

- 1813 Fiscal Dennyson codifies the Cape Slave Law.
- 1817 A slave register is issued where slaves must be registered every two years or they must be set free.
- 1823 Trinidad Order in Council ameliorates conditions of slaves throughout the British Empire.
- 1825 Royal Commission of Enquiry at the Cape investigates Cape slavery.
- 1826 Guardian of Slaves appointed. Revolt by Cape slave owners.
- 1828 Company slaves freed and Ordinance 50, amelioration laws for the slaves, free blacks, Khoe.
- 1833 Emancipation Decree
- 1834 Slavery abolished. Four years.
- 1838 End of slave "apprenticeship."



APPENDIX 1

DESCRIPTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ORPHAN CHAMBER DATA SET

A.1.1 Purpose of the data set

According to previous research, approximately 25 per cent of all slaves imported to the Cape Colony came from the Indian subcontinent. A major problem encountered by Philip Curtin when he researched the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was that he worked with aggregated data per annum for each slaving region to arrive at conclusions. One limitation attached to aggregated data is that it only reflects averages, not individual attributes. Since the data is collected from several sources, it provides summary information within the database. Consequently, Curtin used aggregated data to find the average attributes for a group of slaves, but was limited by the lack of individual variation which is found just in case-level data. For instance, Curtin could not trace the movement of individual slaves from their places of origin in Africa to subsequent changes in ownership and possible changes in places of disembarking. Hence, aggregated data has a tendency to neglect influences affecting individuals within the data set. Case-level data can look at long-term effects of variables on individuals over an extended period of time, something that is impossible with aggregated data. The purpose of the MOOC data set is to fill in the data that was not available in the Saleded data set (1658–1731) to show how many slaves came from India and other places of origin.

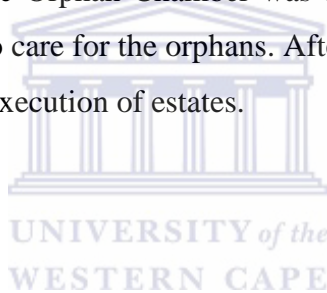
A.1.2 Sources of the data

The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) documents are unique to the Western Cape Archives, because the MOOC documents were never copied and sent to the Netherlands. With generous funding from the Dutch Consulate in South Africa, the Transcription of Estate and Slave Papers from the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (TESCP) project undertook to transcribe inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*). These yielded the names and origin of numerous slaves, both from the East Indies and Africa. The data set comprises of over 17,000 case-level data. The data came exclusively from the Master of the Orphan

Chamber (MOOC Series, WCARS), since these papers were deemed to be the most appropriate series for transcription to investigate social life under the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC).

A.1.3 Orphan Chamber at the Cape

The Orphan Chamber (*Wees-en-Boedelkamer*) is an institution that was well known in the different states of the Netherlands.⁴⁷⁹ The Dutch Law relating to this institution was transplanted and adjusted to Cape colonial conditions—it made life more familiar, continuous and civil for the free people and their children. Therefore, the Orphan Chamber was established in the Dutch colonies to secure and transmit property to succeeding generations because life expectancy was low among the pioneers. The Orphan Chamber was set up in 1673 and functioned throughout the VOC period and early British period.⁴⁸⁰ During the British period, the function of the Orphan Chamber was diluted and, although it no longer administered estates, it still had to care for the orphans. After the abolition of slavery in 1834, private companies took over the execution of estates.



A.1.4 Original documents

The original documents are certified MOOC inventories (1673–1834) that recorded the estates or assets of deceased persons at the Cape. These inventories were compulsory at death. The estate papers incorporate both inventories and auction lists (*vendurollen*). The *vendurollen* list all the goods sold, names of the purchasers and the prices paid at public auctions of deceased estates, including slaves. Inventories catalogue all the goods in a deceased estate going to probate.

A probate is the forensic distribution of property through legal documents such as wills and testaments—the process where the executor for the estate of a deceased person sells property from the estate in order to divide the property among the beneficiaries or relics. The assets

⁴⁷⁹ Adriana E. van Zwieten, “The Orphan Chamber of New Amsterdam” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 53, 2 (1996): 319-340.

⁴⁸⁰ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC) Transcription Team, Cape Town. Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber [online resource] http://tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/Introduction_to_the_Inventories_of_the_Orphan_Chamber.pdf (accessed: 30 April 2015).

could consist of movable and immovable properties and would form part of a probate. The immovable property could be a house and its contents and the movable commodities could be wagons, livestock and slaves. Since a slave was a commodity that could be bought and sold in an auction (*vendu*), slaves were probated. After the estate was finalised, the assets, both movable and immovable were shared out amongst the heirs. If the estate owed money to creditors, the goods were auctioned off and consequently inheritance was often in the form of cash and not property. These documents, which form part of the voluminous VOC administrative records of the Cape, were digitised and made available to the public in 2006.⁴⁸¹ These valuable records provide a glimpse into what Company employees, free burghers and free blacks owned, acquired, traded in and treasured at the Cape. Moreover, researchers can study the dynamics of the early Cape population, by tabulating the humans, both slave and free.

The Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) data set includes the following:

Table 2: The MOOC documents in the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service⁴⁸²

Series	Volumes	Description	Dates
MOOC 7/1	1-140	Wills and Appraisals	1688-1835
MOOC 8	1-48	Inventories	1673-1834
MOOC 8	49-74	Inventories and Appraisals	1780-1834
MOOC 8	75	Unbound Inventories	1673-1825
MOOC 8	76-77	Index to Inventories	1692-1834
MOOC 10	1-49	Auctions	1691-1834

The transcriptions were done from both the MOOC 8 series and MOOC 10 series in the archives. The MOOC 8 series contain inventories and appraisals while the MOOC 10 series is limited to auctions or *vendu* sales of the same deceased estates.

The Master of the Orphan Chamber recorded the documents (inventories and auction lists) in numerical order. Below are the criteria used by the Orphan Chamber to catalogue the documents:

⁴⁸¹ Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town: Hansa Reprint, 2005), 76-77.

⁴⁸² Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 11.

7/1 or 8 or 10-volume set or series
 /1 (and following) volume number
 .1 (and following) document number

If a MOOC document had the following reference number, for example, MOOC 8/75.70, it meant that, the inventory comes from the MOOC 8 series, volume 75 and document number 70.

The data for this research came from the following MOOC series and volumes:

Table 3: TECP MOOC

Series	Volumes	Description	Dates	Number of Slaves
MOOC 8	1-48	Inventories	1673-1834	12,387
MOOC 8	49-74	Inventories and Appraisals	1780-1834	3,202
MOOC 8	75	Unbound Inventories	1673-1825	390
MOOC 10	1-5	Auctions	1691-1834	1,196
				Total=17,175



Figure 40: The slaves Anthonij & Patientie auctioned with bed & wardrobe ⁴⁸³

Robert Shell designed the data set and purchased it from Helena Liebenberg and Antonia Malan for research purposes. Helena Liebenberg was the project leader for the transcription process.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸³ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01–MOOC 8/40, (1673–1834). Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01–MOOC8/40 (1673–1834).

A.1.5 The transcription process

The TECP team, consisting of transcribers and editors, first deciphered the handwriting of the original documents from Old Dutch to Afrikaans. Then the documents were transcribed using a computer program called Corel™ XmetaL®, which is an Extensible Markup Language (XML) editor, where the coding was done according to the internationally acknowledged TEI standard⁴⁸⁵ (Text Encoding Initiative).⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, XML is an infobase. It is a single file electronic repository for large volumes of reference information that is primarily free-format or semi-structured. The infobase will divide into units of information, such as the first paragraph and quotes. There are no variables, but there is tagged text, for example, the reference number of the inventory, the date, names of places and people will be tagged to make searching quicker and easier. In addition, infobases offer hypertext linking, topical grouping and automatic tables of contents.⁴⁸⁷

The Centre for Business and Language Services/Sentrum vir Besigheids- en Taaldiens (Bellville, Cape Town), a company which renders and manipulates digital documents into XML according to clients' requirement, developed an algorithm to capture the most important data from the translated inventories and *vendurollen*.⁴⁸⁸ They also coached the TECP team in XML and TEI application.⁴⁸⁹ The digitised transcripts are available on a CD-ROM in Acrobat Reader for researchers and to the public via the Internet this prevents a deterioration of the original documents. The researcher is able to extract from the infobase a record of the name of the deceased's name, his/her heirs, slaves and the contents of her/his

⁴⁸⁴ Helena Liebenberg, *Introduction to the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope* [online resource] Towards a New Age of Partnership (TANAP) http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/Introduction_English_Resolutions_of_the_Council_of_Policy_of_Cape_of_Good_Hope.pdf (accessed 30 April 2015).

⁴⁸⁵ The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is a consortium, which collectively develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts in digital form. Its chief deliverable is a set of Guidelines, which specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, chiefly in the humanities, social sciences and linguistics. Since 1994, the TEI Guidelines have been widely used by libraries, museums, publishers and individual scholars to present texts for online research, teaching and preservation. <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

⁴⁸⁶ Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 74.

⁴⁸⁷ Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope Project (TEPC), MOOC, (Master of the Orphan Chamber) Inventories of Deceased Persons at the Cape of Good Hope, MOOC 8/01–MOOC 8/40, (1673–1834). Electronic resource: CD ROM; 1 computer optical disc. (Rondebosch, South Africa: University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2006). Contents: MOOC8/01–MOOC8/40 (1673–1834).

⁴⁸⁸ Centre for Language and Business Services (Sentrum) <http://www.sentrum.co.za> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

⁴⁸⁹ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope - Making the Inventories available in digital format <http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan Chamber-Cape of Good Hope/introduction/14.htm> (accessed: 25 February 2012).

estate. This is entered onto a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and then to the IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) database for analysis.

The transcription team at the Cape Archives were guided and supported by researcher Annemarie Krzesinski-de Widt who had an extensive knowledge of the transcription process, having been responsible for the transcriptions relating to Stellenbosch district inventories (MOOC and STB/1 series), which were the first undertaken at the Cape.⁴⁹⁰

A.1.6 The electronic data set

The architecture of the file is straightforward. The data set comprises 17,175 case-level entries. The data is in the form of a matrix in which columns are variables and cases are rows. Each row represents a single slave, but since some deceased owners had many slaves, these owners would occupy more than one row. There are an equal number of variables for both the deceased owners and the slaves. Each inventory of the deceased estate gives the MOOC reference number, name of the deceased owner, status of the owner, date of death of the owner and the residing Cape district (urban or rural), the slave's original name, a list of slaves, their names and toponyms.

The data set also has derived variables. The variables found in each dataset can be categorised as either *original* or *derived* variables. The original variables contain the raw data obtained from the MOOC transcripts. The derived variables were created from the original variables to enable more detailed analysis of the data. For example, the variable "continent" is derived from the slave's toponym—thus Cupido van Malabar's "continent" would be recorded as "India" next to his name and Anna van Batavia's "continent" would be the Indonesian Archipelago.

A.1.7 Limitations of the original documents

As mentioned above, the data set comprises 17,175 case-level entries. With such a large data set, there are bound to be errors in the transcription process. The data required careful inspection and recoding before any analysis could be done. The MOOC documents are legal documents and therefore judged to be accurate. Nevertheless, there were inaccuracies and

⁴⁹⁰ Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 6.

limitations. The following is a brief description of some of the challenges presented by the data set, and attempts made to resolve them:

- No sex or gender information of slaves.
- The data set does not constitute a full deck.
- Age is also absent and slaves may have been unsure of their ages even if they were baptised at birth.
- The date of arrival of the slave at port of entry was not present.
- MOOC slaves could have been part of a previous deceased sale and could thus be counted more than once.
- MOOC inventories and MOOC auction lists could overlap.
- Some slaves could have been from the local Khoe-San population who were enslaved– the so-called “zombie” slave to take the place of dead slaves .⁴⁹¹



A.1.8 Correcting duplicates

When the TANAP on-line inventories were perused, 1,238 slaves were eliminated from the original data set as there were double counts from inventories that were executed twice, for example, MOOC 8/9.5a and MOOC 8/9.5b. This then put the MOOC data set at 15, 938 case-level entries. Furthermore, 766 cases were also eliminated as they were double counts between inventories and auctions in the MOOC data set. Thus the final total for the MOOC data set stands at 15,172 cases.

For the purpose of analysis, the Saledeed (4,123), Slave Lodge (3,638) and the MOOC data sets (15,172) were combined into one set. For this reason, further double counts had to be eliminated between the data sets. There were 278 slaves whose names appeared in both the Saledeed and the MOOC data sets. These were eliminated from the MOOC data set and not from the Saledeed, as the Saledeed had rich information as to the arrival of slaves from the oceanic trade. Moreover, there were cases in which the slaves of widows who had inherited them from their spouses' estate appeared in the MOOC data, the Saledeed data set and also in the inventories. These slaves, 47 in all, were also eliminated from the combined data set. Hence, the final tally for the combined data set was 22,608.

⁴⁹¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 34.

A.1.9 Sex

There was a complete absence of a record of the sex of slaves. The sex variable was later added to the data set, and each slave was allocated a sex based on his/her first name. Many slaves had names that were well-known, for example, Maria or Jacob. However, some slaves had names which were both masculine and feminine (n=42), for example, Francis. Then, there were slaves with less common names such as Calester, Orestes and Spaas whose sex was unknown (n=1,402). The determination of the gender of many slaves who originated from the Indonesian Archipelago and India was assisted through the social network, “Facebook.” By typing the name in the “Look for” window, the name and the gender appeared in the search engine. In this way, the gender of the contemporary population in South-East Asia assisted in determining the gender of hundreds of slaves in the data set.

A.1.10 MOOC data set is a sample

Another challenge was that the original 17,175 cases in the data set. The number of inventories diminished as the nineteenth century approached. When slavery ended in 1834, there were many more slave owners spread across the Cape Colony compared to the 8,000 owners who populated the MOOC data set over a period of 200 years.

This implies that not all the records survived. Therefore, it must be assumed that the 17,175 cases were merely a sample of the slave population. Moreover, Cornell and Malan acknowledge that household inventories are found in other places in the Archives such as in the records of the Council of Justice and the Master of Insolvent Estates.⁴⁹² The inventories of the MOOC 7 and 1\STB series pertaining to Stellenbosch are also absent from the database as this transcription was completed in 2002, independently of the TEPC project.

A.1.11 Age

The age of the slaves is absent—this was peculiar, as the slaves’ monetary values were based firmly on age and sex.⁴⁹³ It was only in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century

⁴⁹² Cornell and Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape*, 11.

⁴⁹³ Robert C.-H. Shell and Parbavati Rama, “Breeders or Workers? The Structure of Slave Prices in the Cape Colony, 1823-1830,” *Safundi, The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 8, no. 4 (October, 2007).

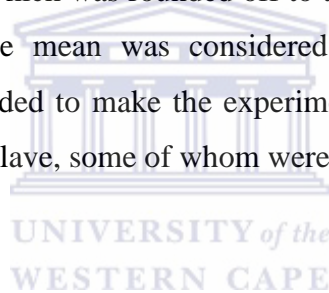
that the age of slaves began appearing in inventories. Perhaps Cape slave owners under VOC rule found it unnecessary to record the vital statistics of their slaves and preferred rather to describe their physical attributes: young, old, infirm or blind.

A.1.12 Date of arrival

The date of the arrival of the slaves from the oceanic trade was not recorded in the inventories or auctions. This problem was solved thanks to an examination of the A.J. Böseken and R. Shell Saledeed data set from 1658–1731. The slaves listed in the Saledeed data were correlated with those in MOOC data, and came up with 278 cases. The date of arrival of the slave was then subtracted from the date of death of the owner for each of the 278 cases to get establish how long it was that the slave was the property of the owner before the owner's death. The sum of these values were then divided by 278 to arrive at a mean value of 14 years and 8 months which was rounded off to the nearest whole number, 15. The 278 cases used to calculate the mean was considered statistically significant, since a minimum of 150 cases were needed to make the experiment significant. In many instances slave owners had more than one slave, some of whom were bought on the same date.

A.1.13 Double count

There were slaves who were sold multiple times through auctions or who were passed on to heirs in a will had to be tallied again. Since the data set extends over two centuries (1673–1834), a strong possibility exists that these slaves were counted more than once. Given that the data set contains both inventories and auctions, slaves could also be counted twice—once in the inventory and later in an auction—for in instances when the debts of the estate exceeded the value of assets in the inventory, the goods were auctioned to pay the outstanding debt.



A.1.14 Toponym

Although the toponym was present in the majority of cases, the researcher had to search for names in gazetteers such as the *Fuzzy Gazetteer* and *GeoNames Search*⁴⁹⁴ to link the toponym with a geographical position.

A.1.15 Description of the original variables

The original variables from the MOOC documents will be described at the outset, then the explanation or rationale for the derived variables will be confirmed.

The original variables are as follows:

Table 4: Description of the original variables of the MOOC data set

Variable	Type
MOOCRef	Nominal
MOOCdate	Ratio
Deceased Name	Nominal
Deceased Sex	Categorical
Place of Origin of Slave	Categorical
Slave name	Nominal

A.1.16 MOOCRef

The MOOCRef is the reference to the MOOC files in the Cape Repository. The data were assembled from the MOOC 8 and MOOC 10 series. The data came mainly from the MOOC 8 series, as inventories were common in this series. There are 1,196 cases (7%) from the MOOC 10 series (Auctions) and 93% from the MOOC 8 series (Inventories). All the MOOCRef cases are present and there are no missing values.

⁴⁹⁴ *Fuzzy Gazetteer* [online resource]; developed by Christian Kohlschütter for the Interoperable Services for Data Products (ISODP) Project <http://isodp.hof-university.de/fuzzyg/query/> (accessed 30 April 2015); United States. National Geospatial–Intelligence Agency. *GeoNames Search* [online resource]. <http://geonames.nga.mil/namesgaz/> (accessed: 30 April 2015).

A.1.17 MOOC Date and yyyyymmdd

All the data have the same format. The values reflect the year, month and day of the death of the owner. For example, 17380330 in a single cell shows first the year, which is 1738, then 03, which is the month of March, and lastly 30, which is the day of the month. SPSS records the date arithmetically as a single number. Moreover, the year 1699 was adjusted when twelve days were taken out of it to make an allowance for the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in the Netherlands. By having the date in this configuration, the range can be computed and will provide a sort in either ascending or descending order—thus the year can be sorted from 1685 to 1700. SPSS will calculate the day of the week when death occurred.

A.1.18 Deceased's Name

This variable gives the deceased owner's name. The surname is given first and then the given name, for example, Vlok, Nicolaas. If the deceased owner had more than one slave, his name would appear many times in the data set. For example, Johannes Paulus Eksteen had six slaves from Mozambique. Therefore, there were six cases: six slaves and one owner. There was an over-representation of German owners. The researcher will provide numbers to each owner.

A.1.19 Sex of owners

The dead owners' forenames provided proof of sex.

A.1.20 Place of Origin of Slave

This variable indicated the place of origin of the slaves. Many slaves had toponyms attached to their names which indicated their place of origin. For example, “Jan van Malabar” and “Lea van de Caab.”

A.1.21 Slave Name

Names were changed when slaves disembarked from ships. Slaves were given Biblical names, such as Dawid and Rachel, and Greek and Roman mythological names, such as

Apollo and Cupido. They were also given senseless names, based on the whim of a port official, such as “Aap van Madagascar” and “Uil van Bengal” (Ape and Owl). Names were also given based on the anthropometrics of slaves, such as Dikkop and Dikbeen. One of the favourite categories of names was the months of the year. Even today, names such as January, February, April and September feature in contemporary Cape society. Only in the Slave Lodge, where the VOC Company slaves were held, did slaves keep their original names.

A.1.22 Derived or recorded variables

From 1652 to 1838, a period that encompasses two centuries, political, economic and social transformations took place that had far-reaching implications for free people and slaves alike. The slaves’ origin fluctuated over this 200-year period, during the different administrations at the Cape.

A.1.23 IDNO or additional variable

The IDNO or Identity Number is a reference number that gives each case a unique identity. The identity number is not analysed as its role is to keep the values of each case in the same row when they are sorted. In the absence of the IDNO variable, the information of the rows will become disorganised and make the data set invalid. By sorting the IDNO in an ascending or descending order, the data set returns to its original format. This variable is therefore by nature a full house, that is, $N=17,175$.

A.1.24 Decade

Decade is a derived variable that was created from the date of arrival to show how many slaves came in a particular decade. In addition, the creation of graphics is facilitated by this derived variable so that the audience can see how many slaves came by decade and how the origin and direction of the slave trade changed by decade. A 100% surface chart is an ideal depiction to show the diachronic analysis of the arrival of slaves by decade and origin.

A.1.25 Year

The year starts from 1685 through to 1834. The year is derived from the slave owner's date of death. This is also the date of the inventory.

A.1.26 MonthAlpha

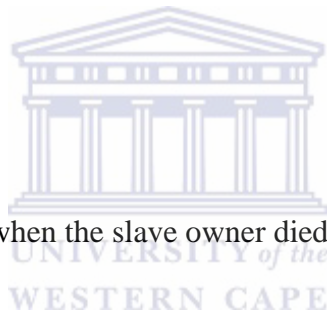
In a spreadsheet, the cells contain either alphanumeric text or numeric values. Alphanumeric contains a mixture of text and numbers. For this variable, only text was used for the names of the months, for example, March and April. The month is the month when the slave owner died.

A.1.27 Monthnumeric

In contrast to the alpha text, the month is in numeric form, that is, March and April will be 03 and 04 respectively.

A.1.27 Date

The date is the day of the month when the slave owner died.



A.1.28 Continent or region

Slaves came from various continents. Continent is a derived variable to help show from which direction the trade was dominant at various periods. The variable, continent or region is fairly well populated.

A.1.29 Date of arrival of slaves

The Saleded dataset contains information on arrival dates (see page 181 for the full discussion).

A.1.30 Slave gender

The gender of the slaves was derived from their forenames. See page 174 for a full discussion.

A.1.31 Urban/Rural

The Urban/Rural variable indicated the slave owners' place of residence or farm.

A.1.32 District

The district indicates the municipal district in which the owner and slaves lived.



APPENDIX 2

SALEDEED DATA SET

A.2.1 Purpose of data set

The purpose of this data set is to test certain hypotheses current in the comparative literature concerning the mechanisms, patterns and social effects of the oceanic and domestic slave trades. Nearly all the American studies have used aggregate totals of slave sales per annum: this type of data has limited potential for answering the questions that are on the historiographical agenda. Indeed, aggregate data may never help to answer these questions. For instance, using aggregate data one cannot trace the paths of individual slaves through the market mechanism. One cannot, for example, investigate the likelihood of the re-sale of slaves. For this type of question—and most questions in Herbert Gutman's comprehensive agenda are of this sort—it is essential to have data which are based on individual slaves, which allows one to trace the paths of slaves through various owners. If the region is too large, or the population too great, the data collection for this type of inquiry is not feasible. In short, the questions that are currently being asked of the nineteenth-century slave-markets of the American South cannot be answered, given the above limitations in the nature of the American material, and the large size of the ante-bellum slave population which at emancipation stood at 4,000,000. In short, the size of this population works against the problems which are based on the possibility of tracing individuals across states and time.

Not only is the Cape slave population small enough to allow this sort of analysis, but the colony also has an almost complete archival record. The geographically bound nature of the Cape population has a further advantage, since one can trace through the sale records not one slave's but all slaves' ownership paths through the colony. The only escape for the slave from the legendary record keeping energies of the Dutch clerks, or soldiers-at-the-pen—as they were called—was to join a Cape maroon community on Table Mountain or Cape Hangklip.

A.2.2 Sources of data

The data are records of all slave sales at the Cape of Good Hope between 1680 and 1731. The records of the burghers' and officials' slaves up to 1717 are in the Deeds Office, Cape Town,

thereafter in the Court of Justice (CJ) records in the Cape Archives. There are no records for 1713 and few for 1717 and 1718. The absence of any records in 1713 is probably explained by the smallpox epidemic of that year, which either disrupted the Dutch East India Company clerical system, dissuaded captains from unloading any slaves, or discouraged farmers from purchasing any. Smallpox arrived with the first return fleet of that year and was spread throughout the Cape by slaves washing the seamen's laundry in the streams feeding into the Table Valley water supply.⁴⁹⁵ One would have expected that many slaves would have come onto the market after the smallpox epidemic; this did not occur. Many owners died, but [Colin Graham] Botha records that fundamental changes were made to legislation affecting deceased estates after the smallpox epidemic. This might explain why many bereaved families did not go through the usual practice of putting the slaves on the market, but kept them in the family, or sold them without recording the sale.

Using unusual archival material, Maurice Boucher, a South African historian, claims that in 1714 a Huguenot farmer, Pierre Joubert, bought two "negro Ladds" from an English ship, the *Delecia*, through "an agent," probably Giles Sollier, who understood English.⁴⁹⁶ There is no record of this transaction in the Deeds Office, lending support to the belief that there was a breakdown in the clerical system. However, the system continued to function with respect to property transfers of land, among which slave deeds of sale were always interfiled.

The 1717 and 1718 gap is less easy to explain. Because of a labour crisis at the Cape, precipitated in part by the smallpox epidemic of 1713, the Company directors appointed a special commission to review the Cape economy and to decide whether the Cape should be based on free or slave labour. With one dissenting vote, the commission decided in favour of slavery. Perhaps they also decided that henceforth slave transfers should be recorded separately from landed property. Be that as it may, from 1717 onward no slave trade transfers, apart from the occasional "cadastral" slave transfer, appear in the Deeds Office, but are found instead in the Court of Justice records, at first, for 1717 and 1718 in odd scattered volumes, then in a consecutive series. This series was not copied and sent to Holland with all

⁴⁹⁵ Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Jan Smiesing, Slave Lodge Schoolmaster and Healer, 1697-1734" in *Cape Town Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town*, Nigel Worden, (ed.) (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2012), 138.

⁴⁹⁶ Maurice Boucher, "The Cape and Foreign Shipping, 1714-1723," *South African Historical Journal* 6 (1974): 12.

the other CJ papers; the only slave transfers at The Hague pertain to the slaves of the Van der Stel family and were probably copied specially for his [W.A van der Stel's] trial after 1706.

This breakdown in record-keeping settled down only in 1719. The trade thereafter, as reflected in this series of transfers, is in the same format as the earlier series. The remarks in the daily fort journal about foreign slavers passing the Cape in 1717 and 1718 suggest that this was not a period of acute international slave shortage. These theories go some way to explaining the small number of recorded slave sales in these two years.

A.2.3 Validation of the sales transfers

The annual census or *opgaaf*, which detailed all the individual burgher's holdings also recorded the burgher's slaves in four categories: male adults, female adults, male and female children. Since the Company did not tax slaves, there was no reason why the burghers should have under-reported their slaves. Although the census reflected the birth rate in the slave population as well as purchases from the Company officials' ghost slave population (especially in 1706–1709), the census remains the single most consistent independent check on the fluctuations in the oceanic and domestic slave trades as revealed by the slave transfers. Insofar as the transfers mirror the numerical reality of the slave trade, they should be roughly consonant with the detailed estimates of the burgher slave population in the censuses. As the accompanying illustrations show, this was the case. The years 1717, 1718 and 1719, during which there were few recorded slave sales, prove to be years in which the burgher slave population actually decreased. The absence of disease during these years suggests that there was, in fact, a shortfall in the trade itself. More sophisticated statistical checks confirm that the two sets of independently collected data (excluding 1706, 1707, 1708 and 1709 when company officials were forced to divest), were in lock step with each other. Using the annual adult slave sex ratios (i.e. controlling for natural increase) as a dependent target variable and the annual trade figures as the independent variable, a strong positive linear relationship emerges. Bearing in mind that there were a few creole slaves entering the population, and many runaways and dying slaves leaving the population, the 0.4035 correlation coefficient is reasonably high. About 40 percent in the variation of the census is explained by the slave trade imports and domestic sales to the burghers.

A.2.4 Coding of sales data

There are both analytical and descriptive elements in this inquiry. For the purposes of this appendix, the analytical aspects of the project are not dealt with here as they have a secondary or inferential relationship to the variables. For instance, the answer to the analytical question, "Was an ethnic premium paid for slaves?" is imbedded in four variables, namely slave origin, caste status, price and age. The various chapters deal with the analytical inquiry itself. This appendix describes how the primary documents were coded for analysis by computer.

These sale data are part of a larger prosopographical data set that attempts to capture all systematically retrievable facets of the Cape slave's life cycle. Other facets include manumission, birth, death, arrival in the colony. Since all these facets are discreetly recorded in separate documents, the only practical method of collating all this information is by nominal linkage, or a relational database. The computer reads the separate files: manumissions, arrivals, sales, etcetera and sorts them according to (say) slave name, age and owner and creates a "master" index file which indicates the other recorded events in the slave's life. Since some events can only occur once e.g. birth, death, manumission, arrival, only one observation is required for these events. On the other hand, there are events which can occur many times in the life of a slave, such as re-sale or criminal acts by recidivists. This is termed the "clinic visit problem" by statisticians. The coding format must allow for the maximum number of such events. No sampling was possible because of the linkage design. Such a research design is only possible with near complete records.

Four thousand and seventy-six slave transfers have been unearthed, 2,622 of which related to the internal trade. Each slave transfer recorded the date, name of the slave, his or her caste status, or point of origin. Also recorded was the age of the slave to the nearest year, the sex, price and family relationship of the slave to other slaves in the sales. The document included the name, sex, district and citizen status of the seller of the slave and the same details for the buyer. The type of sale had to be inferred from the type of document in which it was recorded, or other internal evidence: whether a gift, deceased estate, etc. Often the occupation and district were not given, and had to be added from another source. To take a sale transfer as an example:

Appearing today, on the 19th January 1709, before me [the VOC clerk], *in Loco* for the Secretary of the Honourable Governor and the Council of Policy the seller, hereafter named, Abraham Hartog, a *burgher* surgeon in Table Valley, who hereby acknowledges to have sold, transported, and ceded by this transaction, to the benefit of Jan Casilius Kruijtsman, a *burgher* shoemaker in Table Valley, a certain slave of 25 years of age, named Hannibal of Batavia, who is the Seller's legal slave, and that the buyer promises to pay the seller the purchase money of 129 *Rixdaalders* and [the nominal clerical costs of] 48 *stuijvers*, the last penny with the first.

<Signature or mark of seller>

<Signature or mark of buyer>

Note: In the above document the occupations of both seller and buyer had to be added from other contemporary documents.

This dataset is drawn from Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope: 1680-1731" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1986), 297-322.

APPENDIX 3

THE 1823 SALE DATA SET

A.3.1 Introduction

The data for the 1823 Sale data set is housed in the WCARS in the Slave Office series. The data set consists of 5,511 slave sales, which is the compensation list used for purchasing all the slaves in the Cape Colony in 1834. The original document was carefully constructed. The initial year 1823 was chosen because this was the year of the Trinidad Order in Council which specified that Christian slaves could marry. Moreover, children under twelve could not be separated from their mothers by sale. This return includes all the public sales of slaves from the first of 1823 to 31st December 1830 and records of where slaves have been sold by the sequestrator, Orphan Chamber, executors, the sheriff or trustees.

The following nineteenth century extracts pertain to the dataset:

Notes⁴⁹⁷

There are no instances at the Cape where slaves have been sold with land in the same lot for one sum. When Public Sales of slaves take place, three months' time is given to the purchaser to produce his Vendue Bill upon which Transfer is made. The said bill being entered in what is termed the Vendue Bill Book kept in the Slave Registry office, and the original Bill given back to the new Proprietor attached to the transfer. The institution of such a practice has now enabled the Registrar to furnish this Return.

This return includes all the Public Sales of slaves from the first of 1823 to ultimo 1830 and where slaves have been sold by The Sequestrator—Orphan Chamber—Executors—The Sheriff or Trustees, it is noted in the column of Remarks, where this is not done the sales have /page 185/ been effected by the auctioneers in the common mode under direction of their possessions.

⁴⁹⁷ WCARS, G. I. Rogers, Registrar of Slaves, "Notes on Domestic Slave Trade Documents, 1823-1830"; SO 10/18 Addenda, pages 184-190 (Cape Town, 17 February 1834).

It has in a few instances not been practicable to insert the amount of the sale, as some transfers were effected upon a certificate of the auctioneer or agents to save the parties from the penalties a fine of seven pounds ten shillings being incurred, although in few instances enforced to the full amount if the transfer be not completed within three months, and in some of the these certificates the price given for the slaves was not entered. There is also an omission of this kind in the district of Albany, as the *vendue* Master had absconded and the documents were not able to be found.

The former Court of Justice was abolished at the end of the year 1827 and the new charter published. The Supreme Court opened on the first day of the year 1828. In the former Court many causes had been reserved without judgement given, but the more speedy mode of proceeding in the new Court /page 186/ led claimants to get their cases concluded. Execution immediately followed this sudden interruption of a ruinous system of credit caused much distress both to the debtors and securities and coupled with the sweeping changes recommended by the commissioners of enquiry was productive of great depression for a time and had the effect of depreciating all property and as the slaves sold by the Sheriff were to be paid for in Cash on the instant, the prices of that year may in many instances, be considered as a questionable average.

It will be observable throughout this return that cooks and artificers all bear a high price.

There have been instances of cooks being valued at ,400 and upwards and this return will show No 3744 that a cook was sold at £383-5s-0d and as much as £375 Sterling given for a carpenter Vide no. 3626.

Besides these public sales there have been /page 187/ no less than 3,859 transfers effected within the same period in Cape Town alone, under Wills, Donations, *Inter Vivos* and like gifts and private agreements. But as the prices are unknown at this office, I could not make any return of them. But the auxiliary Commissioners can have ready reference to the Transfer book should they deem it necessary to examine any of the parties who have sold or bought privately, of which private sales there may probably be two thirds in the number before given. But I should doubt whether the prices so sold would be satisfactorily averaged as those in the list of Public sales as

many of these [private sales] have either bought a price above their value because the purchasers had a particular fancy for the slaves, or were bought on long credit or on mortgage, or they have been sold under their value into the country on account of some dislike taken to them, or for some bad qualities which the seller did not wish to /page 188/ transpire. On the whole I should presume that the most just average would be from the list of Public sales, excluding those in 1828 which appear on references to similar sales of the other years to have depreciated for the causes before stated.

The Form of this return differs from that sent out by the Commissioners. This one was already in a state of progress before that from the commissioners in London was received and could not be altered without a very serious delay. It is however hoped that it will give satisfaction as it is apparently more comprehensive than Copy sent here, inasmuch as it included the Sex ages and occupations of the slaves, which is in the form of the Commissioners and only omits the name of the vendor and Purchaser which it does not appear to be so material that the Commissioners in England should be made acquainted with possible reason to keep London in the dark of operations of slave traders.

I would take the liberty Respectfully to suggest that it be recommended to the Home government \page 189\ that whenever the grand amount of the Compensation to the slave holders under the Abolition Act shall be awarded to this colony, the sum shall be immediately turned over to the colonial Government in order that Individuals should be paid as speedily as possible after the first of December, for why should there be any further expense incurred or delay suffered in cases where no dispute can arise as to the right of property. There are no claimants out of the Colony or if any very few indeed upon slave property here, who are not represented by their attorney or agent on the spot and it would be most unfair that those proprietors who have no mortgage at all on their slave property should have to await further Communications with the Commissioners in London before they receive compensation although the slaves are declared to be no longer such after the 1st December next. The mortgagees will take care to put in their Claim in time, and the proprietors /page 190/ whose slaves are bonded cannot receive compensation but with their consent it might be established as a rule that those proprietors who in law had the right and power to sell their slaves should have an equal right also to receive their compensation forthwith.

That those whose slaves are mortgaged should be paid only with the written consent of the mortgagees and that in causes of dispute and of appeal to England only as to the right of any slave Property should any delay or respite be put upon the amount of compensation. Some remedy of this sort is absolutely indispensable to calm the minds of the people here, who from the circuitous way in which the compensation is awarded in the Abolition Act have the strongest fears that is done with a view to frustrate payment altogether.

A.3.2 From Theal's History⁴⁹⁸

The sum of twenty million pounds sterling was voted to compensate the owners in the nineteen slave colonies of Great Britain, and the share of each colony was to be determined by the value of its slaves, based upon the average prices during the eight years preceding the 31st of December 1830.

There was a general impression that the money voted by the imperial parliament would suffice to meet the whole, or nearly the whole value of the slaves, and this impression was confirmed by the exulting declaration of the philanthropic party everywhere that Great Britain had not confiscated property, but had purchased the freedom of those who were in bondage. The number and value of the negroes in the other eighteen colonies was entirely unknown, still there was very little uneasiness felt on this point. Most people supposed "that a vagrant net would be passed before the day of final emancipation, and in that belief they were disposed to accept the new condition of things without demur or heartburning.

Colonel Wade was therefore able to report vary favourably upon the reception which the emancipation act met with. He also added his testimony to that of his predecessors in office upon the feeling with which the system was regarded by the colonists. In a despatch to the secretary of state, dated 6th of December 1833, he affirmed that "the inhabitants in general could not with justice be accused of brutal or inhuman treatment of their slaves, that there was not then and never had been at the Cape an attachment to slavery, that the existence of it had been a matter of necessity not of

⁴⁹⁸ George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol. 6 (Cape Town: Struik, 1964), 74-75.

choice, and that until the last few years there had been no disinclination on the part of the colonists to emancipation on fair and equitable principles.” “On the contrary,” he wrote, “more than one plan for the gradual extinction of slavery had emanated from the proprietors themselves.”

On the 26th of March 1834 the governor appointed Messrs. P. M. Brink, H Christian, W. Gedney, D. J. Says, H. A. Sandenberg, and J. J. L Saints “assistant commissioners of compensation,” and the appraisal of the slaves commenced. They were divided into a number of classes and the average value of an individual of each class was ascertained from a comparison of all the sales that could be ascertained to have taken place during the period defined in the emancipation act. A few objections were made to this manner of appraisal by persons who thought it unfair that their slaves should be put on an equality with those disposed of at forced sales, but in general the plan was regarded as the safest that could be adopted.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the colony thirty-nine thousand and twenty-one slaves, of whom twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirteen were males and seventeen thousand four hundred and eight were females. Five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one were under six years of age. Of the whole number, three thousand two hundred and seventy-six were aged, infirm, or otherwise unfit for work, and were regarded as having no pecuniary value. A few weeks later, when the appraisal rolls were finally completed, it was ascertained that to meet the value of the remaining thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five £3,041,290 8s. would be required.

On the appointed day—1st of December 1834—slavery ceased to exist in the Cape Colony. In most of the churches throughout the country thanksgiving services were held in the morning, and in the towns and villages the afternoon was generally devoted to festivity.

The negroes themselves, whose idea of freedom was a state of idleness, were mostly unable to realise the change that had taken place in their condition, and were by no means enthusiastic upon becoming apprentices; but the European philanthropic party was exceedingly jubilant.

APPENDIX 4

THE CAPE CENSUSES

A.4.1 The *opgaafs* and *monsterollen*: adapted from Leonard Guelke and Robert Shell

The Cape has several advantages for the historian interested in historical demography and social history, of which the full documentation covering a wide variety of economic, geographical and demographic details is probably the most critical. The Dutch East India Company, which ruled the Cape from 1652 to 1795, compiled a census/tax list—the *opgaaf* of the free inhabitants of Cape for almost every year of its rule from 1657 to 1795. Only a few items on the listing were taxed, which explains the equivocation of “census/tax list.” The original censuses are available at The Hague and some inferior copies are at the Cape (in the J series). The Historical Research Institute at the University of the Western Cape has alphabetised and printed some of the J series versions and others from the originals in The Hague. These are also available at the Cape Archives.

After a few years the Company separated the company personnel from the *opgaaf*. This series is called the annual *monsterollen*, which have been transcribed by the TANAP project and are available on a CD (from Antonia Malan at the University of Cape Town).

The census (*opgaaf*) contains details of each free householder, excluding Khoe-San people (the Hottentots and Bushmen were first included in 1798) and Company officials and servants.

A typical listing would include: the name of the head of household, the spouse if present, the number of males (some brothers farmed together); number of females over 15 (usually spouses, widows became heads of household); boys and girls under that age; indentured servants (*knechts*); males slaves; women slaves; boy and girl slaves under fifteen years of age; the number of horses; cows; oxen; heifers; sheep and pigs; units of ground allocated to the head of household; the amount of that ground that the householder had under cultivation⁴⁹⁹; *muids* of Sicilian corn (wheat) sown; *muids*⁵⁰⁰ of corn harvested; the same set

⁴⁹⁹ These details are only available for the seventeenth century.

of figures for rye and barley; the number of vines and the amount of wine processed in *leggers*.⁵⁰¹ The number of pistols, sabres and carbines in the household was also recorded. Finally, the district in which the householder lived was recorded. There were three districts; unfortunately it is difficult to distinguish the inhabitants of the only sizeable towns, Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Many important patterns would be obscured if the user invoked only this variable. This variable should be regarded as applying to an administrative region and to nothing else. The Cape census was one part muster, one part tax list and one part census. The Cape *opgaaf* is probably the fullest demographic record of a pre-industrial society that has come to light.

A.4.2 The reliability of the Cape Census

Several contemporary accounts discuss the accuracy of these documents. Peter Kolbe, the son of a European tax collector and an astronomer, visited the Cape soon after 1705. He felt the taxes were mild. His benign view of the tax was not predicated on any desire to ingratiate himself with the Company. During the settler revolt of 1707, he sided with the colonists against the ruling authorities. He observed:

The Company has a tenth of the crops of all corn at the Cape: And this All the Company gets by the Grant of Lands there for Tillage. The colonies therefore, under so easy tribute, are very happy; and the company has 'em bound in Gratitude to defend her Interests at the Cape against all Enemies.”

However, there was no on the spot inspection of ground, as Kolbe observes:

The Government commissions several Persons every Year, while the Corn is on the Ground, to go throughout all the Colonies (districts), and make a judgement of the approaching Produce. This they do, not by visiting each Crop on the Ground, but by going to all the owners of 'em, and asking the following Questions. How much of every Kind they sow'd? What Quantities they propose to sell to the government and What to lay up for their own Use? And they are, in a manner, obliged to furnish to the Government the Quantities they propose

⁵⁰⁰ A *muid* contains 12 *setiers*. 18.72 1 *muid* = hectoliters or 53.12 US bushels.

⁵⁰¹ 1 *legger*=150 gallons.

to these commissioners.⁵⁰²

On the days in which the census was taken in Stellenbosch on the 6-8th January 1706, Adam Tas, a colonist who later became a census collector himself, wrote: “This day Mr. van der Bijl presented his return ... from this return I can see that I have made my return more than half too big.” Company vigilance was, however, acute, for on the 18th January, Tas discloses that the same French farmer who had made a false return was fined 60 Rixdollars for his offense.⁵⁰³ A comparison of wills and census returns—documents which had diametrically opposed purposes—does show that there was mild (1-10%) systematic downward bias of the four taxable items, i.e. wine, wheat, rye and barley.

The researcher can therefore expect some downward bias in all taxable items, produce and livestock, but as this bias is systematic, the researcher may treat the material as is, or correct for the bias using probate checking. Even where downward bias is prevalent, ordinal relationships would remain as robust as is needed. Independent sources confirm that the census is reliable for all untaxed items: children appear when they are baptised in the discreet church registers, people disappear shortly before their inventories are drawn up; free blacks appear when they are manumitted by the Council of Policy, and so on.

This dataset is drawn from Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, “Popucape data set (1652-1835)” which he aggregated and generated from the Algemeine Rijksarchief (AR), Deeds Office records (DO), Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRCA), the Western Cape Provincial Archives and Records Service (WCARS) and the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁵⁰² Peter Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1731, ed., (1968) 2 vols, 2:75.

⁵⁰³ See Leo Fouché, Anna Böeseken, eds., *The Diary of Adam Tas, 1705–1706*. Van Riebeeck Society: Second series, 1 (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1970), 145, 149-151.

APPENDIX 5

VITAL RATES

A.5.1 Notes on vital rates by John Barrow and W. W. Bird

The following extracts are the most useful for understanding the Cape populations as both authors had access to the death records of the colony, which are now missing.

The following table shows the number of marriages, christenings, and burials in Cape Town for eight years.⁵⁰⁴

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POPULATION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

See p. 107.

THE population of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was estimated by Mr. Barrow,* on the authority of official returns, in 1798, at 61,947 persons. It now amounts to nearly double that number ; and the progress has been as follows:—

Table 5: Barrow's table of marriages, Christenings and burials

1798.	1806.	1810.	1814.	1819.	1821.	1821.	1822.
						Corrected.	Estimated.
61,947	75,145	81,122	84,069	99,026	113,903‡	[116,044]	120,000

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

Official returns of other free inhabitants have uniformly been more correct. They exhibit a quicker growth of populousness.

⁵⁰⁴ John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa: ... with a Statistical Sketch of the Whole Colony Compiled from Authentic Documents* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1804), Vol. 2: 344.

Table 6: W. W. Bird's Progress of Cape population

1798.	1806.	1810.	1814.	1819.	1821.
21,746	25,172	30,937	34,339	42,854	51,561

This very rapid increase has, doubtless, been partly owing to immigration ; and notably in the year 1820, when more than 4,000 persons arrived as settlers.§

Emigration from Great Britain to South Africa, so far as can be ascertained, had previously been—

Table 7: W. W. Bird's table – official returns of other free inhabitants

In 1815	46	In 1818	230
1816	85	1819	429
1817	419		

*S. A. ii. 378. (1sted.)

†Including settlers who arrived in 1820. Add slaves, more registered than reported to the tax-office, 2,141.

‡S. A. ii. 378.

§ Landed in Algoa Bay, 3,659; besides those landed in Saldanha Bay, and a very few in Table Bay.



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As the proportion of male emigrants is always greatest, a disparity of the sexes has been uniformly shown by the census of every year. The ratio of males to females was nearly the same for thirteen years, from 1806 to 1819, viz. 11 to 10. It was 10 to 9 in 1821. The actual number of females, nearly 25,000 in 1821, answers to a settled population of more than 50,000 free inhabitants of both sexes.

[ms. Marginal note: 20 per mille 40 per mille]

Deaths, according to the Register of 1821, are to the whole free population as 1 in 50. Births more than twice as many.

Among slaves, the disparity of the sexes was very great, while importation was permitted : for more males than females were constantly imported. The proportion was in consequence nearly 19 to 10. But since the abolition of the slave trade, the number of females is augmenting; and by degrees approximating to equality with that of males; as might be expected. Confining the attention to females, as it is their offspring which is born to slavery, without any reference to the servitude or freedom of the father, the ratio of annual increase appears to have risen from 2 per cent. To 25 per Mille. [ms.: 20 to 25; + marginal note: contradicts]

This likewise was a result to be looked for. Full grown slaves were relatively numerous, while the slave trade continued ; and mortality among them was, of course, relatively great. It is rated by Barrow* at 3 per cent. Annually. It is now short of 2 per cent.; and among female slaves, barely exceeds 15 per milk. Births are as 4 per cent. [ms note: 40]

A remark, however, should be here made. The registry of slaves, which may be implicitly trusted for the number existing at given dates, is not equally to be relied upon for intermediate casualties. No owner, indeed, will neglect to register his young slave, lest the property be forfeited, and the child become free ; nor will he omit to report the death of a registered slave, lest the poll-tax continue to be payable. Yet a few slave children die in early infancy, previous to registration; as some free-born infants die before baptism : and neither the births nor the deaths of such children are officially reported. This presumable source of error affects the proportion of deaths and births, but not their difference, which determines the ratio of increase to the population.

The register of slaves exhibits a greater number than the official returns of taxes, as has been before intimated ; probably runaway slaves are included in the register, and suppressed in the tax-returns. The registry is continued, as the claim of property is retained ; for the sale of a runaway, untaken, is no unfrequent transaction. Every week's Gazette contains advertisements of such sales. Yet that is not the chief source of disagreement

*S. Af. li. 344.

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between the register and the opgaaf ; for the discrepancy is greatest in respect of females; but runaway slaves are for the most part male.

The number of female slaves, at the beginning of the year 1821, was 14,000; and, increasing at the rate of 25 per mille annually, would be doubled in 28 years; or, allowing for that increase being not immediately prolific, in about 30 years. For the annual augmentation of the number of female breeders is not exactly proportionate to the total increase of females within the year: but to that of a former year. The ratio of 25 per mille, when the increase took place, is nearer to 2 per cent when it becomes available for an augmentation of breeding females.

The number of male slaves, at the same date, in 1821, exceeded 20,000; and the probable increase, in the like period of 30 years, may raise it to 32,000.

Table 8: Table of male and female slaves per opgaaf

SLAVES.								
	Per Opgaaf.						Per Registry.	
	1798	1806	1810	1814	1819	1821	1820	1821
Male	16882	18956	19821	19862	19507	19164	20098	20312
Female	8872	10163	10600	11366	12802	13024	13743	14017
Total	25754	29119	30421	31128	32309	32188	33841	34329

Emancipation of slaves sometimes taking place, tends, so far as it goes, to augment the free population, and to detract from the increase of slaves. The number set free is not great ; (no more than six male slaves and twenty-six females were manumitted in the course of one year, 1820 ;) and the general result, therefore, is not much influenced by this cause.

Another class of persons remains to be noticed. It consists of prize-slaves, or people rescued from illegal slave trade, who have been bound to service for a term of years, and are reported in the census as apprentices. In 1819, the number was 1,373 ; viz. 961 male and 412 female : in 1821, 1,369; viz. 918 male and 451 female.

Other apprentices, whether expressly articulated as such, or becoming so by operation of law, are blended with freemen or with slaves, under one or the other designation. The master of a Hottentot servant, who is at the charge of bringing up his servant's children, is entitled to the service of each child, as an apprentice, for a definite term; that is, to a specific age. The master of a rescued slave, or prize apprentice, will, probably, be deemed, in like manner, entitled to the service of the offspring

born and bred up in his family. The whole class falls then naturally among free persons of colour.

A question, not devoid of interest, arises concerning the disposal of prize-apprentices, on the expiration of the term (14 years) for which they are bound. They neither can be held in thralldom, with any semblance of justice, after that term expires; nor can they be with safety cast loose, and abandoned to their own sole guidance and discretion. Fancy may conjecture a middle course as likely to be pursued. Perhaps they may be required to bind themselves in annual service, but allowed to seek masters for themselves, in the first instance ; subject to be treated as vagabonds if they remain out of service or employment, and with no visible means of livelihood; and liable, therefore, as the penalty of their vagrancy, to be articed anew, for a limited term, to a master selected by the magistrate.

Data are wanting to distinguish the proportion of free persons of colour among the Creole population. A conjectural estimate may, however, be deduced from the relative numbers among householders in Cape Town. The whole of the free population of the town, according to the census of 1821, was 9,761 ; enumerated householders were, at the same time, 1,553; and among these, 160 appear to have been persons of colour; Christian and Muhammedan. The proportion, therefore, is rather more than a tenth, and would imply nearly a thousand persons for the whole number resident in Cape Town. Mr. Barrow* reckoned 718 in the Cape district, in 1798, when the total of free population in that district was rated at 6,261. The proportion then was little more than a ninth. It certainly is even less in the country than it is in the town ; and free persons of colour (exclusive of Hottentots) are by no means numerous throughout the colony, nor fast increasing.

The census of the Cape, deduced from returns to the tax-office, does not comprise sojourners ; nor the troops in garrison ; nor crews of ships in harbour ; nor those of vessels belonging to the port, but voyaging; nor unsettled inhabitants, homeless and roaming, as runaway slaves, wandering Hottentots, and servants out of place. Without taking these to be numerous, yet added to presumed concealment or suppression, in official returns, they strengthen the opinion which is prevalent, that the actual population of South Africa is greater than has been stated. It may be safely affirmed to exceed 120,000 persons in the present year (1822).

Cape Town, which, in 1798,† was estimated to contain about 5,500 white inhabitants and free people of colour, and 10,000 blacks ; and which in 1806, according to the census then taken,

*S. Af, ii. 342. †Barrow's S. Af. ii, 340.

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did contain 6,435 of the one class, and 9,993 of the other ; is now inhabited by nearly ten thousand of each description ; viz. in 1821, free inhabitants, 9761 ; slaves, apprentices, and Hottentots, 9,661.

Cape District, including Cape Town and Simon's Town, had a population of 18,152 in 1798; and 23,998 in 1806; according to the census taken in those years respectively. It now contains 26,487 persons, according to a recent census corrected by the registry of slaves. The number of slaves in the district has not increased. It was in 1798, 11,891 ; in 1810, 12,084 ; in 1821, 11,784. The augmentation has been among the free inhabitants, from 6,261 to 12,345 ; nearly doubled in 23 years.[ms. Annotation: entered into popuCape]

The more rapid increase is in the eastern division of the colony, GraafReynet, which contained 4,262 free inhabitants, according to the census of 1798, and 5,786, according to that of 1806 (including the district of Uitenhage). It now contains 14,081; or, with the old and new settlers of Albany, 19,247.

Emigration from the western districts of South Africa has contributed to this quick growth of populousness in the eastern division ; and the western districts have nevertheless made great advances in the same time towards doubling their numbers, being increased from 11,223 in 1798, and 13,508 in 1806, to 19,969 in 1821.

It is needless to pursue a detailed comparison farther. Enough has been said to show that the growth is rapid ; and that it is so, even apart from immigration. The increase of slaves, without accession from abroad, goes to double their number in thirty years ; and a yet quicker augmentation is to be looked for, as marriage becomes more sanctioned, and promiscuous intercourse discountenanced. Hottentots, according to local registers of missionary stations, recording births and deaths, multiply at a rate which should double their number in twenty-five years. Creoles multiply not less rapidly. It would be no very presumptuous stretch of fore-knowledge, to hazard a prospective estimate of a much augmented population in South Africa, a few years hence.

A curious speculative topic might be proposed, to consider the probability of the population in the South African colony becoming ultimately creole white. At the earliest census which has been published, the free inhabitants (for the most part white) were but one-third of the whole number. According to the latest census, which has been yet made up, they approach to one-half. Would it be too much to expect that the white inhabitants will continue to multiply faster than the black ; and that the tinge in mixed blood will grow continually fairer? From moral causes, (or, in another sense, from immoral likewise,) the

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offspring is rarely darker than the female parent, but very often fairer. The mixed blood assuredly tends more towards the white than the swarthy hue. In process of time, the same causes, continually operating, may have a sensible influence. In any case, it is devoutly to be hoped, that the population of South Africa will, by and by, exclusively consist of free inhabitants, whatever be their complexion ; for the existence of slavery is an evil, of which the removal is to be earnestly desired.

This reflexion appertains to a different subject, abrogation of slavery and emancipation of slaves.

