

“Hoera, dit skip seil uit oos”

The Sea as a Site of Memory in the Folk Songs of the Enslaved
Community and their Descendants at the Cape

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Hoor ek die see sing, sing? Hoor ek die meeu sing?

Nee! Nee! Ek hoor die vryheid, ja die vryheid sing!

Adam Small¹

In the poem *Vryheid* (Freedom), cited above, the Cape Coloured² poet Adam Small sketches a scene in which a Coloured couple, perched on a cliff at the edge of the Cape peninsula, stare out over the sea longing for the freedom the ocean represents. When they turn back inland towards their home on the Cape Flats, they move towards a world of repression and subjugation. The poem's narrator exclaims in despair, “Do I hear the sea sing, sing? Do I hear the seagulls sing? No! No! I hear freedom, yes freedom sing!”³ While this poem describes the oppression experienced by the Coloured population in twentieth-century apartheid South Africa, Small has in his work often made a link between the struggle against apartheid and the struggles of his forefathers during slavery.⁴ The image of the sea as a space of freedom—but at the same time a freedom which cannot be reached—exemplifies the way the sea features in the memories of the descendants of the enslaved as a space of longing and desire. This is at least evident in the Atlantic world, where the sea is often imagined as a site of loss, dispersal and longing, but also as one of contact and exchange.⁵ This awareness of the ocean as a “hybrid cultural space” can be attributed to, amongst other writings, Paul Gilroy's influential work, *The Black Atlantic*, in which he has argued for a focus on the Atlantic Ocean as a zone of contact in which a counterculture of modernity emerged.⁶ Unfortunately, Gilroy leaves the experiences of enslaved people in the East largely untouched in his work, whereas, as Isabel Hofmeyr has argued, “the

Indian Ocean is the site par excellence of ‘alternative modernity’.”⁷ Hofmeyr argues that because of the complex nature of slavery in the Indian Ocean world, studying the “Brown Indian Ocean” enables scholars to explore in more depth the “meaning of slavery and freedom”, as well as the relationship between slave systems and “modernity”.⁸

South African poet and literary scholar, Gabeba Baderoon, has argued that the sea features prominently in the memory and cosmology of the Cape Coloured community, not only as a site of transference (the middle passage) and of desire and longing, but also as a place of belonging, living next to the sea and living off the sea.⁹ However, she claims that this presence can no longer be found in the “folk memory”¹⁰ of the Cape Coloured community, but is mainly found in more recently produced artistic creations and performances,¹¹ such as, for instance, Adam Small’s work cited above. In this chapter, I will argue that the memory of slavery and an “Indian Ocean consciousness” has not been erased from the folk memory of the Cape Coloured community, and that it continues to exist in this community’s folk song repertoire. This chapter draws on my dissertational work, *Singing of Slavery, Performing the Past*, in which I bring to light the existence and persistence of a cultural memory of the South African slave past in the folk songs of the Cape Coloured community. I specifically focus on songs that contain references to the sea and ask how the Indian Ocean works in the memory culture of the enslaved community at the Cape and its descendants.

On examining the folk song repertoire of the Cape Coloureds, which are part of the broader *Kaapse Klopse* (Cape [music] clubs) music tradition—that originated during slavery and continued after emancipation as a commemorative tradition¹²—it becomes apparent that the image of the sea is omnipresent. Many of the songs can be considered sea shanties, fishermen’s songs, seafaring songs or songs that otherwise refer to the Indian Ocean. The repertoire of folk songs includes lyrics and descriptions of musical performances from before Emancipation in 1834, which were recorded in travel accounts and memoirs, as well as in song books published by folklorists in the early twentieth century; it also includes songs published and performed post-Emancipation. All the songs cited in this chapter have been attributed to the enslaved community and/or their descendants by those who recorded and published them. Whereas some songs were thus recorded and published decades after the abolition of slavery, they are nevertheless revealing evidence of the slave past. The nature of songs as oral performances allows them to change easily over time so as to comment on the changing socio-political context, yet older song texts and/or

melodies remained a source of inspiration for newer compositions. What is more, the social position and economic opportunities in society did *de jure* change with the Emancipation, but several scholars have shown that *de facto* these opportunities were limited and racial discrimination continued.¹³ Certain occupations and social positions were unattainable for the former enslaved, and many found themselves doing the same work for sometimes the same masters as before emancipation.¹⁴ In this situation, it is not hard to imagine how songs which had emerged in times of slavery continued to function, more or less in the same form, as social commentary in the post-emancipation context as well. As Vivian Bickford-Smith has similarly argued:

Kinship and occupational ties, as well as cultural forms, helped forge community identities in [post-emancipation Cape Town] Cultural forms, such as stories about the past and emancipation day celebrations, served to remind members of their shared heritage of oppression and bondage. So did continued white domination of power and resources, and the continued perceivable correlation between darker pigmentation and deprivation.¹⁵

What makes songs a particularly useful source of analysis for investigating a possible "Indian Ocean consciousness" is that "music unseats language and textuality as pre-eminent expressions of human consciousness".¹⁶ Folk songs, as opposed to literature or art, represent a more collective expression of a community's ideas and communal consciousness. When we accept these songs, the old and the more recently recorded, as echoes of a more distant past, tracing the image of the Indian Ocean in these song lyrics of the enslaved and their descendants could potentially shed light on the experiences of the enslaved in this part of the world, and on what it meant to be a slave in the Indian Ocean world.

Sea shanties of the Cape

Historical accounts of settlers and travellers at the Cape in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries stand testament to the intimate connection between the enslaved community and the sea, as a source of life and exchange but also as a site of diasporic memory. Arriving at the Cape after a long voyage from Europe, for instance, travellers describe how they were

first greeted by enslaved people coming out in smaller vessels to greet the incoming fleet. “We were hardly come to anchor before a crowd of black slaves and Chinese came in their small boats to sell and barter for clothes and other goods”,¹⁷ wrote the Swedish naturalist Carl Peter Thunberg upon his arrival in Table Bay in 1772. Similarly, British captain Robert Percival wrote how “immediately on a ship coming to anchor, she is surrounded by boats, laden with fish, vegetables, and fruit, which the slaves of the Dutch colonists come to sell for their masters”.¹⁸

We tend to see the enslaved as workers on the land, labouring in sugar-cane or cotton fields; yet, at the Cape, labouring at sea was equally important among the tasks assigned to the enslaved. Fishing at the Cape, for instance, had predominantly been the task of enslaved people as well as freedmen from the East.¹⁹ Moreover, fish was an important part of the slave’s food rations at the Cape, as it was plentiful and cheap.²⁰ Several slave songs collected by early twentieth-century folklorists testify to this; for example, the songs *Hoedjies baai*, *Nieuw Seemandslied* and *Waarna toe nou*. “Free-black fishing families [aided by enslaved workers hired out as fishermen] formed one of the first identifiable occupational labouring communities in Cape Town, which dominated the foreshore area up into the early twentieth century”.²¹ Increasing the profitability of a business through mutual dependency is clearly expressed in the following song:

Hoeral, hoeral, die wind waai oos,	Hoorah, hoorah, ²² the wind blows East
Sou staat wij uit naar see	So we go out to sea
Die wind die waai sou diep al see	The wind blows so deep at sea
Vertrouw malkander op see	Trust each other at sea
Die wind die waai sou diep al see	The wind blows so deep at sea
Vertrouw malkander op see.	Trust each other at sea.

Maar onse geld wordt suur verdien,	Our money comes at a hard price
Ja somstijds met plesier;	Yes, sometimes with pleasure
Hier staat wij als broeders al en dit rond,	Here we stand as brothers in a circle
Vertrouw malkander op see. ²³	Trust each other at sea.

Such “sea shanties” or “work songs” were most likely sung during work on the beach or on board fishing boats. Some songs provided relief from the monotonous and strenuous work of the enslaved, for example: “More gaat Tannie na die Baai, na die Baai, na die Baai, na die Baai. Die meide trek die

lijn op sy. Ma-ga boe-ra bam die hart klop aan" ("Tomorrow Auntie goes to the bay, to the bay, to the bay, to the bay. The girls pull the [fishing] lines in. Ma-ga boe-ra bam the heart is beating").²⁴ As is evident from the lyrics, such short songs describe work processes (hauling nets and lines onto the beach) and seem to offer a beat to coordinate a working rhythm. Pooling of resources was essential to (freed) slave fishermen, who lacked capital but had close kinship networks in town. While men fished, women and children scaled, gutted and dried fish along the shoreline and sold the product in town. Both songs clearly testify to this. Perhaps the most vivid and eloquent portrayal of this Cape fishing community, consisting of enslaved and free blacks, can be found in the song *Visterman vannie Kaap* ("Fisherman of the Cape").²⁵ Although collected and published after the abolition of slavery, this song illustrates that this sense of belonging to the Cape and the sea existed long before Emancipation.

Ek is 'n Vister van die Kaap,	I am a fisherman of the Cape
Die Bo-Kaap is my woning.	The Bo-Kaap is my home.
My naam is Achmat Samsodien,	My name is Achmat Samsodien
Die oop see is my koning.	The open sea is my king.
Hy gee vir my die kabeljou	He gives me codfish
Harder, geelbek, stompneus, kreef,	Grey mullet, geelbek, stompneus, lobster.
En dan is daar die lekker snoek:	And then there is the tasty pike:
Wie wil dan sonder smoorvis leef?	Who wants to live without braised fish?
Maar hoe sal ons met stormweer	But how will we in stormy weather
Weet waar die hawe lê?	Know where the harbour lies?
Roei, roei maar oor die golwe,	Row, row over the waves,
Viljeé se rots sal sê.	Viljeé his rock will tell
Drieankerbaai se vetkers	Three Anker Bay's light house
Sal geel brand in die mis	will burn yellow in the mist
Om ons te wys waar Roggebaai	To show us the way where Rogge Bay's
Se strand wag vir die vis.	beach is waiting for the fish.
En wat dan as my bokkie	And what if my darling
Nie daar wag op die strand?	Is not waiting at the beach?
Daar's baie visse in die see,	There is plenty of fish in the sea
En baie bokkies op die land.	And many darlings on the land.

Work songs or sea shanties often developed spontaneously within the enslaved community, but were sometimes also demanded and imposed by the slavers to ensure endurance and prevent melancholy amongst

the enslaved. Numerous accounts of slavers, sailors and enslaved people in the Americas have testified that “on the way to the new world, African captives were encouraged or forced to dance and were sometimes ‘whipped into cheerfulness’”.²⁶ In the Indian Ocean context, Dutch slavers similarly enforced dancing and singing by the enslaved while on board slave ships sailing to the Cape. In the following account, a Company official gives advice on how to deal with slaves who suffer from illnesses, such as dysentery, on board the slave vessels that sailed the east coast of Africa bringing newly captured slaves from regions such as Mozambique or Madagascar to the Cape of Good Hope: “[t]he best way to cure this disease, is to separate those who suffer from those who are healthy, and to minimize the confining of the sick, but to let them do light works or dance to keep them moving.”²⁷

While there is no mention of singing or music, the reference to dance, in this context evokes the songs that accompanied the dancing. Such forced performances are described by European settler Samuel Hudson on witnessing the arrival of slave ships in Table Bay at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

They [the enslaved] are brought on deck to dance, to amuse themselves and to dress their faces in smiles tho’ beneath a broken Spirit and a breaking heart. Yet such is their fear of their inhuman Masters and the idea of the Cats²⁸ that they bow obedient to their Tyrants’ wills and dance and laugh and sing and appear perfectly contented with their wayward fortune.²⁹

Diasporic memory in seafaring songs

Such slave ship performances were not only demanded from the enslaved to ostensibly ensure their physical (and perhaps mental) wellbeing, but, as historian Gen  vieve Fabre has pointed out for the Atlantic world, such performances also served to hide the dehumanizing effect of slave voyages on the enslaved.³⁰ At the same time, such slave ship performances have also been viewed as evidence of ships being the carriers of memories and diasporic identities. Scholars such as Patrick Manning and Edward Alpers argue that musical performances during the middle passage were instrumental in forming a diasporic culture of the enslaved community. In *Recollecting Africa: Diaspora Memory in the Indian Ocean World*, Alpers argues that “the

principal vehicle for African [or Asian] memory and identity in the Indian Ocean World are music, song and dance; religion and healing; language and folkways".³¹

What enslaved people on board the slaving vessels bound for Cape Town sang is unfortunately not recorded; however, a set of lyrics that reappears frequently in the slave song repertoire at the Cape is the verse "Na Batavia, Na Batavia" (To Batavia, To Batavia), which serves as a repetitive bridge connecting several different slave songs. Batavia (present-day Jakarta) was the capital city and central port of the Dutch colonial presence in the Indian Ocean world, and whereas most enslaved at the Cape were not originally from Jakarta or the Indonesian archipelago, the port functioned as the central hub in the (slave) trading network of the Dutch East India Company, connecting the different (slave) markets along the shores of the Indian Ocean. The references to "Batavia" can thus be read as symbolic of the middle passage, or perhaps a representation of a longing for the East and a life before bondage.

A longing to sail "East" rather than "West" can be detected in other songs, as for instance in "Hoeral, hoeral, die wind waai oos!" ("Hoorah! Hoorah! The wind blows East"),³² cited above, and "Hoera, dit skip seil uit Oos" ("Hoorah, this ship sails from the East"). Whereas this longing is not always for a specific geographical location in the East such as Batavia/Jakarta, several songs mention the unspecified area named Oos (East) which could be read as a reference to the Indian Ocean world and a place free from the chains in colonial South Africa. The particular freedom which life as a sailor represents becomes apparent in the following lyrics.

Hoera, dit skip seil uit oos	Hoorah, this ship sails from the East
Wil gy teken vir ene matroos	Do you want to sign up as sailor
[...]	...
Veel van matrosies leven	Many sailors live
Aan dit gal moes in hem gaat vergeven	This bile within him, we should forgive
Sterwen wy op dit zee	If we die at sea
Dis beter als op dit land	This will be better than on land
Veel van matrosies leef al in ons	Several sailors already live in our
vaderland ³³	fatherland.

The "freedom" of which this song speaks is not moral freedom—detachment from family, wives, responsibilities, etc.³⁴—but a specific detachment from land (the Cape) and a preference for the freedom of the open sea. The call

of the sea and the calling to the profession of sailor or fisherman is clearly expressed in this song, as in other songs such as *Wy moes die See bevaaren* ("We have to sail the sea").³⁵ The sea, which was omnipresent in the lives of the enslaved and their direct descendants, as they worked either on or near the water, thus seems to have symbolized to them their separation from their countries of origin, but also the "connecting tissue to memories of a life before and outside of slavery".³⁶

Contrary to this view of the sea as a representation of a life outside bondage, Sowande' M. Mustakeem has argued that the "middle passage" (and as such the sea as a symbol) should not simply be seen as an intermediate stage in the process of becoming enslaved, but rather as a crucial part in the dehumanizing process of enslavement. She states that "the middle passage comprised a violently unregulated process critically foundational to the institution of bondage that interlinked slaving voyages and plantation societies".³⁷ The middle passage should therefore be predominantly seen as a site of loss, and the sea as a "site of slavery".³⁸ There is certainly a duality in the symbolic power of the sea, as both a barrier and a memento of loss, as well as a symbol of freedom.

Lodewijk Wagenaar's experimental attempt to give a voice to the enslaved Boenga van Johor³⁹ who was imprisoned on Robben Island off the coast of Cape Town, allows us to speculate on possible negative associations enslaved had with the ocean. In an imaginative letter, Wagenaar allows Boenga to speak to the past and present and reveal how enslaved were traumatized by the sight of the sea as it became a reminder of the horrors experienced on route to the Cape. In the gripping, speculative but very plausible illustration of Boenga's passionate plea to the Governor of the Cape, she vouches, "I cannot stand anymore to see waves threatening to grasp me, to carry my helpless body and kill me".⁴⁰ That Boenga's potential plea to be transferred to the mainland away from the sight of the ocean remained unheard and misunderstood is the most likely scenario, as Wagenaar shows that no records have been found which indicate that Boenga ever left Robben Island. Moreover, that the voyage across the Indian Ocean was a traumatic experience for the enslaved usually went unnoticed and unacknowledged by colonial administrators and settlers. Civil governor at the Cape, Lord Macartney, for instance wrote in 1797 in defence of the slave trade that "the slaves of this colony are brought from the short distance of Mozambique and Madagascar, they have encountered neither the hobgoblins of the [Atlantic] middle passage, nor the scramble of a west India market".⁴¹ Yet the account by Samuel Hudson of

the forced slave dances on deck indicates that the suffering of enslaved on board was clearly observable for all who wanted to see. Similarly, Lady Anne Barnard recorded in her diary in 1800 how she had observed the landing of a slave ship in Cape Town harbour and had been appalled by the sight of such a great number of enslaved (around 600) that had been kept below deck. When asking about the conditions on board, she was surprised to be told that "not many had died ... only 50".⁴²

That the sea can also be a site of terror and danger becomes apparent from several Dutch sailors songs such as "Verschrikkelijke Storm" ("Terrible Storm")⁴³ and "Omstandig Verhaal, van het verongelukken van de agt Oost-Indische Retour Schepen"⁴⁴ ("Detailed story of the perishing of the eight East-India return ships") as well as the "seafaring songs" which are part of the so-called "Nederlandse liedjies" genre of the Cape Coloured community, such as "Wy moes na dit see bevaaren" ("Why must you sail the seas")⁴⁵ which all relate the Cape's stormy reputation. Such songs about storms and good helmsmanship can also be found in more recent folk songs of the Cape Coloured community. For example, a song entitled Boeta Gila⁴⁶ which speaks of a storm preventing fishermen from sailing out and catching fish. Or the following song "Ankers op" ("Anchors up") which eloquently speaks of the havoc-wreaking storms that can hit the Cape peninsula.

Hoor hoe brul ou Leeukop!	Listen how old Lion's head ⁴⁷ roars
Die wind spring op Llandudno,	The wind slams into Llandudno ⁴⁸
Hy gryp en skud die huise,	He grabs and shakes the houses
Hy druk die bome plat.	He presses down on the trees
Ankers op, die vis is weg,	Anchors up, the fish is gone
Die duikers skiet die skeure in.	The duikers ⁴⁹ hurl into the cracks
Ankers op, die seevoëls waai	Anchors up, the seabirds fly
Soos wit papiere na die land.	Like white papers towards the land.
Breekwater toe, Bakoven regs,	Breaking waters, Bakoven ⁵⁰ on the right
Met ronde brode van die dood.	With round breads of death.
Ankers op, al langs die kus,	Anchors up, passed the coast
Die water klim-klim in ons skuit.	The water climbs-climbs into our vessel
Die Twaalf Apostels staan nog pal,	The Twelve Apostles ⁵¹ are still standing tall
Maar almal het hun mantels aan.	But all with their cloaks on.

The sea as site of terror and trauma is thus clearly present in the song repertoire, and challenges the association of the sea as site of freedom, but does

not per se connect the terror of stormy seas to that of the terror of slavery. Nevertheless, when one considers the fact that several seafaring songs in the Cape Coloured song repertoire are of Dutch origin,⁵² images of coercion and psychological enslavement surface and it becomes harder to identify the seafaring songs, and the image of the ocean, as sites of memory of a life before or outside slavery. Yet, following Gilroy's argument that the Black Atlantic was a space of contact and hybridity, and that the exchanges across the ocean led to the emergence of a counterculture of modernity and Creole culture, the adoption of Dutch songs by the Cape Coloured community should not be read as a sign of subjugation but rather as a sign of exchange. As Isabel Hofmeyr has noted, port cities such as Cape Town functioned as funnels of "concentrated exchange" that were not only limited to the cultures and traditions of the East and East Africa, but also incorporated the cultures and traditions of the "West".⁵³ Enslaved and free black fishermen working in Cape Town harbour would have been well positioned to pick up seafaring songs from passing sailors on board VOC ships bound for Batavia or Amsterdam. In parallel, the many taverns in this port city were frequented by the enslaved and sailors alike, and on such occasions musical traditions must have been exchanged and intermingled. Historian Victor de Kock has noted that music, in particular, was the universal language that enabled social contact between such diverse communities.⁵⁴ These musical borrowings were not unidimensional, nor were they a sign of cultural imperialism, but rather this "interracial [musical] cooperation" should be regarded as "opposition to racism and segregation".⁵⁵

The so-called *Nederlandsliedjies*—the genre of Dutch songs that covers most seafaring songs—are among the favourites in the Cape Coloured song repertoire. They are seen as a repertoire "which is endowed with a sense of historicity and a strong feeling of belonging to Cape Town and South Africa, because it is rooted in slavery and has been the result of a series of creative acts".⁵⁶ The lyrics evoke memories of this community's past and present connections to the ocean. Additionally, the performance highlights the hybrid origins of the song tradition, as the lead vocalist demonstrates his melismatic singing technique with its obvious Eastern tone scales, and the choir—which swerves back and forth as if to the rhythm of the waves—sings the backing vocals in a clearly Western tone scale. Together, they sing songs on themes such as the high seas, the life-giving nature of the sea, and life as a sailor. As such, the performance of such (Dutch) seafaring songs signifies most vividly the presence of a "Brown Indian Ocean consciousness" in the Cape Coloured memory culture.

Conclusion

In the song lyrics of the Cape Coloured community one encounters the image of the sea as an open and free space, the image of sailors and, more specifically, the image of the ship as a vehicle with which to sail towards freedom. But, more importantly, the ocean and the ships that sail on it represent a zone of contact, and act as carriers of ideas and memories. Paul Gilroy reminds us that "ships were the living means by which the points within that Atlantic World were joined". The symbolic power of the sea and of ships is that "they were mobile elements that stood for the shifting spaces in between the fixed places they connected".⁵⁷ In Adam Small's poem, *Vryheid*, the couple longs for the sea but also for the boats that are the vehicles with which one can sail towards freedom. In what is often described as the most famous and popular folk song of the Cape Coloured community, *Daar kom die Alibama* ("Here Comes the Alibama"),⁵⁸ the image of a ship and the sea as connecting tissue is used to represent not a route towards freedom per se, but rather a debate on what slavery and freedom mean. The song celebrates the coming of an American ship to Cape Town's shores. It speaks of the arrival of the American confederate warship, CSS *Alabama*, in Table Bay in August 1863 in the midst of the American Civil War.⁵⁹

Daar kom die Alibama	Here comes the Alibama
Die Alibama kom oor die see	The Alibama comes over the sea
Daar kom die Alibama	Here comes the Alibama
Die Alibama kom oor die see	The Alibama comes over the sea

The arrival of a warship which could be spotted from Cape Town harbour created quite an uproar at the time. Apart from the excitement and novelty of this sighting, it is apparent that the ship was also seen as the bearer of news and ideas. The continuing popularity of the song, predominantly within the Cape Coloured community, is sometimes attributed to the fact that it commemorates the American Civil War, a war fought over the abolition of slavery.⁶⁰ To the members of the Cape Coloured community, who themselves had been emancipated only one generation before the warship's arrival, the ship and the song commemorating its arrival in Cape Town could have evoked memories of their own struggle for emancipation. Like the Dutch sailor songs with their references to sailing East, and the fishermen's songs and the sea shanties which allude to the early fishing communities

consisting of free blacks and the enslaved at the Cape, the image of the ocean in this song seems to function as a space for memories of the slave past.

Notes

1. Translation from Afrikaans: “Do I hear the sea sing, sing? Do I hear the seagulls sing? No! No! I hear freedom, yes freedom sing!” from Adam Small, *Vryheid, Kitaar my kruis*, 42. 2nd edn., Cape Town: HAUM, 1962.
2. “Cape Coloured” refers to a mixed-race community living mainly in the Western and Northern Cape in South Africa, who are the descendants of the enslaved community in South Africa. The use of the term is highly debated as it is a reminder of the racist ideology and segregationist policies of the apartheid regime. See Louise Viljoen, “Displacement in the Literary Texts of Black Afrikaans Writers in South Africa,” *Journal of Literary Studies* 21, no. 1–2 (2005): 95. However, other labels such as Cape Malay, Brown Afrikaner and “Bruin mense” evoke other uncomfortable associations. The term “Coloured” thus is still an official term, recognized and used by the South African state to designate this community.
3. Small, *Vryheid*, 42.
4. In Adam Small’s poetry, the theme of liberation from oppression (during apartheid) is often addressed using the metaphor of Moses leading his people out of slavery in Egypt. In so doing, Small connects the struggle against slavery with the struggle against apartheid. See Michael Cloete, “Language and Politics in the Philosophy of Adam Small: Some Personal Reflections,” *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 49, no. 1 (2012): 127.
5. Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthum, “Introduction. The Sea is History,” in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, edited by Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthum, 2. New York: Routledge, 2004.
6. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, 15. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
7. Isabel Hofmeyr, “The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South—Literary and Cultural Perspectives,” *Social Dynamics* 33, no. 2 (2007): 13.
8. Hofmeyr, “The Black Atlantic,” 14.
9. Gabeba Baderoon, “The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture,” *Research in African Literatures* 40, no. 4 (2009): 91–93.

10. The term "folk memory" refers to popular expressions of the cultural memory of a community.
11. Baderoon, "The African Oceans," 89.
12. A.M. van der Wal, "Singing of Slavery, Performing the Past. The Folk Songs of the Cape Coloured Community as Cultural Memory of the South African Slave Past, 1657–present" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2016).
13. Sampie Terreblanche, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*. 9. Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2002.
14. Wayne Dooling, "In Search of Profitability: Wheat and Wine Production in the Post-Emancipation Western Cape", *South African Historical Journal*, 55:1 (2006), 88.
15. Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Black Ethnicities, Communities and Political Expression in Late Victorian Cape Town", *Journal of African History* 36, no. 3 (1995): 445.
16. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 74.
17. Carl Peter Thunberg, *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope 1772–1775*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1986, cited in Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
18. Robert Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 43. London: C. & R. Baldwin, 1804, cited in Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society: The Cape of Good Hope, 1717–1795*, 489. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2012.
19. Nigel Worden, Elizabeth Van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town. The Making of a City*, 62. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998.
20. Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society*, 207.
21. Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town*, 64.
22. *Hoera* is Dutch for "hoorah". However, in this written version it says *hoeral* instead of *hoera*. This implies it might not mean hoorah, but perhaps *hoor al*, translated as "listen everyone".
23. Izak David du Plessis, *Die Bijdrae van de Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volk-slied*, 162. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1935.
24. du Plessis, *Die bijdrae van die Kaapse Maleier*, 131.
25. Izak David du Plessis, *Kaapse Moppies*, 18. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1977.
26. Geneviève Fabre, "The Slave Ship Dance," in *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage*, edited by Maria Diedrich, Henry Louis Gates and Carl Pedersen, 34–35. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
27. Cape Archives, Council Resolution, C. 181, 2–88. Dinsdag den 13 Jan 1789. Original text: "de beste middelen om deeze ziekte in desselvs loop te stuiten, zijn het afzonderen der Lijders aan dezelve Laboreerende van de gesonde

- Slaven; deeze zo min mogelijk te kluijsteren, maar integendeel door ligt werk en danzen in eene gestadige beweeging te houden”.
28. A whip made out of several knotted cords.
 29. Robert C.H. Shell, “Introduction to S.E. Hudson’s ‘Slaves,’” *Kronos* 9 (1984), 48.
 30. Fabre, “Slave Ship Dance,” 34–35.
 31. Edward A. Alpers, “Recollecting Africa: Diasporic Memory in the Indian Ocean World,” *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 90.
 32. du Plessis, *Bijdrae van die Kaap Maleier*, 162.
 33. M.A. Gassiep, *Nederlandse Volksliedjies soos deur die Maleiers gesing*, 20. Johannesburg: Ivan Joffe, 1942.
 34. This stereotypical image of an unattached and free-spirited sailor does, however, appear in some “seafaring songs” of the Coloured community; for instance, in the songs *Wat ly daar een seeman* (“How does a sailor suffer”), *Ons Erfenis*, ‘n versameling van die gewildste Kaapse-Nederlandse Liedere (Beit-ul Aman: Kaapstad), and *Nieuwe Seemanslied* (“New Sailor’s Song”), in du Plessis, *Bijdrae van die Kaap Maleier*, 78.
 35. *Wy moes die See bevaaren* (“We have to sail the sea”), from Gassiep, *Nederlandse Volksliedjies*, 12.
 36. Baderoon, “The African Oceans,” 95.
 37. Sowande’ M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage*, 3. Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 2016.
 38. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, 5.
 39. In this edited volume’s chapter entitled “Boenga van Johor. My forced journey from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope”.
 40. Yang Mulia Tuan Jan de la Fontaine, Gubernur dan Kepala di Cabo da Boa Esperança (“To the right honourable Jan de la Fontaine, Governor of the cape of Good Hope”). Retrieved from the past by Lodewijk Wagenaar for the “Being a Slave” workshop at Leiden University, 29–30 May 2017.
 41. Macartney: Private letter, 24 July 1797, cited in Margaret Lena, “Speaking for the Slave: Britain and the Cape, 1751–1838,” *Literator* 20/1 (1999): 108.
 42. Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard: 10 March 1800, cited in Lena, “Speaking for the Slave,” 109.
 43. Anonymous, “Verschrikkelijke Storm Voorgevallen aan Kaap de Goede Hoop.” Lbl Meertens 15002 ([1870 ca.]).
 44. “Pertinent en Omstandig Verhaal, van het verongelukken van de agt Oost-Indische Retour Schepen, de Flora, Westerwyk, Paddenburg, Ipenrode, Duinbeek, Roodenrys, Goudriaan en de Buis, dewelke op den 21. Mey 1737. door een verschikkelyke Storm of Orcaan uit den Noord-Westen aan de Caap de Goede

Hoop zyn geleven" (translation: "Pertinent and detailed story of the disaster of the eight East-India return ships, the *Flora*, *Westerwyk*, *Paddenburg*, *Ipenrode*, *Duinbeek*, *Roodenrys*, *Goudriaan* and the *Buis*, which on 21 May 1737 perished, because of a terrible storm or hurricane from the North-West at the Cape of Good Hope"), published in the "De Schiedamse Jeneverstoker" songbook (1730), 72.

45. Wy moes die See bevaaren ("We must sail the sea"), from Gassiep, *Nederlandse Volksliedjies*, 12.
46. Batoe derives from the Malaysian word Batu which means stone or rock. Batoe Gila could thus refer to some of the visible large boulders just off the coast of Cape Town.
47. Lion's head (Leeukop) is a 669-metre high mountain between Table Mountain and Signal Hill in Cape Town.
48. Llandudno is today a rather posh seaside suburb of Cape Town. It was designated as a township in the Cape Town vicinity in 1903, but had in the more distant past already been settled by Khoikhoi clans.
49. The duiker or "common duiker" is a small antelope found throughout South Africa.
50. Bakoven is the name of a seaside suburb of Cape Town, probably called after a boulder in the shape of a smelting chimney: Peter E. Raper, *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names*. Internet Archive (1987) 63.
51. The Twelve Apostles are a mountain range on the Cape Peninsula.
52. du Plessis, *Bijdrae van die Kaapse Maleier*, 19–20; Denis-Constant Martin, *Coon Carnival. New Year in Cape Town: Past and Present*, 27. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1999; Armelle Gaulier and Denis-Constant Martin, *Cape Town Harmonies: Memory, Humour and Resilience*, 77. Cape Town: African Minds, 2017.
53. Isabel Hofmeyr, Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie and Preben Kaarsholm, "Durban and Cape Town as Port Cities: Reconsidering Southern African Studies from the Indian Ocean," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 3 (2016): 382.
54. Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company*, 91–92. London: Allen & Unwin, 1950.
55. Denis-Constant Martin, *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*, 248. Somerset West: African Minds, 2013.
56. Gaulier and Martin, *Cape Town Harmonies*, 81–82.
57. Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, 16.
58. The popularity of this song is confirmed by most choir captains I interviewed during my fieldwork in South Africa in 2008, 2010, 2013 and 2015. See also Martin, *Coon Carnival*, 84.

59. Edna Bradlow and Frank Bradlow, *Here Comes the Alabama*. Cape Town: Westby Nunn Publishers, 1958.
60. Colin Howard, *The "No-Persons": An Investigation Into Aspects of Secular Popular Music in Cape Town*, 33. (Master's diss., Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1994).