Slaves at the Cape

Carohn Cornell

A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers

Starting to read about Cape slavery
Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past

Since this Guidebook was written in 2000, a new book has come out which offers a superb introduction to anyone interested in the lives of slaves at the Cape. *Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past* by Jackie Loos was published by David Philip in 2004. The fascinating book is a collection of true stories from the second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806 to the proclamation of freedom in 1834. Many of the descriptions in the book first appeared as "The Way We Were", a popular weekly column in the *Cape Argus*. The writer chose to concentrate on this period "because it places the least distance between Cape slaves and their modern descendants".

British slavery has been seen as a period of erosion, but the hardship and loss of dignity endured by those in bondage changed little between 1658 and 1834. "Although some of the incidents are well known, others are trivial enough to allow us to catch a glimpse of the everyday realities of the past. Chrisje of the Cape's horror at the prospect of having her hair cut as a punishment in 1831 is easier to comprehend than the probable state of Valentijn of Madagascar's mind when he was sold for 80 wagon loads of firewood in 1689."
(Writer's Preface)

Sources: The book draws on many previously untapped primary and secondary sources in the Cape Town Archives and the National Library - contradicting the common impression that apart from the criminal records, very few slave and free black stories survived.

"Slaves may have been powerless but they were certainly not silent. Hundreds of illiterate slaves and ex-slaves found ways to address the authorities on subjects of vital interest. Their words – translated into English from the Cape Dutch vernacular and re-worded in accordance with the official phraseology – still throb with barely suppressed indignation, anxiety or remorse. (Back cover of book)

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1
Slaves at the Cape

There are few remaining signs of our slave heritage in Cape Town and the surrounding landscape. At the top of Adderley Street there's a small sign on the Cultural History Museum to show that it was the Old Slave Lodge where the Company's slaves were kept. On the pavement behind the Lodge a small plaque recalls the Old Slave Tree where slave auctions took place. In Long Street there is the Old Slave Church and the Palm Tree Mosque which dates back to the time of slavery. Paarl has its own slave church, Elim has a monument celebrating Emancipation, and so on.

In fact, it's quite easy to walk around Cape Town without realising that the city was once full of slaves. Slaves were the gardeners in the Company Gardens, they were builders and carpenters, fishermen, nursemaids, street-cleaners. You can go on a winelands tour and hear nothing about the slaves who worked the vineyards and the fields, and built many of the Cape Dutch farmhouses.

It is often forgotten that the Cape was a slave society, a society built on slave labour. Slaves soon outnumbered settlers from Europe. An estimated 63000 men, women and children were brought here as slaves between the 1650s and the early 1800s when the slave trade was abolished. Most came from around the Indian Ocean - from the islands of Indonesia, from Malaysia, India and Ceylon, the East African coast and the island of Madagascar. A small number came from West Africa and Angola. A few came from China or Japan.

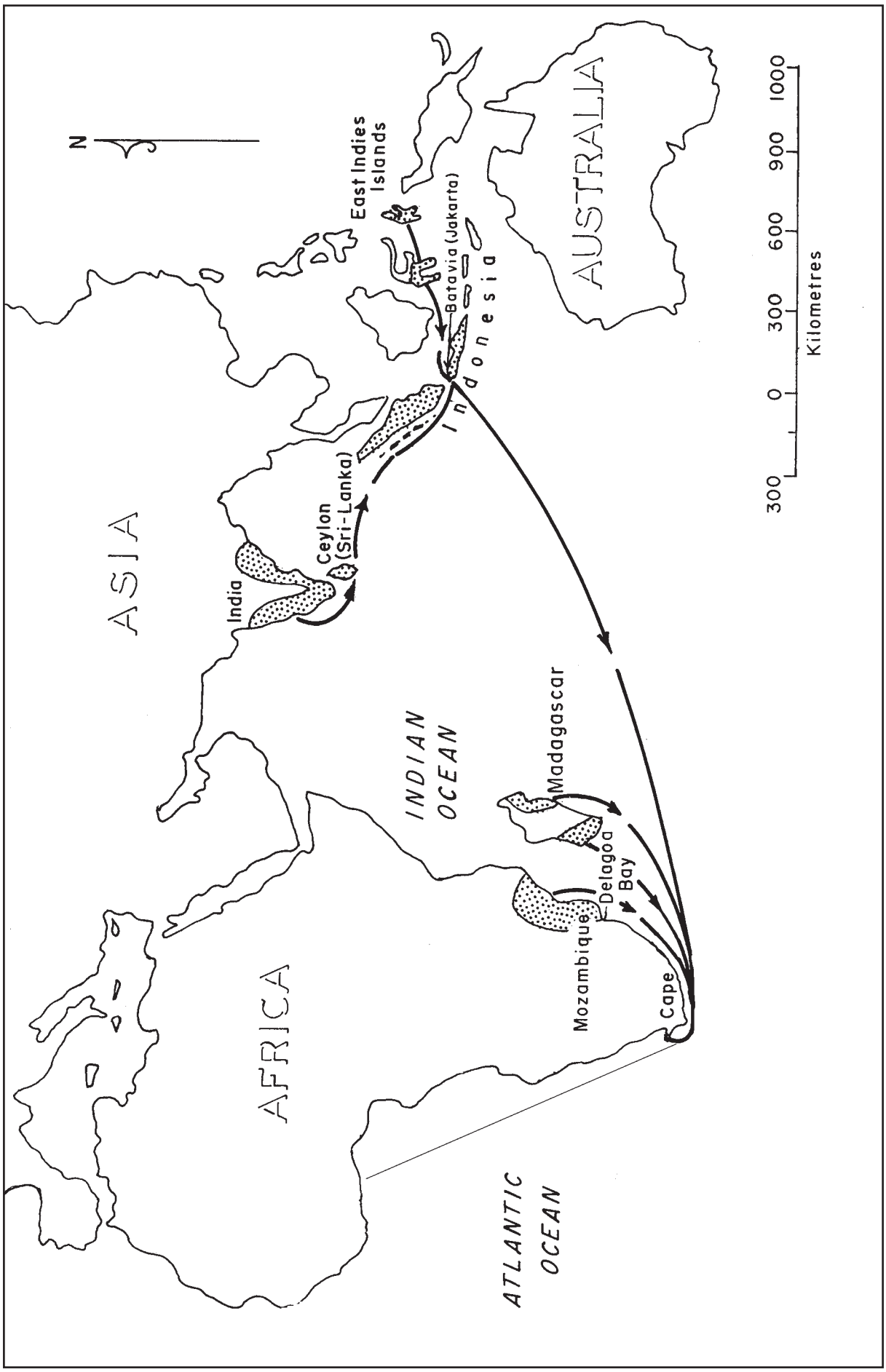
While we know where Cape slaves came from, we know far less about the societies from which they came and the different languages, religions and customs that they brought with them. Slave culture was suppressed and slaves were not even allowed to keep their own names. Their children were born into slavery at the Cape and named "van der Kaap". By the time slavery was abolished in 1834, the slaves numbered about 38 000.

We have very few life stories of individual slaves, and almost nothing written by slaves themselves. We know very little about what they thought, their ideas, their inner experience. But we do know other things about slavery and slave life at the Cape: the work slaves did, how they behaved - even how they resisted.

There are many debates about Cape slavery. Was slavery here "mild" as the slave-owners claimed or was this a Cape of torments for slaves? Did the owners control their slaves by means of whips and chains, or were psychological and cultural forms of control (like integration into the family household) more important? How accurate is it to refer to slaves as "Malays"?

There are also debates about whether we should explore the slave past at all. Is slave ancestry "too sensitive - even shameful"? Is it important for identity? Is the slave past "a coloured concern"? Is slavery being played up for the sake of tourism .

> Who built Cape Town? Was it the VIPs alone? Let the forgotten people come forward at last ... Who were the builders and plasterers? Who were the masons and carpenters? Who made the bricks? Who dug the drains? Who broke their backs in those vineyards? Who baked and cooked in those kitchens? If you ever go to Groot Constantia, look for the slave quarters. Under the house that we built. And remember us! Adam from Madagascar, Maria from Angola, Manassa from Java and Bastiaan from Bengal. We were brought in chains to build Cape Town.
>
> *(From "Who Built Cape Town?", a script used in schools, by Carohn Cornell)*



The main routes by which slaves were brought to the Cape

SLAVES AT THE CAPE: SOME IMPORTANT DATES

1652: The Dutch East India Company started a refreshment station at the Cape for ships on the way to and from the East.

1658: The first slaves are brought to the Cape, from West Africa.

1666: Slaves build the Castle

1679: Foundations are laid for the Company Slave Lodge

1693: Slaves at the Cape outnumber free people for the first time. They are brought mainly from around the Indian Ocean.

1725: Evidence that groups of runaway slaves have been living at Hangklip; runaway slaves live there until the 19th century.

1795: The British take over control of the Cape and remain in control throughout the 19th century (except for a short period of Dutch rule from 1803-6).

1796: The British outlaw torture and some of the most brutal forms of capital punishment.

1807: The British outlaw the slave trade: it is now illegal to be a slave trader buying or selling slaves but it is still legal to own slaves.

1808: A slave rebellion, led by Louis of Mauritius, is defeated.

1825: A second slave uprising, led by Galant of the Cape, is defeated.

1826: The British introduce laws to make punishments less cruel and an official Protector of Slaves is appointed, with Assistant Protectors in towns and villages away from Cape Town.

1834: Slavery is abolished in British colonies on 1 December but the “freed” slaves are forced to serve a four-year apprenticeship to make them “fit for freedom”.

1838: the slaves are freed on Emancipation Day, 1 December.

2

"Let the forgotten people be heard at last"

It is somehow forgotten that slaves both built and maintained the infrastructure of the colony - forts, farms and roads, and developed the creole cuisine - while their owners sat smoking on their stoeps or returned to Holland or England. Restoring the history of such people - forgotten, ignored or suppressed by the colonial process or settler historians, should be part of the modern Cape historian's agenda. In this view, history becomes an obscure branch of democracy - restoring the historical voice that was hitherto silent.

(Robert Shell, Kronos 19, p.168)

My own interest is in the social history of groups of workers like fishermen or washerwomen whose lives are virtually unrecorded. If we can find out about their lives I think we'll get a better sense of how the community functioned. After all, the Muslim community was very largely a working class community.

(Nazeem Lowe, curator, BoKaap Museum)

We're products of apartheid when we value the features of a greatgrandfather from Europe and overlook what we have inherited from our slave ancestors. It's the same when we recall the history of Methodist congregations: the colonial past seems to dominate. We need to research the history, the stories, of slaves and their descendants in the church - in Cape Town, Somerset West and further afield. We'll soon be making banners to commemorate the history of the Buitenkant Street Methodist Church - where the District Six Museum is now - and we must show our slave heritage as a matter of pride, not a shame, a stigma. In our new democracy we must change the apartheid mindset.

(Stanley John Abrahams, lay preacher, Central Methodist Mission)

Pniel was founded by freed slaves and we are proud of our roots. Now we're training to be community guides which is another reason to research the slave ancestry of our community. We want to attract more visitors and create work for people in Pniel.

(Elinor Damon, community researcher and guide)

We need to develop eco-tourism, to create job opportunities for communities. The Elim Slave Route pilot project aimed to make the mission village of Elim a centre, and a model, for eco-tourism. The history of slavery and Emancipation is an important part of Elim's heritage. In the two or three years after Emancipation, the population almost doubled, but very little of Elim's slave past has survived in family history or folk memory. Many descendants of slaves find it shameful to admit to slave ancestry, even to themselves. But not everyone has negative feelings. According to Andree Joorst, a member of the Elim Tourism Committee, "it's something to be proud of ... to know that you have been born out of a heritage of slavery". And Paul Swart said "Elim's foundation was built by slaves ... when we think of slaves, then we think of hardworking people, and up to today you will find this hardworking spirit among the people".

(Farieda Khan, independent researcher)

Of course we need to research slave roots but it needs to be community research into ancestry/roots, not only slaves. You can't restrict research to slaves, or Khoisan, or white genealogies. Just look at me, a tenth generation descendant of Eva who married Meerhof. We are a merry mix.

(Hans Heese, genealogist)

3

A guidebook for new researchers

A beginners' guide

If you want to explore the hidden history of slaves at the Cape and if you're wondering how to start, this book is for you. You don't need any previous training in research or any special qualifications and it doesn't matter if you never did history at school.

The main focus of this guidebook

The book focuses on how to research the lives of groups of slaves or freed slaves who lived and worked in a particular place or community. But it could also be useful if you want to trace individual slaves or the slave ancestry of a family, perhaps your own family history.

How this book was written

Three historians of Cape slavery - Andrew Bank, Susan Newton-King and Nigel Worden - wanted to offer some training to community researchers. So they submitted a funding proposal and received a grant. Then they asked me to write a beginners' guide for community researchers who come on the training course and for anyone else who's interested. So I've been finding my way around libraries and archives and sources, many of them new to me. The most wonderful sources are the people who have talked to me about their research, told memorable stories and introduced me to others. Andrew Bank, Susan Newton-King and Nigel Worden have been advisors and editors as well as generous sources. As you see, the book has grown way beyond the original brief of 20 or 30 pages.

Reading stories of other people's research

A guidebook can be useful when you go travelling but it's often the stories we hear from other travellers that inspire us to go places we've never been before. That's why the guidebook is full of stories from researchers about what they have found out about the lives of slaves, and how they did their research.

The sources

People often think first of written sources but that doesn't mean you need to start your research with documents. Start with whatever is available and interesting for you. You could start by asking people who might know stories or songs about slavery. The main sources of evidence about the lives of slaves are: oral sources; slave heritage in our surroundings and culture (language, music, cooking, religious customs etc.); written sources and historical archaeology.

Steps in the research process

This is a step-by-step guide: where to start looking, what to read, what to do when there are gaps in the story or when sources conflict. The book introduces you to the main sources of information for the period when the Cape Colony was under the Dutch colonial rule from 1652, for the British period from 1795-1803 and from 1806 onwards, and around Emancipation in 1838. It also takes you on a guided tour of research libraries and archives in the Western Cape.

How to use this book

Check the Contents page and turn to the section that looks most interesting. I'd start with the stories of other people's research but you might prefer to go straight to the Archives section. But whatever section you start with, it's a good idea to read through the whole book before you start your research. Just skim the parts that are too detailed or not relevant for you. You might find sections you want to come back to later.

Improving this book for future researchers

Please tell us about mistakes or gaps in this booklet. Next time we would like to include stories of your research: what you are discovering and how you are making known the forgotten history of slavery.

4

Sources of information about Cape slaves

In this section we look at the different types of sources for finding out about the lives of slaves at the Cape. There are examples of each type of source. The sources of information are:

4.1 Oral traditions

Oral traditions from the time of slavery
Interviews and folk-tales written down from oral sources
An interview with a former slave
A folk-tale recalled

4.2 The slave legacy in our culture and surroundings

Buildings, furniture and other things
Language, food, cooking, religious and other customs
Music and song as sources of evidence about slave life

4.3 Written/documentary sources

Books and other published material
Archival material
Family heirlooms: kitaabs, diaries, other papers
Databases
Unpublished research

4.4 Historical archaeology and slave artifacts

"Flora", slave foremother at Vergelegen?
Community archaeologists at the Old Slave Lodge

4.1 Oral traditions

Are there still oral traditions from the time of slavery?

The slaves were freed in 1838 so only those who were quite young at that time lived past 1900. But stories that freed slaves told their children and grandchildren may have lived on. After all, there are plenty of people alive today who could be greatgreatgrandchildren of slaves.

There may be someone in your family or your community or in the congregation of your church or mosque who has stories to tell about slaves and slavery. But you'll have to be diplomatic because some people might be angry or insulted if you ask about slavery. You might be lucky and find a story, a song, or just an old name of a person or a place that goes back to the time of slavery. It's quite possible that you will find clues that other researchers have missed. Write down what you hear or try recording if the person is relaxed about it.

In the first two stories in Section 7, community researchers talk about living oral traditions in Simon's Town and the old Zonnebloem area of District Six. Oral sources are important in these stories of Imam Ismail from Sumbawa, the first imam of Simonstown, and Lydia Williams, a freed slave, who used to celebrate Emancipation Day in District Six. Sometimes a single word or name offers a clue to follow up:

> Until I was about five we lived in Worcester in Leseur Street, which was known as Kantien Street because of the number of bars and liquor stores. There was a hall in the street where from time to time there was a "slawekonsert". I remember hearing that but I didn't know what it was. Now I wonder if it was something to do with 1 December. I have an idea that a man I knew as Oom Boy Swartz, who was the leader of a brass band, took a leading part in the "slawekonsert". If we scratch hard enough we'll find out more.
>
> *(Chris Loff, archivist)*

> It would be interesting to research the links between old place names and slave history. For instance, there's an area in Pniel called "Masbiekvlei" or "Masambiekvlei", out of sight from the main road. I've heard old people say it was the part of the village where the "Mazbiekers" lived: Mozambican freed slaves and their descendants. They were the darkest-skinned of the freed slaves. I've heard of a family in Worcester where the family photograph with the dark-skinned "Mazbieker" grandmother was hidden because she was too dark. Were the "Mazbiekers" of Pniel kept out of sight of the road in the same way? Or is that reading too much into a name?
>
> *(Sarah Winter, heritage consultant)*

Interviews and folk-tales written down from oral sources

The United States has many letters and life stories written by slaves and ex-slaves, or written from their testimony. We have only one or two interviews and one or two letters. But there have been some sympathetic listeners who tried to record slaves' stories in their own words. Later in this book we discuss examples from the writing of missionaries or travellers where the voices of slaves or ex-slaves seem to come through. Look, for example, at the stories of "Ou Naaldje" Dina (section 7.3) and in religious testimony from the records of the Berlin Missionary Society (Section 8.5.1).

An interview with a former slave

In 1910 a reporter from the newspaper of the African People's Organisation (APO)

interviewed a 96-year old former slave, Katie Jacobs, about her life. Here's an extract from the published interview:

> I was born on Mr M[ostert]'s farm near Kalabas Kraal. I don't know the exact day but I was between nineteen and twenty years when we were freed. My father was a Malagasy and my mother was a Cape woman. I began to work when still very young.
>
> When my baas, through old age, was unable to continue farming, he distributed most of his chattels among his sons whom he had set up as farmers in the neighbourhood. I and some cattle and horses were given to Baas Kootje; my mother and some more cattle were presented to another son in Frenchhoek. From that day I never saw my mother nor do I know what became of her. Though I did not know how long it would take to perform the journey to Frenchhoek, I often desired to see my mother. The baas, however, always refused my request. I think he was afraid that I would not return.
>
> *(Quoted in N.Worden, The Chains that Bind Us, p. 10)*

A folk tale recalled

Many folk tales and sayings must have come down from the time of slavery. One folk tale, about the rain on Emancipation Day, is told by John Mason in his Ph.D. study. According to his sources it was a well-known story in the Western Cape in the 1940s and 1950s:

> The Heavens wept on Emancipation Day. At dawn, the skies opened and a cold, grey spring rain swept across the land. For three days, the deluge and chill continued: rivers flooded and snow draped the shoulders of the mountains of the Western Cape. Not for a generation had there been such curious weather, so late in the season. The ex-apprentices, the freed people, understood. The rains were God's tears, shed for the slaves who had died in chains. *(J.Mason, "Fit for Freedom", p. 327)*

4.2 The slave legacy in our culture and surroundings

The cultural legacy of slavery is all around us. The Castle and other 17th and 18th century buildings, the Company Gardens, wine estates like Groot Constantia, Vergelegen and Simonsig: all were built by slaves. Slave craftsmen produced much fine old Cape furniture and other items. Traces of the slave heritage survive in Cape cooking and of course in the naming of food ("bobotie", "bredie", "blatjang", "sosaties", "tamaletjie") and much more.

The Afrikaans language owes a great deal to slaves, as the late Achmat Davids and others have shown. Open the Cape Town phone book and you'll find names from the time of slavery: Abrahamse and Moses, Balie and Solon, February and November, Adonis and Cupido.

The slave heritage also shows in religious and other customs. One example is the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, "rampies sny". According to the BoKaap Museum display, this is a tradition unique to Cape Muslims which "probably originated with the slaves". "Khalifa" or "Ratiep", not a religious ritual but performed as a test of faith, was also "probably brought here by slaves from the East".

In this section we only have space to explore one aspect of what slaves contributed to our culture: music. Colin Miller is a musician and a researcher at District Six Museum sound

archive with a strong interest in oral history. He talked about music in the lives of slaves and the slave heritage in lyrics and in musical style.

Music and song as sources of evidence about slave life

Music played a central role in slave life here, as it did in the United States, becoming a vital form of communication where communication wasn't allowed. If only we could hear them playing and talking about their music! Visitors to the Cape described slaves as music-makers within the households of their masters. We know that from the very beginning slaves who showed some love of music or talent would be trained. Coplan talks about this in his book *In Township Tonight* and so do I in my Honours thesis on the history of music in Cape Town and the music of Jimmy Adams in particular. You could also look at articles in *Jazz Heritage* like one I wrote in May '99, "Demons, Harold Jafta".

There were street parades for the celebration of Emancipation but long before that, too, on the one or two holidays slaves had they would take to streets and make a huge racket. Those who could play would take their instruments along and of course there were picnics – in the Glen and Platteklip – always accompanied by dance music. The dance went with the music, music was for dancing. That tradition of dance picnics is continued to this day by some guys who play jazz or dance or "klopse" – often the same person plays all three. They say that at places like Soetewater it still happens at Christmas or New Year. Load all the instruments onto a van or bakkie and go on a picnic. Somehow the Klopse Carnival was shifted from December 1, Emancipation Day, to New Year.

Musical style as part of slave heritage

Most slaves played on western instruments, such as violins and banjoes, but maybe the way in which they played – the sound – could say something to researchers. By the way, some of them may have learned to play in Goa or parts of Indonesia where the Portuguese or the Dutch had already introduced western instruments.

Indonesian and Indian music has a different scale with very small variations, quarter notes or half-notes. You can hear it in the call to prayer every day and differently in the old dance band players in the way they play sax – with a wide vibrato imitating the way the violin is played. The violin in turn imitates singing. The violin has no frets and you can hear "singing" as the musicians tend to bring out the vocal style.

The "ghoemaliedjies" of the Cape slaves

This is what one researcher, Christine Winberg, has written about the connection between "ghoemaliedjies" and slavery:

> "Ghoemaliedjies" were sung by slaves on their picnics - these being an important aspect of slave culture ... The "ghoemaliedjie" is thus known as a "Malay picnic song", but also a "straatlied", a "skemliedjie", a "moppie" or a "comic song". "Ghoemaliedjies" are still sung by choirs today in the annual Malay Choir Competition, accompanied by various musical instruments which always include a skin-covered drum or "ghoema". They are also sung on holidays, on picnics, camping trips and particularly at new year. "Ghoemaliedjies" are closely associated with "Coon Carnival" ...
>
> The origins of the "ghoemaliedjie" are as obscure as the origins of Afrikaans. They are a blend of Dutch and Indonesian folk songs, combining the humour and styles of both traditions.
>
> *(C.Winberg in New Contrast, 19 (4), p. 78)*

C. D. Bell, 'Freed slaves making music'. about 1840

Musical instruments as part of slave heritage

Some people think that the "ghoema" drum comes from a musical instrument that existed where "Malay" slaves came from. Others believe it is a product of Cape Town – after all, it was made out of a wine barrel with skin over it.

Song lyrics as a source of evidence about slave life

Maybe some old hymns have slave roots. Has anybody looked at old hymnals which might show evidence of these roots? Religious music is a study in itself, and there are some local theses on the subject.

And perhaps there are words and phrases in children's games and songs – in Dutch, Afrikaans, English, Malay, Arabic or other languages – which are in some sense relics of slavery.

Apparently the lyrics of some "ghoemaliedijies" date back to slavery. I'm sure it would be valuable to talk to people from the Malay Choir Boards. It's worth looking at the lyrics published by I.D. du Plessis, even though he has been criticised for colonising "Malay" music in the cause of apartheid. Recently Winberg has shown how making fun of the masters was condoned in "ghoemaliedjies". Then there's "klopse" music. Nowadays most is very pop modern stuff, but there are also specific items for competition like "Rosa", a "Malay" wedding song which probably goes back a long way. Vincent Kolbe has different recordings: by the choir in the Buitenkant Methodist Church and by Taliep Pietersen. Colin Howard wrote a Masters thesis on "klopse" music and Denise Martin has a fascinating book on the Cape Town Carnival: both sources worth exploring.

Anyone who wants to research slave heritage in our musical culture should start by talking to other researchers and musicians with ideas on the subject.

(Colin Miller)

4.3 Written/documentary sources

Written sources include books and other published material, church records, archival material, family papers (including diaries and religious manuscripts) and some databases. The records are in different languages, mainly High Dutch, English, Arabic and German.

We have almost nothing that was written by slaves themselves: only one or two letters and a few signatures. We have almost no record of the actual words of slaves. So we don't know at first hand what slaves believed or felt or achieved or longed to achieve.

All the written records we have of slave life are second-hand: reports of what slaves did or said, written by court officials or missionaries or travellers. We always have to be aware of the reporter's bias in these sources. Court records, for instance, are a very valuable source, but they generally tell us about crimes and unusual behaviour, not everyday life.

But there are times when we can almost hear the voices of slaves coming through in missionary reports or in travellers' accounts, or in official documents like court records and reports of the Slave Office. Good examples are:

- **Court of Justice records of the evidence of 26-year old Galant, leader of the Koue Bokkeveld slave rebellion in 1825. (Andre Brink's novel, *A Chain of Voices*, draws on these records.)**
- **Berlin Missionary Society reports of what individual slaves and ex-slaves said, giving religious testimony in church. One example is an 80 year-old freed slave, David December, born in West Africa. (These reports have been translated from German into Afrikaans by Ds David Botha of the Sendinggestig Museum. Look at Section 8.5.1 for examples.)**

What if you find "new" documents or slave artifacts

It's quite possible that you will discover documents that historians have never seen. There are sure to be documents kept in families, in mosques or churches, or in local libraries or museum collections, or overseas, which have never been catalogued or listed in any publication or included in a database.

Recently, for example, a researcher in Mamre found in a loft a rough notebook written by missionaries up to 1843. The Heritage Museum in Simon's Town has a growing collection of "kitaabs" (religious manuscripts) which have been handed down in families, some from the days of slavery. Several community historians in Cape Town have said they wouldn't be surprised to find that there are other old "kitaabs", and more Arabic Afrikaans texts, in the community.

> Recently an old lady, a cleaner, came into the Slave Lodge. She told me that her greatgreatgrandfather came over on a slave ship and that two of his books and a few other things had been handed down in the family. The books were handwritten in ink that looked as though it was "made of blood and brick dust". She said there were sketches of the slaves chained together on board ship and of someone being thrown overboard.
>
> Of course I asked if I could see the book but she refused. She said once before a museum had borrowed a book and never returned it to the family. The dates would just about work out and there were details in her story that made me believe her but I haven't yet followed it up. Community researchers could follow up leads like this.
>
> *(Ramzie Abrahams, education officer)*

If you find anything interesting ask the owner for permission to photograph it where it is kept. Photocopying damages fragile old documents. Tell the relevant museum or archive about this "new" source, and give them copies of your photographs if possible. Some community researchers already do all this as you'll see from the story of Ebrahiem Manuel's research (Story 1 in Section 7). This will help other researchers to add to your findings or challenge your interpretation.

The Old Slave Lodge has recently started an archive where community researchers are welcome to deposit material: see Section 12.

- Records of the Slave Protector including questions and answers from slaves in the Day Books in the Cape Archives. (John Mason uses these in the dramatic story of the ex-slave Mey: Story 5 in Section 7.)

There are also records of Cape slaves kept overseas. The Dutch East India Company kept records at its headquarters and so did the British Colonial Office and various missionary societies.

Recently a number of researchers (including Jim Armstrong, Kerry Ward and Nigel Worden) have been looking at records in places that slaves were shipped from: Madagascar, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Indonesia and so on. For instance, it may be possible through Kerry Ward's database of "bandieten" to find out when and why Imam Ismail was taken from Sumbawa in Indonesia to the Cape. (Look at Section 7.1)

4.4 Historical archaeology and slave artifacts

This section is based on visits to the Slave Lodge, formerly known as the South African Cultural History Museum, and Vergelegen and conversations with historical archaeologists, Gabeba Abrahams-Willis and Antonia Malan. Archaeologists dig up physical remains of the past and interpret what they find. Historical archaeologists usually concentrate on the more recent past, not on pre-historic times. They are interested in what material objects can tell us about the past – and about slavery. They interpret what they find in the light of documentary and other sources.

"Flora", slave foremother at Vergelegen?

An archaeological dig on the old Vergelegen estate near Somerset West uncovered the foundations of the slave quarters on the estate. Under the floor was a surprising find: the skeleton of a middle-aged woman. Scientific analysis of her skeleton showed that she was brought to the Cape as a young woman from a tropical or subtropical area like Indonesia or Madagascar, and that she was healthy except for severe arthritis. Her coffin indicated that she was a favourite slave in the family household. The small museum at Vergelegen displays the story of how archaeologists "read" her bones and other clues. Archaeologists and estate workers, some probably descendants of Vergelegen slaves, held a re-burial ceremony in 1991.

Community archaeologists at the Old Slave Lodge

In the Slave Lodge there used to be just a few slave artifacts on display: a pipe, a small piece of handmade lace, items of furniture made by slave craftsmen. Historical archaeologists in Cape Town are currently busy with a project which will tell us more about the lives of slaves. Dr Gabeba Abrahams-Willis and a team of volunteers have excavated a site in the courtyard of the Slave Lodge on the corner of Adderley and Wale Street.

> "We have also dug inside the building itself under the floor of one of the exhibitions. One of the old underground slave cellars was found there. The cellars where slaves were kept and the Slave Lodge itself are unique in the world. They are a very special part of Cape Town's slave heritage.
>
> Who are the volunteers? The youngest volunteers are two primary school learners of six and eleven and the oldest is 78. They are from diverse backgrounds: among others a theatre nurse, a gynaecologist, an office clerk, a potter, a musician, an artist, a librarian, a museum curator, a fundraiser, a photographer, a journalist, a publisher, a technician, an American slave descendant, a teacher, a lecturer and students. The students come from many disciplines (Archaeology, History and Museum and Heritage Studies, but also Electrical Engineering, Public Relations, and others). Some of the volunteers are also involved in community projects such

Community archeologists working at the old slave lodge

as Ikhaya Labantu, Community Builders' project, Black Sash, Reach Out Project and Siyakhula Pottery Project.

What have we found? The kitchen debris contains bones of cattle, sheep, domestic fowl and various kinds of fish. We have also found artifacts including drinking glasses, window panes and bottles, as well as bone and brass buttons, coins, pins, pottery pots for cooking and storage, and Chinese hand-painted porcelain cups, saucers and plates. One very special find is a painting of a woman on a small fragment of clear glass. This may be a painting of a slave woman painted by another slave.

What future plans are there? There are plans for more excavations, more research and a programme of events involving community participation. There will be an exhibition of what has been uncovered: artifacts and features of the structure.

If you'd like to be added to the list of volunteers, send in your name, address and contact details, work experience, study details, and/or CV. Ideas and proposals for new initiatives are also welcome.

Contact Dr Gabeba Abrahams-Willis, SA Cultural History Museum, Box 645, Cape Town 8000. Phone 4618280, Fax 4619592, E-mail gabraham@sach.org.za.

”

Is it also possible that slave artifacts have survived, even outside of the Lodge? Graves and grave stones, many of them not yet recorded, are obvious examples. But perhaps there are also artifacts apart from "kitaabs" that have been handed down in families: things that aren't in the records.

5

Starting to read about Cape slavery

5.1 The first stage: getting a general idea, getting interested

Everybody you talk to will have different ideas about where to start reading about Cape slavery. Here's my selection. I'd start with the SATV documentary, "Groep Sonder Grense", and a couple of novels, *The Slave Book* and *A Chain of Voices*, and then move on to some of the books written by academic historians for the general public. I think that would show the way to more specialised books or sections of books - and to interesting material in archives and so on ...

TV documentary, "*Groep sonder grense*"

The documentary (four programmes, each 50 minutes, in Afrikaans) was shown on SATV in 1999. It shows the contribution of slaves and freed slaves to life at the Cape. There are interviews with a wide range of academic and community historians, and important historical sources and settings are shown on screen. The text is by Dr Hans Heese, historian and genealogist, whose book *Groep Sonder Grense* caused a great controversy when it was published in 1984.

The Cape Town Archives and Old Slave Lodge intend to get copies of the video as a community resource. Ask for it at your local library, museum and high school or college. Video copies are available from SATV at R720 but many people have made copies.

Historical novels: *A Chain of Voices* and *The Slave Book*

It was *A Chain of Voices*, Andre Brink's novel about the 1825 slave revolt in the Koue Bokkeveld (in present-day Cedarberg) that first got me thinking about slave voices in the archives. That's discussed in my story in Section 7.6. Brink uses the court records as a starting point, but then imaginatively reconstructs the life of Galant and his relationships with other slaves and Khoi workers on the farm of his owner, Nicolaas van der Merwe, in a remote part of the Cedarberg.

The Slave Book by Rayda Jacobs is set in Cape Town and the interior in the years before and after Emancipation. The novel gives a vivid sense of the lives of individual slaves ("Sangora van Java, Noria van Malabar and Somiela van de Kaap" among others) and the society they were part of. It's full of background information and offers clues about some useful sources. It has lots of details about farm life, Islam and the community of runaways at Hangklip.

Easy reading from academics and other researchers

Here's my selection for a quick, readable, interesting introduction to Cape slavery from the work of academics and other researchers. You can explore the heavier academic books later. For details about publishers, check in the bibliography at the end of this book.

You'll find all these publications in the SA Library, or try any library, resource centre or museum near you. Most places welcome community researchers, so explain what you're hoping to do and show this reading list. If your library or resource centre doesn't have a book you want, they might be able to order it from another library. If they know you're doing a community research project they might not charge you. Or ask at your local museum. If the person at the door can't help you, ask if there's a researcher behind the scenes who could help. If there's a bookshop near you, try browsing.

5.1 The first stage (continued): getting a general idea

***The Chains that Bind Us* by N.Worden et al**
(106 pages, illustrated, about R40 from Jutas. The teachers' kit on which this book is based is available in Afrikaans as *Die Kettings Wat Ons Bind*: not for sale but in SA Library.)

This book was written with and for teachers and students. It looks at where slaves came from, their living conditions, their work and the contribution they made to shaping present-day Cape society. There are eight short chapters: on hidden history, the beginnings of slavery, people for sale, always working, the world the slaves made, the end of slavery, after Emancipation, and "How much freedom?" There are extracts from many interesting stories and sources.

Reading this book is the easiest way to see what sources look like and what they can tell us about Cape slavery. All the sources have been translated into English for the book. For example, you'll find:

- pictures of slaves from many different sources
- a list of slaves from a Cape farm in 1745 (p.23)
- the 1753 diary of a slave-ship captain (p.28)
- the "vendurol" (auction list) for the sale of a widow's estate in 1767 (p.41)
- a story from a journal called the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1824 about an auction where members of a slave family were sold to different owners (p.39)
- cross-examination of the rebel leader Galant in 1825 (pp.76-80)
- travellers' or visitors' descriptions of the working lives of slaves. See, for example, the description of the German visitor, Otto Mentzel, of Boland farms in the 1730s (p.51) and the Swedish visitor, Thunberg, of Cape Town in 1772 (p.49)
- a description of the community of slave runaways at Hangklip in the early 19th century (p.68)
- the story of the ex-slave, Katie Jacobs, as she told it in 1910.

***Slave Route Project Newsletters*, 1998**

There are four illustrated newsletters, 20 pages altogether, not for sale but they can be read or photocopied in the SA Library or the Old Slave Lodge. These newsletters contain a wealth of readable information in a very short space: maps, sources, key events, people's stories, views from different researchers, routes for slave walks and so on: a quick way to get inspired. Every Western Cape museum should display these newsletters and sell them as a cheap booklet: keep asking for this. More newsletters may be produced in future.

***Cape Town: The Making of a City* by Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith**
(283 pages, many illustrations, available in SA Library, other libraries and bookshops for about R220.)

This is a social history of Cape Town under Dutch and British rule. It's very well illustrated with many photographs, maps and paintings, and short stories. There are illustrations of slave auctions, slave fishermen and washerwomen, freed slaves celebrating Emancipation and so on. Just browse through, looking at whatever catches your eye. The index at the end (p.276) lists all the pages which give information about slaves and slavery, for example, on slave religion, slave resistance and punishment.

5.2 The second stage: going into detail

These books are more academic but don't be intimidated. The trick is to find the parts that interest you. Have a look at the contents page in the front and you might find a chapter or an appendix that you want to read right away. All these books are in the SA Library, African Studies Library at UCT and some other libraries.

Even if the language and a lot of the information is very complicated and difficult, there may be wonderful stories in the book. I tend to look for people's stories first. If the stories are really interesting, it makes me curious about the writer's analysis. It's often hard work to understand what argument the writer is making, using what evidence. Reading the stories first may make it easier to understand and remember the argument.

"The Slaves 1652-1834", a chapter by Jim Armstrong and Nigel Worden in R.Elphick and H.Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*

This chapter by Armstrong and Worden provides the most readable, short overview of the history of slavery by academic historians. It includes detailed sections on the work that slaves did, where the slaves came from (with a wonderful map of Madagascar and the bays on the island where many Cape slaves were drawn from), how slaves were controlled, punished and how they resisted. Remember though that this chapter was published in 1989 and that a lot of research into the history of Cape slavery has been done since then.

***Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* by Robert Ross**
(160 pages, no illustrations, out of print.)

Ross looks at how slaves reacted to slavery and how they tried to resist. The opening chapters analyse slavery at the Cape and are more difficult to read, so read the stories first and leave the opening chapters for later. The book is full of interesting stories about slaves who ran away to try to start a new life beyond the reach of their masters. There are chapters about slaves who hid away on ships or ran away to join the Xhosa or other groups. There's a chapter about groups of escaped slaves who lived at Hangklip across False Bay. Another chapter describes two slave uprisings, the one led by Galant van de Kaap in the Koue Bokkeveld near Ceres and one which started in the Swartland (present-day Malmesbury) and got as far as Salt River.

***Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope,1652-1838* by Robert Shell**
(502 pages, some illustrations; about R130.)

This book contains lots of fascinating details and stories about Cape slavery. The detailed table of contents is very helpful. Look, for instance, at Chapter 2, "The Tower of Babel" on the language/s of slaves, Chapter 6 on "The Company Slave Lodge", and the Appendix. Don't be put off by the statistics and demographic (population) details: look for the parts which interest you. There is a very valuable bibliography (from p.453): Shell includes comments on some of the books and articles listed. The novelist Rayda Jacobs said at Cape Town's "One City Many Cultures" Festival that this was the only book she needed to read to get the historical background for *The Slave Book*. You might like to read her book before you read Shell's book.

***Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony* edited by Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais**

This book is a collection of chapters by 12 different historians and contains fascinating stories, sources and clues about slavery and Emancipation in the Western and Eastern Cape, and about ex-slaves and their descendants in Cape Town and the Cape countryside.

For a social history of Islam at the Cape and of Muslim slaves, see the work of Achmat Davids and others (listed and discussed in Section 8.8 on using Muslim records).

Detective work: tracing footnotes and other clues from the books you read

Historians give their sources/references in footnotes at the bottom of the page or at the end of a chapter or article. Or footnotes may come at the end of the book, divided according to chapters. Many researchers will tell you that it was a footnote - or something in a bibliography - that first got them interested in a topic and gave them clues about how to get started. So you need to know your way round the footnotes. Don't let the small print or the abbreviations stop you.

Using footnotes

Here's an example for practice. Look at *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (pp.104-5). Let's say you enjoy the description of slaves socialising in Greenmarket Square and you want to know more. In this case the source (a written account by a traveller called Robert Semple) is mentioned. But you still need to find the footnote to get the name of his book. Write down the small number that appears after the quotation: this is the number of the footnote. Also write the number of the chapter it's in. Then go to the list of references (from p.265): find the right chapter and then find the right footnote. This will tell you the title of the book quoted from and the page number of the quotation.

Coping with abbreviations

The footnote only gives the full title when the book is quoted for the first time. But because you know the writer's name you can easily get the full title from the library catalogue. Once you have the full title and accession number, you can order the book and read it for yourself. When the writer is quoting from archival sources, there will often be abbreviations (like CJ or MOOC or SO). If you don't understand these, go back to the beginning of the footnotes. There's sometimes a list of abbreviations explained there or at the beginning of the book. If you're still not sure, make a list of your queries and ask the librarian or another researcher.

Using the index/bibliography

To find out if the writer is quoted elsewhere in the book, check the Index (from p.276). Look up the surname and you'll see all the pages where the writer is quoted. Check those pages for other interesting quotations. Many books have a separate bibliography but in some books the bibliography and index are combined. Look through the bibliography and index for interesting leads to follow.

6

Deciding what you want to research

In this section we look at different ways you could limit and focus your research. You may have questions and themes you want to explore. But it helps if you can focus on those questions or themes within a specific period of time and in a specific place or community. Or you may want to trace a family history. This section suggests some possible approaches.

6.1 Topics/Questions to research

Different researchers concentrate on all sorts of different themes, topics and questions on Cape slavery. For instance, Nigel Worden is currently interested in the regions from which slaves came and the cultures and customs that they brought with them. Robert Shell has mapped out demographic (population) trends in the slave population and explored questions like "How were slaves treated?" Achmat Davids researched the languages spoken by slaves and the social history of Islam at the Cape. Hans Heese has traced the slave and other ancestors of many Cape families. Ebrahiem Manuel has traced his Simon's Town family back to a small village in Indonesia. Susan Newton-King follows up interesting cases from the court records. Robert Ross and John Mason have looked at different forms of slave resistance. Andrew Bank has looked at the way of life and culture of Cape Town slaves in the years before Emancipation and Vivian Bickford-Smith at freed slaves in Cape Town in the years after Emancipation. The list could go on.

If you're specially interested in any of this research, check the bibliography to see what these researchers have written on such subjects. They may give you ideas for research you want to do.

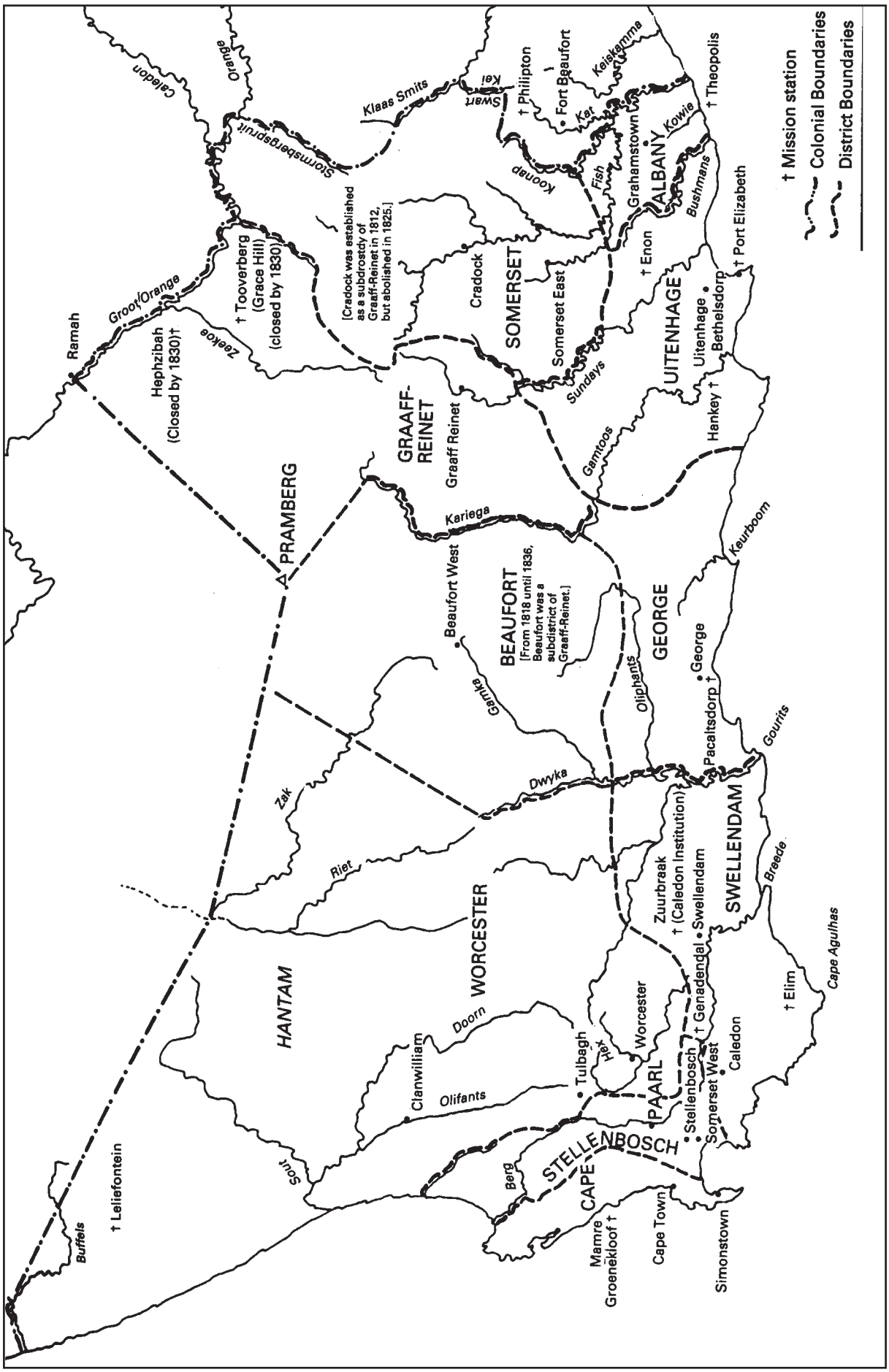
6.2 What time and place/community do you want to research?

It's usually easier to research more recent times. But if you're really interested in an earlier event or period, try it. The different kinds of sources for different periods are explained in Section 8.

Are you interested in the history of slaves or freed slaves in a specific place or community? It could be the place where you live, or where your family comes from. Have a look on the map to find your research area at that time. You could start with the maps in *The Chains that Bind Us* or in *Cape Town: The Making of a City* or Anna Boeseken's *Historical Atlas* (all in the SA Library).

The important thing to remember is that maps change as time passes. If your area is outside of central Cape Town you may not find it on early maps. The settlement grew with time as new villages, towns and mission stations were established.

Place names and boundaries may have changed at least once. For example, Papendorp became Woodstock. Wynberg wasn't in Cape Town in 1820 but in the Cape District outside the boundaries of Cape Town. Die Land van Waveren became Tulbagh. Groenekloof became Mamre, and so on. Your map might sometimes cover more than you expect. For example, the map of Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape in the early 19th century covers a huge area, not only what is present-day Uitenhage.



Map of the Cape Colony in 1830

In the city

You could research an old part of Cape Town, like the BoKaap or Greenmarket Square or the Slave Walk to Platteklip Gorge on Table Mountain or a street block in De Waterkant.

Out of town

You could research the slave history of a specific farm or of one of the villages or farming areas between Cape Town and Simon's Town: Woodstock (Papendorp), Salt River, Liesbeeck, Raapenberg, Rondebosch, Wynberg, Wittebome, Constantia, Bergvliet, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, Fish Hoek, Noordhoek, Simon's Town. There's research to be done about the old Seaforth graveyard and Muslim graves in the hills above Kalk Bay and Muizenberg. Or you could trace the escape route taken by many runaway slaves along the coast past Macassar to Hangklip.

The Boland, the Overberg and beyond

Think of the routes into the interior taken by settlers and their slaves. Slaves worked the old wine estates around Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Tulbagh, Franschhoek in the Boland and the Overberg farms on the route through Houw Hoek to Botriver and Caledon. It's not only the Western Cape which had slaves. Wherever you are in the old Cape Colony - in Piketberg, Clanwilliam, Calvinia, the Koue Bokkeveld, Graaff Reinet, Grahamstown, Hankie - your area has a slave history. There were even slaves and escaped slaves beyond the frontier of the Cape Colony.

Villages from the time of Emancipation

Many villages and towns which originated as missions have a fascinating history involving slaves or freed slaves. Examples are Genadendal, Mamre, Wupperthal and Elim (Moravian), Pniel (Congregational) and Raithbey (Methodist village) between Stellenbosch and Somerset West. There are also villages of freed slaves which were not built on church land, like Tesslaarsdal in the hills between Caledon and Stanford.

A church community

Some churches store their records of baptisms, marriages and deaths, events in the life of the congregation in church archives. (See Section 8.5) Examples are the Moravian Archives at Heideveld and the Dutch Reformed Church Archives in Cape Town. Through these records - and other sources - you can trace life events and relationships of Christian slaves and freed slaves in congregations.

A mosque community

Some mosques - and some families - have oral traditions or written records (kitaabs, diaries etc) going back to the time of slavery. There are also a number of books about the earliest mosques. Section 8.8 discusses archival and other sources for researching Muslim slaves.

6.3 Tracing family histories

So many people come to do family research that the Cape Town Archives has drawn up a two-page leaflet, "Genealogical Research". This gives information about the main sources in the Archives for family research: wills (1691-1950), death registers (1758-1833) and death notices (from 1834). If you have a name and approximate date of death, the archivists will show you how to use the index. You can also try a computer search at the Archives for any references to your family name.

The leaflet lists useful publications available at reference libraries or through interlibrary loan. It recommends *Handbook for Genealogical Research in South Africa* by R.T.J.Lombard (which lists sources held by various archives and research agencies, and includes a standard form for recording a family history).

To follow up a family connection - your own slave ancestors, or slaves "owned" by an individual or family - the *Cape Almanac* in the Archives (and the Deeds Office) is a useful source. You need a street address to get an erf number, but remember that street addresses sometimes change.

The Archives also houses some church records which are very useful for family research. Keep in mind that people came into the church with a first name only - say Job or Adonis or Cupido - which often became a surname and they took on a new first name, especially when they were formally married. (See Section 8.5 for details of church records, and Section 8.8 for Muslim records.)

Advice for family history researchers

Dr. Hans Heese has traced many family histories from the present-day back to the early days of Dutch settlement at the Cape. He has the following advice for family history researchers:

"Die belangrikste ding is . . ."

"

Die belangrikste ding is, jy moet belangstelling hê in die verlede, jy moet wil weet waarvandaan kom jy, wie jy is. Vir 90% van mense maak dit nie saak nie. Jy moet lief wees om te luister en hoe meer jy lees van 'n dorp se gemeenskap - as jy gaan sit vir die smaaksigheid en jy lees die kerksregister deur, wie is getroud met wie, die name - een ding lei tot 'n ander ding, dis soos 'n blokkiesraaisel jy wil voltooi. Maar jy kannie vir mense sê hulle moet belangstel, hulle moet self uit hul eie begin, hulle moet vrae vra ...

The quick way to do genealogical research is to go to the Archives and look at the death notices which go back to the 1830s. Let's say you find a death notice for your greatgrandfather. It will show where and when he was born and died, his parents' names, the names of his children and who they married. Even if it's a common surname like Isaacs with many notices you can try looking for familiar given names.

It's also well worth looking at my father's research in the volumes of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Geslagsregisters/South African Genealogies*. This covers surnames from A to N: you'll find a name like van der Merwe listed under M. Some coloured families are included and of course many coloured and black ancestors of white families. If you think someone had property you can also check in the Archives for a will, in the Deeds Office for property records and so on. The most important thing is to know where the family came from geographically. Then you can go the church records which are of immense value. Say someone comes from Willowmore, try the Dutch Reformed Church records and if that fails go to the Anglican records. If that fails you've got nothing much to fall back on.

But you start to get a feel for names, for where families come from. Cornelissen, Carolissen, Fortuin, Kearns were prominent Paarl families, the coloured van der Westhuizens all come from Malmesbury and the Piketberg area, van Rooys from Upington, Cloetes, Beukeses and Farmers from Namaqualand. Coloured

Raubenheimers would come from Riversdale or Ladismith, Wakefields from Riversdale, Ferreiras from the Longkloof and Oliviers from Joubertina, nine times out of ten. What's amazing is how many families came from the Little Karoo in the early 20th century.

"van Boom, 'n seldsame familienaam"

Things just happen by accident sometimes. In one case the clue was there from 15 years before: an interesting name for a slave, 'n seldsame familienaam, that I

Invitations for research

Groot Constantia musicians:

It would be great if someone tracked the lives of individual slave musicians. That might be possible, say, with the group at Groot Constantia who used to serenade the Grootbaas, or at Vergelegen. That's assuming that some slaves were listed as musicians somewhere in the records. Who was born at the Cape, who came from where, who was bought on account of musical skill? What about free blacks and music? Interesting questions.

Colin Miller, District Six Museum.

Vergelegen:

There were so many slaves who lived and worked on or around the old estates like Vergelegen that it wouldn't be surprising if some of their descendants are still there. Some oral history interviews were done when the archaeological excavations were done at Vergelegen about ten years ago. There may still be older people who recall stories from or about the slaves ...

Sarah Winter, heritage consultant.

Simon's Town:

There are many associations with slavery in Amlay House, in nearby buildings, in the old graveyard and in the stories people tell. The slaves were part of the Muslim community, and of the whole community of Simon's Town. We are fortunate to have old and new community historians here but there is still so much to discover and to share.

Zainab Pattie Davidson, Simon's Town Heritage Museum.

Caledon:

We know there were auctions in this area where slaves were sold, for instance in 1811. And there were villages near Caledon which were originally settled by freed slaves: Tesslaarsdal, maybe Myddleton, and so on. We need to train community researchers to research the slave history of this area - and then we need to show that forgotten history in our museums and in other ways.

Tizzie Mangiagalli, Caledon Musuem.

Somerset West:

One very inspiring story that emerges from church records is of Bentura Visser, a free black who was married to a slave woman. In 1828 he applied to become a member of the Somerset West Dutch Reformed church, with his wife's owner as his sponsor. He was accepted but on condition that he did not come up for communion with white members. He objected, saying that this went against the Christian gospel. Was he the first to protest against race discrimination in the church? What became of him? Were there other protestors?

Chris Loff, Institute for Historical Research.

recalled. About 1990 a UWC student came to see me because he wanted to trace his ancestry. He had an unusual surname, van Boom, and he told me he came from Somerset West and he was a Mormon. I remembered the surname from when I copied the Paarl records onto cards in the mid-70s. I came across the baptism of a van Boom in about 1810 or 1815. According to that document he was the son of slaves (whose names I can't recall) and he took the Dutch surname van Boom. So we were able to find the family in the Paarl records, and traced them up to about 1910 when there was a gap. Then via death notices we found out that about 1910 or so his greatgrandfather left Paarl to work in the dynamite factory at Somerset West and settled there. That linked the young student with the first van Boom, baptised in Paarl. Then using my index cards on slaves we were were able to trace the young man's ancestors a hundred years further back from his first van Boom ancestor - to a slave brought from Ceylon to the Cape in about 1700.

Black family connection

In the 70s I did my PhD research on Afrikaners in Angola. The books all said never ever was there any intermarriage between white and coloured or black. That's what it looked like from the baptismal records but there were other church records and official records which showed otherwise. For instance there were marriages between white Afrikaner women and Baster men of the Hayes family who had trekked from Rehoboth. That research was done long ago. But then a few years back a colleague at UWC sent a young black American woman, a New Yorker, to see me because she had heard her mother's family (surname Black) originally came from the Cape. Her mother was born in Rhodesia, her father was a Scandinavian diplomat. I was able to link her mother with family members I had met twenty years before in Angola - I could even show her notes on her family history written by her uncle, a black Catholic Afrikaans-speaking Angolan. We could trace her history as far back as a Scottish settler named Black who came to the Cape in the 1780s. Dit was vir my die snaakste ding om vir haar te sê: "Ek ken jou familie. Dit is jou oom se handskrif".

7

Looking at stories of slaves

This section shows examples of how people have researched the lives of Cape slaves. We hope it will give you ideas for your own research. But it doesn't go systematically through all kinds of sources, it's too busy telling stories. Some of the researchers are professional historians, but others are amateurs with an interest in finding out about the lives of Cape slaves.

This section starts with the most recent stories and goes back in time. That's because it's usually easier to research what's closest to us in time. Of course, you could read the stories in chronological order, starting with No. 8 and working back. That would make a series of episodes from slave life from the early years of slavery at the Cape in the 1650s to the years after Emancipation in the 1830s.

The stories

Story 1:	Imam Ismail Dea Malela of Pemangong, Sumbawa, first imam of Simon's Town
Story 2:	Lydia Williams, emancipated slave, founder member, St Philip's Church, District Six
Story 3:	"Ou Naaldje" Dina, emancipated slave
Story 4:	"Juvenile desperadoes" in Caledon Square, 1829
Story 5:	Hendrik Albertus and his ex-slave Mey, 1832
Story 6:	Dina van Rio de la Goa, runaway slave, 1737
Story 7:	Rangton of Bali, 1673-1720
Story 8:	Armosyn Claasz of the Cape, matron of the Slave Lodge, and her descendants 1661-1783

The detective work

You can also read about how the researchers did their research and what sources they used. Research is a kind of detective work: you look for clues in the obvious places, follow up contacts and cope with false leads and dead-ends. Sometimes the process is mechanical and boring and doesn't seem to get anywhere, sometimes it's rewarding. Gradually you piece together a story - using a variety of evidence, guesswork, imagination and luck.

The sources

The "Main Sources" are given for each story. So if you want to focus on specific kinds of sources, you can use these as a guide. If you're looking for other stories about individual slaves or slave families, it's worth looking at back numbers of three journals: *Kronos*, the journal of Cape History, *Capensis* and *Familia*, the journal of the South African Genealogical Society, which deals with family trees and how to trace them. The footnotes show what sources the researcher has used for an article and you can follow up those that interest you. The journals are available for reference and photocopying in the African Studies reading room at UCT, the South African Library reading room in the Gardens or the Cape Town Archives in Roeland Street.

STORY 1

Imam Ismael Dea Malela of Pemangong in Sumbawa, first Imam of Simon's Town

Main sources: Oral traditions and "kitaabs" (religious manuscripts) of Simon's Town and Pemangong; possibly also records of the Dutch East India Company.

In September 1999 Ebrahiem Manuel, born in Simon's Town, now living in Grassy Park, was welcomed by members of his family in a small mountain village, Pemangong, on the island of Sumbawa in Indonesia. He is a seventh generation grandson of Imam Ismail, a leader from that community, who was captured by the Dutch and brought to the Cape as a slave. Imam Ismail was the first imam of Simon's Town and his kramat is there.

Mr Manuel is eager to share the story of how he traced his roots to Indonesia. This story is based on discussions with Mr Manuel in April 2000, as well as letters and reports he has written and the file of letters, press-cuttings and other documents he has collected.

"My name is Ebrahiem Manuel; I am the son of Toyer Manuel and grandson of Hadjie Bakaar Manuel and Baheya Karriem. I am just an ordinary person, a seaman, not a historian or researcher. I am not well educated: I only passed Standard Seven. Why did an ordinary person like myself with no previous knowledge of family history, no research experience, no dedication, commitment or patience to be a researcher, sit for days in my free time in the Archives, Master's Office, Deeds Office, SA Library, Museums and so on? Now why would I of all people do this? Why not a religious person, an educated person, or a person who is more into research?

The answer is that I am not going to these places of my own free will, I am being guided. In March 1997 I had a visit from my father who passed away in 1992. He asked me to look into the affairs of the Manuel family. I did this, starting with my father's documents. Since then I have been guided to spend time at the Simon's Town kramat, in the old Muslim graveyard at Seaforth, in various museums and libraries, but also talking to people in my own family and in the Muslim community. Again and again I have been spiritually guided to the right person, the place, the exact documents that can help me in my search. Sometimes it has been my father visiting me, sometimes other family members, sometimes I have just had a sense of being guided.

My aunt in Ocean View, Mrs Koebra Manuel, showed me a precious source for our family history: an old kitaab or religious manuscript which has been handed down in the family. The kitaab is decorated with water colours and has exotic calligraphic designs, some in Arabic and some in another script, and it uses mirror-writing. It shows the name of Imam Ismail and other forefathers, and their place of origin: Sumbawa. My aunt told me the oral tradition in the family that Imam Ismail came from royalty and was brought from Indonesia as a slave by the Dutch.

Last year I went to Indonesia and met up with Hariyadi, my guide and interpreter who left his job for four months to help me. I was fortunate to be guided from the beginning until I found the family. It was as if the way was opened up for me even though I had very little money and no financial sponsorship. In Jakarta we met scholars who could read the Arabic but not the other script which they told us was Sumbawanese. So we set off for Sumbawa, one of Indonesia's many islands. It was two days by ferry and bus from Jakarta to Bali, then Lombok, then Sumbawa.

There are 3500 villages on the island but we were guided to the right one. First we went to a fishing village because our family in Simon's Town were fisherfolk.

But in the bus I could feel the presence of my family, my father, my grandfather, grandmother and other family members whom I don't know, telling me I was going the wrong way. Back at the hotel I had a strong spiritual feeling that I should go to a kramat in the area, so I cancelled a trip we had planned. Someone at the hotel, a stranger to me, gave me directions to a kramat in the village of Pemangong where his uncle was the Imam.

On the bus people were amazed to hear we were going to such an isolated mountain village deep in the bush, where old people live a traditional life. Some were sympathetic towards my story, others felt it was impossible to look for your family after more than 200 years. When we eventually reached the village the Imam came to greet me as family, he knew me even before he heard my story or saw the documents.

I learned that Pemangong was a good place for resistance fighters to gather in secret. But the Dutch East India Company found out and captured Imam Ismail and he was taken by ship to Cape Town - in chains. The village never knew where he was taken but they never gave up hope and it was written down in their kitaabs and diaries to be remembered. The message passed on for seven generations was that someday someone would come and look for Imam Ismail's family. As I sat there amongst the descendants of Imam Marlia, brother of Ismail, I could see

Tracing Indonesian roots

We know that many slaves, political exiles and convicts came to the Cape from the Dutch East Indies, present-day Indonesia, all of them brought here by force. Contrary to what many people in Cape Town believe, far more came from Indonesia than from the Malay Peninsula. Here is one story based on an article called "The Forgotten Children" in *Flying Springbok*, July 1997, given to me by Ebrahiem Manuel.

> Exiled from the Dutch East Indies, Imam Abdullah bin Kadi Abdus-Salaam - better known as Tuan Guru - wrote an accurate copy of the Holy Quran from memory and wrote a book on Islamic jurisprudence in three languages (Malay, Arabic and Portuguese) while he was a prisoner on Robben Island between 1780 and 1791. To-day the books are in the hands of Tuan Guru's descendant, Haj Nurul Erefaan Rakiep. He commented: "It was with fascination that I had observed the reverence with which these books were handled by my parents, family members and learned scholars".
>
> Mr Rakiep is a retired tailor whose interest in his heritage was sparked by a family document written in Arabic by Tuan Guru in 1807. This document detailed Tuan Guru's links to Tidore, an island in what is to-day Indonesia. Mr Rakiep began research on his family tree in 1978. In 1979 he wrote an open letter to a popular Indonesian magazine, *Tempo*, to make contact with anyone who had information about Tuan Guru and his origins. To his surprise a letter arrived from Tuan Guru's Indonesian descendants in Tidore: Rakiep's long-lost cousins. They invited him to visit and bring documentation of his lineage. Mr Rakiep's first journey to Tidore was in 1993. When his research was verified, he was welcomed as "yang anak sudah lupa" - "the forgotten child at long last returned home".

The article mentions two other Capetonians who have traced Indonesian ancestors. Tailor and leather specialist Daud Samsodien has traced his ancestor, Maria Lozee, who came from Java in about 1685. Photographer Sedick Jappie has traced his ancestor, Abdol Rajab, a free man who arrived in Cape Town from Batavia in the 1790s and later married a slave woman, Rachel van der Kaap.

Many other people are trying to trace their roots or thinking of doing so. Stories that have been handed down, names, family kitaabs and diaries are valuable starting points. So are inscriptions on old graves. Then it may be possible to find archival or other written records which support or add to or contradict the story.

faces like those of my family in Simon's Town. I could feel the pain and heartache of Imam Ismail when he was exiled. Dates, names and spiritual happenings confirm the strong bond between the families in Simon's Town, South Africa, and Pemangong, Sumbawa, Indonesia. I learned that my family name is Dea Malela: I am Ebrahiem Dea Malela Manuel. I am writing a book to tell the story as it has unfolded. There is more to research. For instance, historians who are researching the VOC's records in Jakarta and in the Netherlands may be able to find records of Imam Ismail's "trial" and his journey to the Cape.

To honour the memory of our ancestors in both places, we are trying to have their kramats proclaimed historical monuments, and we want to forge strong links. For example, in June 2000 Mrs Zainab Pattie Davidson of the Heritage Museum and I will take a display on the Simon's Town Muslim community to be part of a photographic, archival and cultural exhibition organised by the South African Embassy in Jakarta.

There is so much more to do to explore our heritage. Sad to say, much has been lost over time. Much was lost when the Simon's Town community lost their homes to Group Areas. I know people who left precious documents behind in their houses, in chicken coops, even buried, and could never return to claim them. The Simon's Town Museum has even tried excavating where houses were bulldozed, but failed to uncover family "archives". All the same, we need to share the sources we have. I appeal to other families with kitaabs or diaries which are a precious historical resource not only for families but also for the community as a whole. These may even be written in Melayu, Sanskrit, Buginese, Bantinese or other languages that our ancestors brought to the Cape. Many are in poor condition and fragile with age. We need to photograph them and to keep copies where everybody can read them - in a library or an archive or a museum. The originals also need to be kept safe. We need to find funding, to draw on volunteers, and to share sources and findings with the community. There are plenty of people out there who could become community researchers ...

We can learn from the work of researchers such as the late Achmat Davids, Yusuf da Costa, Robert Shell, Nigel Worden and others listed in this book; from community historians of Simon's Town like Anwar Baker and Adnaan Davis; and from Erefaan Rakiep, the first to trace his Indonesian roots ...

”

Mr Manuel has given copies of his material to the Heritage Museum in Simon's Town, Ocean View Library, Grassy Park Library, the Institute for Historical Research at UWC, the South African Library and the Old Slave Lodge community researchers' archive. A three-hour video of Pemangong and the welcoming ceremony can be viewed by arrangement at the TV studio in the basement of the UCT Education Building, phone 6503985. If you take a blank video cassette it's R30 for a copy. Mr. Manuel wants to encourage and help others to trace their roots. He can be contacted at 7061796 or via the Heritage Museum at 7862302.

STORY 2

Lydia Williams, emancipated slave and founder member of St Philip's Church in District Six

Main sources: Oral tradition from the church community and Lydia's school; *The Cowley Evangelist,* 1885-1901 in the Archives of the Cowley Fathers.

Here is an account of tracing the life history of an ex-slave, by an Anglican priest, Michael Weeder:

Lydia from L. Rousby *Under Table Mountain* (Oxford, 1906)

"I've always been curious about origins. As a child I wanted to know "Where does my family come from?" but could never go beyond the grandmother from Paarl who died before I was born. That was part of a broader amnesia, neglect, in the community into which I was born.

During the struggles of the 80s we used to sing "Ons swart mense, seuns van slawe, wil ons eie land terug hê." At that time we were immersed in struggle history and I remember looking for my face in the Bambata Rebellion, then latching onto Basil February and James April as heroes and wondering about Khoisan as well as slave ancestry.

For a long time I'd been aware that my family might have slave ancestry. The idea probably came from Simons' book, *Class and Race in South Africa*, but when someone suggested that I talk to another activist historian about tracing slave roots, I said "Nooit - not a white historian ..." But with political change and maybe with age I've come to value the work of all those historians who have researched the history of slaves at the Cape.

Using their work I'm trying to do some research of my own into the slave ancestors of the Christian community to which I belong. I grew up hearing quite a lot about Muslim slaves in Cape Town and not much about slaves who were or became Christian. Then I came across the story of Lydia Williams in a chapter about ex-slaves in *Breaking the Chains.* Lydia was born into slavery and when she was freed at Emancipation in 1834, she was a young married woman of about 20

whose child had been sold to other owners. Fifty years later her cottage in the Dry Docks area of District Six became the first venue for services of the Cowley Fathers.

The Cowley Evangelist of 1893 described how Lydia still bore on her back "the marks of the slave whippings she got in her youth." Every year to celebrate the anniversary of Emancipation she held a prayer service and a party at her cottage which was "decorated with hanging boughs and flowers, and pigs and swans and birds and sweets hung on nails, which children's eyes gazed lovingly at". In time the Cowley Fathers included Lydia's Day in the church's calendar as the Feast of the Release of Slaves. You don't often see someone from the underside of history being honoured in that way, especially a layperson.

From a footnote in Vivian Bickford-Smith's chapter in *Breaking the Chains,* I found out that the story of Lydia came from the records of the Anglican Cowley Fathers who worked in District Six. I later spent a couple of days reading letters and newsletters of the Cowley Fathers in the William Cullen Archive at Wits University. Back home in Cape Town, I found that there are oral traditions about Lydia in the congregation of St Philip's Anglican Church in District Six where she was a founder member. The parish priest and a number of other people have done their own research. In December 1999 we revived the celebration of Emancipation Day at St Philip's in honour of Lydia and others like her.

I found out that a primary school known as Lydia's School had stood on the site of her old cottage. The school was demolished many years ago but past principals, long retired, talked to me about Lydia and her legacy. There's a photograph of Lydia, a strong woman in her fifties who looks as though she might have been of "Mazbieker" (of Mozambican) descent, like many people at St Philip's. We're still trying to find out about her early life. She may have come from the largely "Mazbieker" community of Protea, next to present-day Kirstenbosch, and she had some link with Bishop Gray at Bishopscourt before coming to Zonnebloem.

I see Lydia as representing a community of ex-slaves who contributed to the life of the church and of our society as a whole. More broadly, she stands for people who struggled all their lives against injustice.

”

Celebrating Emancipation Day

In December 1999 a special service to celebrate the life of Lydia Williams was held in St Philip's Anglican Church in District Six on the Sunday after the anniversary of Emancipation Day. This was jointly organised by Michael Weeder, parish priest of St Michael and All Angels church in Ottery, and Luke Stubbs, parish priest of St Philip's. It was "a rite of remembrance and cleansing" with prayers, hymns and readings ("God will set all peoples free" and "Refuse to submit again to any form of slavery.").

A moving soundscape was presented by a poet and a musician, "dedicated to the spirit of Lydia and all our peoples, stolen from their homes in other lands, bought and sold, incarcerated on this land. This poem is an honouring of the foundations of our extensive South African family and also to commemorate the day the prices were lifted from their heads, 1 December 1838". (Programme Note by Lueen Conning Ndlovu)

Lydia in the Wind

words by Lueen Conning Ndlovu and soundscape by Garth Erasmus

this wind is a wounded witness
she will not be still
not until we are listening

are we listening

will we recognise her
circling the crevice
between two worlds
our reality and hers
howling around this empty plot
this hole in our history

can we hear beyond our fears

this wind is a haunted woman
she is wild with rememberings
singing the truth and the tragedy
of our buried heritage
our slavery

if we do not know are we free

she is held captive once again
this time by a broken chain of events
our degrees of amnesia
the root of her dis-ease

her feet are bleeding
from this haunting dance of grief
she will only know relief
when all our ghosts are put to rest
when their stories are re-collected
returned to their place of honour
recorded in our history
embedded in our memory

bring in the light of consciousness

who was she
who were they
who are we

and with this unveiling we see
the awesome dimensions
to this family
we are unearthing the path
of recovery

and in the questioning
comes the who am I
out of the listening
comes through you am I
through you am I

STORY 3

"Ou Naaldje" Dina, emancipated slave, and her family

Main sources: Baroness von Blomberg, *Allerlei aus Sud-Afrika*; possibly also church records.

This story is based on only one source: the account written in German by Baroness von Blomberg who was active in the church at the time. It should be possible to find Dina in the baptismal and other church records. Dina's story has been translated into Afrikaans (available from Michael Weeder).

"Dina was the house-slave and wife in all but name of an English settler, Morris. After Emancipation she stayed with him and later nursed him through a long illness. When he died she was left destitute. Years later church members heard that old Dina wanted to become a Christian and Baroness von Blomberg went looking for her to prepare her for church membership. She gives a vivid description of her walk around the very poor area where Dina lived and the people she met on the way to Dina herself.

When Dina and her neighbours are quoted, it's like hearing clear voices out of the silence of the past, talking about their lives but also about society in general: "... toe die vrylating van slawe geproklameer is, het sy maar net op die plaas gebly, by die man wat die vader van haar kinders was, en het getrou vir hom gewerk ... 'Ek het nie geweet dat dit verkeerd was nie, Miesies', het sy gesê, 'want destyds het hulle orals so gemaak; hy was tog 'n wit man en dat hy hom met my kon laat trou, het glad nie by my opgekom nie, maar liefgehad het ek hom, want hy het my altyd goed versorg' ..."

Dina nursed her "husband" for years before he died, but she and her daughter were not provided for in his will. "So het die ou Dina nou versink in die diepste armoede, het hier en daar by mense met medelye huisvesting gekry en het met moeite enkele pennies verdien met lapwerk en naaldwerk."

Dina's daughter, Flora, was light in complexion and the apple of her father's eye. She married a prosperous white man who forbade her to visit or help her "swart moeder". The older grandchildren kept away, "maar die kleintjies spring dikwels hier by my in op pad skool toe en hulle is so lief teenoor my. Hulle vertel dan ook altyd vir my hoe goed dit met die ander gaan en dit maak my baie bly. Sien u, Miesies, solank die kinders nog klein is is daar nie 'n onderskeid tussen die gekleurdes en die wittes nie ... ' Aan gesellige plesierighede was die lewe van die ou vrou nie ryk nie, behalwe een dag per jaar wanneer die fees van die Slawebevrydiging gevier is; dit was reeds jare die tradisie in Kaapstad ... Dan het hierdie destydse slawe hulle vriende en familie uitgenooi na 'n mooi boomryke plek by Tafelberg, en het vanaf morê tot aand feesgevier met musiek, sang, ete, drank en allerlei uitdrukkings van geluk ..." (pp.119-133)"

Commemorating the anniversary of Emancipation Day, 1 December1903

STORY 4

"Juvenile desperadoes" in Caledon Square, 1829

Main source: Slave Office records, SO 3/4 "Report of the Guardian and Protector of the Slaves."

Andrew Bank, history lecturer at UWC, tells this story from his own research, published in his book, *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1834.*

"When I was working on my MA thesis at UCT in 1989-90, I was mainly interested in slave culture and resistance. I was working through Court of Justice records in the Archives, looking for cases which showed slaves interacting with each other or with free people. I was particularly interested in cases which might show evidence of slaves acting collectively. Most of the court records were quite dry but I was intrigued by the case of a group of about ten teenage boys in Cape Town, mostly slaves who had run away from their masters.

These boys were runaways living in big empty wine barrels piled up in Caledon Square next to the reservoir. After dark the group operated as a gang stealing meat, money and other things from butcheries in town. But one evening a police patrol spotted movement in their hideout and arrested several of them. They appeared in court and were described as "juvenile desperadoes". Two boys born at the Cape, Damon (15) slave of JP van Lier, and Jacob (14) slave of CD Lotter, were sentenced to 25 lashes and six years hard labour for desertion and theft.

How could this hideout and gang activity go on for weeks under the noses of the Cape Town police? Where were their masters? Did the boys braai the meat? I was curious about the details but even more about the bigger question: Was theft a form of slave resistance? I used this case in my argument about slave resistance.

Someone else might be interested in following up the individuals. This could easily be done by finding the owner's names in the Slave Office Registers and under his or her name there would be information on all the slaves he/she owned, their places of origin and occupations. The Slave Office records sometimes include remarks about individual slaves. It's possible that there might be information about the accused slaves in the wills of their owners - if the owners died before Emancipation. Or an owner's name might appear among the slave owners in the Emancipation records, with details about slaves owned. There might even have been reports on the trial in the only contemporary newspaper, the *Cape Town Gazette.*

By the way, this case is in the records of the Slave Office in the Archives: SO 3/4 "Report of the Guardian and Protector of the Slaves for the Half-Year, July to December 1829", Appendix B, Return of Prosecutors against Slaves in the law courts of the Western division."

STORY 5

Hendrik Albertus and his ex-slave Mey, 1832

Main sources: Slave Office records; "opgaaf" records and will of Hendrik Albertus van Niekerk; as well as De Villiers and Pama, *Genealogies of Old South African Families*.

This story is based on my reading of a thought-provoking article, "Hendrik Albertus and his ex-slave Mey: A Drama in Three Acts" by John Mason in the *Journal of African History*. Using evidence mainly from Slave Office sources, Mason builds a case about why the slave, the slave-owner and the Protector the Slaves (a British official who was given the job of regulating relations between slaves and their owners from 1826 onwards) behaved as they did. The article is well worth reading, not only for the story but also for the way Mason discusses his sources and reads between the lines of the official reports. Mason's footnotes show how much he uses Slave Office records particularly the Day Book of the Assistant Protector of Slaves, Cape Town, SO 5/9. The Protector wrote two accounts of Hendrik Albertus and Mey, the first in his Day Books and the second in his six-monthly report: about 20 pages altogether. For other interesting stories and cases, have a look at Mason's PhD, "Fit for Freedom". (See Section 8.3.1)

"Hendrik Albertus van Niekerk was a rich farmer in the Koeberg hills about 35 km from Cape Town. He was a powerful figure in the area with almost 60 slaves on his farm. In the spring of 1832 eight of his slaves were working in the grain fields. After lunch the men "dawdled and returned to their jobs a half-hour late". They were punished with about 20 lashes from Hendrik's son, "the young master": "such punishments were a part of the farm's routine. The slaves did not complain openly, and life, apparently, went on as before."

But when Hendrik whipped Mey again five days later, he upset the normal pattern of events in Koeberg. He had ordered Mey to move some large bags of wheat chaff but Mey worked slowly because the wounds from the lash on his back and shoulders had not yet healed. Hendrik ordered him to hurry and when he failed to, he gave his slave another ten lashes. "That evening, [Mey] slipped off the farm and made his way into Cape Town. His destination, as it was for several hundred slaves in similar circumstances every year, was one of the offices of the Protectors of Slaves".

When the Protector investigated Mey's complaint, Hendrik did not even try to fight the case. Instead he suddenly freed Mey, compensated the other slaves who had been whipped, and paid legal fines. Mason argues that Hendrik was determined to settle the case "before he was forced to visit the Protector's office or face Mey in court ... [which] would have compromised the power and authority on which his honor as a slave-owner rested. Hendrik Albertus valued his honor more highly than one slave and a few pounds sterling."

STORY 6

Dina van Rio de la Goa, runaway slave, 1737

Main sources: *Reg en Onreg* by Hans Heese, used as a way into the 18th century Court of Justice records in the Archives; then *Cape of Torments* by Robert Ross.

Years ago I read *A Chain of Voices*, Andre Brink's novel about the 1825 slave revolt in the Koue Bokkeveld. Brink draws on the Court of Justice records of the trial of the Galant, the leader. Galant's voice came through in his eloquent testimony about a liberation struggle crushed. That made me want to go to the Archives in search of other slave voices. It took me years to get that far.

I was introduced to the Archives in 1998 in the UWC History Honours course on Cape slavery. We had to do a research project based on Court of Justice records. To find an interesting case I consulted *Reg en Onreg* by Hans Heese. This gives an alphabetical list of slaves in criminal cases with age, date, charge, fellow-accused and sentence. I noticed the names of women slaves, including some who had lived in the slave "bende" (gang) at Hangklip. This caught my imagination because I know the place. So I decided to research the women in Case 7 of 1737: Dina (25), Diana (26) and Anna (40), who were tried together with Samboe of Madagascar (30), Joseph of Malabar (40) and Januarie (20).

It was a privilege to be reading the original hand-written Dutch records, 260 years old. But it was disappointing to realise that slave voices do not come through clearly: they have been interpreted and reported by others. (Bias in the records of the Slave Office is discussed in a box in Section 8.2.2.)

This story is based mainly on my interpretation of Court of Justice records for Case 7 of 1737 and this extract is taken from a research essay that I wrote about the case:

> "Dina was enslaved and brought to the Cape from Rio de la Goa in present-day Mozambique. In her short life she travelled a very long way. Her slave name, Dina van Rio de la Goa, suggests that she was from the Mozambique coast. But she could have been from somewhere in the interior, captured and taken to the coast, and then by ship to the Cape. In Cape Town she would have been taken to the place of auction and then to her new owner's farm. In her "confession" Dina said that she ran away from her owner, the widow Smiesing. She made her way alone to the coast and met up with a small group of runaway women slaves who also came from Rio de la Goa. It was the dry season when Dina joined them and in the rainy season they travelled together along the east coast, living on fish and tortoises.
>
> Later the group chased her away and Dina ended up in the Swartland, near present-day Malmesbury. There she met three or four men, runaway slaves. They fought over her and one man was killed. Adam claimed her as his woman and she went to live with him and a small group near the camp of Leander who had established himself as leader at Hangklip. Hangklip was regarded as a haven for escaped slaves but life was hard and dangerous. In one violent clash a runaway called Schipio was killed.
>
> One morning in 1737 Dina was recaptured on the beach, along with two other women and several men including Adam. The prisoners were taken back to Cape Town for trial. Dina was now a young woman of 25, expecting a child. She was tried for desertion and as an accomplice to the murder of Schipio although she seems not to have been involved in the murder. The accused all made confessions under routine torture and were sentenced to die in the most gruesome and cruel ways. Dina's execution was delayed because she was pregnant."

Later I found a fascinating chapter on the Hangklip runaways in Ross's book *Cape of Torments* and realised what a difference it would have made if I'd read that before I tackled the court records. Some of Ross's footnotes give clues about interesting sources to follow up, and he has an appendix on the Hangklip runaways.

STORY 7

Rangton of Bali, 1673-1720

Main sources: Inventories and vendurol (auction list), opgaaf rolls (census), shipping records.

This is based on my reading of two very interesting articles by Robert Shell, "The Short Life and Personal Belongings of One Slave: Rangton of Bali, 1673-1720" (*Kronos,* 18, 1991) and "Rangton van Bali (1673-1720): Roots and Resurrection" (*Kronos*, 19, 1993). Shell shows how he builds his case on many archival documents.

If you read these two articles in *Kronos* (available in the South African Library or in African Studies Library at UCT), you'll see from the footnotes what sources Shell uses. You could also look at his PhD (available in African Studies Library) or his book, *Children of Bondage*, for stories that interest you. The footnotes offer clues about sources you might want to follow up.

"

Born on the island of Bali in about 1673, Rangton was enslaved in his youth. It was a time of slave wars on Bali and he may have been a prisoner of war. He was transported to Batavia in Java, probably on a crowded Chinese junk. In 1698 at the age of 25 he was bought by a Dutch ship's captain. Under the Dutch East India Company, it was illegal to trade in Balinese slaves, or for a ship's captain to sell any slaves to private slave-owners at the Cape. But the captain seems to have made a fortune out of illegal slave trading.

Apparently Balinese people were afraid of the sea and the voyage took about nine weeks in terrible conditions. In Table Bay if Rangton was allowed on deck, "the first view he would have had of his new 'home' was Table Valley with its heavily populated gallows and crucified slaves at present-day Greenpoint. Then the castle would have come into view" (*Kronos* ,19, p.179).

Rangton was sold to the Fiscal, a Company official called Elsevier, in 1698. Elsevier was recalled to the Netherlands for corruption in 1708 and never came back. It seems that for the next four years Rangton lived and worked in and around Cape Town without a master. He was a skilled craftsman, probably a cabinet-maker.

Elsevier had had a few of his slaves baptised but Rangton was not baptised. On the basis of the Dutch Reformed Church records, it seems that "he was not converted to Christianity or baptised ... We may deduce that he was neither Muslim nor Christian. Arguing from his Balinese background, he was probably a Hindu" (p.185).

In 1712 Rangton bought his freedom, the only one of Elsevier's slaves who had to pay for his freedom. He paid double the price Elsevier had paid for him and two free blacks, Jantje Alem and Lampe van Batavia, probably friends of his, were his guarantors. Once freed, Rangton moved to Stellenbosch. We know this from the Stellenbosch tax lists. This move probably saved his life as many Cape Town free blacks died in the smallpox epidemic of 1713.

Rangton established himself in Stellenbosch as a solid artisan in a society in which most artisans didn't make it. "This is confirmed by the careful archival work of Leon Hattingh, who has unearthed some of his contracts with the Company and the church council of Stellenbosch. Hattingh claims that Rangton was the first free black to earn a living as an artisan ..." (*Kronos*, 18, p. 5)

Stellenbosch court records show that he also took one of his employers to court for his wages - and won his case, a rare event for a freed slave (*Kronos,* 19, p. 192). Shell describes him as "litigious": he didn't hesitate to take people to court.

Rangton is listed at the back of the Stellenbosch census (opgaaf rolls) until 1719, with a sword and gun, and living alone. Other records show that he appeared in the annual military parades and exercises of the Stellenbosch burghers. At the time of his death he was living alone in a rented room in Stellenbosch. We have no way of knowing about relationships in his life. But if he wanted to marry and have a family it would have been difficult because there were far more men than women in the slave and free black population.

The inventory of his possessions drawn up the Master of the Orphan Chamber offers clues about Rangton's life. He never bought a house or a slave. The range of tools is evidence that he was a skilled carpenter. He had much better bedding than most trekboers of the time: he had an ordinary mattress and a feather mattress, two pillows and a new blanket. Eight packs of cards are listed: perhaps he entertained, perhaps he gambled. The number of tobacco pouches suggests that he was a pipe-smoker.

The valuable items on the inventory disappeared before the auction: they aren't shown on the record of the auction (vendurol). In any case, the inheritance laws still regarded ex-slaves as slaves, minor children, so the family of Rangton's former owner inherited his goods.

"Rangton was a worldly success. That success must be weighed against a vicious colonial system which had stolen him from his very home and made him pay again for the restoration of his freedom and then have his goods and money taken again when he died." (*Kronos,*19, pp.195-6)

STORY 8

Armosyn Claasz of the Cape and her descendants, 1661-1783

Main sources: The baptismal register in the Dutch Reformed Church archives, wills in the Cape Archives, and property records and inventories in the Deeds Office.

This story is based on an article by Margaret Cairns in *Familia*, 16, 1984, and on discussions with her.

“

In 1661, just nine years after van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, a slave mother from the East gave birth to a daughter whom she called Armosyn. The child’s surname, Claasz, may mean that she had a European father. Armosyn Claasz van der Kaap grew up to be a remarkable woman, matron of the Company Slave Lodge and matriarch of a family which played an important part in the life of 18th century Cape Town.

There are many questions about Armosyn’s story that we cannot answer but we do know more about her than about thousands of other Cape slaves. The clues are there in documents in the Archives, in the Deeds Office and in church records. I’m not a historian, I’m an advocate by training, but years ago I became very interested in family history research. One day while I was looking for someone in the Dutch Reformed Church baptismal register, I was struck by a name I had never seen before: Armosyn. I looked up the word in a Dutch dictionary and found that it meant a kind of fine silk from the Far East. Who was the mother who chose to give her baby this lovely name from the East instead of allowing her to be forever lost among the Dutch names of the time, the Marias, Catharinas and Susannas? Was Armosyn a name from her homeland?

The obvious place to begin research was in the Archives which has the wills of deceased estates, from the early days of Dutch settlement to the present. Slaves didn’t own property and make wills, but I checked the wills just in case Armosyn had gained her freedom. Wills are listed under surnames and under “Claasz” I found the will Armosyn made in 1728. With its old-fashioned handwriting and formal Dutch it was difficult to decode but it gave all these clues about her:

- she was matron of the Company Slave Lodge
- she had children and grandchildren
- she was literate enough to sign her name (many wills were sealed with a mark)
- she had been freed from slavery
- her children and grandchildren were freed
- she owned property.

Next I took a guess as to the date when Armosyn was granted the property. The Deeds Office has a chronological list of buyers and sellers of property at the Cape from the 1650s to the present day. I found a record of the land granted to Armosyn in 1708. She lived across the canal from the Company Gardens, next door to the Company Lodge, in what is to-day Parliament Street.

Armosyn’s will gave the names of her children and grandchildren so I began to research them one by one, starting with the Dutch Reformed Church baptismal records. Eventually I found enough information to make a family tree and write an article for *Familia.* But the records were confusing. The DRC registers showed two Armosyns at that time, born at the Cape about four years apart, both Company slaves, both baptised as adults, both with children who were baptised.

And one was the wife and the other the mother-in-law of the burgher Guilliam Frisnet!

In the Archives I looked through the maroon volumes of Resolutions of the Council of Policy for any reference to Armosyn or her family. It's quite easy to check because the resolutions are arranged in chronological order and there's an index of names at the back. I made an interesting find in the Resolutions. When Armosyn died one grandson was a slave and slaves were not supposed to own property, so the Council of Justice took a special resolution to enable him to get his inheritance.

By the way, it was possible to establish from wills and from title deeds that Armosyn's greatgrandchildren owned valuable farms, Raapenburg, Liesbeeck and Koornhoop, where Mowbray, Observatory and the N2 freeway and Liesbeeck Parkway are today.

The story of her descendants continues in the present. There is a family tree from her one daughter, Magdalena (whose descendants were absorbed into white society), down to the present and research is being done on the descendants of her son, Claas Jonasz. It's fascinating work and I wish I could still do it.

”

If you want to know more, read the article in *Familia*, 16, 1984. You'll find other interesting articles on slaves by Margaret Cairns, for example "Gerrit Gerrits of Oldenburg and Susanna of Bambaser, an early 18th century couple" in *Familia*, 17. A new book by Karel Schoeman, *Dogter van Sion*, is about the life and times of one of Armosyn's granddaughters, Machteld Smidt.

8

A guided tour of research libraries and archives in the Western Cape

This section introduces research centres in and around Cape Town. Most of these centres are open to the public and free. Some have very pleasant reading rooms where you can sit and read for hours. The staff are usually very helpful. Skim this section, just to see what research centres offer. Then you'll have a clearer idea of where to go first. When you visit a research centre, take this guidebook with you.

8.1 The South African Library (now the National Library)

8.2 The Cape Town Archives

8.3 The UCT African Studies Library

8.4 The Deeds Office

8.5 Introducing Church and Mission Records
- 8.5.1 The Old Slave Church (now the SA Sendinggestig Museum)
- 8.5.2 The Dutch Reformed Church Archives
- 8.5.3 The Moravian Church Archives
- 8.5.3 Other Church Archives

8.6 Institute for Historical Research, UWC

8.7 Stellenbosch University Archives.

8.8 Muslim archival and other sources

Guidelines for working in research centres

Talk to librarians and archivists. If you explain what you're trying to do, they can show you what material is on offer. You'll find fascinating material but be ready for dead-ends and difficulties. Don't be shy to ask questions and ask for advice and help if you need it.

But a library or an archive is not like a quiet shop where sales people are waiting for customers. Librarians/archivists are often busy with their work. They may not notice you until you ask for help. You may have to wait quite a long time while they help other researchers but when it's your turn they'll help you even if others are waiting.

There are some obvious rules: no food or drink or smoking; silence or sometimes quiet whispering; never mark or write in books. The Cape Town Archives has another rule: no ballpoints or pens or files, only pencils and paper.

8.1 First stop in Cape Town: the South African Library (now the National Library)

This section is based on a visit to the SA Library with Andrew Bank, who has spent time there as a researcher, a discussion with Najwa Hendrickse, acting head of reference and research and my own browsing.

The South African Library has a wealth of material. It keeps a copy of every book and many of the magazines, newspapers and pamphlets published in South Africa. The library also has material on South Africa published elsewhere.

It's a reference library which does not lend out books but any adult can spend time reading in the big reading room. The entrance is in the Gardens behind St George's Cathedral. The library is open from 9 am to 5 pm, Monday to Friday and closed on weekends and public holidays; phone 4246320. Bring a notebook, pen and this book for reference.

At reception you sign a register. Grade 11 and 12 students need a letter from the school. Entrance is free but bags etc have to be left in a locker: R5 deposit, money back when you return the key. Photocopying is done by staff only and may take some time (A4 50 cents, A3 R1; micro-fiche copy: A4 R1.50, A3 R3).

In the reference section

The reference section is to the right of reception. Speak to a librarian before you even look at the catalogue. The librarians sit behind computers in the middle of the room if they aren't showing people around.

> Please don't hesitate to speak to staff members. It's the best way to start using the library - whether you are a professor or a beginner researcher. Even if you have done research in other libraries, we'd like to meet you and talk before you start your research here. Once we know your interests, we can help you find sources. We'll never say: "Go and find it yourself!" We'll show you how to use the catalogues, we'll do a computer search for you. The older publications in the library are catalogued in drawers and not on the computer. We can refer you to some sources you might never find through the catalogue. One example is unpublished material on the role played by slaves in the development of Afrikaans, which was donated by Dr Achmat Davids. We can also refer you to people who share your interest or might have sources for you. We often work as a referral service. By the way, we're pleased to have speakers of all three regional languages on our staff.
>
> *(Najwa Hendrickse, librarian, SA Library)*

> Wamkelekile kwithala lencwadi lase Mzantsi Afrika. Wonke umntu kufuneka enamalungelo alinganayo kwiinkonzo anelungelo kuzo.
>
> *(Sibusiswe Mgquba, librarian, SA Library).*

If you have the title of a book or the author's name you can get the missing details from the catalogue/computer: write down the author, title and accession number of the book, magazine, newspaper. Now you're ready for the reading room.

In the reading room

The reading room is a very pleasant place to do research. You can sit and read and write all day if you want to, you can take a break in the Gardens, you can meet other researchers.

To order your book complete a form at the desk. If you have questions about what to read go back to the reference section. Some fragile material (like 19th century newspapers) has been copied onto micro-fiche and can be read on the viewing screens in the reading room. Ask a staff member if you need help.

You could use your time in the reading room to do any or all of the following:

- You can look at books from the list of basic reading or from the bibliography at the end of this book, to see which suit your needs.
- You can look at maps from the periods that interest you, for example in Boeseken's *Historical Atlas*.
- You can get a picture of life in the time of slavery from travellers' accounts and illustrations. There's a useful section in *The Chains that Bind Us* on how to interpret pictures of slave life.
- You can consult books to find names of slaves or court cases to follow up. Boeseken's *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* includes lists of slaves sold at the Cape in the 17th century. Hans Heese's *Reg en Onreg* lists court cases in which slaves appeared and gave evidence.
- You can start tracing a family history. See Section 6.3 for references.
- You can browse through the Cape's first newspapers from the early 19th century: *The South African Commercial Advertiser* and *De Zuid Afrikaan* have adverts for runaway slaves and debates about Emancipation. (But looking at page after page of microfiche copies on the viewing screen can be a headache. It's easier to get exact references, perhaps from T*he Chains that Bind Us* or *Cape Town: The Making of a City* and then order the newspapers for those specific dates.)

Reading travellers' accounts

Before you read travellers' accounts, you may want to look at *Cape Town: The Making of a City* or *The Chains that Bind Us* which use quotations and illustrations from many different travellers' accounts. Some of the main travellers' accounts are listed below. They are given in chronological order on purpose so that you can start with the earlier period and work through to the present day:

- F.Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope* 1732, 2 volumes (Cape Town, 1973)
- O.Mentzel, *Life at the Cape in the mid-Eighteenth Century* (Cape Town, 1919). Mentzel's account provides lively details about slaves and social life in the Dutch colonial period.
- A.Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 1772-1776, 2 volumes (Cape Town, 1977)
- C.Thunberg, T*ravels at the Cape of Good Hope* 1772-1775 (Cape Town, 1986)
- A.M.L.Robinson, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas from the Cape and Elsewhere,* 1793-1803 (Cape Town, 1973).
- R.Semple, *Walks and Sketches at the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1805). Semple gives vivid descriptions of scenes from slave life, for instance, of Greenmarket Square as a favourite meeting place for slaves (pp.17-18) and of a crowd of slaves at a cockfight at the quarries (pp.86-7). He was an American, the son of a Boston trader, and makes comparisons between Americans, who had just become independent of Britain, and the people of Cape Town.
- W.J.Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1819; facsimile edition Struik Cape Town, 1967). Start with the index in the front which charts his route, for example, his visit to Genadendal; or go to the index at the back which gives some listings for references to slaves.

Using pictures as sources of information

The South African Library also has numerous sources with pictures (sketches or paintings) that feature slaves or the landscape and environment at the time of slavery. There are very few pictures of slaves or slavery for the Dutch colonial period so almost all of the visual

images of slaves and the slave period that we have come from the early nineteenth century. Most are the work of British artists and here is a selection:

- The sketches of Charles D'Oyly in C.Pama, *Regency Cape Town: Daily Life in the early 1830s* (Cape Town, 1975). D'Oyly was an aristocrat who came to the Cape from India in the early 1830s and did marvellously evocative sketches of Cape life especially life on the streets.
- Have a look at the beautifully reproduced scenes in *Cape Views and Costumes: Water-Colours* by H.C. de Meillon from the Brenthurst Collection, along with Robert Shell's pamphlet commentary in *De Meillon's People of Colour* (Johannesburg, 1978).
- T.Bowler, *Pictorial Album of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1866). Thomas Bowler, the British artist who rose from personal servant to accomplished middle class painter in his years at the Cape, was a landscape artist but many of his paintings do feature images of slaves or freed slaves (usually "Malays"), though often in stylised form. His albums of water-colours give a good sense of what places and especially towns looked like.
- Charles Davidson Bell was another artist who produced many sketches and watercolours of Cape landscape and life at this period. A few of his works show pictures of slaves on the streets of Cape Town or in the Cape countryside. The Bell Collection is kept in the Archives and Manuscripts section of Jagger Library, University of Cape Town not the South African Library. (See section 8.3)

The photograph collection of the SA Library

> We have drawer after drawer of old photographs, maps, and copies of illustrations from books, grouped together under headings. Some photographs from our collection have been published in books like *Cape Town: The Making of a City* or books like *Armosyn van der Kaap* by Karel Schoeman who used to be librarian in charge here. We have some illustrations of slaves and former slaves and photographs of former slaves. But please speak to one of the librarians here before you even look in the drawers. That way we can make your job much easier - and you can make our job easier.
>
> *(Marius Fortune, librarian, SA Library)*

Even browsing for a short time can be very rewarding. In an hour of browsing in the "Slave" file I found pictures which made me see familiar places in a different light. There were pictures of a slave church in Paarl, a melkbos tree in Woodstock where auctions were held, Riebeeck Square "originally used as a slave market", Roggebaai in the 1870s with a fishing community of a thousand, photos of the Old Slave Walk from Upper Buitenkant Street "alongside Platteklip stream to the wash houses and the curry mill", pictures of washerwomen of Platteklip Gorge who celebrated Emancipation Day on December 1 "with song and dance under the trees" and a "mock slave auction in the non-European pageant at Green Point Track in 1935".

8.2 Second stop in Cape Town: the Cape Town Archives

More and more people are coming to the Cape Town Archives to trace family or community history. For many this is their first experience of research. All Archives staff do their best to help new researchers. Many thanks to archivists who answered questions and checked the information in this section. There is now a video to introduce people to the Archives and one of the archivists has special responsibility for community outreach.

The Cape Town Archives is in Roeland Street where the Roeland Street jail used to be, opposite Harold Cressy High School. Opening times are 8am to 4pm, Monday to Fridays, and until 7pm on Thursdays; closed on public holidays.

From the outside the Archives building still looks like a jail but don't be intimidated. Just walk in and the receptionist will ask you to sign the register and will give you a locker key. You're only allowed to take in writing paper and a pencil, no pens or books. Leave other things in your locker. Inside the reading room, you can place your order by filling in a requisition form at the main desk. It can take 30 to 40 minutes for an assistant to bring your books from the storerooms. You have to collect your book/s from a special table, so watch out for the marker with your table number.

There are very rich sources in the Archives covering 300 years from the beginning of Dutch settlement, through the period of British rule, and into the 20th century. Records for the Dutch period (mostly in High Dutch) include regular census returns of the Dutch East India Company (opgaaf rolls), inventories of individual estates, wills, records of public auctions of estates (vendurollen), shipping records and diaries of ships' captains, resolutions of the Council of Policy, and very detailed records of the Court of Justice. Records for the British period (mostly but not all in English) include wills and inventories, census returns and Cape Town street directories, and the very detailed records of the Slave Office. There are also some records of certain church denominations. It's usually easiest to start with material that is closest to our own time, when slavery was coming to an end.

A beginner in the Cape Town Archives

The first time I ventured into the reading room of the Cape Town Archives, it felt quite intimidating. The staff at the desk looked busy and the place was full of people with their noses in old leather-bound volumes. They all seemed to know what they were doing but I didn't know where to start.

Someone directed me into a small room (the finding-aids room) opposite the main desk. The volumes on the shelves had no names, just serial numbers which were a complete mystery to me. There were some "guides": typed catalogues pinned up on a notice-board, all rather faded and uninviting. I couldn't make sense of the "guides", but I didn't go back to the archivist because I wasn't even sure what I was looking for. So I went home frustrated.

My next visit was with three fellow-students from the UWC History Honours course on Cape slavery. We were introduced to the Cape Town Archives by our lecturers, Andrew Bank and Susan Newton-King, both experienced researchers who love working in the Archives. Their enthusiasm helped and I felt I was starting to understand some things - like the differences between the three kinds of Court of Justice case records. But when I tried to work alone, I felt confused all over again.

This beginners' guide is the outcome of much trial and error, hesitant questions to the archivists, and continuing discussions with some expert researchers. People have patiently explained what sources there are in the Archives but there are so many that I ended up dizzy. I learned more when they talked about their own research experience. I kept asking: "When you do research, what kinds of sources do you start with, and why, and then what steps do you take next? What 'case' did you enjoy most?"

8.2.1 Written sources in the Cape Town Archives for the Dutch colonial period

There are a wealth of documentary sources for the Dutch period in the Cape Town Archives, very well-preserved. Most of these documents are available for anybody to read. Court records are a good place to start. So are inventories.

1) Opgaaf rolls: The Company census (Inventory 1/5, J Series)

The Dutch East India Company took an annual census of households. The census gives the number but not the names of slaves in each household, with age and gender (boys of 12 counted as men, girls of 14 years as women). The Opgaaf Rolls are broad surveys of the whole colony organised by district. Certain years have been put onto computer printouts: 1688, 1692, 1705, 1732, 1731, 1741, 1752, 1761, 1773 and 1783. There are copies of the printouts in the Cape Town Archives, at the Institute for Historical Research at UWC, and in the University of Stellenbosch Archive.

2) Inventories/Appraisals of individual estates (MOOC series 8/75, 8/76, 8/77)

When someone died an official inventory (list) was made of all her or his possessions. This was so that the heirs would get their fair share. An inventory gives the date, the name of the person and his/her spouse and the names and ages of children. It lists property, with the name of the farm or number of erf if in town. The inventory gives a valuation (estimated price) for each item.

For our purposes there are two important points about inventories. Firstly, inventories list slaves as property of a particular owner, by name (and sometimes place of origin), gender, age and sometimes occupation. Reading inventories sometimes gives other clues about the lives of slaves: who lived at the cattlepost, who had valuable skills, whether s/he was the only slave of a poor burgher, or from a big estate like Vergelegen which had more than a hundred slaves. There are rare examples - perhaps 20 times out of thousands - where an inventory shows slaves who own property.

Secondly, there are no inventories for slaves but there are inventories of the possessions of some freed slaves. Shell uses inventories and an auction list to create a picture of the life of Rangton of Bali, a former slave. (See Section 7, Story 7: Rangton of Bali, 1673-1720.)

Antonia Malan uses inventories to construct a picture of another former slave who died in 1720: Angela of Bengal, an independent widow who was a "tough business-woman, wine-maker, brandy-distiller and market-gardener". The genealogies and inventories which she draws on are shown in her article, "Chattels or Colonists? Freeblack Women and their Households" in *Kronos* 1998/9. A useful new Glossary of *Objects and Words used in 18th and 19th Century Cape Inventories* by Antonia Malan is available in the Archives. (Reading room: finding aids).

Throughout the Dutch period most inventories were filed with the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC). If you find an inventory that interests you, look for the auction list (vendurol) for the same estate. Then you can see who bought the slaves and what they paid.

Official records missing

Most official records of slave sales in the Dutch period are incomplete. During the 18th century records of slaves sold were kept in the Attorney General's office but the records have subsequently been lost. But we do have information about slaves sold at the Cape in the 17th century, when the records were kept elsewhere.

We also have information from other sources (such as letters of transfer and deeds of sale) about a small number of slaves sold to private owners in the 18th century. Boeseken compiled information about individual slaves from these records in *Slaves and Free Blacks* and others have since worked on these records.

Company slaves - who were almost all brought to the Cape on Company slave ships - were not sold at the Cape so there are no records of transfer for them at the Cape. Occasionally information can be found in sources such as journals of the captains of slave ships. Researchers are also looking at archival records of the Dutch East India Company in the East, in Madagascar and in the Netherlands.

3) Vendurollen: Records of public auctions (Inventory 1/3, MOOC 10/- series)

It often happened that estates were publicly auctioned so that the proceeds could be divided up among the heirs - and perhaps the creditors. A vendurol is the list of all the goods sold at an auction. It includes the names of slaves, the names of buyers and prices paid.

Sometimes you can gather other information from a vendurol. For instance a listing like "Sietta van Macassar and her two children, Alida and Julia van der Kaap" shows that the mother was brought to the Cape and her children were born here. For interesting research into slave family life based on vendurollen, read Shell's *Children of Bondage*, Chapter 10.

4) Wills/Testamenten (MOOC series 7/1/-, 1689-1950)

The wills are listed in blue computer indexes (series MOOC 7/1) on the open shelves in the reading room. Each book has the year/s on the cover and the wills are listed under surnames. You need to know - or guess - the date of death of the person you are interested in. Then look for the surname in the volume for that year. At the end of the volume there's usually an index.

Most wills are in the MOOC series. There are exceptions (notarial wills, Court of Justice wills etc) and computer lists are available (in alphabetical order) for the Court of Justice (CJ) and Stellenbosch Magistrate Wills (1/STB).

You can consult the Register of Estates (MOOC 14/2 series), kept from 1754, to find details of an estate. There were no death notices until 1834. Prior to the commencement of the Death Notices series in 1834, Death Registers giving the person's name, district and date of death were kept (1758-1833, MOOC 6/1-6/3).

The Archives has the wills of deceased estates from the early days of Dutch settlement at the Cape to 1950. Poor people did not usually leave wills, but there were also many other people who did not leave wills. For many people there is an inventory but no will.

For our purposes there are two main points. Firstly, slaves are listed as property in the estate. Sometimes the will gives only numbers of slaves, male or female, child or adult, but it is more common to find slaves' names and places of origin and sometimes occupation. Secondly, slaves did not own property and make wills, but a freed slave might leave a will.

Wills may contain information on the deceased's family background and relationships, the occupations of the deceased and/or heirs, where they lived, and their wealth and social status. Under Roman Dutch law the estate was divided among the surviving spouse and children. In the Dutch period wills are a list of all heirs. Heirs could not be disinherited.

Where the owner died without leaving a will (intestate), the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) administered the estate. If you don't have the date of death, check the

alphabetical list of surnames and you might be lucky. Then you can look up the summary of assets and liabilities in the estate. Slaves probably won't be listed but if the estate was auctioned the auction (vendu) date will be recorded. Then the vendurollen will tell you who bought the slaves (and other property), at what price. If you don't find a will you could check the Liquidation and Distribution Accounts, 1700-1916.

5) Shipping records and diaries of ships' captains

There's an example in *The Chains that Bind Us* (pp.28-9), translated from the Dutch into English. It's an extract from the journal of the ship, "Die Drie Heuvelen", during its slaving voyage from Cape Town to Madagascar in 1753.

6) Resolutions of the Council of Policy and the Annexures (Bijlagen)

Historians sometimes make interesting finds in the Resolutions, as you can see in Armosyn's story (Section 7, Story 8), but you need to be a skilled archivist to find your way round. The other sources listed here are more rewarding for most researchers.

7) Court of Justice records for criminal and civil cases (Inventory 1/2, CJ series)

The Court of Justice which sat in the Castle was made up of officials of the Dutch East India Company. They heard serious cases, including all cases where the death sentence might apply. There are three different types of records for the Court of Justice:

- **CJ 1-102: Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court**
  These are the original rolls of civil and criminal cases up to 1728. They give a summary of the case which includes the name of the accused, the crime, and name/s of the witness/es. The Minutes tell you what to expect in the Documents (below).
- **CJ 3449-3539: Documents in Criminal (or Civil) Cases**
  These begin with the charge and the names of the people involved, give the testimony, and end with the sentence. Sometimes the Master of the Court of Justice comments on why the sentence was given.
- **The Sententien**
  The Dutch name can cause confusion: it does not refer to sentences passed. The Sententien are records of interrogation of the accused and some witnesses, but not cross-examination. In the Sententien there is usually an introductory paragraph giving the name of the accused, along with some other information (eg Manassa of Java, slave of Hendrik Cloete, aged 32). This is followed by a "confession" from the accused. ("While looking for tortoises on the coast, I was attacked by ... "). Evidence from others is not given separately but may be woven into the report of the accused's "confession". At the end comes the sentence recommended by the prosecution (one to two pages). But one can't assume that this sentence was passed or, even if it was passed, that it was carried out. There might for instance have been a reprieve. To see what the sentence was in a case, consult the summary.

Civil cases were tried by local courts. These cases include divorces, bad debts and defamation cases. Here there are also three categories of documents (Minutes, Documents and Sententien). But for our purposes civil cases are less important because they rarely involved slaves. There are some exceptions, for example, in a dispute when slaves who had been sold died before transfer to the new owner/s.

How to find your way around the Sententien

In the bound volumes of the Sententien the original case number is sometimes written at the top of the page. Don't be confused by the page numbers which were pencilled in later. You need the case number. One case is sometimes interrupted by another, so look in the index at the back of the volume to see if the number of your case is repeated. Almost every volume has an index which lists cases alphabetically by the first name of the accused (eg Titus of Ceylon). There might also be another case number listed for him/her, if he/she is the accused in another case.

8) Records of the Attorney General (Inventory 1/19) and District Magistrates/Landdroste (Inventories 2/1-2/31 and 2A/1-2A/148)

All cases for the Cape District (Cape Town and the surrounding area) went first to the Attorney General. All cases for other districts went first to the local Landdrost (Magistrate). They dealt with the minor cases and serious cases were referred to the Court of Justice. Even for serious cases the first stage of examining a case, the preparatory examination, did not happen in the Court of Justice.

There are very detailed records for the Landdrost records but the Attorney General's records are incomplete. This means that the Sententien are the only criminal records for the whole of the Cape District for the Dutch period.

8.2.2 Sources in the Cape Town Archives for the British colonial period, 1795-1834

1) Court records (CJ and CSC)

The Court of Justice records are available until 1828 (see the previous section for the reference and inventory numbers). In 1828 the British established the Cape Supreme Court (CSC records). Lower court records can also be used for the British period.

2) Wills and inventories (MOOC 7/1/-)

In the British period inventories were filed with wills, if the deceased had left a will.

3) Wardmaster's censuses: 1790s to 1820

4) Burger Raad der Gemeente: 1799-1803 (Inventory 1/82, BRD 27 and 29)

It's possible to find out more or less exactly who was living and working in some areas of Cape Town in 1799. There are records in high Dutch listing all residents, slave, Khoi and free, for a block in Waterkant Street. The same is true for a block from Cartwrights Corner up to the Slave Lodge in Adderley Street, across to Plein Street on the one side and to Greenmarket Square on the other. Householders are listed by name and surname and sometimes by occupation, but for slave, Khoi and other servants only numbers are recorded. For some people there are also notes on occupation.

5) Raad der Gemeente: 1820 (RDG 121)

This is a more complete listing of the residents of Cape Town in 1820. It lists householders and tenants, and numbers but not names of their slaves and other servants. The names, addresses and occupations of freed slaves are listed.

6) Cape Town street directories: 1820s to 1880s

These give the name of the person and the street. If you're looking for freed slaves this is useful. The directories are in UCT African Studies Library and SA Library. There's a copy of the Cape Town Directory for 1833 in C.Pama, *Regency Cape Town,* pp. 96-121. Housemaids and labourers made up about half the total and many slaves were listed as craftsmen: masons and thatchers, musicians, hatters, jewellers, gunmakers, locksmiths, and in rural areas haymakers, shepherds and overseers.

7) Photographs

The Cape Town Archives has computerised its photographs and other pictures (about 17000 of them). Ask the archivist to show you how to access them. For instance, the key word "slaves" called up a picture of elderly freed slaves and slaves on the march.

8) Records of different magisterial districts

Here you need to consult the alphabetical list in the reading room. Each Magisterial District kept Opgaaf Rolls, wills, inventories and vendurollen, and contracts for hiring out slaves. Mission records were sometimes inserted in Magisterial Districts' incoming and outgoing letters. Magistrates also kept records of preparatory criminal examinations and witness interrogations (eg Beaufort district, Caledon, Swellendam).

9) Slave Office records, 1816-1834

The Slave Office, established in 1816, kept very full records of slaves, mostly in English. Slaves and slave-owners could bring complaints against each other to the Protector. These cases reveal much about how slavery worked and give insights into the lives of many slaves.
From 1826 the British colonial government appointed Slave Guardians/Protectors in towns and villages throughout the colony. They had to perform certain tasks for "the benefit and advantage of slaves". For instance, there were regulations to limit whipping and other physical punishment and the Protectors were responsible for enforcing these regulations if there were complaints from slaves. When they heard cases they would send summaries of their cases to the Protector in Cape Town.

SO 1/21 Inventory of Slave Office documents

On the open shelves in the small room in the Archives reading room you will find a book marked SO 1/21 with a list (inventory) of Slave Office records.

SO 6/1 - 6/150 and SO 6/12 - 6/35: Slave registers, 1816-1834

From 1816-1834 every slave-owner had to register all his slaves, stating name, sex, age, country of origin, and sometimes occupation. All manumissions, transfers, inheritances, births and deaths of slaves also had to be registered. The registers are organised under the names of slave-owners.

These registers can be a good source of information about individual slaves. You can look at different areas: not only Cape Town (which is included as part of the wider Cape District) but the more remote eastern and western districts: Albany, Beaufort, Clanwilliam, Cradock, George, Graaff Reinet, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Tulbagh, Worcester, Uitenhage.

SO 12/3-12/6: Manumission registers, 1768-1822

This lists slaves who were freed (manumitted) in this period in urban areas and the whole of the Cape Colony. The register is arranged in chronological order, not alphabetically. It is worth paging through just to see which masters and which slaves could sign their names. Some slaves signed in non-Western script.

SO 5/1 - 5/10: Day books, 1826-1834

These are the original records which were written day by day in the office of the Protector and his assistants. Here you will find fuller details of complaints brought by slaves and owners - more than in the summaries or books of complaints. The day books are not always neat and cases are not cross-referenced but you'll find some fascinating stories. John Mason has written about episodes from the lives of slaves which emerge from these records.

SO 4/2 - 4/3: Books of complaints, 1826-1834

These books summarise the complaints that slaves brought to the Protector against their owners. Sometimes there is also a record of what the slave or slaveowner said when cross-examined. Each complaint is numbered and to find out what happened look up the complaint number in the books of enquiry.

SO 1/52 Miscellaneous letters, 1826-1834

There are signed letters from slaves to the Protector.

SO 4/5 - 4/6: Books of enquiry, 1826-1834

Here you can look up the cross-examination for the complaints listed above.

SO 3/1 - 3/20: Reports of the Protector of Slaves, 1826-1834

The Protector wrote a half-yearly report, including summaries of cases from districts in the colony. It may be hard to find the district you are looking for because the reports are not arranged according to district but according to the date when the summaries were sent to the Protector. But some volumes of these reports have regional reports at the end (eg Clanwilliam).

SO 3/20A Confidential Reports from the Protector to the Colonial Office, London, 1826-1834

These reports do not have details of individual cases but you can read these for overall trends.

SO 20/5-20/16 Compensation register, 1834

Owners could claim compensation from the British government for every slave they owned at the time of Emancipation in 1834. The register shows the estimated value of each slave in 1834. It's easy to use if you know the name of the owner and the magisterial district. (This material is on a database: see below.)

Complaints from apprentices, 1834-1838 (Inventory 2A/128, 1/WBG and 1/1/1-1/1/16)

There are some useful records of complaints and cases brought by apprentices (ex-slaves) to the Special Magistrates of Cape Town. The records are clearly laid out with a summary of each complaint and the decision of the magistrate. The Cape Town records are in the Wynberg magistrate records. That's because the Cape Town magistrate moved to Wynberg and took the records with him.

Archives of district magistrates

1. STELLENBOSCH MAGISTRATES ARCHIVES (STB)

1/STB Inventories, 3/8 Sworn Statements, 1702-1849
The Stellenbosch Magistrates' Archives contains initial evidence given to the Stellenbosch Landdrost.

1/STB, 22/124 - 22/126: Records of Proceedings in Criminal Cases in Stellenbosch Concerning Slaves, 1827-1828.
These are detailed records of complaints brought to the Stellenbosch magistrate. They are goldmines of information, almost all in Dutch. Afrikaans-speaking researchers should be able to cope with the Dutch.

1/STB, 22/153: Stellenbosch Complaints' Book
Summaries in English of complaints brought to the Stellenbosch magistrate, many of them by slaves or slave owners. This gives an overview of the types of complaints brought in this region.

1/STB, 22/157 - 22/159: Letters received by the Assistant Protector of Slaves in Stellenbosch
These letters give many examples of cases or incidents involving slaves but it is not always possible to follow a case through as the Assistant Protector's replies are not recorded. You may find some replies for the period after 1830 in 1/STB 22/161.

2. SWELLENDAM MAGISTRATES ARCHIVES (SWM - Inventory 2/3, Reference 1/SWM)

16/22: Diary of the Assistant Protector of Slaves in Swellendam.
This gives a day to day account of complaints brought by slaves and by owners, in English.

16/7-16/12 and 16/19-20: Registers of Slaves in the Swellendam District
These lists give details about slaves but not cases.

3. WORCESTER MAGISTRATE ARCHIVES (WOC - Inventory 2/7, Reference 1/WOC)

19/24: Journal of the Assistant Guardian/Protector of Slaves
This gives a day to day account of complaints brought by slaves and by owners in the Worcester district. Some in English, some in Dutch.

Complaints from Apprentices, 1834-1838
Records of complaints and cases brought by apprentices (ex-slaves) are in the Worcester Magistrate archives (inventory 2/7 reference 1/WOC 19/25 - 19/27). There is also some material in the Worcester Magistrate's journal (1/WOC 19/24).

8.3 The UCT African Studies Library

This section is based on discussion with Amanda Barrett, head of the African Studies Library. The library is for UCT staff and students, but it's also for anyone interested in research. Most of the African Studies Library collection has been donated for research purposes. It's a good idea to visit the South African Library first because it has more sources on Cape slavery.

The African Studies Library has books on slavery from outside South Africa, as well as material you'll find in the South African Library: travellers' accounts; Van Riebeeck Society publications of material written in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries; Cape Town Street Directories; G.M.Theal's *Records of the Cape Colony*, a collection of published primary sources and other material used by historians of Cape slavery.

African Studies also has a number of theses/dissertations done through the University of Cape Town or other universities which you might find useful. See, for example, Robert Shell's PhD on Cape slavery from 1680 to 1731; John Mason's "Fit for Freedom", and Achmat Davids' Master's thesis on the Afrikaans of Cape Muslims.

Tell the librarian on duty that you are a community researcher. Then use the computer catalogue, complete an order form for the book or journal you want, take a seat in the reading room and your order will be brought to you from the storeroom. To make photocopies you need to buy a UCT photocopying card from the Copyshop on the other side of Jameson Hall for R10 and pay in advance for copies, 25 cents a page for visitors. Photocopying isn't allowed if material is fragile.

If you want to borrrow books or periodicals from UCT library, you need to buy an annual visitor's card. If you're linked to an educational institution, library or museum, or if you have contact with UCT staff members through your research, ask for an official letter explaining that you are doing community research. A letter may make it easier to arrange a library card.

The library closes for the student vacation mid-year and at Christmas, so phone first to check (6503107/6). To get there, walk up from the Main Road in Mowbray or Rondebosch. The entrance is on the left of the Jameson Hall steps.

8.3.1 Using unpublished research: theses and dissertations

University libraries usually have copies of Honours, Masters and doctorates (PhDs) written by their own students. These usually contain information which hasn't been published in books or articles.

If you try key words like "Cape slavery" or "emancipation" in a university library catalogue, you may find references to theses or dissertations. The catalogue may also list an article or a book on the topic by the same writer. This may be a shorter, clearer version of what's in the thesis. Try the short-cut first. Then if you find the article or book interesting, look at the thesis.

Research in progress

While writing this book, I've met several people who are happy to talk about the interesting research they are doing. For example, Michael Weeder is writing a History Honours paper at UWC on Lydia Williams. Elinor Damon is doing a PhD through Stellenbosch university, on Pniel family history. Laura Mitchell, a PhD student from the University of California, is looking at slavery in the Clanwilliam area. The list goes on. A researcher may be busy with a topic for years before she or he completes a thesis. But you don't have to wait that long. If you come across an interesting newspaper article, or an interview on radio or TV, or something on the internet, you could try to contact the researcher ...

Tips for using theses/dissertations:

- the full title often tells you the topic
- check the date and start with the most recent thesis
- read the abstract if there is one: a very short summary at the beginning
- don't try to read the thesis from beginning to end, rather study the table of contents for anything that catches your eye and go straight to that section
- leave out chapters or sections that don't interest you
- sometimes you'll find valuable material right at the end in an appendix
- if something catches your interest, make a note of the writer's sources: articles, books or archive documents.

Finding your way around a Masters dissertation

"Missions and Emancipation in the south western Cape: A case study of Groenekloof (Mamre), 1838-1852" by Elizabeth Ludlow.

This 1992 History Masters dissertation is available in the African Studies Library at UCT. If you're interested in ex-slaves who had links with Moravian mission stations, have a look at it. The writer follows about 700 "newcomers" who came to the mission station in the 15 years after final emancipation in 1838. Most were born within a day's walk on farms around, but some came from as far away as Mozambique, Ceylon and Bengal.

There are fascinating details about individual slaves. Memorable names emerge: Hermanus Passens, Manassa Armoed, Elizabeth Rondganger, Afrika Geluk, Onverwacht Vrydom, Martinus Luther of Bengal. There are couples who had been together for over 40 years (Nanto and Spasi September, Adam and Candace Vigeland, p.88) and families.

Sometimes details open a window onto the past. In 1852 a "respectable mother of a family" celebrated the anniversary of Emancipation from a master who had told her: churchgoing "is not for you: here is a spade, take it and work in the garden" (p. 57-8).

Reading the introduction (18 pages) gives a good idea of what others have written about the lives of Cape slaves after Emancipation and outlines some debates about Cape slavery.

Appendix B makes fascinating reading for the list of slave names and surnames, baptismal names and places of origin. The writer comments "Given the significance of naming in slave societies in erasing the slave's identity, receiving a new name at baptism was a particularly symbolic process. Now the names of the dispossessed and enslaved changed to those of the reclaimed - often with clear German overtones: Afrikas, Octobers, Pitts and Portias became Frangotts, Christliebes, Adolphs, Christians and Gertrauds" (p.41).

The bibliography gives many hints about useful sources and the limitations of sources. Kerry Ward (who wrote a Masters thesis on a later period of Mamre's history) has a chapter in *Breaking the Chains* called "Links in the Chain: Community, Identity and Migration in Mamre, c. 1838-1938", pp.313-333. In one of her first footnotes she thanks Elizabeth Ludlow for sharing her research.

Finding your way around a Ph.D.

"Fit for freedom: The slaves, slavery, and Emancipation in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 to 1842" by John Mason

In the African Studies library at UCT you'll find a copy of this very readable PhD by an African American scholar, John Mason. It's very long (606 pages) but the abstract at the beginning is only about 30 lines, ending: "I argue here that the slaves were not passive objects of colonial policy-making or their masters' maneuverings. During the years between the end of the slave trade [1806] and the abolition of slavery [1834], the slaves did much to fit themselves for freedom. They did so in ways which alarmed their masters, annoyed the colonial officials, and would have surprised the parliamentarians."

The abstract makes it clear that Mason is interested in the slaves themselves, their actions and their perspectives. The Table of Contents gives more clues. There are chapters on slave apprenticeship, 1834-8; slaves in the masters' households; slaves at work as domestic servants and in the city; slaves at work on the farms; discipline and resistance; slave families; and Emancipation Day, 1 December 1838.

If you dip into the dissertation you'll find some fascinating stories about individual slaves. For example, the chapter on slaves at work as domestic servants and in the city begins: "Job, a domestic servant and skilled craftsman, and Isaac a common laborer, once spoke about their lives as slaves. The protector of slaves in Graaff-Reinet recorded their thoughts in 1833." (p.227)

"Fit for Freedom" may become a book. Mason has also written a number of articles on Cape slavery, including "Hendrik Albertus and His Ex-slave Mey: A Drama in Three Acts". (See Story 5 in Section 7.)

Bias in the Slave Office records

It is very important when using any sources to be aware of the biases and silences in the source. This applies as much to Slave Office records as to court records, other written materials or even visual sources like paintings and photographs. Here are some comments on bias in the SO records from dissertations written by Elizabeth Ludlow and John Mason. Their research is discussed in Section 8.3.1.

Lack of direct "voices" of ex-slaves

> It is not possible to any extent to report what they felt, aspired to or believed. Rather actions or reported actions have had to be interpreted on behalf of the actors. ... There are moments, however, in the verbatim court transcripts ... or missionary reports .... where their version of events seems to come through though heavily mediated by reporter and editor.
>
> *(Elizabeth Ludlow)*

"Twice interpreted, filtered through two official minds"

> Firstly, the Protector's records are usually in English. But the slaves and often the masters did not speak English well enough to argue their case. So what we read comes via an official interpreter. Secondly, the Protector or his secretary did not record people's testimony in their exact words (verbatim) but rather put it in his own words (paraphrased). So what we read is the words of the Protector or his secretary, and he left out anything he considered unimportant.
>
> *(John Mason)*

8.4 Deeds Office, Plein Street

The Deeds Office is not far from Parliament, on the 12th floor of the Receiver of Revenue building, phone 4651037. This section is based on discussions with Nazeem Safter of the Deeds Office and with Antonia Malan.

The Deeds Office isn't a quiet library. It's a busy place with people coming in and out all the time: lawyers, estate agents, historians, people researching land claims and so on. The people working at the desk will help you order the right volumes so that you can look things up. You can order copies of documents.

The property records go back to the first land grants at the Cape under the Dutch. There are volumes of old documents, beautifully drawn and inscribed. The office has a chronological list of buyers and sellers of property at the Cape, from the 1650s to the present day with plans of structures built on the property. It also has a big collection of maps and plans, including a plan of Cape Town showing changes from about 1660 to about 1910.

> If you live or work in a fairly old building, you might find it interesting to look up its history. If you give the address or preferably the erf number you can find out who was the first person to take ownership, who else has owned the house, and what changes have been made over the years. You can use street directories and almanacs for more information about the household and the street.
>
> If you're wanting to research slave history, the Deeds Office isn't the place to start - unless you have a specific erf number to follow up. It makes more sense to start with secondary sources to get a general picture and then to try the Archives. Of course, many historians of Cape slavery have done research using Deeds Office property records but it's quite a specialised task.
>
> *(Nazeem Safter, principal deeds controller, Deeds Office)*

You'll see Deeds Office sources cited in the footnotes of researchers including Robert Shell, Wayne Dooling, Nigel Worden, Antonia Malan and Margaret Cairns. Thanks to researchers who have shared their data gathered from the Deeds Office and elsewhere, you can do a search of the computerised data bank in the Cape Town Archives for references to a property or the people associated with it.

For the 17th century and part of the 18th century, the records of purchase and sale of slaves are included with the documents relating to land transfer. Robert Shell has made a database of these slave records. There's some advice about working in the Deeds Office in Antonia Malan and Stewart Harris, *Archives and Archaeology: A Guide to Source Material for Researching Colonial Cape Households.* This also looks at sources in the Cape Town Archives.

8.5 Introducing church and mission records/archives

From the time of Emancipation there is very important information about former slaves in church and mission records, but even in the earlier records some slave names, voices, stories come through.

If you want to use church or mission records, please read Sections 8.5 to 8.7 carefully. There are close links between some of the archives which can be confusing. If you are coming from a long way away, please phone beforehand to make sure they can help you and make an appointment.

This first section on the SA Sendinggestig Museum is based on a visit in March 2000 and discussions with the Museum head, Ds David Botha. A Sendingkerk dominee for over 40 years, he is a keen researcher and a mine of information about slaves and freed slaves in the life of the church. He is proud to be descended from two late 18th century slave foremothers on his mother's (Malan family) side.

A good place to visit first is the Old Slave Church in Long Street, a beautiful old building which is now the Sendinggestig Museum. Entrance is free. The Museum houses an exhibition on the history of the Slave Church, which includes some interesting stories about slaves. A new display will focus on the church's direct involvement in the spiritual lives of slaves.

There is also an exhibition with a brief illustrated history of mission stations in the Cape up to the present day. There are strong links between many of these mission stations and slaves, freed slaves and their descendants. A mission route - day trips and longer circuits of mission stations - which is being planned would include information on slaves and freed slaves.

Churches and missionary societies

In the 19th century there was a long controversy: should work with slaves and freed slaves be the work of the church or of missionaries? Anybody new to the history of the Christian churches at the Cape might not realise that there is a big difference between "churches" and "missionary societies". But to find your way around the historical records it's important to understand that they were in a sense separate organisations and sometimes there was rivalry between them. The exhibition in the Sendinggestig Museum tries to clarify some of these issues.

(David Botha, head of the SA Sendinggestig Museum)

8.5.1 The Old Slave Church (now the SA Sendinggestig Museum)

This section is based on discussions with Ds. David Botha:

“Company slaves in the Slave Lodge were prepared for church membership, baptised and confirmed. Throughout the 18th century other slaves were taught in homes and at the harbour by church members. But from 1777 once a slave was baptised he or she couldn’t be sold. This was not a problem for the Company but it was an obstacle to baptism for private slaves. As a result many who professed Christianity were not baptised and could not become proper members of the church. In spite of this obstacle there was steady progress in baptising.

In 1799 the two Christian churches at the Cape, the Lutherans and the Reformed, joined to form the South African Missionary Society. Their aim was to evangelise the heathen in Cape Town: the few Khoi living here and many bonded slaves. By 1802 two classes were being offered at the harbour and on Sunday and Thursday evening 280 slaves were being taught to read and spell in the small meeting house in Long Street. The teachers were directors and members of the Missionary Society. Between 60 and 90 laypeople taught “the ABC, spelling, reading and singing” in the slave day school and night school. Then the Society erected a school for “heathen juveniles”. In 1820 literacy teaching was extended also to Muslim youth. At the time there was a parallel drive on the part of the free black Muslim community to convert slaves to Islam.

There was a move to start a congregation from among converted slaves: the Slave Church. Probably the majority were born at the Cape, a multicoloured group. Most of those who came were young and there was quite a sprinkling of Free Blacks. Between 60 and 90 so-called white people regarded this as their church, their community. The congregation would meet on Sunday and Wednesday evening for “oefeninge”: discussion of believers. On Sunday they went to the Groote Kerk for divine service.

From Ascension to Pentecost the congregation of the Slave Church used to meet morning and evening for prayer. An African slave David December gave testimony at Pentecost. You can almost hear his voice ...

Historical sources and slave stories

All sorts of records survive. From 1820 there are the School Commission reports and the slave school registers of men and women teachers and (mainly young) pupils. There is the correspondence of the Church Board. For instance, a letter was written for the slave of old man Weideman, a Board member, because he was afraid of what would happen when the “Oude Heer” died. Mrs Gerrit Buyskes wrote to inform the Board that she had visited the slave school in the small meeting house and had nearly died of the stifling heat and the fumes as so many were packed in and asked that classes be moved to the big meeting house. There are missionary diaries, letters and other papers, some unpublished. There are the official records of missionary societies - mountains of correspondence and accounts with occasional gems: anecdotes about slaves and ex-slaves, or reports of their testimony at meetings.

For instance, I’ve translated into Afrikaans from the German the Berlin Missionary Society’s abstract of the history of the mission station at Zoar, which was put onto a database by Dr Hans Heese. There are some very moving words from slaves and ex-slaves, for instance, a slave shepherd Josias Kaffer, and former slaves such as Jeremias Demas, born in West Africa, who was 80 in 1864 and living at Amalienstein.

In August 1828 the slave Jacob van der Kaap appealed to the Board to buy him out of "the fetters of slavery". He was firmly committed to the Christian faith and lived as befitted a Christian, but when he thought of the unfortunate name of slave he imagined he was totally lost: "Slave is a hard name, being a Slave is even harder." His voice comes through clearly.

The records are fuller after Emancipation. There are Slave Church records of baptisms, confirmations, marriages and deaths from 1838 (to 1975). There are also the records of St Stephen's Church on Riebeeck Square, which was bought in 1843 by the Presbyterians and Lutherans to establish a congregation for "freed slaves and coloured people".

There are some intriguing stories of individuals. In April 1802 the South African Missionary Society informed the London Missionary Society that at the latter's instigation "a native of Mozambique" had been bought. He was not only "an example to the heathen" but also a "staunch supporter and a leader in the performance of religious duties." He had belonged to a member of the congregation and when the owner left the Cape he asked them to buy his slave. The slave had a chequered career after that. He was accused of being an accomplice in a burglary at the bakery next door which he admitted and later denied, so he was sent to the mission field. There his cause was taken up by the missionary. He was eventually set free and was last heard of in Bethelsdorp. We don't know what became of him.

Recommended reading

For anyone interested in the lives of Christian slaves and ex-slaves, there are two books I would recommend very strongly. The first is a new book in Afrikaans by Karel Schoeman, *Dogter van Sion,* the story of Machteld Smit, greatgranddaughter of Armosyn. This is set mainly in the 18th century. The second focuses on the 19th century: *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities 1800 to 1852* by Jane Sales, which I consider a well-researched and very fair-minded account. The "Koningsbode Kersnommer 1936" is worth looking at for the way it marks the centenary of Emancipation. All these are available in the SA Library.

8.5.2 The Dutch Reformed Church Archives

This section is based on a conversation in April 2000 with the manager of the DRC Archives, Patrick van Wyk. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC or, Afrikaans initials, NGK) records were formerly kept in the Cape Town Archives, but are now in the archives on the fifth floor of the DRC Synod Building at the top of Queen Victoria Street, next to the SA Museum. The archives are open on weekdays, but the reading room is small so please phone and make an appointment. New researchers are welcome: about 70% of those who use the archives have never done research before.

To start your research you need a name, an approximate date and a place. The archivist can show you a useful guidebook, *Handleiding vir Genealogiese Navorsing* by R.T.J.Lombard (also available in English), which lists all the congregations of the DRC, with their starting dates. The first five were Cape Town (1665), Stellenbosch (1686), Paarl (1691), and then Swartland (Malmesbury district) and Roodezand (Tulbagh) in the 1740s. It's interesting to see which congregations were founded soon after Emancipation: Tulbagh's second congregation, Kruisvallei (1843); St Stephens (1851); Wynberg (linked with Kalk Bay and Simon's Town) in 1855. The church records for Pniel (Congregational) church are also kept in the DRC archive.

You can look for names in the registers of a congregation. The inventory also shows register/s of freed slaves who were baptised. The DRC records are useful for the 17th century when many slaves were baptised, and for the 19th century, but not so much for the 18th.

8.5.3 The Moravian Church Archives

In April 2000 I visited the Mission Museum at Genadendal. This section draws on a conversation with Dr Isaac Balie, curator of the museum, who catalogued the Moravian records; a conversation with Mr Daniel Baatjes, education officer of the museum; and the museum displays which focus on slaves. It also draws on a conversation in May with Rev. G.J.Cloete, recently appointed archivist of the Moravian Archives in Heideveld.

> Looking at archival material can be very interesting but it's usually quite intimidating. Rather start by looking at Dr Balie's book on the history of Genadendal and *The Pear Tree Blossoms,* Bernhard Kruger's book on the history of the Moravian church in South Africa from 1737 to 1869. You'll find these books in the SA Library and perhaps in other libraries. Then visit Genadendal if you can - there's a bus service and it's possible to stay overnight in the hostel. Come and speak to people before you go to the documents. You're welcome to talk to us in the museum and we could perhaps introduce you to an old person in the community who would be happy to talk to you.
>
> *(Daniel Baatjes, education officer, Mission Museum)*

> The Moravian settlement in 1738 among the Khoi people at Baviaanskloof, later named Genadendal, was the first Christian mission station in South Africa. A century later over a thousand ex-slaves came to live in Genadendal ... Let's assume you are trying to trace an individual or a family and you think there may be a Moravian link through Genadendal or another mission station.
>
> Church registers, missionary diaries and other church records are a rich source for family history and other research. But it takes a great deal of time and effort to decipher them. About 85% of the primary sources are in German in that Gothic handwriting that even German-speakers struggle with, 10% in English, and 5% in Dutch. There are some references to slaves and freed slaves in the records. For instance, there is a file of manumission certificates in the archives. But once baptised, their names would definitely change and they melted into the community

and were counted as Christians. The missionaries hardly ever distinguished in their writings between members of their congregations. Whether Khoi/Hottentot, or free blacks or slaves, they were Christians.

Some of the original church registers are still kept on mission stations but the aim is to copy them all. The collected resources have been catalogued, down to the exact cupboard, shelf, file, but at present the archives are not organised for public access, either in Heideveld or in Genadendal. The Genadendal records have been moved to the Mission Museum in Genadendal. The Institute for Historical Research at UWC has an inventory of all the files. Researchers might find it useful to start by going through that inventory, before they apply to look at the actual records.

(Isaac Balie, curator, Mission Museum)

The aim is to have in the Heideveld archives copies of all the church registers, or the originals, from all Moravian congregations. Much has been done but much still needs to be done to develop the archives. For instance, we plan to include records of all the Eastern Cape congregations as soon as possible. To ask for permission to do research in the archives, write to the President of the Moravian Church. Give whatever information you have (full names, dates and/or places of birth, marriage, death) and the questions you want to research. That will make it easier for us to assist community researchers as we would like to.

(G.J.Cloete, minister and Moravian Church archivist)

Contacts:

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- Rev.G.J.Cloete, e-mail moravsem@mweb.co.za fax: 6379054
- Rev.D.A.Meyer, president of the Moravian Church , e-mail mcsa@iafrica.com or fax 6963887
- Genadendal Mission Museum: 028-2518582/2518220
- Institute for Historical Research, UWC: 021-9593193.

8.5.4 Other church archives

Cape Town Presbyterian church records are in the care of the minister of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church. From the 1820s on, there was a conscious attempt to baptise slaves. (See *Presbyterianism in Cape Town* by G.Cuthbertson and F.Quinn.)

The Cape Town Archives have the baptismal, marriage and burial registers of St George's Anglican Cathedral (1806-1930 but incomplete), and of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Strand Street (from 1780 to 1907).

The records of the Anglican Cowley Fathers (who worked in District Six from the 1880s) are in the William Cullen library at Wits University.

The Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, has the records of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa; Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (Eastern Cape); Congregational Union of South Africa (Eastern Cape); and of the Grahamstown congregations of a number of other churches and the Grahamstown Hebrew Congregation.

The Church of the Latterday Saints (Mormons), Main Road Mowbray, is no longer a whites-only church. They have a computerised database with detailed family trees which Dr Hans Heese considers very valuable.

8.6 Institute for Historical Research, UWC

This section is based on a discussion with archivist, Dr Chris Loff, in April 2000. The Institute (IHR) is mid-way through an important three year project (1999 to 2001): microfilming church records, especially church registers, between Cape Town and the Orange River. They are developing a computerised database of the information for family history research. This database will be opened to the public in 2002 and training will be offered on how to use it for family history research.

For now, if people come to the IHR, staff may refer them to the index cards compiled by Dr Heese when he was in the IHR (see 8.7) or to other archives. If you have a specific request, it's best to make an appointment to see Dr Loff or write a letter.

> "There's a wealth of information about individuals, families and social history in church registers and other church records such as the minute book and cash book. Every congregation has registers recording baptism, confirmation (adult members, including some who had come over from other congregations); and marriage (with occupation). Some congregations have a funeral register but it is customary to record the date of death in the baptismal or membership register.
>
> In one case a couple with eleven children - a "de facto" married couple, not formally married - completed the prescribed form. This shows their date and place of birth, their parents' names, where and when they first began living as man and wife, their occupations, the names of their children, the witnesses at their marriage, and we can see whether they were literate.
>
> The dream is that one day we will have a facility where a researcher will have access to all the church sources. We've started with the mission churches and other churches which had coloured and black members/congregations. Especially in the years soon after Emancipation many freed slaves - and possibly free blacks - joined mission churches like the one at Sarepta in Kuils River or at Worcester. It's worth asking local churches - especially in fairly isolated areas - if they still have their registers.
>
> Of course we don't want to duplicate the work of existing church archives such as the Moravian or the DRC archives. We work together and we hope that if they go on-line, our databases will be linked. Then researchers could do a computer search - using name/s and if possible a place and a date in order to trace ancestors, whether they were Khoisan, freeblack, slave or freed slave, European, African, Asian ... We are also looking at Muslim links, with the help of Muslim scholars, to make the family history project really inclusive."
>
> *(Chris Loff)*

8.7 Stellenbosch University Archives

This section is based on a discussion in May 2000 with the archivist, Dr Hans Heese, who previously worked for many years in the Institute for Historical Research, UWC. The Stellenbosch University Archives are open to the public as a community service, by arrangement with the Archives Board. Please phone 8082415 to make an appointment to visit. The Archives are at the back of the Willcox Building, corner of Victoria and Ryneveld Street, not far from the Braak.

The Watson-Lockley photographic collection of about 20000 negatives dating back to 1905 is important for family and community research. This reflects the whole community of Stellenbosch, including coloured sports teams, "Malay" functions, black workers. The collection is being digitalised so that you will be able to enter a name and find photographs and information (date, address etc). There is a slight chance of finding pictures of long-lived emancipated slaves.

Databases compiled by Dr Heese

- Company slaves: several hundred index cards with names of all the Company slaves at the Lodge. If a slave woman had children you can find them listed there, and you can go right back, working out family connections for Company-born slaves. The computer database of Company slaves, recently compiled at the Old Slave Lodge, is based on the same sources.
- Free blacks: several hundred index cards on free blacks, dating back to the 17th century.
- Church records from registers of births, marriages, and deaths including records from the Pniel church; the Paarl Anglican churches and the Lutheran churches of Riversdale, Ladismith, Amalienstein, Zoar.

The original copies are stored in the UWC Institute for Historical Research, but until the computerised database is completed (by 2002) it might be easier to visit the University of Stellenbosch Archives. There is a micro-fiche reader and computer access in the reading room. If you want to consult these databases (on index cards, some also on computer and/or microfiche), phone Dr Heese (8082415).

8.8 Muslim sources

There are no public archives or databases of Muslim records, only small collections here and there. Everyone I spoke to talked about the late Dr Achmat Davids as a "community archive" and an inspiration to other researchers, whose passing leaves a great gap.

It seems that many people see a need for an archive and database of Muslim sources, to include copies of the papers of Achmat Davids and other scholars in the community. Some researchers have made a point of donating material to archives or libraries which are open to the public. There is definitely a need to publicise what is available where, with regular updates. What body should do this?

> An archive like this would be an excellent resource to recover the forgotten stories of Cape Town. History is not the exclusive preserve of the professional historian. It is also the stuff that makes communities and identities. An archive ensures that this creativity remains dynamic, responsive and open.
>
> *(Abdulkader Tayob, professor, Religious Studies)*

Meanwhile, for people who want to research the history of Muslim slaves and freed slaves, what sources are there, where's the best place to start, and what are the steps to follow? This section is based on discussions in 1998 with Shamil Jeppie of the UCT History department; in 1999 with Najwa Hendrickse of the National Library and Muhammed Haron, who was then in the UWC Arabic Studies department; and in March-April 2000, with Nazeem Lowe at the BoKaap Museum, Ramzie Abrahams at the Old Slave Lodge, and Ebrahiem Manuel and Zainab Pattie Davidson at the Heritage Museum in Simon's Town.

Few written records

> There are even fewer written records for Muslim slaves and ex-slaves than there are for Christians. There's no equivalent of the church registers of baptism, confirmation, marriage and death. Muslim marriages were not recorded and were not recognised by the civil authorities.
>
> *(Ramzie Abrahams)*

> Before 1895 there are hardly any death notices, wills or inventories for Muslims, except for a few property-owners. The lives of the poorer majority were more or less unrecorded, which makes research difficult.
>
> *(Nazeem Lowe)*

"Kitaabs", diaries and other manuscripts

> There are families with religious manuscripts ("kitaabs") or diaries - sometimes linked with oral traditions which go back a long way - which are a precious historical resource not only for those families but also for the community as a whole. These are mostly in Arabic and sometimes in Melayu, Sanskrit, Buginese, Bantinese, Sumbawanese or other languages that our ancestors brought to the Cape. Many are in poor condition and fragile with age. We need to photograph them and to keep copies where everybody can read them. Community researchers can make a contribution by lodging copies of their sources in a local library, museum or archive where the public has access. There are also inscriptions on grave stones which we need to record as a matter of urgency before they are all lost to us.
>
> *(Ebrahiem Manuel, community historian)*

George French Angas's depiction of a Muslim school group and teacher in Cape Town, about 1850

At the Heritage Museum in Amlay House, Simon's Town, we are honoured to be able to display a number of kitaabs in a glass case: heirlooms which families have entrusted to us for safekeeping for the time being. We invite the public to view these and welcome any additions.

(Zainab Pattie Davidson)

Some guidelines for new researchers looking at Muslim sources

These guidelines were proposed by Nazeeem Lowe in an interview at the BoKaap Museum. Comments from interviews with other people have also been included.

Encouragement and warning

"

Community researchers are very welcome to come to the BoKaap Museum to talk about the research you're thinking of doing. It's not a problem if you are a complete beginner when it comes to research. The first thing I say is that research is a wonderful and very important undertaking. The second thing to say is that it's very difficult and you need to be prepared for the long haul. In fact, you should probably start by getting ten friends to join you to share the work.

Working through old documents in the Archives or the Deeds Office or the SA Library is very time-consuming. For example it took me two solid weeks of reading eight hours a day to go through all the editions of the *Cape Argus* for 1857-8. A research job allows for that but if you are doing research in your spare time you definitely need a group to share the work. The rewards are often small and slow in coming. It's not easy to get published but of course it's possible and very important to reach the community in other ways: through radio, drama, schools, small local exhibitions.

Start with essential reading

My advice is first read any good history for a general idea of life at the Cape - life in a slave society. Then for a social history of Islam at the Cape, Achmat Davids' two books, *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap* and *A History of the Tana Baru* are essential reading. New researchers can actually use these books as an introduction and guide because he makes it very clear what sources he used and how he used them. There's also a book he did with Yusuf da Costa, *Pages from Cape Muslim History.* There's a copy of Achmat Davids' Masters in the National Library and in the African Studies Library at UCT. It's also worth looking at a book from the late 70s, *The Early Cape Muslims,* by Bradlow and Cairns.

(Nazeem Lowe)

In addition to these books, and published articles, the National Library has a small collection of unpublished papers donated by Achmat Davids, including a UCT paper, "The words the slaves made: a study of the culture, languages, schools and literacy of the slaves in Cape Town and their influence on the development of Arabic-Afrikaans". The library also has a copy of his thesis.

(Najwa Hendrickse)

Try oral history interviewing

Your interest might be sparked by a story from your own family or mosque, or a site, a place you know. It's natural to go to the nearest old person to see what memory holds. If you don't know anybody, go to a community institution like an old age home. Old people like to talk and they'll guide you to people who are sources. It's almost inevitable that what they tell you will point you to other people. Make notes and you'll learn as you go. *(Nazeem Lowe)*

If researchers who are well known in the community take the time to talk to old people, to the imams of the old mosques, to the people from the Malay Choirs, they may hear wonderful stories with clues about the time of slavery.

(Ramzie Abrahams)

Informal training

The training you need for using oral sources? We need to remember that memory is not perfect and reliable - we all edit and censor our own memories, in the writing or in the telling. You may need to talk to ten other old people to check out what you hear.

It's also useful to talk to people who have been doing interviews and other research. They could be journalists, film-makers, academic researchers. Or listen to interviews done for the Western Cape Oral History Project. These are in their archive at UCT, some also transcribed, and the project sometimes runs oral history training for community researchers: contact Sean Field at UCT for details. SABC radio has its own archives. Gallo Records must have an archival collection in Johannesburg where you could track down lyrics of old songs as they were sung some time ago.

It may be more useful to talk to someone who reads images than a researcher who concentrates on the written word. Adiel Bradlow, a journalist and photographer, is one example. This could help you to interpret what your interviewee tells you and photos she shows you.

Archival work on Dutch sources: 17th and 18th century

Only after you've done some basic reading and talked to enough people, should you go to the archives to see what evidence you can find for what people tell you. Up to the early 19th century the documents are in high Dutch and the handwriting is often very hard to read. Achmat Davids took years to find his way, with the help of historian Robert Ross who knows the Dutch sources well. I think he was able to return the favour because of his knowledge of Arabic sources at the Cape. By the way, literacy in English or Dutch/Afrikaans wasn't the norm even among imams a few generations back. You didn't have to be considered a learned person in order to become an imam. In the 19th century imams were more community leaders than theologians, with certain exceptions such as the exiles. Maybe he owned the boat, he wasn't just a fisherman, and people consulted him because of his position of authority and things evolved so that he became an imam.

Cape Town street directories: 19th century

To find out about people several generations back, it's important to understand how the city/municipality worked and what kind of records there are. In the 19th century municipal assessment rolls and street directories are probably among the best sources of information for individuals. The street directories list the householder at a particular address and usually his or her occupation. Fisherman, government official, boarding-house keeper, tailor, seamstress are all recorded. Unlike many documentary sources the street directories don't have a class bias. It's difficult to work out who were property owners and who were tenants.

If you flip through an 1810 street directory you'll start seeing familiar addresses. But the municipality may have changed the street numbers several times over the past 200 years. For example, 71 Wale Street of 1867 may not be the same property as 71 Wale Street to-day. You can check in the Deeds Office.

(Nazeem Lowe)

9

Three routes through the archival sources

Of course researchers don't agree about the best sources to use and the best order. There's not one right way to do things but it helps when they talk about steps to take and clues and shortcuts to follow. That's why we've given three different routes through the written sources, mapped out by different researchers. Nigel Worden maps a route through the Landdrost records in the country districts, Susan Newton-King through the Court of Justice records in the Dutch period, and Andrew Bank through the records of the Slave Office before Emancipation. Here they talk about their favourite sources and ways of doing research.

Using Landdrost records from the Dutch colonial period (Nigel Worden)

"Beginning to hear slave voices"

To understand the context, start with secondary sources: what historians have written based on the primary sources. After that I think the Landdrost records are by far the most exciting place to go, if you're working on the Dutch period. The Landdrost collected evidence, he didn't make a judgement. So you read the actual criminal interrogations: what the magistrate asked the accused, what he or she said, what the witnesses said and so on. Sometimes it's like eavesdropping in a charge office, sometimes they go to a farm for on the spot evidence: "Where did the slave hang himself? Who was the last to see him alive?"

The Landdrost's secretary had to write everything down more or less as people spoke. "A body was found in a vineyard ... X thinks it's a runaway slave and that he was killed in a fight with Z ...". Then over the next two days, witnesses talk one by one. Sometimes the witness' exact words ("I did" or "I saw") slip in in the middle of a report. You can imagine the secretary scribbling quickly while the witness is speaking. You feel you're beginning to hear slave voices - even though they are mediated by the secretary. Sometimes details in the accounts given by different witnesses show their characters.

I really think these records are much more lively and interesting than the more official, bureaucratic Court of Justice minutes and court reports. All the same, working with the Landdrost records has its own problems. The handwriting is often very hard to read. The information is bound together just as it came from the Landdrost, not in any particular order and not indexed. There are serious gaps: we don't even know how they got hold of witnesses. I started by reading at random and then more systematically. There were lots of false trails which petered out, lots of dead-ends when I could find no more about an intriguing case, all records seemed to be lost, and so on. Be prepared to find exciting clues that you can't follow up. Six times out of ten you won't find anything more about the case - probably because it never went to the Court of Justice in Cape Town. Dip into a source like 1/STB Stellenbosch 3/8 (1702) and see what you find ...

But if you use the name/s and the date/s you may be able to start piecing a story together. Check to see if the accused is listed in Heese's *Reg en Onreg* (see below). Or order the volume of Sententien for that year and look up the index at the end for the name of the accused.

If you have the name and address of the slave-owner's farm (from the court records, or from *Reg en Onreg*), you can try the opgaaf rolls for more information about the household. That's unless it's in the Cape district (Cape Town and surrounding area). Unfortunately for us the opgaaf rolls for the Cape district are in the Netherlands.

Using Court of Justice records from the Dutch colonial period (Susan Newton-King)

“ We have so few journals and private letters and almost nothing written by slaves or ex-slaves. But the Court of Justice records offer fascinating glimpses into the detail of everyday life and relationships which would otherwise be hidden. The records are full of clues about the lives of particular slaves. It's worth tackling the high Dutch and the difficult handwriting! Of course we have to be careful because people, slaves especially, were giving evidence under intimidating circumstances so we can't expect the unvarnished truth.

Step 1: Choosing a case.
Decide what case to research. It's a good idea to use secondary sources to decide whose story to research: *Reg en Onreg* by Hans Heese is a very valuable tool. The alphabetical list of slaves in criminal cases gives the name, age, date, charge, fellow-accused and sentence. You can consult this to find an interesting case.

Step 2: Order the right volumes in the right order.
The three different records for each case were described earlier:
1) CJ 1-102: Minutes of sittings of the Court
2) CJ 3449-3539: Documents in Criminal (or Civil) Cases
3) The Sententien (Check in CJ 1/2)
I think it's best to start with the minutes rather than the sentences because not every trial went as far as sentencing.

Step 3: Read in context: how did the court work?
It's important to understand how the Dutch colonial legal system worked. For example, was torture a routine part of the legal process? Who translated and interpreted if slaves did not speak high Dutch? What kinds of sentences were normal? The introductions in the volumes of Court of Justice records help a bit and so does the introduction in *Reg en Onreg.*

Step 4: Try to decipher the handwriting and the Dutch.
If you don't know Dutch, reading the Court of Justice documents may involve guesswork based on Afrikaans. The handwriting is elaborate and not easy to read, the sentences are often very long, there is not much punctuation, and the verbs are more complicated than in Afrikaans. There are dictionaries in the small room opposite the main desk but try to find someone who will enjoy deciphering the Dutch.

Step 5: Make your own notes.
To prevent wear and tear, photocopying the original documents is no longer allowed. You need to copy the relevant information from the documents and make a note of the reference/s. You also need to record your own impressions, questions, speculation - and your references of course. (Note the volume number, the page/folio numbers, any dates, the numbers and names of cases, so that you can find your way back.)

Step 6: Work out a story.
Court records are usually the best but records to do with property, contracts, loans etc, can also yield pieces of the story. Fragments can be pieced together from many sources that look unpromising. Once you've gathered information and questions from the court records, there are a number of other routes you can try. ”

Using sources for the British colonial period (Andrew Bank)

“

It's not difficult to read about the British period. If you look at contemporary accounts - there are lots to choose from - and then go to court records. Even in a day of research you will probably find some interesting stories that you want to follow up. I like working on the British period especially the early 19th century. That's partly because it's such a time of transition in Cape society and slavery, but largely because we have such good sources. From 1816 a detailed record was kept of all slaves on each slaveholding: occupations, areas of origin and all sorts of other details. And it's only in this period that there are newspaper sources. Privately run newspapers date from the 1820s at the Cape and you'll find advertisements of slaves for sale and rewards for runaways. The newspapers also carry debates about slavery among the slave-owners themselves.

I've worked mainly on the records for Cape Town. Different types of information can be gleaned from different sources. From census rolls and registers, the information tends to be about economic and demographic trends, numbers, statistics, quantitative overviews. Court records, visitors' accounts, Protectors' reports are more likely to yield qualitative information: people's stories.

Step 1: Get a general picture of life at the Cape under the British.
There are some very readable travellers accounts and drawings and paintings of the time give fascinating insights. Spend a few hours in the reading room of the South African Library. (Section 8.1 has lots of suggestions for spending time in the reading room.)

Step 2: Go to the Cape Town Archives to look at the reports of the Protector of Slaves.
Start with one of the Reports of the Protector of Slaves which come from all over the Cape Colony: for example SO (Slave Office) 3/4. This document is more than 160 years old and many people have handled it so it's not surprising that it's faded and not easy to read.

Find a complaint that interests you. What do you think this case tells us about the relations between slaves and owners? Or you might be interested in general trends described in the Guardian's/Protector's reports. The general comments might give you clues about interesting cases you want to read about in more detail. Then you can look for those cases.

Step 3: Look at the Slave Office register in the Archives.
Let's say you are interested in following up the case of a slave you read about in the Book of Complaints. The more information you have from the case records the easier it is to find the slaves in the registers. Look for the owner's name, the district, the year. Then find the right register in the inventory, SO 1/21. The registers are kept by district.

These registers don't give details of cases (complaints) but you can look up the names by owner of slaves whose cases you have read about. Find the owner's name in the register and you can see how many slaves he or she owned (and sometimes names of slaves). That might set you thinking about life and relationships in that household or on that farm. After that it's hard to trace any more of the story - unless you see that there are many cases against this owner.

Step 4: Look for a will in the slave-owner's name.
If you get intrigued by a particular case you could try to follow up the owner to see if there's any information about slave/s in his/her will. Slaves might be listed in an inventory of possessions in the will.

”

10
Practical tips for your research

Maybe you already know what community or what issue you want to research. Maybe you still need to decide. Here are some steps to follow.

1) Start keeping a research journal/diary.

Before you start reading what other researchers have written, write down your own ideas and questions in a journal or diary. Just write whatever comes into your head and the more questions the better:

- Why am I interested in slavery/slaves at the Cape?
- What do I already know?
- What questions do I want answers to, and how do I plan to find out more?
- What places am I most interested in?
- What period am I most interested in?

Go back to your journal and record when you have more ideas or when you get stuck. You can also go back to 6.1 to look at other people's questions and write your own responses.

2) Listen to people's stories.

Section 4.1 talks about oral sources, Section 7 is full of stories about slaves and how researchers did their research: their detective work. Can you find anyone who knows sayings or stories that have come down from the time of slavery? Or do you know anyone who can talk about her or his own research into the lives of slaves? Make notes in your journal as you go. It's also a good idea to start doing some reading ...

3) Do some basic reading.

Section 5 gives suggestions for introductory reading - even some novels and a TV series.

4) Keep a careful record of references.

From the start keep a note of all your sources of information: the people you speak to, what you read, programmes on radio or TV etc. The tiring but important business of recording references and using footnotes is discussed in Section 5.2. This list of tips is rather boring but you can always come back to it later when you need to:

- Keep a careful record of the people you speak to, their contact details and the date.
- For books and articles you read, record the author, the title, the publisher and date.
- If you want to quote, write the page number.
- If you keep copies of interesting material, newspaper cuttings etc, write the date and source on the copy.
- If you consult archival documents, note any title and numbers (the reference number of the volume you're using, the page/folio numbers, dates, numbers and names of cases, etc.)

If you're working in a library or the Archives, you may have to write some of this information on your order form. But that doesn't get returned to you so make a copy: it's quicker than going back to the catalogue all over again.

5) Spend time in the reading room of the SA Library.

Section 8.1 went into detail about books and illustrations by travellers and visitors to the Cape in the time of slavery. These can give you an idea of what the place and the people looked like. There are also suggestions for some short-cuts.

6) Decide what period you want to research and find your places on the map.

If you're not sure what time and place to research, go back and read Section 6. Keep writing in your research journal as you decide what to concentrate on.

7) Spend time in the Cape Town Archives.

It can be fascinating to read the original documents: old court records, wills and so on from the late 1600s onwards. Section 8.2 is full of information on the sources in the Cape Town Archives and how to use them - from the beginning of Dutch settlement in the 17th century until long after Emancipation.

8) Find other people who share your interest.

- Talk to people in the community
- Talk to the local librarian or museum curator
- Talk to the librarians/archivists on duty in the SA Library, Archives, Deeds Office etc - make contact with other people who are doing research in these places
- Meet other community researchers or people with stories to tell, phone in to community radio, or write to newsletters/papers
- Contact academic researchers whose work you find interesting: via the university department or institution where they are based, or via their publishers
- Try the internet.

9) Continue your research journal.

- What clues/evidence do you find?
- What new questions come up?
- Is your research interest changing: why?

10) Share your findings.

It depends on you how you share your findings and with whom. Section 11 gives a few examples of how other people are trying to share their research findings. There are many other examples from beginning to end of this book. Good luck!

11

Ideas for sharing your research

This book is all about sharing research. As you see, it's grown way beyond the 40 pages of the original plan, so there's no space for a whole section on drama, storytelling, music, displays, community radio programmes, websites, and so on and on. There's only space for a few ideas.

"We need more of the human stories."

Research, exhibitions, whatever must help to break down the attitude that makes people of colour talk about their Irish or German greatgrandfather but not about Khoi or slave ancestors. Let's use the music and stories to capture the spirituality, the spirit, the strength that enabled people to survive slavery. Let's celebrate the contribution of our slave foremothers and forefathers to our cultural life ... We need to set up a structure to get people to come and share what they know ... Enough academic research has been done to give the big picture but we need more of the human stories. That's where community researchers come in. Oral history methods should feature more in their training than archives.

(Ramzie Abrahams, Old Slave Lodge)

Developing a new archive of community research at the Old Slave Lodge

Would you like to share your research with others? Of course, there are many ways of doing this: through the press, radio, drama, displays, publications and so on. But let's say you have copies of documents and/or something you have written about Cape slavery which you'd like to store in a safe place where you and others can have access. Contact us at the Slave Lodge.

We are part of a national museum aiming to inform people about the neglected history of slavery in our country. We believe that community researchers play an important role. So we are interested in hearing your story and keeping it safe. We are happy that Mr Ebrahiem Manuel, for instance, has given us a copy of his research for others to consult. Please contact: Community researchers archive, Slave Lodge, Box 645, Cape Town. Phone 4618280, Fax 021-4619592.

(Helene Vollgraaff, Old Slave Lodge)

"The youth ... literally walking into their history."

For working class urban youth in South Africa, American rap and global pop culture inform and control the way they look at the world and their aspirations. We need to find new and positive role models, we need to rediscover our roots. One idea would be a heritage hike retracing the escape route used by slaves from urban Cape Town up the mountain and then along the coast to Hangklip. It would be tough and physically challenging and stories from the past would be introduced at stopping points along the way. The youth would be literally walking into their history. We could start off at Greenmarket Square where slaves socialised. Think of Robbie Jansen, Black Noise, Prophets of the City, performing in Greenmarket Square where slaves used to gather. The musicians could start off

the walk and there could be radio interviews with walkers along the way ...

(Michael Weeder, parish priest)

A school project: an exhibition on Cape slavery

In 1997 the Grade 10 history class of Cape Town High put together a display on Cape slavery, drawing on a number of sources. This became a temporary exhibition in a room off the courtyard of the Slave Lodge. At the time this amateur display on slave heritage offered more to visitors than the museum's permanent displays. This year our new Grade 10 class are working on another exhibition on slavery and negotiating for space in a different museum. We would be happy to exchange ideas with schools and others who are interested.

(*Cedric van Dyk, teacher)*

"The people who lived and worked here are invisible. When you walk around please remember us."

If you visit the beautiful old houses which make up the Dorpsmuseum in Stellenbosch, there is almost no sign of the slaves who lived in Stellenbosch: the cooks, nursemaids, gardeners, builders, carpenters and other workers. Look out for a painting of the wealthy Storm family in Blettermanhuis, one of the grand houses. If you look closely you'll see slaves in the background, in the shadows. (It's reproduced in black and white in T*he Chains that Bind Us,* p.14.)

When Antonia Malan, historical archaeologist, noticed those slaves in the shadows, it made her want to find out about their lives. She researched the Storm family and found out as much as possible about their slaves. Then she wrote a fictional script, based on that research. These words are from the beginning and the end of the script for a slide tape show:

"Let me introduce myself, the narrator. Have you seen this family portrait? Look at the girl on the left - that's my mistress, Maria Magdalena Storm - then look more carefully, and you will also see me - just behind her shoulder, in the shadows. That painter knew his job, and he was observant too, as you can see by the way he painted Master Henricus's slave, a cheeky but sad Cape-born boy known as Rooikop, always frustrated and wanting to get away - like his father, a soldier who deserted from the Company. Look how he squints sideways out of the picture! Me, I look right at you. I am a proud woman. Nonetheless I am still a slave - a possession, not a person - with no right to speak, to wear shoes or have a family of my own.

My name is Calettie. I was born in a village near the fort of Galle, which is on the island of Ceylon .... I came to the Cape at the age of 10, to be bought by Captain Storm to care for his daughter, Maria. Before I was brought to the Cape I had no experience at all of the people we called 'the invaders'. I was dragged straight from my village to a slave ship ... There were thirteen slaves in the Storm household. As well as attending to each member of the family and doing daily chores, some of the men were skilled craftsmen and were often hired out for cash. In this way, Augustus of Bengal was also a woodcarver, April of Boegies a carpenter, November of Boegies a mason, Maart of Java a tailor ... The women were myself, Lena of Ceylon, another Lena born in the Cape with her child Cornelia of the Cape, Mina of Sambouca and Rachel of the Cape ...

My time is running out so I will leave you now. Many of the things I have spoken about you can still see in this house, but the people who lived and worked here are invisible. When you walk around please remember us."

12

Updating the information in this book

As you know, we decided it would be too expensive to make small changes on many pages in this book so you'll find all the changes in Section 12. When you want contact details for any of the resource centres, libraries, archives or other databases, please refer to this section – ignore the contact details given in the earlier sections as they may be out of date.

12.1 Updated Information On Research Libraries And Archives (Section 8)

Here are the updated contact details, accurate at the time of printing, for the research libraries and archives discussed in Section 8 of this Guidebook. In most cases it would be fine for you to visit but it may be a good idea to phone or e-mail first, so that they know who you are and what information you are looking for.

The National Library of South Africa, Cape Town division (See Section 8.1.)
Times: 09h00 to 17h00, Mon – Fri, except Wed 10h00 to 17h00. Entrance is free but you need to get a library card so take your I.D. book and proof of your address. Only library staff are allowed to make photocopies or digital copies and there is a charge, depending on what is required. Phone 021-4246320.
Website: http://www.nlsa.ac.za/ Once on this website, go to the "about us" icon and select "Cape Town Campus". It is also possible to look through details of collections on this website.

Cape Town Archives (See Section 8.2.)
Address: 72 Roeland Street, Cape Town.
Times: 08h00 to 16h00, Mon – Fri, except Thursday till 19h00. Access to the archives is free, but you will need to sign in at the desk and get a visitor's badge. Ask the staff in the Reading Room about various computerised databases including photographs and property records.

There is a government website that lists the contact details and descriptions of holdings of various archives across the country. You can also search their databases online.
Website: http://www.national.archives.gov.za/
To search online: http://www.national.archive.gov.za/naairs_content.htm

African Studies Library, University of Cape Town (See Section 8.3.)
The library is open to anyone for research purposes but it definitely helps to have a letter of introduction (from another university, research unit, community project, school etc). For various databases (including almanacs), ask the librarians in the African Studies Library in the Jagger Library or in the Manuscripts and Archives Collection in the same building as the Centre for African Studies.
Website: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/asl/ e-mail: asl@uctlib.uct.ac.za
For more information about the library, look at the UCT website (http://www.uct.ac.za) and follow the links or search the library catalogue.

Deeds Office (See Section 8.4.)
It is necessary to phone first in order to find out when you can visit the Office. There are costs involved, so check when you call. You can contact Mr K Pillay at the Deeds Office by e-mail: kpillay@dla.gov.za. Just make sure that your request is stated clearly in the subject line.
Address: New Revenue Building, 12th Floor, 90 Plein Street, Cape Town.
Phone: 021-4651037 or 021-4623530

The Old Slave Church (SA Sendinggestig Museum)
Times: 09h00 to 16h00, Mon to Fri, and 09h00 to 12h00, Mon to Fri during school holidays.
Address: 40 Long Street, Cape Town
Phone: 021-4236755

Dutch Reformed Church Archives
These archives are usually open on weekdays. You do need to call first to check the hours and any costs involved and to make an appointment.
Address: DRC Synod Building, Queen Victoria Street, next to the SA Museum.
Phone: 021-4212853

Moravian Church Archives
These archives are not for general public access. The Rev. G.J. Cloete is the archivist of the Heideveld Archives. You need to write to the president of the Moravian Church in order to gain access to the archives, and then contact the Rev. Cloete to check the operating times and the costs involved.
Address: Moravian Church Archives, Theological Centre, Ascension Road, Heideveld
Archivist: Rev. G.J. Cloete, e-mail seminary@telkomsa.net, fax 021-6379054
Church President: Mrs A. Swart, e-mail mcsa@iafrica.com, fax 021-7614046
Genadendal Mission Museum: phone 028-8582/8220

Other Church Archives:
The records of the **Anglican Cowley Fathers** are still housed at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in the William Cullen Library, subdivision: Historical and Library Papers.
Contact details: Curator of Manuscripts and Archivist hispap@library.wits.ac.za or phone 011- 7171940

The records of the **Methodist Church of South Africa, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa (E. Cape), and the Grahamstown Congregations** are all still housed in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University. There is now a full-time specialist genealogist, Mrs Sally Pool, who can undertake research on your behalf. She can also make copies of documents and registers for you and post or e-mail these to you. There is a fee for these services. Contact Mrs Pool: S.Pool@ru.ac.za
Library Website: http://www.ru.ac.za/library/cory/genealogy.html Select the links to genealogical services.

Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape (See Section 8.6.)
Unfortunately, due to lack of funding, the project to digitise all church registers, 1652-1950, has been frozen. The collections that the IHR managed to record have not yet been catalogued and are therefore closed to the public except by special arrangement with Dr Chris Loff. The IHR still has the originals of Dr Heese's database. Contact Dr Loff at 021-9593193 or 021-9592616 or contact Prof Leslie Witz, e-mail lwitz@uwc.ac.za.

University of Stellenbosch Archives (See section 8.7.)
Contact the archivist, Dr Hans Heese, by e-mail: fheese@sun.ac.za.
These archives are open to anyone who is interested but you need to phone or e-mail before coming in to ensure that there is someone to meet you. According to Dr Heese, the digitising project is now complete and there are about 35 000 photographs available for research in the new database. The originals are at the IHR at UWC.

Muslim archival and other sources (See Section 8.8.)
According to Mr Ganief Kamedien of the Cape Family Research Forum (CFRF), there is currently no comprehensive Muslim database open to the public but the Forum is trying to gain access to the records kept at Muslim cemeteries. "The Forum has about 80 family

trees to date. On the basis of oral traditions, some of the family histories show tentative links with slave or free black ancestors just prior to the emancipation of slaves. It is hoped that the TESPC Project [see 12.2 below] will provide archival evidence to verify these family traditions for the many South Africans who are seeking their slave forebears. You are welcome to contact the Forum if you have questions about slave histories."

Contact Mr Shamiel Gamildien at 021-4037623 or Mr Ganief Kamedien at 021-6584317 or 082-8276180. If you have access to email ask Mr Kamedien at kammie@new.ac.za to put you on his mailing list. This offers a valuable network and a wealth of information about current research, book launches and other events relating to Cape slavery.

12.2 Other Valuable Resources/Databases

Different kinds of databases
Researchers use the term database for a compilation of data, whether it's on index cards, on a computer printout, or accessible via the Internet on-line. That can be confusing, especially when it's not clear whether earlier databases on index cards or computer printouts have been included in the on-line databases. This list of databases is incomplete, of course, but it will get you started.

Internet access
Many of the new databases are based on the Internet so you need to use a computer connected to the Internet in order to access them. Internet cafés and some libraries have computers available for Internet access and generally have someone who can explain how to get onto the websites. Some libraries may offer Internet access free of charge but Internet cafes do charge and it is worth comparing prices.

Cape Town Family History Project
The CTFHP have online genealogy resources. In some cases, you need to subscribe as a user before you can gain access to information.
Website: http://www.familytree.co.za

The Genealogical Institute of South Africa
The Institute, based at Stellenbosch University, provides a reading room where you can do your own research and access books in their library, Mon – Fri, 08h00 to 16h30. There is a charge for this service so ask about rates before you begin your research there. The Institute can also conduct research on your behalf for a fee.
Website: http://www.sun.ac.za/gisa/home.asp
Enquiries: Leon Endemann: gisa@sun.ac.za phone 021-8875070
Address: 115 Banhoek Road, Stellenbosch 7600 or PO Box 3033, Matieland 7602.

The Genealogical Society of South Africa publishes a journal, *Familia*, and the **Western Cape branch** (PO Box 492, Rondebosch 7701) publishes a journal, *Capensis*. Both contain articles about slaves and freed slaves and their descendants.
Website: http://www.rootsweb.com/~zafgssa/

The Genealogical Society of South Africa, Western Cape branch, has a wide range of genealogical information on their website. This can sometimes be useful in the tracing of slave ancestry. Contact via e-mail: weskaap@ggsa.co.za

The Heritage Museum, Simon's Town, is a small museum in Amlay House in the Simon's Town dockyard area, the family home of Mrs Zainab Pattie Davidson. The museum has a fascinating collection of kitaabs in different scripts and other links to slave heritage, and Mrs Davidson is a rich source of information about local history and oral tradition and links with Indonesia. Open 11h00-16h00 Tuesday to Friday, entrance R5. To arrange for weekend entrance or for research, phone 021-7862302.

Iziko Museums
Iziko Museums have a website with information on all their museums, including the BoKaap Museum, Groot Constantia and the Slave Lodge, important museums for researching slave histories. For instance, Groot Constantia now has an exhibition with information about the lives of slaves on the estate, and the Slave Lodge has a database of all Company slaves who were housed in the lodge between 1719 and 1789. The Iziko website also has information about current events and research projects at Iziko, as well as links to other interesting sites.
Website: http://www.museums.org.za/iziko/

Stamouers van Suid Afrika Website
This is a website dedicated to the collection of articles and information on South African ancestors in general, settlers, slaves and indigenous peoples.
Website: http://www.stamouers.com
Project co-ordinator: Andre van Rensburg andre@rensburg.com

TANAP Website
This website contains much transcribed archival material from the VOC period in Cape history and may be useful for researching slave history and ancestry.
Website: http://www.tanap.co.za

The TESPC (Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers at the Cape of Good Hope) Project is a joint UWC-UCT project funded by the Dutch government. A team is at work in the Cape Town archives transcribing the inventories and auction rolls (vendurollen) of deceased estates from the 1670s to the 1790s in the records of the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC). These records include names and sometimes brief details (age, skills, disabilities) of the slaves of the deceased. Check the TANAP website for information about progress of the TESPC.

University of Cape Town departments of Historical Studies and Archaeology
Contact Nigel Worden or Vivian Bickford-Smith, Department of Historical Studies, UCT, to find out about:
- A compensation database compiled by Richard Lobdell of the University of Manitoba from the London records of over 6000 people compensated for the emancipation of their slaves.
- A convict (bandieten) database compiled by Kerry Ward from the Court of Justice records CJ 3188 gives details of slaves, free blacks and whites sentenced by the Dutch East India Company: name, birthplace, criminal charge and where and when sentenced. Some bandieten were shipped to the Cape.
- A database of the Company's Chinese slaves and bandieten, compiled by Jim Armstrong.

Contact Antonia Malan, Historical Archaeology Research Group, UCT, for information about a database of slaves recorded in inventories and auction lists (vendurollen) of estates.

Vergelegen Estate near Somerset West has a small museum which displays more material on slaves than most other Western Cape museums. There is a detailed display on the Vergelegen slave quarters which have been excavated by archaeologists.
Website address: http://www.nrf.ac.za/yenza/slavetrade

12.3 Other Useful Addresses

- Centre for Popular Memory (formerly Western Cape Oral History Project) at UCT has an archive of oral history interviews and offers oral history training programmes for individuals and community organisations. Contact archivist Renate Meyer (021-6504758) or director Dr Sean Field (021-6502941).

- Community Archaeology Project, Slave Lodge. Contact Dr Gabeba Abrahams-Braybook, Iziko Museums, Cultural History Museum, Box 645, Cape Town 8000. Phone 021-4618280, Fax 021-4619592, e-mail gabraham@iziko.org.za.
- Community Researchers Archive, Slave Lodge, Box 645, Cape Town. Phone 021-4618280, fax 021-4619592.
- Gallo Records archive, Johannesburg: phone the switchboard (011-7881900) and ask for the relevant fax number.
- SAHRA reference library (SA Heritage Resources Agency, formerly the National Monuments Council), second floor, 111 Harrington Street, corner of Roeland Street, close to the Cape Town Archives. Open Monday to Friday, 0800 to 1600. This small library welcomes community researchers: phone 021-4624502 to make an appointment to visit. Speak to the librarian to find out how to apply to have a site declared a heritage site.

Simondium, Pniel and Groot Drakenstein. If you are interested in this area you could read "*Farm Lives: A Study of Historical Archaeology in the Western Cape*". This is an unpublished report, a summary of a research project, by Dr Gavin Lucas of Cambridge University. The report includes material from interviews with four old residents of Pniel. The interviewer, Sarah Winter, wanted to find out how far oral history went back and how people's attitudes to the past (including slavery) have changed. For instance, one interviewee talked about her grandmother's silence when she was asked questions about slave ancestry. For information about the report or the interviews, contact Sarah Winter: e-mail sewinter@yebo.co.za

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