the landscape – a settlement of Mozambicans

Like the British Navy, private individuals in Simon’s Town were also feeling the impact of the abolition of the slave trade on their labour supply and they too sought to fortify their labour force through this system. The number of prize negroes in Simon’s Town grew to one hundred and eighty one by the year 1821 and by 1835 a visitor to Simon’s Town described a growing settlement of ‘mud huts housing 150 Mozambique people taken from a slave ship’.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸M Muller, “Aspects of social composition of twelve Malay households in Simonstown” (UCT: Social Anthropology Honours, 1969) p.16

¹⁴⁹Cape Transcripts: WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, Will of Johanna Susanna de Necker, MOOC8/45.92, 9 May 1828

¹⁵⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18 “Report of the Government Resident’s visit to post of the Field Cornetcy of Noordhoek” [Unnumbered loose sheet in file] 14 October 1825

¹⁵¹WCARS, Colonial office memorials (1820), CO 3917, folio 156, 28 March 1820

¹⁵²Ibid

¹⁵³Harriette Ashmore, *Narrative of a three months’ march in India; and a residence in the Dooab, by the wife of an officer in the 16th foot* (London: Hastings, 1841) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon’s Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 52



Figure 16: Prize slave women as depicted by Thomas Baines
Diaspora to Diorama Digital Research CD compiled by Prof R C-H Shell

Prize negroes who were assigned to private individuals in Simon's Town during the British Colonial period and whose names have emerged in Archival records are recorded in Table 6 below.

Table 5: Prize negroes

Name of 'prize negro'	Gender	Name of person assigned to	Date recorded
Tenetihanks	Female	J G Aspeling ¹⁵⁴	1 March 1811
Sangorkalik	Male	W H I Benezet ¹⁵⁵	1 March 1811
Bettie	Male	John Osmond ¹⁵⁶	1 March 1811
Obios	Male	John Osmond ¹⁵⁷	1 March 1811
Sarika	Female	John Osmond ¹⁵⁸	1 March 1811
Francois	Male	John Osmond ¹⁵⁹	1 March 1811
Boongah	Female	F Rossouw ¹⁶⁰	1 March 1811
Chumoonie	Female	Mrs Chater ¹⁶¹	1 March 1811
Sakina	Female	Widow Rossouw ¹⁶²	1 March 1811
Sampnansa	Female	T White ¹⁶³	15 November 1814
Peggy	Female	G J Balsten ¹⁶⁴	19 October 1818
Jan	Male	Revd Sturt ¹⁶⁵	2 January 1823

¹⁵⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folios 26 and 26A, 1 March 1811

¹⁵⁵Ibid

¹⁵⁶Ibid

¹⁵⁷Ibid

¹⁵⁸Ibid

¹⁵⁹WCARS, Slave Office SO 2/12, 21 March 1831, p. 120

¹⁶⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folios 26 and 26A, 1 March 1811

¹⁶¹Ibid

¹⁶²Ibid

¹⁶³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 159, 15 November 1814

¹⁶⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/10, folio 186, 19 October 1818

¹⁶⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/15, folio 3, 2 January 1823

Philip	Male	Revd Sturt ¹⁶⁶	12 February 1823
Sunday	Male	Revd Sturt ¹⁶⁷	11 January 1826
Andries	Male	Revd Sturt ¹⁶⁸	8 May 1829
Mameea	Female	Ed Miller ¹⁶⁹	7 July 1823
Nakatinka (re-named Present)	Male	Pierre Rocher ¹⁷⁰	12 July 1823
Danatorcana (re-named Joseph)	Male	Pierre Rocher ¹⁷¹	12 July 1823
Antonio	Male	G Balston ¹⁷²	23 September 1825
Angelica	Female	M Goodwin ¹⁷³	7 December 1825
Malori	Male	Not stated ¹⁷⁴	22 August 1826
Matere	Male	Not stated ¹⁷⁵	25 August 1826
Lendor	Male	P Hugo and P Wikboom ¹⁷⁶	21 November 1827
April	Male	Mr Drury ¹⁷⁷	13 November 1826
Lubin	Male	Mr U Daniels ¹⁷⁸	2 December 1826
Sima (re-named Present)	Male	P J Hugo and P Wikboom ¹⁷⁹	2 January 1827
Abraham	Male	M G Blake ¹⁸⁰	27 February 1827
Umpella	Male	M G Blake ¹⁸¹	6 June 1827
Betiegi	Female	M G Blake ¹⁸²	15 April 1827

2.3.1.7 Mixed race descendants of Slaves and Khoi

Andrew Bank states that ‘Scholars of all persuasions have held time constant and ignored the influence of place’.¹⁸³ This statement resonates strongly when considering the land ownership and / or land occupation by mixed race descendants of the Khoi in Simon’s Town compared to the ‘increasing discrimination’¹⁸⁴ experienced by their contemporaries in Nigel Penn’s *Forgotten Frontier*.¹⁸⁵ During the VOC era miscegenation occurred between slave men and Khoi women and also between Dutch Burgers and Khoi women. The children of these liaisons were referred to as *Bastard Hottentotten* and *Bastards* respectively, by the Dutch.

¹⁶⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/15, folio 12, 12 February 1823

¹⁶⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/19, folio 8, 11 January 1826

¹⁶⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/21, folios 114 & 115, 8 May 1829

¹⁶⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/15, folio 64, 7 July 1823

¹⁷⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/15, folio 67, 12 July 1823

¹⁷¹Ibid

¹⁷²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 92, 23 September, 1823

¹⁷³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 160, 7 December, 1825

¹⁷⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 186, 22 August, 1826

¹⁷⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 190, 25 August, 1826

¹⁷⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/20, folio 57, 21 November 1827

¹⁷⁷WCARS, Slave Office SO 4/12, Book of Complaints, Guardian of slaves 1826 – 1830, folio number 36, 13 November, 1826

¹⁷⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 58, 2 December, 1826

¹⁷⁹WCARS, Slave Office SO 4/12, Book of complaints, Guardian of slaves 1826 – 1830, folio number 46, 2 January 1827

¹⁸⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 119, 27 February 1827

¹⁸¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 161, 6 June 1827

¹⁸²WCARS, SO 1/23 Slave Registry Dept correspondence, 15 April 1828

¹⁸³Andrew Bank, *The decline of urban slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Rondebosch: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991) p. 1

¹⁸⁴Nigel Penn, *The forgotten frontier, colonist and Khoisan on the Cape’s northern frontier in the 18th century* (Cape Town: Double Story, 2005) pp. 20-21

¹⁸⁵Ibid

In the Simon's Town district, Bastard and Bastard Hottentotten also lived in grouped communities. In 1804 the warden Henry Roselt was informed that 'at the so-called outermost corner, was found on the farm called Buffelsfonteyn, belonging to Jan Michiel Endres, as well as in the vicinity of said Simons Bay, more dwellings of Bastard Hottentots'.¹⁸⁶ In addition the Bastard Hannes and the Bastard Willem lived with their wives and children at 'the kraal named Kleyne Buffelsfonteyn'.¹⁸⁷

Meanwhile at Klaver Valley there was another settlement of Bastards, namely Mosis [Pietersen] and Marthinus with their wives and children.¹⁸⁸ Mosis Pietersen and Helena of Batavia had two sons and four daughters. Also living at this settlement was his brother Andries and one sister Steyntje, having in their employ 'a free black named Aladie, a hired slave named Leendert belonging to the widow Jurgens, a slave called Daris, as well as an old Hottentot named Adam.' The family earned their living 'riding transport, gardening, collecting bark, etc'.¹⁸⁹ Amongst their assets were 26 draught oxen, one bull, 6 cows, 2 wagons and 3 horses.¹⁹⁰ Mosis Pietersen stands out in the records and in history for his connections with powerful burgher families in the district.

Another Bastard Hottentot of some financial standing was Arie Kleyn Snr, also known as Oranje Arie Kleyn and sometimes as Oranje Klein. He was a landowner and also a waggoner who for years operated a delivery service in the town.¹⁹¹ In 1816 the 'Bastard Hottentot' Elias Davidse obtained a licence to shoot game.¹⁹²

In 1824 'Hannes Flip, and Aaron Moses'¹⁹³ applied to have the property they occupied in Buffelsfontein¹⁹⁴ and Wildeschutsbrand¹⁹⁵ respectively, granted them on perpetual quitrent. In an earlier petition dated 1808 Hannes Flip applied 'for change of tenure of land he cultivated'.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 155, 15 July 1804

¹⁸⁷Ibid

¹⁸⁸Ibid

¹⁸⁹Ibid

¹⁹⁰Ibid

¹⁹¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 74, 27 December, 1826

¹⁹²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/8, folio 273, 23 December 1816

¹⁹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/16, folio 32, 20 February 1824

¹⁹⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/16, folio 22, 22 February 1824

¹⁹⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/16, folio 21, 5 February 1824

¹⁹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, Folio 124, 14 September, 1808

The quitrent system ‘involved the payment of annual minimal fees to the government and facilitated the registering of land’.¹⁹⁷ The acknowledgement of the section of the landscape occupied by Oranje Klein, Oranje lyfgelaar and Hannes Flip, as a space on the landscape allocated to descendants of the Slave / Khoi and possibly European / Khoi, is evident in its description by the Resident at Simon’s Town in 1825 as ‘vry Hottentot Distrite WildeschutsBrand’.¹⁹⁸

An interesting phenomenon in the ‘re-creation’ of the landscape during this era is how elements of spatial separation had crept in. Thus the ‘Malays’ occupied the ‘Malay Quarter’, a large settlement of Javanese families lived together as apprentices on a farm in Noordhoek, the Mozambicans occupied a Mozambican settlement of mud huts, the Malagasy’s came to occupy Black Town and the *Bastards* and *Bastard Hottentotten* occupied farming areas in Buffelsfontein, Kleyne Buffelstonteyn, Klaver Valley and Wildeschutsbrand.

2.3.2 Slaves changing the landscape

2.3.2.1 Cape-born children

The Cape-born children of foreign slaves, whether they were Bastard-Hottentotten, Bastards, ‘Cape Malay’ or ‘Afrikanders’ had the most vested interest in the area, as it was to all intents and purposes their home and for most, the only home they would ever know. Overall, the survival of locally-born slave children was low. By 1824 the number of locally-born children in Simon’s Town totalled 30 boys and 10 girls, with the majority aged three years and under.¹⁹⁹ Table 4 lists the number of births of slave children in Simon’s Town for the period 1824 – 1829.

Table 6: Number of children born into slavery in Simon’s Town 1825 – 1829

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN INTO SLAVERY IN SIMON’S TOWN 1825 – 1829 ²⁰⁰		
YEAR	MALES	FEMALES
1824	30	10
1825	11	14
1826	15	17
1827	19	18
1828	16	17
1829	13	14
TOTAL	104	90

¹⁹⁷Pamela Scully, *Liberating the family? Gender and British slave emancipation in the rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823 – 1853* (Claremont: David Philip, 1997) p. 69

¹⁹⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, “Report of the commission of Heemraad on the visit to the field cornetcy of Wildschutsbrand”, 18 Oct 1825

¹⁹⁹WCARS, Slave Office, SO 7/36 Slave Registry Office, Cape Town, 7 October 1825

²⁰⁰WCARS Slave Office, SO 7/36, Slave Registry Dept 1816 – 1829

Table 7: Population statistics for Simon's Town district as listed in the 1826 Opgaafrolle

POPULATION STATISTICS FOR SIMON'S TOWN DISTRICT AS LISTED IN THE 1826 OPGAAFROLLE ²⁰¹	
Whites	514
Free Blacks	311
Slaves	190
Prize negroes	72
Hottentots	118
Total	1275

A particular aim of Ordinance 19 was the 'propagation of Christianity, and the general diffusion of religious instruction amongst slaves.'²⁰² To this end this period saw the arrival of churches and church schools on the landscape for the 'instruction in English and in Dutch for free Coloured people, slaves and Hottentots so that all might have services in their own language'.²⁰³

Speaking of the antebellum South, Genovese states that Christianity became linked to notions of 'being civilised' and at the same time 'weakened the unity in the quarters'.²⁰⁴ However, the difference between the slaves of Genovese's study and slaves in Simon's Town was the Asian influence and the strength of Islam, the roots of which ran deep among slaves and Free Blacks in this town.

Conversely, while the earlier prize negroes who arrived in Simon's Town post abolition converted to Islam, from the 1820's conversions to Christianity are recorded amongst 'prize negroes' and amongst Malagasy slaves who lived in Black Town. In reply to a query from Lt Col Bird to the Governor Resident in 1824 about 'the number of slaves who habitually attend divine services' in Simon's Town his response was: 'Very few, but not less than 40 or 50 Prize Negroes of both sexes, besides children'.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless in 1827 Leticia Clarence of the Clarence Hotel (present day British Hotel) felt compelled to decline further use of her seat in a church in Simon's Town as the accompaniment of her servant was 'deemed an encroachment'.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹WCARS, Opgaafrolle J181, Simon's Town, 1826

²⁰²WCARS, Slave Office, SO. 1/21 Page 3, 19 June 1826

²⁰³Whisson, *The fairest Cape?*, p. 26

²⁰⁴Genovese, *Roll, Jordan roll*, p. 171

²⁰⁵WCARS, Colonial Office CO 220, folio 6, dated 13 January 1824

²⁰⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 121, 2 March 1827

Another by-product of Ordinance 19 was that it opened the door for slave marriages. However, as Shirley Judges reminds us, ‘married slaves were not automatically allowed to live together and might indeed live far apart’.²⁰⁷ Pertinently it created the possibility for slaves to accumulate savings where this was possible, through the establishment of banking accounts for slaves.²⁰⁸

2.3.2.2 Re-defined identities and the term ‘Coloured’

The 1820’s was also a time where identities were being re-defined with the movement away from the term Free Black to that of ‘Coloured’.²⁰⁹ In 1825 Sir Richard Plasket was quite specific about this change of identity when he requested population statistics from the Governor Resident in Simon’s Town, ‘distinguishing the white and the Freeblack as *coloured* from the slave population’.²¹⁰ [emphasis added]

The term ‘Coloured’ was to become broadly used in colonial records for a wide variety of people deemed by colonial officers to fit into this category. Thus when the ‘prize negroes’ who had arrived on the Ship *Restauradon* in 1812 had served their apprenticeships in 1826,²¹¹ their official identities as constructed on their arrival in this landscape would have evolved once again, this time from ‘prize negro’ to ‘Coloured’. Through this system of identification a diverse group of people from diverse backgrounds were socially constructed into a pseudo race. This re-definition also encompassed people formerly described as *Bastard* or *Bastard Hottentots*.

Table 8 below lists people of Khoi / Slave or Khoi / European descent listed in the 1826 Opgaaf lists for the Simon’s Town district and the places they occupied.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Shirley Judges, “Poverty, living conditions and social relations – Aspects of life in Cape Town in the 1830” (UCT: MA, 1977) p. 47

²⁰⁸ WCARS, Slave Office SO 2/16, Slave Registry Dept correspondence, 28 July 1826

²⁰⁹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 18, 26 January 1826

²¹⁰ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 86, 21 September 1825

²¹¹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 113, 12 May 1826

²¹² A few other names occur who I assume to also be people of Khoi and slave descent, however, I have not added their names to this table as I do not have documented proof that they were. If they are of Khoi descent, then the mixed race Khoi population in these settlements were in fact larger than is listed in this table

Table 8: Mixed race people of Khoi/slave or Khoi/European descent in the Simon's Town district 1826

MIXED RACE PEOPLE OF KHOI/SLAVE OR KHOI/EUROPEAN DESCENT IN THE SIMON'S TOWN DISTRICT 1826		
NAME	CATTLE OWNED	NAMES OR PLACES AND ERFS
Arie Kleyn Snr	20 oxen and 7 breeding cattle	Wildschutsbrand – grazing land
Joseph Klyn (sic)	-	Wildschutsbrand – grazing land
Tromp Kleyn	-	Wildschutsbrand – grazing land
Arie Kleyn Junior	-	Wildschutsbrand – grazing land
Cornelius Pietersen	9 oxen	Klaver Valley
Isaac Flip	12 oxen	Buffelsfontein
Marthinus Pietersen	12 oxen	Modder Fontein
Jan Pietersen	-	Klaas Jager River – grazing land
Aron Mozes	12 oxen	Not stated
Jan Mozes Pietersen	-	Klaver Valley
Elias Davidze	-	Wolfkloof (Noordhoek)

2.3.3 Slaves changed by the landscape and through the hiring out system

The hiring out system, which became increasingly popular in the early 1800's, made it possible for hireling slaves to change their relationship with the area as it offered them increasing levels of freedom of movement. For example when M G Blake asked Canton, a slave hireling, to come and thatch his roof, he replied that 'he had work in Newlands that he was not finished doing'.²¹³ The freedom of movement that hirelings enjoyed were not extended to all and sundry and would have required them carrying a colonial pass, as was issued to 'the Boy Francis'²¹⁴ in 1826.

Hirelings were an elite class of slaves who were permitted to live away from their owners and create their own earning opportunities, provided they paid a certain proportion of their earnings to their owners. This form of labour was becoming more and more popular during the early 1800's. Bank's interprets hirelings in economic terms stating that they were 'individual embodiments of the trend from slavery towards capitalism'.²¹⁵ This system also offered slaves unique opportunities to move beyond the confines of their former isolation, to broaden their horizons and to make new contacts. Thus in 1806 Jonas who belonged to the widow Roedolph of Cape Town was hired out to 'Jan Scholts in the Bay'.²¹⁶ By this time levels of social connections in the underclass world of the slaves had evolved to the extent that there was relatively free movement of slaves in and out of Simon's Town.

²¹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 50, 13 May 1814

²¹⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 26 ½, 2 February 1826

²¹⁵Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 45

²¹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town (1/SMT 2/5), Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 23, 1 May 1806

For example the Chinese slaves Soet and Kippe travelled to Simon's Town with the Javanese slaves Salomon and Dramat, all the way from the Hottentots Holland where their services had been hired to a mandoor named Tignon.²¹⁷

Some slave hirelings who were not artisans, utilised the landscape through fishing, which enabled them to make the economic transition from slave to Free Black, as was the case of 'Manuel, the Free Black' of whom the Revd Sturt advised a colonial official in 1824 'now keeps his boat on his own'.²¹⁸ Many slaves worked as fishermen²¹⁹ and the slave hireling Abdol, worked as a coxswain on the Port Office boat.²²⁰ Opportunities for employment created by the sea were also available to emancipated slaves who were employed by the harbourmaster.²²¹

The financial benefits of the hireling system were considered by the government to be of such an economically beneficial nature that in the mid 1820's there was an enquiry into a proposed slave tax.²²² However, hirelings also had to deal with people who did not pay for their services. Such was the case with Salie who needed to appeal to The Protector of Slaves for unpaid bills by two Simon's Town Residents who had contracted his services for 'cart hire'.²²³ In this way the hireling system, by being contracted, expanded the legal personality of hireling slaves.

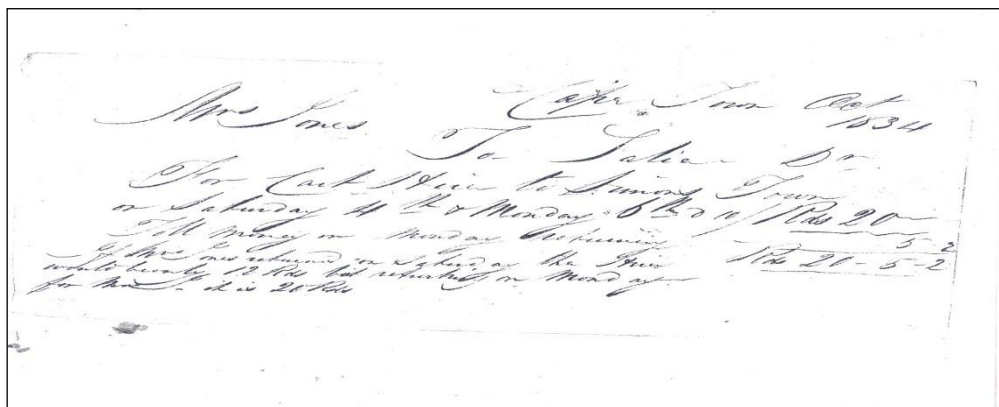


Figure 17: Salie's bill includes the tollgate fee.
The toll gate in Simon's Town was established in 1792 to finance the constant need for road repairs.²²⁴

²¹⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 31, 14 June 1806

²¹⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/16, folio 40, 1 March 1824

²¹⁹Shell, "Out of livery", p. 344

²²⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 204, 10 October 1833

²²¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/24, folio 31, 13 March 1840

²²²Bank, *The decline of urban Slavery*, pp. 38-39

²²³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 97, 31 October 1834

²²⁴WCARS, C. 205 Bijlagentot resolutien, 19.11.1792, p. 247 and C 99 Resolutien 24.12.1792, pp. 1078 – 1081, as cited in Bekker, *The history of False Bay up to 1795*, p. 91

In one case the slave hirelings system in Simon's Town involved a reversal of roles in that Thelemachus of the Cape, a slave mason, entered into an agreement with Hendrina Wilhelmina, Niewenhuize, Widow of James Revell to apprentice her 15 year old son named Bernard Revell. According to the agreement Thelemachus would train Bernard in the 'Trade of Mason and further to find him in victuals lodging & that when the time of apprenticeship shall have expired, and the said Revell shall be found able by the said Thelemachus to work as a maison (sic) he the said Thelemachus promist (sic) to pay the said B Revell Eighteen Rixds per month'.²²⁵

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at slavery in the Simon's Town District within the metaphor of a 'landscape in transformation'²²⁶ over a period of one hundred years. Significantly, it shows how the landscape had evolved through a sequence of dispossession, conquest and transformation. The once friendly Khoi tried to protect this access with the use of bows and arrows and the Dutch and the British with gunpowder and through the demarcation of land and the reconstruction of the landscape that symbolised their occupancy and power.²²⁷

Although the slaves had little to hold on to, through their labour they had access to the landscape, and to a certain extent, shaped it.

Mozambican and Madagascan slaves made a fragile claim to the landscape through the erection of impermanent mud huts in the Mozambican settlement and tin houses in Black Town.²²⁸ However, it was those slaves who were followers of Islam who made the most profound claim on the landscape through the erection of brick cottages in the Malay quarter, the kramat in Dolphin Road Simon's Town and the Muslim burial ground in Runciman Drive, Seaforth, all of which exist to this day.

²²⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, SMT 10/19, folio 5, 11 January 1826

²²⁶ Shepherd, "Landscape in transformation", p. 7

²²⁷Warden, *Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden* pp. 68-79 as cited in Jones *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, pp. 21-22

²²⁸Sir James Edward Alexander, *Narrative of a voyage of observation among the colonies of Western Africa, in the flag-ship Thalia and of a campaign in Kaffir-land on the staff of the commander-in-chief, in 1835, Illustrated with maps and plates by Major C.C. Mitchell* (London: Colburn, 1837) as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 53

At the beginning of this period Khoi, slaves and European settlers had distinct origins and experiences. At the conclusion of this period, the lines between the Khoi and the slaves were less distinct. Miscegenation between slave and Khoi saw the rise of a new 'group' who were defined by the dominant class with the deprecating title of '*Bastard Hottentots*'. Miscegenation also occurred between the landed settlers and the slaves. However, although their official identities had merged post emancipation, spatially and socially slaves in Simon's Town *during this period* were not one group. This is evidenced in their spatial and social separation, with the only area of connectivity being adherents of, and converts to, Islam.

Strikingly this shows how all became tied to the landscape and how they re-defined themselves in ways that they hoped would protect their access to the landscape. Overwhelmingly, the common denominator for all these people is that they all became tied to the landscape and in as much as each sought to change the landscape to their own vision, all became irrevocably altered by it.

CHAPTER 3: CONTROL AND TREATMENT

Introduction

This chapter deals with the dynamics of power that existed in the Simon's Town district and how this translated into the treatment and control of slaves and ex-slaves in this town for the period 1743 to 1843. Using Worden and Shell's arguments on control and Genovese's scale on treatment as a point of reference, it will explore how power was managed by those who held power and how their exertion of this power impacted on the lives of people who did not hold power. To this end it will show that power was not used in a single unified way, but rather in a number of ways by a number of people, who used their power to control those whose society had rendered vulnerable through slavery.

In *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, Nigel Worden says that control of enslaved people was achieved primarily through force, which engendered high levels of fear leading to acquiescence and docility.¹ Robert Shell on the other hand states that control was achieved through a lethal concoction of paternalism as a potent form of psychological control.²

Genovese offers a threefold measuring scale for slave treatment, this being *day to day living conditions*, which encompass housing, clothing, quality of food and conditions of labour; *conditions of life* which encompass family security and social, religious and cultural autonomy and lastly *access to freedom and citizenship*.³

3.1 VOC Control

VOC control in Simon's Town was represented by the '*poshouer*'⁴ or postholder. Burgers who held the position of *poshouer* in Simon's Town during this era were Justinus Blass from 1743, who was replaced by Adriaan de Neijs in 1747, J F Kirsten in 1761 and finally, Christoffel Brand. All had a vested interest in the control of slaves as all were slave-holders.⁵ During the VOC era control was channelled through various colonial laws that devised measures of control that gave slaveholders extreme power over slaves.

¹Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 101 - 118

²Robert C-H Shell, *Children of bondage, a social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994) p. 403

³Eugene D. Genovese, "The treatment of slaves in different countries: problems in the applications of the comparative method" in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.) *Slavery in the new world* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p. 203

⁴Dan Sleigh, *Die buitposte* (Pretoria: Protea, 2004) p. 321

⁵WCARS, C123 Resolusies van die politieke raad: 22.6.1745, pp. 229 – 230; ZK1/190, Uitgaande briewe: H. Swellengrebel – Here XVII: 18.6.1749, p. 296; C. 152 Resolusies van die politieke raad: 25.4.1774, p. 171 as cited in Sleigh, *Die buitposte*, pp. 321-323

In this way the control of slaves was enforced at every level and the most natural human behaviours such as singing, whistling or speaking to a friend in the street were deemed a crime for slaves, for which the penalties were severe. Through this we understand that levels of psychological control were extreme.⁶ Although it was not impossible for a slave to complain about ill-treatment, the law was structured in such a way as to deter slaves from complaining.⁷ Thus in 1754 it was proclaimed that if a magistrate found a slave's complaint against his or her master of 'any disgraceful act'⁸ untrue, the repercussions for the slave complainant were severe. Most typically they would be scourged and placed in irons.⁹ This law must have offered little comfort to female slaves who were 'subject to sexual abuse from their master or his sons'.¹⁰

Overall, for both male and female slaves, complaining carried the risk of further torture rather than redress. Although Dooling, in his study of the Stellenbosch District, mentions that the VOC kept its overall society in control by 'listening to the complaints of slaves and prosecuting individual masters',¹¹ no cases of prosecution of Masters have emerged for Simon's Town during the VOC period. From this we could falsely deduce that ill-treatment did not exist, however, as this chapter will show, suggestions of poor treatment of slaves in Simon's Town come through in other sources. For example although the childbirth rate for slave women during this period was higher than the norm it was still low,¹² suggesting high infant mortality rates, an indicator of poor living conditions, harsh labour and poor nutrition.¹³

Although we do not have the actual figures of mortality rates for slaves who laboured in Simon's Town during the VOC period, we do know that many were tasked with extremely gruelling labour. Dan Sleight mentions Company slaves having to carry rocks from the mountain top down to the wagon road all day.

⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 437

⁷WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 'Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of slavery and Indian statutes 1652 – 1818'

⁸Ibid, 5 September 1754

⁹WCARS, Slave Office SO 17/1, 05.09.1754

¹⁰Worden *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 57

¹¹Wayne Dooling, "Law and community in a slave society: Stellenbosch district, C. 1760 – 1820" (UCT: MA, April 1991) p. iii

¹²Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 55. See also: Anna Maria Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony from acquisition to the process of creolization c. 1790 – 1830" (Universita' degli Studi di Milano, Facolta di Scienze Politiche: MA, 1997 – 1998) p. 57

¹³Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony", p. 44

Considering the excessive heat in Simon's Town, it is likely that such extreme 'conditions of labour'¹⁴ was detrimental to their health and shortened their lifespans.¹⁵ Certainly the isolation of Simon's Town during this period, combined with its strong rural component, constituted an environment where slaves were particularly vulnerable. Worden says of the VOC period that 'severe maltreatment of slaves tended to be worst in newly settled areas'.¹⁶ Simon's Town during this period and in burgher terms fitted into this description.

As we have seen in the database chapter, the instructions in wills suggest that the treatment of slaves in Simon's Town was differential, which in itself posed as a subtle form of control as it likely served as a chasm to slave unity. Thus the experience of slavery or slaveholder treatment of slaves was not static and a slaveholder who was kind to one slave may have asserted tyrannical power over another. This is particularly evident in the will of Jan Fredrik Kirsten who treated some slaves like commodities who were to be sold on his death, and other slaves like 'fictive kin'¹⁷ who were passed through the Kirsten family.¹⁸ A significant by-product of such differential treatment was the development of social stratification within the slave class for this period, which offered economic opportunities and / or freedom to some slaves and not to others.

Control was also applied in ways that reversed preferential treatment. Such was the case for Jacob van de Kaap who had been manumitted along with his mother according to the will of Jan Daniel Wiesner. However, five years later his freedom was reversed following a petition by Wiesner's son-in-law, Olof Berg 'omdat hy 'n slegte lewe ly'.¹⁹ The word of Olof Berg was enough to change the course of the life of Jacob. In this scenario Olof Berg was able to access power that Jacob could not access.²⁰ Olof Berg was himself one of 'several persons in Cape Town of great wealth and respectability [who] have been formerly slaves or descended from them.'²¹

¹⁴ Genovese, "Treatment" p. 203

¹⁵ WCARS: C 547 Uitgaande brieven: R. Tulbagh – J. Kirsten, 27.9.1762, p. 991, as cited in Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, p. 326

¹⁶ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 109

¹⁷ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and social death, a comparative study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) p. 19

¹⁸ See database chapter

¹⁹ Leibbrandt Requesten, C.212:1087 – 27.12.1793

²⁰ Olof Berg was in fact of Free Black descent, see Delia Robertson (translator) *Cape melting pot - the role and status of the mixed population at the Cape, 1652-1795* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Delia Robertson, 2005) translated from H.F. Heese, *Groep sonder grense, Die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap 1652-1795* (UWC: Institute for historical research, 1985) (I am grateful to Robert Shell for bringing this to my attention and for supplying me with an electronic copy of this translated version)

²¹ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652 – 1840" in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1989) p. 551

By 1775 the web of control was extended over those children of mixed Khoi and slave parentage when it was declared that ‘children of Bastaard Hottentot women got by a slave and having remained in his masters house ½ year were to remain there until 25 years of age, provided they received proper cloathing (sic), food and were not illtreated’.²² In this way they were drawn into the slave experience albeit for a limited time.

The differential treatment of slaves was also gendered. For example during the VOC period Anna van Jacoba van der Kaap was able to transcend slavery by becoming the wife of Johannes Volraath. For a period of three years they owned de Goede Gift in Simon’s Town and Volraath also farmed in Simon’s Town as a ‘tenant farmer’.²³ Through this marriage Anna made the transition from slave to burgher wife and slave owner.

Another such marriage is mentioned by Golovnin, a Russian ship’s captain, who records meeting ‘a true Russian peasant’²⁴ who had lived in Simon’s Town since the VOC era with his wife, ‘a Black woman’²⁵ with whom he had six children. However, slave women who married out of slavery were at once disconnected from women who were still enslaved. Shell alludes to this when he says that some slave women were delivered from slavery when they married free men, which set them apart from other slave women.²⁶ Scully states that this differentiation continued into the British colonial era; whereby a black woman was incorporated into white society through marriage; creating a cultural wedge between herself and other black women who were not.²⁷

Although few, these cases of slave women marrying out of slavery are noteworthy in that they suggest certain leverage for female slaves to overcome slavery that did not generally exist for male slaves during this period.²⁸ The reality for male slaves was constantly facing the challenge to overcome levels of control that left them feeling emasculated and diminished by burgher men. An example of this comes through in the way a VOC sergeant treated a slave named September of Malabar.

²²WCARS, Slave Office SO 17/1 ‘Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of Slavery and Indian Statutes 1652 – 1818’, 4 September 1775

²³WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 30, p. 178, 2 May, 1767

²⁴V.M. Golovnin, *Detained in Simon’s Bay, The story of the detention of the Russian sloop Diana April 1808 – May 1809* (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1964) p. 15

²⁵Ibid, p. 15

²⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 385

²⁷Pamela Scully, *Liberating the family? Gender and British slave emancipation in the rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823 – 1853* (Claremont: David Philip, 1997) p. 85

²⁸According to a letter from the Protector of Slaves dated 1831, it appears that during the latter British colonial period fair-skinned male slaves did in fact marry out of slavery. See WCARS Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A ‘Observations of the Protector of Slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831’ Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

3.1.1 Case study - September of Malabar

The case of September is a rare find at the Archives for this period, where Court of Justice records pertaining to slaves in Simon's Town during the Dutch colonial period are scarce. At 10.00pm on a winter's night in Simon's Town in April 1753, Sergeant Valentijn was informed by Abraham van Banten 'that there was another of the Post Holder's slaves with the men on the watch'.²⁹ This act of informing on September by Abraham is classic of what Ross refers to as how slaveholders established control of slaves 'by setting them to control each other'.³⁰

According to Sergeant Valentijn by the time he went to the watch this slave, September of Malabar had already left, but he apparently found him in the kitchen of the house of his absent owner, the post holder de Nijs, where he was making a fire. After asking him 'what he wanted a fire for at this late hour'³¹ he beat him with a sjambok. A year after this case, it was declared through the Tulbagh Slave code of 1754 that 'Slaves had to be indoors after 10pm, if they were out they had to carry a lantern',³² thus the mention of the time in this case might have had a dual significance.

If one looks at the details of this case, one would ask what it was that September of Malabar did that this Sergeant felt deserved a sjambokking? In answer: September of Malabar behaved autonomously. Firstly, he went and sat with his friends at the watch 'against the express orders of his Master'³³ and secondly, because it was late on a winter's night and he was cold, he made a fire to warm himself up.

For any human being it would be considered quite normal to want to spend an evening in the company of friends and warm oneself up with a fire when cold. However, in the context of this setting, September of Malabar was challenging a system that denied his humanness.

At the time of this event September of Malabar was said to have been inebriated, which meant that his normal defences were down and thus he *forgot to behave like a slave*. Sergeant Valentijn chose to thrash him back into submission for *forgetting*.

²⁹WCARS, Council of Justice records, CJ361, folio 18,12.07.1753

³⁰Robert Ross, *Cape of torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983) p. 29

³¹WCARS, Council of Justice records, CJ361, folio 18, 12.07.1753

³²WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 'Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of slavery and Indian statutes 1652 – 1818', 5 September, 1754

³³WCARS, Council of Justice records, CJ361, folio 18, 12.07.1753

In a society where slavery ‘broke the spirit of many’,³⁴ it is possible that September of Malabar was using alcohol to *anaesthetise himself against his powerlessness*. Alcohol abuse is a documented psychological behavioural response found in victims of repeated violence.³⁵ This case pertinently illustrates that slaves were confronted with constant reminders of slave status and forms of control could be as violent as a sjambokking, or as subtle as declaring a curfew. These subtle forms of control no doubt left indelible psychological scars on the psyches of the enslaved.³⁶

3.2 The treatment and control of slaves in Simon’s Town 1795 – 1814

This period saw the colony in a state of political transition where power was passed like a yo-yo from the British to the Batavian Republic and back to the British.³⁷ In 1799 General Dundas appointed John Henry Roselt as the sole wardmaster in Simon’s Town.³⁸ During the era of Batavian rule Roselt graduated from wardmaster to deputy fiscal.³⁹ Between 1799 and 1807 all magisterial correspondence pertaining to colonial control were addressed to Roselt.⁴⁰ This correspondence encompassed the control of slaves in Simon’s Town.⁴¹ Thus to all intents and purposes, Roselt could be described as the face that represented state control during this period in the history of Simon’s Town.

The transitional period offered little improvement in the lives of slaves in Simon’s Town except that in 1797 the British outlawed ‘the more brutal forms of torture’⁴² synonymous with the VOC era. A mode of torture attributed to the VOC that was particularly brutal was the breaking of a person alive on the wheel.⁴³ Such was the sentence imposed on Adrian of the Cape of Imhoff’s farm on 15.12.1796 when he was broken alive on the wheel after being accused of committing an extremely brutal crime.⁴⁴

³⁴Eugene D Genovese, *Roll, Jordan roll, the world the slaves made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976) p. 491

³⁵Til Wykes and William Yule, “The psychopathology of violence” in J.K. Mason (ed) *The pathology of trauma* (London: Edward Arnold, Second edition 1972) p. 343

³⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 437

³⁷William M Freund, “The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795 – 1814” in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The shaping of South African society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989) pp. 324 – 325

³⁸Theal RCC, “Proclamation by Major General Francis Dundas” Vol. 33 (27 May, 1799) sourced from Robert C.-H. Shell, *The Cape Omnibus: A finding aid for the works of John Hoge, H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Donald Moodie, G.M. Theal, Robert Wilson and other Cape authors* (Cape Town: NagsPro, 2011) p.667

³⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 47, 27 August 1806

⁴⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Vol. 10/1, 1793 – 1804 and Vol. 10/2, 1805 - 1808

⁴¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 9, 6 May, 1800

⁴²Freund, “The Cape under the transitional governments”, p. 224

⁴³Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 193

⁴⁴WCARS, British Occupation, BO 30, folio 103, 15.12.1796

During the period of Batavian rule, echoes of VOC absolutism⁴⁵ resonate in the death sentences that were passed onto two slaves in Simon's Town for running away and committing robberies. They were July of Macassar and Appollos of Ternate, who were sentenced 'to be hanged by the neck till they are dead and their dead bodies being transported to the Gibbet outside the Town to be hanged thereon and there to remain as an example till consumed by the birds of the air'.⁴⁶ Through this sentence control was not only extended to July and Appollos, but psychological control was extended to the larger slave community in Simon's Town by inducing fear into their psyches. While the law offered no protection for female slaves who were sexually abused by slaveholders⁴⁷, on 23 December 1803 the law proclaimed that 'An emancipated female slave infected with the venereal disease [is] to be confined in the Slave Lodge and corporally punished when released, but a second time taken in Hospital to be confined or punished more severely'.⁴⁸

One of the earliest laws concerning the control of slave behaviour during British colonial rule at the Cape mimicked the earlier proclamations of the Dutch, stating that 'Slaves or Hottentots galloping through the streets or smacking their whips are to be detained by the watches or policemen and punished by order of the Fiscal'.⁴⁹ The enslaved were also not allowed to 'sing, whistle or make any noise'⁵⁰ in the street. These laws are significant in that they illustrate how for the dominant classes slavery was meant to be 'an appropriation of bodies'⁵¹ that were not allowed to be human. Racial deference and fear was enforced by law and 'slaves who wilfully jostle or push against a European, even of the lowest class, or otherwise insult him is (sic) to be punished with flogging'.⁵²

Corporal punishment in the Simon's Town prison was the mainstay of British control and strict punishments were exacted onto slaves who hired out their services without being registered with the fiscal.

⁴⁵Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, pp. 101-118

⁴⁶WCARS, Council of Justice, CJ801, folio 14, pp. 147-172, 02.08.1806

⁴⁷ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, p. 57

⁴⁸WCARS. Slave Office SO 17/1 'Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of slavery and Indian statutes 1652 – 1818, 23 December 1803

⁴⁹WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 "Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of slavery and Indian statutes 1652 – 1818" (1796)

⁵⁰George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* (London: William Clowes, 1898) "Proclamation by Sir George Young", Vol. 3 (19 February 1800) pp. 45-46

⁵¹Michel Foucault, *Discipline & punish, the birth of the prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) p. 137

⁵²Theal, *RCC*, "Statement of the laws of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope regarding slavery, Fiscal Denyssen to Sir John Cradock" Vol. 9, Point 39 (16 March, 1813) sourced from Shell, *Cape Omnibus*, p. 160

In 1800 it was announced that slaves ‘‘if working illegally’ shall receive corporal punishment and be condemned to work at the Public Works for 3 months’.⁵³ Conversely, in the Naval Office General Instructions of 1800’s, it was stated of slaves who laboured for the British Navy that ‘their treatment shall be considerate and humane it being our intention to have them treated in every respect as white men’.⁵⁴ Although these stated intentions might never have been achieved in reality, whatever social protection slaves experienced within the confines of the Navy would not have stayed with them outside of it.

The abolition of the slave trade also saw the introduction of prize negroes into the town, some of whom were absorbed into the labour pool of the British Navy while others were indentured to private individuals. According to Sir Jahleel Brenton, prize negroes whose ‘unhappy fate it was’ to be indentured to private individuals received worse treatment than slaves, as there was no inducement for slaveholders to treat them well.

This he explained in the following way:

The unfortunate black, not called a slave but an apprentice, lost all benefit which he would have derived from being a slave, when being a marketable commodity, his health was taken care of, and like other animals, belonging to the farm he was well fed, and kept in good condition that he might fetch the better price it if seemed expedient to sell him.⁵⁵

3.2.1 Case study – Insolvency and the treatment of slaves

The insolvency of Jean Michiel Endres was likely the cause of huge trauma for the Buffelsfontein slaves as they were faced with the possibility of being sold separately from family members and friends and being moved to an unknown environment. At least one mother/child bond is recorded to have been severed through this insolvency, i.e. that of Rozetta van de Caab from her son Salomon van de Caab. They were sold separately on 11.09.1809. Table 1 records the outcome of the Insolvency of the Endres Estate for all the 28 enslaved people listed on the database. As will be seen, this overwhelmingly involved movement and separation. Even some of those who went with the estate in cadastral transfers were eventually sold on again thereafter.

⁵³Theal, *RCC*, ‘‘Proclamation by Sir George Young’’, Vol. 3 (19 February 1800) pp. 45-46

⁵⁴ADM 123/39 of 01.01.1800 as cited in Michael Whisson, ‘‘Water and workers – meeting the needs of the Royal Navy in Simon’s Town’’, *Simon’s Town Historical Society Bulletin Vol. 13, Number 4* (July 1985) p. 151

⁵⁵Sir Jahleel Brenton, *Memoir of the life and services of Vice Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton*, edited by The Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester (London: Hatchard, 1846) p. 437

The Buffelsfontein slaves were thus chattels in the strongest sense of the word.⁵⁶ A hint at Endres' personal treatment of these slaves emerges in a smuggling court case where they gave evidence against him. At this time he tried to bring their evidence into disrepute by asserting that they were motivated by a desire for revenge and stating 'I have taken paternal interest in them, but punished them for they are lazy and licentious due to Auret's indulgence'.⁵⁷

Table 9: The impact of the insolvency of Endres on the Buffelsfontein farm slaves

DATE RECORDED	NAME	THE IMPACT OF THE INSOLVENCY OF ENDRES ON THE BUFFELSFONTEIN FARM SLAVES
05.04.1799	Appollis van Ternate	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton with farm Buffelsfontein by notorial obligation.
05.04.1799	Mey van Ternate	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton with Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation.
05.04.1799	Cupido van Mallabaar	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton as part of Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation. Re-sold by Piton at auction to P.D. Meyburg for 651 Rds at auction 11 – 15 September 1809.
05.04.1799	Philo van Mosambique	Cadastral transfer to Piton as part of Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation. Re-sold at auction which ran from 11.09.1809 to 15.09.1809 to Petrus Francois Rossouw for 201 Rds
21.07.1802	July van Mallabaar	Cadastral transfer to Piton as part of Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation. Re-sold by Piton at auction to D Meyburg for 602 Rds in 1809.
21.07.1802	Philander van Mosambique	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton as part of the Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation.
21.07.1802	Anthony van Nias	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton as part of the Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation.
21.07.1802	August van Timor	Cadastral transfer to John David Piton as part of the Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation.
21.07.1802	Jephtha van Mauritius	Cadastral transfer to Piton as part of Buffelsfontein farm by notorial obligation.
02.08.1802	Rosina van de Caab	To Ludwick Pietersen by notorial obligation.
25.11.1802	Anthony van Mosambique	Cadastral transfer to Piton with Buffelsfontein farm, by notorial obligation. Re-sold at auction which ran from 11.09.1809 -15.09.1809 to John Osmond for 1000 Rds.
02.08.1809	January van Nacoa	Transferred to Ludwick Pieterse on 20 March 1809 by notorial obligation
11.09.1809	Carolus van de Caab	Sold at auction for 1005 Rds
11.09.1809	Dela van de Kaap	Sold to C Herman for 151 Rds
11.09.1809	Jephtha van Mosambique	Sold to M Reynolds for 151 Rds
11.09.1809	Louisa van Mosambique	Sold to P G van der Byl at auction 11.09.1809 for 600 Rds
11.09.1809	Rozetta van de Caab	Sold to E Mistear at auction separately from her son for 1151 Rds
11.09.1809	Salomon van de Caab	Sold to Hamilton Ross at auction separately from his mother for 705 Rds
11.09.1809	Tobias van Mozambique	Sold at auction for 2001 Rds 'Fredrik Bender oor Jacob Huyenhelden'

⁵⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p. 100 (The worst type of sale from the slaves perspective were those transactions in which the seller had no discernible reason for selling the slave except to raise money quickly. [It] had the most dramatic consequences for the slave, who changed owner and "home", and had to leave family and fellow slaves behind)

⁵⁷O Pryce-Lewis, *When first we practise or the life of Jan Michiel Endres surgeon* (Simon's Town: The Simon's Town Historical Society, 1989) p. 43

DATE RECORDED	NAME	THE IMPACT OF THE INSOLVENCY OF ENDRES ON THE BUFFELSFONTEIN FARM SLAVES
11.09.1809	Carolus van de Caab	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Adonis as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children. However, he was sold at auction held between 11.09.1809 and 15.09.1809 to M Reynolds for 1005 Rds.
11.09.1809	Anthony van de Caab	Sold at auction which ran from 11.09.1809 to 15.09.1809 to John Osmond for 2200 Rds.
1812	Adonis	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Adonis as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children. ⁵⁸
1812	Afrika	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Afrika as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children
1812	Jacob	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Jacob as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children
1812	Pamela	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Pamela as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children
1812	Regina	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Regina as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children
1812	Sasonie	Became the centre of a protracted legal dispute between Jan Michiel Endres and the children of Jeremias Auret, whose father's will listed Sasonie as one of seven slaves to be left to his seven children

3.2.2 Bastard Hottentots

Archival evidence also shows that 'Bastard Hottentots', as Free Blacks, were also subject to humiliating measures of treatment and control. For example on 15 July 1804 a search was done of all the homes and horses of Bastard Hottentots in Simon's Town, where 'nothing was found *niets gevouden*'.⁵⁹

3.2.3 Former Slaves and 'Bastard Hottentots' who were slave-owners

The contradictory nature of this slave society becomes even more complex with the emergence of slave-holders who themselves were once slaves. Such a case emerges when on 27 August 1806 Hannetjie van de Kaap reported the death of her slave, Augustus who was hired out to Cesar of Bougies in Simon's Town. The cause of his death was a violent blow to his head with the butt-end of a gun.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Pryce-Lewis, *When first we practise*, pp. 71-75

⁵⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 155, 15 July, 1804

⁶⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 47, 27 August 1806

On 2 September the Deputy Fiscal in Cape Town wrote to the Deputy Fiscal in Simon's Town about the case saying 'The free slave, Caesar of Bougies of whom I wrote to you in my letter dated 27 August last, is already here; the Office wishes to be informed in a legal manner of the cause of the death of the male slave Augustus'.⁶¹ The outcome of this case is unknown as no further correspondence emerges about this case. It could be that Augustus's death was caused by Caesar of Bougies and it could also be that it was caused by someone else. If Caesar of Bougies caused the death of August, then his action would be anomalous to Free Black slaveholders in Simon's Town who are not once mentioned in magisterial records as being accused of physical ill-treatment or cruelty towards their slaves.

Mosis Pietersen, who is recorded in colonial records as a 'bastard hottentot',⁶² was also a significant land-owner and slave-owner. Pietersen mentions four slaves in his will of whom three were Mozambican and one Batavian. According to his will dated July 1807 Mentor of Mozambique was left to his daughter Silla, Maart of Mozambique to his son Hendrik and April of Mozambique to his daughter Martha. However, on 14.09.1807 they were manumitted by his children.⁶³ In the case of Drammat of Batavia it was the instruction of Mosis Pietersen that he was never to be sold, but to serve Hester of Batavia, the 'wife' of Mosis and following her death to choose which of their children he chose to live with.

Pietersen was emphatic that he was never to live with any stranger as long as there was still one of his children alive.⁶⁴ This carefully thought out will is suggestive that Pietersen himself adopted a paternalistic attitude towards his slaves.

The 1808 will of Sara Elizabeth Arendse, wife of Abraham Kloppers a 'Bastard Hottentot' lists a slave named Mey van Bougies.⁶⁵ Abraham Kloppers owned a fishery in Kalk Bay and Mey is noted as a fisherman. Significantly, no evidence of physical ill-treatment is ascribed to Arendse / Kloppers in the magisterial records.

⁶¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/, folio 47-A, 2 September, 1806 (Translation from Dutch by Maureen Rall)

⁶²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 155, 15 July, 1804

⁶³WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/54 Folio 46, 14.09.1807

⁶⁴Ibid (Original Dutch translated into English by Maureen Rall)

⁶⁵Cape Transcripts, Master of the Orphan Chamber, Inventarissen tauxatien, MOOC 8/57.34b, Sara Elizabeth Arendse, 25 August, 1808

Pietersen, Arendse and Kloppers were part of a small group of people in Simon's Town who were regarded as Free Blacks. Through their enterprise and intellect they were able to attain levels of economic power in this society that overtook race, which represented a phenomenon that was likely never intended by the ruling class.⁶⁶ Their success in becoming landowners and / or business people is admirable when one considers the social, racial and economic hierarchies that existed within this society. Their material gains most likely came with a lot less ease than that which was achieved by local burghers or immigrants from Britain and Europe who received land grants.⁶⁷ It is evident too that they came up against 'white' members of the racial hierarchy who sought to hamper and / or control their economic progress⁶⁸, as was the case of Mosis Pietersen who caught the attention of H Cloete Senior of Constantia. On 5 June 1803 Cloete wrote to the Simon's Town wardmaster to complain about Pietersen's apparent cutting back of government land.⁶⁹

However, much as we admire the economic achievements of Free Blacks in a society that was strongly based on racial privilege, we need to be mindful that Pietersen, Arendse and Kloppers also benefited economically from slave labour. Thus although there is no evidence to suggest that they were physically cruel to their slaves, the psychological and social controls of slavery were still in place.

3.3 The control and treatment of slaves during the second phase of transitional period British rule in Simon's Town

The official approach to slavery by the British colonial government during this period seems to have been fraught with contradictions, which oscillated between levels of paternalism and physical and mental cruelty. On the one hand Britain abolished the slave trade in 1808. On the other, as noted above and as Michael Reidy has shown, underhand slave trading continued, often with official sanction.⁷⁰ This was but another example of the public and private faces of British colonial rule.

⁶⁶ Elphick and Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652 – 1840", pp. 554 - 556

⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 559-560

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 543

⁶⁹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 109, 5 June, 1803

⁷⁰ Michael Charles Reidy, "The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape Colony, 1797 – 1818" (UCT: MA, 1997) pp. 1-10

In a letter from the Fiscal Denyssen to Sir John Cradock on 16 March 1813, while acknowledging slavery as ‘contrary to the principles of the Law of Nature, and an evil in Society’⁷¹, he asserted that slaves needed to be ‘kept in order by fear’.⁷²

He also alluded to the tense feelings between the burgher farmers and the British, saying that he feared an ‘insurrection’.⁷³ This explains the constant contradictions in slave treatment during this era, as the British colonial government were trying to appease abolitionists back home by creating more humanistic approaches to slavery⁷⁴ while at the same time trying to appease the local burghers who were not used to outside interference in their treatment of slaves. Denyssen was also quick to point out that the economy at the Cape on which both the local burghers and the British newcomers depended, was underpinned by slave labour, stating that ‘the general principles of Jurisprudence cannot be removed unless it be done without injury and loss to the Inhabitant’.⁷⁵ By the time the Cape was permanently ceded to Britain by the Dutch on 13 August 1814,⁷⁶ the *two faces* of slave treatment that had come to define British rule at the Cape were firmly established.⁷⁷

At the outset, the private slave-holding environment in Simon’s Town was likely a cultural shock for British immigrants who arrived from a country where an anti-slavery sentiment had developed.⁷⁸ Such sentiments were expressed by Sir Jahleel Brenton who commented on burgher cruelty when he stated, ‘The tender mercies of the original Dutch Boor in this colony are but too well known’.⁷⁹ These cultural differences also extended to other nationals and Golovnin, a Russian visitor to Simon’s Town, commented on the ‘cruelty with which many of them treat their slaves’.⁸⁰ Needless to say, whatever aversion British immigrants might have felt towards slavery soon evaporated when the benefits of slaveholding were reaped to personal benefit.⁸¹

⁷¹Theal, *RCC*, “Statement of the laws of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope regarding slavery” in a letter from Fiscal Denyssen to Sir John Cradock” Vol. 9, Point 39 (16 March, 1813) sourced from Shell, *Cape Omnibus*, p. 160

⁷²Ibid

⁷³Ibid

⁷⁴Christopher Lloyd, *The navy and the slave trade* (London: Frank Cass, 1968) p.3

⁷⁵Theal, *RCC*, Letter from the Fiscal Denyssen to Sir John Cradock. Fiscal’s Office, March 16th, 1813. Source: Shell, *Cape Omnibus*, p. 160

⁷⁶Freud, William M. “The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795 – 1814” in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1852* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1989) p. 325

⁷⁷ Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, “The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape”, p. 561 (British liberalism had not overturned major features of what we have called ‘European domination’.)

⁷⁸Kirsten McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner: Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796 – 1807* (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1993) p. 53

⁷⁹Brenton, *Memoir*, p. 437

⁸⁰Golovnin, *Detained in Simon’s Bay*, p. 75

⁸¹ See the profile of a British slave-owner p. 98

3.3.1 The period of Amelioration in Simon's Town

In 1813 the Fiscal Denyssen commented to Sir John Cradock that 'The good conduct of the Slave is frequently an obstacle to his being made free, because that his pecuniary value increases in proportion to his good conduct, and I am therefore of opinion that if the situation and future prospects of slaves who by their good behaviour distinguish themselves from the others were improved by mild Laws, it would be a praiseworthy addition to the existing laws respecting slavery'.⁸² This saw the dawn of the amelioration laws, which were intended to make slavery more palatable to abolitionists and more bearable to the enslaved. These laws encompassed the appointment of a Protector and Guardian of slaves in 1816 who was to act as a watchdog over the treatment of slaves. From 26 April 1816 a slave register was established.

Corporal punishment of female slaves was abolished and it was no longer allowable to use a 'Whip or other Instrument as a stimulus to labour'.⁸³ An insight into past treatment comes through with these new laws as does the law against delaying of punishment for some time after the offence. This illuminates the levels of psychological trauma for slaves in incidents such as these. In addition witnesses were to be present at the punishment of a slave and all punishments were to be accurately recorded. Through these ameliorative laws, slaves were given a measure of power whereas hitherto they had had none.⁸⁴

In an attempt to deal with physical cruelty, it was stated that extremely cruel slaveholders would have to forfeit their slaves to the crown, but only after having been convicted of cruelty *on two occasions* [emphasis added].⁸⁵

The Court of Justice was to grant each slave 'who has any apparent right to sue'⁸⁶ the legal support to do so and the Fiscal was 'bound to attend to the complaint of every slave and if public inquiry appears necessary, to report the case to the Court of Justice'.⁸⁷ However, the official standard was not always met at domestic level. Furthermore, it was often the very people tasked with their implementation who were the ones who acted contra to them.

⁸²Theal, *RCC*, "Letter from the Fiscal Denyssen to Sir John Cradock, Fiscal's Office" (16 March 1813) sourced from Shell, *Cape Omnibus*, p. 160

⁸³WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves

⁸⁴ *Ibid*

⁸⁵ *Ibid*

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

Nevertheless, it is precisely because of the appointment of a Protector of Slaves that we have an insight into the way slaves were treated and how the dynamics of power played themselves out by Simon's Town slaveholders, for whom the Protector of Slaves did not seem to be a deterrent when inherited habits of the power dynamic were so deeply entrenched. As Rayner has shown, during the VOC period, slave-holders oftentimes literally got away with murder.⁸⁸ Thus even with the institution of new laws, old habits did not quickly die out.

An incident of extreme cruelty comes through in the case of a burgher named Leibbrandt whose cruelty in refusing access to medical treatment for a male slave in severe pain was brought to the attention of the Protector of Slaves. From the correspondence surrounding this case it emerges that Leibbrandt refused to allow a British Naval surgeon to provide medical assistance to a male slave, who had met with a serious accident, 'having fractured his leg above the knee'.⁸⁹ By the time this case had reached the attention of the Protector of Slaves on 16 January 1832, it had been 16 days since the accident of the slave who was said to be in 'great pain from the want of proper treatment'.⁹⁰ Leibbrandt is an example of 'the tyrant'⁹¹ whose abuse of power was extreme.

3.3.2 Punishments by order

A striking feature of control during the British colonial era in Simon's Town was the use of 'institutional means of control'⁹² wherein slaveholders sent a note to the fiscal ordering the punishments of their slaves or 'apprentices' at the Simon's Town prison.

In a letter to Brand the local magistrate in 1814, M Hough writes, 'I wished Catarny to be taken to the post of punishment and when there if you think 2 or 3 stripes would make him a better boy, let him have it for really I have overlooked several offences'.⁹³

⁸⁸ Mary Isabel Rayner, "Wine and slaves, the failure of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 – 1834" (Duke University: PhD, 1986) p. 76

⁸⁹WCARS, Slave Office, Correspondence SO 2/12, pp. 204-205, 16 January 1832 Also filed in WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/22, folio 77, 16 January, 1832

⁹⁰WCARS, Slave Office, Correspondence SO 2/12, folio 204-205, 16 January 1832. Also filed in WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 77, 16 January, 1832

⁹¹Michel Foucault, *Ethics, subjectivity and truth* (New York: The New Press, 1994) p. 288

⁹² Andrew Bank, *The decline of urban slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Rondebosch: The Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991) p.65

⁹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 163, 27 November, 1814

Someone who regularly made use of this system of control and for whom 2 or 3 stripes would not suffice, was Reverend Sturt, the colonial chaplain who arrived in Simon's Town in 1819 and was described as a 'wild character'⁹⁴ by his contemporaries. Sturt, who held 5 male prize negroes, one female prize negro and a slave woman named Hendryn, registered in the name of his minor daughter, made great use of the Simon's Town prison as a means of punishment. In one such correspondence Sturt ordered 12 stripes 'as a taster'⁹⁵ for his 'boy' for leaving his house at night and for the 'girl as an old offender; and I believe was pardoned and about 2 dozen or 30 stripes will do her some good'.⁹⁶

On 30 December 1814 J Crutwell sent a number of letters to Brand concerning Atea, the first stating 'My slave girl has sold or given away four suits of cloathing (sic) & I therefore request you will have the kindness to send over a diennar to convey her to the Tronk where I hope you will order her proper punishment'.⁹⁷ In a second he states 'Let me now entreat you will compleat (sic) the friendly goodness by having her sent back to me as soon after the punishment is inflicted as you can'.⁹⁸ He also asks about the cost of the punishment saying 'Am I to pay the expenses to the Kaffer – oblige me by saying what they are and I will most cheerfully defray them'.⁹⁹

In a third he encloses 9 Rix dollars for 'tronk expenses' and states 'In one respect the girl certainly told truth – I mean respecting the Pelisse or Instant but all the other clothes I gave her & all those her owner Mr Jacob de Vos (son) gave her she has made away with excepting those she had on'.¹⁰⁰ Crutwell ends his letter with the statement 'I beg leave to subscribe myself fair'.¹⁰¹ A beating with a sjambok in the Simon's Town prison would have been a mentally and physically brutal experience for anyone. For a woman this would have been amplified and would have been accompanied by the humiliation of having her body exposed and hurt in a violent way by a man who was in addition a stranger. These punishments were carried out by the 'Black Constables',¹⁰² referred to in colonial documents as 'Kaffirs'.¹⁰³

⁹⁴Peter Philip, *British Residents at the Cape 1795 – 1819* (Claremont: David Philip, 1981) p. 409

⁹⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 28, 4 May 1822

⁹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/14, folio 28, 4 May 1822

⁹⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 188, 30 December 1814

⁹⁸Ibid

⁹⁹Ibid

¹⁰⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 190, 30 December, 1814

¹⁰¹Ibid

¹⁰²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/13, folio 93, 28 November, 1821

¹⁰³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 83, 23 August, 1822

Although Crutwell does not engage with the physical cruelty first hand, he certainly engages in mental cruelty. There is a certain glee in Crutwell's statement that he will 'cheerfully defray expenses'.¹⁰⁴ He also asks for Atea to be sent back 'as soon after the punishment is inflicted as possible'. There is a sense that he does not want to give her a chance to recover her composure; that he wants to see her in her humiliated state. His parting words to the magistrate 'I beg leave to subscribe myself fair', is indicative of the tensions that McKenzie describes in Hudson and reflects Crutwell's need to see himself as a decent person.¹⁰⁵

3.3.3 The 'Black Constables'¹⁰⁶

In 1825 W Ryneveld informed Lieutenant Colonel Blake of the expiry of the 'term of banishment of the Convicts named "Andries & Hans Ruiters", employed as Black Constables in your Residency'.¹⁰⁷ The use of 'Black Constables' who were also convicts, to mete out physical punishments, plays like a wild card in this society. Although these men did not own power outside of the prison, within its walls they represented state power and personally had the power to decide just how cruel these beatings would be. The employment of these men no doubt created divisions within the non hegemonic group of people in Simon's Town. They must have surely been hated, as they were the ones who administered the pain.

These constables were paid a salary and from 1821 there was a bonus of 'two skillings per diem from the District [Reasing], in addition to their present pay'.¹⁰⁸

Other Black Constables at the Simon's Town prison were Jan Booy from 1821 to 1826 and Absalom from 25 October 1825, who was to serve there 'for life'.¹⁰⁹ In 1828 'Robert van der Schyff and Absalom' were named as the Black Constables at Simon's Town.¹¹⁰ The power that these men held is evident in the complaint of a 'boy' named Pieter Chance who complained in 1821 that 'the Sheriff van der Schyff refused to pay him certain fees & struck him'.¹¹¹ A certificate by the surgeon, Mr Roberts, confirmed that he found 'a large bruise on his right arm & a smaller one upon his breast'.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town (1/SMT 2/5), Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 188, 30 December 1814

¹⁰⁵ McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner*, p. 11

¹⁰⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/13, folio 93, 28 November, 1821

¹⁰⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 166, 15 December 1825

¹⁰⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/13, folio 93, 28 November 1821

¹⁰⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/19, folio 167, 25 July 1826

¹¹⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/21, folio 31, 9 May, 1828

¹¹¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 18, 19 March, 1822

¹¹²Ibid

The behaviour of van der Schyff was entrenched. Foucault claims that the antithesis of slavery is ‘the abuse of power’.¹¹³ The power that van der Schyff held within the Simon’s Town prison was in microcosm the power that slaveholders held in the greater Simon’s Town society.

Thus when Peter Chance questioned this abuse of power, van der Schyff responded in a manner that he had been accustomed to doing through his socialisation: with violence. As Bank has shown, violence or the threat of violence was an important mode of social control in this society, particularly relating to slaves.¹¹⁴ On 9 May 1828 the Resident Magistrate at Simon’s Town was informed by the Colonial Governor that ‘domestic punishment can no longer be legally inflicted in prisons on slaves at the desire of their owners’.¹¹⁵ As the table below shows, this instruction was not always obeyed.

Table 10: punishments meted out to slaves at the Simon’s Town prison after 9 May 1828

PUNISHMENTS METED OUT TO SLAVES AT THE SIMON’S TOWN PRISON AFTER 9 MAY 1828 ¹¹⁶		
NAME OF SLAVEHOLDER	NAME OF SLAVE	DATE OF PUNISHMENT
P Rocher	Fortuin	30 December 1828
P Rocher	Demas	28 March 1828
Mr Dunbar	Lendor	26 January 1829
Mr Dunbar	August	20 January 1829
Capt Wools	Thos Piel (Apprentice)	26 May 1829
Capt Wools	Rozette	9 June 1829

3.3.4 Family life and religion

Pertinent to the Ameliorative period was the restructuring of the law concerning slaves to allow for the possibility of family life. Thus families were no longer to be separated during sequestration sales and slaves and prize negroes were allowed to marry subject to the agreement of slaveholders. However, as the case of Fredrik Antoni shows, slaveholders sometimes created obstacles to such basic ‘conditions of life’¹¹⁷ as marriage.

When Fredrik Antoni, a prize negro cook, announced his intention to marry, this was objected to by G Balston of Simon’s Town, to whom he was indentured.¹¹⁸

¹¹³Foucault, *Ethics, subjectivity and truth*, p. 288

¹¹⁴Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 62

¹¹⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/21, folio 32 and 32A. 9 May, 1828

¹¹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/21, folio 146, 23 October, 1829

¹¹⁷Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 203

¹¹⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 45. 5 August 1825

As it later emerged, the real reason for this objection was that the ‘prize negress’ to whom Fredrik Antoni wished to be betrothed was indentured to J F Goodwin, who Balston was aware was planning to move from Simon’s Town, which would have resulted in theirs being a ‘broad marriage’.¹¹⁹ It was thus the problem of a long distance marriage that Balston found problematic. However, instead of stating this problem, he used his literacy and social power to attack ‘the moral Character of the Female Apprentice’.¹²⁰ The real reason becomes evident in later correspondence when he states ‘Should Colonel Somerset however be induced to permit the girl to remain in Simon’s Town under the immediate watching of the said Antonio I might be induced to alter my opinion’.¹²¹ Balston’s behaviour resonates with Orlando Patterson’s assertions of how the ‘slaveholder camouflaged his dependence, his parasitism, by various ideological strategies’.¹²²

Goodwin responded to Balston’s assertions by saying that ‘She has been nearly five years in my Family and no endeavours have been neglected for instilling into her mind proper principles of Morality and Religion and she has a just knowledge of her duty to God and Man’.¹²³ Goodwin was also concerned with his own reputation stating his need to defend the ‘Girl who cannot defend herself and I beg also to remark that I feel I owe this explanation to my family as it might otherwise appear to you that a Laxity of Morals had been permitted’.¹²⁴

Goodwin’s comments come in the wake of a period where strong efforts were being made to encourage ‘religious instruction and worship’,¹²⁵ in the Christian faith. In correspondence from C Bird to N Scott the Resident at Simon’s Town in 1824, paramount in his mind were matters pertaining to the education and Christianisation of slaves in Simon’s Town.¹²⁶ Through baptism or marriage slaves could take on new names for themselves. These names were recorded ‘in the column under ‘names’ and their new names at the head of the Folio’¹²⁷ in Slave Registers.

¹¹⁹John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection, slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003) p. 220

¹²⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18, folio 89, 22 September, 1825

¹²¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18, folio 92, 23 September 1825

¹²²Patterson, *Slavery and social death*, p. 337

¹²³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18, folio 89, 22 September, 1825

¹²⁴Ibid

¹²⁵WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35, Notes on proclamation of 18th March, 1923

¹²⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, folio SMT 10/16, folio 6, 9 January, 1824

¹²⁷WCARS, Slave Office, SO 2/16 Slave registry dept correspondence, N Smith to C M Lind, 1 October 1824

The introduction of surnames for the formerly enslaved comes through in colonial correspondence such as a letter in 1825 referring to ‘the washerwoman calling herself Mrs Walton’.¹²⁸ Scully states that marriage offered slave and formerly enslaved women protection from the ‘racist colonial discourse which represented them as sexually licentious and which therefore reinforced their vulnerability to sexual abuse’.¹²⁹ Significantly too it was at this time that slaves were allowed possession of property and a Savings bank for slaves was instituted.

3.3.5 The impact of the Bokkeveld uprising on the treatment of slaves in Simon’s Town

In February 1825 a wave of panic swept through the halls of the British colonial government following the Bokkeveld uprising. In the wake of this event Sir Richard Plasket urged the government resident in Simon’s Town to be ‘extremely vigilant of the Black Population in your Residency, avoiding however, most carefully the creating the slightest alarm or distrust’.¹³⁰ Conversely, slaves were being made aware of their legal rights as never before and in May of that year James Bailey the Field Cornet of Wildschutsbrand in Simon’s Town assured Major J B Blake that he had ‘explained to every slave in his District the Proclamation of the 18 March 1823’.¹³¹

In October 1825 P Hugo informed Lt Col Blake that he ‘distinctly explained to the slave population in my district the nature of His Excellency the Governor’s Proclamation dated the 30th January 1818, as directed by your letter dated 27th September 1825’.¹³² Furthermore the Government Resident visited all the field cornetcies in Simon’s Town ‘to examine the state of the black population’.¹³³ It is evident that these steps were taken to quell any discontent amongst slaves in Simon’s Town that would give rise to a similar uprising as had occurred in the Bokkeveld.

The first visit, which took place in October 1825, began in the field cornetcy of Noordhoek on Friday 14 October 1825. This field cornetcy constituted the slaves of J A Hurter of Silvermine, the slaves of A Hane of Noordhoek, P Rocher of Slangkop and J Joone (farm not stated).

¹²⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, folio number SMT 10/18, folio 24, 18 June, 1825

¹²⁹ Pamelly Scully, *Liberating the family?* pp. 110-111

¹³⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/17, folio 243. 22 February, 1825

¹³¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 5. 4 May, 1825

¹³²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18, folio 99, 1 October, 1825

¹³³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, folio SMT 10/18, “Report of the commission of Heemraad on the visit to the field cornetcy of Wildschutsbrand”, 18 October, 1825

Overwhelmingly few slaves complained. Specifically the slaves of J Joone were reported to have ‘expressed themselves satisfied with the treatment they received.’¹³⁴ The slaves of J A Hurter said ‘they had sufficient food & clothing and that they had no complaint.’¹³⁵

What is striking about these comments is the level of acceptance of their enslaved condition. Sullivan asserts that ‘The slave’s submission could be seen in many of his or her habits – physical and emotional, as well as mental’.¹³⁶ She further describes the physical manifestations of slavery being evident through ‘their bowed shoulders, their downcast eyes .. and *their lack of overtly expressed anger to white people about their enslavement* [emphasis added].’¹³⁷ This may explain why, when a male slave of Pierre Rocher complained of ill-treatment, ‘his statement was not confirmed by any of the slaves who expressed themselves his friend.’¹³⁸ Nevertheless, his complaint was not isolated: At the farm of P Rousseau, his four male slaves ‘severally complained of the short supply of food’. Furthermore, the delegation of the Commission themselves stated that ‘The herder July was in a very ragged state and Don’t Know was without a shirt – to this enquiry respecting it he said he had none’.¹³⁹

Genovese states that ‘conditions must be measured or assessed according to corresponding points of historical development’.¹⁴⁰ Certainly the living conditions of the slaves of P Rousseau compared unfavourably with the living conditions of the slaves of J A Hurter of Silvermine who apparently had ‘sufficient food & clothing’.¹⁴¹ Conversely it is likely that the clothing supplies of the aforementioned slaves compared unfavourably with the attire of Danzer, the slave of Dr James Barry of Cape Town, who was described in 1822 as wearing a ‘Cochade Blue Jacket, Striped waistcoat & light coloured Pantoloon’.¹⁴²

¹³⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18 [Loose page with other pages of data concerning “Report of the Government Resident’s visit to post of the field cornetcy of Noordhoek”], 14 October 1825

¹³⁵Ibid

¹³⁶Shannon Sullivan, *Revealing whiteness: The unconscious habits of racial privilege* (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 2006) p. 26

¹³⁷Ibid

¹³⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/18, [Loose page with other pages of data concerning “Report of the Government Resident’s visit to post of the field cornetcy of Noordhoek”], 14 October 1825

¹³⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/18 “Report of the commission of Heemraad on the visit to the field cornetcy of Wildschutsbrand”, 18 Oct 1825

¹⁴⁰Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 204

¹⁴¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/18, ‘Report of the Government Resident’s visit to the field cornetcy of Noordhoek, 14 October 1825

¹⁴²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/14, folio number 48, 6 June 1822

3.3.6 Compulsory manumissions

In 1826 the Guardian of Slaves stated that in fulfilment of Ordinance 19, those slaves who had acquired the financial means to do so were able to manumit themselves and their families through compulsory manumissions¹⁴³, which ultimately meant that slaves could buy their freedom without the consent of the slaveholder.¹⁴⁴ However, slaveholders could still attempt to bar compulsory manumissions by not agreeing to the purchase price. In such cases of dispute arbitrators were to ‘appraise the value of Slaves’.¹⁴⁵ These arbitrators, according to Rogers, were to be ‘men of known character & honor, not slave holders (either English or Dutch)’.¹⁴⁶

Some slaveholders used their powers of control to squeeze the last bit of labour out of slaves before allowing them to apply for manumission, as was the case for Frederik, slave of a Mr Hugo in Simon’s Town. On 30 August 1830, Rogers, the Slave Protector wrote to Hugo saying ‘I have been requested by the Friends of Frederick to beg you will kindly allow him permission to come to Cape Town early in September, in order to look out for the means of purchasing his freedom if his claim to it cannot be established, and as you promised that he should have permission after he had made some clothes for Your people and that I conclude that they are now finished. I hope you will not now object to his coming to Cape Town particularly also when the case comes in his presence will be necessary’.¹⁴⁷ Thus in as much as Frederik sought to access liberty, Hugo was attempting to prolong his ‘continuity of domination’.¹⁴⁸

3.3.7 Profile of a British slave-owner in Simon’s Town

Social and economic conditions in Simon’s Town had much to offer working class British citizens. As McKenzie states ‘Within the context of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cape Town, the ownership of slaves, providing one was white, allowed an access to the domain of the dominant which was far more difficult to achieve in Britain’.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ WCARS, Slave Office SO 2/16 Slave registry dept correspondence, 28 July 1826

¹⁴⁴ Mason, *Social death and resurrection*, p. 49

¹⁴⁵ WCARS, Slave Office, SO 2/16, Slave registry dept correspondence, 28 July 1826

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ WCARS, Slave Office, SO 2/12, 30.08.1830, p. 45

¹⁴⁸ Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 76

¹⁴⁹ McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner*, p. 105

A striking example of this was one John Osmond, who arrived in Simon's Town in December 1799, as a 'mere carpenter'¹⁵⁰ on the HMS Lancaster.¹⁵¹ The transition from British carpenter to Cape slaveholder held great benefits for Osmond, who went on to become the second largest slave-holder in Simon's Town.

Osmond the 'slave-owner'

Through his marriage to a wealthy widow of the Rossouw family and his procurement of highly skilled slaves, most notably masons and carpenters, Osmond developed a thriving ship building business and became an extremely wealthy man, earning himself the nickname of King John with his home dubbed by residents as 'the palace'.¹⁵²

Osmond was also the beneficiary of many land grants by the British colonial government who felt that he was of 'great benefit to the town'.¹⁵³ As late as 1831, in his capacity as Justice of the Peace, Osmond commented on certain 'slave proprietors in the Residency who practice great cruelty on their slaves'.¹⁵⁴ However, he was quick to add that as he was 'a considerable slave proprietor himself, he is not prejudiced against slavery in general'.¹⁵⁵ In order to gauge what Osmond might have perceived as 'great cruelty', let us cast a view at Osmond's treatment of his own slaves, which he seemingly did not perceive to be cruel.

Like many slave-holders in the British colonial period, Osmond partook in one of the commonest forms of control in his time, which was letter-writing, or to be more precise, writing letters of complaint to the magistrate. It is significant to note that Osmond's correspondence to the magistrate coincide with the establishment of a Slave Protector at the Cape.¹⁵⁶ Thus in 1816 Osmond issued a number of letters to J H Brand, the local magistrate, complaining that his slave Francois was spending nights with a free woman named Sarah at the home of Mr J Vanderschiff. This matter was particularly vexing to Osmond as he had through previous correspondence to Brand, had the said Sarah removed from Simon's Town, where she lived on her own in a hut. By denying Francois an independent social life Osmond was impacting on Francois's intimate life, a factor which was no doubt psychologically damaging to Francois.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰Judy Rowe, *The story of Rocklands Farm Simon's Town, South Africa 1815 – 2010* (Privately compiled by Judy Rowe, 2010) p. 21

¹⁵¹Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, p. 311

¹⁵²Judy Rowe, *Rocklands Farm*, p. 22

¹⁵³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 1, 8 January 1813

¹⁵⁴WCARS, Colonial Office, CO 399, folio 5. 13 January, 1831

¹⁵⁵Ibid

¹⁵⁶Shell, *Children of bondage*, p.100

¹⁵⁷Genovese, "Treatment", p. 203

According to Osmond it was difficult to keep ‘hard headed slaves in order if encouraged by other people’.¹⁵⁸ The outcome of the relationship of Francois and Sarah is unknown, however, what is clear in this case is that by purposefully seeking to terminate the relationship between Francois and Sarah, Osmond was using his social power to engage in a measure of control that translated into mental cruelty.

In 1822 Osmond took to further letter-writing about Francois. In this correspondence from Osmond to John Goodwin, the Government secretary for the Simon’s Town district he states ‘My slave Francois who I personally reported to you this morning told one of my Girls he was going out to Captain Comersets (sic) to complain of having been very ill treated himself’.¹⁵⁹ Osmond ends his letter requesting Goodwin to ‘immediately send the proper persons in pursuit of him and lodge him in prison’.¹⁶⁰ Whether Francois did complain is unknown, as no complaint by himself is documented at this time.

Letter-writing was a strong tool which slave-holders put to great use to control their slaves. Rugarli speaks of the links between literacy and power and illiteracy and powerlessness when she says, ‘literacy was closely linked to power, as those who were literate (masters and mistresses) were also powerful’.¹⁶¹ However, the records show that Osmond’s methods of control also consisted of physical cruelty. This emerges in the case of Obiah who, in 1821 complained to the Protector of Slaves of ill-treatment by Osmond. A medical doctor found Obiah to have ‘twenty marks of blows given he says by a sambuc’.¹⁶²

It is likely that from where Osmond stood he considered such ‘domestic correction’¹⁶³ was his legal right falling as it did within the ambit of the punishments of male slaves prescribed by law. With the legal limit of lashes that slaveholders were allowed to mete being 25, Osmond probably considered his treatment as mild.¹⁶⁴ Genovese is likely referring to cases such as these when he states that ‘cruel treatment in one sense could imply good treatment in another’.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/8, folio 119, 8 June 1816

¹⁵⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/14, folio 143, 18 December, 1822

¹⁶⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/14, folio 143. 18 December, 1822

¹⁶¹Rugarli, “Slavery at the Cape Colony”, p. 95

¹⁶²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT. 10/13, folio 37, 14 May 1821

¹⁶³Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p.66

¹⁶⁴Ibid

¹⁶⁵Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 205

By 1831 Francois emerges in the records again through correspondence from Rogers to Osmond. Significantly, this time we hear Francois' story, which Rogers relates in his letter to Osmond stating that 'he was taken about 25 years since in a vessel that was captured by H M Ship Freurudous and brought to the Cape, since which period he has been detained by you as a slave altho' he was informed that he had only to serve for a limited period'.¹⁶⁶

From the above we can gauge that Osmond's methods of control encompassed mental cruelty, physical ill-treatment and exploitation. It also shows that although officially slaves were supposed to have been better treated during the British colonial period compared with the Dutch colonial period, the official stance on slavery did not always play itself out at household level. Furthermore, often the very people who were supposed to enforce British leniency had vested interests in the opposite. Osmond's manipulation of state power to personal benefit was acute. As a tactical move, his appointment as Justice of the Peace in Simon's Town at the height of the Amelioration period fitted in well with his slave labour-based business interests.

3.3.8 Case study: Rosetta – a case of 'great cruelty'¹⁶⁷

According to Genovese 'the evidence of cruelty to slaves to some degree indicates the extension of the brutal side of family relations to the wider social family'.¹⁶⁸ However, the case of Rosetta shows that this was not always the case and that some slaves were singled out for cruelty. The treatment of Rosetta by Hendrina Carolina Woolls, wife of T B Woolls of Simon's Town, suggests that the attitude of Hendrina Woolls towards Rosetta bordered hatred. According to Mena, a slave of Woolls; the 'punishments were always inflicted by the Mistress in a private room'.¹⁶⁹ Mena also described the psychological distress it caused her saying it 'was heart-breaking to hear the cries of this poor Old Slave from the punishment she almost daily received from her Mistress'.¹⁷⁰ Thomas Crow, an Apprentice of Mr T B Woolls who was born in India, stated that he had 'on former occasions seen Rosetta come into the kitchen crying and on my asking her what was the matter – said her Mistress had beat her'.¹⁷¹ When Rosetta went to see John Osmond in his capacity of Justice of the Peace in December 1830, it was not the first time that she had sought his help.

¹⁶⁶WCARS, Slave Office SO 2/12, 21 March 1831, p. 120

¹⁶⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/22, folio 6, 19 January 1831

¹⁶⁸Genovese, "Treatment", p. 205

¹⁶⁹WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 28 January, 1831

¹⁷⁰Ibid

¹⁷¹Ibid

She had in fact gone to him for assistance on 16 October of that year after ‘ill treatment of her Mistress in beating her with a broom stick and severely injuring her wrist’.¹⁷² At that time she was forwarded to the Protector of Slaves in Cape Town who seemed to have not taken her seriously as there is no evidence of charges being laid against either Woolls or his wife on that occasion. Tonkin illustrates the dilemma faced by disempowered people, when she says ‘People without access to authoritative voices .. are hampered in representing their accounts. They may appear incoherent and irrelevant. Organising an account appropriately requires skill and self assertion.’¹⁷³

However, on Christmas Eve Rosetta returned to Osmond after having been beaten two days earlier ‘with great severity on the instep of her right foot and which bore evident marks of very severe treatment’.¹⁷⁴ Osmond had her transported back to the Protector of Slaves in Cape Town on 28 December, stating that ‘to prevent a return of the inflammation I obtained a passage for her in a wagon to Cape Town at my own expense’.¹⁷⁵ Because of the delay in Rosetta being examined by a doctor, Osmond stated, he ‘did not find it swelled as described when she came to complain to me eight days before, and the skin being black did not show itself as it would on a white person’.¹⁷⁶ Rosetta was subsequently returned to the house of her tormentor by a Constable, but at 9 pm on 12 January 1831 she sought Osmond’s help again, stating that ‘almost daily since her return she had been flogged by her Mistress with a Horse Whip, but always in a private room’.¹⁷⁷ On this occasion Osmond called ‘a female servant of mine “Sarah Brevis” to examine the Girl in my presence – when such recent marks of severity of punishment as described by “Rosetta” appeared on the shoulders and loins’.¹⁷⁸ Two other witnesses who examined Rosetta on 15 January 1831, at the request of Osmond described having ‘observed a great number of marks so close together and swollen, that they could not be counted. We also observed several marks on the side near the breast and shoulders, all of which appear to have been inflicted with a riding whip, and that in our opinion such cruel severity as appears to have been inflicted on this old Slave’.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷²Ibid

¹⁷³Elizabeth Tonkin, “History and the myth of realism” in Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds.) *The myths we live by* (London: Routledge, 1990) pp.26-27

¹⁷⁴WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 28 January, 1831

¹⁷⁵Ibid

¹⁷⁶Ibid

¹⁷⁷Ibid

¹⁷⁸Ibid

¹⁷⁹WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 28 January, 1831

Thus a charge of ill-treatment was laid against Hendrina Woolls. On 28 January Hendrina Woolls registered ‘An Appeal from a Sentence of the Resident Magistrate of Simon’s Town bearing date 28th January 1831’,¹⁸⁰ but this was dismissed with costs.

Nevertheless, the irony of this case is that it was Rosetta and not Hendrina Woolls who was sent to the prison. From the outset, each time Rosetta lodged a complaint of ill-treatment she was ‘kept in the Cape Town prison, from where she was returned to the Simon’s Town prison and ‘was sent back to her Master’s house, from the Simon’s Town Prison, by a Constable’.¹⁸¹

The prison in Simon’s Town stood as a locus of control on the landscape. It was a place where punishments were meted out and where offenders of all descriptions were held; but only *slave complainants*, were incarcerated while trials were in process. This practice of sending a complainant slave to prison pending the outcome of a case is filled with irony. Foucault states that ‘the prison seems to express in concrete terms the idea that the offence has injured, beyond the victim, society as a whole’.¹⁸² This latter statement is significant as it bears witness to the ‘shaming’ of slaves who complained about the slave-holding class, turning the victim / perpetrator scenario into reverse, with the victim being viewed from the outside as a perpetrator for complaining. This was certainly the case from where Woolls and his wife stood as on 5 February, a day after the proceedings in the case against his wife began,¹⁸³ Rosetta was beaten by T B Woolls.¹⁸⁴ Although he was charged with ‘unlawfully beating his Slave Woman Rosetta’,¹⁸⁵ the response from Rogers was that ‘the offence with which Mr Woolls is now charged is not in the opinion of the Attorney General and myself of such a heinous nature as to render it necessary that it be brought by indictment before the Supreme Court’.¹⁸⁶ Rogers and Woolls knew each other well. In 1826 Woolls was the Assistant Registrar and Guardian at the Slave Office in Simon’s Town¹⁸⁷ and on 3 July 1827 he was appointed Registrar and Guardian of Slaves in Simon’s Town.¹⁸⁸ Thus the situation must have been filled with awkwardness.

¹⁸⁰Ibid

¹⁸¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 11, 26 January, 1831

¹⁸²Foucault, *Discipline and punish*, p. 232

¹⁸³WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 4 February 1831

¹⁸⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT10/22, folio 16, 5 February, 1831

¹⁸⁵Ibid

¹⁸⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, volume number 1/SMT 10/22, folio 18, 7 February, 1831

¹⁸⁷WCARS Slave Office, SO 1/23 Slave registry dept correspondence, 26 December, 1826

¹⁸⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/22 folio 1 [dated 1827 but in this volume where all other documents are dated 1831]

On that same day ‘Hendrina Carolina Woolls, wife of Thomas Brownrigg Woolls of Elsje Mill in this Residency’¹⁸⁹ was entered into the Criminal Record Book for the Residency of Simon’s Town, having been found guilty of ill-treating Rosetta ‘by beating her with a Whip with many blows upon her back and other parts of her body, and other injuries to the said Rosetta’.¹⁹⁰ In sentence she was fined 10 pounds sterling.¹⁹¹ On 31 March 1831 Rogers acknowledged receipt of a ‘third of the fine levied’.¹⁹²

While the levying of a fine against her daily tormentor might have felt like a travesty of justice to Rosetta, it was all she could hope for within the confines of the justice system that existed at this time. As Mason so rightly states, the rule of law that held that Masters were subjected only to fines further reinforced ‘the subordination of workers to their employers’.¹⁹³

3.3.9 Those who tried to help

In much of this text we have seen power as a corruptive force that was used to psychologically and / or physically hurt those who were enslaved. However, within this very society we find a thin thread of people who, although they did not challenge or try to overthrow the existing social order, used their access to power to improve the lives of enslaved people who were not able to access such power. They are listed below:

The children of Mosis Pietersen, as Free Blacks, had limited power within the racial hierarchies that existed in Simon’s Town at this time, however, they used their power as slave-owners to manumit the slaves whom they inherited from their father. In so doing they relinquished the financial and social benefits of being slave-owners.¹⁹⁴ Their actions are noteworthy as the only Free Blacks in Simon’s Town to have manumitted slaves who were not members of their family. The time-frame of these manumissions shows a great financial sacrifice, being as it was at the time of the abolition of the slave trade, when the prices of slaves were at a premium.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 7 February, 1831

¹⁹⁰Ibid

¹⁹¹Ibid

¹⁹²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 31, 31 March, 1831

¹⁹³Mason, *Social death and resurrection*, p. 253

¹⁹⁴WCARS, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/54, Folio 46, 14.09.1807

¹⁹⁵Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 68

Commissioner Sheild, during his term of service with the Navy in Simon's Town, used his power within this institution to initiate an arrangement in 1810 so that 'negroes employed in the dock-yard should be put on the same footing as landsmen on board His Majesty's ships, having the same allowance of provision, and the same pay; the latter amounting to £14 per annum'.¹⁹⁶ In so doing, he used his power to make it possible for these men to receive financial benefits they would not ordinarily have had within the naval system. As things stood, on his departure from Simon's Town, these benefits were immediately withdrawn. However, when Sir Jahleel Brenton took up his position as vice Admiral for the Navy, he had these benefits reinstated. Brenton himself is noted in the records for his attempts to improve the living and working conditions for prize negroes indentured to the Navy and was responsible for the establishment of Black Town, which gave Mozambican people some level of autonomy on this landscape.¹⁹⁷

The actions of Sheild and Brenton facilitated the 'intervention of the 'public' British state into the 'private' world'¹⁹⁸ of these particular slaves. Furthermore in 1811 Lord Caledon granted freedom to his personal slave named Dadalus of Bengal: a favoured slave.¹⁹⁹

Some people, like Elijah Groce and the Widow Munnik used the power of their literacy²⁰⁰ to try to help slaves. Thus in 1820 Elijah Groce petitioned the Governor for the removal of 'a Prize Girl' from the home of Mr and Mrs Shee 'this being the third time of ill usage Mrs Shee cut open the Girl's face with a horse whip a very little time since'.²⁰¹ That same year the Widow Munnik petitioned for a mitigation of the sentence passed on her slave Rosina, who was charged with housebreaking and condemned to be scourged in the Simon's Town prison. In her petition she spoke of the 'recollection of the faithful services of the said female slave and of the very good character she has otherwise always borne, has thought it only a reciprocal duty on her part to entreat your Lordship gracious to remit or at least to mitigate the punishment awarded'.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶Brenton, *Memoir*, pp. 438 – 441

¹⁹⁷Brenton, *Memoir*, as cited in Jones, *Personal accounts of visitors to Simon's Town 1770 – 1899*, p. 39

¹⁹⁸ Nigel Worden & Clifton Crais, *Breaking the chains, slavery and its legacy in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001) p. 10

¹⁹⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town (1/SMT 2/5) Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folio 69. 12 June, 1811

²⁰⁰Rugarli, *Slavery at the Cape Colony*, p. 95

²⁰¹WCARS Colonial Office Memorials (1820) CO 3917, folio 144, 28 March, 1820

²⁰²WCARS, Colonial Office CO 3883, folio 245. 6 July, 1811

On 7 August, 1826, through the instructions of a will the ‘female slave and her children, belonging to the estate of the late Petrus Eksteen Senior’ were freed.²⁰³ This was an unusual occurrence during a historical period when female slaves were rarely manumitted. It is, however, likely that these children were fathered by Eksteen himself.²⁰⁴

Dashwood’s gift

Francis Dashwood was an extremely influential man who was married to Lady Ann Dashwood, the daughter of the 7th Earl of Lauderdale. On 25.04.1807 he was appointed Receiver of Revenue at the Cape. He was also a member of the liquor licensing and auctioning committees between 1807 and 1815 and on 29.04.1808 appointed to a committee enquiring into clandestine importation of slaves.

By 1 June 1808 he was appointed president of the Lombard Bank, where he served as president until his resignation on 17.06.1814 when he took up farming. On 09.04.1819 he took the position of Collector of Customs in Simon’s Town and bought a house there on 10.09.1819.²⁰⁵ When Dashwood returned to England on 15.02.1825 he used his social and economic power to free his slaves and procure property for them in Simon’s Town. By not only manumitting them, but by leaving them assets, he empowered them to the maximum level of empowerment that they would have been able to attain within the society that existed at this time.²⁰⁶ He was also the only private slave-holder in Simon’s Town who has been found to have left property to his manumitted slaves.

It could be said that all these people used these acts of generosity ‘as a shield that protects a person from realizing her [or his] complicity in an oppressive situation.’²⁰⁷ However, in making these assessments we should perhaps consider Genovese’s assertion that ‘conditions must be measured or assessed at a given historical moment’.²⁰⁸ In so doing these acts emerge as a deviation from the norm, which likely created very different futures for the beneficiaries thereof.

²⁰³WCARS, S/O 1/23 Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, 7 August, 1826

²⁰⁴ Women slaves who bore the children of their slave-holders were entitled to freedom on the demise of the latter. See Colonial Office correspondence CO 414/4 folios 104-128, 15 September 1824, as cited in Rayner, “Wine and slaves” p. 168

²⁰⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/12 [folio not numbered] 8 January 1820

²⁰⁶WCARS Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A ‘Observations of the Protector of Slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831’ Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

²⁰⁷Sullivan, *Revealing whiteness*, p. 26

²⁰⁸ Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 204

3.4 The dynamics of power during the Apprenticeship period

Although slavery had supposedly ended on 1 December 1834, a mandatory four year ‘apprenticeship’ period meant that slaves were bonded to their slaveholders for another four years. Ostensibly to prepare slaves for wage labour, Worden describes the aims of this transition as being for them to be ‘freed from bondage, but not from labour’.²⁰⁹

3.4.1 The build up to the Apprenticeship period

Scully cites the period 1834 to 1838 as being a crucial period when the type of freedom into which enslaved people were to be freed was being determined, to ensure that hierarchies would remain more or less intact.²¹⁰ Certainly official correspondence for this period suggests that it was a period of great edginess for the Government.

On 13 December 1833 correspondence, marked ‘private and confidential’, was sent to the Resident Magistrate at Simon’s Town from the colonial office, asking him to ‘watch with an anxious eye and report to me for His Excellency’s information the progress of feeling amongst both Proprietors and Slaves’ on this subject i.e. the approaching Settlement of the Slaves.²¹¹ Just weeks later, on 6 January 1834 a circular was sent the Resident Magistrate in Simon’s Town from the colonial office in Cape Town requesting that he ‘will not fail to keep Government duly informed of any, the least demonstration of tumult or disaster which may occur in your district as of any excitement or violent expression of discontent’.²¹²

By 14 November 1834 a circular was sent from John Bill, Government Secretary of the Colonial Office in Cape Town to C M Lind, in his capacity of Justice of the Peace in Simon’s Town, enclosing copies of the Government’s Proclamation concerning Apprenticeship. Lind was urged to ‘circulate the same as widely as possible, in order that no misapprehension may prevail amongst the Slave proprietors, or their Slaves, in regard to the situation in which the latter will be placed, by becoming Apprentices on the 1st of December next.’²¹³

²⁰⁹Nigel Worden, “Between slavery and freedom, the apprenticeship period, 1834 to 1838” in Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais (eds.) *Breaking the chains, slavery and its legacy in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001) p. 118

²¹⁰Scully, *Liberating the Family?* p. 52

²¹¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22 folio 225. 13 December, 1833

²¹²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 3. 10 January, 1834

²¹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23 folio number 102. 14 November, 1834

If the colonial government feared an insurrection from the slaves in Simon's Town, then they had under-estimated just how deeply entrenched the slaves' psychological levels of acceptance to slavery were. Genovese poses pertinent questions when he asks 'In what ways do the particular circumstances of the lower classes and their treatment (in each particular sense) by the individuals and classes in power condition their consciousness and perception of reality? condition the extent and form of their acquiescence in oppression and the extent and form of their will to revolution?'²¹⁴

On the other hand some slaves had become so weary of bondage that even a few more months were just too long for them to wait. Thus on 9 March 1838, nine months before the end of the Apprenticeship period, Lindor, an Apprentice slave of Pierre Rocher of Slange Kop (Imhoff's Gift), deposited six pounds at the at the Special Justices office in Simon's Town, for the purposes of purchasing the remaining time of his Apprenticeship. Clearly Rocher was intent on barring his 'access to freedom'²¹⁵ when he opposed this saying 'I do not think it a fair term for this Boy, being good wagon driver, when common Boys are sold at public sale at Rds 150 to more than Rds 200'.²¹⁶

An arbitration hearing was set up on a Thursday in May 1838 with W H Buissine appearing for Lindor and a Mr Bartnick for Rocher. In subsequent correspondence from Rocher to Col Blake on 15 May 1838 he asks him to 'pay to the Bearer the sum of one hundred and eighty rix dollars amount from which my apprentice Lindor has been taxed'.²¹⁷ When the two appraisers reached consensus Rocher was not prepared to accept the valuation and was in the process of applying for a new valuation²¹⁸, but by September 1838 he was recorded as having died.²¹⁹

²¹⁴Genovese, "Treatment", p. 210

²¹⁵Ibid, p. 203

²¹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/24, folio 9, 12 March, 1838

²¹⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/24, folio 25, 15 May, 1838

²¹⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/24, folio 31, 9 July, 1838

²¹⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/24, folio 43, 29 September, 1838

3.4.2 The liberty of slave children under threat

Having for some time engaged in the ‘mortgage of bonded human property’²²⁰ for debts that they now could not repay, many slaveholders were becoming desperate. The insolvency list of slaveholders in Simon’s Town at this time suggests that they were in a state of crisis.²²¹ The victims of their desperation, as it turns out, were the children of soon to be freed slave parents. On 11 February 1835 Colonel Bull of the Colonial Office in Cape Town outlined to L M Lind, Special Justice at Simon’s Town, the law concerning the indenturing of children.

He explained that children could only be indentured in terms of the 13th section of the Abolition Act, provided ‘it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Special Justice that such child is unprovided with an adequate maintenance.’²²² In Simon’s Town many slave-holders attempted to hold on to child slave labour by manipulating circumstances to fit in with this clause. Through their self-seeking actions, they threatened and / or destroyed the ‘family security’²²³ of slaves. As the following case studies will show, and as Pamela Scully has pointed out, this was a time of crisis for slave mothers as they tried to protect their children from ruthless slaveholders.²²⁴

3.4.2.1 A slave mother’s bid to protect her children

Martha first emerges in magisterial correspondence in 1837, during the Apprenticeship period, when a free woman named Sophie, residing at Cleuren Street in Cape Town, reported that William Rosseau Osmond (son of John Osmond), ‘forcibly took away a male child of four years old, from the house on Saturday the 29th last in between 10 and 11 o’clock which child had been placed under her care by the mother, named Martha who was an apprentice of Mr Wm Osmond but who has now been transferred to Mr Albertyn’.²²⁵ This complaint is recorded in a letter from the Special Justice Office, Cape Town to Colonel Blake of the Special Justice Office in Simon’s Town.

²²⁰Lalou Meltzer, “The growth of Cape Town commerce and the role of John Fairbairn’s Advertiser (1835 – 1859)” (UCT: MA,1989) p. 54

²²¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23 folio 106. 16 December, 1834

²²²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 9, Simon’s Town letters, 11 February, 1835

²²³Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 203

²²⁴Pamela Scully, *Liberating the family?* p. 27

²²⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 29, 1 May, 1837

The letter continues ‘As the Free Woman Sophie appears to be a respectable person, and had taken the charge and maintenance of this Child, I think you will agree with me that Mr Wm Osmond was guilty of a gross infringement of the law.’²²⁶

That same day two letters were written by Osmond to Col Blake, The Special Justice in Simon’s Town, the first being an assurance by Osmond that he would ‘not in any way whatever ill treat or cause to be ill treated my apprentice Girl “Martha”’.²²⁷

In the second Osmond requests Blake ‘to forward the Apprentice “Martha” to Mr Thusman of Kalk Bay to whom I have hired her.’²²⁸ This second letter suggests that Martha was lodged in the Simon’s Town prison following her complaint.

Thus in the space of one day, subsequent to Martha laying a complaint of ill-treatment against Osmond, he retaliated by removing her four year old child whom she placed in the care of a trusted friend and by isolating her from those of her children who were still on Osmond’s property by sending her to work for someone in Kalk Bay.

His ill-treatment as such encompassed mental cruelty and affected the security of this family.²²⁹ However, there was more at play here. It is very likely that Osmond was taking advantage of a clause in the 13th Section of the Act which stated that ‘Children therein described born of Slaves and being on the 1st of December 1834 under the age of six, may / provided they are not at the time of Apprenticeship of the age of 12 years / be apprenticed in manner therein mentioned, for any time not exceeding the completion of their 21st year.’²³⁰ This clause, if Martha was aware of it, would have given her added impetus to remove her four year old child to the care of Sophie, only if she was aware of the clause.²³¹ However, it is clear that Martha felt that this child was at risk and needed to be removed from the Osmond household.

²²⁶Ibid

²²⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 30, Simon’s Town Letters, 1 May, 1837

²²⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 31. 1 May, 1837

²²⁹Genovese, “Treatment”, p. 203

²³⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 34. 29 May, 1835

²³¹Certainly this was a period when the British colonial government were making concerted efforts to disseminate information about the law to slaves through the medium of field cornets. See correspondence WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2, Volume number SMT 10/18, folio 5. 4 May, 1825

Returning to Osmond: Three days later he attempted to save his reputation in a letter to Blake wherein he described as a ‘short explanation with regard to her & as some extenuation of my conduct’.²³² In it he states that on visiting the Thusman’s, Martha had ‘denied that she had affirmed that “Mrs Osmond said I must “take her into the room & then I could “flog her or knock her brains out or do “just as I please and she will go out of the house”’.²³³ He went on to describe how Martha, during their visit at the Thusman’s went ‘on her knees to both Mrs Osmond & myself kissing our feet & praying us to take her home again’.²³⁴ Suggestions that Martha was complaining of lameness in her arm through Osmond’s ill-treatment, was summarily dismissed by Osmond, saying that he would have noticed if this had been the case.

His more pressing concern was the fine that was levied against him for ill-treatment and on 10 May 1837 he wrote again to Blake asking that the fine be postponed pending ‘an answer from His Excellency the Governor to whom the case has been referred’.²³⁵ On 11 May 1837 Osmond wrote to Blake once again, stating ‘As I can do nothing whatever with the Slave Apprentice “Martha” who has been returned by Mr Thusman on account of her refusal to do anything I therefore send to you to request she may be confined & I will proceed against her tomorrow’.²³⁶ As before the problem with her arm was ignored by Osmond and Martha was again confined to the Simon’s Town prison. A day later, a statement was taken from Martha in which she stated that ‘she requested of Mr Osmond on her knees to let her have her Children, but that she did not ask him to take her into his house, as stated in his letter’.²³⁷ Martha herself was illiterate so her statement was taken down by a third person which she signed with an X.

At the time of this case Martha was 34 years old and listed on the Slave Register as a housemaid. Four of Martha’s children are listed in the Slave Register namely Spasie, aged 7 at this time, Hennetjie aged 10, Jochon aged 12 and John aged 17. The four year old son of Martha’s whom Osmond stole away was not listed on the Slave Register.

²³²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23 (1837) folio 34. 4 May, 1837

²³³Ibid

²³⁴Ibid

²³⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23 (1837) folio 35. 10 May, 1837

²³⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23 (1837) folio 36. 11 May, 1837

²³⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, 1/SMT 10/23, folio 34A, 12 May, 1837

Martha and the four children aforementioned were mortgaged by Osmond and listed in the debt register ‘O. fo. 21.25.29’.²³⁸ By May 1836 Osmond was already insolvent and an inventory had been taken of his property, which included Martha and four of her children.²³⁹ This explains why Osmond hired Martha out rather than selling her outright. It also suggests that Osmond’s interest in Martha’s four year old was financial.

The story of Martha illustrates the heart-rendering experiences of mother / child separations with its resultant psychological trauma affecting slave families.²⁴⁰ It also pertinently shows how slave-holders administered the most painful mental cruelty possible to control, punish or hurt enslaved mothers: separating them from their children. John Edwin Mason refers to this type of mental cruelty as the means in which slave owners used ‘the family as an instrument of violent coercion’.²⁴¹ Furthermore, with the noose of financial pressure tightening around Osmond, he used this family to remedy his financial woes.

3.4.2.2 Slave children at Imhoff’s farm under threat

Another slaveholder who tried to bend the laws concerning indentureship of children to his personal benefit was Pierre Rocher of Slangkop (Imhoff’s Gift). On 24 April 1837 Pierre Rocher wrote to Blake expressing his keen desire to make use of the ‘act of Parliament for the Emancipation of slaves’²⁴² which allowed slaveholders to indenture children of slaves who had ‘no means to bring up such children, and that in such cases the children are to be apprenticed to their Master’.²⁴³

The children in question were three children of Leonor, four children of Martha, four Children of Lentz and one child of Dephin, all aged under six years. Leonor, Martha and Lentz all had husbands who Rocher described as ‘the boy who she call (sic) her Man’.²⁴⁴ Two of these men were Apprentices to Rocher and the ‘husband’ of Lentz was described as ‘The Bastard Hottentot Jan Elias’.²⁴⁵ According to Rocher they had no means to support their families.

²³⁸WCARS, Slave Office, SO 6/79, Slave Register M-W 1824 – 1834

²³⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 21, 17 May, 1836

²⁴⁰Wilma King, *Stolen childhood, slave youth in nineteenth-century America* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) p. 99

²⁴¹Mason, *Social death and resurrection*, p. 233

²⁴²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 37, 24 April 1837

²⁴³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume SMT 10/23, folio 27, 24 April 1837

²⁴⁴Ibid

²⁴⁵Ibid

As an aside, this access to information about husbands of slave women and fathers of slave children is rare as slave husbands and fathers were not acknowledged in the slave registers. However, it shows that the lack of husbands' or fathers' names in the Slave Register does not necessarily imply that such relationships did not exist for people who were slaves.

This would also bring into question Andrew Bank's assertion that 'Prior to abolition ... slave family bonds remained tenuous, at best, and underclass sexual relations tended to be characterised by violence and promiscuity'.²⁴⁶ What it does imply is that there was no respect for slave family bonds by slave-holders like Rocher, who were quite willing to destroy families for their own material benefit. As expressed earlier, 'Owing to a loophole in the original Abolition Act of 1833, farmers were able to indenture children for periods extending considerably beyond 1838'.²⁴⁷ It was through this loophole that Rocher was trying to access the power to withhold these children from their parents and benefit from their labour. Children of 'prize negroes' and Free Blacks were also targeted.²⁴⁸

3.4.2.3 Two boys aged eleven

Valentyn

In 1826 Valentyn lived with his aunt Caatje, described as a Hottentot woman in whose 'protection'²⁴⁹ his mother had placed him. In a statement taken by Caatje on 2 January 1827 she stated that Major Blake, the Simon's Town Resident, requested that Valentyn be placed in his service for a period of three years, a request she refused. Blake responded to this refusal by sending a constable 'to fetch the Boy at all hazards stating that the Boy was compelled to enter into his service'.²⁵⁰ Valentyn subsequently ran away, back to his aunt's house and Blake responded by coercing Caatje, in the presence of himself and the under-sheriff van der Schyff, to 'affix her cross to a paper that was delivered to her for that purpose and which she was told had reference to the child in question although she was at the time and is now utterly ignorant of its contents'.²⁵¹ This done, Blake asserted himself 'to have a claim to the Boy's services'.²⁵²

²⁴⁶Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 102

²⁴⁷Scully, *Liberating the family?* p. 52

²⁴⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town, 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, SMT 10/25, folio 15, 17 February 1843

²⁴⁹WCARS, Colonial Office Memorials, CO 3933, folio 6, 2 January, 1827

²⁵⁰Ibid

²⁵¹Ibid

²⁵²Ibid

This case was taken up with the Lieutenant Governor and on 27 January 1827, Sir Richard Plasket requested ‘the Undersheriff and the Constable of our Residency to be examined by the Sitting Commission’.²⁵³ What followed was a mild castigation of Blake in correspondence from Sir Richard Plasket wherein he stated ‘you would have acted more wisely had you not authorised the Undersheriff & Constable to interfere in the business & without raising any question as to the propriety of the Woman’s conduct or her right to complain’.²⁵⁴ While not ordering Blake to return the boy, Plasket advised ‘it is in the Governor’s opinion most advisable that a public officer of your rank should not avail yourself of such a Contract, if the Parents desire it should be annulled’.²⁵⁵ As this case shows, the law was most difficult to sustain when the perpetrators were the very people who were supposed to uphold the law. Nevertheless in this society where ‘status and perceived honour was all important’,²⁵⁶ Blake would have been socially shamed.

Bernard Keane

The case of Bernard Keane offers an illuminating insight into the treatment of child apprentices and the ‘power relations’²⁵⁷ that informed their particular experiences. In 1836 Bernard Keane was bound as an apprentice to Richard Haywood, Boot and Shoemaker in Simon’s Town for a period of seven years. Richard lived with his mother, Mrs Keane in Simon’s Town. His hours of work were ‘six in the morning till eight or nine in the evening’.²⁵⁸ One Tuesday night Bernard became ‘overcome with tiredness’²⁵⁹, and left work at 8pm without completing a pair of shoes. In his statement to the governor on 20 November 1836, Richard expressed ‘being afraid to return to my work next day lest my Master should beat me I remained away the whole day’.²⁶⁰ This fear was not unfounded as he had previously been beaten by Haywood ‘so violently, with the stirrup leather that the marks were apparent’²⁶¹ on his back, legs and arms. On this occasion, when Bernard returned to work after having absented himself, he was told to ‘go home till the Constable came for me’.²⁶²

²⁵³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 93, 27 January, 1827

²⁵⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 99, 8 February, 1827

²⁵⁵Ibid

²⁵⁶Kirsten Thompson, ‘“The mistress will be consumed”: A study of slave resistance in 18th Century Cape Town’, *Historical Approaches: Research papers by history major students of the University of Cape Town* (Rondebosch: Historical Studies Department, University of Cape Town, 2003) p. 21

²⁵⁷Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 69

²⁵⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folios 42 and 42A, 29 November, 1836

²⁵⁹Ibid

²⁶⁰Ibid

²⁶¹WCARS, Colonial Office, CO 3987, folio 89, 18 December, 1836

²⁶²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/23, folios 42 and 42A, 29 November, 1836

At the order of Blake, in his capacity as Special Magistrate in Simon's Town, Richard was inflicted with twelve lashes with the Cat O'Nine tails. On 6 December 1836 John Bull of the colonial office wrote to Blake stating that 'it certainly appeared to His Excellency that the offence, as stated by Keane, was not of so serious a nature as to warrant the infliction of a punishment which would mark him disgracefully for life',²⁶³ however, in an about turn Bull continues, 'but that impression has been materially altered by your report which shows that your sentence authorised punishment on the breech, and not the back'.²⁶⁴ In this case it appears that Blake's access to state and 'local political power'²⁶⁵ diminished the level of blame attached to him.

Extortion of child labour was rife. For example James Kellar aged ten served on the government boat without pay for six months, whose labour Woolls in his capacity as harbourmaster stated was 'much to my satisfaction'.²⁶⁶

Any child who resisted indentureship by running away would be 'lodged in the gaol as a deserter'.²⁶⁷ Overwhelmingly these cases enlighten us to the type of society that existed in Simon's Town during this period, where the hierarchies of power overrode parental authority and put children at risk of abuse. They were in effect 'children without childhoods'.²⁶⁸

3.4.3 The control of labour in the period post Emancipation - 1838 to 1843

During the post Emancipation period literacy continued to be a significant tool of control for the former slaveholding class. Hints at corruption emerge in the records of the Port Office boat crew where a number of illiterate workers, no doubt unknowingly, signed their wages over to T B Woolls and D N Lond with an 'X'.²⁶⁹ In November 1840 complaints concerning wages were made to the Resident Justice in Simon's Town by 'three men of the Port Boats Crew against Mr Woolls'.²⁷⁰ The last Port Office wage list bearing the name of T B Woolls is dated 4 March 1842 and the payments are disbursed by the Resident Justice in Simon's Town.

²⁶³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/23, folio 45, 6 December, 1836

²⁶⁴Ibid

²⁶⁵Bank, *The decline of urban slavery*, p. 82

²⁶⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 33, 8 April 1840 and folio 57A, 8 July 1840

²⁶⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 33, 8 April 1840 and folio 62, 30 July, 1840

²⁶⁸Wilma King, *Stolen childhood, slave youth in nineteenth-century America* (Bloomington Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) p. xxi

²⁶⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 46A, 19 August, 1839

²⁷⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 33, 8 April 1840 and folio 84, 19 November, 1840

The wages for Woolls is received by his wife on 7 March 1842 as he had just recently died. A significant deviation in this wage list is that no-one signs their wages over to anyone but themselves.²⁷¹

With the discontinuation of slavery, the pressure on ‘prize negro’ labour was exacerbated. This period in Simon’s Town saw the arrival of a large number of ‘prize negroes’ into Simon’s Town and in September 1839 alone ‘seven Hundred and nine Negroes, from on board a vessel called the “*Escarpao*” were landed in Simon’s Bay’.²⁷² The control of these ‘liberated slaves’ fell ‘entirely in the hands of the Collector of Customs’.²⁷³ At his whim their labour was divided, some to the Navy and others to private individuals in Simon’s Town. They were indentured for periods of 14 years without pay.²⁷⁴

Many of these individuals were children who, like the Oromo children in Sandy Shell’s study of Lovedale, arrived on these shores ‘in a highly traumatised state’.²⁷⁵ Some arrived here only to die as was the case of the little boy George Nelson who died of an abscess of his mouth in January 1840.²⁷⁶

Perhaps the biggest casualties of the post Emancipation period were the aged and infirm who were released from slavery into poverty with no means of earning a living for themselves. A number of formerly enslaved people died as paupers during this period and on 7 July 1843 the Civil Commissioner wrote to the Resident Justice in Simon’s Town about being ‘directed to make the most economical arrangements practicable for burying such persons’.²⁷⁷ On 13 July 1843 it was agreed, on the application of the Revd Mr Judge’,²⁷⁸ to admit ‘a pauper, Christian Dick into Somerset Hospital’.²⁷⁹

²⁷¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/25, folio 24, 4 March, 1842. Annexure signed by H Woolls, folio 24A 7 March 1842

²⁷²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/24, folio 27A, 9 March, 1840

²⁷³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/24, folio 3, 9 January 1840

²⁷⁴Reidy, “The admission of slaves and ‘prize slaves’ into the Cape colony”, p. 80

²⁷⁵Sandra Carolyn Teresa Rowoldt Shell, “From slavery to freedom, the Oromo slave children of Lovedale, prosopography and profiles” (UCT: PhD, 2013) p. 111

²⁷⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/24, folio 11, 24 January, 1840

²⁷⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/25, folio 34, 7 July, 1843

²⁷⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/25, folio 36, 13 July, 1843

²⁷⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/25, folio 37, 25 July, 1843

The injustice of their treatment becomes amplified when considered within the background of Lalou Meltzer's elegant portrayal of the way former slaveholders, British merchants and the Cape economy in general benefited from the 'great and sudden increase' of cash flow derived from slave compensation money.²⁸⁰

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to understand the dynamics of power that existed in Simon's Town during the period 1743 to 1843 in relation to the control and treatment of people who were enslaved in this town. Overwhelmingly this chapter has shown that the treatment of slaves in Simon's Town was not uniform and that although violence was an extreme form of control, in the main slave control was sustained by the fear and overshadowed by differential treatment. Some rural slaves received adequate food and clothing, while other rural slaves were in a state of hunger and were found to be dressed in rags. Conversely there were urban slave hirelings like Abdol Gaffel who lived fairly autonomously in a rented cottage in the town proper, was imam of the Simon's Town mosque and earned a private income through his trade.

Access to liberty was also differential with some slaves being manumitted and a select few empowered to the extent that they became property holders while others had to grapple with displacement and separation from their parents or children. Some female slaves married out of slavery and became slaveholders themselves and others stayed in bondage.

However, no matter the variety of their treatment, in the main, all those who were enslaved were kept in a psychological state of fear and inferiority through the laws and treatment that created daily reminders of their slave status. Even those who were able to rise out of slavery and become Free Blacks were still socially set apart from the dominant society and *reduced* not least through the control of their dress.

²⁸⁰Lalou Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town Commerce and the Role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser (1835 – 1859)" (UCT: MA, March 1989) p. 60

Although the official stance of the VOC and the British Colonial governments was that the enslaved should be protected from the misuse of power, as this chapter clearly shows, the difficulties facing the enslaved people in Simon's Town was that in their seeking redress, they were required to appeal to the very group who held power over them and in complaining against one of this group, they were up against the established social networks that protected the whole of the powerful group.

The dynamics of power that existed for slaveholders of the VOC era meant that slaveholder cruelty was relatively unchecked. Furthermore, during both these periods, the safety and security of mother / child bonds were always at risk.

During the British colonial era measures were taken to limit slaveholder power through the establishment of ameliorative legislation. However, not only were these far from ideal, often the public and private faces of British rule saw the continuation of long established conventions regarding the ill-treatment of slaves go unchecked. Furthermore, through the cases of Rosetta and Martha we come to see the symbolic criminalisation of slaves who complained, by their incarceration at the Simon's Town prison. Conversely, we also find evidence of a small group of people who used their power to help those who were socially vulnerable through their enslavement.

Robert Shell states that control was 'in the main psychological'. I argue that whatever modes the powerful used to sustain slavery in Simon's Town, whether through physical force as mentioned by Worden or through the paternalistic coercion mentioned by Shell, the impact of such control was *always* psychological. It was this form of control that coerced the behaviour of people who were enslaved 'to transact with the world as enslaved, as not needing or wanting freedom and as understanding his or her enslavement as appropriate and natural'.²⁸¹ Thus though most, but not all, of the physical manifestations of violent control of the enslaved in Simon's Town could heal in time; the psychological wounds would have been more difficult to heal and were possibly irreparable.

²⁸¹Sullivan, *Revealing whiteness*, p. 26

CHAPTER 4 - RESISTANCE

Introduction

This chapter examines slavery in Simon's Town from a vantage point of resistance. To this end it will explore forms of resistance that took place by the enslaved in Simon's Town and also gauge how such resistance was influenced by ethnicity, culture, religion and gender. Furthermore, it will explore how acts of resistance might have changed over time and within the purportedly differential contexts of VOC versus British colonial rule at the Cape. All these will be explored through a theoretical framework that seeks to understand how slave identities in Simon's Town were shaped, or altered, through acts of resistance. Ross states that it could be argued, albeit absurdly, that there were only a small proportion of slaves who 'rebelled against it [slavery] and so became 'criminals', compared to a 'large majority who were peaceable, law-abiding, submissive subjects.'¹ The latter statement, if true, is significant when considered against Craton's assertion that 'slavery distorts the personality and all human relationships, so that *only in resistance can the self be realised and dignity restored*'.² [emphasis added] With this in mind the text that follows will explore to what degree a measure of personal agency and dignity was achievable within the context of slavery in Simon's Town.

4.1 Resisting slavery during the VOC era

In this chapter we return to September of Mallebaar, the slave of the fiscal de Nijs, who was beaten with a sjambok by Sergeant Valentijn Marks on a winter's night in 1753, because he was accused of going out to the watch and had taken the initiative of making himself a fire in the kitchen. In as much as this Sergeant used his power to violently remind September of Mallebaar of his slave status, September of Mallebaar reacted spontaneously not as a slave, but as a man. That he would pay the ultimate price for striking a white male could not have been tantamount in his mind when he reacted automatically and 'attacked him bodily'.

¹Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750 – 1870: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p.39

² M Craton and G Greenland, *Searching for the invisible man: Slaves and plantation life in Jamaica* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) p. 125

It was also claimed by Sergeant Marks that after this ‘brutal resistance’ September of Mallebaar ‘jumped through the open kitchen window and from outside swore violently at the Sergeant in Portuguese as well as Dutch and in substance said: ‘Ja jolijs sergeant, I will get you; then you scoundrel and tajoli sergeant, I will certainly get you: and thereupon ran away.’³

Mason argues that violence ‘was the foundation on which slavery rested’.⁴ Within slave societies slaves were expected to accept the ‘legalised violence’⁵ and mental cruelty to which they were subjected, without retaliation. However, as this case has shown, this was not always easy to do.

Violent resistance to ill-treatment was a phenomenon that colonialists attributed especially to Eastern slaves, to the extent that in 1767 a ban was imposed on importing male Eastern slaves.⁶ This ban was re-issued on 13 June 1789, ‘under a penalty of Rds 300 and forfeiture of the slave.’⁷ However, none of these directives were able to effectively stop the flow of Eastern slaves and Asian Free Blacks into the town and as the database shows, Eastern slaves arrived in Simon’s town well into the 1800’s.

Resistance to slavery took various forms in Simon’s Town during the VOC era, with the most ‘successful’ form of resistance being escape. If we consider that the most fundamental aspect of slavery is that the quality of life of the slave is wholly dependent on the slaveholder, then the most fundamental loss for the enslaved person was the loss of the freedom of choice.

To this end escape was a psychologically significant step, because it involved choice and it constituted a physical separation from the enslaver and the place of enslavement. Furthermore, from the vantage point of the slaveholder, it also challenged the concept of slave ownership. Viewed in this light it could be considered as the most radical form of resistance to slavery by the enslaved.

³WCARS, Council of Justice, CJ 361, folio 18, April 1753 (Translation from Dutch by Maureen Rall)

⁴John Edwin Mason, *Social death and resurrection: Slavery and emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003) p. 235

⁵Robert Ross, *Cape of torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983) p. 3

⁶WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 ‘Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of slavery and Indian Statutes 1652 – 1818’, 20 October 1767

⁷Ibid, 13 June, 1789

However, as Ross has shown, escape was often also an act of self-preservation to avoid a cruel punishment, in which case ‘a successful escape was quite literally a matter of life and death’.⁸

An interesting phenomenon about Simon’s Town is that it was not only a place that slaves ran from, but it was also a place where run-away slaves and others ran to. In fact by 1774 Simon’s Bay was a notorious escape route not only for slaves, but for VOC deserters and other exiles as there were so many hiding places.⁹ Worden and Groenewald record a case of three run-away slaves in 1785 whose arrival in Simon’s Bay caused a stir when they ‘broke into the slagthuijs’, stealing not only money but, ‘a black velvet jacket, a brown silk frock and a white shirt’. The locals became aware of their presence in the town when they visited the local tavern.¹⁰

According to Dan Sleight there were more daring escapes from Simon’s Bay than any other *Buitepos* of the VOC.¹¹ This had much to do with its particular landscape, which afforded many opportunities for escape by sea and on the mountainside. The successful escape of relatively large run-away groups in Simon’s Town during this period suggests the existence of a covert communication system amongst the enslaved in Simon’s Town, which facilitated group escapes.

On a stormy night in 1758, seven slaves escaped in the post holder’s boat, taking with them weapons, food and water.¹² Another successful group escape, which was carried out in September 1761 ‘with the boat of the post’ involved ten Madagascan slaves.¹³ On 10 August 1763 a group of twenty two Mozambican slaves, belonging to several owners in Simon’s Town, escaped together.

⁸ Ross, *Cape of torments*, p. 34

⁹WCARS, Verbatim copies, VC 28, Dagregister: 30.11.1758, g.p., as cited in Dan Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, (Pretoria: Protea, 2004) p. 324 - 325

¹⁰Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald, *Trials of Slavery. Selected documents concerning slaves from the criminal records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1705 – 1794* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society: 2005) pp. 518-519

¹¹Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, p. 327

¹²WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 28 dagregister 30.11.1758, as cited in Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, p. 327

¹³WCARS: C384 Attestation: verklaring J Becker 26.07.1767 p. 451, C385 Attestation: Verklaring J Mizaros 2.1.1768, pp. 1; C504 Inkomende Briewen J F Kirsten – T Tulbach 11.1.1761, p. 180, as cited in Sleight, *Die buiteposte*, p. 292

It appears that they initially attempted to escape by sea, but when unsuccessful, they fled inland. They were never found.¹⁴ These two cases are interesting as in both cases the escapees were countrymen, which created conditions for a greater level of social cohesion and trust between them. It is possible that they arrived in Simon's Town together and that they already knew each other in their native countries, thus they were able to develop a strong communication system which enabled their successful group escape.

The group of twelve slaves belonging to Johannes Volraad, Johannes Elshout and Johannes Munnik who 'absconded with the flat-bottomed boat belonging to the Bay' on Saturday 2 May 1767, were more likely a group with diverse origins.¹⁵ It was the opinion of the postholder that 'the aforesaid absconders would have set a course with the stolen boat to Hanglip or the beaches of Hottentots Holland'.¹⁶ If this were indeed the case then this group were either themselves fishermen or were connected to 'slave fishermen from Simon's Town', who were said to be 'the only people who knew the secret of the cave'¹⁷ at Hanglip. They were also more than likely Asian as the Hanglip maroons had good contacts with 'Malay slaves and even among the free community' in Simon's Town.¹⁸

During the VOC era punishments for resistance were particularly brutal and this brutality had significant implications for slaves who chose to brave the possibility of punishment and resist anyway. Significantly, for however much it was considered that for the VOC 'barbarity at the Cape had a clear social purpose',¹⁹ the pendulum was always going to swing back again. Thus the VOC monster of brute force that was used to prevent slave resistance during the VOC era, unleashed a mirror image of itself in some of the slaves, especially at Hanglip.

Some members of the Hanglip maroons, and their leader Leander Bugis in particular, were extremely brutal and a number of callous and cruel murders were attributed to Leander and other members of his group.²⁰ According to Ross they survived by living off 'the fish they had caught' and through bandit activity along the Hottentots Holland Pass.²¹

Running away thus carried its own casualties to the psyche in that in as much as it carried the risks of extremely violent punishment if caught by the commandos.

¹⁴WCARS, Verbatim copies, C. 658 Dagregister Simons Baaij, 10.8.1763, p. 592. As cited in Sleight, Dan, *Die buiteposte*, p. 327

¹⁵ This statement is based on the diverse origins of slaves listed on the database for private slaveholders in Simon's Town and would also be in line in general trends at this time when private slaveholders preferred to hold slaves from diverse origins in order to prevent unified resistance

¹⁶WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 30, p. 178, 2 May, 1767

¹⁷Ross, *Cape of torments*, p. 69

¹⁸Ross, *Status & Respectability*, p. 69

¹⁹Ibid, p. 18

²⁰Donna Corns, "Offended shadows" (UCT: BA Honours in Historical Studies, 2011) p. 60

²¹Ross, *Status & Respectability*, p. 69

The run-away slave had to engage with violence in order to survive. The run-away slaves of Volraad, Elshout and Munnik left well-prepared for violent resistance having stolen ‘some muskets, powder and lead from aforementioned Munnik’.²²

The Hanglip maroons were perhaps the most successful resisters of enslavement, but the price of their lifestyles was high in terms of retaining a sense of humanity. It was a brutal existence where the dynamics of power played themselves out between the enslavers and those who were prepared to fight enslavement by any means possible.²³

Not all slaves chose to run-away or to join ‘droster gangs’.²⁴ For some, like Smaaksoet of Madagascar, a slave of the ‘Company’s post the Vissershok’,²⁵ who hanged himself on 2 February, 1758, death was the only escape. Conversely, there were a number of slaves in Simon’s Town who were able to resist many of the psychological rigours of slavery through the practise of Islam. Islam not only offered slaves a psychological and spiritual release from bondage, but it also gave them access to a support system afforded by the Free Black Muslims in the town. Through this social network Muslim slaves were able to derive a sense of dignity notwithstanding their slave status and also a sense of autonomy from the slaveholders. As mentioned in earlier chapters, evidence from the database and oral history interviews suggest that the practice of Islam in Simon’s Town occurred very early during Dutch settlement in the town. The kramat in Simon’s Town is said to date back to 1760.²⁶

It is also possible that the earliest Imam in Simon’s Town was a slave belonging to Christina Diemer, who owned Imhoff’s farm until her death in 1765.²⁷ It was in fact at this very farm, by then owned by Francois Rossouw, that a possible case of arson occurred in 1778 when ‘the whole of the buildings on his place Slangkop were burnt’.²⁸ Another possible case of arson is mentioned by Hudson as occurring in 1798 when ‘the company’s stores were burnt’.²⁹

²²WCARS, Verbatim Copies, VC 30, p. 178. 2 May, 1767

²³Ross, *Cape of torments*, p. 61

²⁴Nigel Penn, *Rogues, rebels and runaways, eighteenth-century Cape characters* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999) p. 147

²⁵WCARS, Council of Policy, C2536, p. 85, (Old number C.375), 2 February, 1758

²⁶ Oral history interview with Aunty Kobie, Kobera Manuel of Ocean View, 2 August, 2009

²⁷ See database chapter, p. 22

²⁸ Simon’s Town Museum Willis Records: Grants of Lands 1743 – 1812, SMT. 102193A, “Case of arson at Slangkop”, 1778

²⁹Robert C-H Shell (ed) with the assistance of Raymond and Edward Hudson, “Out of livery, The papers of Samuel Eusebius Hudson, 1764 – 1828” (Cape Town: Unpublished manuscript, 2013) p. 372

4.2 Transcending racial hierarchies

In a society where hierarchies were racial, some slaves in Simon's Town either consciously or unconsciously resisted slavery through their connection to people who were empowered through these racial hierarchies.³⁰ Thus notwithstanding the social restraints placed upon emancipated slave women, slave women who became the wives of 'white' men were able to overcome the excesses of slavery and secure better futures for their children. Such was the case for Hester of the Cape³¹ and Anna van Jacoba van de Kaap³² who made the transition from landless female slaves to burgher wives and property owners in Simon's Town.

Jean Michiel, the son of Sophia of the Cape, who was fathered by Joseph Dempfile the junior surgeon in False Bay; was able to transcend slavery and enter the world of the dominant class, both culturally and materially as he was also appointed his father's sole heir in 1784.³³

At times opportunities arose through the benevolence of people who held social power. Such a possible case occurred in 1758 when the ship the *Grantham* was captured by the French and landed at Simon's Bay. Two influential passengers, named Nicholas Vincent and Charles Boddam, the one a naval captain and the other a member of the Madras Council, petitioned to take with them to Europe a group of servants and two young slave children named Frank and Rosa.³⁴ However, it is unknown whether their lives in Europe were that of slave or free.

4.3 Case study: 'Julij'

An interesting case concerning a group of run-away slaves in Simon's Town emerges during the Batavian period. On 18 July 1804 the Attorney General in Cape Town, G Beilaerts van Blokland, issued an instruction to Henry Roselt the Warden in Simon's Bay to apprehend a fisherman slave of Jan Pieter Kirsten, named 'Julij' and to 'search his possessions carefully'.³⁵ By the time this instruction was issued July had already escaped to the mountain 'above Simon's Bay'.

³⁰While certain free blacks like Mosis Pietersen had economic power over poor whites, this power was still limited in a society where racial power overrode economic power. See also Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, "The origins and entrenchment of European dominance at the Cape, 1652 – 1840" in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.) *The shaping of South African society, 1652 – 1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1989) pp. 521-561

³¹Adolphe Linder, *The Swiss regiment Meuron at the Cape and afterwards, 1781 – 1816* (Cape Town: Castle Military Museum, 2000) p. 527

³²J Hoge, *Personalalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652 – 1806*, (Cape Town: Cape Times, Archives Year Book, 1946). See also Hoge, *Personalalia of the Cape 1652 - 1806* (Compiled and indexed by Elizabeth Teir and Robert Shell) p. 448

³³Ibid, p. 487

³⁴H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope Requesten (Memorials)* Volume IV, 1715 – 1806 : T-Z (No. 82) (1758) (Cape Town: South African Library, 1989) p. 1287

³⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/1, folio 156, 18 July, 1804 (Translation from Dutch by Maureen Rall)

The case of July offers an intriguing insight into a clandestine criminal network between a group of slaves from Simon's Town and a Dutch trader who bought their stolen wares and re-sold them in Cape Town. The role-players in this case were July from Macassar (slave to Jan Pieter Kirsten), Apollos from Ternate (slave to Gerrit Croeser), Matjang from Bougies (slave to Jan Pieter Kirsten), Andries from Mauritius (slave to Jan Pieter Kirsten), Toon (origin unknown) (slave to Widow Hurter) and Johannes Josephus Jantson aged 41 of Delft, Holland.

It is ironic that both the storehouses that they had broken into belonged to slave traders residing in Simon's Town. The first burglary occurred at the storehouse belonging to Alexander Tennant. From it Matjang and Andries stole 6 chests of tea and 1040 pieces of Nankeen cotton which was packed in 5 crates. They immediately sold the tea to Johannes Josephus Jantson for 6 rix dollars per case and hid the nankeen in the sand behind the house of Jacobus Kirsten before finally removing it. After a few days Jantson also bought two crates of the nankeen. He paid them in silver and paper money and afterwards sold the goods at a profit in Cape Town.

Although Matjang and Andries committed the actual theft, the sale of the goods was conducted by all members of the group and Jantson was not their only customer. July of Macassar had with the assistance of Aron, slave to Captain Dunning, sold to the late Hendrik Kannemeyer (who died in the public prison in Simons's Bay) and to Toon, 8 packages of Nankeen for which Toon had paid 90 Rx dollars in rupees and paper money. Thus it seems that Toon was a buyer and not involved in the actual thefts. However, that Toon, as a slave, had possession of so much money suggests that he was involved in clandestine activities unless he received some form of stipend from his owner, the Widow Hurter. That he ran away makes it doubtful that he earned money as a hireling tradesman.

In court records it emerges that the group had also broken into Tennant's storehouse on 17 June 1804 at which time July and Apollos stole a sack of flour. Not long afterwards they broke into this storehouse again, this time with the help of Andries. On this occasion they stole 'more baskets of flour and another calabash of wine'.

Another storehouse in Simon's Town was also broken into by this group, this one belonging to Isaac Stromboom, a Swiss resident and slave-trader in Simon's Town. From this storehouse the group stole a roll of blue cloth, a piece of striped linen, two bushels of rice, six pieces of white linen, a quantity of thread and needles and some biscuits. Some of these goods were sold by Matjang who found a ready buyer in Jantson.

With the authorities hot on their heels, the group concealed themselves in a cave in the mountains above the bay where they survived in part by stealing three sheep from the 'butcher Veijl and a further sheep from the flock "grazing under the care of the little Hottentot boy behind the Government's Garden"''.³⁶

Unlike the Hanglip maroons who were largely able to elude the authorities, this group were discovered soon after. It is ironic that the person who reported July was his own wife, Clarissa. It transpired that he 'visited' Clarissa and 'threw her a bundle of dirty clothing' and told her 'you must wash that shirt'. He then went off towards the side of the mountain behind Kirsten's house. Clarissa opened the bundle and 'found inside it some silver and paper money so she immediately informed the widow Olthof', whose late husband was the harbourmaster in Simon's Town.

Their sentences were harsh: July and Apollos were to 'be hanged by the neck till they are dead and their dead bodies being transported to the Gibbet outside the Town to be hanged thereon and there to remain as an example till consumed by the birds of the air'.

Matjang, Andries and Toon were to be bound to a stake, severely scourged with rods on their bare backs and thereafter Matjang and Andries were to be branded with a hot iron, then put in chains – Matjang for 25 years and Andries for a term of 15 years and in this condition to labour without wages in the public works. Toon, after his punishment, was to be given up to his Mistress who ran a lodging house at the present day Admiralty House in Simon's Town.³⁷ In a 'public display of shaming'³⁸ where he was probably 'made to stand under the gallows with the noose around his neck,³⁹ Jantson was made to witness these punishments and was banished from the colony for life thereafter.

³⁶WCARS, Council of Justice, CJ801, Raad van Justitie Sententies No. 22 (1806)

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸Kirsten Thompson, "'The mistress will be consumed": A study of slave resistance in 18th Century Cape Town', *Historical Approaches* (Rondebosch: Historical Studies Department, University of Cape Town, 2003) p. 28

³⁹Nigel Penn, *Rogues, rebels and runaways, eighteenth-century Cape characters* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999) p. 84

This case reveals the secret networks of slaves, verifying ‘the existence of ‘subcultures’ and an ‘underclass’⁴⁰ to which slaves in Simon’s Town had access. It also suggests the role of intermediaries, which both encompassed and transcended slavery, freedom and race. Thus the connection between Jantson and the slaves would have correlated with what was perceived by the dominant class as ‘the dangers of social interactions between low-class Europeans and slaves’.⁴¹

The lure of storehouses for committing theft⁴² becomes even more intriguing in this case as it highlights whose storehouses were being broken into: Tennant and Stromboom, both noted slave-traders in Simon’s Town. Furthermore, it also speaks of the fragmented loyalties of female slaves, like Clarissa, whose reporting of July to her mistress was no doubt precipitated by a mixture of confused loyalty and fear of punishment. Donna Corns attributes this type of enigma to the fact that female slaves had a ‘token place in the family’ and were kept under ‘a more watchful eye’ than male slaves.⁴³

4.4 Escaping by land and sea during the British colonial era

From May 1806 onwards there was a rise of bold and frequent slave escapes both to and from Simon’s Bay.⁴⁴ This is significant when one locates these acts within their historical context: The return of the British saw the arrival of several working class British seamen in Simon’s Town, who arrived from a country where an aversion to slavery had developed. Unlike other British residents in Simon’s Town, they did not have a vested interest in slavery. Their interaction with the locally enslaved people was bound to have strengthened the latter’s views about the injustice of their lot as slaves. As Ross suggests, the ‘visiting sailors and the local soldiers lived lives that were probably as oppressed as those of the slaves’,⁴⁵ which created the possibility of some common ground between themselves.

⁴⁰Fiona Vernal, “Discourse networks in South African slave society” in *African Historical Review*, 43:2, (21.12.2011) p. 6

⁴¹Ibid, p. 9

⁴²Shell, “Out of livery”, p. 372 (Hudson speaks of warehouses ‘that have been plundered of property to a considerable amount’)

⁴³Corns, ‘Offended shadows’, p. 79

⁴⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/2, folio 23, 1 May, 1806 (The case of Jonas); WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/2, folio 26, 12 May, 1806 (The case of Africa); WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/2, folio 28, 26 May, 1806 (the case of a run-away slave); WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 10/2, folio 31, 14 June, 1806 (case of a group of Chinese and Javanese slaves).

⁴⁵Ross, *Cape of torments*, p. 21

By 1809, a year after Britain abolished the slave trade, the impact of escapes was strong enough to induce the British colonial government to offer a general pardon to run away slaves who returned.⁴⁶ However, it would seem that this was a period when many slaves had developed an unquenchable thirst for freedom.

The frequency of slaves running away led one slaveholder to comment in 1813 that ‘slaves are getting so bad these days, I don’t know where it will end’.⁴⁷ That same year another slaveholder announced with equal exasperation: ‘My Slave Boy Abraham who I some time since recovered from on Board H M Ship *Seminamis*, ran away from me again this Morning’.⁴⁸

During 1814, at the close of the transitional period and in the wake of the Cape being formally ceded to Britain,⁴⁹ there was another upsurge in the numbers of slaves and ‘prize negroes’ either running away to Simon’s Town or running away from Simon’s Town.⁵⁰

This was also the year that the Royal Navy was established in Simon’s Town and ‘new buildings were carried on with great energy’.⁵¹ It is possible that the upsurge of run-aways from Simon’s Town was related to the increased labour demands placed on slaves with the establishment of the Navy and possibly also to what was later described as ‘The False reports of general emancipation by Government.’⁵²

Some run-away slaves relied on their physical resemblance to non-slave groups to protect themselves from re-capture. Through so doing an enslaved person ‘whose self-identity was already insecure’⁵³ would have had to re-negotiate this identity in new and novel ways.

⁴⁶WCARS Slave Office SO 17/1 ‘Notes collected from the Colonial Placcards since 1652 upon the subject of Slavery and Indian statutes 1652 – 1818’, 23 June, 1809

⁴⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/2, folio 103, 10 October, 1813

⁴⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT10/2, folio119, 13 November, 1813

⁴⁹Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town, The making of a city, an illustrated social history* (Claremont: David Philip, 1998) p. 87

⁵⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 154, 11 November, 1814 (mentions prize negro George who escaped). WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town, 1/SMT 2/5), Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 110, 13 September, 1814 (mentions desertion of servant girl of Col Bird). WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number1/SMT. 10/6, folio 109, 13 September, 1814 (mentions desertion of prize slave of M G Blake’s named ‘David’). WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 98, 14 August, 1814 (mentions desertion of slave girl aged 15 or 16 named Zaartje van de Kaap). WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 174, 15 December, 1814 (Letter from J Osmond to J H Brand concerning slave named Lubin who had ‘absented himself’). WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/6, folio 175, 16 December, 1814 (J Goodridge to J H Brand reporting a ‘slave boy absent’)

⁵¹Sir Jahleel Brenton, *Memoir of the life and services of Vice Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton*, edited by The Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester (London: Hatchard, 1846) p. 431

⁵²WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves

⁵³Penn, *Rogues, rebels and runaways*, p. 97

Thus when J C Hestary corresponded with the Simon's Town Resident Magistrate about his missing slave named Abraham, he remarked 'his appearance resembling so much that of a soldier's child (being so very fair) that he may escape the notice of your Dienders'.⁵⁴ Similarly, when T Rowles reported the escape of his slave cook Louis from the Isle of France (Mauritius), who apparently spoke English, French and Dutch, he stated that he 'very much resembles a bastard Hottentot and has woolly hair'.⁵⁵

Sanna van de Kaap on the other hand used her large build to pose as a man when she stowed away on the Prince Regent, '*de guiselement in mans kleedren en onder een geleende naam als matroos of koks maat gerembarquend*,' with the help of a passenger of the ship named F Sterne.⁵⁶ As is hinted in this case, and is evident in others, interaction, friendship and liaisons with British seamen and visitors offered fairly regular opportunities for escape.

Another such case was that of 'two African female slaves'⁵⁷ who it was reported to the warden in Simon's Bay, had absconded from Cape Town with men belonging to the regiment which 'has now departed for the Bay'.⁵⁸

Stowing away was a common form of escape from Simon's Town and in September 1808 a slave woman was reported to have stowed away '*aan Boord van het Schip de Phenix (sic) gecommandeerd door Captain Calander*'.⁵⁹ In a similar case on 11 March 1811 a group of Mozambican slaves comprising two males, two females and one child stowed away on the English Ship the Hogg '*aan den Engelaschen Schipstimesman Hogg*'.⁶⁰

Two months later a male slave named Louis of Mauritius, described in Dutch as a 'Neger' was reported to have stowed away on the *Willesley*.⁶¹ Another group of run-away slaves were found on the *Metcalf* on 23 May 1813.⁶² It is quite possible that at least some of these stow-aways belonged to a group of people described as 'the blacks belonging to the [Naval] yard'.⁶³

⁵⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 64, 2 July, 1813

⁵⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 103, 10 October, 1813

⁵⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/10, folio 184. 10 October, 1818

⁵⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 43, 16 August 1806

⁵⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 43, 16 August 1806

⁵⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 122. 8 September, 1808

⁶⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folio 31, 11 March, 1811

⁶¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folio 55, 25 May, 1811

⁶²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/2, folio 41, 23 May, 1813

⁶³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folio 87, 11 August, 1811

Nicole Ulrich speaks of a sense of social unity between slaves, sailors, soldiers and khoi in that they jointly comprised the ‘labouring poor’.⁶⁴ While this was so, British sailors and soldiers, no matter how poor, were still able to assert themselves as ‘men with rights’⁶⁵ in a way that male slaves were not. Nonetheless, the records certainly reveal the existence of social networks between the slaves and seamen, who are found to have entertained them on board these ships and worked alongside them when they stowed away. Thus a slave named William, who had previously deserted by sea, but had been given permission by W Jong to go on board ship on New Year’s day as he had ‘promised to be a good boy for the future’,⁶⁶ apparently ‘broke his promise’.⁶⁷

Slaveholders were also frustrated at how easily run-away slaves were absorbed into crews at sea. In 1821 G Borchers complained that the ‘two Boys on board the Brig (Perseverance) now loading with oil in Fish Hoek Bay’⁶⁸ had deserted from his service. It is likely too that whatever help slaves received from seamen was reciprocal, as magisterial records show that an inordinate amount of sailors deserted from the British Navy during the 19th century.

In at least one case there is evidence of a British seaman named Robert Forman from Berwick Dundee deserting with a Cape-born man named Hendrik Martinus of George who, by his description was either a Free Black or a slave.⁶⁹ Thus Robert was in all likelihood was given refuge by a Free Black or slave family when he deserted. These are but some examples of the transatlantic effects of the sea and how it shaped the history of this town.

4.4.1 A stow-away named Hendrik

On 13 July 1811, Gerhardus Munnik of Simon’s Town put up a poster in the town concerning his ‘Slave Boy named Hendrik [who] was given to him by his Father agreeable to the Tenor of his last Will.’⁷⁰ The poster read: ‘Strayed. On 23 June last from Gerhardus Munnik in Simons Town, about 13 years of age, white complexion and nearly 4 feet high. Whoever will deliver him at the prison shall be rewarded.’ However, by this time 13 year old Hendrik was already on the frigate *The Crusoe*, bound for England.

⁶⁴Nicole Ulrich, “Counter power and colonial rule in the eighteenth-century Cape of Good Hope: belongings and protest of the labouring poor” (University of the Witwatersrand: PhD, 2010) p. 302

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 257

⁶⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, Volume number 1/SMT 2/5, folio 10, 13 January, 1819

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/13, folio 91, 27 November, 1821

⁶⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folios 143 and Ref. 143-B, 19 November, 1832

⁷⁰WCARS, Colonial Office Memorials, CO 3906, folio 337, 9 October, 1816

In order to have some cash for his journey, Hendrik went to the house of a 'Free Black' who he was aware owed Munnik three rixdollars, which he demanded on Munnik's behalf and this done, he commenced his journey to England. The fact that a 'Free Black' so readily gave in to Hendrik's demands deserves mention: Vernal states that 'beyond their official legal status, therefore, slaves found that occupational, geographical and colour gradations further shaped their particular experiences'.⁷¹ Thus in approaching a 'Free Black' in this way it seems that Hendrik relied on 'colour hierarchies among slaves' and 'Free Blacks' in a society 'privileging light skin as ideal'.⁷²

Certainly Hendrik displayed huge levels of confidence for a 13 year old boy who had experienced life as a slave, this confidence further showing itself in his interaction with the Captain of the ship *The Packet* who found Hendrik 'on the Public Streets in England, in the most deplorable state'.⁷³ Apparently 'the Boy did nothing but begging and praying the Capt to take him on board, as his Master and his own family lived at the Cape and that he would by that means prevent his sudden death.' Taking pity on his plight, the Captain took him into his service on *The Packet*, where he worked for a period of five years before returning to Simon's Town at the age of 18 'where he does now walk around the town as a free Person'.⁷⁴ This was much to the indignation of Gerhardus Munnik who petitioned Lord Charles Somerset that his 'own Lawfull (sic) property may be ordered home, and by that means prevent a severe loss to a Man who is obliged to maintain a wife and six children by a daily hard labor'.⁷⁵

4.4.2 Slaves resisting family separations

According to the Protector of slaves, slave 'Children may safely and most advantageously be separated [from their parents] on attaining their 10th year',⁷⁶ which according to Rogers had up until 1830 been common practice at the Cape.

⁷¹Vernal, "Discourse Networks", p. 10

⁷²Ibid

⁷³Ibid

⁷⁴Ibid

⁷⁵WCARS, Colonial Office Memorials, CO 3906, folio 337, 9 October, 1816

⁷⁶WCARS: Slave Office confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834 SO 3/20A, Article 51, June – December, 1830. G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves

He thus stated that the ‘New Order forbidding such separation until the completion of the 16th Year must prove very Embarrassing (sic).⁷⁷ However, the Simon’s Town magisterial records show that children resisted these separations, some well into their adulthood.

On 17 May 1811 a 24 year old male slave named William ran away from his owner in Cape Town and was thought to be hiding at the home of his ‘father a free Man of Colour named Daniel’, residing in Simon’s Town. In another case on 15 September 1812 it was reported that Daniel, a slave of Mr C Pohl who had ‘already absconded several times’⁷⁸ was thought to be in Simon’s Town where his father lived as a free Javanese fishermen.

Separations were not only resisted by children, but also by spouses and when the female slave Christina left the service of the Widow Berg in 1833, she was ‘said to be in Simon’s Town with her husband Dolly a free person of Colour’.⁷⁹

The cases of William, Daniel and Christina highlight the strong ties that existed between slaves and Free Blacks, with the latter often playing key roles in the lives of slaves, as fathers and husbands. Some slave women ran away with their children. Thus when 40 year old Selva ran away from Cape Town in 1810, it was stated that ‘information has been received here that she and her daughter are at Simon’s Town’.⁸⁰

4.4.3 Resistance by ‘prize negroes’

With the arrival of ‘prize negroes’ who were supposedly liberated from slave ships, but returned to virtual slavery for a period of 14 years, it is not surprising that during this period there were not only slaves who were running away, but also ‘prize negroes’. Often ‘prize negroes’ ran away as a desperate attempt to maintain intimate relationships with loved ones in a society that did not honour such relationships. Thus when the ‘French Prize Negro, named “August” belonging to His Excellency; and who was formerly in the service of Lieut Blake’ ran away, it was thought the he had ‘gone to Simon’s Town after a female Prize Slave who was also in the employ of Lieut Blake’.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Letters received by Resident Magistrate , Volume number 1/SMT. 10/4, folio 184, 15 September, 1812 (Translation from Dutch by Maureen Rall)

⁷⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/23, folio 68, 18 July, 1834

⁸⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT. 10/3, folio 80, 28 August, 1810

⁸¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/9, folio 121, 21 July, 1817

On 3 February 1825 the ‘Prize Negress named Saartje’, ran away from the home of Frans Bekker and his wife in Witteboom to be with her husband Joseph Brown in Simon’s Town.⁸² When attempts were made to get her to return, it was stated by the ‘Boy’ who was sent to collect her that ‘she had been walking about previous to his arrival, but on hearing of his being in she has taken to her bed.’⁸³ However, it later transpired that Frans Bekker and his wife had been quite heavy-handed in their treatment of Saartje.⁸⁴

Children of ‘prize negroes’ also resisted being separated from their mothers and when the ‘Apprentice Boy’ named America deserted Mrs Hodgson in Cape Town, he was said to be with his mother Rosanna in Simon’s Town.⁸⁵

In rare cases ‘prize negroes’ also sought redress through legal channels. One such case concerned a ‘prize negro’ named John Williams who sought the intervention of the court when his right of access to his wife was denied to him by a Mr Miller in Simon’s Town, to whom she was indentured. In so doing John Williams showed himself to be aware of his legal claim in terms of the Proclamation of 23 May 1823, which said that ‘no Master shall throw any unjustifiable impediments in the way of a prize negress entering into the state of wedlock, on pain of forfeiting his claim to the remaining term of her service.’⁸⁶

Another ‘prize negro’ named John Campbell, who was Sierra Leonian by birth, petitioned the Governor to provide him with a colonial passport after ‘Mr Moore Baker at Simon’s Town’ refused to ‘to deliver to Memorialist his indenture’⁸⁷ on the expiration of same.

4.5 Theft

In 1823 it was stated that: ‘It is a well known fact, that many Slaves are frequently committing thefts, for the express purpose of collecting money, wherewith to purchase their freedom’.⁸⁸ Such cases of theft to purchase freedom were no doubt encouraged by Deed 14 of the Proclamation of 18 March 1823.

⁸²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/17, folio 232, 10 February, 1825

⁸³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/17, folio 237, 15 February, 1825

⁸⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/17, folio 243, 22 February, 1825

⁸⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 203, 5 October, 1833

⁸⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/17, folio 191, 17 December, 1824

⁸⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/16, folio 95, 25 June 1824

⁸⁸WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on proclamation of 18th March 1823 on slaves

This deed allowed the rights of slaves to purchase their own freedom and the freedom of their spouses and children.⁸⁹ While this might be unrelated, it is interesting to note that when Gideon Rossouw died in 1829, his slave Mina purchased her freedom ‘at the public sale on 23 February 1829.’⁹⁰

Although petty thefts in Simon’s Town did not occur at the rate mentioned by Andrew Bank for Cape Town, they certainly did occur.⁹¹ Petty thefts in Simon’s Town reportedly mostly involved the ‘prize negroes’ of Reverend Sturt who helped themselves to luxuries or staples, no doubt to supplement dietary needs. In 1822 the Apprentice Thom was found to have stolen coffee in his possession for which he was punished in the Simon’s Town prison.⁹² The ‘prize boy Jan’ was imprisoned for stealing wine and brandy from Reverend Sturt to give to one of Sturt’s ‘other Prize Boys’. A month later Sturt requested the arrest of his ‘Prize Apprentice Philip’ ‘for breaking open a room and stealing therefrom potatoes’.⁹³ Before the constable arrived Philip ‘absconded, taking with him all his clothes, together with a tin kettle’.⁹⁴ However, his freedom was short-lived as he was arrested a month later.⁹⁵ In a case involving one of Sturt’s female servants, he complained that she had stolen rice to give ‘to a family residing near my house’.⁹⁶ Thus it seems clear that for slaves who committed domestic theft, their actions resonated very much with what Robert Ross describes as ‘the normal practice for survival among slaves’.⁹⁷

4.6 Slave resistance during the ameliorative period

The purpose of the ameliorative laws was that ‘the Slave will be satisfied with his improved condition, and the Master with the remaining share of authority thereby allotted to him over his Slave’.⁹⁸ However, these laws did not stop slaves from running away. Throughout this period slave desertions continued unabated as slaves were less accepting of their slave status and asserting their right to be free. Sometimes female slaves ran away in pairs, as was the case of Sanna van de Kaap and Candasa who ran away in 1817.

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰WCARS, Slave Register, Slave Office, SO 6/79, 23 February, 1829

⁹¹Andrew Bank, *The decline of urban slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Rondebosch: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1991) pp. 145-146

⁹²WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 132, 6 December, 1822

⁹³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/15, folio 12, 12 February 1823

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/15, folio 12, 12 February 1823

⁹⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/15, folio 3, 2 January 1823

⁹⁷Ross, *Cape of torments*, p. 7

⁹⁸WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on slaves

Sanna was described as ‘*den groot en wel gemaakte Africaansche meid*’ while Candasa was ‘*een kleine meid oud 17 jaaren*’.⁹⁹

Another case of desertion to Simon’s Town in 1822 involves ‘‘Danzer a Bosjesman of about 15 years old in Doctor Barry’s Service’.¹⁰⁰ In 1828 Pierre Rocher stated ‘I have (sic) obliged to put in the iron my Slave boy named Fortuyn because I cannot keep him otherways (sic). He runs away any moment’.¹⁰¹

As the above has shown, this was a period when slaves had become restless for freedom. With the growing numbers of relatively successful Free Black fishermen such as Mey of Batavia in their midst, it would not have been unreasonable for their slave counterparts to want at least what they had.¹⁰² In short, for the slaves in Simon’s Town the world around them was changing and they were expecting to be a part of that change. The Free Black society in Simon’s Town was certainly growing and in 1821 numbered 113 compared to 216 slaves.¹⁰³

It is significant to note that when Susanna de Necker (the widow of Francois Rossouw) died in 1828, three of her tenants who rented cottages from her in Simon’s Town were either slaves or Free Blacks, and are listed as Abdol Gaffel (Slave carpenter hireling and Imam of Simon’s Town), Oude Betje (status unknown) and Manuel (Free Black).¹⁰⁴ It is very likely that run-away slaves were given shelter in the homes of Hireling Slaves and Free Blacks in Simon’s Town.

An important shift for female slaves connected to the amelioration laws was the prohibition of flogging female slaves, which was instituted through the Proclamation of 1823. The reasoning, according to The Earl of Bathurst, was to ‘to restore to the female Slaves that sense of shame, which is at once the ornament and the protection of their Sex’.¹⁰⁵ However, according to The Protector of Slaves some years later, this law made it difficult to control ‘stubborn Masculine Women’ who as a consequence had become ‘very Insolent and the most of them highly insubordinate’.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, folio 136, 17 August, 1817

¹⁰⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/14, folio 48, 6 June, 1822

¹⁰¹WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/21, folio 60, 2 January, 1828

¹⁰²WCARS, Memorials Colonial Office (1809), CO3873, folio 401, 23 July, 1809

¹⁰³Michael Whisson, *Group Area: The case of Simon’s Town District* (Unpublished manuscript: 1970) p. 8

¹⁰⁴Cape Transcripts, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC8/45.92, Will of Johanna Susanna de Necker, 09.05.1828

¹⁰⁵WCARS Slave Office SO 7/35 Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on slaves

¹⁰⁶WCARS: Slave Office, Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, SO 3/20A, June – December, 1830. G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves

Certainly the desertion of Sabrina was particularly bold as she had enlisted the help of a constable at the Residency, at whose home she had left her trunk, a fact which her owner found ‘too glaring to look over’.¹⁰⁷

The prohibition on flogging female slaves was not always respected by slaveholders. However, those slave women who complained to the Protector of Slaves were sometimes granted their freedom in private deals with slaveholders who wanted to avoid being publicly shamed.¹⁰⁸ This was discussed in a confidential report by G I Rogers, The Protector of Slaves, who stated:

Where females have been beaten by their Owners but not in a severe manner and in some of these I have when requested by them permitted the Slaves to withdraw their complaints because I have been enabled to make such favourable terms for them as appeared to be infinitely better and more advantageous to the Slaves themselves than if I had prosecuted the offending parties’.¹⁰⁹

Thus when Abibie, the ‘female slave of Mr Dunbar Esq of Simon’s Town’ was made a promise of freedom by Dunbar for not prosecuting him for ill-treatment, Rogers insisted that Dunbar was ‘legally bound to fulfil his promise which under such circumstances has become an obligation’.¹¹⁰

4.7 Complaints to the Slave Protector

The establishment of a Protector of Slaves, as part of the ameliorative process, offered slaves a legal channel through which to report ill-treatment.¹¹¹ The office of the Slave Protector in Simon’s Town became operational on 13 April 1824 when C M Lind was appointed functionary for the enregisterment of slaves in Simon’s Town¹¹² and by 1826 he was the Assistant Registrar and Guardian in the Slave Registry Dept in Simon’s Town.¹¹³

The timing of his appointment coincided with the ‘first of the effective reform laws [which] limited the number of strokes that a master might apply to a male slave to twenty-five’.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, ‘female slaves were to be whipped on the shoulders only’.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/19, folio 166, 22 July, 1826

¹⁰⁸ For an insight into social norms during the VOC and British colonial era see Ross, *Status & Respectability*

¹⁰⁹WCARS Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A ‘Observations of the Protector of Slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831’ Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

¹¹⁰WCARS, Slave Office correspondence, SO 2/12 pp. 401-402, 17 May, 1833

¹¹¹Robert C-H. Shell, *Children of bondage, A social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994) p.100

¹¹²WCARS Slave Office, Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, P E Brink to C M Lind, 13 April 1824

¹¹³WCARS Slave Office 1/23 Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, 19 December, 1827

¹¹⁴Mason, *Social death and resurrection*, p. 145

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*

On 24 July 1827 T B Woolls was ‘appointed the new Registrar of Slaves at the Simon’s Town Residency’.¹¹⁶ It is significant that complaints by slaves in Simon’s Town coincide with the appointment of Lind. In November 1826 a slave named Lendor complained to the Slave Office that he was being illegally detained as a slave as he ‘was formerly a Prize slave of Mr Tennant and that all his shipmates are now free’.¹¹⁷ A similar claim concerning Tennant was made by ‘A boy of the name of Present’ on 4 November 1826.¹¹⁸

Complaints to the slave office in Simon’s Town started slowly in 1826 as slaves were probably slow to trust the safety of this new-found liberty. However, by 2 December 1826 the office had received its third complaint from a ‘prize boy Lubin’ who complained of ill-treatment by ‘his Master’, ‘Mr U Daniels of Simon’s Town’.¹¹⁹

As time went by complaints became more frequent and women slaves in particular used this office as an avenue to resist ill-treatment by slaveholders, often returning repeatedly until their problems received some sort of resolution. For example Rosetta the slave of Thomas Brownrigg Woolls¹²⁰ lodged no less than five complaints with John Osmond in his capacity as Justice of the Peace in Simon’s Town. These complaints, made over a period of five months, concerned multiple beatings by Hendrina Carolina Woolls and a case of assault by Thomas Brownrigg Woolls.¹²¹ This was, however, a harrowing process for Rosetta who was held at the Simon’s Town prison every time she filed a complaint and shuffled between the Simon’s Town and Cape Town prisons during the investigation before being returned to the home of her tormentor, where she was further ill-treated. Nevertheless, Rosetta kept returning to John Osmond to complain until her case was finally taken seriously.

On 7 February 1831, Hendrina Carolina Woolls was found guilty of maltreating Rosetta, sentenced to a fine of 10 pounds sterling and her name was entered into the Criminal Record Book for the Residency of Simon’s Town on that day.¹²²

¹¹⁶ WCARS SO 1/23 Slave registry dept correspondence, 24 July, 1827

¹¹⁷ WCARS Slave Office, SO 4/12 Book of complaints, Guardian of slaves 1826 – 1830, Folio 36, 13 November 1826

¹¹⁸ WCARS Slave Office, SO 1/23 Slave Registry Dept, 9 December, 1826

¹¹⁹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/20, folio 58, 2 December 1826

¹²⁰ See control and treatment chapter, p. 100

¹²¹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number SMT 10/22, folio 6, 19 January 1831; WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/22, folio 6, 19 January 1831; WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 28 January, 1831;

WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/22, folio 16, 5 February, 1831 (The aforementioned represent repeated complaints of ill-treatment by Rosetta against Carolina Hendrina Woolls and Thomas Brownrigg Woolls); WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/23 (1837), folio 43, 27 June, 1837; WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985 1/SMT 2/5, 1/SMT 10/24, folio 8, 21 February, 1838 (Aforementioned represent complaints filed by Leentje against Pierre Rocher of Slangekop, Imhoffs Gift farm).

¹²² WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 7 February, 1831

While she never spent a day in prison, having her name entered into the Criminal Record Book would likely have left her socially dishonoured for behaviour that was not only cruel, but that which would be seen as unbecoming and not ‘ladylike’.¹²³ In the case of Martha¹²⁴ her complaint of ill-treatment against William Osmond resulted in him being fined by M G Blake, Special Justice officer in Simon’s Town. However, this was a hollow victory for Martha as William Osmond retained ownership of her children and hired her out so that she was forcibly separated from her children.¹²⁵ In addition, like Rosetta, Martha experienced the humiliation of being kept in the Simon’s Town prison subsequent to her complaint.

4.7.1 Leentje

The battle between Rocher and Leentje entered the magisterial records on 16 June 1837 when he complained that Leentje was coming and going as she pleased and urged Col Blake to have her punished, stating ‘if you do not choos (sic) to punish her, I beg to know what I have to do with this unteachable Girl’.¹²⁶ However, on 27 June 1837 Leentje lodged a complaint with P Auret, the Captain of Police in Cape Town; which he in turn referred to Simon’s Town, stating that ‘she had been struck and ill-treated by the Hottentot in the service of her Master’.¹²⁷ On 21 February 1838 Leentje lodged another complaint with Lieutenant Colonel Blake of the Special Justice Office in Simon’s Town that she had not received her ration. According to Pierre Rocher, her owner, she was supposed to go to Cape Town to ‘attend her mistress’, but refused to go in a wood wagon as it was ‘not a proper carriage’. Some days later Rocher claimed that he sold her and she was ordered to go to her ‘nieuw (sic) master, with a wagon where a proper plan was fitted (sic) up, on the botom (sic)’. However, instead of going, ‘the Girl Absented herself’.¹²⁸

¹²³Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 77

¹²⁴See control and treatment chapter p. 107

¹²⁵WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/23, folio 29, 1 May, 1837. WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, 1/SMT 10/23, folio 30, 1 May, 1837. WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume number 1/SMT 10/23, folio 34A, 12 May, 1837. (Aforementioned represent complaints filed by Martha against William Osmond)

¹²⁶WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/23, folio 41, 16 June, 1837

¹²⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/23, folio 43, 27 June, 1837

¹²⁸WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon’s Town 1793 – 1985, 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 8, 21 February, 1838

4.7.2 Hendryn's complaint to the Guardian of slaves

The case of Hendryn is shrouded in mystery and a number of crucial records concerning her and referred to in related correspondence, have not found their way to the Western Cape Archives and Document Service.¹²⁹ What is known is that she was registered in the name of Sturt's minor daughter, Olisa Sturt and that she was mortgaged by Sturt to the Lombard Bank for the exorbitant figure of seven thousand two hundred rix dollars in 1824.

In 1830 she lodged a solitary complaint with the Guardian of Slaves against Reverend Sturt, complaining that she was being 'illegally detained in Slavery by her pretended owner'.¹³⁰

The case was dismissed for want of evidence and two years later Hendryn was dead.¹³¹

Did Hendryn take her life? The absence of records leaves one reaching out for an elusive truth that stubbornly fails to reveal itself and is thus obscured from our view.



Figure 18: Rocklands Farm, the home of Revd Sturt at which Hendryn was held as a slave
(Source: Judy Rowe, *The Story of Rocklands Farm Simon's Town, South Africa 1815 – 2010*)

¹²⁹ WCARS Slave Office, SO 2/16 Slave Registry Office Correspondence, 6 December, 1824

¹³⁰ WCARS Slave Office SO 4/12 Book of Complaints, Guardian of Slaves 1826 – 1830, folio 140. 4 March, 1830 (Aforementioned represents an unsuccessful complaint filed by Hendryn, also spelt as Hendrein against Revd Sturt of Rocklands farm).

¹³¹ WCARS, Slave Office, Simon's Town Slave Register M – W (1824 – 1834) 05.11.1832

4.8 Slave Justice?

Notwithstanding the establishment of a Slave Office and Protector of Slaves, the criminalisation of slaves who complained, by placing them in the prison, and the feeble sentences meted out to those who abused slaves, might well have been experienced by slaves in Simon's Town as unequal justice. To this end, is it possible that some slaves sought to re-balance the scales?

In the previous chapter we learnt of the case of terrible cruelty inflicted on Rosetta by Hendrina Carolina Woolls, the wife of Thomas Brownrigg Woolls who at that time was the harbourmaster in Simon's Town.¹³² It is intriguing to note that some two months after Mrs Woolls was fined for her demeanour, Thomas Brownrigg Woolls reported as 'a most daring, wanton and malicious outrage' the destruction of his boat which was cut off her moorings with the 'two oars and a boathook marked TBW which are now missing' as well as the destruction of the Port Captain boat which was 'entirely cut to pieces'.¹³³ Not even the reward that Woolls offered, amounting to 100 rixdollars, could entice anyone to 'deliver up' the culprit/s.

In a separate incident in June 1831 the lock of the Leibbrandt's Bakers Shop was broken and 'all the money left in, was stolen out also some loaves of bread and polonies'.¹³⁴ Ironically even though the padlock to an adjoining retail store was broken, 'nothing has been missed from the Store'.¹³⁵ The latter fact is interesting. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Leibbrandt had shown himself capable of extreme cruelty towards a slave.¹³⁶ The undertones in these two cases are difficult to ignore and it seems very likely that both these incidents were manifestations of slave justice.

Unfortunately, we will never know the answer to this question nor will we understand the reason why 'Manuel the slave of 'Mr Cowdrey of the Place called Goede by Endsmost situated in the District of Wildscutsbrand' ended his life in 1823, by hanging himself from a tree.¹³⁷

¹³²WCARS, Records of civil cases in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, CSC 2/1/1/15, folio 5, 7 February, 1831

¹³³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/22, folio 35, 29 April, 1831

¹³⁴WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/22, folio 40, June, 1831

¹³⁵Ibid

¹³⁶See Control and treatment chapter, p. 91

¹³⁷WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/15, folio 30, 27 March, 1823

Whether Manuel's suicide could be described as slave justice is debatable, however, Fiona Vernal considers 'suicide and arson the most intractable and destructive acts of resistance' as it 'dealt a self-destructive, but decisive financial blow to their masters'.¹³⁸ Overwhelmingly, if one attempts to penetrate the surface of these official reports it seems clear that each of these incidents represents an act by a person or persons expressing frustration at the state of slavery.

4.9 Resistance through religion

As mentioned in the Landscape chapter, in 1822 a group of Islamic leaders in the town petitioned the British colonial government for a Muslim burial ground in Simon's Town. The Memorial was signed by 'Abdulgaviel Priest / Slave Thomas and Maniesa from Batavia, Manuel Joseph & January, Carolus, Marie, Rejap van de Kaap & Lendor from Bengal, the first a slave and the latter a free black'. This was granted to them by the colonial officer C Bird on 19 September 1823.¹³⁹ Abdulgaviel was a slave carpenter owned by John Osmond who lived autonomously in a rented cottage in Simon's Town owned by Johanna Susanna de Necker.¹⁴⁰ He was also the Imam of Simon's Town. Islam broke the stereotype that many colonists attributed to ex-slaves and slaves as 'drunken, lazy, dangerous good for nothings'¹⁴¹ and gave them dignity.

Furthermore, Muslim slaves were able to overcome the vulnerability of their illiteracy through their connection to educated and wealthy Muslim Free Blacks who were able to communicate on their behalf. When J H Brand, the Resident Magistrate, refused to give permission for Muslim slaves and Free Blacks in Simon's Town to perform a religious play, most probably the Khalifa,¹⁴² Shaik Musden petitioned him most eloquently, referring to the play as being 'an Atonement to the Almighty for our transgressions as well as to implore his Divine Assistance for the Restoration of our Health from sickness which some of us are at present afflicted with'. He further added that 'We do therefore earnestly entreat you will under the Circumstances above mentioned permit us to perform it for tonight for two hours only; after which we will finish entirely'.¹⁴³

¹³⁸Fiona Vernal, "Discourse Networks in South African Slave Society", *African Historical Review*, 43:2 (21.12.2011), p. 14

¹³⁹WCARS, Cape Title Deeds, CTD 20, Simon's Town Quitrent leases 1814 – 1825, p. 47, 1823

¹⁴⁰Cape Transcripts, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC8/45.92, 9 May 1828

¹⁴¹Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 126

¹⁴²Ibid, p. 139

¹⁴³WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town (1/SMT 2/5), Volume 1/SMT. 10/3, folio. 119, 13 December 1810

The stronghold that Islam had in Simon's Town was, according to report by G I Rogers, The Protector of Slaves, the case in much of Cape Town. In a confidential report dated 1831, he stated that 'the few marriages which take place amongst Slaves may be accounted for partly by so many of this Class being Mahomedans'.¹⁴⁴

The growth of Islam in this town was probably an unwelcome trend from the viewpoint of the colonialists who likely regarded Islam's 'perceived alien culture'¹⁴⁵ with a sense of trepidation. Conversely, embracing Christianity often coincided with marriage out of slavery and absorption into the colonial groups. According to Rogers, 'Christian slaves are generally those produced by connection between the European and the Slave Woman, and as the progeny become less Black by their intercommunion they do not mix again with the very dark coloured classes'.¹⁴⁶ In this way 'the Well looking young women get Persons to redeem them from Slavery and the white class of male slaves seldom intermarry with slaves'.¹⁴⁷ This latter comment is interesting as it suggests that during the British colonial era male slaves were also marrying out of slavery.

There were exceptions to Rogers statement of course, one of which was the Christian Malagasy community from Black Town (site of present day Simon's Town library).¹⁴⁸ According to a Malagash-speaking LMS missionary named John Canham who visited the Cape in 1835, 'some of them come to Cape Town on Saturday, & generally attend our morning service & walk home in the afternoon to be ready for their work on Monday'. Canham also records making a solitary visit to Simon's Town to give a service and where he met on his arrival, a man who 'saluted me in Malagash fashion and enquired whither I was going'. He was told that 'some of our people are employed in Govt. work, others are gone to work in the country, so that it will be 7 o'clock or later before we can assemble at Black Town'. However, by 7.30 he found 'about 80 assembled' at Black Town. He enquired of them saying "If you are all Malagash, hold up your hands", all held up their hands, and said *Malagash izahay rehetra* [we are all Malagasy]'.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴WCARS, Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A "Observations of the Protector of slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831" Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

¹⁴⁵Kirsten McKenzie, *The making of an English slave-owner Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796 – 1807* (Rondebosch: UCT Press, 1993) p. 87

¹⁴⁶WCARS, Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A 'Observations of the Protector of slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831' Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

¹⁴⁷Ibid

¹⁴⁸ Larson, Pier M., *Ocean of letters, Language and creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p. 238

Canham added that before he left the following morning ‘a respectable Malagash female called a the house where I was breakfasting, and presented me in true Malagash stile some new laid eggs & pickled fish and thanked me for coming to see them’.¹⁴⁹

The other exception is that Christianity also had a following among some prize negroes. In response to a query from Lieutenant Colonel H Maurice Scott concerning the number of slaves in Simon’s Town attending divine service in the year 1824, he responded ‘very few, but no less than 40 or 50 prize negroes of both sexes, besides children’.¹⁵⁰

Overwhelmingly then it appears that during this period Christianity was more likely to be practised by slaves of African descent whereas Islam was mostly practised by those slaves who had South Asian and ‘Southeast Asian linguistic and cultural affinities’.¹⁵¹

It seems evident too that the Simon’s Town Muslims sought to preserve their Asian heritage through close intermarriage with each other.¹⁵² According to a study conducted by M Muller in 1969, intermarriage between cousins in the Simon’s Town Muslim community was common and ‘nearly all of them stem from the same ancestors, Ismail Solomon, Manuel or Baker’¹⁵³ who were apparently from Java, Singapore and Turkey.

During an interview I conducted with 91 year old Aunty Kobera Manuel of Ocean View in 2009 she claimed to be a direct descendent of the tuans buried at the Simon’s Town Kramat (circa 1760) and named an ancestor, Ismail, who hailed from Sumbawa, Indonesia. She commented as follows:

The two tuans from Sumbawa, Indonesia were Ismail and his son Jalilludien. Ismail had another son in Indonesia who died as a child. His name was Zainab Abedien. Jalilludien fathered Abdul Gakien, Amina, Kobera, Fatima, Aiasa, Abdul Kariem, Abdul Majjed, Gadija, Mymona.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 239

¹⁵⁰ WCARS, Colonial Office, CO 220 folio. 6, 13 January, 1824

¹⁵¹ Vernal, “Discourse Networks”, p. 18

¹⁵² M Muller, “Aspects of social composition of twelve Malay households in Simonstown” (UCT: BA Honours in Social Anthropology, 1969) pp.17-18. As late as 1969 M Muller reported that ‘the reason for the number of unmarried men and women might be the lack of communication with Malays and Coloureds outside Simonstown. The Simonstown Malays are inclined to keep very much to themselves, and the majority of their relatives are in Simon’s Town’.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 18

Abdul Karriem, the first imam at the Simon's Town mosque¹⁵⁴, and grandson of Ismail, was the father of Aunty Kobie's mother, Baheya, and Mymona, granddaughter of Ismail, was the mother of Aunty Kobie's father, Hadjie Bakaar Manuel who was born in Simon's Town on 02.01.1878.¹⁵⁵ Thus her parents were first cousins.



Figure 19: Hadjie Bakaar Manuel
Source: The Heritage Museum Simon's Town

4.10 Resistance during the Apprenticeship period

In 1837 Pierre Rocher stated that 'the conduct of my people becomes (sic) extremely bad comparing it with what it was before the apprenticeship.'¹⁵⁶ That same month, on 19 February 1838 two female Apprentices of Mr Isaac de Villiers of Noordhoek arrived at The Special Justices Office in Cape Town 'to complain and positively refusing to return to his house'.¹⁵⁷ Acts of resistance during the Apprenticeship period offers further evidence of family ties. For example when Japie, who was bound as an apprentice to Jagloon a shoemaker in Cape Town ran away, it was thought that he was with his father 'Loejoema residing at Simon's Town'.¹⁵⁸ When sixteen year old Galant ran away from his owner J F S Kirsten in Cape Town, he was said to be in Simon's Town, where he was known 'to all the inhabitants of Simon's Town'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ The Noorul Islam mosque in Simon's Town mosque was in fact only established in 1888 under the leadership of Imam Karriem also known as Karriem Jarley, however, prior to this Muslim people worshipped in private homes. Archival evidence of this emerges through the letter from Shaik Musden to J H Brand in 1810. There seems to be some deviations in the oral histories taken by I Muller and the one that I took with Aunty Kobie, however, a common denominator is an ancestor named Ismail. This may or may not be the Ismail who is listed in the will of Christina Diemer in 1765. According to the interviews conducted by I Muller, Ismail was brought to the Cape by a descendent of the Cloete family.

¹⁵⁵ This information is based on an oral history interview I conducted with Aunty Kobie Manuel in Ocean View on 2 August 2009

¹⁵⁶ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/23, folio 27, 24 April 1837

¹⁵⁷ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio 6, 19 February, 1838

¹⁵⁸ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/23, folio. 62, 2 November, 1837

¹⁵⁹ WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/SMT 10/24, folio not numbered, 25 October, 1838

4.11 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, forms of resistance to slavery by slaves in Simon's Town were not static, but changed over time and contracted or expanded depending on the manoeuvrability available to slaves at each given period in the history of enslavement in this town.

As is evident in the case of September of Mallebaar, for some even drunkenness was a form of escapism, taking the edge off the humiliation that encompassed the experience of slavery. Escape, no matter how short-lived, offered slaves a sense of agency, however it could not offer dignity. This could be especially said of the VOC era, when one of the requirements for survival was being prepared to engage in extreme brutality, resulting in a loss of whatever core of goodness existed in the self.

A relative deviation in modes of escape between the VOC and British colonial eras is that during the former period, although a few sea escapes are documented, run-aways were more likely to escape to the mountains or join the Hanglip maroons. However, during the British colonial period the modes of escape suggest the existence of an underclass society that had not been quite as developed during the VOC era. Thus in the 19th century slaves were running from Simon's Town to Cape Town and visa versa. Certainly stowing away by ship was a form of escape undertaken by many Simon's Town slaves and indicates the existence of social ties between slaves and British sailors with whom they shared a common sense of class consciousness.

Thefts appear to have been calculated and the magisterial records suggest that slaves in Simon's Town were more likely to steal from slaveholders who treated them unkindly. For instance not once was there mention of a burglary at the Clarence Hotel, the owners of who refused a pew in the church when the presence of their servant was deemed an encroachment'.¹⁶⁰ Targets of thefts were specific and involved known slave traders and slaveholders who had by their actions shown themselves to be extremely heavy-handed and often downright cruel in their treatment of slaves.

With regard to family ties, this chapter significantly shows that very strong family ties existed among slaves and prize negroes. Pertinently this shows that many slaves, both children and adults, resisted their enforced separation from their families by running away from their places of enslavement to be with their parents, spouses or children.

¹⁶⁰WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, Volume 1/ SMT 10/20, folio 121, 2 March, 1827. See landscape chapter page 74.

In many ways, the forms that resistance took were gendered and there was a certain lee-way for women that did not exist for men. Throughout this period female slaves were able to marry out of slavery, and while not undermining the emotional attachments that existed in these marriages, such marriages certainly provided opportunities out of slavery for female slaves that were not generally available to male slaves.¹⁶¹ Significantly, with the banning of corporal punishment for female slaves during the British colonial era, it became possible for female slaves to lay charges against their owners and sometimes even secure their freedom in agreeing to retract their charges. Pertinently too, by being shielded from corporal punishments, some female slaves felt bold enough to simply pack their bags and leave.

Throughout this period slaves resisted in ways that were possible to their particular situations and within the particular context of their worlds. The particular landscape of Simon's Town offered countless opportunities for escape by land or sea throughout this historical period. By the 19th century the colony had become more populated and the landscape more familiar. The social networks and interaction between slaves, Free Blacks and British seamen mirrored this change, with slaves stowing away on ships from Cape Town to Simon's Town or Malagasy Free Blacks travelling by foot as far as Cape Town to attend church.

Still others ran away from Simon's Town to Cape Town or visa versa, in an effort to resist separation from their families. Some networks stretched even further.¹⁶² The 19th century also showed a changed pattern in that whereas during the 18th century foreign-born slaves were more likely to run away than creole slaves,¹⁶³ during the 19th century the ethnicity of run-away slaves was indiscriminate and encompassed a great many creole slaves.

Economic empowerment, for those slaves who were able to be so empowered, offered individual slaves in Simon's Town both a sense of personal agency and a sense of dignity. However, this was often limited to a privileged few. For the rest, attaining personal agency required more active resistance, with all its attendant costs. For the Hanglip maroons the cost to the self was high indeed, whereas during the 19th century the amelioration laws of the British colonial period lowered the opportunity cost of resistance for many slaves in Simon's Town.

¹⁶¹ An exception to this rule is mentioned by Rogers in 1831 when he makes mention of fair-skinned male slaves marrying out of slavery. See WCARS Confidential reports Protector of Slaves 1829 – 1834, Slave Office SO 3/20A 'Observations of the Protector of slaves from 24th December 1830 up to the 25th June 1831' Signed by G I Rogers, Protector of Slaves, 1831

¹⁶² WCARS, Records of the Magistrate of Simon's Town 1793 – 1985: 1/SMT 2/5, SMT 10/20, folio 92, 25 January, 1827 (November, slave of Mr Cooper of Simon's Town [was] taken up as a deserter in Stellenbosch)

¹⁶³ Corns 'Offended Shadows' p. 83

Overwhelmingly it appears that for the majority of slaves in Simon's Town, during both the VOC and British colonial eras, the practise of Islam offered them the strongest psychological bridge across the terrain of mental cruelty and humiliation that accompanied slavery. The appointment of a slave as the Imam of Simon's Town in the 1820's was possibly the most powerful statement to the enslaved by Free Black Muslims in the town. Certainly the practise of Islam in Simon's Town offered slaves from all backgrounds a strong sense of community that would have negated the 'individualisation'¹⁶⁴ of the slave experience that Ross espouses. Thus as a group they were able to contain the historical process of 'assimilation with their host'¹⁶⁵ society and stand out as a distinctive group throughout this historical period.

Furthermore, the arrival of a vast group of working class British seamen into Simon's Town during the British colonial era, from a country that had become opposed to slavery, offered slaves in Simon's Town a new social platform on which to discuss and evaluate their experiences of enslavement. Significantly too, the growing numbers of Free Blacks in Simon's Town in the 1800's, the abolition of the slave trade and the institution of amelioration laws made it possible for slaves in Simon's Town to perceive their world as changeable more so than they would have ever have during the VOC era. Certainly by the 1830's the tide had changed significantly as slaves were preparing for freedom, no matter how precarious this freedom would turn out to be.

Conclusion

This thesis is the culmination of research into the lives and experiences of people who were slaves in Simon's Town. What it shows is that the slave experience in Simon's Town was never static and that it changed and evolved over time. At any given time, the slave experience was overshadowed by a variety of diverse experiences that were dependent on gender, location (rural or urban), the personality, temperament and economic fluidity of slaveholders, the levels of skills of slaves and at times their ethnicity. Thus the experience of slaves in Simon's Town can be captured in a single phrase: *differential treatment*.

¹⁶⁴Ross, *Status and Respectability*, p. 17

¹⁶⁵Richard Eaton, "Introduction" in Chatterjee, Indrani and Eaton, Richard M. (eds.) *Slavery & South Asian History* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006) p. 6

Certainly slave control was achieved through violence, the threat of violence and the threat of family separation and throughout the Dutch and British colonial eras we have seen evidence of how violence was used to instil fear and establish control over a largely powerless people. This occurred both by the state and in private homes. However, the psychological aspects of violence had a deeper impact as it sat in the memories not only of the person who was hurt, but also by those who witnessed their pain, or the scars thereof. Of equal significance is the way slaves were differentially treated and thus their personal experiences, the stability of their family lives, their opportunities to attain economic gain and opportunities for freedom; all depended on the extent to which they gained or lost favour with slaveholders who held the leverage of power. This leads me to argue that while physical violence was *often* used by the powerful to control slaves, psychological coercion was *always* used.

Evidence of differential treatment emerge in a myriad of ways. Definitely spatially, 'Malay' slaves received preferential treatment, while the housing of other slave groups was in comparison of an inferior standard. For example unlike the Malagasy slaves who lived in temporary housing in Black Town or the Mozambican slaves who lived in mud huts in the town, the settlement of brick cottages in the Malay Quarter was a permanent one. Furthermore, the Malagasy, the 'Malays' and the Mozambicans were also spatially separated. Such differential spatial arrangements created strong possibilities for social dislocation and disunity between groups.

In addition, notwithstanding small-scale slaveholdings that did in fact hold small numbers of slaves of mixed ethnicities, there is evidence of large-scale spatial and ethnic separation having occurred with the large group of 120 Javanese 'indentured apprentices' held by a single owner in Noordhoek.

However, it is significant to note that it was only the 'Malay' slaves in Simon's Town who were given permanent spaces on the landscape, which exist to this day in the form of the Malay Quarter, the Muslim burial ground and the kramat in Dolphin Way. To this end the slaves in Simon's Town were not one group and levels of social stratification among slaves occurred in this town that was strongly based in ethnicity.

Differential treatment was also related to gender, as were labour demands and economic impetus for procurement, which were not static and changed over time. During the VOC era there was a greater demand for male slaves to perform harsh manual labour, hence huge gender imbalances on many slaveholdings, which resulted in some male slaves pairing with

Khoi women. However, during the British colonial era post abolition, female slaves were in demand for their reproductive capacities.

Evidence of differential treatment in terms of gender arose during the ameliorative period when the flogging of female slaves was outlawed. Gendered opportunities to marry out of slavery benefited only slave women, which was the case throughout the VOC and British colonial eras. Although Rogers mentioned fair-skinned male slaves marrying out of slavery during the pre-Emancipation period, no specific cases were mentioned for Simons Town. Furthermore, whereas during the VOC period slave women were more likely to be manumitted, during the British colonial era following abolition, the chances of female slaves being manumitted were slim.¹⁶⁶ Conversely, the only slaves who were financially able to benefit from compulsory manumissions during the British colonial era were skilled male slave hirelings.

The arrival of prize negroes created further elements of differential treatment, with those indentured to the British Navy receiving better treatment and opportunities to those indentured to private individuals. Prize negroes were also differentially treated to slaves as, having no re-sale value, slaveholders had no vested interest in their well-being. Of interest too is that the ethnic origins of prize negroes in Simon's Town did not always conform to common conceptions of the word negro and in fact they hailed from Africa, Java and in at least one case, India yet they were all described in the same way.

Locally-born slaves were often treated with more consideration than foreign born slaves and during the both the VOC and British colonial eras, locally born slaves were less likely to be sold outside of the family. Strikingly too, during the British colonial era, only locally born slaves in Simon's Town were slave coachmen.

During the Emancipation period, differential treatment pertained to age with the demand for child labour creating crises for slave families as slaveholders tried to manipulate clauses in the abolition laws to retain the labour of young children of slave mothers. At the other end of this scenario was the treatment of the old and infirm in Simon's Town, many of whom were released from slavery into poverty and died as paupers.

¹⁶⁶ Only one manumission of a female slave was found during this period, that being the female slave of Petrus Eksteen who was manumitted along with her children after his death – WCARS, S/O 1/23 Slave Registry Dept Correspondence, 7 August, 1826

To conclude, throughout this period, the slave experience in Simon's Town was overshadowed by difference. Because slaves in Simon's Town were treated differentially, social stratification developed amongst themselves that created hierarchies and distinctions within the slave class. While the hierarchies were based on colour gradations and economics, the distinctions were also based on religion and ethnicity. Differential treatment was also based on personal relationships that individual slaves had with individual slaveholders, which created favour for some and not for others.

Overall from where the slaveholders stood differential treatment, more so than violence, was a trump card with which to cause division and prevent social cohesion amongst slaves. To varying degrees they were successful. However, as this thesis has shown, slaves in Simon's Town created their own responses and meanings to the treatment they received. Some did this by aligning themselves with core groups and others did this in their own individual ways. Ultimately they responded to slaveholder attempts at division and control by utilising whatever resources, contacts and opportunities that became available to them, which afforded them a sense of agency.

Muslim slaves in Simon's Town had access to a strong established support system anchored in a religion that offered them psychological, cultural and material support, boosted by the Free Black Muslim community in the town. 'Malay' slaves also had leverage in that they were the most skilled, a fact that would have inflated their economic value to slaveholders and in addition the state, as they would have been perceived as valuable to the creation of the infra structure of the town.

Certainly the Muslim slaves were not the only slaves to garner group strength. For example during the VOC era, Madagascan slaves developed strong networks that ensured successful group escapes. Furthermore, the Malagasy slaves had a strong settlement in Black Town and were united in a Christian faith.

Many individual slaves in Simon's Town were also able to overcome the excesses of slavery, which they achieved in a number of ways. For some it was through marriage and for others by exploiting similarities in their physical characteristics to non-slave groups to re-define their identities in ways that helped them overcome the barriers of slavery. Others did this through joining marronage groups and engaging in crime.

Still others attained this through being absorbed into the British Navy and becoming part of the crews or by stowing away and finding employment as seamen on ships. In this way slaves were able to transcend slave identities and were also able to forge new friendships that allowed them to re-evaluate the system of slavery.

Some skilled hirelings, like Thelemachus, used their skills and business acumen to become successful entrepreneurs and climb the economic ladder in ways that overtook the economic status of poor whites.

In conclusion, opportunities for slaves to ride the waves of the slave experience differed from slave to slave and slaveholding to slaveholding and also with the historical changes that occurred over time. Thus while Simon's Town was relatively isolated during the period 1743 to 1751, from then onwards Simon's Town became an active winter anchorage for the VOC, which created opportunities for some slaves to form networks outside of the town. By the British colonial era, Simon's Town was no longer isolated and underclass networks, both local and transatlantic, created opportunities for slaves and prize negroes to transact their worlds in ways that chipped away at the barriers caused by slavery. What is striking is that in the face of so much adversity, so few gave up. Throughout this thesis we have met people who were slaves in Simon's Town and in so doing have become reminded of the power of the human spirit in the face of adversity. We have become aware of the indomitable desire by the enslaved in Simon's Town to survive and we have seen how in this quest for survival, slaves used every crumb of opportunity that came their way in order to overcome the social and economic barriers of slavery. If a single characteristic can be attributed to the enslaved people we have met in this thesis it was their ability to endure.

CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION

This thesis is the culmination of research into the lives and experiences of people who were slaves in Simon's Town. What it shows is that the slave experience in Simon's Town was never static and that it changed and evolved over time. At any given time, the slave experience was overshadowed by a variety of diverse experiences that were dependent on gender, location (rural or urban), the personality, temperament and economic fluidity of slaveholders, the levels of skills of slaves and at times their ethnicity. Thus the experience of slaves in Simon's Town can be captured in a single phrase: *differential treatment*.

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Evidence of differential treatment in terms of gender arose during the ameliorative period when the flogging of female slaves was outlawed. Gendered opportunities to marry out of slavery benefited only slave women, which was the case throughout the VOC and British colonial eras. Although Rogers mentioned fair-skinned male slaves marrying out of slavery during the pre-Emancipation period, no specific cases were mentioned for Simons Town. Furthermore, whereas during the VOC period slave women were more likely to be manumitted, during the British colonial era following abolition, the chances of female slaves being manumitted were slim.¹ Conversely, the only slaves who were financially able to benefit from compulsory manumissions during the British colonial era were skilled male slave hirelings.

The arrival of prize negroes created further elements of differential treatment, with those indentured to the British Navy receiving better treatment and opportunities to those indentured to private individuals. Prize negroes were also differentially treated to slaves as, having no re-sale value, slaveholders had no vested interest in their well-being. Of interest too is that the ethnic origins of prize negroes in Simon’s Town did not always conform to common conceptions of the word negro and in fact they hailed from Africa, Java and in at least one case, India yet they were all described in the same way.

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Locally-born slaves were often treated with more consideration than foreign born slaves and during the both the VOC and British colonial eras, locally born slaves were less likely to be sold outside of the family. Strikingly too, during the British colonial era, only locally born slaves in Simon's Town were slave coachmen.

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To conclude, throughout this period, the slave experience in Simon's Town was overshadowed by difference. Because slaves in Simon's Town were treated differentially, social stratification developed amongst themselves that created hierarchies and distinctions within the slave class. While the hierarchies were based on colour gradations and economics, the distinctions were also based on religion and ethnicity. Differential treatment was also based on personal relationships that individual slaves had with individual slaveholders, which created favour for some and not for others.

Overall from where the slaveholders stood differential treatment, more so than violence, was a trump card with which to cause division and prevent social cohesion amongst slaves. To varying degrees they were successful. However, as this thesis has shown, slaves in Simon's Town created their own responses and meanings to the treatment they received. Some did this by aligning themselves with core groups and others did this in their own individual ways. Ultimately they responded to slaveholder attempts at division and control by utilising whatever resources, contacts and opportunities that became available to them, which afforded them a sense of agency.

Muslim slaves in Simon's Town had access to a strong established support system anchored in a religion that offered them psychological, cultural and material support, boosted by the Free Black Muslim community in the town. 'Malay' slaves also had leverage in that they were the most skilled, a fact that would have inflated their economic value to slaveholders and in addition the state, as they would have been perceived as valuable to the creation of the infra structure of the town.

Certainly the Muslim slaves were not the only slaves to garner group strength. For example during the VOC era, Madagascan slaves developed strong networks that ensured successful group escapes. Furthermore, the Malagasy slaves had a strong settlement in Black Town and were united in a Christian faith.

Many individual slaves in Simon's Town were also able to overcome the excesses of slavery, which they achieved in a number of ways. For some it was through marriage and for others by exploiting similarities in their physical characteristics to non-slave groups to re-define their identities in ways that helped them overcome the barriers of slavery. Others did this through joining marronage groups and engaging in crime.

Still others attained this through being absorbed into the British Navy and becoming part of the crews or by stowing away and finding employment as seamen on ships. In this way slaves were able to transcend slave identities and were also able to forge new friendships that allowed them to re-evaluate the system of slavery.

Some skilled hirelings, like Thelemachus, used their skills and business acumen to become successful entrepreneurs and climb the economic ladder in ways that overtook the economic status of poor whites.

In conclusion, opportunities for slaves to ride the waves of the slave experience differed from slave to slave and slaveholding to slaveholding and also with the historical changes that occurred over time. Thus while Simon's Town was relatively isolated during the period 1743 to 1751, from then onwards Simon's Town became an active winter anchorage for the VOC, which created opportunities for some slaves to form networks outside of the town. By the British colonial era, Simon's Town was no longer isolated and underclass networks, both local and transatlantic, created opportunities for slaves and prize negroes to transact their worlds in ways that chipped away at the barriers caused by slavery. What is striking is that in the face of so much adversity, so few gave up. Throughout this thesis we have met people who were slaves in Simon's Town and in so doing have become reminded of the power of the human spirit in the face of adversity. We have become aware of the indomitable desire by the enslaved in Simon's Town to survive and we have seen how in this quest for survival, slaves used every crumb of opportunity that came their way in order to overcome the social and economic barriers of slavery. If a single characteristic can be attributed to the enslaved people we have met in this thesis it was their ability to endure.

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Master of the Orphan Insolvent Chamber

MOIC 2/36, Insolvente Boedels, Insolvent Estates, No. 300 (Boedel J M Endres) (1812)

Opgaafrolle

J181, Residency Simon's Town (1826)

Slave Office

- SO 1/23, Slave Registry Office Simonstown (1822 – '31)
- SO 2/12, Letter Book, Vol. 2 (March 1830 to December 1833)
- SO 2/16, Letters despatched by Slave Registry Office Simonstown (1822 – '26)
- SO 2/17, Index of Letters Despatched by the Slaves Registry Office, Cape Town (1831 – '32)
- SO 2/18, Memorials (Drafts) for the remission of fines (1832 – '34)
- SO 3/20A, Confidential Reports Protector of Slaves (1829 – 1834)
- SO 4/12, Book of Complaints, Guardian of Slaves (1826 – 1830)
- SO 6/28, Slave Register (1816 – 1833)
- SO 6/78, Simon's Town Slave Register (1816 – 1838)
- SO 6/79, Simon's Town Slave Register, M – W (1824 – 1834)
- SO 7/13, Simon's Town Slave Register (30.11.1824)
- SO 7/35, Notes on Proclamation of 18th March 1823 on Slaves
- SO 7/36, Simon's Town Slave Register (1816 – 1829)
- SO 12/14, Index and names of owners whose slaves have been manumitted (1816 – 1826)
- SO 12/15, Index to Manumission Book (c. 1830)
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MOOC 7/1/34, Testamenten (1790 – 91)

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APPENDIX I

Appendix 1 contains Tables 3 – 52 pertaining to Chapter 1 - the database chapter. Tables 1 – 2 are included in the actual chapter.

Table 3

SLAVES RECORDED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN DISTRICT WITHIN THE PERIOD 1743 – 1795					
DATE RECORDED	SLAVEHOLDER	NAME OF SLAVE	GENDER	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Alec van Bougies	Male	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	April van Bougies	Male	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Ismail van Bougies	Male	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Malade van Bougies	Female	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Mandar van Bougies	Male	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Rob van Bougies	Male	Bougies	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	July van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Martha van Bengalen	Female	Bengal	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Matthys van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Tino van Batavia	Male	Batavia	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Pieter van Bali	Male	Bali	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Carel van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Fortuijn van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Roya van Mallabaar	Female	Malabar	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Sercules van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Jacob van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	?Tuan van Mosambique	Male	Mosambique	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Pagtra van Nias	Female	Nias	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Domingo van Rio de la Goa	Male	Rio de la Goa	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Francois van Rio de la Goa	Male	Rio de la Goa	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Amelia van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Arend van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Candase van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Coridon van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	David van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Dianen van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Dorothea van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Elias van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Jamana van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Jan van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Jan van de Caab (2)	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Mietje van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Saul van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Sylvia van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Titus van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Tobias van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
10.02.1765	Christina Diemer	Arij van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
16.10.1768	Johannes Volraatd	Unnamed	Male	Unknown	Not stated
16.10.1768	Johannes Volraatd	Unnamed	Male	Unknown	Not stated
10.06.1773	<i>Christoffel Brand</i>	<i>Rosetta van Bengalen</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Bengal</i>	<i>Not stated</i>
28.08.1779	Hendrik Fehrsen	Adam van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.08.1779	Hendrik Fehrsen	Hanna van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
28.08.1779	Hendrik Fehrsen	Onrust van Mallebaar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
28.08.1779	Hendrik Fehrsen	Rachel van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
24.04.1783	Johan Fredrik Kirsten	Isak van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Not stated
24.04.1783	Johan Fredrik Kirsten	Martha van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
24.04.1783	Johan Fredrik Kirsten	Regina van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
24.04.1783	Johan Fredrik Kirsten	Doela van Boegies	Male	Boegies	Schrynwerker [cabinet maker]

28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Joemat van Timor	Male	Timor	Kleder (Tailor)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Lea van Madagascar	Female	Madagascar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Maart van Batavia	Male	Batavia	Cook
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Jacob van Malabar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Jan van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Rebecca van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Aaron van de Caab	Male	This colony	Slave child
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Abraham van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Africa van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Aletta van Cheribon	Female	Cheribon	Maid
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Aletta van de Caab	Female	This colony	Child slave
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Alexander van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Alexander van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Metzelaar (Bricklayer)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Amsterdam van Siam	Male	Siam	Timmerman (Carpenter)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Azar van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Ox wagon driver
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Batjoe van Macassar	Male	Macassar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Caesar van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Metzelaar (Bricklayer)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Claas van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Dina van Batavia	Female	Batavia	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Eva van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Februarij van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Cook
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Hester van de Caab	Female	This colony	Slave Child
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Isaac van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Jak van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Lea van de Caab	Female	This colony	'Slave meid'
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Moses van de Caab	Male	This colony	Slave child
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Nanning van Macassar	Male	Macassar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	November van Sambouwa	Male	Sambouwa	Huisjongen (Hous eboy)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Rachel van de Caab	Female	This colony	Slave meid (Maid)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Rakina van de Caab	Female	This colony	Slave child
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Rosetta van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Samuel van de Caab	Male	This colony	Slave child
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Sara van Mosambique	Female	Mozambique	Huismeid (Housemaid)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Thelemachus van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Huis timmerman (House carpenter)
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Goliath van Mozambique	Male	Mozambique	Child slave
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Africa van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Alexander van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Azar van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Baatjoe van Macassar	Male	Macassar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Cesar van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
28.04.1783	Fredrik Kirsten	Claas van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
05.09.1783	Hendrik Elshoud	Aletta van Bougies	Bougies	Female	Not stated
05.09.1783	Hendrik Elshoud	Carin	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.09.1783	Hendrik Elshoud	Clara	Female	Unknown	Not stated
05.09.1783	Hendrik Elshoud	Jan van de Caab	Male	This colony	Not stated
05.09.1783	Hendrik Elshoud	January	Male	Unknown	Not stated
1783	<i>Joseph Dempfile</i>	<i>Michiel of the Cape</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>This colony</i>	<i>Child</i>

Table 4

ORIGIN AND GENDER FOR SLAVES RECORDED 1743 – 1795				
ORIGIN	GEOGRAPHICAL REGION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Bali	South East Asia	1	0	1
Batavia	South East Asia	2	1	3
Bengal	South Asia	5	2	7
Bougies	South East Asia	6	2	8
Cheribon	South East Asia	0	1	1
Macassar	South East Asia	3	0	3
Madagascar	Africa	8	2	10
Malabar	South Asia	6	1	7
Mozambique	Africa	2	1	3
Nias	South East Asia	0	1	1
Rio de la Goa	East Africa	2	0	2
Siam	South East Asia	1	0	1
This colony	South Africa	21	19	40
Timor	South East Asia	1	0	1
TOTAL		58	30	88

Table 5

SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S GIFT (SLANGKOP) OWNED BY CHRISTINA DIEMER (1743 – 1765) ¹		
NAME	GENDER	ORIGIN
Alec van Bougies	Male	Bougies
April van Bougies	Male	Bougies
Ismail van Bougies	Male	Bougies
Malade van Bougies	Female	Bougies
Mandar van Bougies	Male	Bougies
Rob van Bougies	Male	Bougies
July van Bengalen	Male	Bengal
Martha van Bengalen	Female	Bengal
Matthys van Bengalen	Male	Bengal
Tino van Batavia	Male	Batavia
Pieter van Bali	Male	Bali
Carel van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar
Fortuijn van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar
Roya van Mallabaar	Female	Malabar
Sercules van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar
Jacob van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar
?Tuan van Mosambique	Male	Mosambique
Pagtra van Nias	Female	Nias
Domingo van Rio de la Goa	Male	Rio de la Goa
Francois van Rio de la Goa	Male	Rio de la Goa
Amelia van de Caab	Female	This colony
Arend van de Caab	Male	This colony
Candase van de Caab	Female	This colony
Coridon van de Caab	Male	This colony
David van de Caab	Male	This colony
Dianen van de Caab	Female	This colony
Dorothea van de Caab	Female	This colony

¹ Data for this table compiled from the following sources: The will of Christina Diemer, Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 7/1/16 42 ½ 10.02.1765, Cape Transcripts TEPC Project- two centuries transcribed 1673 - 1843, 'The Will of Johannes Volraad', Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC8/13.18, 16.10.1768, Cape Transcripts TEPC Project: Transcribed from The Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chambers, MOOC8/14.60 - Will of Anna Margaretha van der Heijde, 10 Junij 1773; Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chambers, MOOC 7/1/34, Ref. 51, 28.08.1779, Cape Transcripts TEPC Project 1673 - 1834, transcribed from archival documents at The Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chambers, MOOC8/18.52, Cape Archives, Master of the Orphan Chambers, MOOC 7/1/38 reference 50 dated 05.09.1783, Cape Omnibus Digital CD compiled by Prof R C-H Shell, pp. 395: HCV Leibbrandt Vol. 28 1783 (Number 116), pp.

Elias van de Caab	Male	This colony
Jamana van de Caab	Female	This colony
Jan van de Caab	Male	This colony
Jan van de Caab (2)	Male	This colony
Mietje van de Caab	Female	This colony
Saul van de Caab	Male	This colony
Sylvia van de Caab	Female	This colony
Titus van de Caab	Male	This colony
Tobias van de Caab	Male	This colony
Arij van de Caab	Male	This colony

Table 6

GENDER IMBALANCES BY ORIGIN AMONGST FOREIGN BORN SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1743 – 1765		
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE
Bougies	5	1
Bengal	2	1
Batavia	1	0
Bali	1	0
Madagascar	1	0
Malabar	3	1
Mozambique	1	0
Nias	0	1
Rio de la Goa	2	0
TOTAL	16	4

Table 7

GENDER RATIO FOR BOTH FOREIGN BORN AND CAPE BORN SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1743 – 1765				
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
Foreign born	16	4	20	4:1
Cape Born	10	7	17	10:7
TOTAL	25	11	37	25:11

Table 8

SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S GIFT OWNED BY FREDRIK KIRSTEN 1765 – 1783				
NAME	ORIGIN	GEOGRAPHICAL REGION	GENDER	OCCUPATION
Dina van Batavia	Batavia	South East Asia	Female	Not stated
Maart van Batavia	Batavia	South East Asia	Male	Cook
Isak van Bengalen	Bengal	South Asia	Male	Not stated
Februarij van Bengalen	Bengal	South Asia	Male	Cook
Jek van Bengalen	Bengal	South Asia	Male	Not stated
Doela van Bougies	Bougies	South East Asia	Male	Schrynerwerker
Aletta van Cheribon	Cheribon	South East Asia	Female	Maid
Nanning van Macassar	Macassar	South East Asia	Male	Not stated
Batjoe van Macassar	Macassar	South East Asia	Male	Not stated
Lea van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Female	Not stated
Alexander van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Not stated
Azar van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Ox wagon driver
Caesar van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Metzelaar (Bricklayer)
Claas van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Not stated
Thelemachus van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Huis timmerman (House carpenter)
Cesar van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Not stated
Claas van Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	Male	Not stated
Alexander van Mallabaar	Malabar	South Asia	Male	Metzelaar (Bricklayer)
Alexander van	Malabar	South Asia	Male	Not stated

Mallabaar				
Jacob van Malabar	Malabar	South Asia	Male	Not stated
Sara van Mosambique	Mosambique	Africa	Female	Huismeid (Housemaid)
Goliath van Mozambique	Mozambique	Africa	Male	Child slave
November van Sambouwa	Sambouwa	South East Asia	Male	Huisjongen (Houseboy)
Amsterdam van Siam	Siam	South East Asia	Male	Timmerman (Carpenter)
Joemat van Timor	Timor	South East Asia	Male	Kleder (Tailor)
Martha van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Not stated
Regina van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Not stated
Jan van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Not stated
Rebecca van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Not stated
Aaron van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Slave child
Abraham van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Not stated
Africa van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Not stated
Aletta van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Child slave
Eva van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Not stated
Hester van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Slave Child
Isaac van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Not stated
Lea van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	'Slave meid'
Moses van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Slave child
Rachel van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Slave meid (Maid)
Rakina van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Slave child
Rosetta van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Female	Not stated
Samuel van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Slave child
Africa van de Caab	This colony	Africa	Male	Not stated

Table 9

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1765 TO 1783	
REGION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Cape born	41.86%
South Asian and South East Asian	34.88%
Madagascan	18.60%
Mozambican	4.65%

Table 10

GENDER RATIO FOR SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1765 – 1783				
DESCRIPTION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
All slaves	29	14	43	29:14
Slave adults	26	11	37	26:11
Slave children	3	3	6	1:1

Table 11

GENDER RATIO FOR FOREIGN BORN SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1765 – 1783				
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
Batavia	1	1	2	1:1
Bengal	5	0	5	5:0
Bougies	2	0	2	2:0
Cheribon	0	1	1	0:1
Macassar	2	0	2	2:0
Madagascar	6	2	8	6:2
Malabar	2	0	2	2:0
Mosambique	0	2	2	0:2
Siam	1	0	1	1:0
Sambouwa	1	0	1	1:0
Timor	1	0	1	1:0
TOTAL	21	6	27	7:2

Table 12

GENDER RATIO FOR CAPE BORN SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1765 – 1783			
MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
8	10	18	4:5

Table 13

DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVES AT IMHOFF'S FARM 1765 – 1783				
ETHNICITY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
Asian	15	2	17	15:2
African	6	4	10	3:2
Locally born	8	10	18	4:5
TOTAL	29	16	45	29:16

Table 14

INSTRUCTIONS IN THE WILL OF JAN FREDRIK KIRSTEN PERTAINING TO HIS SLAVES			
NAME	GENDER	ADULT / CHILD	INSTRUCTIONS
Aaron van de Caab	Male	Child	Left to Anna Catherina Kirsten, wife of Johannes Gie
Abraham van de Caab	Male	Adult	Left to Jan Pieter Kirsten
Africa van de Caab	Male	Child	To be sold with his mother
Aletta van Cheribon	Female	Adult	Not to be sold, but to decide which family member to stay with
Aletta van de Caab	Female	Child	Left to Jan Pieter Kirsten
Alexander van Madagascar	Male	Adult	Johan Kuuhl, wegens aan hem geleende penningen tot den inkoop van een slaven jonge
Alexander van Mallabaar	Male	Adult	To be sold
Amsterdam van Siam	Male	Adult	To be sold
Azor van Madagascar	Male	Adult	To be sold
Batjoe van Madagascar	Male	Adult	To be sold
Caesar van Madagascar	Male	Adult	To be sold
Claas van Madagascar	Male	Adult	To be sold
Dina van Batavia	Female	Adult	To be sold without her child Dina van de Caab
Eva van de Caab	Female	Adult	Left to Willem Hendrik Kirsten
Februarij van Bengalen	Male	Adult	To be sold
Hector van Madagascar	Male	Adult	Left to Anna Catherina Kirsten
Hester van de Caab	Female	Child	Left to Geesje Kirsten
Isaac van de Caab	Male	Adult	Left to Jan Fredrik Kirsten
Jacob van Mallabaar	Male	Adult	voor Jacobus Arnoldus ter zaake Kirsten desselfs twee dogters
Jak van Bengalen	Male	Adult	To be sold
Jan van de Caab	Male	Child	His mother, Rebecca of the Cape, allowed to buy his freedom for 150 Rds
Jasmin van Madagascar	Female	Adult	Left to Jan Pieter Kirsten
Joemat van Timor	Male	Adult	To be sold
Lea van de Caab	Female	Adult	Left to Jacobus Arnoldus Kirsten
Lea van Madagascar	Female	Adult	To be sold
Maart van Batavia	Male	Adult	To be sold
Mariana van Mosambique	Female	Adult	To be sold
Moses van de Caab	Male	Child	Left to Jan Fredrik Kirsten (his mother's name not noted)
Nanning van Macassar	Male	Adult	To be sold
November van Sambouwa	Male	Adult	To be sold
Pedro van Bengalen	Male	Adult	Left to Jan Fredrik Kirsten
Rachel van de Caab	Female	Adult	Left to Anna Catharina Kirsten
Rakina van de Caab	Female	Child	To be sold separately from her mother
Rebecca van de Caab	Female	Adult	Left to Anna Catharina Kirsten
Rosetta van de Caab	Female	Adult	Left to Geesje Kirsten
Samuel van de Caab	Male	Child	Left to Jan Fredrik van Reede van

			Oudtshoorn, the son of Geesje Kirsten
Sara van Mosambique	Female	Adult	To be sold with her child Africa van de Caab
Thelemachus van Madagascar	Male	Adult	To be sold

Table 15

THE SLAVES OF JAN FREDRIK KIRSTEN AUCTIONED ON 19, 20, 21 MAY 1783						
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	SOLD TO	LOCATION	DATE SOLD	PRICE
Doela van Boegies	Bougies	Male	Mr W Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	652 Rds
Amsterdam	Siam	Male	Christoffel Brand	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	900.1) joint
Leah	Madagascar	Female	Christoffel Brand	Simon's Town	21.05.1783) purchase
Caesar	Madagascar	Male	Coenraad Warmer		21.05.1783	571
Alexander van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Johs Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	800.1
Joemat van Timor	Timor	Male	Johs Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	320
Maart van Batavia	Batavia	Male	Jan Gie		21.05.1783	1000
February van Bengalen	Bengal	Male	Mr W Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	25
Azar van Madagascar	Madagascar	Male	Jacobus Hurter	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	600
November van Sambauwa	Sambouwa	Male	Hendr Mulf.ing		21.05.1783	400
Nanning van Macasser	Macassar	Male	Fr Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	500
Thelemachus van Madagascar	Madagascar	Male	Evert van Schoor	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	400
Jak van Bengalen	Bengal	Male	Mr Jacs Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	316
Baatjoe van Macasser	Macassar	Male	George Manner		21.05.1783	231
Claas van Madagascar	Madagascar	Male	Philip Anhuizen		21.05.1783	327
Mariana van Mozambique	Mozambique	Female	Fr Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783	300.2
Dina van Batavia *	Batavia	Female	Jan Look		21.05.1783) 520) joint
Rakina van de Caab *	This colony	Female	Jan Look		21.05.1783) purchase
Sara van Mosambique **	Mozambique	Female	Johs Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783) 620) joint
Africa van de Caab **	This colony	Male	Johs Kirsten	Simon's Town	21.05.1783) purchase

* Mother and daughter

** Mother and son

Table 16

INSTRUCTIONS IN THE WILL OF HENDRIK ELSHOUD DATED 5 SEPTEMBER 1783			
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	INSTRUCTIONS IN WILL
Aletta van Bougies	Bougies	Female	To hire her services out until she has earned the 200 Rds to pay to the Estate to secure her freedom.
Carin	Unknown	Male	Not to be sold, but to live with Margaret Berning (Elshoud's sister's granddaughter)
Clara	Unknown	Female	Is old and not to be sold, but to live with Margaretha Berning
Jan van de Caab	This colony	Male	Left to Margaretha Berning
January	Unknown	Male	To be allowed to purchase his freedom for the sum of 150 Rds, of which 50 Rds is to cover manumission costs and the balance to be shared between his sister's grandchildren, namely Abraham, Anna and

			Margaretha Berning, in equal parts.
Joseph van de Caab	This colony	Male	Left to his sister's grandson, Abraham Berning
Leander van de Caab	This colony	Male	Left to his sister's granddaughter, Anna Berning

Table 17

MANUMISSIONS DURING THE PERIOD 1743 TO 1795						
DATE	SLAVE	AGE	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	SLAVEHOLDER	REMARKS
1783	Michiel of the Cape	Unknown	This colony	Child	Sieur Johannes Steyn	Bought for 100 Rds by Joseph Dempfle junior surgeon at False Bay and father of Michiel, whose mother was Sophia of the Cape.
10 June 1773	Rosetta van Bengalen	Unknown	Bengal	Not stated	Anna Margaretha van der Heijde	Released into freedom, but under the care of Christoffel Brand

NB: I have not included Aletta van Bougies and January in this table as the data does not show whether they were successful in raising the funds for their manumission

Table 18

SLAVES RECORDED FOR THE SIMON'S TOWN DISTRICT FOR THE PERIOD 1796 – 1815					
DATE RECORDED	SLAVEHOLDER	NAME OF SLAVE	GENDER	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION
29.08.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn (Poespas Kraal Farm)	Dina van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
29.08.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn (Poespas Kraal Farm)	Abraham van de Caab (child of Dina)	Male	This colony	Child
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn (Poespas Kraal Farm)	Fredrik van de Caab (child of Dina)	Male	This colony	Child
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn (Poespas Kraal farm)	Hannetje van de Caab (child of Dina)	Female	This colony	Child
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn	Jeannet van de Caab (child of Dina)	Female	This colony	Child
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn	Leentje van de Caab (child of Dina)	Female	This colony	Child
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn	Januarij van Mosambicque	Male	Mozambique	Beestewagter
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn	Januarij van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Werksjongen
28.09.1796	Margaretha Smith widow Nicolaas Sertijn	Julij van Bengalen	Male	Bengal	Not stated
15.12.1796	Gideon Rossouw	Adrian of the Cape	Male	This colony	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Provisie	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Cupido	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Sempard	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	September	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Cupido van Mallebaar	Male	Malabar	Huisjongen
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Apollos van Pernate	Male	Pernate	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	May van Pernate	Male	Pernate	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Spacie	Female	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Patientie	Female	This colony	Child of Spacie
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Amilia	Female	This colony	Child of Spacie
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Sylvia	Female	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Cambang	Male	Unknown	Not stated
05.04.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Aletta	Female	Unknown	Not stated
25.11.1799	Jan Michiel Endres	Louisa van de Caab	Female	This colony	Wash maid
27.01.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	Philander van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
27.07.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	Anthony van Nias	Male	Nias	Not stated
27.07.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	August van Timor	Male	Timor	Not stated
02.08.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	Rosina van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated
02.08.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	Simon van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
25.11.1802	Jan Michiel Endres	Anthony van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Waggoner and fisherman
1804	Widow Olthoff	Clarissa	Female	Unknown	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan	Abraham	Male	This colony	Not stated

	Willem Hurter)				
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik)	Adam	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Adam van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Baatjoe	Male	Batavia	Fisherman
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Cesar van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Cupido	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Diana	Female	Unknown	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Francois	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Hester	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Isaac	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Jek	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Joseph van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Leonora	Female	Batavia	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Maria van Mosambique	Female	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Mina	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Onverwagt	Female	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Pamela	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Present	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Rosina	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Rosina	Female	Mozambique	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Saronie	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Silvia	Female	This colony	Not stated

04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Spatie van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Styntje	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Syda	Female	This colony	Not stated
04.12.1807	Maria Martha Munnik (Widow Jan Willem Hurter)	Toon	Male	Bengal	Cook
18.07.1807	Mosis Pietersen	April	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
18.07.1807	Mosis Pietersen	Drammat	Male	Batavia	Not stated
18.07.1807	Mosis Pietersen	Maart	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
18.07.1807	Mosis Pietersen	Mentor	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
01.11.1808	Willem Hurter Jnr	Abel van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Wagen ryder
01.11.1808	Willem Hurter Jnr	David van Mozambique	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
01.11.1808	Willem Hurter Jnr	Esau van Mozambique	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Jephtha van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Not stated
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Philo van Mosambique	Male	Mozambique	Werksjongen (Labourer)
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Louisa van Mosambique	Female	Mozambique	Not stated
02.08.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	January van Nacoa	Male	Nacoa	Not stated
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Carolus van de Caab	Male	This colony	'Halfjongen'
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Rozetta van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Kindermeid
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Carolus van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Salomon van de Kaap	Male (child of Rozetta) *	This colony	Slavejongetje
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Anthony van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Dela van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Housemaid
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Cupido van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Huisjongen
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	July van Mallabaar	Male	Malabar	Beestewagter (shepherd)
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Jephtha van Mauritius	Male	Mauritius	Cook
11.09.1809	Jan Michiel Endres	Tobias van Mosambique *	Male	Mosambique	Cook
13.07.1811	Gerhardus Munnik	Hendrik	Male	This colony	Child
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Cacao vernoemd Tobias van Mosambique *	Male	Mozambique	Cook
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Adonis	Male	Unknown	Not stated
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Africa	Male	Unknown	Not stated
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Jacob	Male	Unknown	Not stated
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Pamela	Female	Unknown	Not stated
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Regina	Female	Unknown	Not stated
1812	Jan Michiel Endres	Sasonie	Female	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Adrian	Male	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	America	Male	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Amor	Male	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Annetta van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	August	Male	Unknown	Timmerman (carpenter)
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	August	Male	Unknown	Kledemaker (tailor)
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Cesar van Madagascar	Male	Madagascar	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Cupido	Male	Unknown	Not stated

12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	David	Male	Unknown	Timmerman (carpenter)
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Galant van Java	Male	Java	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	July van Java	Male	Java	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Klaas (d'oude)	Male	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Klaas van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Maria van Mosambique	Female	Mozambique	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Regina van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Rosetta van de Caab	Female	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Rosina	Female	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Sait Telemackus [Hendrik]	Male	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Soentoeng van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Soronie	Female	Unknown	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Willem van de Kaap	Male	This colony	Not stated
12.09.1815	Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen	Zaartje van de Kaap	Female	This colony	Not stated

Table 19

ORIGIN AND GENDER OF SLAVES RECORDED IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1796 – 1815				
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	RATIO
This Colony	20	25	45	4:5
Unknown	16	9	25	5:3
Mozambique	16	5	21	3:1
Bengal	2	0	2	2:0
Batavia	2	1	3	2:1
Malabar	2	0	2	2:0
Pernate	2	0	2	2:0
Nias	1	0	1	1:0
Timor	1	0	1	1:0
Nacoa	1	0	1	1:0
Mauritius	1	0	1	1:0
Java	2	0	2	2:0
Madagascar	1	0	1	1:0
TOTAL	67	40	107	7:4

Table 20

OCCUPATIONS LISTED ON THE DATABASE FOR SLAVES IN SIMON'S TOWN 1796 – 1815	
MALES	FEMALES
Waggoner Fisherman Labourer Houseboy Shepherd Cook Carpenter Tailor	Washmaid Housemaid

Table 21

THE SLAVES OF POESPAS KRAAL				
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	ADULT/CHILD	OCCUPATION
Dina van de Caab	This colony	Female	Adult	Not stated
Abraham van de Caab	This colony	Male	Child of Dina	Not stated
Fredrik van de Caab	This colony	Male	Child of Dina	Not stated
Hannetje van de Caab	This colony	Female	Child of Dina	Not stated
Jeannet van de Caab	This colony	Female	Child of Dina	Not stated
Leentje van de Caab	This colony	Female	Child of Dina	Not stated
Januarij van Mosambicque	Mosambique	Male	Adult	Beestewagter
Januarij van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Adult	Werksjongen
Julij van Bengalen	Bengal	Male	Adult	Not stated

Table 22

BUFFELS FONTEIN FARM SLAVES FROM THE INSOLVENT ESTATE OF ENDRES 1799 TO 1812			
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION
Jephtha van Mosambique	Mozambique	Male	Not stated
Philander van Mosambique	Mozambique	Male	Not stated
Philo van Mosambique	Mozambique	Male	Werksjongen (Labourer)
Anthony van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Waggoner and fisherman
Louisa van Mosambique	Mozambique	Female	Not stated
Cocoa vernoemd Tobias van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Cook
Appollos van Pernate	Pernate	Male	Not stated
Mey van Pernate	Pernate	Male	Not stated
Anthony van Nias	Nias	Male	Not stated
January van Nacoa	Nacoa	Male	Not stated
Carolus van de Caab	This colony	Male	'Halfjongen'
Rozetta van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Kindermeid (nurserymaid)
Louisa van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Wash maid
Carolus van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated
Salomon van de Kaap	This colony	Male (child of Rozetta) *	Slavejongetje
Rosina van den Simon van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated
Anthony van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated
Dela van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Housemaid
August van Timor	Timor	Male	Not stated
Cupido van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Huisjongen
July van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Beestewagter (shepherd)
Jephtha van Mauritius	Mauritius	Male	Cook
Adonis	Unknown	Male	Not stated
Africa	Unknown	Male	Not stated
Jacob	Unknown	Male	Not stated
Pamela	Unknown	Female	Not stated
Regina	Unknown	Female	Not stated
Sasonie	Unknown	Female	Not stated

Table 23

ETHNICITY OF BUFFELSFONTEIN SLAVES			
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Mosambique	5	1	6
Pernate	2	0	2
Nias	1	0	1
Nacoa	1	0	1
This colony	4	4	8
Unknown	3	3	6
Timor	1	0	1
Mauritius	1	0	1
Malabar	2	0	2
TOTAL	20	8	28

Table 24

THE SLAVES OF JAN WILLEM HURTER AND MARIA MARTHA MUNNIK (HURTER)			
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION
Abraham	This colony	Male	Not stated
Adam	This colony	Male	Not stated
Adam van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated
Baatjoe	Batavia	Male	Fisherman
Cesar van Mosambique	Mozambique	Male	Not stated
Cupido	This colony	Male	Not stated
Diana	Unknown	Female	Not stated
Francois	Mosambique	Male	Not stated
Hester	This colony	Female	Not stated
Isaac	This colony	Male	Not stated
Jek	This colony	Male	Not stated
Joseph van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated
Leonora	Batavia	Female	Not stated
Maria van Mosambique	Mozambique	Female	Not stated
Mina	This colony	Female	Not stated
Onverwagt	Mosambique	Female	Not stated
Pamela	This colony	Female	Not stated
Present	Mosambique	Male	Not stated
Rosina	This colony	Female	Not stated
Rosina	Mosambique	Female	Not stated
Saronie	This colony	Female	Not stated
Silvia	This colony	Female	Not stated
Spatie van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated
Styntje	This colony	Female	Not stated
Syda	This colony	Female	Not stated
Toon	Bengal	Male	Cook

Table 25

GENDER RATIO FOR HURTER SLAVES BY ORIGIN			
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Bengal	1	0	1
Batavia	1	1	2
Mosambique	3	3	6
Unknown	0	1	1
This colony	7	9	16
Total	12	14	26

Table 26

INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO THE SLAVES OF THE WIDOW HURTER AS NOTED IN HER WILL			
NAME	BENEFICIARY	RELATIONSHIP TO WIDOW HURTER	BENEFIT TO BENEFICIARY
Baatjoe van Batavia	Gerhardus Hurter	Son	9 months of hire [illegible]
Francois van Mosambique	Gerhardus Hurter	Son	9 months of hire [illegible]
Cesar van Mosambique	Jacobus Hurter	Son	18 Rds per month for 10 months of the year until 31 January 1815.
Maria van Mosambique	Jacobus Hurter	Son	18 Rds per month for 10 months of the year until 31 January 1815.

Table 27

SLAVES LISTED IN THE INVENTORY OF JAN WILLEM HURTER JUNIOR			
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION
Abel van de Caab	This colony	Male	Wagon rider
David van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Not stated
Esau van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Not stated

Table 28

SLAVES LISTED ON THE WILL OF MOSIS PIETERSEN OF KLAVER VALLEY			
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	INSTRUCTIONS ON WILL
April	Mozambique	Male	Left to Mosis Pietersen's daughter with Helena van Batavia, named Martha van de Kaap
Drammat	Batavia	Male	Not to be sold, but to choose which of Mosis Pietersen's children he would like to stay with
Maart	Mozambique	Male	Left to Mosis Pietersen's son with Helena van Batavia, named Maart van de Kaap
Mentor	Mozambique	Male	Left to Mosis Pietersen's daughter with Helena van Batavia, named Silla van de Kaap

Table 29

SLAVES LISTED IN THE WILL OF JACOBUS ARNOLDUS VAN REENEN				
NAME	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION	INSTRUCTIONS ON WILL
Adrian	Unknown	Male	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen together with Maria van Mosambique with her four children.
America	Unknown	Male	Not stated	Left to is son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Amor	Unknown	Male	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Annetta van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
August	Unknown	Male	Timmerman (carpenter)	Left to his son Jacob van Reenen
August	Unknown	Male	Kledemaker (tailor)	Left to his daughter Maria van Reenen
Cesar van Madagascar	Madagascar	Male	Not stated	Is old and frail. Must be looked after and treated with humanity.
Cupido	Unknown	Male	Not stated	Left to Maria van Reenen
David	Unknown	Male	Timmerman (carpenter)	Left to Jacob van Reenen
Galant van Java	Java	Male	Not stated	Left to Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
July van Java	Java	Male	Not stated	Is old and frail. Must be looked after and treated with humanity.
Klaas (d'oude)	Unknown	Male	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Klaas van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Maria van Mosambique	Mozambique	Female	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Regina van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated	Is old and frail. Must be looked after and treated with humanity.
Rosetta van de Caab	This colony	Female	Not stated	Left to his daughter Maria van Reenen
Rosina	This colony	Female	Not stated	Left to his son Jacobus Gerhardus van Reenen
Sait Telemackus [Hendrik]	This colony	Male	Not stated	Separated from his mother.

Soentoeng van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated	Left to his son Jacob van Reenen without her son named Sait Telemackus and Hendrik
Soronie	Unknown	Female	Not stated	Left to his daughter Maria van Reenen married to Abraham Fredrik Schikkerling with her little son named Willem
Willem van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Not stated	Left to his grandson Jan Fredrik shikkerling, son of Maria van Reenen
Zaartje van de Kaap	This colony	Female	Not stated	Left to Maria van Reenen

Table 30

ORIGINS OF THE SLAVES OF JACOBUS ARNOLDUS VAN REENEN			
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
This colony	3	6	9
Unknown (presumably Cape born)	8	1	9
Madagascar	1	0	1
Mozambique	0	1	1
Java	2	0	2
TOTAL	14	8	22

Table 31

SLAVES LISTED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN SLAVE REGISTER AND OTHER SOURCES 1816 – 1826								
DATE	SLAVEHOLDER	SLAVE	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION	AGE	MOTHER	REMARKS
16.06.1816	Louisa of the Cape	Hendrik	This colony	Male	Coachman	22	Louisa of the Cape	Freed via a deed of emancipation on 30.10.1826
12.11.1816	Pieter Francois Hugo	Abraham	This colony	Male	Waggoner	30		1166 Rds paid by said Abraham and Helena Bing Cape Town
12.11.1816	Pieter Francois Hugo	Present	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	20		Transferred to Francois Daniel Rossouw on 09.09.1823. Claimed freedom on 02.01.1827.
03.12.1818	Abraham Kloppers	May van Bougies	Bougies	Male	Huysjongen	46		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Benjamin	This colony	Male	Houseboy	20		Died 27.06.1827 Death reported 05.07.1827
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Marietjie	This colony	Female	Housemaid	36		Claimed freedom 14.04.1828
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Mecuur	This colony	Male	Labourer	32		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Nancy	This colony	Female		3 months	Marietje	
26.02.1825	Pieter Francois Hugo and Pieter Wickboom		Mosambique	Male	Baker			Jointly owned
09.11.1826	Pieter Francois Hugo	Dina	This colony	Female		2 weeks born 24.10.1826	Mariejte	-
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Charlotte	This colony	Female		17		
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Charles	This colony	Male		19 months born 24.01.1823	Charlotte	Died 08.03.1826
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Pegie	Mosambique	Female	Washmaid	32		Transferred to I C Kotze & Son Cape Town 18.02.1828
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Fortuin	This colony	Male		1 born 04.06.1	Pegie	-

						823		
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Jupiter	This colony	Male		3	Charlotte	-
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Louis	This colony	Male		7	Pegje	Listed in the debt register
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	William	This colony	Male		4	Pegje	Listed in the debt register
October 1817	Gerhardus Hurter	Baatjoe	Unkn own	Male	Fisherman / gardener	Not stated		Transferred to Jacob van Reenen Check my Slave db
13.01.1826	Gerhardus Hurter	Lindor	This colony	Male		2 months born 23.11.1825	Pegje	-
24.02.1817	Nicolaas van Blerk	Styntje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	20		Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
24.02.1817	Nicolaas van Blerk	Dina	This colony	Female		5 months	Styntje	
24.02.1817	Nicolaas van Blerk	Daniel	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	18		
20.10.1817	Nicolaas van Blerk	Rachel	This colony	Female		3 months	Styntje	Reported to have died on 02.12.1817
10.11.1820	Nicolaas van Blerk	Marthinus	This colony	Male		1 month	Styntje	Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
15.08.1824	Nicolaas van Blerk	Africa	This colony	Male		2	Styntje	Died on 20.06.1827 [death only reported to Protector of Slaves on 29.06.1827]
15.08.1824	Nicolaas van Blerk	Gasiba	This colony	Female		1	Styntje	Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
15.08.1824	Wouter de Vos	Marinus	This colony	Male	Waggoner	41		-
15.08.1824	Wouter de Vos	Steyn	This colony	Female	Housemaid	62		-
15.08.1824	P J A Raven and F W Woeke	May	Bougies	Male	Houseboy	53		Transferred to James Griggs Cape Town 08.03.1828
15.08.1824	Jeremias Auret	Rebecca	Mozambique	Female	Housemaid	33		Transferred to G Brunner 01.11.1831
15.08.1824	John Carter	Floris	This colony	Male	Tailor	26		Manumitted
15.08.1824	Joseph Anthonio de Mel	Rosalyn	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27		-
04.11.1825	Joseph Antonio De Mal	Frederik	This colony	Male		1 month 27.09.1825	Rosalyn	-
15.08.1824	Thomas Drury	Amsterdam	Batavia	Male	Mason	42		Debt register
26.11.1826	Thomas Drury	Francois	Malabar	Male	Tailor	46		Died 31.12.1833
15.08.1824	Johanna Susanna de Necker (Widow Gideon Rossouw)	Jan	This colony	Male	Cooper	32		-
15.08.1824	Johanna Susanna de Necker (Widow Gideon Rossouw)	Rosie	This colony	Female		5	Regina	-
15.08.1824	Johanna Susanna de Necker (Widow Gideon Rossouw)	Saphar	This colony	Male	Mason	23		-
15.08.1824	Johanna Susanna de Necker (Widow Gideon Rossouw)	Slasa	This colony	Female		7 months	Regina	-
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Baatjoe	This colony	Male	Labourer	19		-

15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Hugo	Saptoe	Batavia	Male	Boatman	43		[There is a Saptoe applying for freedom SO 12/16 under F W Berning on 12.11.1827]
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15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Benjamin	This colony	Male	Houseboy	20		Died 27.06.1827
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Hurter	Toon	Mauritius	Male	Cook	57		Died on 26.12.1824. Had previous to his death bought his freedom from Gerhardus Hurter for 1000 Rds
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Adam	This colony	Male	Tailor	42		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Carolus	This colony	Male		8	Not stated	Transferred to S Brink & Son Cape Town on 07.09.1831
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Gabriel	This colony	Male		5	Not stated [Marie?]	Listed on debt register H.fo. 3
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Marie	Mosambique	Female	Washmaid	33		Transferred to S Brink & Son Cape Town on 07.09.1831
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Mentor	Mosambique	Male	Herdsman	57		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Nancy	This colony	Female		Infant		'Died aged 3 or 4 months
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Pedro	Batavia	Male	Shoemaker	35		Listed in debt register H. fo. 1
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Robert	This colony	Male		Infant	Marie	Died in the first year of life, in 1821.
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	William	This colony	Male		Infant	Marie	Died in the first year of life [1821].
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Samson	Mosambique	Male	Herdsman	42		aka Sabo or Sambo
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Silphia Aka Selvia	This colony	Female	Housemaid	36		Listed in debt register H. fo. 1
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastiaan Kirsten	Camonie	This colony	Female	Housemaid	32		Listed in debt register K fo. 17
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastiaan Kirsten	Cupido	Batavia	Male	Houseboy	48		Listed in debt register K. fo. 17, but died on 20.05.1828
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastiaan Kirsten	Isaac	This colony	Male	Coachman	37		Listed in debt register K. fo. 17
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastiaan Kirsten	La Fleur	Madagascar	Male	Baker	38		Listed in debt register K.fo. 17
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastiaan Kirsten	Lendor	This colony	Male		13		Listed in debt register K. fo. 17. Applied for freedom from P Wickboom on 13.11.1826
15.08.1824	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Sampson	This colony	Male	Waggoner	34		Aka Samson
28.01.1825	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Anthony	Mosambique	Male	Herdsman	53		-
15.08.1824	Petrus Kirsten	Charles	This colony	Male		1	Marie	'Death in year of 1825 as per owner'
15.08.1824	Petrus Kirsten	James	This colony	Male		8	Marie	-
15.08.1824	Petrus Kirsten	Simon	This colony	Male		4	Marie	Attached by Messenger of Res Magistrate 7.9.1832

15.08.1824	Petrus Kirsten	Marie	This colony	Female	Seamstress	38		SO 7/13 15.08.1823: Cannot be sold, but after the death of the Proprietor and his spouse shall have the liberty to choose with whom of their heirs they may be inclined to live as appears by a Resolution of the Orphan Board, bearing date 23rd September 1805. Further note SO 7/13 The next mentioned Marie together with her children and her further issue cannot be sold, but to choose which of the descendants to live with.
15.08.1824	Petrus Kirsten	Hanna	This colony	Female		15		-
15.08.1824	Carel George Langerman	Chrispyn	Malabar	Male	Labourer	72		Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825
15.08.1824	Carel George Langerman	Fortuin	Malabar	Male	Tanner	70		Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825. Died 'before 1.04.1834'.
15.08.1824	Carel Willem Langerman	Africa	This colony	Male	Tanner	31		Transferred to C J Langerman Simon's Town 10.02.1825
15.08.1824	Carel Willem Langerman	Baatjoe	Batavia	Male	Fisherman	47		Transferred to Leonora Maria Koetzee (widow of Lambert Colyn) Cape Town on 25.02.1825
15.08.1824	Carel Willem Langerman	Clarinda	This colony	Female	Housemaid	53		Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825. Died 'before 1.04.1834'.
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Abraham	This colony	Male		12		Transferred to L L Pretorius & Son of Somerset on 03.10.1833
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Alexander	This colony	Male		15		Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Amina	This colony	Female		5 months	Lea	Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Camodien	This colony	Male		2	Lea	Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Francina	This colony	Female		8	Lea	Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Ida	Batavia	Female	House washmaid	57		Died, no date given
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Lea	This colony	Female	House washmaid	36		Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Samuel	This colony	Male		6	Lea	Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Willem	This colony	Male		10		Registered in debt register L. fo. 11
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Abraham	This colony	Male		3	Lea	-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	April	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	47		-

15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Caroline	This colony	Female	Housemaid	21		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Christiaan	This colony	Male		14		Death reported 30.09.1833
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Cornelis	This colony	Male		16		Transferred to I H I Muller Cape Town on 07.11.1834
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	David	This colony	Male		10		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Doortje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	19		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Goliath	Mozambique	Male	Fisherman	47		Died 16.10.1828
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Hannes	This colony	Male		2 weeks	Doortje	-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	January 1	Mozambique	Male	Fisherman	37		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	January 2	Mozambique	Male	Fisherman	42		Died 07.12.1832
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	La Fleur	Ternate	Male	Fisherman	37		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Maart	Mosambique	Male	Fisherman	42		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Maria	Mosambique	Female	Housemaid	40		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Marie	This colony	Female		8		-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Moos	This colony	Male		1	Carolina	-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Onverwagt	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	42		Died 20.09.1827
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Samuel	This colony	Male		9		-
07.06.1826	Johan Heinrich Muller	Rosa	This colony	Female		2 weeks	Doortje	-
07.06.1826	Johan Heinrich Muller	Rosalyn	This colony	Female		Born 07.06.1 826	Doortje	-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	October	Malabar	Male	Labourer	58		Muller denies ownership says should be 'Hendrik Muller'
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Justinus	This colony	Male		3	Pegie	-
15.08.1824	Johan Heinrich Muller	Louis	This colony	Male		7	Pegie	Listed on debt register H. fo. 3
15.08.1824	Johannes Hermanus Muller	Claas	This colony	Male		8		Transferred to I H Blanckenberg of Cape Town on 23.01.1826
15.08.1824	Johannes Hermanus Muller	Maart	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	47		-
15.08.1824	Johannes Muller	Lea	This colony	Female	Housemaid	32		Died 11.05.1824
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Adam	This colony	Male	Tailor	42		Listed in the debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Carolus	This colony	Male		8	Not stated	Transferred 07.09.1831 to S Brink & Son Cape Town
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Manes	This colony	Male	Waggoner	36		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Mentor	Mosambique	Male	Herdsman	57		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Francois	Mosambique	Male	Baker	35		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Onverwagt	Mosambique	Male	Tailor	42		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Pedro	Batavia	Male	Shoemaker	35		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Present	Mosambique	Male	Milkman	33		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Andries	Mosambique	Male	Cook	52		Died 01.03.1824
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Gabriel	This colony	Male		5		Listed in debt register H. fo. 3
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Samson	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	52		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Robert	This colony	Male		Born 30.07.1 821	Marie	Died in the first year of life, no date given.

15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	William	This colony	Male		Born 30.07.1821	Marie	Died in the first year of life, no date given.
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Sylphia aka Selvia	This colony	Female	Housemaid	36		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Samson aka Sabo	Mosambique	Male	Herdsman	42		-
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Marie	Mosambique	Female	Washmaid	33		Transferred 07.09.1831 to S Brink & Son Cape Town
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Nancy	This colony	Female		Born 04.01.1822	Selvia	Died aged 3 or 4 months
15.08.1824	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Abraham	This colony	Male	Waggoner	25		Listed in debt register H. fo. 2
15.08.1824	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Abraham	This colony	Male		17 months	Seida	Listed in debt register H. fo. 4
15.08.1824	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Cesar	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	32		Listed in debt register H. fo. 4
15.08.1824	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Rosina	This colony	Female		3	Seida	Listed in debt register H. fo. 4
15.08.1824	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Seida	This colony	Female	Housemaid	24		Listed in debt register H. fo. 4
15.08.1824	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Isaac	This colony	Male	Houseboy	22		Transferred 12.12.1827 to H M du Preez Jacobus Son L P in Swellendam
18.10.1820	<i>Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacoba van der Poel</i>	<i>Galant van de Caap</i>	<i>This colony</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Koetzier</i>	<i>50</i>		<i>Jan Pieter Kirsten owned the farms Oliphants Bosch and Kromme Rivier in Simon's Town area. Not found on slave register but listed in inventory of his will.</i>
12.11.1820	<i>Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacoba van der Poel</i>	<i>Sabanelia van Batavia</i>	<i>Batavia</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Smith</i>	<i>54</i>		<i>Purchased at auction²</i>
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacoba van der Poel	Alexander van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Metzelaar	60		Jan Pieter Kirsten owned the farms Oliphants Bosch and Kromme Rivier in Simon's Town area. Not found on slave register but listed in inventory of his will.
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	August van Bengalen	Bengal	Male	Kok	60		Sold to I P Kirsten 11.12.1820 at age 64 for 25 Rds.
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Cupido alias Sambouwa van Batavia	Batavia	Male	Huisjongen	40		-
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Fransies van Mosambique	Mosambique	Male	Wagereide gedrost	28		-
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Isaac van de Kaap	This colony	Male	Koetzier	29		-
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Labakka van Batavia	Batavia	Male	Smith	50		-

²WCARS, Venduerollen, Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 10/45, Folio 71, 12.11.1820

18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Mey van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Timmer (carpenter)	70		Sold on 11.12.1820 at the age of 74 to Ferdinand Kirsten for 30 Rds
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Rozet van Madagakca r	Madagascar	Female	Wasmeid	50		Sold to I P Kirsten 11.12.1820 at age 53 for 140 Rds
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Samson van Mosambiqu e	Mosambique	Male	Wagereide	26		-
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Sara van Mosambiqu e	Mozambique	Female	Huismeid	50		
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Munnik	Apollos	This colony	Male	Waggoner	45		Transferred to Cornelius Korsten Cape Town on 07.11.1826.
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Munnik	Candace	This colony	Female	Workmaid	47		Transferred to S H Malan and son Cape Town on 09.11.1826
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Munnik	Regina	This colony	Female	Seamstress	41		Transferred 09.11.1826 to H O Eksteen & Son
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Munnik	Thomas	Mosambique	Male	Houseboy	42		Transferred to I H Bam Cape Town on 17.04.1826
15.08.1824	Gerhardus Munnik	Jephth a	Malabar	Male	Labourer	52		-
15.08.1824	Raven, P J A and Woeke, F W	May	Bougies	Male	Houseboy	53		Transferred to James Griggles of Cape Town on 08.03.1828
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Abdol	This colony	Male		11		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Abraham 1	Bengal	Male	Carpenter	40		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Abraham 2	This colony	Male		16		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Amsterdam	Java	Male	Carpenter	58		Died on 01.10.1832. Death reported 08.10.1832.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Anthony 1	Java	Male	Mason	40		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Anthony 2	Mosambique	Male	Waggoner	48		Died 27.01.1830
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Bacchus	Java	Male	Mason	43		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Batio	Java	Male	Gardener	58		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Cesar	This colony	Male		14		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Charles	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	48		Died 22.05.1827
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Dumat	Java	Male	Mason	57		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Francois	Isle of France	Male	Carpenter	50		21.03.1831Francois asserting prize negro status and saying Osmond detained him as a slave for 25 years
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Gamoody	This colony	Male		7	Pamela	-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	George	Madagascar	Male	Carpenter	43		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.

15.08.1824	John Osmond	Hector	Mozambique	Male	Blacksmith	46		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Hendrik	This colony	Male		Born 19.02.1823	Sarchi	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Hendrik	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	40		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Isaac	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	38		Taken up as a deserter in the town.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Jaradien	This colony	Male		4	Pamela	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Joseph	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	36		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Louis	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	46		Died 23.06.1828 Death reported 17.09.1828
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Louisa	This colony	Female		18		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Lubin	Bengal	Male	Mason	38		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Nakeba	This colony	Female		18 months	Pamela	-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Pamela	This colony	Female	Housemaid	39		Died 16.08.1828 Reported 12.09.1828
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Petronella	This colony	Female	Housemaid	22		Died 22.05.1825
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Robert	Madagascar	Male	Carpenter	40		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Sarche	This colony	Female	Housemaid	21		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Satea	This colony	Female		9		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Sultan	Mozambique	Male	Blacksmith	43		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Surrata	Java	Male	Gardener	58		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Andries	Mozambique	Male	Cook	52		Died 01.03.1824
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Mannes	This colony	Male	Waggoner	36		-
15.08.1824	John Osmond	Onverwagt	Mozambique	Male	Tailor	42		-
22.01.1825	John Osmond	Rosanna	This colony	Female		1 month	Louisa	-
22.03.1826	John Osmond	Abdol	This colony	Male	Carpenter	28		Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
22.03.1826	John Osmond	Salomon	This colony	Male	Tailor	35		Osmond bought him from the Estate of the late Frans Pieter Rossouw
29.04.1826	John Osmond	Madea	This colony	Female		2 months	Pamela	-
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Dono	This colony	Male	Husbandman	34		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Jan Adam	This colony	Male		21 months born 15.11.1822	Francina	-
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	July	Mosambique	Male	Husbandman	58		Died 26.05.1834
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Louis	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	46		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Michiel	This colony	Male	Coachman	47		-

15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouq	Salima	This colony	Female		3	Francina	Died 19.02.1828 death reported 14.04.1829
15.08.1824	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Francina	This colony	Female	Knitting Maid	25		-
15.08.1824	Francois Smit, Francois's son	Geduld	Mozambique	Male	Herdsmen	57		Noted to have died in 1817 – no other details
15.08.1824	Francois Smit Francois's son	Goliath	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	47		Listed in the debt register S. fo. 77
30.10.1824	Olisa Sturt [minor daughter of Reverend Sturt]	Hendryn	This colony	Female	Housemaid	29		Died 05.11.1832
15.08.1824	Pieter Wikboom	Abraham	This colony	Male	Houseboy	21		Sold and transferred to Gideon Jacobus Joubert Frans's son Stellenbosch District 4 June 1824
15.08.1824	Pieter Wikboom	Apollos	Batavia	Male	Houseboy	47		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Wikboom	Marthinus	This colony	Male	Houseboy	11		-
15.08.1824	Pieter Wikboom	Nella	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27		Sold and transferred to Gideon Jacobus Joubert Frans's son Stellenbosch District 4 June 1824
15.08.1824	F W Woeke and Pieter Jacobus Arendse Raven	May of Bougies	Bougies	Male	Houseboy	53		Transferred to Wm Griggies in January 1831
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Carolus	This colony	Male		6	Delphine 1	-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Lindor	This colony	Male		11		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Adam	This colony	Male		22		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Anthony 1	Mosambique	Male	Shepherd	33		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Nias	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	33		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Hermanus	This colony	Male		5 months	Leonora	-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Apoloon	This colony	Female		3 days	Leonora	-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	August	This colony	Male		1 year	Delphinia 1	Sequestration for I C Wiehan La. W. fo. Cape Town To P. Wikboom La. W fo. 1 Simon's Town
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Philida	Madagascar	Female	Housemaid	78		Died 11.12.1825
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Primo	This colony	Male		13		-
20.06.1825	Pierre Rocher	Leblanc	This colony	Male		6 months	Delphinia ?1	-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Anthony 2	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	49		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Sina	Bougies	Female	Housemaid	58		Died 20.12.1826
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Bastiaan	Malabar	Male	Waggoner	48		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	David	Malabar	Male	Waggoner	38		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Demas	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	37		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Fortuin 1	This colony	Male	Waggoner	28		Died 23.09.1834
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Fortuin 2	This colony	Male	Labourer	38		-
24.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Galant	Madagascar	Male	Labourer	63		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Jack	Mosambique	Male	Waggoner	30		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	November	Malabar	Male	Labourer	53		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Thomas	Mosambique	Male	Baker	36		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Absalon	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	53		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Leentje	This colony	Female		?		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Delphina 1	Mosambique	Female	Housemaid	31		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Leonora	This colony	Female	Housemaid	25		-
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Africa	This colony	Male		4 years	Delphine 1?	-
11.07.1824	Pierre Rocher	Hermanus	This colony	Male		4 months	Leonora	-

15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Rossouw	Abdol	This colony	Male	Carpenter	26		Transferred to John Osmond on 22.03.1826 [Possibly Abdolgaviel first Imam of Simon's Town Mosque]
15.08.1824	Pieter Francois Rossouw	Salomon	This colony	Male	Tailor	33		Transferred to John Osmond 22.03.1826
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	Atina	This colony	Female	Housemaid	20		Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	George	This colony	Male		2 weeks	Atina	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 See Slv data note file re mortgage to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	Maria	This colony	Female	Housemaid	12		Mortgaged 10.11.1826 See Slv data note file re mortgage to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	February	Nias	Male	Baker	49		Mortgaged 10.11.1826 See Slv data note file re mortgage to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to William Moore Senor of Cape Town on 07.05.1829
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	Goliath	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	57		Mortgaged 10.11.1826 See Slv data note file re mortgage to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to Edmund Miller of Simon's Town on 18.03.1829
15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	Mina	Batavia	Female	Housemaid	54		Manumitted 24.04.1829

15.08.1824	Gideon Rossouw	Adam	Mozambique	Male	Waggoner	48		Mortgaged 10.11.1826 See Slv data note file re mortgage to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to P F Hugo Simon's Town on 13.03.1829
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Damon	Batavia	Male	Fisherman	47		Handwritten note dated 15.08.1823 says reported to have died.
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jan	This colony	Male	Cooper	32		Transferred to Henry Batt of Cape Town on 17.09.1827
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Abdol	This colony	Male		2 years 10 months	Regina	Sold to John Osmond on 07.06.1838 along with his mother for 500 Rds
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Bachus	Malacca	Male	Mason	45		Transferred to G Rossouw & Son 10.10.1828
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Gert	This colony	Male	Mason	27		Manumitted 26.01.1826
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jeptha	This colony	Male	Shoemaker	44		Sold to John Osmond at auction for 200 Rds on 07.06.1838 – transferred to him on 11.06.1838
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Rosie	This colony	Female		4 years 10 months		Died 16.12.1825 death reported on 24.12.1825
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Saiboe	This colony	Male		10		Sold to John Osmond at the age of 13 for 790 Rds on 07.06.1828
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Saphar	This colony	Male	Mason	23		Died 28.07.1826 Death reported 03.08.1826
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Slasa	This colony	Male		7 months		Died 30.01.1828 death reported 11.06.1828
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jamilla	This colony	Female	Cook	26		Sold to Mr Keane de Kock of Cape Town for 320 Rds – transfer date 25.08.1830
15.08.1824	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Regina	This colony	Female	Seamstress and knitting girl	24		Sold to John Osmond along with her child, Abdol, for 500 Rds 07.06.1830
14.12.1825	Pieter Wikboom	Theresia	This colony	Female		8	Calester	-
14.12.1825	Pieter Wikboom	Dorenda	This colony	Female		5	Calester	-
14.12.1825	Pieter Wikboom	Loressa	This colony	Female		5 months	Calester	-
17.12.1825	Pieter Wikboom	Calester	This colony	Female	Nursery Maid	33		-

08.01.1825	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Abdol Soevaar	This colony	Male		1 month born 04.02.1824	Francina	-
27.11.1825	Hendrik Lots	Pamela	This colony	Female		11		Mention by Lind of some 'occurrence'
23.01.1826	John Clarence	November	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	29		Transferred to William Anderson Simon's Town on 16.02.1827

Table 32

ORIGIN AND GENDER OF PEOPLE LISTED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN SLAVE REGISTER 1816 – 1626			
ORIGIN	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
This colony	94	58	152
Mozambique	48	6	54
Madagascar	4	2	6
Malacca	1	0	1
Bougies	4	1	5
Batavia	11	2	13
Nias	1	0	1
Mauritius	1	0	1
Bengal	3	0	3
Java	6	0	6
Ternate	1	0	1
Malabar	10	0	10
Isle of France	1	0	1
Unknown	1	0	1
TOTAL	186	69	255

Table 32

ORIGIN AND GENDER OF PEOPLE LISTED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN SLAVE REGISTER 1816 – 1626			
ORIGIN	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
This colony	94	58	152
Mozambique	48	6	54
Madagascar	4	2	6
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Batavia	11	2	13
Nias	1	0	1
Mauritius	1	0	1
Bengal	3	0	3
Java	6	0	6
Ternate	1	0	1
Malabar	10	0	10
Isle of France	1	0	1
Unknown	1	0	1
TOTAL	186	69	255

Table 33

AGE RANGE OF ALL ADULT SLAVES RECORDED IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826															
Year Recorded	17 – 20		21 – 30		31 – 40		41 – 50		51 – 60		61 – 70		71 – 80		Total by Year
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1816	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1817	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1818	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1820	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	12
1824	3	4	11	11	30	14	38	2	20	4	2	1	1	1	142
1825	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1826	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	5	5	18	11	32	15	42	4	24	4	3	1	1	1	166

Notes to Table 33: The gap for the years 1821 – 1823 occurs because these years are not recorded on the Slave Register. The huge gender imbalances are recorded for slaves in the 31 – 60 year category in 1824, indicative that they were foreign-born and brought into the colony at a time when there was a greater demand for male labour than female labour. The figure showing that the largest part of the slave population was aged 31 – 50 years could be artificial³. It may in fact suggest either that many younger slaves were not registered and / or that they were sold out of Simon's Town to wine farms, particularly during the wine boom.⁴ It is possible too that the additional burden of childbirth and childcare within a slave context of poor diets and long working days, took its toll on enslaved women and shortened their life spans. According to Rugarli the average life span for enslaved women circa 1790 to 1830 was around 40 years.⁵

Table 34

AGE RANGE OF SLAVE CHILDREN RECORDED IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826														
Year Recorded	Under 2		2 – 4		5 – 7		8 – 10		11 – 13		14 – 16		Total by year	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1816	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1817	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1818	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1820	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1824	17	9	10	3	7	1	7	3	6	1	4	1	1	69
1825	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	8
1826	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	22	16	10	3	7	2	7	4	6	2	4	1	1	84

Table 35

INSTANCES OF LONGEVITY THAT EMERGE ON THE DATABASE 1816 – 1826						
DATE RECORDED	OWNER	SLAVE	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION	AGE
15.08.1824	Wouter de Vos	Steyn	This colony	Female	Housemaid	62
15.08.1824	Carel George Langerman	Chrispyn	Malabar	Male	Labourer	72
15.08.1824	Carel George Langerman	Fortuin	Malabar	Male	Tanner	70
18.10.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Mey van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Timmer (carpenter)	70
15.08.1824	Pierre Rocher	Philida	Madagascar	Female	Housemaid	78

³ See Table 33 of Appendix 1

⁴Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony from Acquisition to the process of Creolization c. 1790 – 1830", pp. 15-16

⁵Rugarli, "Slavery at the Cape Colony from Acquisition to the process of Creolization c. 1790 – 1830", p. 45

Table 36

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS BY ORIGIN FOR MALES LISTED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN SLAVE REGISTER FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826		
OCCUPATION	ORIGIN	NUMBER OF SLAVES
Baker	Mozambique	3
Baker	Madagascar	1
Baker	Nias	2
Blacksmith	Mozambique	1
Boatman	Batavia	1
Carpenter	Bengal	1
Carpenter	Isle of France	1
Carpenter	Java	1
Carpenter (Timmer)	Malabar	1
Carpenter	Madagascar	2
Carpenter	Mozambique	5
Carpenter	This colony	2
Coachman	This colony	2
Cook	Bengal	1
Cook	Mauritius	1
Cook	Mozambique	2
Cooper	This colony	1
Fisherman	Batavia	1
Fisherman	Mozambique	4
Fisherman	Ternate	1
Gardener	Java	2
Herdsmen	Mozambique	6
Houseboy	Bougies	4
Houseboy	This colony	4
Houseboy	Batavia	3
Houseboy	Mozambique	1
Husbandman	This colony	1
Husbandman	Mozambique	1
Koetzier	This colony	2
Labourer	Mozambique	14
Labourer	This colony	2
Labourer	Malabar	2
Labourer	Madagascar	1
Mason	Batavia	1
Mason	Bengal	1
Mason	This colony	3
Mason	Java	1
Mason	Malacca	1
Milkman	Mozambique	1
Shepherd	Mozambique	1
Shoemaker	Batavia	2
Shoemaker	This colony	1
Smith	Batavia	2
Tailor	This colony	4
Tailor	Malabar	1
Tailor	Mozambique	1
Tanner	Malabar	1
Waggoner	This colony	8
Waggoner	Mozambique	3
Waggoner	Malabar	2
Wagereide	Mozambique	2

Table 37

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS BY ORIGIN FOR FEMALE SLAVES FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826		
OCCUPATION	ORIGIN	TOTAL
Cook	This colony	1
Housemaid	Bougies	1
Housemaid	Mozambique	4
Housemaid	This colony	19
House wash maid	Batavia	2
House wash maid	This colony	2
Knitting maid	This colony	1
Nursery Maid	This colony	1
Seamstress	This colony	2
Seamstress and knitting girl	This colony	1
Washmaid	Madagascar	1
Washmaid	Mozambique	3
Workmaid	This colony	1

Table 38

LIST OF CHILD DEATHS FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826						
SLAVE OWNER	NAME OF SLAVE	ORIGIN	GENDER	AGE AT DEATH	MOTHER	REMARKS
Nicolaas van Blerk	Rachel	This colony	Female	3 months	Stynje	Reported to have died on 02.12.1817
Gerhardus Hurter	Charles	This colony	Male	3	Charlotte	Died 08.03.1826
Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Robert	This colony	Male	Infant	Marie	Died in the first year of life, in 1821.
Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	William	This colony	Male	Infant	Marie	Died in the first year of life [1821].
Petrus Kirsten	Charles	This colony	Male	1	Marie [not the same person as above]	'Death in year of 1825 as per owner'
Jacobus Arnoluds Hurter	Nancy	This colony	Female	Infant		'Died aged 3 or 4 months
Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Rosie	This colony	Female	4 years 10 months		Died 16.12.1825 death reported on 24.12.1825

Table 39

LIST OF ADULT DEATHS RECORDED DURING THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826						
SLAVE OWNER	NAME OF SLAVE	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION	AGE	REMARKS
John Osmond	Amsterdam	Java	Male	Carpenter	Unknown but aged 58 at registration	No date given
Gerhardus Hurter	Toon	Mauritius	Male	Cook	57	Died on 26.12.1824. Had previous to his death bought his freedom from Gerhardus Hurter for 1000 Rds
Johannes Muller	Lea	This colony	Female	Housemaid	32	Died 11.05.1824
Francois Smit, Francois's son	Geduld	Mozambique	Male	Herdsmen	57	Noted to have died in 1817 – no other details
Christiaan Michiel Lind	Ida	Batavia	Female	House washmaid	Unknown but aged 57 at registration	Died, no date given
John Osmond	Petronella	This colony	Female	Housemaid	22	Died 22.05.1825

John Osmond	Andries	Mozambique	Male	Cook	52	Died 01.03.1824
Pierre Rocher	Philida	Madagascar	Female	Housemaid	79	Died 11.12.1825
Pierre Rocher	Sina	Bougies	Female	Housemaid	60	Died 20.12.1826
Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Saphar	This colony	Male	Mason	25	Died 28.07.1826 Death reported 03.08.1826

Table 40

TRANSFERS, MORTGAGES AND SEQUESTRATIONS FOR THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826							
DATE	SLAVEHOLDER	SLAVE NAME	ORIGIN	GENDE R	OCCUPATI ON	AGE	DETAILS OF TRANSFER
Oct 1817	Gerhardus Hurter	Baatjoe	Unkn own	Male	Fisherman / gardener	Not stated	Transferred to Jacob van Reenen October 1817
11.12.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	August van Bengalen	Bengal	Male	Kok	60	Sold to I P Kirsten 11.12.1820 at age 64 for 25 Rds.
11.12.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Mey van Mallabaar	Malabar	Male	Timmer (carpenter)	70	Sold on 11.12.1820 at the age of 74 to Ferdinand Kirsten for 30 Rds
11.12.1820	Kirsten, Jan Pieter, Johanna Jacobs van der Poel	Rozet van Madagakar	Madagascar	Female	Wasmeid	50	Sold to I P Kirsten 11.12.1820 at age 53 for 140 Rds
09.09.1823	Pieter Francois Hugo	Present	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	20	Transferred to Francois Daniel Rossouw on 09.09.1823.
04.06.1824	Pieter Wikboom	Nella	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27	Sold and transferred to Gideon Jacobus Joubert Frans's son Stellenbosch District 4 June 1824
10.02.1825	Nicolaas van Blerk	Marthinus	This colony	Male	[Child of Styntje]	1 month	Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
10.02.1825	Nicolaas van Blerk	Gasiba	This colony	Female	[Child of Styntje]	1	Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
10.02.1825	Carel George Langerman	Chrispyn	Malabar	Male	Labourer	72	Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825
10.02.1825	Carel George Langerman	Fortuin	Malabar	Male	Tanner	70	Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825.
10.02.1825	Carel Willem Langerman	Africa	This colony	Male	Tanner	31	Transferred to C J Langerman Simon's Town 10.02.1825
Mortgaged 10.02.1825	Nicolaas van Blerk	Styntje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	20	Mortgaged to Pieter Wickboom 10.02.1825
Mortgaged 10.11.1826 and transferred 05.05.1829	Gideon Rossouw	Atina	This colony	Female	Housemaid	20	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
Mortgaged 10.11.1826	Gideon Rossouw	George	This colony	Male	[Child of Atina]	2 weeks	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829

Mortgaged 10.11.1826	Gideon Rossouw	Maria	This colony	Female	Housemaid	12	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
Mortgaged 10.11.1826	Gideon Rossouw	February	Nias	Male	Baker	49	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to William Moore Senor of Cape Town on 07.05.1829
Mortgaged 10.11.1826	Gideon Rossouw	Adam	Mozambique	Male	Waggoner	48	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to P F Hugo Simon's Town on 13.03.1829
Mortgaged 10.11.1826	Gideon Rossouw	Goliath	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	57	Mortgaged 10.11.1826 to Government Discount Bank 7200 Dutch guilders all 6 slaves. Transferred to Edmund Miller of Simon's Town on 18.03.1829
23.01.1826	Johannes Hermanus Muller	Claas	This colony	Male		8	Transferred to I H Blanckenberg of Cape Town on 23.01.1826
07.11.1826	Gerhardus Munnik	Apollos	This colony	Male	Waggoner	45	Transferred to Cornelius Korsten Cape Town on 07.11.1826.
09.11.1826	Gerhardus Munnik	Candace	This colony	Female	Workmaid	47	Transferred to S H Malan and son Cape Town on 09.11.1826
09.11.1826	Gerhardus Munnik	Regina	This colony	Female	Seamstress	41	Transferred 09.11.1826 to H O Eksteen & Son
17.04.1826	Gerhardus Munnik	Thomas	Mosambique	Male	Houseboy	42	Transferred to I H Bam Cape Town on 17.04.1826
22.03.1826	Pieter Francois Rossouw	Abdol	This colony	Male	Carpenter	26	Transferred to John Osmond on 22.03.1826

Table 41

ORIGINS OF SLAVES AFFECTED BY TRANSFERS AND MORTGAGES BETWEEN 1816 AND 1826			
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
This colony	6	7	13
Bengal	1	0	1
Malabar	3	0	3
Madagascar	0	1	1
Mozambique	4	0	4
Nias	1	0	1
Unknown origin	1	0	1
TOTAL	16	8	24

Table 42

TRANSFERS BY YEAR	
YEAR	NUMBER OF TRANSFERS
1817	1
1820	4
1823	1
1824	1
1825	5
1826	7

Table 43

MANUMISSIONS DURING THE PERIOD 1816 – 1826						
DATE	SLAVE	AGE	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	SLAVEHOLDER	REMARKS
06.06.1816	Hendrik		This colony	Not stated	Louisa of the Cape	Manumitted by his mother, Louisa of the Cape in 1826. This was done as a Deed of Emancipation.
12.11.1816	Abraham	30	This colony	Waggonner	Pieter Francois Hugo	Manumitted by said Abraham and Helena Bing for 1166 Rds.
05.08.1824	Toon	57	Mauritius	Cook	Gerhardus Hurter	Previous to his death on 26 December 1824 had bought himself free for 1000 Rds.
26.01.1826	Gert	30	Mason	This colony	Johanna Susanna de Necker (widow Gideon Rossouw)	Listed in her will as not to be sold as he had bought his freedom for 1200 Rds.

Table 44

SLAVES LISTED IN THE SIMON'S TOWN SLAVE REGISTER 1827 – 1838								
DATE	SLAVEHOLDER	SLAVE	ORIGIN	GENDER	OCCUPATION	AGE	MOTHER	REMARKS
19.02.1827	William Cooper	Adonis	Madagascar	Male	Tailor	34		-
07.03.1827	William Cooper	Dina	Mozambique	Female	Housemaid	30		-
12.02.1828	John Clarence	Charlotte	This colony	Female	Housemaid	Not stated		-
12.02.1828	John Clarence	John	This colony	Male		1	Not stated	Died 29.09.1829. Death reported the following day.
12.02.1828	John Clarence	Jupiter	This colony	Male		7	Not stated	Transferred to M I During Cape Town 30.05.1832
25.07.1828	John Clarence	Peggie	This colony	Female		20 days		Manumitted 20.12.1830
08.05.1829	John Clarence	Manuel	Mozambique	Male	House servant	33		Transferred to John Osmond 08.09.1831

23.03.1830	John Clarence	Andrew	This colony	Male		5 days		Transferred 30.05.1832 to M I During Cape Town
23.03.1830	John Clarence	Apollos	Bengal	Male	Labourer	43		Transferred to John Muller of Cape Town 22.06.1830
26.12.1827	Pieter Francois Hugo	Louisa	This colony	Female	Not stated	Not stated		LHO Dec 21:1827
13.12.1827	Joseph Antonio Demal	Cornelius	This colony	Male		1 month born 16.11.1827	Rosalyn	-
21.09.1827	Johan Heinrich Muller	Frederick	This colony	Male		10 days	Carolina	-
11.11.1828	Johan Heinrich Muller	Andries	This colony	Male		2 weeks	Doortje	-
06.01.1830	Johan Heinrich Muller	Adriaan	This colony	Male		7 ½ months	Doortje	Died 24.12.1830 (death reported 3 months after it occurred)
05.01.1832	Johan Heinrich Muller	Jek	This colony	Male		Born 30.12.1831	Carolina	Died 07.12.1832
13.12.1827	Joseph Antonio Demal	Claas	This colony	Male		1 month born 16.11.1827	Rosalyn	-
11.06.1827	John Osmond	Jephta 2	This colony	Male	Shoemaker	Not stated		-
03.11.1827	John Osmond	Sumsea	This colony	Female		1 month	Not stated	-
11.06.1828	John Osmond	Abdol 3	This colony	Male		6	Regina	-
11.06.1828	John Osmond	Regina	This colony	Female	Seamstress and knitting girl	27		
11.06.1828	John Osmond	Saiboe	This colony	Male		13		-
17.09.1828	John Osmond	Segera	This colony	Female		2 months	Pamela	-
24.04.1829	John Osmond	Seliaradien	This colony	Male		3 months	Regina	-
27.04.1830	John Osmond	Ameida	This colony	Female		22 days	Louisa	-
01.11.1830	John Osmond	Novembeer	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	35		-
03.08.1831	John Osmond	Caesar	This colony	Male		17		-
08.09.1831	John Osmond	Manuel	Mozambique	Male	Houseservant	35		-
23.07.1833	John Osmond	Amiena	This colony	Female		10 days		-
22.05.1834	John Osmond	Mariana	This colony	Female		35		-
22.05.1834	John Osmond	Philip	Mozambique	Male	Mason	37		-
26.06.1834	John Osmond	Barachi	This colony	Male		10 days	Satea	Born 16.06.1834 Died 22.07.1834 Death reported 7 days after it occurred
10.10.1834	John Osmond	Liema	This colony	Female		19 days	Regina	-
15.05.1830	Carel George Langerman	Abraham	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	43		Listed in the debt register L. fo. 166
15.05.1830	Carel George Langerman	David	Madagascar	Male	Labourer	63		Listed in the debt register L. fo. 166
20.10.1832	Carel George Langerman	Spasie	This colony	Female	Housemaid	54		Listed in the debt register L. fo. 166
08.05.1829	William Rossouw	Constanc	This colony	Female	Housemaid	23		Attached

	Osmond	e						by sheriff 14.05.1836
08.05.1829	William Rossouw Osmond	Bea	This colony	Female	Housemaid	22		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
08.06.1829	William Rossouw Osmond	Ramaodi en	This colony	Male		16 months	Bea	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Japie	This colony	Male	Labourer	31		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Jason	This colony	Male	Labourer	28		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Sanquar	This colony	Male		14		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Joel	Mosambique	Male	Blacksmith	43		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Jochon	This colony	Male		5	Martha	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Martha	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Hennetjie	This colony	Female		3		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	John	This colony	Male		6 years	Martha	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Spasie	This colony	Female		1 month	Martha	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
14.05.1831	William Rossouw Osmond	Frits	This colony	Male	Labourer	63		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
28.09.1831	William Rossouw Osmond	Saneba	This colony	Female		6 weeks	Bea	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
24.05.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Amelie	This colony	Female		4	Roosje	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
24.05.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Arie	This colony	Male		6	Roosje	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
13.02.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Daantje	This colony	Male		1 month	Martha	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
24.05.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Doortje	This colony	Female		10 months	Roosje	Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
13.02.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Fritz	This colony	Male	Waggoner	45		Reported to have died 31.07.1832 [Death reported 18.08.1832]
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Martha	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
24.04.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Roosje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	22		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1826
19.03.1830	William Rossouw Osmond	Sanquar	This colony	Male		14		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836
03.09.1834	William Rossouw Osmond	Adam	This colony	Male		1 month		Attached by sheriff 14.05.1836

02.05.1834	William Rossouw Osmond	Carolina	This colony	Female		5 days		Attached by Sheriff 14.05.1836
04.04.1833	William Rossouw Osmond	Lea	This colony	Female		8 days		Attached by Sheriff 14.05.1836
09.10.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Robert	This colony	Male		18		Attached by Sheriff 14.05.1836
14.10.1834	William Rossouw Osmond	Truytje	This colony	Female		1 month		Attached by Sheriff 14.05.1836
09.10.1832	William Rossouw Osmond	Samuel	This colony	Male	Labourer	31		Attached by Sheriff 14.05.1836
10.10.1828	Gideon Rossouw	Bachus	Malacca	Male	Mason	49		Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
12.08.1829	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Iafsiem	This colony	Male		1 month Born 04.07.1829	Francina	-
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Absalom	Malacca	Male	Cook	38		Note concerning all slaves of Thomas Delozier Palmer saying that he resides at The Residency consequently it is not necessary to transcribe them to Simon's Town.
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Lodewyk	This colony	Male	Houseboy	15		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Najou	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	57		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Regina 1	This colony	Female	Housemaid	53		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Regina 2	This colony	Female	Housemaid	16		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Saartjie	This colony	Female	Housemaid	18		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Sannet	This colony	Female		6	Regina 2	As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Simon	This colony	Male	Houseboy	21		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Abeda	This colony	Female	Nursery maid	28		As above
15.08.1828	Thomas Delozier Palmer	Leentje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	26		As above
01.09.1828	<i>A Raven</i>	<i>Child of Mariana</i>	<i>This colony</i>	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>?1 month</i>		<i>Slave Office correspondence from Woolls to Rogers stating that Raven had not registered any of his slaves</i>

01.09.1828	<i>A Raven</i>	<i>Mariana</i>	<i>This colony</i>	<i>Female</i>				<i>As above</i>
11.01.1831	Pierre Rocher	Altea	This colony	Female		2 months	Marietje	-
31.08.1831	Pierre Rocher	Betje	This colony	Female		2 months	Leentje	-
08.10.1832	Pierre Rocher	Dappat	This colony	Male	Butcher	58		-
31.01.1828	Pierre Rocher	Delphina a 2	This colony	Female		2 weeks	Delphina 1	-
28.08.1828	Pierre Rocher	Jacob	This colony	Male		2	Marietje	-
22.12.1829	Pierre Rocher	Lea	This colony	Female		1 month	Marietje	-
22.12.1829	Pierre Rocher	Lys	This colony	Male		2 months	Delphina ?1	-
28.08.1828	Pierre Rocher	Marietje	This colony	Female	Housemaid	18		-
29.08.1828	Pierre Rocher	Pamela	This colony	Female		1 month	Leonora	-
06.04.1831	Pierre Rocher	Roselyn	This colony	Female		3 months	Leonora	-
07.04.1830	Pierre Rocher	Salomon	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	63		Died 06.08.1833
12.03.1830	Pierre Rocher	Sara	This colony	Female		3 weeks	Leentje	-
05.03.1833	Pierre Rocher	Spasie	This colony	Female		2 months	Leonora	-
17.08.1832	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Caseridie n	This colony	Male		1 month, born 19.07.1832	Francina	-
02.03.1837	Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Sara	This colony	Female		1 month	Francina	-
15.05.1829	John Snell	Appollos	Bengal	Male	Labourer	42		Transferred to John Clarence of Simon's Town on 23.03.1830
16.01.1829	Pieter Wikboom	Africa	This colony	Male		1 month	Calester	-
16.02.1830	Pieter Wikboom	Marthinu s	This colony	Male	Houseboy	29		-
16.02.1830	Pieter Wikboom	Mentor	This colony	Male		6	Not stated	-
11.02.1833	Pieter Wikboom	Clarenda	This colony	Female		3 months	Not stated	-
05.11.1833	Pieter Wikboom	Doortje	This colony	Female		4 months	Calester	Died 01.09.1830 ⁶
12.03.1827	Gerhardus Hurter	John	This colony	Male		2 months born 01.01.1827	Charlotte	-
29.12.1827	Thomas Brownrigg Woolls	Jolenda	This colony	Female	Housemaid	27		Purchased at sale held at auction chamber account of the estate of G N and the late Mary[ka]
29.12.1827	Thomas Brownrigg Woolls	Aaron	This colony	Male	Houseboy	Not stated	Jolenda	Purchased at sale held at auction chamber account of the estate of G N and the late Mary[ka]
29.12.1827	Thomas Brownrigg Woolls	Loressa	This colony	Female		6	Jolenda	Purchased at sale held at auction chamber account of the estate of G N and the late Mary[ka]
29.12.1827	Thomas Brownrigg Woolls	Nesa 1	This colony	Female		3	Jolenda	Purchased at sale held at auction

⁶The birth date and death date seem to be transposed on the original document WCARS SO 6/79 Slave Register M - W 1824 – 1834. It reads birth date as 01.09.1830 and death date as 06.05.1830

								chamber account of the estate of G N and the late Mary[ka]
29.12.1827	Thomas Brownrigg Woolls	Nesa 2	This colony	Female		2	Jolenda	Purchased at sale held at auction chamber account of the estate of G N and the late Mary[ka]
10.10.1828	Gideon Rossouw	Bachus	Malacca	Male	Mason	49		Transferred to Widow L I Colyn of Cape Town on 05.05.1829
25.08.1829	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Juliana	This colony	Female	Housemaid	26		Transferred to Thomas Fairclough of Cape Town on 25.08.1829
25.08.1829	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Aron	This colony	Male		5	Juliana	Transferred to Thomas Fairclough of Cape Town on 25.08.1829
25.08.1829	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Loessa	This colony	Female		7	Juliana	Transferred to Thomas Fairclough of Cape Town on 25.08.1829
25.08.1829	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Nisa 1	This colony	Female		3	Juliana	Transferred to Thomas Fairclough of Cape Town on 25.08.1829
25.08.1829	Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Nisa 2	This colony	Female		1	Juliana	Transferred to Thomas Fairclough of Cape Town on 25.08.1829

Table 45

ORIGINS OF PEOPLE LISTED ON THE DATANASE 1827 – 1838			
ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
This colony	39	49	88
Mozambique	7	0	7
Madagascar	1	0	1
Bengal	1	0	1
Malacca	2	0	2
TOTAL	50	49	99

Table 46

POPULATION DETAILS OF LOCALLY BORN SLAVES IN SIMON'S TOWN 1827 – 1838	
Adult males	26
Adult females	17
Males aged 16 and under	27
Females aged 16 and under	37

Table 47

AGE RANGE OF ALL ADULT SLAVES RECORDED IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838															
Year Recorded	17 – 20		21 – 30		31 – 40		41 – 50		51 – 60		61 – 70		71 – 80		Total by Year
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1827	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1828	0	3	1	3	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	13
1829	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1830	0	0	2	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	11
1831	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
1832	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	6
1833	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1834	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	2	3	3	11	9	1	7	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	43

Table 48

AGE RANGE OF SLAVE CHILDREN RECORDED IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838														
Year Recorded	Under 2		2 – 4		5 – 7		8 – 10		11 – 13		14 – 16		Total By year	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1827	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	
1828	2	5	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	14	
1829	5	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	
1830	2	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	
1831	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
1832	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	
1833	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	
1834	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	
1837	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
TOTAL	22	21	1	6	7	3	0	0	1	0	2	1	63	

* Ages not available for four people on the database, therefore: 63 children + 43 adults + 4 unknowns = 110 total enslaved persons listed

Table 49

LIST OF SLAVE CHILD DEATHS RECORDED FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838						
SLAVE OWNER	SLAVE NAME OF CHILD	ORIGIN	GENDE R	AGE AT DEATH	MOTHER' S NAME	REMARKS
Nicolaas van Blerk	Africa	This colony	Male	5	Styntje	Died 20.06.1827 – death only reported on 29.06.1827
John Osmond	Hendrik	This colony	Male	Unknown, [Born 19.02.1823]	Sarchi	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
John Osmond	Jaradien	This colony	Male	Unknown, born 1821	Pamela	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
Pieter Daniel Rossouw	Salima	This colony	Female	7	Francina	Died 19.02.1828 death reported 14.04.1829
Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Slasa	This colony	Male	+ - 5		Died 30.01.1828 death reported 11.06.1828
Johan Heinrich Muller	Adriaan	This colony	Male	+ - 18 months	Doortje	Died 24.12.1830 (death reported 3 months after it occurred)
Johan Heinrich Muller	Jek	This colony	Male	1 year	Carolina	Died 07.12.1832
Pieter Wikboom	Doortje	This colony	Female	3 months	Calester	Died 01.09.1830 ⁷
John Osmond	Barachi	This colony	Male	1 month	Satea	Died 22.07.1834 Death reported 7 days after it occurred

Table 50

LIST OF ADULT SLAVE DEATHS FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838						
SLAVE OWNER	SLAVE NAME OF ADULT	ORIGIN	GENDE R	OCCUPATIO N	AGE AT DEATH	REMARKS
Johan Heinrich Muller	Christiaan	This colony	Male		25	Death reported 30.09.1833
Johan Heinrich Muller	Goliath	Mozambique	Male	Fisherman	51	Died 16.10.1828
Carel George Langerman	Fortuin	Malabar	Male	Tanner	Unknown [was 70 at registration in 1824]	Died 'before 1.04.1834'.
Pieter Francois Hugo	Benjamin	This colony	Male	Houseboy	23	Died 27.06.1827 Death reported 05.07.1827
Johan Heinrich Muller	Onverwagt	Mosambique	Male	Labourer	44	Died 20.09.1827
Thomas Drury	Francois	Malabar	Male	Tailor	52	Died 31.12.1833
John Osmond	Anthony 2	Mosambique	Male	Waggoner	54	Died 27.01.1830
Johannes Frans Sebastian Kirsten	Cupido	Batavia	Male	Houseboy	52	Died 20.05.1828
Johan Heinrich Muller	January 2	Mozambique	Male	Fisherman	50	Died 07.12.1832
John Osmond	Bacchus	Java	Male	Mason	Unknown [was 43 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.

⁷The birth date and death date seem to be transposed on the original document CA SO 6/79 Slave Register M - W 1824 – 1834. It reads birth date as 01.09.1830 and death date as 06.05.1830

Olisa Sturt [minor daughter of Reverend Sturt]	Hendryn	This colony	Female	Housemaid	32	Died 05.11.1832, death reported on the same day.
John Osmond	Batio	Java	Male	Gardener	Unknown [was 58 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	George	Madagascar	Male	Carpenter	Unknown [was 43 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	Hector	Mozambique	Male	Blacksmith	Unknown [was 46 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	Hendrik	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	Unknown [was 40 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	Dumat	Java	Male	Mason	Unknown [was 57 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	Louis	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	50	Died 23.06.1828 Death reported 17.09.1828
John Osmond	Abdol	This colony	Male	Carpenter	Unknown [was 28 at registration in 1824]	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death.
John Osmond	Surrata	Java	Male	Gardener	68	Fine paid by Osmond in 1829 for not reporting death. Date of death unknown.
John Osmond	Charles	Mozambique	Male	Carpenter	51	Died 22.05.1827
Pieter Daniel Rossouw	July	Mosambique	Male	Husbandman	58	Died 26.05.1834
Pierre Rocher	Salomon	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	63	Died 06.08.1833
William Rossouw Osmond	Fritz	This colony	Male	Waggoner	45	Reported to have died 31.07.1832 Death reported 18.08.1832.
Pierre Rocher	Fortuin 1	This colony	Male	Waggoner	38	Died 23.09.1834

Table 51

MANUMISSIONS FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838						
DATE	SLAVE	AGE	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	SLAVEHOLDER	REMARKS
23.01.1830	Floris	26	This colony	Tailor	John Carter	Manumitted at the death of Maria Fredrica Reel as appears by a Private disposition of the Late L. Alexander bearing date 7 June 1815 by virtue of the Reservatory Clause of and annexed to his Testament passed on 16 April 1801 before the late Notary I J F Wagener & Witnesses.
09.05.1828	Gert of the Cape	30	This colony	Mason	Johanna Susanna de Necker (widow of Gideon Rossouw)	Not to be sold. Purchased his freedom for 1200 Rds.

Table 52

TRANSFERS, MORTGAGES AND SEQUESTRATIONS AFFECTING SLAVES IN SIMON'S TOWN FOR THE PERIOD 1827 – 1838							
DATE	SLAVEHOLDER	SLAVE NAME	ORIGIN	GEN DER	OCCUPATIO N	AGE	DETAILS OF TRANSFER
08.03.1828	P J A Raven and F W Woeke	May	Bougies	Male	Houseboy	53	Transferred to James Griggs Cape Town 08.03.1828
01.11.1831	Jeremias Auret	Rebecca	Mozambique	Female	Housemaid	33	Transferred to G Brunner 01.11.1831
07.09.1831	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Carolus	This colony	Male		8	Transferred to S Brink & Son Cape Town on 07.09.1831
07.09.1831	Jacobus Arnoldus Hurter	Marie	Mosambique	Female	Washmaid	33	Transferred to S Brink & Son Cape Town on 07.09.1831
03.10.1833	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Abraham	This colony	Male		12	Transferred to L L Pretorius & Son of Somerset on 03.10.1833
03.10.1833	Christiaan Michiel Lind	Abraham	This colony	Male		12	Transferred to L L Pretorius & Son of Somerset on 03.10.1833
10.02.1825	Carel Willem Langerman	Clarinda	This colony	Female	Housemaid	53	Transferred to C J Langerman of Simon's Town 10.02.1825. Died 'before 1.04.1834'.
07.11.1834	Johan Heinrich Muller	Cornelis	This colony	Male		16	Transferred to I H I Muller Cape Town on 07.11.1834
12.12.1827	Johannes Albertus Hurter	Isaac	This colony	Male	Houseboy	22	Transferred 12.12.1827 to H M du Preez Jacobus Son L P in Swellendam
08.03.1828	P J A Raven and F W Woeke	May	Bougies	Male	Houseboy	53	Transferred to James Griggs Cape Town 08.03.1828
07.06.1828	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jeptha	This colony	Male	Shoemaker	44	Sold to John Osmond at auction for 200 Rds on 07.06.1828
07.06.1828	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Saibo	This colony	Male		10	Sold to John Osmond at the age of 13 for 790 Rds on 07.06.1828
25.08.1830	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jamilla	This colony	Female	Cook	26	Sold to Mr Keane de Kock of Cape Town for 320 Rds – transfer date 25.08.1830
07.06.1830	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Regina	This colony	Female	Seamstress and knitting girl	24	Sold to John Osmond along with her child, Abdol, for 500 Rds 07.06.1830
17.09.1827	Widow Gideon Rossouw (nee J S de Necker)	Jan	This colony	Male	Cooper	32	Transferred to Henry Batt of Cape Town on 17.09.1827
16.02.1827	John Clarence	November	Mozambique	Male	Labourer	29	Transferred to William Anderson Simon's Town on 16.02.1827
18.02.1828	Gerhardus Hurter	Pegie	Mosambique	Female	Washmaid	32	Transferred to I C Kotze & Son Cape Town 18.02.1828