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Chapter 3

New insights into forced migration to The
Cape gleaned from old documents

Parts of this chapter have been published elsewhere: Mbeki, L., Van Rossum, M., 2017. Private slave trade in the Dutch Indian Ocean world: a study into the networks and backgrounds of the slavers and the enslaved in South Asia and South Africa. *Slavery & Abolition* 38, 95-116. Further research resulted in a paper that was presented at a workshop hosted by the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (10-11 November, 2016) entitled *Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean and Indonesian Archipelago Worlds (16th to 19th Century): New Research, Results and Comparisons*.

Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, Europeans became involved in slave trading in the Indian Ocean world to satisfy the labour demands of their settlements. The trade was secondary to the trade in spices and later in luxury textiles, tea and coffee. Slavery was already established in all corners of the Indian Ocean, however European involvement in the trade increased demand for slaves and widened the geographic scope of the trade. This movement of labour gave rise to cosmopolitan nodes such as The Cape and Batavia. Europeans collaborated with indigenous agents to procure slaves. The paths to enslavement included war, natural disasters such as famine, and kidnapping. For the most part slaves in Asia were used as domestics in households. At The Cape, however, the labour demands of the agricultural sector in the hinterland gave rise to a more plantation-type slavery.

The Company at The Cape procured slaves for itself mainly from slaving expeditions to Mozambique and Madagascar (Shell, 1994; Ward, 2009). Transportation of slaves to The Cape by private persons and mid to senior level VOC employees has been dealt with to some extent by Shell (1994), Ward (2009) and Schoeman (2007, 2012) and will be dealt with extensively in this chapter. Firstly, however, I will introduce the reader to some of the historical sources available to elucidate this aspect of the Indian Ocean slave trade.

Tracing slave migrations in the written record

As material culture, biographies and portraits of enslaved persons do not exist as they do for the 'great' men of the VOC, historians have to rely on incidental information in the Company's paper trail. Worden and Groenewald (2005) have highlighted the importance of criminal records in providing information on slaves' lives at The Cape. Traces of slaves can be found in the following sources because of the essential labour they provided in VOC settlements and because money exchanged hands. The *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (OBP) were crucial in answering the previously posed questions:

- who were the enslaved
- What were the possible geographic origins of the enslaved
- who were their owners

The latter question could be elaborated on thanks to the site www.vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl which provides the employment history of Company staff. We also come across enslaved persons when they were traded as in the Cape Title Deeds (CTD) or passed on as part of deceased estates as is evident in the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) records.

These two sources allowed for the exploration of

- the age of the traded
- the fate of the enslaved upon arrival at The Cape

Below is a partial guide to the sources available for historical enquiry into migration histories of enslaved persons in VOC-controlled areas.

Boekhouder Generaal

In the *Boekhouder Generaal* database slaves have left a trace as human cargo listed as “slaaf” and “lijfeigene”. These documents recorded the movement of commodities and enslaved people throughout the VOC’s empire on the Company’s account. The origins of the enslaved, their value and direction of migrations can be determined from this source as can the size of the human cargo. Unfortunately, only ten shipments of human cargo from Ceylon and Batavia to The Cape can be found from this database, a statistically insignificant number. This is in keeping with the fact that the majority of forced migrations from Asia to The Cape were as a result of unofficial movements (Gaastra, 2003). For instance, Dutch people on their way back from Asia to the Netherlands would travel with their slaves as far as The Cape with the aim of selling them for a better price than in Asia during repatriation journeys on the return fleets.

Generale Missiven

The *Generale Missiven* give a more nuanced picture of forced migrations in Asia. The *Missiven* were sent by the Council of the Indies in Batavia to the Gentlemen Seventeen keeping them abreast of affairs in Asia. One interesting observation is the integral part that gifting of slaves played in diplomacy between Asian nobility and the VOC. This source also illustrates the ways in which a person could become enslaved, and once enslaved how they could move from one place to another. Some free people became slaves by giving themselves to slavery to honour a debt or to survive calamities such as natural disasters. The VOC often moved its slaves between its trading posts to supplement labour.

Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren

Evidence of the migration of privately-owned enslaved persons from The East to The Cape during the 18th century can be found in the *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (OBP). These documents are copies sent by the Governor-General and Council of Batavia to the Gentlemen Seventeen in the Netherlands. They include information on shipping traffic at Asian harbours. This evidence comes in the form of ships’ passenger lists. Most of the enslaved on these ships were accompanying their masters/mistresses on their repatriation journeys back to the Netherlands. As arrival on Dutch soil resulted in manumission and loss of investment, we assume that the

majority of slaves were sold at The Cape. A significant number however were travelling under the supervision of others presumably to be gifted or sold to others at The Cape.

Slave transactions at The Cape

According to Shell, there were three types of slave transactions in the domestic market at The Cape: discretionary, mandatory and donation sales (Shell, 1992). The motive behind discretionary sales was usually to raise money. Mandatory sales occurred when an owner was financially or legally bound to sell his or her slaves in a group. Donation transfers refer to those transfers in which an owner made a gift of a slave.

In the inventories of the Orphan Chamber which can be found online (<http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/>), the possessions of the deceased for whom the Chamber acted as executor are listed, including slaves. These individuals' name, sex and value are indicated. If slaves were sold upon the death of their owner, this transaction can be found in the *vendurollen* (Malan, 1998). After 1713, the sales of slaves that were not related to inheritance were recorded in the Court of Justice documents (Shell, 1992).

Robert Shell has researched sale deeds and compiled a list of slave transactions for the most part of the eighteenth century citing names of the enslaved, buyers and sellers as well as the value of the transaction (<http://www.venter.co/venter/docs/CapeSlaves1.pdf>). Shell has also illustrated the relative numbers of creole (Cape-born), *baaren* (recently enslaved), and *oorlam* (previously enslaved and transhipped) persons in the period 1658-1790 (Shell, 1992).

Acten van transport

Matthias van Rossum (2016) has highlighted the importance of the *Acten van Transport* in the VOC archive at Cochin on the Malabar Coast. Unlike the OBP, these records have a great deal of information on not only the buyers and sellers of slaves but also the enslaved themselves, documenting caste and original name. The *acten* also demonstrate that the involvement in the private slave trade was not limited to high ranking VOC officials; the rank and file exploited the Company's regional networks too to turn a profit in the trade in souls.

Repatriation sales

After having served out their contracts in The East, VOC officials would be repatriated back to the Netherlands via Cape Town on the return fleets. Some former employees would travel with slaves to serve as domestic servants on these voyages. Slavery was not legal in the Netherlands, and slaves would be manumitted after a period of six months had passed from the time of their arrival in the Netherlands. The Cape was thus the last place that owners could turn a profit from

the sale of their slaves. At the very beginning of the existence of the Cape colony one of Van Riebeeck's slaves, Maria van Bengalen, was sent to him from Batavia (Schoeman, 2007). Not only were slaves brought over by owners for use as domestics on the return journey "in spite of official prohibitions", but also for sale at The Cape which was known to residents in The East to have a demand for slaves (Schoeman, 2007:91). Private persons were also known to order slaves from The East, sometimes expressing a preference for slaves with certain skills (Schoeman, 2012).

The enslaved persons transported from The East to The Cape where they could prospectively be sold have left their mark in the *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* of the VOC archive. Their given names, and for the most part their toponyms, are recorded on ships' rolls. These 18th-century lists, with a total of approximately 200 enslaved, bring to life those who are difficult to trace due to their underrepresentation in the written record. I will demonstrate with the aid of a number of examples that there was ample opportunity to engage in the trade in souls from The East at The Cape. The fact that details of their transportation from The East was documented in official papers indicates that the Company had resigned itself to the existence of this informal private trade in slaves as can be seen from the following heading on a ships' slave roll from 1703:

*Notitie van de slaaven die desen jare 1703 met de volgende retour scheepen tot dienst van haar meesters na de caap overvaren mitsg: om aldaar bestelt of vercocht te werden te weten*¹

In 1712 the passenger/slave roll for the first return fleet of the year, it is once again explicitly stated that slaves travelled to The Cape in order to be sold or delivered. Delivery suggests that they had been requested at The Cape, probably due to the chronic shortage of labour and high slave prices. A former member of the council of India, Jacob Faas, travelled on the *Zandenburg* with his five children and seven slaves. Five of the enslaved, who are not named, were to act as domestics to him and his numerous children, whilst a further two, Antena and Pedro, were to be delivered to The Cape to the then *gesaghebber* (governor, director or commissioner of a VOC settlement), and later *commandeur* (commander of a territorial unit), Willem Helot.² Travelling on the same return fleet were two male slaves by the names of Adolph and Christiaen who were also to be delivered by Faas to Helot. They travelled on the *Korssloot* and *Standvastigheid* respectively.

The presence of some and absence of others on the ships' rolls is telling of the VOC hierarchy. Only the most senior sailor is named while his subordinates are not mentioned at all. It is not by accident that very well to do and influential VOC servants can be found in these rolls along

1 NA VOC 7534, "Notice of slaves who in this year 1703 on the return ship in the service of their masters' travel to The cape to be delivered or sold", f. 29r. My emphasis.

2 NA VOC 7538, "Notitie der Slaven welke deesen jare 1712 met d'onder staande retourboodenis der eerste besendinge in dienst van haar meesters naar Cabo de goede hoop overvaren als di derwaerds strecken om vercocht of besteld te werden namentlijk", f. 59r.

with their domestic slaves. Who else enjoyed the services of domestics, could invest in buying slaves and paying for their travel costs in the hope of turning a profit, or simply send a slave to family and friends at The Cape? To offer some perspective, a trained carpenter in Amsterdam earned 20 guilders (49 rixdaalders) a month. In contrast, a VOC soldier whose room and board were paid by the Company and who had to work 1-2 years to pay off debts, earned 9 guilder (22 rixdaalders) a month. Slave ownership was relatively inaccessible to the ordinary European.

At times the OBP read like a veritable who's who of VOC society. In 1703, a year before he became Governor-General of the Indies, Joan van Hoorn sent a slave to The Cape by the name of Stephanus in the care of skipper Croes.³ Cornelis Chasteleijn, famous for freeing his more than a hundred slaves upon his death and leaving them his lands, sent a slave called Francis of Mallabaar under the care of Theunis Cartensz.⁴ Mattheus de Haan sent a slave to The Cape by the name of Quinus in 1703.⁵ De Haan was vice president of the council of justice in Batavia at the time and would later become *Gouverneur-Generaal* (governor general) of the Dutch East Indies. Abraham Douglas had a slave, Theenij of Macassar delivered to the widow Munkerus by the *vice commandeur* Arij Bogaert.⁶ At this time Douglas was Director General of trade in the Indies (Gelman-Taylor, 1983). That these prominent VOC officials from The East had close ties with the VOC elite at The Cape is an illustration of the interconnectedness of this group in which patronage (Nierstrasz, 2008) and marriage strategies (Gelman-Taylor, 1983) could make or break one's career in the colonies.

Jacob Salm of Amsterdam travelled with Francisco van de Cust (of the coast (of Coromandel)) from Batavia to Texel on *'t Huis te Bijweg* in November 1700.⁷ The flute was at The Cape between February 26th and March 16th 1701 during which time Salm could sell Francisco.⁸ Salm worked for the VOC as *opperstuurman* (first mate) in 1698 and ended his career when he left The East at the end of 1700.⁹

In 1702, Catharina was permitted to travel back to the Netherlands with Simon Grousius and his family.¹⁰ It is unclear whether Catharina would stay on in the Netherlands and benefit from manumission or whether she was sent back to The Cape or The East to be sold or given to

3 NA VOC 7534, f. 29r.

4 NA VOC 7534, f. 31v.

5 NA VOC 7534, f. 31v.

6 NA VOC 7538, f. 59v.

7 NA VOC 1628, f. 158r.

8 Ships' voyages from <http://www.vocsite.nl/schepen/lijst.html>.

9 NA VOC employee information from <http://vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl/>.

10 NA VOC 1641, "Notitie van de slaven die met het schip Vrijburgh soo na 't vaderland als na de Caap werden overgevoert te weten", f. 959r.

a new owner. This is the only example in the sample where it is explicitly stated that an enslaved person travelled to the Netherlands with his/her master/mistress.

Thomas Pauw travelled onboard the *Abbekerk* in 1703 with his slaves Arij van Mallabaar (Malabar) and Titus van Bengalen (Bengal).¹¹ The flute spent the month of March 1704 at The Cape during which time Pauw could sell his slaves before setting sail for Texel. Pauw began his career in 1691 as *adelborst* (cadet, midshipman) and ended it as *boekhouder* (writer, bookkeeper) in 1703.

Hendrik Wolfraat of Amsterdam travelled to The Cape with Hanibal van Bengalen on the *'t Huis te Nieuwburg* arriving on March 20th 1703.¹² The second leg of the voyage to Texel began on April 10th, giving Wolfraat three weeks to sell Hanibal. Wolfraat worked for the VOC from 1694, when he is listed as *watermaker* (overseer of the ship's fresh water making distillery), and was released from service in 1698 to become a *vrijburgher* (former VOC employee permitted to stay in Company administered territory).

Skipper Pieter Wijman of Hamburg travelled from Batavia to The Cape, and finally to Texel on the *Abberkerk* with Thomas of Mallabaar and Rachel of Macassar.¹³ He was also responsible for Quinus, the male slave belonging to Mattheus de Haan whom we encountered earlier. Quinus' fate could have been to be sold at The Cape or to be given to someone in de Haan's network. The trip began on the 2nd of December 1703 with a stopover at The Cape in the month of March during which time Wijman had the opportunity to sell Thomas and Rachel. Wijman began his career as a *matroos* (experienced sailor) in 1689 and worked his way up to skipper.

Also, in 1703, one Albertina van Ambon, a free black woman judging by her name, had two enslaved men transported from Batavia to The Cape. Pasquael van Mallabaar was transported on the *Westhoven* under the supervision of surgeon Hugo Penck¹⁴ while Jan van de Cust was transported on the *d'Flora* under the supervision of skipper Cleudent.¹⁵ It cannot be known whether Albertina van Ambon was involved in the informal slave trade for profit or whether she had more altruistic motives, but what can be said is that she was part of a network that included high ranking VOC employees and apparently free black individuals as well. Another such example can be found in the Cape Title Deeds. Fredrik Bichon sold 20-year-old Moses van de Cust on behalf of Emanuel van Macassar for 80 Rds. (Rixdaalders also translated as Rixdollars).

11 NA VOC 7534, f. 33r.

12 NA VOC 1651, f. 351v.

13 NA VOC 7534, f. 31v.

14 NA VOC 7534, f. 31r.

15 NA VOC 7534, f. 29v.

Two free blacks travelled on de *Standvastigheid* in 1712. One was a freed slave by the name of Patientie and the other is Jan Gerritz van Batavia. The latter is described as the adopted child of the old *balliuw* (bailiff) of Batavia, Johannes Ens.¹⁶ On the return fleet of 1736, in the *cajuijt* (cabin) and paid for in full, was Sara van Batavia described as “free daughter”. This entry is noteworthy as the *cajuijt* was reserved for well to do (European) members of VOC society. Sara’s parents may have been wealthy or influential free blacks or she may have had such a benefactor. One Pieter Abrahamsz: is described as *den assistent* (clerk to the (*opper*)koopman) and “slaav in de cajuijt” on the passenger list of the *Cockenge* in 1718. Abrahamsz: could have been a slave whose services were indispensable to the Company, thus his presence in the *cajuijt*. That he was travelling without direct supervision implies that he was a trusted servant and that the benefits that came with his position meant he probably did not feel the need to desert.

This example brings to mind the slave interpreters at The Cape who were essential for VOC trade. They too were highly valued and enjoyed certain benefits and relative freedom. Slave interpreters were undoubtedly at the top of the Company slave hierarchy. The most famous interpreter at The Cape, however, was not a slave but a Khoi woman named Krotoa. She went by the name of Eva at the Dutch settlement and grew up in the household of Jan van Riebeeck. Krotoa converted to Christianity and married a Danish surgeon, Pieter van Meerhof. Her position as an interpreter, envoy and cultural broker between the Dutch and the indigenous Khoi meant that both sides were heavily dependent on her during negotiations. She had access to a world few women would have had access to at the time. The death of her husband slowly led to her demise and falling out of favour with the Company.

One Huijbert Scheij of Roermond travelled from Batavia to The Cape on the *Diemen* with a male slave, Titus van Macassar (Makassar).¹⁷ The flute was at The Cape between the 7th and 30th March 1704 during which time he sold the 25-year-old Titus and another slave who was not on the slave roll by the name of Mars van Bengalen (16) for 120 Rds.¹⁸ This transaction is the first to provide proof that what we initially suspected, VOC personnel transported enslaved persons to The Cape with the intention of selling them. Scheij began his career with the Company as a soldier in 1687 and presumably ended it with this trip to Rammekens. His rank at the time of repatriation could not be ascertained. One Phillip David van Uchelen of Amsterdam travelled on the *Suikermolen* with his son and his slave Joseph van de Cust in 1703.¹⁹ Van Uchelen signed

16 NA VOC 7538, f. 55r.

17 NA VOC 7534, f. 31r.

18 Cape Archives (CA), Cape Title Deeds (CDT) 8, number 181, p. 335-336.

19 NA VOC, 1653, Notitie van de Slaven dewelke desen Jare 1703 met de onder te noemene schepen na de Caap versonden, als mede tot dienste van hare meesters overgevoert werden, te weten, f. 158v.

three contracts with the VOC. In 1684 he signed up as *assistent*, in 1691 as *onderkoopman* (junior merchant), and in 1693 as *koopman* (merchant).

Ministers of the church were not above making a little money for themselves through this informal trade in souls. This is illustrated by the *predikant* (chaplain, minister) Florentius Camper of Leiden travelling with no less than six enslaved persons on the *Barneveld* in 1712.²⁰ Granted he travelled with his wife, two children and mother-in-law, the widow Ketting, however considering the transport and food costs for each slave, the luxury of having the service of one slave per person must have been offset by the future returns upon their sale. Moreover, the company paid badly (Schoeman, 2012), a minister would not have received such a large salary as to afford this luxury. Camper enlisted as a minister with the VOC in 1701. Another example of a man of God involved in this slave trading comes in the form of the minister from the Drakenstein region of The Cape, Henricus Beck, purchasing 22-year-old David van de Cust from Adriaan de Bruijn, *boekhouder* on the returning vessel *Grimmesteijn* on March 24th, 1703.²¹

On the same return fleet in 1712, two slaves, Francis and Coridon, were sent as part of the estate of the deceased Jan Grotenhuijs of Amsterdam.²² Perhaps Francis and Coridon were bequeathed to someone at The Cape, or they were sent there to be sold and the money to be sent to a beneficiary in Asia or the Netherlands. Grotenhuijs began his service in the VOC as a sergeant in 1682 which ended with his death in 1712. A similar case can be found in which a free woman, Sara Bruijnvis, inherited three slaves from Batavia who were subsequently sent to her at The Cape. Paulus van Macassar was sold for Rds. 66, Lakeij van Banda for Rds. 129 and Perkad van Sambouw for Rds. 80.²³

Rosette of Macassar travelled with Benjamin Gunter of Amsterdam and his wife from The East to act as servant to her mistress on *De Standvastigheid* in 1712.²⁴ Gunter joined the VOC as a *jongmatroos* (sailor) in 1699. When he repatriated in 1712 he had worked his way up to *onderkoopman*. Jaques Delaval of Paris also travelled with his wife from The East via The Cape in 1712 on the *Kockengen*. With them travelled a man slave, Talij van Ineas (Nias?) and a woman slave, Anneke van Batavia.²⁵ As Javanese people were not enslaved by the Company, “van Batavia”

20 NA VOC, 7538, Notitie van de slaven welke deesen jare 1712 met d'onderstaande retourboodems der eerste besending in diens van haar meesters naar Cabo de goede hoop overvaren als die derwaerts vertrecken om vercoegt of besteld to werden, p. 59.

21 CA CTD 8, number 38, p. 76-77.

22 NA VOC, 7538, p. 61.

23 CA, Inventories of the orphan chamber of the Cape of Good Hope (MOOC), Vendu rolletje van d'onder te noemene drie stuks mans slaven, de welke door Sr. Carel Reijnard tot Batavia aan wijle de burgeresse alhier Sara Bruijnvis wed.e Anthonij Vlotman voor zijn Reeckg: zijn gesonden, number 101.

24 NA VOC, 7538, p. 61.

25 NA VOC, 7538, p. 60.

does not indicate that Anneke was Javanese, but rather that she was bought there or had been born there as a second or subsequent generation slave. The *Kockengen* was at The Cape for two months, during which time Talij and Anneke could have been sold.

Abraham van Kervel of Den Haag is described as the former *fiscaal* of Malacca on his repatriation trip to Texel in 1712. He travelled with Anthonij van Bengale, Ramme van Mallabaar, and Dalbier van de Cust on the *Korssloot* from Batavia to The Cape.²⁶ The flute was at The Cape for two months, ample time to sell Anthonij, Ramme and Dalbier. Although we are not sure of these slaves' fate, other examples of slaves on fleets headed to Europe being sold at The Cape lead one to believe that they too were sold on arrival.

Augustus Brand of T'graaffs: lip (Graafschap Lippe, Germany) began his repatriation journey from Batavia to Texel on the *Standvastigheid* in 1718 with Rachel van Balie (Bali).²⁷ The ship stopped over at The Cape between February 9th and April 2nd 1719, ample time to sell Rachel. Brand began working for the VOC as *adelborst* and was *boekhouder* at the time of his repatriation.

The burgher Petrus Denijssen of Haarlem travelled with his wife, Agatha van Loo, and young daughter on the *Raadhuis* with a slave named Rosetta van Macassar in 1718.²⁸ Denijssen began his career with the VOC in 1704 as *onderkoopman*. At a certain moment he was release from duty to become a free *burgher*. Jan Seullijn of Texel and his wife left Batavia for Rammekens on the *Valkenisse* on 7th December 1718 with Susanna van Timor.²⁹ The ship spent a month and a half at The Cape before beginning the second leg of the journey on April 2nd 1719. Initially, Seullijn was hired as *assitent* to the (*onder*)*koopman* (junior merchant) in 1701. He was released from VOC service and became a *vrijburgher* in 1717. He is described as *ritmeester* (cavalry captain) on the *Valkenisse* passenger list.

Adriaan Maten of Dordrecht began his repatriation journey on October 26th 1736 with Lea of Ceylon on the *Nieuw Walcheren*.³⁰ Sinhalese like Javanese were not enslaved by the

26 NA VOC, 7538, p. 62.

27 NA VOC, 7545, Lijste van soodanige lijfeijgene, alsser door D'hooge Indiasche Regering tot Batavia gepermitteert geworden sijn ten dienste hunner meesters met de Retourvloot in dit najaar 1718 naart Patria mede te varen, waer voor het daer toestaande transport-en-kost-geld, conform het onder dato 27e Julij des gem: Jaars 1718 gepubliceerde en geaffigeerd Placcaet, soo voor d'heen als weder terug-reijse te weeten 200 rds voor transport a 100 rds end 90 rds aan kost geld a 30 ligte stuivers 's daags, gerekend voor ses maanden, en d'heen en weder-Reijse, te samen bedragende 290 Ryxdaalders voor elk hoofd, in 's Comps: cassa ontfangen is, sijnde geplaatst en toebehorende namentlijk', f. 79r. In this period a rixdaalder consisted of 60 ligte (light) stuivers (stivers) or 48 sware (heavy) stuivers.

28 NA VOC, 7545, f. 79r.

29 Ibid.

30 NA VOC, 2360, Ten dienste der te hier onder te noemen familien vaaren met de scheepen der Eerste Retourbezending over sodanige Lijfeijgene als t'volgt te weten, f. 788r.

Company therefore this toponym probably corresponds to place of purchase or transhipment. As the majority of slaves in Ceylon were in fact from the Indian Coromandel and Malabar coasts (Schoeman, 2012), Lea was most likely from one of these areas. The ship was at The Cape for over a month, giving Maten ample time to sell Lea. Maten began his career with the VOC in 1718 as an *onderkoopman* and is described on the ship's officer list as the former commander of Mallabaar and commander of the return flute. The latter honour was bestowed on the highest-ranking VOC individual on a ship or fleet.

The children of Harmen van Baijen of Hellevoetsluis travelled back to Europe after the death of their father on the 6th of May 1736. There were three slaves assigned to the children Anna, Anna Lucretia and Alexander van Baijen.³¹ Van Baijen had worked for the Company since 1717 when he held the rank of military *kapitein*. At the time of his death he was a *sergeant major* (sergeant major (a senior non-commissioned officer)), a very senior rank.

Christiaan Ludolff Timmerman of Dannenberg arrived at The Cape from Batavia with Pieter van Batavia and Regina van Bugis in 1738 on the *Hillegonda*.³² The ship was moored at The Cape between February 12th and March 9th 1739 before heading to Texel allowing Timmerman time to sell Pieter and Regina. Timmerman began his career with the VOC as *adelborst* in 1723 until his repatriation when he is described on the passenger list as *boekhouder*. Edzardus Rotgers of Groningen also landed at The Cape with Flora van Bali on February 14th 1739 on the flute *Hof Niet Altijd Winter*.³³ The second leg of the voyage to Goeree began on March 9th, allowing Rotgers just over three weeks to sell Flora. Rotgers began his career as *onderkoopman* in The East in 1733, a position he still held at the end of his service.

Networks

This profitable trade would have brought people interested in mutual benefit together, and such relationships are evident from the written sources. Harmanus Driesman from Amsterdam landed at The Cape from Ceylon in 1790 with Matthijs van Mallabaar (Malabar) and Fortuijn van Mallabaar on the *Trinconomale*.³⁴ The ship spent nearly a month at The Cape which would have allowed Driesman time to sell Matthijs and Fortuijn. Maritime *Kapitein* (skipper) Driesman's career with the VOC spanned two decades (1770-1790). On his first journey to The East he is described as a *hooploper*. Prior to his last return voyage from Ceylon, he had travelled

31 Ibid.

32 NA VOC, 2419, Ten dienste van de onder te noemene familien werden op de nabesz: schepen na Nederland getransporteert agt stux lijfeigene voor de welke de gestatueerde kost en transport penningen gerekent voor de heen en weder terug reize in de cassa van de E: Comp: voldaan zijn geworden als..., f. 564r.

33 Ibid.

34 NA VOC, 3843, f. 3278r. The ship was named after the fort on the east coast of Ceylon now known as Trincomalee

there twice before. He arrived with the *Trinconomale* in Ceylon on September 9th 1789 and left again in February 1790. As a VOC veteran he would have been exposed to the ways that others had profited from the transportation of enslaved persons to be sold at The Cape.

Also, on the *Trinconomale* was Tobias Scholte of Furstenau who travelled with Meij of Mallabaar from Ceylon to The Cape.³⁵ Scholte signed three contracts with the Company between 1786 and 1794 when he died. He began his career as a *schiemansmaat* and ended it as a *bootsman*. Pieter David Louis of Danzig arrived at the same time and on the same ship as Harmanus Driesman and Tobias Scholte. Louis brought a slave by the name of Julij van Mallabaar to sell at The Cape.³⁶ He spent six years in the service of the VOC (1784-1790), during which time he was promoted from *bootsmansmaat* (boatswain's mate) to *bootsman* (boatswain). Louis had travelled to Ceylon once before and could have developed relationships with agents who could have introduced him to the workings of the slave trade there.

It would appear that the ships' officers and military men, some of whom had prior experience and possible contacts in Ceylon, who were returning from Ceylon to the Netherlands on the *Trinconomale* and the *Huisduinen* had taken the opportunity to turn a quick buck by investing in male slaves to sell at The Cape. Unlike in Asia, where most slaves worked in the domestic sphere, men were in demand at The Cape (Ward, 2009) as by this time most slaves were engaged in agricultural labour. Nearly all of the enslaved men travelling on this fleet were from Mallabaar (29), two were from Ceylon and yet another two were from *de Cust* (Coromandel).

Skipper Haiman de Laver of the *Cockenge* was responsible for the delivery of several slaves from Batavia to The Cape in 1712, including those of Mattheus de Haan.³⁷ De Laver had captained the *Meervliet* from Texel to Batavia in 1708.³⁸ In 1716 he captained the *Linschoten* from Texel to Batavia once again.³⁹ In 1709, as the skipper on the *Hoedekenskerke*, he travelled from Batavia to Texel⁴⁰. In 1717 he captained the *Westerdijksborn* from Batavia to Texel.⁴¹ Needless to say, his experience travelling to and fro between Europe and Asia, via The Cape, would have exposed de Laver to the potential financial gains one could make offering the service of delivering slaves for others or transporting slaves in his own right to turn a profit.

Alexander Simons is another example of a skipper who exploited his position to turn a profit in this trade in souls. He made seven voyages between Texel and Batavia between the years 1684

35 NA VOC, 3843, f. 3278v.

36 Ibid.

37 VOC 7538, p. 60.

38 Dutch Asiatic Shipping (DAS), voyage 2064.2.

39 DAS voyage 2286.2.

40 DAS voyage 6211.3.

41 DAS voyage 6408.2.

and 1701. On his last voyage as skipper on the *Theeboom*, he was responsible for Francis, the slave of one Lijsbet Tent, as well as Abraham van Coetchin (Cochin), the slave of Maria Westenbaar.⁴²

The rhythm of the slave transportations

To investigate the seasonal nature of the informal slave trade and the fate of the slaves once they arrived at The Cape, the Cape Title Deeds (CTD) from January 1703 to April 1704 were analysed along with the Dutch Asiatic Shipping (DAS) database. Several slaves whose transportation to The Cape was documented were found to have mostly been sold upon arrival at The Cape, demonstrating that this transportation was indeed a trade. It was also found that this trade was seasonal with the peak sales of slaves at The Cape occurring in March of both years which corresponds to the time when the return fleets were making their annual voyages from Asia to Europe and were moored at The Cape. On March 21st 1703, Cornelis Cool, the skipper on the ship *'s Lands Welvaren* sold the 20-year-old Floris/Floor of Batavia at The Cape to Willem ten Damme for 65 Rds.⁴³ Floris was owned by the widow Taalman. Two other slaves travelled under the supervision of Cool, namely Jan van de Cust and April who were respectively owned by someone by the name of Phempfontejn and a Juffrouw Maria Weijlsman.⁴⁴

The merchant, Pieter Bisschop, travelled with Titus van de Cust on the *Domburg* in 1703.⁴⁵ Bisschop sold the 20-year-old Titus to Henning Husing at The Cape for 80 Rds.⁴⁶ Husing would later become instrumental in the ousting of the younger Van der Stel for monopoly trading on his own account at The Cape. The *vrijburgher*, Reijnier Brand, travelled with Gideon van Bengalen on the *Oostersteijn*, part of the same return fleet as the *Domburg*.⁴⁷ Brand sold the 20-year-old Gideon to the *assistent* Poulle for 80 Rds.⁴⁸ On May 19th, Poulle sold Gideon to the *gouverneur* Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel at a 10 Rds. loss.⁴⁹ Poulle also bought one Hanibal van Bengale, 21 years of age, from Anthonij Adelburg for 85 Rds.⁵⁰ Hanibal was owned by the widow Chorle.⁵¹

42 NA VOC 1630, "Memorie van de Slaven desen jare met de onderstaande scheepen na de Caap versonden werdende als..", f. 1143r.

43 Cape Title Deeds (CTD) 8: deed 28.

44 VOC 1651, notitie van de slaven en slavinnen dewelke met de thans gereetleggende retour schepen op ordonnantie van den Eden Hr directeur generaal naar Cabo de goede hoop over varen soo omme tot dienst van hare mrs op de heen reijse derwaerts gebruikt als ook omme aldaar bestelt of verkogt te werden namentlijk..., f. 350r.

45 NA VOC 1651, f. 351r.

46 CA CTD 8:36.

47 NA VOC 1651, f. 350v.

48 CA CTD 8:40.

49 CA CTD 8:70.

50 CA CTD 8:51.

51 NA VOC 1651, f. 350v.

Boekhouder Adelburgh also sold 30-year-old Karel van Mallabaar to the widow of Hugo de Goijer, Christina de Beer, for 75 Rds.⁵²

Jurriaan Beek, repatriating on the *Liefde*, sold 20-year-old Cassandra van Bouton to Albert Coopman.⁵³ Beek was responsible for Anthonij and Cleopatra, the slaves of Maria, daughter of fellow burgher Jan Moors. *Burgher* Beek also travelled with Moeta⁵⁴ but no record of his sale was found in the title deeds. On March 7th 1704, Thomas Pauw, the *boekhouder* on the *Abbekerk*, sold one female and one male slave named Bastiana van Bengalen and Salammit van Macassar, aged 20 and 26 years respectively, to Henning Husing for 140 Rds.⁵⁵ The skipper on the *Unie*, Arij Bogaart, sold 36-year-old Isaak van Bengalen to the *opperchirurgijn* (first surgeon) Willem ten Damme for 40 Rds.⁵⁶ The *boekhouder* on the *Unie*, Petrus Jeddens, sold 28-year-old Scipio van de Cust to the *vrijburgher* Claas Conelisz for the relatively large sum of 120 Rds.⁵⁷

Who benefitted

What is obvious from these transactions is that skippers, who doubled as middlemen in the slave trade, stood to make a tidy sum for their efforts. They also traded in slaves on their own account as is shown by Arij Bogaert's ownership of Dora of Macassar. It is assumed that Dora was an asset as a skipper had a number of underlings to perform duties for him on the ship and did not require a domestic slave. Other skippers involved in this informal slave trade were Volkert Schouten, of the frigate *Noortgouw*, who sold the 30-year-old Arend of Madagascar to the former member of the *burgherraad*, Cornelis Botma for 300 guilders.⁵⁸ Robbert de Groot, skipper on the returnship *Grimmesteijn*, sold 23-year-old Arend van Java for 80 Rds. to the free man Hendrik Bouman on March 21st, 1703.⁵⁹ De Groot sold two other slaves to the free man Steven Vermeij on the same day, namely 24-year-old Claas and 26-year-old Isaak, both of Batavia, for 60 Rds. and 70 Rds. respectively.⁶⁰ There are too many examples to mention, but the hope is these few illustrate the trend.

Wilhem Adriaan Van der Stel, the governor of The Cape (1699-1707), appears to have used his wealth, power and networks to acquire numerous slaves from the return fleets in the years 1703 and 1704. Although Van der Stel may have needed slaves for his lavish country estate,

52 CA CTD 8:169.

53 CA CTD 8:56.

54 NA VOC 1651, f. 349v.

55 CA CTD 8:161.

56 CA CTD 8:171.

57 CA CTD 8:175.

58 CA CTD 8:18.

59 CA CTD 8:31.

60 CA CTD 8:32/33.

Vergelegen, there is a high probability that at least some of the slaves bought from the return fleets were for trade rather than labour.

Van der Stel bought Anthonij van Pallinkatte, aged *c.* 25 years, from the widow of the former *commandeur* of the *equipagewerf* in Batavia, Juffrouw Maria van Haps for 105 Rds.⁶¹ He bought Themon van de Westcust of unknown age from the *vice commmandeur* of the return fleet, Jan de Wansijn for 55 Rds.⁶² From Jacob Broegh, the *commandeur* of the return fleet, Van der Stel bought four slaves: Ticus van Batavia (21), Mosis van Nagapatnam (22), Caspar van Tito (23) and Paris van Coutchin (29) for 70 Rds. each. These slaves were not found in the OBP, however two other slaves that Broegh had in his care were mentioned. These were Jacob van Bengale, owned by Emanuel Bornezee and Raam van Bengale, owned by Jacob van Dam.⁶³ Van der Stel bought the *c.* 16-17 year-old April van de Cust from the skipper of the *Vosmaar*, Thomas van Willigen, for 70Rds.⁶⁴ Skipper Jan Brouwert sold Trimmakassie, a *c.* 25-26 year-old slave to the governor for 65 Rds.⁶⁵ On June 21st, 1703, Godevaart Caasembrood, the *assistent boekhouder* on the *Jerusalem* sold two slaves to the younger Van der Stel, Margo van Bali (30) and Titus van Macassar (30) for 70 Rds. each.⁶⁶ Van der Stel purchased David van Bali, aged 25 years, from the *onderstuurman* (second mate) on the *Generale Vreede* for 70Rds.⁶⁷ Jacob Vos the *bootsman* on the *Ganssenhoef* sold 18-year-old Aco van Coutchin to Van der Stel for 60 Rds.⁶⁸

Jacob Regenboog, the skipper of the *Driebergen*, sold 5 slaves to Van der Stel named Adam van Batavia, Anthonij van de Cust, Abraham van Bengalen, Laijtsouw van Bugis and Frans van Batavia for the combined price of 276 and a quarter Rixdaalders.⁶⁹ Cornelis Valk, the *schout bij nacht* (rear admiral) of the return fleet, sold 3 slaves to Van der Stel at 60 Rds. each: Francis van Souratte, Janmat van Macassar and Isaacq van de Cust, all of whom were 30 years old.⁷⁰ Jan Rog, the *opperstuurman* on the *Flora*, sold 20-year-old Cupido van de Cust to the governor for 60 Rds.⁷¹ The *vrijburgher*, Martinus van Kampen, sold 19-year-old Dauphine van Macassar to

61 CA CTD 8:48.

62 NA VOC 1651; CA CTD 8:49.

63 NA VOC 1651, f. 349r.

64 CA CTD 8:53.

65 CA CTD 8:72.

66 CA CTD 8:78.

67 CA CTD 8:158.

68 CA CTD 8:159.

69 CA CTD 8:162.

70 CA CTD 8:176.

71 CA CTD 8:177.

the governor for 70 Rds.⁷² Finally, the *vrijburgher* Huijbert Scheij, sold Van der Stel two slaves: 25-year-old Titus van Macassar and 16-year-old Mars van Bengalen both for 120 Rds.⁷³

An overview of the trade

The cosmopolitan nature of the Netherlands and the VOC is evident from the OBP and CTD. Not only were Company employees from different parts of the Netherlands but of Europe as well including Sweden, Germany and France. As can be seen from the toponyms of the enslaved, they too were procured from all corners of the Indian Ocean basin, a small indication of the uncertainty inherent in their lives especially after the involvement of the VOC in indigenous slave trading changed its nature and intensity.

Due to the labour demands of The Cape, it comes as no surprise that in this 18th-century sample of forced migrations from The East to Cape Town found in the OBP the majority (58%) of those transported were men, while a minority (18%), were women. In 24% percent of the cases, it is unclear whether the individuals were men or women. From the ages of the slaves sold from the return ships, it would appear that the 'optimal' age of the slaves was an average of 24 years. The average price that slaves fetched in the 18th century was Rds. 70.

Keeping in mind that the slaves' toponyms are more likely an indication of the place of purchase or transshipment as opposed to geographic origins (Schoeman, 2012), it is still instructive to crudely study the geographic spread of Indian Ocean slavery in the 18th century, and prevalence of individuals from certain regions illustrated by these names (**Table 1**). Individuals coming from the west coast of India are the most abundant, including the 31 from the *Huisduinen* and *Trinconomale*. The second largest groups came from the east coast of India (23) and from Bengal (25). These individuals could well have begun their journey of enslavement in-land however they only came into contact with the Dutch once they arrived at the coast. Individuals from South Sulawesi (19) and Java (11) in the Indonesian Archipelago are also present in the sample. Even Madagascar is represented by three individuals. Of the individuals whose toponyms are available, 93 were from South Asia, while 43 were from Southeast Asia.

72 NA VOC 7534, f. 30v.; CA CTD 8:180.

73 VOC 7534, f. 31r.; CTD 8:181.

Table 1: Enslaved “origins”

Region	Number	%
Indonesia	48	32.2
India/Ceylon	73	49.0
Bengal	25	16.8
Madagascar	3	2.0
Total	149	

Origins as determined from the OBP, inventories NA VOC 1628; 1630; 1641; 1651; 1653; 2360; 2419; 3843; 7534; 7538; 7545.

To compare the proportions of slaves from different regions in The Cape slave market with the Asian slaves recorded in the OBP, 18th-century Cape slave baptismal records were inspected (**Table 2, Table 3**). *Burghers* relied on imported Asian slaves, particularly from Indonesia, in the early years of the century. The majority of privately owned slaves, however, were Cape-born. The picture gleaned from the baptismal records of Company slaves shows a reliance on imported slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique as opposed to Asia. In the early years of the century, Madagascan slaves predominated, however this changed during the 20s, 30s, and 40s, when Mozambican slave numbers surpassed those of Madagascan slaves. The data suggest that from the 50s Madagascar once again overtook Mozambique as a source region for Company slaves. As with *burgher* slaves, a significant number of Company slaves were Cape-born.

Table 2: Burgher-owned enslaved “origins”

Region	1713-1723		1724-1733		1734-1743		1744-1753		1754, 1756	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Madagascar	10	11.9	1	3.1	1	2.4	3	5.8	2	4.1
Bengal	12	14.3	8	25.0	5	12.2	3	5.8	11	22.4
Indonesia	31	36.9	3	9.4	4	9.8	7	13.5	6	12.2
India	8	9.5	5	15.6	10	24.4	3	5.8	3	6.1
Cape	23	27.4	14	43.8	21	51.2	36	69.2	24	49.0
Rio de la Goa	0	0	1	3.1	1	2.4	0	0	3	6.1
Total	84		32		41		52		49	

Table 3: Company-owned enslaved “origins”

Region	1713-1723		1724-1726; 1730-1733		1734-1743		1744-1748; 1756	
		%		%		%		%
Madagascar	42	44.2	18	18.8	3	2.1	16	29.6
Bengal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	0	0	3	3.1	3	2.1	0	0
India	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cape	51	53.7	35	36.5	41	28.7	28	51.9
Rio de la Goa	0	0	40	41.7	96	67.1	10	18.5
Total	95		96		143		54	

Origins as determined from baptismal record transcriptions found at <http://www.eggsa.org>

Fates of the enslaved

We have seen how slaves were traded by the upper echelons of the VOC hierarchy, but we have not addressed their prospects once at The Cape. Upon arrival at The Cape a slave could find him/herself transported to the hinterland to perform agricultural labour. Others would stay in Cape Town performing labour for their masters and mistresses such as wet nursing and peddling goods for *koeli geld*. If one was lucky he/she could attain freedom by being bought out of slavery by oneself or kin. Some masters/mistresses manumitted their slaves after years of loyal service. Deceased estates of free people of colour at The Cape give an intimate glimpse into the lives of former slaves known at the time as *vrije zwarten* (free blacks: emancipated slaves of Asian or African descent).

Anna de Koning was one such former slave who became a wealthy member of Cape society. Anna was the daughter of Angela of Bengal. Along with her Swedish husband, Ollof Bergh, Anna owned *Groot Constantia*, the grand estate that had once belonged to Simon Van der Stel. The inventories of the orphan chamber illustrate the wealth Anna de Koning left behind, particularly in slaves. At the time of her death, de Koning owned 39 slaves. Anna de Koning and Ollof Bergh’s daughter, Appolonia Africana Bergh, married well to the Captain Fredrik Rhenius and had enough money to buy land in Table Bay in 1763.

De Koning’s husband, Bergh, bought two slaves from lieutenant Willem van Loon of the returnship *Horstendaal*: 24-year-old Pedro van Cochin and 14-year-old Frans of Colombo. Bergh also bought 23-year-old Simon van Mallabar and 13-year-old Frances van Cochin from the *boekhouder* on the *Liefde*, Michiel Francke, for 70 Rds. and 30 Rds. respectively.

Anna's mother, Angela van Bengalen, had owned several slaves at the time of her death. They are listed in her deceased estate as Pieter van Madagascar (Rds. 260:3), Trompetter van Madagasker (Rds. 130), Claas van Madagasker (Rds. 180:4), a woman slave and her child (Rds. 95:1), Jan Swart van Mallabar and another woman slave and her child (Rds. 95:1). Another *vrije zwart* whose inventory demonstrates great wealth is Robbert Schot van Bengalen. His five heirs were Robbert Hendrik (20), Emerentia (19), Arend (15), Pieter (7) and Helena Rebecca (6). His estate included 18 horses, 27 oxen and 406 sheep, implying that he was a farmer of some wealth. He also owned 10 slaves.

After being freed by Simon Van der Stel for faithful service, Armozijn van de Caab seems to have continued to enjoy the patronage of VOC high society. This is evidenced by land given to her by *Gouverneur* Louis van Assenburg in Table Valley in 1708. One *vrije zwart*, Isaak van Bengalen, sold his house in Table Valley to a Christoffel Ladewinkel in 1704. Aron van Ceylon also sold his estate near Stellenbosch to Paul Keijser for 4000 guilders in 1736. Sara van Solor was another *vrije zwart* landowner. She was the widow of the *burgher* Simon Buijs and she had owned an estate in Table Valley.

Few free blacks seem to have been as successful as Anna de Koning and Robbert Schot in the documents we searched, however. For the most part free blacks at The Cape lived modest lives as is reflected by their purchases at deceased estate sales. On August 22nd, 1718 Susanna van Batavia bought two tin bowls for Rds. 1:3 and 6 tin dishes for Rds. 1:6. Abraham van Macassar bought a roll of tobacco for Rds. 3:5. Hans Casper Gerringer's deceased estate sale attracted several *vrije zwarten*. Thomas van Bugis' purchases came to less than Rds. 10. Abraham van Macassar also bought goods worth less than Rds. 10. Rangton of Bali's possessions at his deceased estate amounted to a meagre Rds. 14:5 ½.

It becomes clear from the marriage records at The Cape that the social world of the *vrije zwarten* entailed a great deal of cultural mixing. For instance, on the 10th January 1700, Jacob Cornelis of Mallabaar married Sara of Madagascar. Aaron of Madagascar married Rachel of Coromandel [Coast] on the 2nd December 1708. Robbert Schot, whom we encountered earlier, married Cecilia (Lea) of Madagascar on the 29th January 1719. On the 30th March 1732, one Bastiaen of Ceylon, described as a free-born *Chingalees* (Sinhalese), married Piternella van de West Cust, who is described as a *vrijzwartin*. Bastiaen could have worked for the Company as a free man and settled at The Cape.

Not only are there numerous marriages recorded between freed slaves from all corners of the Indian Ocean basin, but also those between free blacks and Europeans. On 31st July 1707, the European Claes Beu van Ditmaarsen married the Cape-born former slave Anna Maria van de Kaap. On 25th October 1711, another European, Cornelis Martensz of Beeverwijk married Susanna of Madagascar. On 29th December 1737 Cornelis de Kat of Haarlem married Apolonia

van de Kaap and thus legitimised her three children whom he may well have fathered. The soldier Jan Christoffer Flek of Hanouw married Maria of The Cape the 12th July 1739. Maria Pera of The Cape, whose previous marriage to the free black Jacobus Adamsz: was recorded on 8th October 1747, married the *matroos* Govert Franke of Amsterdam on the 5th October 1755. Franke would be released to become a *vrijburgher* in 1758.

Baptismal records also act as a window into the social world of freed slaves. Not only do we see the ethnic mixing of the society, but we also find evidence of the existence of a fledgling community. Ollof Bergh of Gottenburg and his wife Anna de Koning were regularly at baptisms, either of their own children or as witnesses/godparents at the baptisms of others' children. On October 29th in 1702, this wealthy couple baptized their son, Albertus, in front of witnesses Albert Coopman and Maria Bergh, one of the couples' many children. Ollof Bergh had been a maritime lieutenant when he joined the Company, whilst Coopman was a *ziekentrooster* (sick visitor). Anna de Koning would stand as witness at the baptism of her half-brother Michiel's son, Johannes. Michiel Basson was the son of Angela van Bengale from her marriage to Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson.

Another couple that often featured on the social calendar was Otto Ernst van Graan and his wife Rebecca Moses van de Kaap. They baptized their son Moses Ernst in 1706 with Moses Arontz (of Macassar) and Sara van Macassar, Rebecca Moses' parents, as witnesses. The grandparents were once again witnesses at the baptism of Sara in 1708. Also, in 1708 they were witnesses to the baptism of Sophia Elizabeth, the daughter of Gerrit van Oldenburg and Susanna van Madagascar.

Conclusions

We have demonstrated that there was ample opportunity for VOC personnel to engage in private slave trading and that they took full advantage of the Company's intercontinental transport networks in the Indian Ocean to do so. The OBP shed light on slaves' migrations for the purposes of acting as domestics to their masters/mistresses on repatriation voyages and to be sold or delivered to The Cape. Limited information about the enslaved is available in this record and it over-represents the higher echelons of the VOC hierarchy and *vrijburghers*. A few examples, however, seem to indicate that free blacks had access to these networks too.

The majority of the enslaved transported to The Cape were men, of the few women in the sample, the majority were from the Indonesian Archipelago. Mostly slaves of Indonesian 'origin' were transported on the Batavia–Cape route, with significant numbers also originating from Bengal and the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. The majority of slaves transported on the Ceylon–Cape route were from the Malabar Coast. The cultural diversity evident in 18th-century

New insights into forced migration to the Cape gleaned from old documents

Cape Town is still very much visible today. A few slaves would gain their freedom and become prominent members of Cape society, but the majority lived out their lives modestly.