

THE OCCUPATIONS OF SLAVES IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURYCAPE TOWN

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In this paper I will attempt to outline the major fields of activity which were forced on slaves in eighteenth century Cape Town by their masters, in other words their work. It is to be hoped that this will provide a basis for understanding how the city functioned, since the slaves did most of the basic work within the town. Moreover, an analysis of the economic activities of the slaves would seem to be necessary before any further investigation of slave culture or indeed of the social organisation of the city can be made. Nevertheless, it is clearly necessary that a brief sketch be given of the position of Cape Town within the two economic systems that it linked, namely the world economy of the eighteenth century and that section of it which developed within the Cape Colony itself.

During the eighteenth century, Cape Town was the only port in South Africa. Ships on the long voyage from the East to Europe put in there regularly for a few weeks to recover the strength of their crews and to take on provisions. In addition, it served as the seat of government for the V.O.C. and the great proportion of the garrison was stationed there, since in fact the port was the only part of the colony which was vulnerable to foreign attack. Also of major importance was the hospital where up to 600 sailors were likely to be housed, in the process of recovering from the rigours of life on an Indiaman.

Clearly, most of the citizens of Cape Town lived off the passing population, either indirectly or directly. In general, the two main activities of the burghers were lodging-house keeping and trading, and the two occupations were generally united in the same person. This was particularly so as Cape Town formed the only market for the agricultural produce of the colony, but was nevertheless difficult and costly for a Boer to reach. It lay on the edge of the colony (naturally, being a sea-port) and was also cut off from the platteland by the sandy and waterless Cape flats, which were arduous to cross with the ox waggon which was the only available means of

bulk transport. As a consequence, farmers only came into town irregularly, although a visit to Cape Town, at least annually, was a necessity if the farmers were to procure the various needs of life, arms, shot, powder, perhaps a new waggon, as well as some of the luxuries, such as coffee, tea and some spices. On the other hand, Cape Town could be relatively empty for much of the year, with the greatest strain on its resources coming in the few weeks when the outward-bound and return fleets of the VOC put into the Cape. As a consequence there was every opportunity for the townsmen to buy cheap and sell dear, both to and from the two groups of transients. In addition, there were those burghers who engaged in providing manufactured commodities (in the broadest sense), for their fellow Kapenaars, for the farmers and for the shipsfolk. These included the butchers, the bakers and in a variety of small workshops, blacksmiths, carpenters, builders and so on. Factories on any scale do not seem to have existed, even though there is one tantalising reference to a "sijde spinnerij" making the streets dirty.¹ Finally, even though it was a town, a certain amount of food production was carried on from Cape Town. It was by far the largest centre for fishing in the Colony, with boats regularly working in Table Bay, and there was a certain amount of market gardening, both within the built up area and just outside, on the intensively farmed and irrigated slopes of Table Mountain. It is moreover indicative that the census returns for 1806, (the first which distinguished Cape Town from the surrounding Cape district) include 340 738 vines and 454 muids of grain (sown) within the confines of Cape Town, as then defined.²

Throughout the eighteenth century, Cape Town was by far the largest settlement in the colony, and contained perhaps a quarter of its total population. Exact figures cannot be given, as there are too many lacunae, both for the population of the town and of the colony as a whole. For instance the number of Khoi is never recorded before 1797. However, such figures as are available are given, for sample years, in Appendix I.

Just as it is most difficult to give precise figures for the slave population of Cape Town, so no quantitative breakdown of slave occupation exists, with one partial exception. In 1795, when the

Cape surrendered to the British, the Dutch officials took an inventory of the possessions of the Company, as they would have done for a dead man.³ This inventory, detailed down to the last pen and archive volume, recorded the work places of the 534 slaves and bandieten⁴ then under the control of the Company. Of these 45 were no longer able to work, 40 were at school and 18 were still infants at the breast. For the rest, the slaves were occupied in all the departments of the administration and in the various stores and workshops of the Company. Thus 17 slaves worked "in 't Gouvernement" (presumably the administrative offices). 2 served the bookbinder, 2 worked in the main warehouse for merchandise and 50 in the various other warehouses, including 7, all bandieten, directly under the fiscaal in his private store, while one man aided those who looked after the weapons of the Company. Another 27 were busy in the hospital, while one woman had the task of midwife. Then there were those who had jobs connected in some way with the craftsmen who worked for the Company. There were 5 in the forge, 7 with the coopers, 2 with the carpenters, 2 with the millers and 2 more with the pump maker. 3 slaves worked in the bakery and 2 in the pottery, one man was candle-maker while one more helped the company cutler, keeping the knives and axes sharp. Those axes were used, above all, by the 59 slaves and bandieten who were charged with providing the Company with fuel and building timber, a difficult task which took them mainly to the forests above Newlands and to Hout Bay, behind Table Mountain. These there were those who maintained the public services of the Town. 6 were concerned to remove the rubbish accumulated by the various households, 23 worked maintaining the fortifications, 2 acted as painters and one slave assisted the sexton. Then there were those who had essentially agricultural, or at least horticultural occupations. 4 worked in the Company's garden, 2 with its chickens and 6 at Kirstenbosch, on the other side of Table Mountain. For the sake of completeness, it would also be mentioned here that there were also 2 slaves who had gone to Europe with a previous governor and 8 slaves and bandieten were at the Company's posts in the interior.

It can be assumed that the great majority of those who worked in one or other of the craft workshops of the Company had acquired at least a certain amount of skill. On the other hand those who were listed as working "aan 't Gemeene werk" were likely to have been merely common labourers who had not been able to persuade the Company officials to take them into a more skilled occupation, though there may of course have been no premium in working the regular at a boring job, certainly not in one like woodcutting. But the group of common labourers was numerous. Virtually all the working women (91 out of 105) were in this position, while there were also 47 male slaves and 3 bandieten who had to perform the menial irregular tasks assigned to them in this way. Many of these, no doubt, worked mainly in the docks, since there was no separate group of dockers mentioned and the task of loading and unloading ships and of transporting goods to the various stores was clearly vital.

Most controversial of all the slaves and bandieten were those who acted as officers of justice, the Caffers. Within Cape Town itself there were 19 bandieten directly under the Fiscaal, while each of the landdrosts of the country districts had a few at his disposal. They worked as assistants to the executioner, preparing for capital punishment, doing much of the actual flogging ordered by the Court of Justice and administering the private justice demanded by slave-owners against their slaves, at least when they did not take the law into their own hands. They also had the job of maintaining order in the streets of Cape Town and the surrounding villages, in the town supplementing the efforts of the burgher watch, and of going to arrest criminals. They "are armed with a sword with iron hilt, carrying a 'palang' or heavy club, wear a grey uniform consisting of a short coat with blue lapels, a waistcoat and trousers and receive some petty perquisites as well."⁵ Certainly they were not liked by the general population. The Fiscaal himself commented that "the kaffers who are used are evil, yes very evil and the scum of humanity. They have almost all been on the scaffold themselves and the least familiarity with them is not very honourable."⁶ The Caffers caused numerous problems for the government, not only because the burghers objected to one of their number being arrested by black, polluted criminals.⁷ In 1786 a Caffer ran amok in the streets of Cape Town, killing several

people, whereupon the government decided no longer to employ Asiatics in the department of Justice, but to be content with "robust and fit slaves of the Company, or other blacks inclined to this kind of work."⁸ Also the caffers made use of their excuse for being anywhere at any time to engage in robbery, at least on occasions - and of all these crimes these would have been the most difficult to find the culprit.⁹ But in fact the government never implemented its resolution, so that in 1795 the caffers were of Asian descent.

At the head of the slave heirarchy were the 6 mandoors and the matron. Their task was to maintain discipline over the rest of the Company slaves and to control them at their work. Indeed, the best translation of mandoor into American English would be driver - although it is symptomatic of the structure of Cape society that the term was also used for white foremen, with control over both white and slave workers. Exactly what their position within the organization of the slave lodge was is uncertain, or at least a subject for further research. Similarly it is difficult to be sure what the precise function of the matron was within the lodge. Two things are clear, however. First, those who were granted these positions of leadership were generally at least second generation South Africans, in contradistinction to most of the Company slaves.¹⁰ Secondly it can be assumed that they were able to make use of their position within the lodge to improve their status within the total society. It cannot be mere chance that at least two of the matrons, Christina Magdalena Smith in 1743 and Johanna Sophia Maria Fatima van de Caab in 1768, were able to buy their freedom.¹¹

Although some of the slaves may have been able to profit from working on their free Sundays, for most of the Company slaves the only possible method of accumulating wealth were successful gambling, theft and prostitution. Not that all female slaves were whores. There are examples of contented family units even in the crowded conditions of the lodge¹² while from time to time soldiers emancipated slave women to marry them, or emancipated their own slave children - and presumably they must have been reasonably sure that the child was their own.¹³ Nevertheless, it is symptomatic that the great majority of Cape-born slaves of the Company were known as matronymics. Also the function of the lodge as a place of recreation for passing sailors

was well known, though this is not to throw the whole responsibility for the "white genes" in the modern so-called "coloured" population on to the transients, as the evidence for whites keeping slave and Khoi concubines - even marrying them - is too clear.¹⁴ Nevertheless, as early as 1685, the visiting commissioner van Rhee de tot Drakenstein was shocked by the amount of sexual immorality between the burghers and the Company's employees and its slaves. He ordered that any white caught in flagrante delicto with a slave woman be sentenced to work for six months (or a year if a Company employee) as a slave.¹⁵ This regulation does not seem to have had a great deal of effect. In a famous passage, Mentzel described the situation as it was when he was at the Cape in the 1730s:

Female slaves are always ready to offer their bodies for a trifle; and toward evening, one can see a string of soldiers and sailors entering the lodge where they misspend their time until the clock strikes nine. After that hour no strangers are allowed to remain in the lodge. The Company does nothing to prevent this promiscuous intercourse, since, for one thing, it tends to multiply the slave population and does away with the necessity of importing fresh slaves. Three or four generations of this admixture (for the daughters follow their mother's footsteps) have produced a half-caste population - a mestizo class - but a shade darker than some Europeans.¹⁶

Mentzel's demography was wrong, and the Company continually had to import slaves, above all in Madagascar and on the Mozambique coast, but his picture of life in the slave lodge must have been accurate, at least as regards some of the slaves.

It is even more difficult than with Company slaves to describe the occupations of those Cape Town slaves who were owned by private citizens. There was never any census even approaching the rudimentary nature of the 1795 listing of Company slaves. It is therefore impossible to give any sort of quantitative estimate and it is necessary to present a description based on the impressions of travellers and the chances of what slaves were doing when they committed serious crimes. In broad lines, however, the tasks may be divided into three categories. First there were those who acted as household servants. These would have included all those slaves owned by employees of the

VOC. At times, the provision of servants seemed sumptuous, by the standards of contemporary Europe. For instance de Jong wrote of the Cape as he knew it at the end of the eighteenth century that

I would reckon that a white servant in Europe does twice, or even three times more work than these "slaves"; but I would also be certain that, in a house where everything is well ordered, four or at most six slaves can easily do the work. However, I believe that, except for the least substantial burghers, there are many houses, large and small, where ten or twelve are to be found. As they divide the tasks, they are necessary. One or two have to go out each day to fetch wood, which takes all day. If the mistress leaves the house, there must be two for the sedan chair. The slave who is cook has an assistant in the kitchen. One does the dirtiest work every day... and two are house slaves. Many Cape women do not gladly sleep without a maid in the room, and thus one is kept for this and, better clothed than the others, also has the job of lady's maid and carries the Psalm Book behind on visits to church. If there are children, each has a maid, although sometimes two daughters share. Small children need one to themselves. This is without one who washes and makes the beds, a seamstress and a knitter, as three or four are always kept busy that way, and I still have none for the stable.¹⁷

Clearly the great majority of Cape Town houses cannot have been so luxuriously supplied with slaves. Also it may be that this sort of description may well demonstrate the exaggeration which foreigners tend to produce when confronted with a strange, and particularly a slave society. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that a fair proportion of Cape slaves did act in the house, although by no means all households would have possessed the luxury positions of Lady's maid and flunkey. At least two of the jobs that de Jong mentioned were of major importance. Slave cooking, for one had a notable influence on Cape cuisine, helping to build up its syncretic blend of east and west, with an emphasis on the mutton which was the staple food of Cape Town on the one hand¹⁸ and cinnamon and ginger as the major spice on the other. It is interesting that, in addition to a small random scatter of loan words, vocabulary relating to three major fields of activity has passed from the slave languages of Malayo-Portuguese creole and Malay into Afrikaans. These were to do with

Islam (naturally, since it was an exclusively slave religion), fishin and the kitchen.¹⁹ Such classic Afrikaans dishes as bredies, boboties and sosaties²⁰ took their name, and no doubt their form from the slaves who cooked them.

On a slightly different plane, that slaves were sent out to collect fuel cannot be considered a luxury, as de Jong appears to do. Rather it had to do with one of the major necessities of life, and with one which was otherwise difficult to acquire in Cape Town. Since there was no fossil fuel exploitable in the neighbourhood, for cooking and heating - and in the Cape winters some heat is a condition of comfort - wood was needed, in fairly large quantities in order to satisfy the requirements of a town of over ten thousand people by the end of the century. Providing the amount needed was no easy task. The immediate environs of the town had been heavily exploited, and many of the best areas, as on the slopes above Newlands - the so-called Post't Paradys of the eighteenth century - were retained for the use of the Company.²¹ In general slaves had to go up onto Table Mountain to cut wood, but even there they were driven away from the nearest areas, as the whole of Table Valley, between the Devil's Peak and the Lion's Head was out of bounds - and anyway a licence to cut wood was demanded anywhere on the mountain. After the 1740s the prohibition against cutting in Table Valley was no longer issued, presumably not so much because the inhabitants of the town had become more law-abiding as because all the trees in this area had been cut out, and, despite prohibitions against cutting more than was needed for domestic use, the townspeople were having to go further afield. In 1746, it became necessary to control chopping around Muizenberg and False Bay, some 30 miles from the centre of the town, and presumably it was urban demand that forced the enactment of these rules.²²

These regulations were clearly frequently ignored. There is at least one case of a fight between the soldiers under the command of the baas of 't Paradys and a group of slaves who were busy tying loads of wood on each other's back when interrupted.²³ Again, in 1750, a slave presumed that the land behind Kloof Nek, on which he intended to cut wood was common, but its white owner appeared and drove him off with a kirry.²⁴ It may be imagined that there was difficulty policing the large slave population which had to perform

this task daily, and no doubt wished to do it with as little effort as possible - and at any event the carrying of a load of wood on one's back for several miles, and up and down steep hills cannot have been pleasant, especially as the reward for arriving late or with too small a burden was likely to have been a flogging. But the job of cutting wood did give some slaves the chance to escape from their masters' surveillance, and in doing so to aid the runaways who were often to be found on Table Mountain. It is not surprising that, after a company official had been killed by a group of rebellious slaves whose hideaway was on the mountain, the government forbade any slaves to climb it, preferring to open one of their own timber preserves to allowing any excuse for communication with and succour of the band on the mountain.²⁵ In general, of course, either the opportunity or the desire to help runaways must have been rare, and the daily slog of cutting and fetching wood merely the most strenuous task, along with carrying water and disposing of rubbish,²⁶ within the households of Cape Town's burghers. Moreover, it might at times be run as a commercial operation. September van Gale had to collect wood which his master sold the town²⁷ while there are even stories of runaway slaves who maintained themselves by selling wood in the streets of Cape Town, coming down from the mountain to do so.²⁸

Secondly, there were those slaves who were involved in productive activities. If the market gardeners on the mountain slopes are excepted, almost all the productive slaves worked either as craftsmen or as fishermen. Once again, it is not possible to give any quantitative break-down of the occupations of the craftsmen, or indeed of the numbers of them. Nevertheless, it is clear that they had come to dominate the skilled occupations in the Cape during the eighteenth century. At least according to the stereotype, the Islamic slaves known, probably as a result of back-formation, as Malays, were most often, the skilled craftsmen. According to Burchell, who visited Cape Town in 1811, among the Malays,

The males are taught to be carpenters, cabinet makers, masons, shoemakers, tailors, cooks, coachmen, valets or handicraftsmen, while the females fill the station of mantua-maker, cook, nurse or of various other domestic servants.²⁹

He also commented that the Malay servants were notable for their skill in handling the six-horse waggons of Cape Town. The skill that slaves had acquired was clearly reflected in their market price.³⁰ This is to be expected, as skilled slaves could be sent out to work for wages which accrued to their masters. Thus the masons who built the great Cape Dutch houses of Cape Town and its environs were, in all probability, built with labour that was both paid and slave, and not by slaves belonging, for instance, to architect or to his client. Thus there are some indications of the rise of a rentier class in Cape Town, living not off land but off the so-called "koeli geld", brought in by their slaves.

Very much the same pattern of employment was to be found among the fishermen. At least early in the eighteenth century the fishing community working Table Bay³¹ was made up of small men owning ships which were manned very largely by other peoples' slaves. Thus, for instance, in 1728, four fishing schuyten were arrested for fishing in an illegal stretch of water. The crews were all slaves, but only four of the sixteen were slaves of the owner of the boat on which they worked. Moreover, none of the four owners had more than two of his own slaves on his own boat.³² Nor do these particular owners seem to have been exceptional. In 1722, eleven owners of fishing boats petitioned the government to allow a certain stretch of water near the Salt River to be opened up again. Of these eleven, eight can be located in the property list of 1719.³³ The most prosperous of them had ten slaves and two had none at all, while the average was only 3.75. At least early in the century, fishing was a small man's business.

Thirdly, much of the retail trade of Cape Town was in the hands of the slaves. Foodstuffs were perhaps the most common commodity peddled in Cape Town. This activity was often the first thing a traveller arriving in the harbour experienced. C.P.Thunberg, a Swedish botanist, reported:

We were hardly come to an anchor before a crowd of black slaves and Chinese came in their small boats to sell and barter for clothes and other goods, fresh meat, vegetables and fruit.³⁴

While some of the slaves who visited Thunberg's ship were probably touting for custom for the various lodging houses, in general they were

merely extending to the sea the activity they carried on assiduously on land. They had to be assiduous. For instance, when on 26 September 1770, Talima van Soping failed to sell all the "soete limoenen" assigned to him by his owner, the Free Black Albert Isaacz, he was flogged.³⁵ Nor was this an isolated incidence. One of the commonest immediate cause of a slave attacking his master was a beating after returning with too little "koeli geld". The amount they had to earn might even be increased when, with the VOC fleet at anchor, market opportunities were considered to be better.³⁶ Thus it can be seen that the slaves hawking their goods, whether vegetables, cakes or whatever, round the streets fulfilled the function usually held by a market. It was a system which allowed ample opportunities for slaves to dispose of stolen goods while, as we have seen, it was even possible for runaway slaves to earn the money necessary to maintain their existence in this way.³⁷

It may be that the activities that masters expected their female slaves to perform in order to bring back money included prostitution. Prostitution was certainly fairly common, not only among the VOC's own slaves. According to Mentzel, the motto of the slave was "Kammene kas, kammene Kunte".³⁸ However, although there was at least one free black woman who earned her living by letting rooms to sailors and slave women who required them for a short time³⁹ I have as yet discovered no evidence that masters directly profitted from this activity of their human chattels.

This survey of the occupations of the Cape Town slaves in the eighteenth century has not attempted to elucidate any trends that there may have been in the sort of work done by slaves. As yet the evidence is not strong enough for such of these as there may have been to be discerned. However, once established, probably in the first decades of the century, the economic system of Cape Town did not alter until, perhaps, the 1820s, even though the population of the city increased rapidly. Moreover, fishing, domestic service and the skilled crafts have continued to form major sectors employing the so-called "coloured" descendants of the slaves, almost until today. If they did not continue in the retail trades, this is presumably because, after emancipation, ex-slaves had no capital of their own

and could no longer trade on that of their masters. In this sense, then the basic structure of Cape Town scarcely changed until, around 1900, it began to be an industrial city, as a distant satellite of the gold mining economy of the interior.

What can be established, however, is that even in the eighteenth century, Cape Town was a much freer place than the platte-land of its hinterland. The manifold positions of the economy filled by slaves made it impossible for a clear stereotype of the slave personality to develop. Buginese, Malagasies, Malays, Indians or Mozambiquans, not slaves, were ascribed characteristics by the travellers writing about Cape Town⁴⁰ and in practice it can have been difficult to separate the various groups. The diversity of occupations and the normal relationships of the town allowed a great amount of contact between slave and free, in the pub as well as in the workplace. What is more, they allowed a degree of social mobility unheard of in the countryside. While farm labourers could only run away - urban slaves could do that too, and the great advantage of the nearness of the ships, always eager for manpower, to take them away from South Africa - in the town it was possible to accumulate the wealth necessary to buy freedom. Robert Shell's investigation of eighteenth century manumission has shown no clear case of a farm labourer being freed. Almost all the 1 075 cases came from Cape Town, and were freed as a result of the bonds of affection built up between them and their master/mistress, or because of their own efforts.⁴¹ Perhaps there is some justification for the arrogant belief of the citizens of Cape Town that life there was far more easy-going, more equal than in the rest of South Africa. It may not be so now, and it may not have changed because an alien pattern of life was imposed from outside, but two hundred years ago it certainly was so.

NOTES

1. Case of 17 Sept. 1789, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Koloniaal Archief (hereafter KA). 8095.
2. G. McC. Theal (ed), Records of the Cape Colony, 36 volumes (London, 1897-1905) (hereafter RCC), VI, 75-6.
3. Algemeen Rijksarchief, Comité tot de zaken van de Oost Indisch Handel en Bezittingen 152A.

4. Bandieten were prisoners transported to the Cape from Indonesia.
5. O.F.Mentzel, A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope (1787), edited by H.L.Mandelbrote, 3 volumes (Cape Town, 1921-1944), II, 124.
6. C.Beyers, Die Kaapse Patriotte, 1779-1791 (Johannesburg, 1930), 15.
7. ibid., 26-7.
8. H.C.V.Leibbrandt (ed), Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requests and Memorials, 2 vols (Cape Town, 1906), I, 20, 22.
9. Case 15 of 31 Oct.1771, KA 4245.
10. See above, footnote 3.
11. Leibbrandt, I, 247.
12. Case against Antoni de Noose, 4 Oct.1725, KA 4077.
13. Leibbrandt, 2, 260.
14. Information to justify this assertion is to be found in J.A.Heese, Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner (Cape Town, 1970).
15. A.Hulshof (ed) "Journal of van Reede tot Drakenstein", BMHG, 62 (1941), 212.
16. Mentzel, II, 125.
17. C. de Jong, Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop ... 1791 tot 1797, 3 vols. (Haarlem, 1802-3), I, 143-4.
18. It is notable that the Cape was one of the few societies where meat was as cheap as bread, a commentary on the abysmal communications which drove up the price of all products which would not walk to the market.
19. It should be pointed out that many of these words were already current in Indonesian Dutch in the eighteenth century, and are thus not specific to Afrikaans. This does not, I think, affect my argument. My source for this statement is S.P.E.Boshoff, Etimologiese Woordeboek van Afrikaans (Cape Town, 1936), 10-11.
20. This is of course the same so well known in Dutch Indonesian restaurants. Nevertheless, the noted Afrikaans Belle-lettriste, C.L.Leipoldt wrote in Polfyntjes vir die Proe (Cape Town, 1963), 158, that "Daar is geen enkele ander gereg wat as meer eg-Afrikaans beskou kan word as sosaties nie".
21. A.Appel, "Die ontginning van die Inheemse Houtbosse op die Kaapse Skiereiland, 1652-1795", Historia, XXII, 2, September 1977, 141-51.
22. M.K.Jeffreys (ed), Kaapse Plakkaatboek, 6 vols (Cape Town, 1944-1951), II, 42, 68, 115, 118, 212, 222. Also case of 22 Nov.1714, KA 4051 and case of 11 May 1730, KA 4083.
23. Case 11 of 12 Oct.1775, KA 4260.
24. Case 16 of 14 Oct.1750, KA 4160.
25. Jeffreys, III, 29-32 and case 16, 6 Sept.1760, KA 4201.
26. Case 21 of 1743, KA 4133 and case of 15 June,1786, KA 4301.
27. Case 9 of April 1764, KA 4218.
28. Case 15 of 1 Oct.1750, KA 4160.
29. W.J.Burchell, Travels in the interior of South Africa, 2 vols. ed. I.Schapera (London, 1953).
30. Anders Sparrman, A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope..., ed. V.S. Forbes, 2 vols. (Cape Town, 1976-7), I, 54; F.Le Vaillant, Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa, 2 vols (London, 1790), I, 101.
31. This was the only stretch of water in which fishing was allowed. See C.F.J.Muller, "Die Geskiedenis van die Vissery aan die Kaap tot aan die middel van die Agtiende Eeu", Argief Jaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaans Geskiedenis, 1943, I.

32. Case 21 of 30 Sept. 1728, KA 4087.
33. Leibbrandt, II, 444 and KA 4060.
34. C.P.Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa ... between 1770 and 1779, 4 vols (London, 1795), II, 99.
35. Case 23 of 4 October 1770, KA 4241.
36. e.g. Case of 2 July 1767, KA 4221, No.10.
37. See footnote 28 above and Case of 13 Sept.1785, KA 8001.
38. Mentzel, III,
39. Case 27 of 13 Nov.1766, KA 4230. For a wider treatment of this theme, see R.Ross, "Sexuality and slavery at the Cape in the eighteenth century", in Collected Seminar papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, Southern Africa, VIII (1978)
40. e.g. Sparrman, II, 250; Levaillant, I, 100; Burchell, I, 23; Robert Percival, An Account of the Cape of Good Hope (London, 1804), 285-9.
41. In his joint article written with Richard Elphick in Richard Elphick and Herman Giliomee (eds), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, (Cape Town, 1979).

APPENDIX I

	1727	1740	1749	1774	1806	1807	1810	1815
Whites (a)	485d		981e	1417f				
Free Blacks (b)	161d		316e	338f	6321h			
Slaves (c)	742d		1038e	2373f	9297h			
Establishment and Garrison	879i		927j	2013k				
Khoi					626h			
Establishment								208 ¹
Garrison							3775m	
Government Slaves		654n				264p		

- (a) The white population of Cape Town was calculated according to the formula $X=Z - \frac{AY}{B}$ where X = the white population of Cape Town, Y = the white population of Stellenbosch district, Z = the white population of the Cape district, A = the number of farms in the Cape district and B = the number of farms in Stellenbosch district. Clearly this estimate relies on the following assumptions: (i) that the number of people per farm in the two districts was the same (ii) that the whole population of Stellenbosch lived on the farms (iii) that the whole non-agricultural population of the Cape district lived in Cape Town. In all probability none of these assumptions is true, particularly since the Cape and Stellenbosch districts specialised in different crops, to a certain extent. However, these are probably true enough for the figures to be reasonably accurate, at least as an indication.
- (b) All slaves living within the Cape district whose master did not possess substantial agricultural property are considered as living in Cape Town.
- (c) Owned by burghers (h) RCC VI, 75-6 (l) RCC X 268
- (d) Source KA 4981 (i) KA 4080 (m) RCC VII 414
- (e) KA 4158 (j) KA 4156 (n) Muller "Vissery", 9
- (f) KA 4254 (k) KA 4256 (p) RCC VI, 180