

FROM DIASPORA TO DIORAMA
A GUIDE TO THE OLD SLAVE LODGE CD

ROBERT C.-H. SHELL
NAGSPRO MULTIMEDIA
CAPE TOWN
2013

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Cape Town
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Fig.: 1: 1~The Lodge on election day, circa 1860s

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SETTING UP THE CD

To view the CD install the free Adobe Reader provided in the CD folder named Adobe Reader. Most computers come with an Adobe reader. You may also download and install the latest reader for free from www.adobe.com. If you wish to view the video files, also download and install the Adobe Flash-player. This is also on the CD. If you use Google's Chrome browser, then you already have the Flash-player. The CD will work without the Flash-player

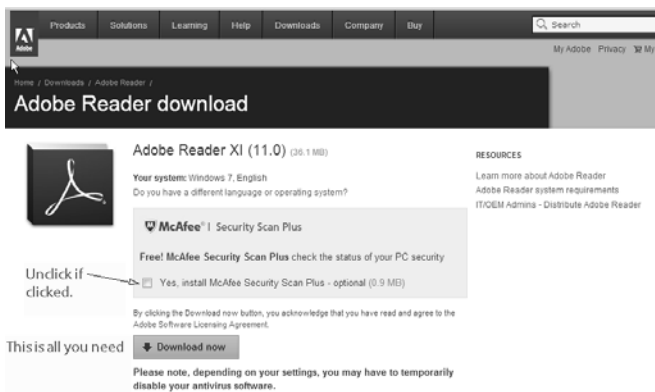


Fig. 3: 1:~Downloading Adobe Reader XI and Flash-player
<http://www.adobe.com/africa/products/reader.html> and <http://get.adobe.com/flashplayer/>

To install the Adobe Reader double click the appropriate executable file (with an .exe extension). An installation wizard should guide you through the installation process. This may take 5 minutes or so.

Installation of
the Reader

Once you have installed the Adobe Reader on your hard drive, choose File > Open or click the Open button on the toolbar and select the file "Diaspora.pdf" on the CD (or any other .pdf file that you want to view). Once you have loaded the CD, copy it to your hard drive using the "Save as" command. The CD is not copy protected. Moving around Diaspora will be much faster when the file Diaspora.pdf is on your hard drive.

Viewing and sav-
ing to your hard
drive

Select the magnification

Select the magnification that you are comfortable with by choosing View > Zoom to and select a percentage/Actual size/Fit Page/Fit Width options. You can also use the magnification options that are available on the toolbar which may be customised. With this version of Diaspora, you will be best served with the Full Screen Option <CTRL>L. Use <ESC> to exit the full screen option.



Fig. 3: 2~The full screen option

Searching the CD

Select the Search button from the edit menu on the toolbar. A window will open with an input box at the top where you can type in the word or phrase you want to search for. For example, you might have come across the term “*matres*”. So you type in “*matres*”. This will look for all occurrences of the word, lower case, italic, bold *et cetera*. You should find the explanation of the term in the glossary, but you will also find all occurrences of the word in lists and articles in their context.

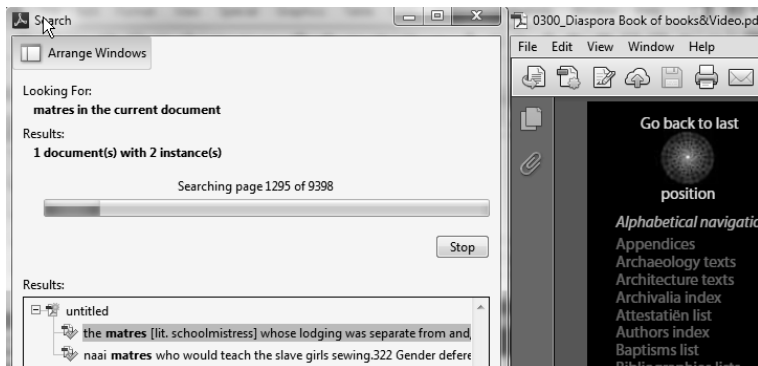


Fig. 3: ~Using the advanced search function

All of the indexes are clickable. Other options like “Whole words only,” “Case-Sensitive” are also available. Click the Search button to start the search. The search takes some time. Index entries are clickable

The Select Text tool enables you to select text or columns of text in a document. You can use the Copy and Paste commands to copy the selected text into another application. Select text by dragging from an insertion point to an end point or by dragging diagonally over text. Select text

To print the document or pages within the document the following procedure can be used: Select the text you wish to print and copy this and paste special to your word-processor such as Notebook, Word or Word-pad. Printing

1. Change the pasted font to black. This will get rid of the black background.
2. Click the Print button, or choose File > Print.
3. Choose one of your printers from the list at the top of the Print dialogue box.

You might also like to view the Lodge in a video Videos

On the CD, go to Contents: List of videos. Click on the video you wish to view. “Click here to activate...” means a micro or flash movie is embedded. Click on the message to run the video and/or music. You can leave the video at any point. No need to rewind.



Fig. 3: 4:~Videos will only activate if you have adobe Flash-player installed
see page 1 for the URL.

INTRODUCTION TO E-BOOKS

One purpose of this E-book is to encourage a change in the way history is researched, read and written. For too long history has been written by trained historians employed by universities and funded by large granting institutions. Such history is often of such a demanding and esoteric nature that the subjects of the history do not recognise themselves. Consequently, such books are neither sold nor read in the subject communities. Such books are also expensive. The people are thereby cheated of their own past and, therefore, of their identity.

A new type of history

A primary source is defined as an eyewitness account, where the writer, observer or oral informant was present. A secondary source, on the other hand, is usually an interpretation of primary sources. This E-book contains many hundreds of primary sources, the building blocks of all history. The CD also contains many secondary interpretations of the Lodge. I have tried to draw the reader's attention to primary sources (left symbol) and secondary sources (right symbol):~

Symbols and sources



Fig. 1: 1~Primary and secondary symbols used in CD

The E-book has few limitations regarding colour reproduction, length, or indexing capabilities. The CD format allows for much longer documents than the book format. CD's are also cheaper to revise and reproduce. Therefore, the CD provides ordinary persons—who bring nothing more to their project except interest and perhaps passion—the documentary tools to explore their own past without being oppressed by the “master narratives” of elitist professional historians, or by the costs of coffee table books, or being intimidated by a prospective visit to the archives or public library. The Cape archives, by the way, are not only friendly, but among the best sourced and inventoried archives in the world. Alternatively, the CD may also help prepare the researcher for a trip to the archives. Up country and over-

Few limitations of the new history format

seas researchers as well as teachers can also now have access to archival documents, as can people who are physically challenged.

The Lodge Slave-lodgings, lunatic asylum, police station, prison and brothel: these were some of the functions which the building at the entrance to the Company's Gardens at the top of Adderley Street (the old Heerengracht), unashamedly fulfilled. The Lodge fused the dramatic themes of thralldom, perpetual servitude, sex and insanity into a fortress of misery which could provide South African novelists with the raw material of a hundred novels. This complex building was a forgotten crucible of colonialism and apartheid which helped perpetuate facets of colonial life which are still recognisable in present-day South Africa.

Contents of CD *From Diaspora to Diorama* contains over 9,000 pages of interpretations, newly unearthed eyewitness accounts, newly commissioned aquarelles by John English and many new sketches and photographs by model builder, Peter Laponder; there are also appendices of 6,000 entries: slaves, political exiles, slave voyages to the Lodge; slave cargo lists, Lodge censuses, Slave Lodge deaths and Lodge manumissions, in short, this publication is the most extensive single work on any one building and one community in South Africa. The reader is directed to the section in this pamphlet concerning indexes (page 40) and appendices (page 38). A bird's eye view of the contents is on the back cover.

Family history If users are interested in their own family history then this E-book and its clickable indexes should help provide genealogical data to explore. It is curious that the Lodge slaves are often better documented than the settlers. But then they were property of a corporation. The people in the Lodge were mere entities to the Dutch corporation, but to us and the church—both persons and souls. But we must admit that it is through the arid ledgers of the VOC that we know anything of them at all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to UNESCO and Wally Serote for commissioning me to do a feasibility study on the Slave Lodge in 1999 and for a seed grant from UNESCO.



Iziko Museums, especially, Jatti Bredekamp, Patricia Davison and Lalou Meltzer provided encouragement and also provided several translations of archival documents discovered by Suzie Newton-King and Gabeba Abrahams. Faith Dibakoane, the Iziko librarian, provided time to search for references.

Anne Eichmann, Blair Linen-Demer and the late Andrew Alexander have allowed us to extract heavily from their theses. Andrew Alexander was tragically killed during the preparation of the first edition of *Diaspora*. I am grateful to him and to his family for permission to publish his theses and articles.

I left out their full bibliographies, but incorporated all authors and titles they cited in *Bibliographies of Bondage*—the general bibliographic section—to which Anne contributed wholly new sections.

Cecilia Blight helped us synthesise Odila Braga's UNESCO bibliographic work on slave shipwrecks—a novel topic and a new rich source. André Marthinus Van Rensburg reworked some articles on the 1650s slave trade to the Lodge which provide a curtain-raiser for the middle passage section.

I first met Gabeba Abrahams when, as a schoolchild, she and her mother visited the "Islam at the Cape" exhibition which I had curated in 1976. She never failed in her enthusiasm for the Lodge project and I believe without her passion and energy the project would not have got off the ground.

I am most grateful to Peter Laponder for his friendship, encouragement, collegiality, his many drawings and his 3D models. I believe he is a brilliant modeller and scholar. His major contribution to this volume is the virtual Lodge which he painstakingly created using the new 3D software which allows us to view the Lodge from any angle, and, moreover, virtually enter the Lodge.

Gerald Groenewald has worked hard for this volume, providing new texts on the Lodge slaves and a fresh bibliography on the genesis of

Afrikaans. I am most grateful for his meticulous scholarly checking and sustained encouragement.

I would like to thank Enid Boucher for allowing the reproduction of her late husband's work on the 1742 voyage of the *Brak*. James Ravel, whom I met in Leiden in 1981, died after returning to South Africa in 1994. However, he did ask me to help him find a home for his pivotal study of the Malagasy slave trade. I am glad, then, that I have finally done this.

I am also grateful to the following for permission to reproduce their work. Robert Ross, who has been kind enough to allow the reproduction of his transcriptions of both the *Zon* and the *Jagtrust*, is the pioneer of this genre. The journals of the *Zon* and *Jagtrust*, edited and with an introduction by Robert Ross, first appeared in the *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 19, 2 (1986): 305-360 and 19, 3 (1986): 479-506. I am grateful to the editors for permission to republish.

Margaret Cairns, also graciously allowed the republication of her essay on the Lodge slave Armosyn, now the subject of a two part biography by the author, Karel Schoeman. I am most grateful to Peter Coates and Marianne Gertenbach, former editors of the *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, both for generously providing a forum for the UNESCO slave trade route essays submitted to them and for permission to reproduce them. Howard Phillips, the chairman of the Van Riebeeck Society, has permitted the reprinting of texts and an illustration of the hospital from O.F. Mentzel's works, as well as some extracts from Lady Anne Barnard's journal.

We all mourn the passing of Anthony Holiday. I am crushed that Anthony is not with us to view the new Lodge museum installation and the CD. He was always enthusiastic and I have fond memories of our Saturday morning breakfast meetings at the Mozart Cafe with Dr. Richard van der Ross. Richard provided us with encouragement and the hope that the Lodge would ultimately become a UNESCO world heritage site. That process has now well begun. Please, let us go there!

Robert C.-H. Shell (compiler)

Gardens, Heritage Day, 2013

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LODGE

Anthony Holiday



Fig. 3: 1:~The interior of the cultural museum

Even a brief review of the history of the building which Robert Shell, and others commemorate in these pages should be enough to convince anyone that it is the thought of Sigmund Freud and Jung, rather than that of K. Marx and F. Engels, which provides the best framework for understanding (insofar as understanding in the scientific sense is at all possible) the modern history of South Africa.

For the edifice which we used to sedately style “The Cultural History Museum”, with its prim collections of old silver, antique clocks and other furniture of a more “gracious” age, once performed startlingly different functions. The windowless walls of the original structure served, not only to imprison slaves, owned by

Introduction

the Dutch East India Company, and lunatics, whose ravings may have reached the ears of loiterers in what is now Parliament Lane, but also to smother the lustful pantings of free citizens and visiting sailors, who

made use of the bodies of the slave-women, while their menfolk were out emptying buckets of excrement into Table Bay Harbour.

Slave Lodge,
brothel, lunatic-
prison

These were the original purposes which the building atop the Heeren-gracht, at the entrance to Company's Garden, *raison d'être* for the very existence of the "refreshment station" the Dutch had established at the southern tip of the "dark continent", unashamedly fulfilled. In so doing, it fused the conceptual themes of servitude, sex and insanity and let them trickle like a polluted stream into almost every facet of the form of life which is present-day South Africa.

Transformation

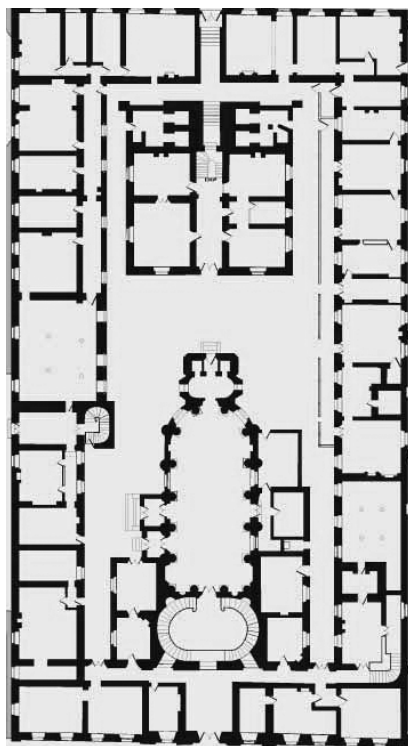


Fig. 3: 2~Supreme court imposed on slave lodge, 1812

The most striking proof of this is the fact that, after it had at last been emptied of slaves in 1811, the building was almost immediately transformed into the seat of law-making and law-giving at the Cape, housing the Cape Supreme Court between 1815 and 1914 and serving, between 1827 and 1844, as home, first to the Advisory Council and subsequently the Legislative Council which met in the record room on the upper floor. If this extraordinary transition aroused no public outcry, if legislators and learned judges were content to situate the ancient edifices of Roman-Dutch law in such a setting, it must surely have been because they had so thoroughly absorbed the concepts associated with slavery and its degradations into their own lives

and modes of judgement that the significance of what they were doing in choosing to work in such a place altogether escaped them. The symbolism of the Slave Lodge did not strike them, because the evils of slavery, servil-

ity, sexual abuse and madness had so poisoned their being as to quite literally blind them to the meaning of symbols of that kind.



Fig. 3: ~Colonists agitate against convict immigration

Only the diagnosis of symbol-blindness of this order can do anything to elucidate the colonists' failure to recognise that their choice of site would guarantee that their legislative and judicial activities would be infected by a slave-owning mentality for the next 150 years or more. Indeed, it was not until 1974 when the last vestige of legislation, directly linked to the preservation of slavery, the *Masters and Servants Act*, offspring of the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841, was erased from the Statute

Symbol blindness

Book. Who can doubt, moreover, that the spate of apartheid-era legislation—one thinks especially of the *Immorality Act* which prohibited sexual encounters between whites and persons of colour, the *Group Areas Act*, which drove slave-descendants from homes some of them had inhabited for generations and the Pass Laws, enabling the state to restrict the freedom of movement of the nation's African majority to a degree unprecedented except by Hitler and Stalin—was connected to this same blindness?

Now, what I have chosen to call “symbol-blindness” is not entirely (or even chiefly) a psychological matter, although, doubtless psychological considerations would have to enter in to any full blown discussion of it. The topic seems to me, rather, to fall within the field of the philosophy of language, embracing as it does the tandem concepts of understanding and meaning. For the Slave Lodge to acquire a symbolic significance for the Cape slave-owners and their descendants, there would have to have been levels of understanding and meaning in the communications between

The philosophy of language of the Lodge

owners and slaves which encompassed dimensions way beyond the language of imperative utterance, threat and compliance. The semantic field would have had to admit of the possibility of conversation taking place between the parties, that is it would have to permit a communion, punctuated by such silences as occur, not because the interlocutors have nothing more to say to one another, but because what they have to say is already so profoundly understood that there is no need for words. If communication of that sort had become general between slave-owners and slaves, the days of Cape slavery would have been rapidly numbered. For conversation, as I have just described it, is possible—in the logical and not merely in the psychological sense—if and only if the interlocutors are present to one another as persons, as autonomous ethical subjects, each recognising the autonomy of the other, in and through that very otherness.

Questions of definition

However, slavery is defined—and the question as to its correct definition is the master-enigma students of the condition confront—the definition must exclude the very idea of autonomy of this sort. Slaves are not autonomous beings. They are automatons, whose rational principle, as Aristotle argued in Book One of his *Politics*, is vested, not in themselves, but in the designs of their owners. As such, they cannot be expected to respond appropriately to calls for sobriety in speech of the form: “Do you really mean what you say?”, “Have you said what you truly think?”, “Does what you say square with the fact that you are saying it?” Accordingly, the speech of slaves will always be a “speech” from which it is conceptually impossible to remove the snigger-quotes as long as the speakers are regarded as one regards a slave, in much the same way as “computer-speak” cannot be regarded as speech, properly so called. There can be no attribution of depth to the language and life of a slave, just as there can be no imputation of profundity to the life and language of a computer. And, just as a building which once housed computers cannot serve as a memorial to them after the machines have been removed, so a Lodge which was once the dwelling place of slaves cannot symbolise the condition of slavery, unless its previous inhabitants can be seen in a wholly different light.

A future transformation

From all this it follows that the work currently being undertaken by archaeologists at the Cultural History Museum, together with seminal scholarship, will, insofar as they succeed in transforming the building into a symbol of slavery, constitute a kind of retrospective emancipation of its original inhabitants. If it truly becomes a symbol, the former home of the

DEIC's slaves will serve as a device to remind us of what the slaves truly were, communicants in our common humanity, whose integrity had been violated by an inhumanity so evil that even today we can scarcely penetrate its meaning.

The contributors' greatest wish is to elevate the Lodge's to World Heritage Site status. Nothing should stop this process.

Anthony Holiday, Tamboerskloof, September 2002

Unesco World
Heritage site



DETAILS OF CONTRIBUTORS

Gabeba Abrahams-Willis



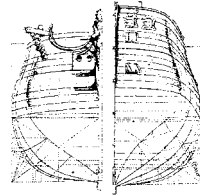
Gabeba Abrahams-Willis, formerly an historical archaeologist at Iziko museums, completed her PhD “Food-ways of the mid-eighteenth century Cape: archaeological ceramics from the Grand Parade in central Cape Town” at the University of Cape Town in 1996. She has been interested in slavery, Islam and the Lodge since her high school days. She has done more than anyone to bring the Lodge to the forefront of public attention with her excavations and to bring the community into the Lodge itself.



Andrew Alexander



Andrew Alexander was born in Alberton in 1981 and completed his honours thesis on the *Meermin* at the University of Cape Town in 2004 and his master’s thesis in the following year. He was tragically killed in a motor car accident in 2007. His pioneering work has stimulated further work on the *Meermin* and a scale model of the ship is being made.



James C. Armstrong



James Armstrong was overseas Field Director of the Library of Congress for 28 years in Nairobi, Rio de Janeiro, Islamabad and Jakarta. He is recognised as an international authority on the slave trade to Madagascar. Most recently, he co-authored *Slave trade with Madagascar: the journals of the Cape slaver Leijdsman, 1715* (2006). His current interest is on the early Chinese at the Cape. Several articles have appeared already. He now lives in Massachusetts. Email: jca-jvr52@yahoo.ca



Cecilia Blight



Cecilia Blight lives in Grahamstown and works at the National English Literary Museum (NELM). She has written a number of journal articles and book reviews and for many years compiled the annual bibliographies for *Shakespeare in southern Africa: the journal of the Shakespeare Society of southern Africa*.

The late Anna Jacoba Böeseke wished to work on slavery from her student career. Unfortunately, P. Blommaert, her chosen advisor, died before she could finish her projected topic. Nevertheless, her Ph.D included many insights into Cape slavery. She was a pioneer in the field and her transcriptions of Jakarta documents and those at the Hague and the Cape are still the basis for most interpretations of the early Cape.

A.J. Böeseke



The late Maurice Boucher wrote many fine articles on early Cape maritime history and also on the French Huguenots. His widow, Enid, lives in Pretoria and graciously allowed us to republish his fine essay on the voyage of the Dutch East India slaver, the *Brak*.

Maurice Boucher



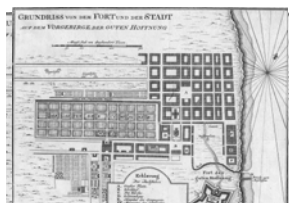
Sjanel Buchel is an architect working in the heritage wing of the City of Cape Town. She recently completed a Masters degree in Heritage Studies (MPhil Conservation in the Built Environment) through the University of Cape Town. The thesis is included here.

Sjanel Buchel



Odila Braga, a Brazilian historian, did her studies at the University of Campinas—UNICAMP—in São Paulo, Brazil. While working in Rio de Janeiro, she first taught history and later began researching ships wrecked along the Brazilian coast. In 1997 she moved together with her family to Johannesburg, when she was invited to be part of the UNESCO Slave Trade Route project. Her share was to research the slave ships wrecked along the South African coast. She is now residing with her husband in Brazil.

Odila Braga



Margaret Cairns may lay claim to be the doyen of early Cape History. There are few topics she has not tackled. She is world famous for her grasp of the Cape Town Deeds Office documentation and is among the forefront of South Africa's genealogists.

Margaret Cairns



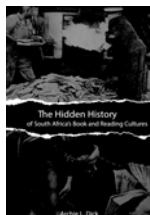
Rody Chamuleau was born in 1944. He is a publisher and lives in Holland. *Hoeveel Koperdraad*, the journal of the *Soldaat* in 1696, is one of his publications.

R.B.F.M. (Rody) Chamuleau

Archie Dick



Archie Dick is one of the leading information scientists in South Africa. He has made an original contribution to history with his new book, *Hidden Histories* (Toronto University Press, 2012), which has received excellent and wide-ranging reviews in South Africa and America. He is Professor of Information Science at the University of Pretoria..



Anne Eichmann



Anne Eichmann completed her undergraduate degree at Humboldt University in Berlin before moving to Cape Town to study at the University of the Western Cape in 2004. In 2005 she was working as an intern with the project team of the exhibition “Remembering Slavery” at Iziko's Slave Lodge. She received a BA Honours in History in 2006 with distinction, followed by a Masters degree on Mauritian Museology at the University of Bremen. She recently won a scholarship towards her PhD at the University of Hull.

John English



John Maine English was born in Malvern, Herefordshire, England on 13 January 1922. He graduated in architecture at UCT, later specialising in tropical architecture and architectural conservation. An accomplished artist and architect, he lived first in Johannesburg and later in Grahamstown until 1996 when he moved to Fish Hoek in the Cape. An oft-exhibited artist using a range of media, he also authored and illustrated several children's books. Between 2004 and 2012, John recreated scenes from the history of Cape slavery in nine aquarelles specifically for this CD. Each aquarelle was informed directly by archival and documentary sources (see page 21). He died on 18 February 2013.



Natalie Everts



Natalie Everts is editor of *Formosan Encounter*, a series of Dutch East India Company sources on Taiwan's indigenous societies (1623-1667), for the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei. She is preparing her dissertation on mixed marriages, gender and Euraficans in the eighteenth century West African port Elmina at Leiden University.

Ockert “Ockie” Geyser is an active historian whose latest books include *Jan Smuts and his International Contemporaries* and his multi-volume work on the National Party. His book on the Lodge, *Die Ou Hooggeregshofgebou*, was published in 1958 when he was twenty-five years old. The Lodge was then under threat of demolition (see page 33). This work appeared in translation as *The history of the Old Supreme Court building* in 1982. He retired as Senior Professor in the Free State University and lives in Bloemfontein.

Ockert Geyser



Gerald Groenewald is a Lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Johannesburg. He was co-editor of *Trials of Slavery, 1705-1794*, a pivotal set of new sources published by the Van Riebeeck Society in 2005. He is also the author of a number of influential articles on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Cape history.

Gerald Groenewald



Stewart Harris is a former Research Fellow at York University's Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies. His field of study is old Cape buildings and landscapes—and the people who made them.

Stew Harris



Hans Heese is a well-known historian and best known genealogist of the early Cape. He has contributed seminal interpretations in numerous articles. An early work, *Groep sonder Grense* is now translated into English and on CD and several indispensable reference works in the field. He is based at the University of Stellenbosch.

Hans Heese



Anthony Holiday, South African philosopher, journalist and anti-apartheid activist, taught philosophy at the University of the Western Cape. It was there I met him and we soon established a firm friendship based on Hegel and Slavery. Until he became ill, he wrote a widely read column in the liberal daily, the *Cape Times*. His work was noted for independence of thought and incisive analysis of life in the post-apartheid era.

Tony Holiday



Edward Hudson is an independent historian living in Paris and England. He has written several essays on Samuel [Eusebius] Hudson—the first South African diarist—and is currently working on Hudson's manuscripts (1796 to 1828).

Edward Hudson



Mogamat “Kammie” Kamedien



Mogamat “Kammie” Kamedien grew up and matriculated in the Eastern Cape at Uitenhage Senior Secondary School, but graduated at the University of the Western Cape in the early 1980's in the social sciences. As a former high school teacher on the Cape Flats, and as a career civil servant in the public sector, his lifelong interest in our South African slave heritage led him to become a web contents developer to place the relatively unknown chapter of South African slave history on the map of the digital village.

Peter Laponder



Peter Laponder's interest in slavery at the Cape started when working at Iziko Museums in Cape Town as an exhibition designer/model maker. After extensive research into the Dutch East India Company Slave Lodge, he constructed the model now on display in gallery four of the old Slave Lodge.



Margaret Lenta



Margaret Lenta, was emeritus professor and senior research associate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. In 1999 she was co-editor of *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799-1800*, and in 2006 she published an abridgement of these diaries entitled *Paradise, the Castle and the Vineyard*. Sadly, Margaret died of cancer on 5 November 2012.

Blair Linen Demers



Blair Linen Demers graduated from Princeton University in 1996 with a BA Honours in History and a concentration in African Studies. She wrote a distinguished thesis on Malagasy women and the Cape. She now lives in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with her husband and their two girls, Schuyler and Zoe, and works as a non-profit consultant.

Jackie Loos



Jackie Loos is a researcher who writes about nineteenth century Cape slaves and other members of the labouring classes. Her book *Echoes of Slavery* appeared in 2004, and some of her stories have been used in theatrical presentations. Her weekly column in the *Cape Argus* is widely read and anticipated.

Antonia Malan



Antonia Malan is a leading historical archaeologist in the Historical Archaeology Research Group, University of Cape Town, and has published extensively on material culture, gender and identity in the eighteenth century Cape Colony. She has initiated an international transcription project of the Cape Resolutions of the Political Council and

the Cape estate inventories which are available both online (TANAP) and on two CDs.

James Ravell was born on September 12, 1935. He died in Johannesburg on March 25, 1994. He returned to South Africa at the end of January 1994 to assist with voter education, working for the Ben Turok Institute. The institute was engaged in the preparations for the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 when he died. He had several publications among which is *A select bibliography of the Cape-Madagascan slave trade, 1652-1795*. He is survived by his widow, Thelma Pinto [in photo] and two sons, Rayner Ravell and Mondli Ravell.

James Ravell



Robert Ross is Professor of African History at Leiden University in the Netherlands, and has written several books and more than a hundred articles on the history of the Cape Colony in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and more widely on the history of South Africa.

Robert Ross



Sandra Rowoldt Shell headed the Cory Library for Historical Research for many years and, from 2004-2011, was head of the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town. She has a Masters degree in History from the University of Cape Town on the Rev. James Laing and mission history in the Eastern Cape, and a doctorate on the Ethiopian Oromo slave children at Lovedale.

Sandra Rowoldt
Shell



Christopher Saunders is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town. He has written widely on prize slaves, southern African history and historiography. In South Africa, he is regarded as the historian's historian.

Christopher C.
Saunders



Robert C.-H. Shell is Extraordinary Professor of Historical Demography in the Statistics Department, University of the Western Cape. Rob has written on slavery, Islam and AIDS and lives in Cape Town, South Africa. His book on Cape slavery, *Children of Bondage* (1994) is still in print.

Robert Shell



A. Van Rensburg



André Van Rensburg is Senior Pastor of Springwood Seventh-day Adventist church in Brisbane, Australia. André is a freelance historian and researches Cape slavery and Cape Islam.

Kerry Ward



Kerry Ward is assistant professor of world history at Rice University in Texas. Her book is titled *Imperial Networks: Free and forced migration in the Dutch East India Company*. She has published widely in the areas of South African, Southeast Asian and Indian Ocean history.

Piet Westra



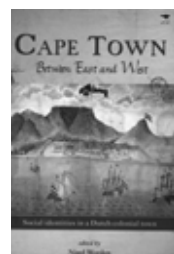
Piet Westra is the former director of the South African National Library and has written many articles and books on the early Cape. His most recent work is an outstanding, archivally based study on the Meermin revolt, co-authored with Dan Sleight, entitled *The taking of the slaver Meermin, 1766* which has also been published in Afrikaans and Dutch. He has recently received the Dutch Royal distinction of *Ridder* (Knight) Order of Oranje-Nassau, for exceptional services to the community.



Nigel Worden



Nigel Worden has been at the forefront of the historiographical revolution of slave studies in South Africa. He has produced several books and many anthologies on slavery and the abolition period and has also written more broadly, on South African history. He is based at the University of Cape Town where he has many graduate students. A recent anthology is *Cape Town between East and West* published by Jacana



A NOTE ON ARTWORK BY JOHN ENGLISH

Many historians still draw their mental images of Cape slavery from Victor de Kock's, *Those in Bondage* published in 1950 and thereafter reprinted. For example, in depicting the seizure of slaves in Madagascar, European males are seen on the right with drawn cutlasses chasing a black mother and child from a burning village. The home, judging from the intensity of the light from the door of the hut, has also been set alight.

Victor de Kock's,
Those in Bondage



"When a slave ship entered the Roadstead few of the inhabitants could consider themselves safe. . ."

Fig. 5: 1~Victor de Kock's choice of picture for the slave trade

I found that such pictures (mostly unreferenced) do not capture the reality of the slave trade, most especially with regard to the slave trade to the Lodge.

I therefore provided a professional artist, John English, with all the archival and documentary sources needed to illustrate a Cape slave's life. Every element in his drawings is sourced. For example, for the aquarelle, "Slave Trading at Tulear," we used the log of the voyage of the *Leijdsman* (included in the text of the CD). The finished picture was intended as a counterpoint to the grisly drawing above.

John English's first tasks were

- (1) to plan the composition
- (2) to sketch the cartoon (below)
- (3) to map the following archival assets to the cartoon:-

Under the tamarisk tree

"We had the brown noblemen asked to announce our arrival in Feringe to the king, to which they acceded and we were taken to a native village where we were to await a reply. We stayed there with an old chieftain who treated us with sweet potatoes and milk. When the messengers returned they told us: the king is now close by and intends to await your arrival in the shade of a thick *tamarisk* tree."



The *Leijdsman* drawn from a sketch in the Cape Archives

Saturday 27 July 1715...

"As a token of friendship, we should approach him beating our drums and sounding our trumpets. As we did not have these with us, we sent a letter to the captain to inform him of the king's wish. The instruments [consisting of one drum, one trumpet, one violin and two flutes, with which he was welcomed at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon] were immediately sent to us and we proceeded in the name of the Honourable Company toward his majesty, whom we found sitting under a large *tamarisk* tree accompanied by 4 to 500 men and women, all, except the women, armed with muskets and lances."



Monday 16 September 1715

"We again sought an audience with the king and after we had sat with him for a while, a *crocodile head* was brought to him by one of his couriers, who was received and treated very amicably, which is something he seldom did for his subjects when they carry out such an act of heroism as killing a crocodile."

- (4) Finally, John English added colour:-

Fig. 5: 2:-Mapping the archival assets
see following signature



Fig. 6: 1:~Slave trading, Tuléar, Madagascar, 1715



Fig. 6: 2:~The taking of the *Meermin*, 1766

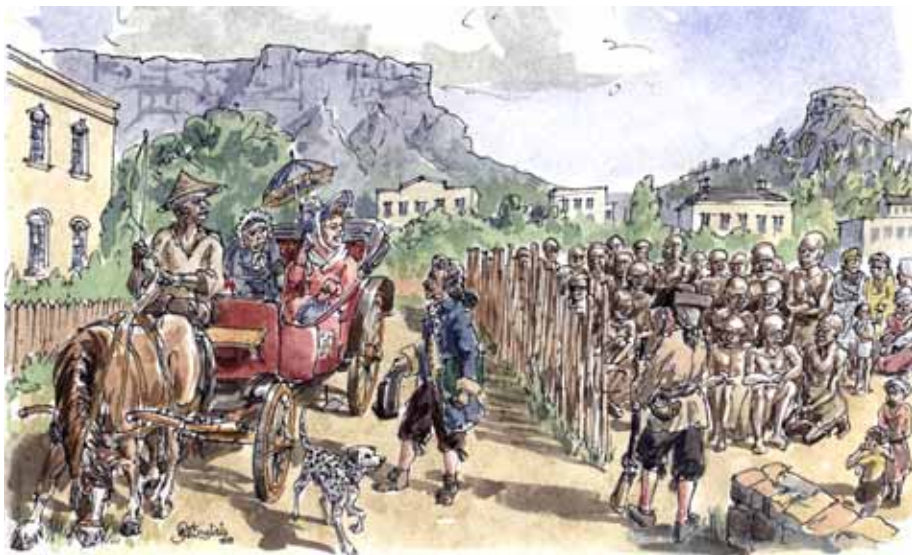


Fig. 6: 3:-Lady Anne identifies shaven slaves as "Etruscan pots"



Fig. 6: 4:-Inbound Company slaves recuperate in hospital, 1699



Fig. 6: 5:~Jan Smiesing's Lodge school for boys, circa 1723



Fig. 6: 6:~Michele Thibault enters the Lodge, 1806



Fig. 6: 7:~Chinese convicts escape using human pyramid, 1705

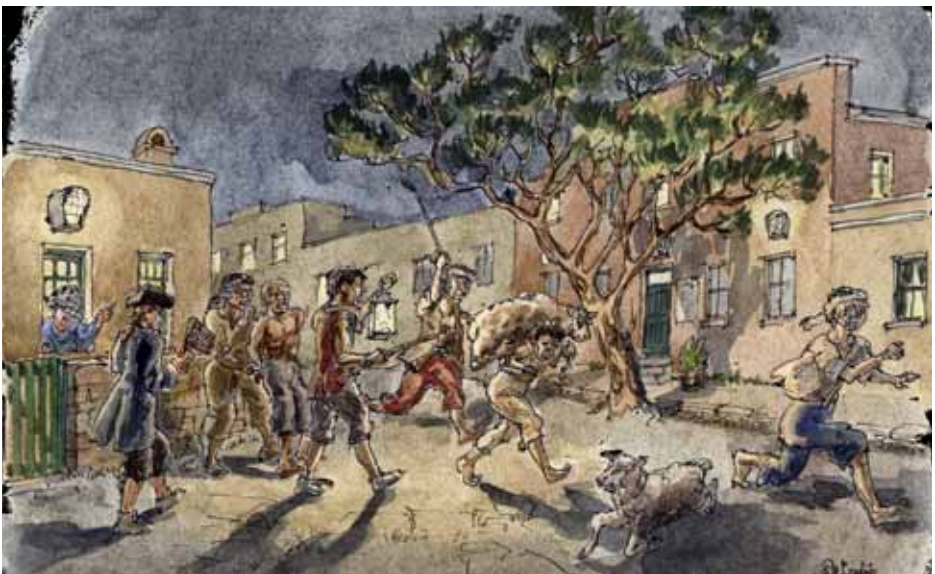


Fig. 6: 8:~Foraging Lodge slaves caught by *ratelwag*, 1735

MENDING AN ERA



UNESCO sponsored

The compiler and fellow contributors have outlined a comprehensive set of ideas in this UNESCO commissioned and sponsored study for the identification and creation of a public memorial of the slave trade to southern Africa and more generally, slavery in the region. The intention of the contributors is to create an atmosphere of local and international public interest so strong that the Slave Lodge in Cape Town may in time become a UNESCO world heritage site and the central symbol and memorial of slavery in South Africa. The collection of documents and secondary articles are all housed on a CD which are comprehensively indexed and cross referenced in a full colour, rich media .pdf file. The CD contains 12 volumes, each of which pertains to a particular phase of a Cape slave's life and slavery at the Cape. Indexes and appendices are included and comprise two further volumes. Abstracts of these twelve volumes are found on the following ten pages.



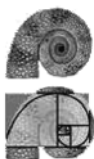
Fig. 7: 1~The orientation page of the CD

Volume 1:~First
passage and
other chapters

The Lodge in bondage

Number of chapters:~11

Page range:~1 to 305



The single chapter on the first passage should not make a reader conclude that the topic was unimportant. The first passage is the least documented aspect of the slave trade, not the least important. There are few sources. This is the main reason there is so little primary information and scant secondary literature. The topic has been obscured by the well-documented Atlantic middle passage on which the prolific abolitionists deliberated in the nineteenth century. Capture and the first passage were the most traumatic aspects of the peculiar institution and cast a dark shadow over the rest of the enslaved person's life.

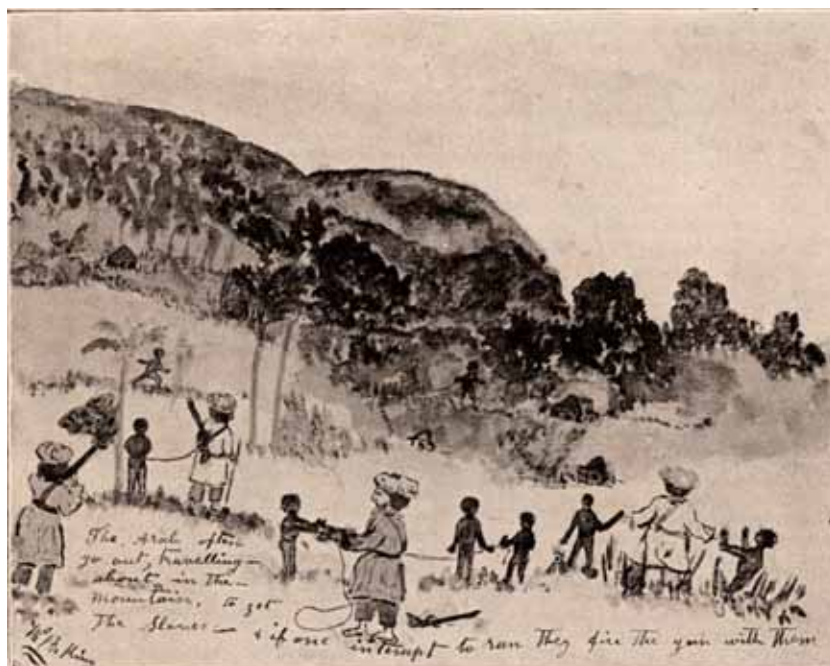


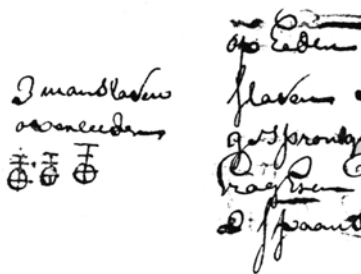
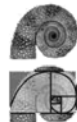
Fig. 7: 2:~Billy King's sketch of the first passage
Artist: Billy King

The middle passage

Volume 2:~The
middle passage

Number of chapters:~12

Page range:~306 to 1677



The trip by sea to Cape Town, resistance on the ships and mortality. The bulk of the primary documents concern the middle passage which fulfils the remit from UNESCO slave trade route project. These documents consist of edited slaving journals, such as the *Voorhout*, *Soldaat*, *Leijdsman*, *Jagtrust* and the *Zon*. These chapters also include interpretations of the slave

trade by André van Rensburg, Andrew Alexander and James Ravel. Two chapters deal with the documentary sources of the slave trade.

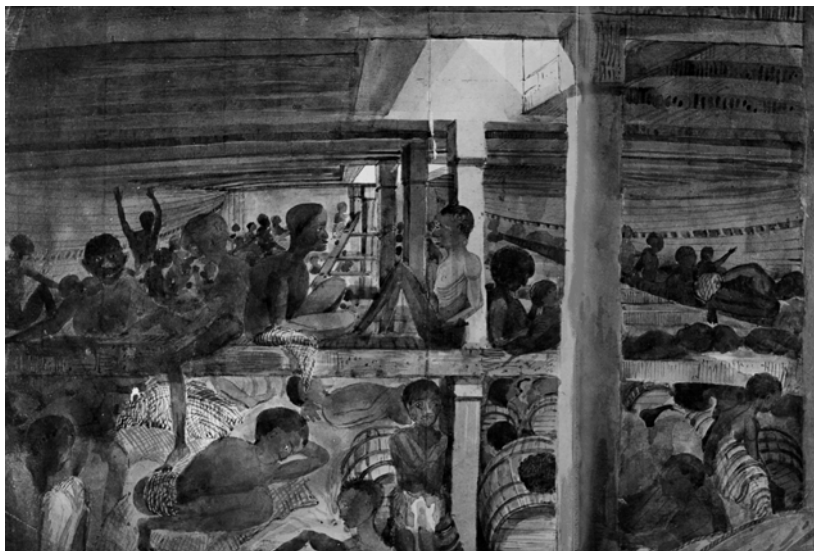
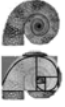


Fig. 7: 3:~Below decks on the *HMS Albany*

Recuperation in the Company hospital

Number of chapters:~2

Page range:~1678 to 1703



This volume deals with the arrival, acclimatisation, mortality and psychological incorporation of the new arrivals (*nuwelings*) into the Lodge. This phase of an imported slave's life is new to the slave literature.



Fig. 7: 4:~DRC church on left, hospital on right
E.V. Stade, 1710

The hospital could house 600 patients and was specialised to deal with a number of conditions. By all accounts it was one of the most successful of all VOC institutions at the Cape.

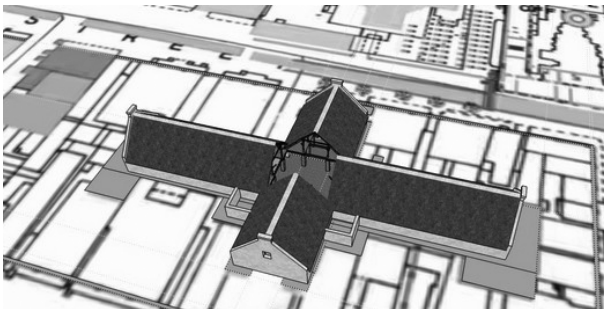


Fig. 7: 5:~Layout of the hospital
Artist: Peter Laponder

The hospital employed approximately 30 slaves, for nursing and also for portering sick seamen to the hospital from the ships. A slave burial detail met at noon everyday to convey cadavers to their resting place.

Contemporary accounts

Number of chapters:-25

Page range:-1704 to 2033

Descriptions of the Slave Lodge by slaves, administrators and travellers, each of whom had their own virtues and biases. Eyewitnesses of the Lodge itself were far and few between since travellers and burghers and administrators all avoided the shameful and stinking Lodge. Nevertheless there were many eyewitness accounts, mostly from English and German-speakers.

Volume
4:-Eyewitness
Accounts

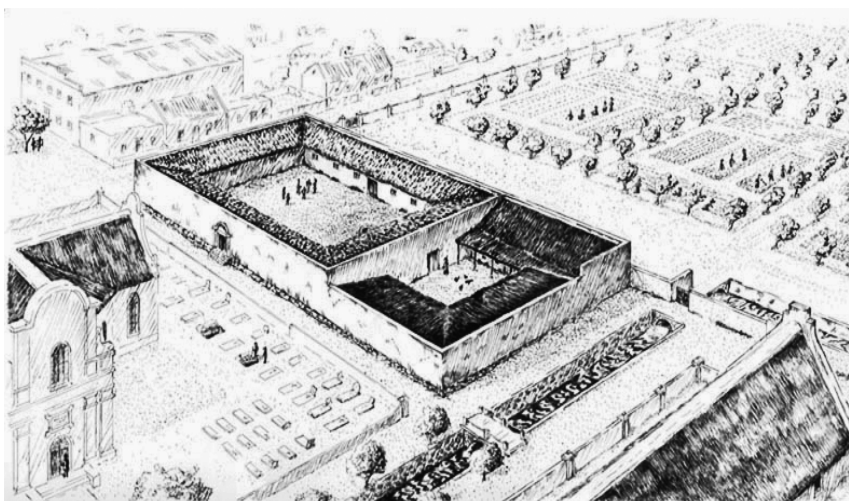


Fig. 7: 6:-Mentzel's Lodge

Artist: Peter Laponder

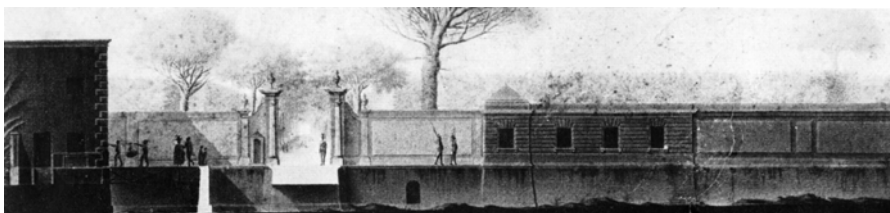


Fig. 7: 7:-Thibault's Lodge, 1786

Biographies of individual slaves.

Number of chapters:~5

Page range:~2034 to 2214

There was sufficient primary material to create biographical portraits of some VOC slaves and convicts. One of these portraits, Petronella Lamertsz was purposefully created from primary material on the CD.

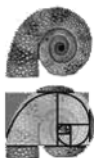


Fig. 7: 8:~Een Toepas ofte Mardijker met Sijn Vrouw

An architectural history of the Lodge

Volume
6:-Architecture

Number of chapters:-3

Page range:-2215 to 2375

Many authors have written on the Lodge as an architectural icon, for example, as representing Michel Thibault's "best work." The volume tries to get to the structure and function of the building.



Fig. 7: 9:-Suggested demolition of the Lodge in 1955
Bronkhorst Report

Secondary interpretations of the Lodge

Number of chapters:~7

Page range:~2376 to 2884



Considerable secondary interpretations exist which have dealt with the Lodge. Ockert Geyser's work in Afrikaans and English is still the most intensively archivally based interpretation.



Fig. 7: 10:~The staff and cart of the old post office

The Cape Trian-
gular



One of the first public offices to open in the old Lodge building was the Post Office. One of the most valuable stamps in the world, the Cape triangular, designed by Charles Bell, was sold here.

Articles on historical archaeology

Volume 8:~His-
torical Archaeol-
ogy



Number of chapters:~3

Page range:~2885 to 3060

A part of this UNESCO grant went to a full-scale historical archaeological dig by Dr Gabeba Abrahams and others.



Fig. 7: 11:~The controversial painted lady

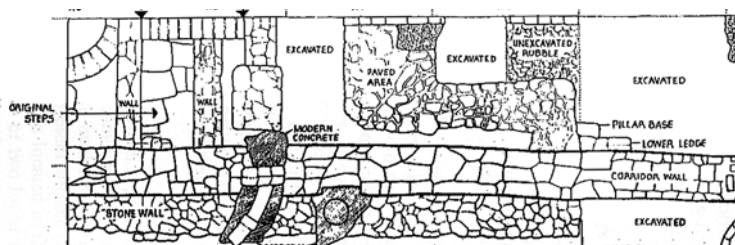


Fig. 7: 12:~From Gabeba Abrahams-Willis' Report on the Lodge



Museology of the Slave Lodge

Number of chapters: 2

Page range:~3061 to 3387

Two recent theses deal with the Iziko museology of the Lodge.



Fig. 7: 13:~The Lodge lit up as part of festivities



The column of light

One of the outstanding exhibits of the Lodge is the column of light neatly set in an original alcove of the building which contains lists of slaves' names embedded in drums of clear resin which the viewer can touch and turn, akin to a secular Buddhist prayer wheel.



Fig. 7: 14:~The banner of the exhibition

Appendices

Volume
10:~Appendices

Number of sections:~6 of 6

Page range:~3388 to 7139 see appendices table, “Sections of Appendices” on page 38.



Sections of Appendices

TABLE 1. Sections of Appendices

<i>Section</i>	<i>Total pages</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>Finish</i>	<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Description</i>
Cargoes 	662	1	662	4	Lists all known cargoes to Lodge where individuals are named on the cargo manifest or journal of the voyage
Voyages 	357	663	1019	35	Lists all known voyages and various annotations and details from primary sources
Baptisms 	244	1020	1263	1	Transcription of company Lodge baptisms
Censuses 	855	1264	2118	6	Transcription of company Lodge censuses
Death notices 	1286	2119	3404		Transcription of company Lodge deaths
Manumissions 	297	3405	3752	1	Transcription & partial annotation of company Lodge manumissions

Volume 11:~an updated *Bibliographies of Bondage*

Number of sections:~6 of 6

Page range:~7140 to 7702

Bibliographies of
Bondage

Bibliographies of Bondage

What scholars are saying:

"An extraordinarily comprehensive survey of the rich literature on Cape slavery. As indispensable for casual readers and genealogists as for advanced researchers."

—PROFESSOR RICHARD ELPHICK, WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

"This comprehensive, interpretative and evaluative bibliography of the literature of slavery will be invaluable to anyone who has an interest in knowing or writing about the institution of slavery as it existed at the Cape. It offers some opportunities for comparative understanding — slavery elsewhere may be marginally or profoundly different, and the differences may have more or less significance in estimates of practices at the Cape of Good Hope."

—MARGARET LENTA, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

"An extremely thorough compilation of a surprising range of original sources and published writings on an important topic, with contents of interest to scholars of slavery far beyond the Cape."

—JOSEPH MILLER, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

"I went through the list to check whether anything I had was not there, but it really is a very comprehensive bibliography! I'm going to use it as my guide for building up material centred on slavery for our community research library..."

—TRACEY RANDLE, MUSEUM VAN DE CAAS, SOLMS-DELTA ESTATE

"An indispensable source for the history of slavery at the Cape of Good Hope. A great contribution to scholarship on our heritage."

—PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER C. SAUNDERS, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Indexes Volume 12:~The indexes and lists

 Number of sections:~11

 Page range:~7703 to 9385

 The indexes are described in the following table:~

TABLE 2. The structure and function of the indexes

<i>Index name</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Archivalia 	References	7703 to 7781	This provides a clickable reference to every archival source used in the various chapters throughout the CD.
Authors 	Bibliographical	7782 to 7920	Index to all authors, artists, translators and editors mentioned in all texts on the CD.
Contributors 	Listing and mini biographies	In this pamphlet, see "Details of contributors" on page 14	The list of contributors contains biographical and professional details of the contributors to this CD.
Glossary 	Terminological and contextual	8247 to 8288	This index contains explanations of exotic terms, details of currency and so on

TABLE 2. The structure and function of the indexes (continued)

<i>Index name</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Personalia 	identity: all persons who were connected to the Lodge	8289 to 9003	The personalia index is not standardised by name, but it is full. Spellings vary across all names and over time. It would violate the archival record to standardise. The key was to <i>respect des fonds</i> —respect the sources.
Places 	Geographical, details locations based on dates	9004 to 9125	Here are listed all archipelagos, batteries, bays, blocks, buildings, capes, countries, gates, farms, fountains, houses, islands, lanes, libraries, places, museums, <i>neg-erijis</i> , ports, <i>prazos</i> , pumps, regions, rooms, rivers, stations, streets, suburbs, taverns, territories, valleys, villages. The compiler did not standardise the spelling of place names as these varied from document to document. Many of them have never been satisfactorily identified. Each place name in the index is followed by its contextual date.
Ships 	Names of vessels only	9126 to 9162	This index includes only ship names. Types of ships, e.g. “ <i>flute</i> ” are found in the subject index. Parts of ships, e.g. “ <i>constapelkamer</i> ” are found in the subject index, but may also be found in the glossary, if technical. Entries arranged by date.

TABLE 2. The structure and function of the indexes (continued)

<i>Index name</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Subjects 	Details subjects based on dates	9163 to 9362	The subject index should be most useful as many of the sub-entry headings are arranged thematically and then by date. Thus historical documents are arranged under “Sources.” Others include: “Occupations,” “Trade items,” etc. The third level of the index is date. There are many foreign terms which are more fully explained in the separate glossary, which includes a page reference for context.
Timeline 	Timeline	9363 to 9392	Germane events affecting the Cape and its slave system
Timetable 	Day schedule	9393 to 9395	This lists all known time schedules for the Lodge slaves, whether on board a slaver, inside the Lodge or in the hospital.
Titles 	Bibliographical	7921 to 8246	This index to titles, half titles and subtitles includes most important works in all text, boxes, captions and footnotes as well as in the bibliography. Definite and indefinite articles in all languages have been retained. Thus, the title <i>The Aardvark</i> lists under <i>The Aardvark</i> not under <i>Aardvark</i> . The Afrikaans “n” has been replaced with “Een”. All items here are clickable on the page number following the “dot leader”.

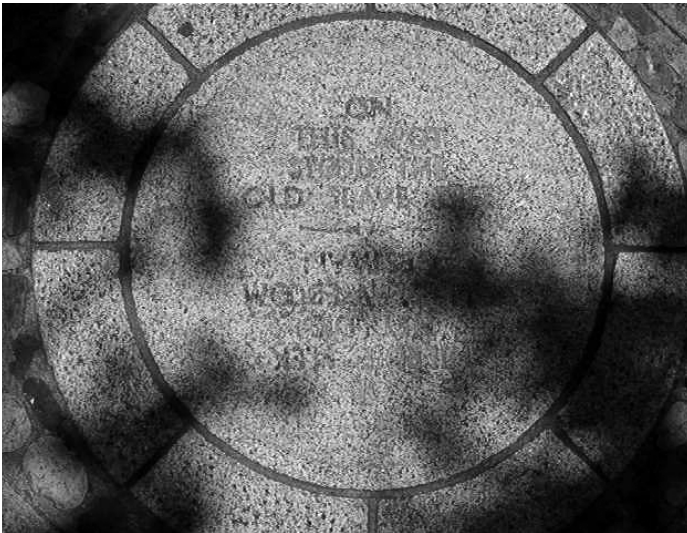
REVIEWS...

“Facing up to slavery...”

Bryan Rostron

The most conspicuous, vibrant heritage of Cape Town—one you can see in faces all around you in any street—is still the one we most avoid: slavery. Cape Town remains firmly in denial. For a hundred and eighty years this was, legally, a slave society, with slaves in the majority for much of that time. Today, however, the city’s founding inheritance skulks in the background, shrouded in embarrassment and amnesia for descendants of both masters and slaves.

Introduction



No monuments
to slavery

Fig. 8: 1:~The indecipherable commemoration plaque

Even the plaque in Spin Street, commemorating the tree under which slaves were auctioned, is so inconspicuous that most pass by without a glance. But at last, at the nearby Slave Lodge, this shuffling silence is beginning, hesitantly, to be broken.

A new exhibition A new exhibition begins to tell the story of slavery at the Cape. Yet this also seems to be a victim of the city's ambivalent attitudes. The display opened in May with little publicity, and of the two times I have visited, once there were three other people and last week five others, mostly foreign tourists. For locals, it is as though an invisible veil of shame still covers this subject.

Inexpensive CD on the Lodge Now, opportunely, comes the publication of a low-cost CD, a magnificent resource, that contains everything any member of the public might want to know about slavery at the Cape, and specifically the Slave Lodge. Divided into easily digestible sections, the CD contains clearly-written chapters by leading historians, with illustrations, plus over five hundred pages of slave names, identifications and dates, to help those interested in tracing their own ancestry. It is both scholarly and popular, removing any lingering excuse for evasion over slavery. The cost, less than half that of books a third of the size, is R70. The compiler Professor Robert Shell says: "I am most concerned to place high quality, non esoteric research into the Cape Flats homes. In this way people may be able to work out their own identity without recourse to overly academic and expensive works."

Unesco world heritage site



This unique project is part of a campaign to have the Slave Lodge declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Lodge, the handsome cream-coloured building at the top of Adderley Street, looked very different when built to house Dutch East India Company slaves, a status one historian defined as, "the socially dead." Robert Shell, author of the 1994 masterpiece on Cape slavery, *Children of Bondage*, explains in his concluding chapter, "With none of its inhabitants able to see out and with no one able to see in, it could, in a sense, be ignored, even though it was based on Cape Town's busiest thoroughfare, in the centre of town, a shameless fortress of human misery."

Slaves were crammed in like livestock. The only Europeans in the Lodge were lunatics and criminals Between eight and nine o' clock in the evening, the Lodge was, however, visited by settlers and sailors as a brothel.

After ceasing to be a Slave Lodge in 1808, the building became government offices, accommodating the Attorney-General, the Receiver of Revenue, the Post Office and Public Library. In 1815 (until 1914) it served as the Supreme Court, apparently with no sense of irony, as well as the colonial Advisory Council and then Legislative Council. Thus Cape Town effectively covered over the Lodge's grim past, which has remained largely overlooked till now.

The redemption
of the building
after 1808

The new exhibition at the Lodge is only a start. It comprises several rooms, with an informative video, accounts of the life and conditions at the Lodge, details of the infernal slave trade, mostly from the Indian Ocean basin, as well as descriptions of the extraordinary cultural and linguistic diversity that this concentrated in the Cape.

Introductory
video

Then, suddenly, the exhibition stops. The money ran out. This highlights the fact that while there's cash for sports stadiums or departmental cocktail parties, our politicians economize on "memory", despite lip service to learning from the past. Instead, on the second floor, there is a haphazard collection of antique jewellery, silverware, clocks and Victorian glass. It is a sloppy presentation, with no thread or cohesion, and presents a jarring, even insulting, contrast to the slave exhibition downstairs. What on earth is this hodgepodge of settler memorabilia still doing here? The only other appropriate rooms are those housing the "Breaking the Silence" show of paintings and banners from women of the Khulumani Support Group, telling of their experiences under apartheid, and the "Separate is not Equal" exhibition about the fight in the U.S.A. for racial de-segregation in schools. The Slave Lodge still feels like a space that has been only half liberated.

Running on
empty

In the new CD, *From Diaspora to Diorama*, one of the most fascinating sections is, "Representing Slavery in South Africa" by Anne Eichmann, which analyses the strange history of the Slave Lodge as a museum and gives an intelligent account of behind-the-scenes clashes as to how the current exhibition should be presented. This debate became quite heated. Anne Eichmann writes, "representing slavery was deeply entangled in controversial identity politics." Some felt it should highlight "coloured" heritage and identity, while others claimed it should encompass a wider story, embracing ideas of national reconciliation and a culture of human rights.

Anne Eichmann's
thesis

- Disagreements over the narratives There were also fierce disagreements on the narrative, with some saying the original script portrayed slaves only as passive victims. Anne Eichmann concludes, "The result of this controversy is a text that clearly evades a story of victimization and tries to convey a more balanced and more complex picture of slavery." My question, however, is why are such contrasting views excluded from the exhibition itself? History is not a set of facts laid down by committee, but something that is constantly challenged and reassessed. The curators should take the public into their confidence and allow us to become part of this work in progress.
- A battle of memory In his recent book on the British struggle to abolish slavery, *Bury the Chains*, author Adam Hochschild writes of the advent of emancipation in 1838: How, then, was it to be celebrated? As a historic, pioneering mobilization of public opinion, via boycotts, petitions, and great popular campaigns, all powerfully reinforced by the armed slave revolts? Or as a great gift to poor slaves by a group of pious, benevolent men?
- Thoroughness of the CD The impressive aspect of the new CD on the Slave Lodge is that it is so thorough. There are sections on the various stages of the slave trade, reports of particular voyages, eyewitness accounts, plus the stories of several slaves. Sandra Rowoldt Shell shows how she traced the genealogy of one slave woman, Petronella Lambertz, while Jackie Loos reveals that General Louis Botha, first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, was a descendant of a slave from India, Groote Catrijn.
- A vast, complex business-system Slavery was a vast, complex business-system, driven with corporate-like logic and ruthlessness. Robert Shell remarks in his conclusion: "Our collective memories are so short that we have forgotten we have already been globalised once before." Echoes of slavery are everywhere in Cape Town, yet still barely seen. That reticent plaque in Spin Street, for example: 60,000 humans may have been sold here alone. And while the Slave Lodge itself has finally begun a process to recover the memory of our brutal past, it remains a cautious, under-funded start. As the *From Diaspora to Diorama* CD concludes: the complete development of the Slave Lodge

would potentially gain not only World Heritage status, it would also attract attention internationally and locally ... “but most importantly from the local descendants of owners and slaves, enabling them to understand their common heritage.”

“...an important achievement...”

Shamil Jeppie, University of Cape Town

“*From Diaspora to Diorama* is an important achievement that will be valued very widely as an educational instrument, as a source of important historical information and possibly even just as 'edutainment'! It is a mine of primary source material and an array of impressive scholarly articles relating to slavery and in particular the Slave Lodge'. It is very user-friendly. The CD reflects, as usual, the compiler's passion for his subject and the meticulous care with which he gathers his data. This type of labour of love has always been an inspiration and a source of fascination. This resource is possibly the first such instrument in the country and it should be made available to students and researchers from high-school through university level and anybody elsewhere concerned with our past.”

“...Offers much more than the title suggests”

Cornelius Thomas, Rhodes University

“Professor Rob Shell’s CD, *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town*, offers much more than the title promises. It resuscitates the memory of slavery over the ages; it offers a modern archive of one of the oldest human institutions, and indeed one that has suffused South African society for well over three centuries. The memory of slavery has been excised from our national conversation—as if it never existed and as if it had no impact on our society. Yet the mores of our society, the expected and offered deference and our language (maids and madams; *die baas en die tuinjong*) remain real, albeit now sanitized by political correct-

ness, and stem from our social relations produced in a slave society. This E-book challenges the South African public, academia, the media and government to honesty about how long the liberation struggle was waged, by whom and where; it implicitly argues that the long memory of our historical experience needs to be resuscitated and integrated into our historical discourse, in public conversation.”