

UL No. 28(B)

Identifying
Jonker van Macassar



Uprooted Lives

Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest Colonial Inhabitants (1652-1713)

Mansell G Upham

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*For min Far, min Mor
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



Preface

Timon: Earth, yield me roots
 He digs
Who seeks for better of thee, sause his palate
With thy most operant poison. What is here?
Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious gold?
No, gods, I am no idle votarist.
Roots, you clear heavens! Thus much of this will make
Black white, foul fair, wrong right,
Base noble, old young, coward valiant.
Ha, you gods! Why this? What, this, you gods? Why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides,
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads.
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions, bless th'acursed,
Make the hoar leprosy adored, place thieves,
And give them title, knee and approbation,
With senators on the bench. This is it
That makes the wappened widow wed again –
She, whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To th'April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind, that puts odds
Among the rout of nations, I will make thee
Do thy right nature ...

William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*

Since 1976 **Eva Meerhoff**, born **Krotoa (c. 1643-1674)** and **Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat] (c. 1631-1683)** have haunted me. Discovering Krotoa (ancestor to *both* my father and my mother) and *Groote Catrijn* (*seven* traceable lineal descents – five maternal and two paternal) to be two of my most prolific ancestors; and also that these two formidable women are lesser known ancestors (even multiple) to so many other colonially induced people *rooted* at the tip of Africa – like so many other ancestral beings from my/our past - were reasons enough for me to give them undivided attention. But the discovery that Krotoa was the first indigenous Cape woman to be colonially incorporated; and that *Groote Catrijn* was the first recorded female convict banished to the Dutch-occupied Cape of Good Hope and its first Dutch East India Company (VOC) slave to be liberated - exacted their release from the shadows demanding that *their stories* be told. My ongoing research into the lives of especially the Cape's earliest colonial women (indigene, settler, sojourner, slave, convict) – women being the *fons et origo* of ongoing culture - affords me the opportunity to continue revisiting my original research - many initially featured (since 1997) in numerous articles in *Capensis*, quarterly journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape). Krotoa's and *Groote Catrijn*'s importance and that of their



colourful contemporaries has now been reassessed in terms of unravelling and understanding more fully the impact of Dutch colonization at the tip of Africa. There is now a heightened awareness in South Africa of indigenousness and slavery. Until recently, however, both Krotoa and *Groote Catrijn* – and many other folk - have been mostly overlooked or excluded from the orthodox and politically selective slave pantheon currently encountered in the rewriting and re-institutionalization of South African historiography. The reality of *shared* indigenous and slave roots across a diminishing racial or ethnic divide, however, cannot any longer be suppressed. There is a need for expanded biographies on, and ongoing genealogical inquiries into, not only these very important early Cape colonial figures, but many others.

More than 30 years of researching and documenting each recorded individual that peopled the early colonial period of the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope (1652-1713), and given the present-day dearth of knowledge regarding diasporized slaves and the ethnically challenged indigenes, at a time when the need to incorporate the historically marginalized underclasses into a more global consciousness is being increasingly recognized, the publication of accessible representative biographies has become imperative. Ever since Anna J. Böeseken's seminal work *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* in 1977, little attempt has been made to write more detailed biographies on any of the individuals originally referred to by Böeseken or any other people for that matter - thus the *raison d'être* for this collection of biographical excursions from the initial period of Dutch colonization. This collection comprises mostly indigenous and slave biographies for the period (1652-1713) ending with the devastating smallpox epidemic that utterly transformed the little colony forever thereafter. The lives of a few hundred people have been recollected in varying degrees of detail depending on how much has survived in the written record.

This work is also a tribute to my own indigenous and slave ancestors thus far unearthed from this period - consciousness of whom has given me a whole new more meaningful sense of being 'ameri-eurafricasian' and then some ...:

the Goringhaicona:

Eva Meerhoff (born **Krotoa**)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

Frans Jacobs van de Caep

the African slaves:

Catharina Alexander van de Caep

Maria van Guinea [Benin]

Cecilia van Angola

Dorothea van Angola

Manuel van Angola

Diana van Madagascar

the Asian slaves:

Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta

Engela / Angela (Maaij Ans(i)ela van Bengale

Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale

Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar

Maria Magdalena (Mariana) Jacobse van Ceylon [Sri Lanka]

Jacob van Macassar

Maria Jacobs: van Batavia

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

Lim / Lin Inko alias Abraham de Veij



Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 16th century has hitherto been unearthed. The 18th and 19th centuries have been more accessible to researchers and historians especially in view of the more legible and easier-to-read records. The 17th century has proved to be a lot more inaccessible due to the more difficult Gothic Dutch script. Invariably researchers (especially academics) have been reluctant to share their transcriptions of archival documents consulted when publishing. I have opted, instead, to rather share my transcriptions in order to arrive at greater accuracy, insight and understanding of these difficult records. It is hoped that more fleshed-out biographies of many more slaves, indigenes and others will follow.

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my mother **Maria (Ria) Catherine Upham, née Priem (1933-1996)** and my sisters, **Beryl Catherine Brighton, née Upham (1955-2002)** & **Anne Caroline Upham (1957-1988)**, for undying inspiration;
- my father **William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006)** for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate
- **Margaret Cairns (1912-2009)** for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- **Anna J. Böeseken (1906-1997)** for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and
- **Delia Robertson** for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

Mansell George Upham
Tokyo, Japan
October 2012



Guide to the Text

General Historical Background

The wind-swept Cape of Good Hope ('the Cape') was a Dutch colonial translittoral holding or possession that emerged quite late (1652) in an already established colonial empire under the control of 'The United East India Company' or *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('the VOC') stretching from Southern Africa to Timor. The VOC-empire had grafted itself onto an earlier Portuguese empire, which had already paved the way for increased European colonial expansion into Africa and Asia. Dutch trade with Asia was organized through the VOC in terms of an exclusive charter (1602) from the States-General of the United Provinces of the Free Netherlands (the 'Dutch Republic') for trade and enforcement of Dutch interests against competitors. A commercial as well as a government agent in Asia, its business was conducted by a hierarchy of officials (called merchants) with headquarters in Batavia [Jakarta on Java, Indonesia], after 1619. The directors of the VOC in the Netherlands were known as the Lords Seventeen (*Heeren XVII*). The Company was formally dissolved (31 December 1795) and its debts and possessions taken over by the Batavian Republic, predecessor to the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The VOC's main priority at the Cape of Good Hope was to provide support to all of its ships that plied between the Netherlands (*Patria*) and the East Indies. This entailed the running of an efficient hospital, burying the dead and the ready supply of food and drink to the survivors. The colonial encroachment (*occupatio*) on aboriginal Khoi/San ('Hottentot'/'Bushmen') lands resulted in the signing of 'treaties' *ex post facto* in attempts to 'legitimize' Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their 'freedom' to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, *buiten comptoir*¹, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uiterste hoeck van Africa*). Significantly, the Cape of Good Hope was the only Dutch colony where the Dutch language, albeit creolized and indigenized, effectively took root and evolved into a formalized and institutionalized language - *Afrikaans*.

The Cape of Good Hope for that period is best imagined in terms of the present-day Cape Flats once being drifting dunes of sand. Between Cape Town and the second colony of Stellenbosch, there lay a waste-land of prehistoric sea-bed making the Cape peninsula appear to be an island cut off from the rest of Africa. The colony was initially a dumping ground for the VOC's sick, dead, political exiles and convicts. The place can be summed up by the following key words: fort, penal settlement, cemetery, hospital,

¹ *Buiten comptoires* were out stations or subordinate dependencies, each with its own governor or commander, which before (1652), extended from Ceylon in the west to the Celebes and Japan in the east [CA: BP (*Cape Pamphlets*): Colin Graham Botha, 'Early Cape Matrimonial Law'].



slave lodge, vegetable garden, drinking hole and brothel. Transferred officials and servants could not be expected to stay there indefinitely and 'free-burghers' (*vrijburghers*) - a minority of whom were manumitted slaves termed 'free-blacks' (*vrijzwarten*) - and their wives, if not legally bound to stay for a fixed period as 'free citizens', would have opted to leave sooner. Some even deserted by running or stowing away. There were very few imported women so that there existed a maximum demand for sexual favours from slave women and detribalized aborigines. Some European women, appreciating this chronic shortage, even risked cross-dressing and leaving for the Cape and the East Indies disguised as men. A number were discovered even before their ships sailed past the Cape. Then, there were many more stowaways and high-sea captives. All life revolved around the coming and going of the VOC fleets and its motley crews - and keeping the 'Hottentots' at bay. An overpopulated hospital, multiple burials, illegal trade (either between the ship folk and the free burghers or corrupt officials or local aborigines), fornication, homosexuality, prostitution, gambling, drinking, squabbling, stealing, punishing and killing were the dis/order of the day.

Nomenclature, terminology, Dutch 17th & 18th century writing conventions & archival sources

17th century Dutch writing conventions display a healthy aversion to standardization. There is a tendency in South Africa to convert, incorrectly, old Dutch names found in original documents using modern Afrikaans writing conventions. In particular, the principle of 'writing one concept as one word' derives from a more removed (if not alien) High German convention imposed once written Afrikaans conventions became institutionalized. Hence, the original *Blaauw Berg* is rendered *Blouberg* and re-rendered *Blaauwberg* [sic]. The Dutch were happy to abide by the European (proto-international) name generally used for the Cape, viz. the Portuguese *Cabo de Boa Esperanza*. The Dutch, however, often influenced by French, gallicized the latter half of the name: *Cabo de Boa Esperance*. The Dutch rendition of the name is generally found as *Caep de Goede Hoop*. Caep or Caap is often also found as *Caab*. Place names are used as the Dutch knew them at the time, as opposed to latter-day 'politically correct' names. The spelling of personal names found in the records have been standardized (except when quoted directly from the sources) in order to avoid confusing the reader unnecessarily. Foreign terms are translated into English when they first appear in the text. Archival sources are not referenced separately, but are detailed in endnotes after each chapter.

Naming people

The 17th century Dutch generally used patronyms and toponyms, even when family names or surnames were known or in existence and sometimes used. The use of a family name serves often as an indicator of higher status. One's provenance or place of birth was more important. This is because of the European convention of bureaucratically confining people to their places of birth even if they had already moved away. Slaves were named in the same way. Many toponyms, however, are often interchangeable perhaps due to bureaucratic laxity and/or ignorance when dealing with the places of origin and/or purchase of enslaved and manumitted peoples, e.g.:

van Malabar / van Cochin / van Coromandel / van Paliacatta / van Bengale



Currency, weight & measurements

The VOC's monetary unit of account until 1658 consisted of two currencies:

the *guilder (gulden)* - also known as *florin* and represented by the symbol *f*; and the *stuiver* (1 *florin* = 20 *stuivers*)

the Spanish-American *rial* - also known as the *real*, *real-of-eight* and *piece-of-eight*. (1 *real* = 48 *stuivers*)

Thereafter the *rixdaalder (rixdollar)*, abbreviated as *Rds* replaced these as the unit of account and converted generally to the amount of 2.5 to 3 *florins* per *rixdollar*. (1 *rixdollar* = 1 *real* = 3 *florins* = 48 *stuivers*). For the first half of the 17th century the Spanish-American *rial-of-eight* (also found as *real-of-eight*) was widely used in the East by the Dutch as real money and as a unit of account, being usually converted at about 48 *stuivers*, and considered as the (slightly overvalued) equivalent of the *rixdollar* (1 *real* = 2.4 *florins*). By VOC practice the *florin* was valued at 20 *stuivers* in the Netherlands and 16 *stuivers* in the Dutch Indies (including the Cape). As the *rixdollar* converted to 48 *stuivers*, it was worth 2.4 *florins* in the Netherlands and 3 *florins* in the Indies. This variance allowed persons transferring money from the Indies to the Netherlands to make a profit on the exchange rate. The Dutch pound (*pond*) weight most commonly used was the Amsterdam pound which amounted to 0.494 kg. Land (*erwen*) in South Africa was (and still is) measured by means of *morgen* and *roeden*.



Identifying *Jonker van Macassar*



Wouter Schouten 't Eyl(andt) Ternate from *Oost-Indische voyagie* (Amsterdam 1676)

[engraving by Joannis Kip]

Ternate was the dominant political & economic power over the Spice Islands of Maluku.



Mansell Upham, Tokyo (April 2016)

In 2013 the writer propagated in a preliminary and exploratory article the long-overdue need for further archival research into the origins of the 18th-century Paarl sexton (*koster*) **Adolf Jonker**. Key archival material still requiring proper investigation was identified and specifically referenced.² These were proffered to other researchers to help establish the true identity of his biological father **Jonker van Macassar** (*jonker* = 'prince')³ and confirm that his father is indeed **Kaicil Mahmud / مهمند** ('the praised one')], **Prince of Kalamata** - the *mort vivant* or 'socially dead' **Prince of Ternate** convicted (1704) in Batavia for committing rape, saved from the gallows for political reasons, and exiled to the Cape of Good Hope as a VOC convict (*bandiet*) and *quasi*-Company slave who is also later banished to Robben Island for illegally operating a brothel and gambling den.

In 2014 **Delia Robertson** confirmed in a follow up article first-time details of DNA data confirming the Indonesian origins of the South African **Jonker** family in the male line — as originally correctly pointed out by historian **Dr J. Hoge** but incorrectly refuted by politician **Dr. Abraham Jonker**.⁴

In 2015 **Martina Louw** and **Jaco Strauss**, reacting to some of the suggested archival references, also responded with a new article.⁵ Reiterating the confirmatory DNA Indonesian origins of the progenitor (*stamvader*), they incorrectly concluded that **Jonker van Macassar** and **Kaicil Mahmud** are supposedly two entirely different individuals. Why they did not consider finding further evidence of a supposed later separate existence of the prince's 3 children or suggest the feasibility of looking to compare the confirmatory DNA data with DNA samples of members of the royal family of Ternate, remains unclear. Misreading some of the documents in question, and without sharing any transcriptions or copies of any the original archival records consulted, they also confounded the real relationship between the concubine of **Kaicil Mahmud** — **Rosetta van Batavia / Bougis [Bugis] / Ceijlon [Ceylon] / Java / Jaffnapatnam / Macassar** and the slave woman entrusted to her - **Rosetta van**

² Mansell Upham, "God's Slave & Afrikaner 'Hearts of Darkness' — **Abdullah / عبد الله alias Adolf Jonker** (c. 1707-1779)", *Uprooted Lives*, no. 28 (2013), First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/RemarkableWriting/UL28Jonker.pdf>. The FFY Project amasses & collates primary recorded sources so as to identify more fully & accurately all individual recorded persons at the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope during, as starting point, the 1st 50 years of colonial existence.

³ **Jonker** is a clearly not a name but a title or actual contracted substitute / synonym for **Jonkheer** = 'prince' or young 'lord'. There appears to be no conceivable alternative for **Jonker**'s real name other than the exiled prince in question. **Kyai Chili** or **Kaicil** are Romanized Bahasa Indonesian titles for princes of royal birth. The term **Dayan** or **Dain** appears to be Romanized Bahasa Indonesian equivalents denoting 'prince' for both royal-born &/or noble born sons.

⁴ "Adolph Jonker — a myth-shattering convergence of modern science and the 300 year old record?", FFY (2014) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/RemarkableWriting/JonkerDNA.pdf>.

⁵ "Die Herkoms van stamvader Adolph Jonker (1718-1779)", *Familia*, vol. 52 (2015), pp. 49-73.



Bengale⁶. For their article Louw and Strauss were awarded (2016) the *Prize for the Best Genealogical Article of the Year* by the Genealogical Society of South Africa (GSSA).

This article revisits the above-mentioned articles for purposes of confirming, modifying, amplifying and correcting certain earlier assumptions and errors concerning **Kaicil Mahmud alias Jonker van Macassar** now that the writer himself has personally accessed the previously elusive archival records in question.

Closer scrutiny of these additionally consulted records and corresponding events establish *four* very elucidating insights. These further confirm and attest to the fact that **Jonker van Macassar** and **Kaicil Mahmud** are irrefutably one and the same person:

1. The peculiarly detailed testamentary attempts in an *un-probated will* (1727)⁷ by a death-fearing, bed-ridden **Jonker van Macassar [Kaicil Mahmud]** — likely brought back from his detention on Robben Island to the mainland and the comfort of his household on compassionate grounds and by way of a specially commissioned Portuguese interpreter in keeping with his royal personage — to provide for the guardianship of his 3 illegitimate but still legally enslaved **Jonker**-surnamed children:

- **Abdullah / عبد الله** (God's slave ``Abdul' / `Adel` / `Adul') — later baptized **Adolph**
- **Jamela (Amel)** - later baptized **Johanna**
- **Raja (Talie')** - later baptized **Catharina**

by his concubine, the manumitted slave woman — in all likelihood the baptized former slave of Governor **Willem Adriaan van der Stel** - found recorded, variously as:

Rosetta van Bougis [Bugis] / Macassar / Java / Batavia / Jaffnapatnam / Ceijlon [Ceylon].⁸

The will, very significantly, is witnessed by none other than the Cape-born **Marthinus Heems (1703-1754)**⁹ — brother-in-law to **Abraham Decker**

⁶ **Rosetta van Bengale** & her own family — whom Louw & Strauss incorrectly assume to have been childless — will be the subject of a forthcoming separate article.

⁷ CA: CJ 2604, no. 5 (Original Will: **Jonker van Macassar**, 24 January 1727); MOOC 7/14, no. 33 (Copy of Will: **Jonker van Macassar**, 24 January 1727).

⁸ 'Java' may be a recording error for Jaffnapatnam often abbreviated in the records as 'Jaffna'. Recorded toponyms in archival records for slaves at the Cape & other VOC stations are seldom consistent. The transporting of slaves from the Indonesian archipelago (Sulawesi to Java) to the Cape via Batavia &/or Ceylon [Sri Lanka] also needs to be borne in mind.

⁹ **Marthinus Heems (1703-1754)** (born Cape 1703), son of Roman Catholic **Guilliaume Heems** (from Bruges, Flanders) & the Cape-born **Anna van Banchem** & also step-son of his wife's Cape-born brother **Hendrik Möller** (son of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller** from Hamburg & **Margaretha Marquardt** from Hamburg); assistant (1720); junior merchant (*onder coopman*); dies (1754); marries (14 April 1726) his step-father's Cape-born sister **Maria Möller** — sister to 1st wife of **Abraham Decker (1697-1752)** (from Amsterdam), **Regina Möller** (dies 1736). Decker & his 2nd wife take in **Kaicil Mahmud**'s son **Abdullah** — later baptized **Adolph** adopting the sobriquet / family name **Jonker**.



(1697—1752)¹⁰. **Heems** later purchases (11 August 1730) from **Rosetta van Java** one of the slaves (**September van Manda [Mandaar / Mandar]**) mentioned in the will - the sale of which slave, however (together with the other slaves bequeathed to the children of **Jonker van Macassar**) — is initially expressly forbidden in the will.

The re-appearance of the slave **Alexander van Couchin [Cochin / Kochi]** — conceivably the same person as **Leander van Malabar** is also noteworthy. He unsuccessfully petitioned (1721) the Council of Policy to secure his freedom from **Kaicil Mahmud**.¹¹ Bought by the “so-called Prince of Ternate” named **Dayan Mamodie, Prince of Kalomato** at a sale on the farm of the *secunde Samuel Elsevier* for Rds. 201, he alleges that the prince had promised him that if refunded with the same amount, he would give him his liberty. **Leander** claims to have saved the money & duly paid the prince who took his money but refused to free him. As evidence, **Leander** tenders the receipt with the prince’s mark witnessed by **Rijk Tulbagh**. Leibbrandt states that receipt for the money is attached with the Prince’s mark on it. The council responded as follows:¹²

Dingsdag den 9e September 1721, voormiddags.

*Alle tegenwoordig, uijtgesondert den H[ee]jr. **Abraharn Cranendonk** ... Ingevolge 't genotuleerde van den 13e [sic — 12] Augustij jongstleden, is door den H[ee]jr. **Cornelis van Beaumont**, gehoord hebbende **Daija Mamoetij** of de Rds. 201 waar voor sijn slaaf **leander van Mallebaar** hadde gekogt, door denselven niet behoorlijk was voldaan, en dienvolgens ook genijgt volgens beloften denselven van sijnen slaafsen dienst t' ontheffen, in Raade geexhibeert behoorlijk acquit der voorseijde somma, weshalven verstaan is dat aan den voorn[oomd]je. **leander** een vrijbrief sal worden verleend, mits borgen stellende van binnen den gestipuleerden tijt niet te komen ten laste der diaconije deeser plaatse.*

Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz.

M. DE CHAVONNES.

K. J. SLOTSBOO.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE.

JN. ALDERSZ.

A. V. KERVEL.

2. The eventual extraordinary manumission of these same 3 children by the Cape of Good Hope’s Council of Policy (1733)¹³ assisted by **Abraham Decker (1697—**

¹⁰ **Abraham Decker (1697-1752)** born Amsterdam (1697); arrives at Cape (1717) as assistant ex India; promoted to bookkeeper (1722); marries (1stly) 27 June 1723 **Regina Möller** (dies 1736), daughter of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller** (from Hamburg) & **Margaretha Marquardt** (from Hamburg); 2 children; marries (2ndly) 31 March 1736 **Theodora van Taak**, daughter of **Willem van Taak & Martha van der Bijl**; 2 children. **Decker** & his 2nd wife take in **Kaicil Mahmud**’s son **Abdullah** — later baptized **Adolph** adopting the sobriquet / family name **Jonker**. **Decker**’s 1st wife **Regina Möller**’s sister **Maria Möller** marries (14 April 1726) **Marthinus Heems**, born Cape 1703, son of Roman Catholic **Guilliaume Heems** (from Bruges, Flanders) & the Cape-born **Anna van Banchem** & step-son of his wife’s Cape-born brother **Hendrik Möller** (son of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller** from Hamburg & **Margaretha Marquardt** from Hamburg); assistant (1720); junior merchant (*onder coopman*); dies (1754).

¹¹ CA: C 228: *Requesten, 1720-1721*, pp. 319-323; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, no. 77 (1721). C. 57, pp. 9-12.

¹² CA: C 57 (Council of Policy Resolution, 9 September 1721), pp. 9-12 [TANAP].

¹³ CA: CJ 3083, no. 47 (24 April 1733).



1752) following a surviving **Kaicil Mahmud**'s later further efforts (1733) while again detained on Robben Island — requiring no less than 7 witnesses (presumably because of an ongoing language interpretation issue) — to secure their freedom coinciding with the imminent demise of his self-same concubine (1733).

As a *vrijswartin* she has already ingratiated herself into the Christiancolonial community by becoming a member (1729) of the Reformed Faith, also by making provision for the baptisms of not only her free-born sons but also of *all* of her children born in slavery — evidently in preparation for their ensuing extraordinarily accelerated manumission.

3. The further special manumission (1734)¹⁴ of the slave woman **Rosetta van Bengale** previously entrusted (*in eijgendom toegetrouwde hebbende*) to the intestate estate of **Kaicil Mahmud**'s recently deceased (1733) self-same concubine — **Rosetta van Java / Boegis** — by explicit intercession of the governor and the Council of Policy and at the insistence of the Orphan Chamber — presumably in lieu of her becoming surrogate guardian to the 3 motherless royal children.
4. The pursuant testamentary bequest by the prince's deceased concubine's freedom-rewarded ex-slave **Rebecca van Bengale** to the royal children and *halfslag voorzoon* of her deceased former owner **Rosetta van Java / Boegis**.¹⁵

To allow for greater critical and objective evaluation, *verbatim* transcriptions plus digital photographs of the original documents are provided, as well as a detailed timeline (with explanatory notes where necessary) setting out the events as they happened chronologically.

¹⁴ CA: C 3084, *Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, (1734), no. 67 [pp. 133-134].

¹⁵ CA: MOOC 7/1/10, no. 37 [Joint Will: *de vrij Swarten Arend van Balij en Rosetta van Bengalens egte lieden* (8 December 1747) presented to the Weescamer (21 April 1758)].



Archival Documents — *Verbatim* Transcriptions

Original Will (Council of Justice) - Jonker van Macassar (1727)¹⁶

J:[osephu]s de Grandpreez¹⁷

19

5 /

Dit Zeegel behoord
tot 't inleggende Testament, gepasseerd
door **Jonker van Macassar, in Dato**
24 Januarij 1727

20

Huijden den 24e Januarij 1727 Compareerde voor mij **Daniel Thiebault**¹⁸ Secret:[ari]s van den E:[dele] Agtb:[a]re Raad van Justitie deeses gouvernem:[ent]s ter praesentie van de naarden:[oemd]e getuigen, **Jonker van Maccassar** Vrij gegeevene Leijffeijgen [inserted — mij Secretaris getuijgen bekent]¹⁹, siekelijk te bedde leggende, dog zijn verstand, sinnen en memorie volkoomen magtig ende gebruikende, gelijk ons is gebleecken, dewelke bij vertolking uijt het portugeez in 't neederduitsch te kennen gaft, hoe dat hij alvoorens deese weereld te verlaaten geneegen was over zijne tijdelijke goederen te beveelen en disponeeren, sulx doende uijt eijgenen Vrije wille sonder aanraading van iemand ter weereld.

¹⁶ There is no unequivocal proof that **Jonker van Macassar** actually dies in 1727 or that his will is probated in that same year — notwithstanding the fact the copy of his will is noted as being presented to (& filed with) the Orphan Chamber & the original also filed with the Council of Justice. Significantly, no Inventory, Liquidation & Distribution Accounts or *Vendu Rol* for any deceased estate can be traced. The likelihood remains that his will was deemed invalid on the basis that his children were still enslaved & legally unentitled to inherit. Comparison between the original will & the copy — especially regarding the deleted sections & peculiar rewording — reveal the testator's &/or official anxiety concerning the changed legal status of his concubine **Rosetta van Java** as a free person & the unchanged slave status of the prince's illegitimate children by his formerly enslaved concubine.

¹⁷ Son of **Noel Joseph de Grandpreez** & **Bernardina Mousson de la Grenierie**; arrives as soldier (1720); assistant (1722); succeeds (1724) **Rijk Tulbagh** as 1st sworn clerk; secretary of Council of Justice (1728); merchant & secretary of Council of Policy (1741-1761); marries Cape-born **Louisa Adriana Slotsboo**, daughter of the Dane **Kaije Jesse Slotsboo** & the Cape-born **Aletta Beck**. [CA: MOOC 7/12 (*Testamenten*, 1760-1762), nos. 19 & 20].

¹⁸ **Daniel Thibault**; secretary of Court of Justice (1715-1718); goes to India (1702), arriving at Cape (1705) on *IJsselmonde*; appointed secretary of Court of Justice by Governor **Louis van Assenburgh** (1710) at f16; VOC Comissioner **de Vos** promotes him to bookkeeper (1711) with salary at f30; begs to promotion to junior merchant; member of Orphan Board; marries Cape-born **Aletta de Beer** [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, no. 136 (1717) & no. 35 (1718): "(no. 48 ?). 1719: **Thibault, Daniel**; made member of the Orphan Board. (No. 140.11th December. 1719)]. Their daughter **Anna Thibault** marries **Johannes Ley**, younger brother of **Nicolaas Ley**.

¹⁹ This curious provision should be read against the backdrop of a letter received from Batavia (4 May 1705) allowing the Cape authotirties the discretion to allow convicted (also political or both) Batavian exiles (technically Company slaves) to either make their own living as 'freemen' or, if dangerous or disobedient, to be put to hard labour: "The time-expired convicts who do not conduct themselves well, or cannot show how they earn or intend to earn a living may be kept in chains, & all those already released from their chains but behave badly, are again to be put in irons to prevent them from doing mischief ...". The evidence points to **Kaicil Mahmud** being allowed to live as a free subject until he later runs foul of the law. Even his relegation to Robben Island is dealt with *extra-judicially*. The exiled Prince van Ternate's legal status is shrouded in uncertainty on arrival — not as one of the other political exiles (technically free but in *quasi*-slavery while in exile in Ceylon & the Cape) with their slave entourages ex Ceylon & ex Batavia — but as a convicted rapist exiled to the Cape to avoid (for political reasons) being sentenced to death — thus a *quasi*-political-cum-criminal *bandiet*. During the **Van der Stel père et fils** governorships & thereafter, these Indonesian exiles are tolerated as 'free-folk' (ie non-enslaved) & generally assigned minimal subservient duties to the Company subject to being treated as slaves if they misbehaved.



Voor af revoceerende alle maakinge die hij voor *dato* deses mogte hebben gepasseert, als niet wiellende dat eene van dien in `t minste kragt grijpen of effect sorteeren sal of sullen, maar gehouden voor nietig en van onwaarde, invoegen nooit was of waren gepasseert, betuijgende voorts geene vrinden te hebben, aan wien hij eenige maakinge Schuldig is.

Van nieuws disponeerende, soo verclaarde den Comp:[aran]t voor af te legateeren, maken ende te bespreeken aan [deleted — sijne Concubine] de vrijswartinne²⁰ **Rosetta van Java**, een slaave jonge gen:[aam]t **Alexander van Couchin**²¹, /: sonder dat hier tegens eenige oppositie van iemand zal mogen geschieden, omme met den selven naa zijn Comp:[aran]ts ov:[er]leijden te doen en handelen als met haar Vrije eijgen goed sonder Contradictie van iemand ter weereld.

Wijders betuijde den Comp:[aran]t meede voor af te legateeren ende te bespreeken aan Zijne kinderen [deleted but underlined in dots — voorsz:[eijde] Concubine] [inserted — **Rosetta**] verwekt met naamen **Jacob** / [deleted — deese door een ander persoon geprocreeert] / en **Jamela**, een slave jongen gen:[aam]t **September**²²[deleted — per] [inserted — mitsg[a]d:[e]rs] aan **Adul Jolle**, en **Raja** [inserted — t` zamen] een slaave Jongen met naam **Cassamie**, welke [inserted — slaaven] nogtans met en benevens een Slaave jongen gen:[aam]t **Fortuijn van bougis** /: die nooit sal moogen Verkogt worden maar geduurende Zijne leeven onder haar **Rosetta** en sijne Comp:[aran]ts kinderen [inserted but deleted sal][inserted — moeten woonen], :/ [deleted — sullen moeten verbleijven / en onder haere opsigte van den Comp:[aran]ts Concubine **Rosetta van Java** voorn[oemd]e] [inserted — en] soo lange sullen moeten verblijven, tot dat de geZegde kinderen tot mondige Jaaren ofte andere gearprobeerde Staate sull[inserted — en] gekomen zijn, als wanneer ieder Zijn aanbedelde slaav [inserted onverhindert] sal moogen naar sig neemen, sonder dat deselve kinderen eenige verdere preetentie op den boedel sullen moogen maken.

Tweedende dan tot verkiesinge van Erfgenamen, soo Verklaarde den Comp:[aran]t daar toe verkooren genomineert ende g`institueert te hebben, gelijk doet bij desen [deleted — sijne Concubine] [inserted — de vrijswartinne] **Rosetta van Java** voorn:[oem]t, en dat in alle Zijne goederen geene Exemptie soo roerende als onroerende, actien, Crediten, verschulden, Erffenissen en besterffenissen, Eijndelijk alle `t gene hij met` er dood sal koomen te ontruijmen en naar te laaten, omme daar meede te doen en handelen als met haar vrije eijgen goed, sonder teegensprekking Van iemand ter weereld; mits nogtans dat deselve gehouden blijft aan haar zoon gen:[aam]t **Jacob** uijt te keere sodanige somma van Rixd:[aalde]rs 50 als hem uijt den

²⁰ As no manumission can be found on record, the presumption is that she, being part of **Kaicil Mahmud**'s extended household & already mother to a *halfslag* entitled to automatic freedom on obtaining legal majority, was likely to have been freed *extra-judicially* by Governor **Louis van Assenburg** at the time of **Kaicil Mahmud**'s relegation to Robben Island as a special measure to enable her to manage the prince's affairs & foster their children (& her *halfslag voorzoon*) during his absence from the mainland.

²¹ Cochin [Kochi] is the main port in Kerala on the Malabar Coast of India. He is very likely to be the same person as **Leander van Malabar** likely sold (24 May 1718) **November** [? sic — a misreading for **Alexander / Leander**] van [no toponym] by **Matthijs Perreira** to **Jonkers van Macassar** for 100.00 & the same person who as **Leander van Malabar** [? **Alexander van Couchin [Cochin]**] petitions (1721) the Council of Policy to ensure that "so-called Prince of Ternate" **Kaicil Mahmud** named **Dayan Mamodie, Prince of Kalomato** liberates him as promised & bought by the prince at a sale on the farm of **Samuel Elsevier** for Rds. 201. **Kaicil Mahmud** had promised **Leander** that if refunded with the same amount, he would give him his liberty. **Leander** saves the money & duly pays the prince who takes his money but refuses free him. As evidence, **Leander** tenders the receipt with the prince's mark witnessed by **Rijk Tulbagh**. His petition appears to have been unsuccessful.

²² The same person later found as **September van Manda** sold (11 August 1730) by **Rosetta van Java** to **Martin Heem** aka **Marthinus Heems** who is a witness to the will (1727) of **Jonker van Macassar** for 120.00. His toponym suggests that he likely hailed from Mandar / Mandaar, the region in the Western part of Celebes [Sulawesi, Indonesia] inhabited by the *Suku Mandar* — the Mandarese people.



boedel is Competeerende weijders ook zijn Comp[aran]:ts kinderen eerlike en deugdelijk op te voeden, tot haaren mondige Jaaren ofte anderen geaprobeerde Staate, als wanneer aan een is gelijk haar aanbedeeld slaav sal moeten laaten volgen, in welke gevalle hij haar tot Voogdesse over deselve aan stellende ende verkiesende;

Uijtsluijntende hij Testateur ten dien eijnde de Heeren weesmeesteren deeser Steede ofte eenige andere die haar niet zijn boedel souden willen bemoeien all deselve ende een ieder van dien voor hare anders te neemene moeijte needrig bedankende.

Alle `t geene Voorsz:[eijde] staat den Comp:[aran]t duijdelijk voorgeleesen ende [deleted — de] in de portugeeze Taale te verstaan gegeeven Zijnde, verklaarde hij het selve te weesen zijn Testament.

Laatste en uijttens te wille, meeninge en de regeerte, willende en beijkenende dat het selve daar Voor Valideeren en Effect sorteeren sal `t zij onder welcke benaaminge van uijtterste wille het ook mogte zijn, niet teegenstaande eenige omstandingheeden waaren versujmt die hij houd als volkoomen deeser ingelijft te zijn, ter dien eijnde ter soekene het *Nobile beneficiuren Judicis*.

`T gunst Aldus passeerd aan Cabo de goede Hoop ten woonhuijse van den Com:[paran]t op Jaar en dage Voorsz[eijde]: [deleted — ter overstaan van] des Voormiddags de Clokke omtrent twaalf ureen, ter overstaan van **Martinus Heems**, en **Johannes Henricus Blanckenberg**²³, als getuigen van geloove hier toe Versogte, dewelke soo wel als mij Secret:[ari]s de portugeeze Taale kreekende hem alle `t voorenstaande hebben te verstaan gegeeven, en is haar praesentie betuijgt in diervoegen Zijn Volkomene meeninge te weesen.

Dit merk X is door **Jonker
van X Macasser** gestalt
In kennisse van mij
[signed] D:[anie]l Thibault
Secret:[ari]s

Als Getuijgen

[signed] M:[artinu]s Heems

[signed] J.[ohannes]H.[enricus] Blanckenberg

Prince of Ternate's 3 children — Manumission (1733)

No. 47 [85]

N:[colaa]s Leij²⁴

Huijden den 24 April 1733 compareerd voor mij **nicolaas Leij** eertste geswore Clercq ter politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de goede hoop, present de naargen:[oemde] getuijgen den Ondercoopman en negotie Overdrager S:[ieu]r **abraham decker**²⁵, dewelke ingevolge de dispositie van **catchiri daijman**

²³ Son of **Johannes Blanckenberg** (from Berlin) & the Cape-born **Catharina Bouman**.

²⁴ **Nicolaas Leij / Ley** baptised Cape (25 November 1703); son of **Michiel Ley [Löw] (1670-1716)** (from Basel in Switzerland) & **Engeltje Breda** (from Delft, Holland); merchant & 2nd Commissioner for Slave Trade on Madagascar; marries **Jacoba Christina de Wet**; his brother **Johannes Ley** — baptised 25 April 1706; Company clerk & Commissioner of Civil & Marriage Affairs — marries **Anna Thibault** daughter of **Daniel Thibault** (from Amsterdam) & Cape-born **Aletta de Beer**.

²⁵ **Abraham Decker (1697-1752)** born Amsterdam (1697); arrives at Cape (1717) as assistant ex India; promoted to bookkeeper (1722); marries (1) 27 June 1723 **Regina Möller** (dies 1736), daughter of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller** (from Hamburg) & **Margaretha Marquardt** (from Hamburg); 2 children; marries (2) 31 March 1736 **Theodora van Taak**, daughter of **Willem van Taak** & **Martha van der Bijl**; 2 children: (1) **Johanna Emma Barbara** baptized Cape 4 April 1738 *Den 4 April Johanna Emma Barbara. De vader is Abraham Decker. De moeder Theodora van Taak. De getuigen sijn den wel edelen gest:n heer Jan de la Fontaine en me juff:r[ouw] Barbara de la Fontaine*; (2) **Abraham Willem** baptized



moetie /: alias : / den ternataansen prins **ketees matmoetie**, in dato den 17 feb:[ruarij] 1733 in presentie van seven getuijen op 't robben eiland geparseert, mitsg:[ade]rs op daar op bekomene consent van den edelen heer gouv:[er]neur consent en E:[dele] agtb:[are] politicquen raat desen plaatse volgens resolutie van den 7 desen Loopende maand april verclaerd te emaniciperen, vrij te geeven en uijt slaafse diensbaarheit te Ontslaan gelijk emancipeerd vrijgaf en uijt Slaafse diensbaarheit Ontsloeg bij desen Sekere drie kinderen door bovengen:[de] ternataansen prins bij sijn Overledenen Slavin **rosetta van ceijlon** geprocreeert, met namen **Amel, talie en adel van de caab** permiteerende haar lieden vrijders om sig met alle geoorloofde handteeringen en traficquen Met God en met eere door de weerelt te mogen redden en erneeren.

Ook verclaarde meergem: *S:[ieu]r Abraham decker* Sig als borge te interpeneeren dat voorsz: vrijgegevenen in de eerste thien agter een volgende Jaaren de diaconij deser plaatse Om eendig onderhoud niet zullen Lastig vallen of alimentatie versoeken, Onder verband als na regten.

Dat alhier passeerd ter Secretarije voorn:[oemde] ten Overstaan van **Michiel pentz** en **Pieter walravens** als getuijen.

[signed] **A:[braha]m Decker**

Als getuijen

[signed] **M:[ichie]l Pentz**²⁶

[signed] **P:[iete]r Walravens**

In kennis van mij

[signed] **N:[icolaas] Leij**

E[dele]g[eswore] clercq

Rosetta van Bengale — Manumission (1734)

[133]

67 **N:[icolaas] Leij**

Huiden den 12:de October 1734 Compareerde voor mij **Willem Kerkhof** Eerste geswoore Clercq ten politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de Goede hoop Present de Naargen:[oemde] Getuijen den Onderkoopman en Secret:[ari]s der Weeskamer *S:[ieu]r Jacob Leever*²⁷ als hier toe Uyt het Collegie van heeren Weesmeesteren deesen Steede, Admmiteerende den boedel en natalenschap Wijle de Vrijswartin **Rosetta van Bougis**, Expres Gecommettend, dewelke volgens geostinende permissie van de Edele heer Gouverneur en E.[dele] Agtb:[ar]e politicquen Raad deeses Gouvernements verclaarde te Emancipeeren, vrij te Geeven en uijt Slaafze diensbaarheid te ontslaan, Gelijk Emancipeerde, vrijgaf en uijt Slaafse dienstbaarheid ontslaan bij deesen, Seekere Slave Meijd Gen:[aam]t **Rosetta van Bengalen** in eigendom toegetrouwde hebbende de boovengen:[oemde] **Rosetta van Bougis**, Weshalven der Comp:[aran]t in qualiteit als voren was renuntieerende van al het plege en eigendom dat tot *dato* deeses op Gem:[elite] vrijgegevene heeft gehad, permiteerende haar wijders omme sig met alle geoorloofde handteeringe en trafiquen met God en met eere door de weereld te moogen tradderen en erneeren.

Cape 3 July 1740 (witnesses: **Pieter van Taak & Elsje Decker**) [*Den 3 Julij Abraham Willem — De vader Abraham Decker. De moeder Theodora van Taak. De getuigen Pieter van Taak en Elsje Decker*]. [CA: MOOC 7/5 (*Testamenten*, 1735-1737), no. 29; MOOC 7/8 (*Testamenten*, 1752-1758), no. 39]. **Decker** & his 2nd wife take in **Kacil Mahmud's** son **Abdullah** — later baptized **Adolph** adopting the sobriquet / family name **Jonker**. **Decker**'s 1st wife **Regina Möller**'s sister **Maria Möller** marries (14 April 1726) **Marthinus Heems**, born Cape 1703, son of Roman Catholic **Guilliaume Heems** (from Bruges, Flanders) & the Cape-born **Anna van Banchem**, step-son of his wife's Cape-born brother **Hendrik Möller** (son of **Hendrik Christoffel Möller** from Hamburg & **Margaretha Marquardt** from Hamburg); assistant (1720); junior merchant (*onder coopman*); dies (1754) & nephew to both **Maria Möller** (wife to **Marthinus Heems**) & **Regina Möller** (wife to **Abraham Decker**).

²⁶ **Michiael Pentz (1700-1750)**, son of **Michael Pentz & Cicilia Ritter**, born Lübeck (1700); arrives (1723) as soldier; assistant (1725); bookkeeper (1732); free-burgher 1735; dies (1750); marries (21 October 1731) Cape-born **Johanna Barbara Oberholster [Oberholzer]**, legitimate daughter of **Johann (Jan) Oberholster [Oberholz]** from Switzerland & **Helena du Toit**, 10 children [CA: C 237 (*Requesten en Nominatiën*, 1735-1736), no. 23; MOOC 7/7 (*Testamenten*, 1746-1751), no. 94].

²⁷ **Jacob Lever** (from Amsterdam); arrives (1713) as assistant; appointed (1718) bookkeeper & (1721) secretary of the Orphan Chamber; marries (1stly) 8 June 1714 **Abigail Louisa van der Lith**; marries (2ndly) 11 August 1726 **Jacomina Brommert**, widow of **Jacob Voet**.



Compareerde meede den Burgerraad *S:[ieu]r Fredrik Russouw*, dewelke verclaarde hem als borg teinterponeeren dat meergem:[elt]e **Rosetta van bengalen** in de eerste tien agter eenvolgende Jaaren de deaconij deese plaatse Om eenig Onderhoud niet sal lasting vallen nog alimentatie versoeken, onder verband van deselfs person als na regten.

Dat Aldus perseerde ter Secretarye voorn[oem]t: in't bijweefs van **Pieter Paulus Thomé** en **Albert Ludewig Smit** Als Getuijen.

[signed] **J. Lever**
[signed] **F:[rederi]k Russouw**

Als Getuijen

[signed] **P.[ieter]P.[aulus] Tomé**
[signed] **A.[lbert]L.[udwig] Schmidt**

In Kennisse van Mij
[signed] **W:[ille]m Kerkhoff**

Aron van Balij & Rosetta van Bengale — Joint Will (1747) [relevant section only]²⁸

... *Wijders betuijde de Testatrice schoon zij sig van haar geweesene Lijffvrouw Rosetta van Boegis heeft vrij gekogt, egter bij deesen aan haar natelaatene kinderen te saamen een sommetje van vijff en twintig Rijxd:[aalder]s à 8 #SC ieder te vermake[n] voor en in plaatse van 't gene hun ondersints uit hare natalenschap soude competeeren, als betuijgende 't selve soo ruijm genoomen te hebben als haar tegenwoordig besit Leijden kan*

Louw and Strauss misread this will insofar that it is **Rosetta van Boegis** who had manumitted **Rosetta van Bengale!** As *testatrice*, **Rosetta van Bengale** states in her will quite unambiguously that "... Although the *testatrice* had already been bought her freedom by her former [*geweesene* — deceased?] owner (*Lijffvrouw*) **Rosetta van Boegis** (*schoon zij sig van haar geweesene Lijffvrouw ... heeft vrij gekogt*), she nonetheless by this [will], bequeaths to her [former / deceased owner's] surviving children ...". As the children have already been manumitted (1733) by resolution of the Council of Policy, they are legally entitled to inherit from her estate.

Louw and Strauss further claim that **Rosetta van Java / Boegis** remarries [*sic*] **Arij** [*sic*] **Bastiaan van Ceijlon** after becoming a member of the Church. They give no sources for this. The couple never marry *de jure*. **Bastiaan van Ceijlon** [*sans any Arij — Arij Bastiansz: is his son*] is merely recorded as being the biological father to the baptized son:

Den 24 dito [september 1730] Johannis, (on echt) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de zoogezegde vaeder Bastiaen van Cijlon, de getuijge is 't kints moeder].

The later son is ascribed the patronym *Bastiaans* [*sic*] without there even being any indication that **Bastiaan van Ceijlon** may have been the biological father:

Den 14 Jan. [1731] Adriaan, (onecht) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de getuijge zijn Johannes Prætorius en Maria Jourdaan].

Louw and Strauss further claim that in the *opgaaf* (1731) the 2 older sons of **Rosetta van Java / Boegis (Adolph Jonker & Jacob Janse)** are recorded residing with their

²⁸ CA: MOOC 7/1/10, no. 37 (Joint Will: *de vrij Swarten Arend van Balij en Rosetta van Bengalen egte lieden* (8 December 1747) presented to the Weescamer (21 April 1758)).



mother [*sic*] and their step-father [*sic*] and their 2 half-brother & 2 sisters. There is no record of **Rosetta** in that specific *opgaaf* whatsoever. In fact, **Bastiaan van Ceijlon** appears *wifeless*. They further claim that **Arij** [*sic*] **Bastiaans** remarries after **Rosetta**'s presumed death (1731) but the marriage entry (30 March 1732) gives no indication of any previous marriage.



Chronology

21 March 1681	<p><i>Macassar & Huis te Zilwerstein</i> brings ex Batavia [Jakarta, Java, Indonesia] 11 political exiles (royal princes & Indonesian nobility) together with their retinues of wives, concubines & slaves — many, however, are eventually allowed to return to Batavia with some procreating and some dying at the Cape of Good Hope — this is the 1st time the Cape witnesses a proliferation of actual slaves generally designated and/or recorded <i>van Batavia / van Boegis van Java / van Macassar</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Daim Mengale van Macasser ▪ Assang van Macasser ▪ Boung van Macasser ▪ Samprima van Macasser ▪ Kierssi [?] van Macasser ▪ Daim / Dain / Dam / Dayan Majampe / Manjampa / Manjempa Singara / ingaeroe van Macasser aka Damma Jampa [Dam Majampa?], Prince of Macassar & “brother to the king there, <i>Crain Bissee</i> his attendant & brother-in-law Ostagisch van Capper aka Octavius van Macassar & [unnamed] sons ▪ Rervat van Macasser Reba / Rebax van Macassar aka Reba / Rebax van Macassar [in 1707 recorded with wife Lijs van de Kust 4 sons & 2 daughters] ▪ Bunni Dada van Macasser van Calonkoij Macassar Prins <een> der groten van Calonkoij op Buma ▪ Rammasoda van Macasser Knecht van Bunni Dada ▪ Ramantompi van Macasser Knecht van Bunni Dada ▪ Catchill Mida Gerontale aka Kitsjel / Kitsjil / Kutsjel / Kiaij / Kijaija / Sriyay Moeda aka Macassar Katzilimuda [Katzili Muda] Prins Capiteijn Laut van Gerontale [ex-Captain Laut, of Gerontale [Gorontalo] / Catchill Isgne Goedgogoe van Limbotte [Limboto, Gorontalo]
1685	<p>Some exiled Indonesian royalty accompany Governor Simon van der Stel on his famous expedition to Namaqualand</p>
27 June 1693	<p><i>Voetboog</i> brings ex Ceylon political exiles (royal princes & Indonesian nobility & religious leaders) provisionally exiled to Ceylon but later deemed to still be too close for comfort & for security reasons forwarded to the Cape</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Abadin Tadia Tjoessoep (1626-1699) aka Sheikh Yusuf / Shaikh Yusup / Sheik(h) Joseph — den Macassarisce Priester, Schjegh Joseph — Muhammad Yüsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111 / 1627-99) alias Abd Allāh Abū al-Mahāsin al-Tāj al-Khalwātī al-Maqassārī (known in Sulawesi as <i>Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa</i>) & his sizeable retinue of wives, concubines, attendants & slaves
17 February 1698	<p>arrival at Cape of exiled Raja of Tambora²⁹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nissa Nudum Abdul(a) Radja / Raja / Rassa aka Djamatuddin / Jamaluddin aka Abdul Azziz / Djalil or Albubasi / Abdul Basi Sultan / Sultania aka Damala Daeng Mamongan on the <i>Lands Welvaren</i> ex Batavia
12 May 1702	<p>sold by Gerrit Koek to Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel for Rds 95</p>

²⁹ Born 1662; succeeds father **Sultan Nilaauddin Abdul Basyir** aka **Bumisoro (Kraeng Popo)** — last governor of Sumbawa for **Sultan of Gowa** on Sulawesi & grandson of **Karaeng Pattingallowang** (dies 1687); detained (1697); deposed (1701) & exiled to the Cape; his brother **Abdul Wahab** succeeds him as rajah (1716-1726). Tambora is part of Indonesian island of Sumbawa whose rulers are reduced to Makassarese vassals & nominally convert to Islam. This explains the inter-changeability of Hindu & Muslim titles *sultan* & *rajah* respectively. The term *rajah* is retained for vassal rulers.



- **Rosetta van Jafnapatnam [? Rosetta van Ceijlon / Batavia / Java / Macassar / Java / Boegis [Bugis]]**

4 May 1704

Kaicil Mahmud banished to Cape ex Batavia after death sentence suspended for committing rape

"A prisoner convicted of rape is sent to the Cape, & notexecuted, as he is a relative of the **King of Ternate**, & hisexecution would have been an affront to that family..."

September 1704

exiles at *Macassar* [Zandvliet] — excepting the **Ranee of Tambora** & her family — shipped back aboard *Liefde* & *Spiegel* arriving in Batavia (10 December 1704):

2 wives named

- **Cara Contoe &**
- **Cara Pane**

2 concubines named

- **Monuma &**
- **Naima**

12 sons & daughters named

- **Moehama Radja**
- **Radeengh Boerne**
- **Moehama Hay**
- **Moehama Djalani**
- **Roemalang**
- **Jahamath**
- **Care Sangie**
- **Sity Caeaty**
- **Sanda**
- **Sito Romia &**
- **Sity Labieba**

14 male & female slaves of the late **Sheik**, viz.:-

- **Pia**
- **Boeleengh**
- **Care Manangh**
- **Abida**
- **Amida**
- **Biby**
- **Isa**
- **Sarie**
- **Dayeengh Maniko**
- **Casim**
- **Kentol Taib**
- **Ragoena**
- **Aboebahar**
- **Abdul Rahoef**
- **Abdul Jaffan**

"likewise some slaves whose number & names have not been given"

16 January 1705

Letter sent to Batavia explaining the confusion between the **2 Ternaten princes or captains laut**

"... Inquiry has been made for the well-known **Kitzjil Moeda**, once **Captain Laut of Gerontal**; also for **Caciel Moeda**, once **Captain Laut of Limbotta**. We found that they were 2 different persons, but sent hither in the same ship. The last is dead a long time. The other, & also the **2 Chinamen, Cine Phayko & Quatsayko**, have been informed of your permission that they may return; but they have requested permission to remain a little longer."³⁰

³⁰ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*.



- 8 March 1705 **Rosetta van Ceijlon** slave of **W.A. van der Stel** witnesses baptism of **Jacob Cornelis** son of **Maria van de Caab & Seyser [Caesar] van Batavia** baptized infant Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 8 March 1705³¹
- 4 May 1705 Letter ex Batavia
 "... **Kitsje Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Garentale**, who according to your letter (18 March last), is said to be still alive, is to be sent hither, with a further inquiry into his name & birthplace, & the freeman **Lambert Ringesaar** may return when the time of his banishment has expired, if he likes ... The **time-expired convicts** who do not conduct themselves well, or cannot show how they earn or intend to earn a living may be kept in chains, & all those already released from their chains but behave badly, are again to be put in irons to prevent them from doing mischief, whilst you are to keep a careful eye on that deep & treacherous **Frederik Jansz: of Batavia**, slave of the late ex-Councillor **Joan Cops** ..."³²
- 1706 **Sriyay Moeda** signs petition with other free-black free-fishermans supporting **W.A. van der Stel's** gouvernance:
 "Appeared before the Commissioners of the Council of Justice, **Willem Basson**, **Reynier van de Zande**, **Jan Willemesz: Vermeulen**, **Willem Duyser**, **Corn.[elis]Claasz: [Kuip]**, **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**, **Lammert Simonsz: [Stam]**, **Roelof Carstensz: Osenbergh**, **Lourens Pluvier**, **Claas Koningshoven**, **Domingo of Bengal**, **Abraham de Vyf**, **Moses & [sic] Aaron**, **Joost Ventura**, **Sampoerny of Macassar**, **Coridon of Nagapatam**, **Claas Claasz: of Bengal**, **Gerrit Claasz: Emanuel of Macassar**, **Mira Moor**, **Reba of Macassar**, **Abraham of Macassar**, & **Sriyay Moeda**, all free- burghers & domiciled here, who at the requisition of the Hon.[orable] Governor **W.A. van der Stel** declare that they all, since the Governor's presence here, & when the weather was favourable, by day & by night whenever they had no other work, had gone out fishing, in order to earn their food properly and honestly, not only along the shores of this bay, but also elsewhere in the neighbourhood, & wherever they thought that they could do so freely & without let or hindrance, but also their children, partners & slaves. Not one of them has ever been hindered by the Hon.[orable] Governor or anyone sent by his orders, muchless reproached in any way for so doing. To confirm the above the 12 first named, being Europeans, each uttered the solemn words, "So truly," &c., whilst the remaining 11 do so by means of their signatures, — In the Castle, 16 March, 1706, before the Commissioners **A.[driaen] van Reede**, **K.J. Slotsboo**, & **H.[endrik] Bouman**, members of the Court of Justice, who have with deponents subscribed to the above."³³
 Quod Attestor, **A. POULLE**, Secretary
- 7 December 1706 **Kaicil Mahmud`**s petition for maintenance forwarded to Batavia
 "Annexed is a petition of the Ternatan Prince **Kitsjel Dain Mamoedie** to this Council for more liberal provision for his support, as he cannot come round with the Rixdollars 6 given him monthly. For such people it is much more expensive & costly to live here as regards food & clothes. Since his presence here he has behaved himself quietly & well".
- 30 November 1706 Letter to Batavia
 "... **Certain Chinamen** to be released from banishment & sent back, also **Kitsje Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Girontale**, & **Caciel** Moeda, late **Captain Laut of Limbotta**, banished to the Cape about 20 years ago. It may be doubted whether the 2 names do not refer to the same person, but this must be discovered at the

³¹ As it is a prerequisite for witnesses to also be baptized, she must already be baptized — an earlier baptism, however, cannot be found for her at the Cape.

³² H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 419.

³³ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope — The Defence of Willem van der Stel* Annexure Y (W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Cape Town 1897), pp. 180-181.



Cape. Both, however, are to be released ... The notorious **Kestjel Moeda**, late **Captain Laut of Gorontale**, will be informed of his departure thither, & will be further examined regarding his name & birthplace."³⁴

15 February 1707	Letter ex Batavia "... At the request of the King of Macassar , that the Manjempa Singaeroe , exiled to the Cape some years ago, might be allowed to return, we have decided to write to you to send him by the 1st opportunity, as we could not very well refuse." ³⁵
23 April 1707	Willem Adriaan van der Stel recalled Rosetta van Ceijlon / Batavia / Java / Macassar / Java / Boegis [Bugis] is thereafter assigned [being baptized she cannot be sold] from his estate to Kaicil Mahmud
25 May 1707	Letter to Batavia "... The Manjampa Singara ordered back by you at the request of the King of Macassar , has, since the departure of his countrymen, called back before this, & forming the suite of the deceased Sheik Joseph of Macassar , been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here. For when he heard that the Sheik & his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine , were going to leave, & that he was to remain here, he always carried 1 or 2 <i>kisses</i> with him — intending to murder his wife & then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision. The ex- Captain Laut of Gerontale, Kutsjel Moeda , who, when questioned, said that was his name, & that he was born at Gorontale, arrived here in the fleet with the late Governor-General van Goens , & will, at his own request, leave in the company of Manjampa ". ³⁶
3 June 1707	Johannes Cornelis d'Ableing — acting governor
30 June 1707	Letter to Batavia "...The ex- Captain Laut , of Gerontale, Kitsjel Moeda , & the Mangjampa Singara will leave in the <i>Overryp</i> " ³⁷
12 July 1707	Letter to Batavia "... This vessel, the <i>Overryp</i> , takes over to you the ex- Captain Laut (see above, letter dated 30 June 1707) of Gorontale, Kitsjel Moeda, Dain Manjampa Singara , & the Malay Intia Poetry , both with their wives; the 1st has been allowed to take 1 slave & the 2nd, 2 slaves..." ³⁸
9 November 1707	Letter ex Batavia "... received in good order the late Captain Laout [Laut] of Gorontale, Kitsjel Moeda, Dain Majampa Singara & the Malay Intje Poetry , with their wives & slaves, according to our instructions ..." ³⁹
1 February 1708	Louis van Assenburg — governor
27 December 1711	Willem Helot — acting governor

³⁴ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched* (1 May 1707) [no. 491, p. 405 of vol. (1706). From Batavia].

³⁵ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 440.

³⁶ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 330.

³⁷ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 334.

³⁸ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 335.

³⁹ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 456. See also Anna J. Boeseken, *Simon van der Stel* where mention is made of **Octavio van Macassar** suing **Van der Stel's** estate & claiming to be related to Macassarese prince **Daijen Majampa**.



28 March 1714	Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes — governor
c. 1715	[?] Jacobus Jansz : <i>halfslag voorzoon</i> of Rosetta van Java born
c. 1716	[?] Kacil Mahmud 'pardoned' or 'freed' & allowed to settle as free-fisherman [as vouched for by Daniel Thibault in Jonker van Macassar's 1727 will] [in keeping with VOC policy as evidenced by a letter despatched from Batavia concerning exiled convicts sent to the Cape]
17 February 1717	Kacil Mahmud baptizes slave-born daughter Johanna also providing for the infant's legal freedom <i>17 Februarii [1717]. Gedoopt een slaaven-kind van KatsiliDaijan Mamoedij, Prins van Ternate: de moeder was Rosetta van Batavia: de getuigen Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar, en Johanna, van Macassar, zijn huisvrou.</i> <i>N[ota]B.[ene] Het kind is vrij gegeeven</i> <i>Johanna</i> [? deceased by 1719]
c. 1718	Adolph Jonker born [?]
24 May 1718	November [? sic] van [no toponym][? Alexander van Cochin aka Leander van Malabar] sold by Matthijs Perreira to Jonkers van Macassar for 100.00
1719	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ no. 333) Jonker van Macassar & [his enslaved concubine?] Rosetta van Macassar: 2 sons [Jacobus Jansz: & Adolph Jonker] & 2 slaves [? Leander van Malabar aka Alexander van Couchin [Cochin] & either Cassamie or Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis] ...]
1721	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 336) Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Java: 2 sons & 2 slaves [? Leander van Malabar aka Alexander van Couchin [Cochin] & either Cassamie or Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis] ...]
12 August 1721	Leander van Malabar [? Alexander van Couchin [Cochin]] Petitions Council of Policy to ensure Kacil Mahmud liberates him as promised — named Dayan Mamodie, Prince of Kalomato . Bought by the "so-called Prince of Ternate" at a sale on the farm of Samuel Elsevier for Rds 201, Kacil Mahmud had promised Leander that if refunded with the same amount, he would give him his liberty. Leander saves the money & duly pays the prince who takes his money but refuses free him. As evidence, Leander tenders the receipt with the prince's mark witnessed by Rijk Tulbagh . ⁴⁰ His petition appears to have failed as he appears again in the will of his owner (1727) of Jonker van Macassar .
9 September 1721	Council of Policy resolves that Leander van Malabar can only have his freedom granted subject to the usual sureties being provided by the Deaconate within the stipulated period. <i>Dingsdag den 9e September 1721, voormiddags.</i> <i>Alle tegenwoordig uitgesondert den H[ee]r. Abraham Cranendonk ... Ingevolge 't genotuleerde van den 13e [sic — 12] Augustij jongstleden, is door den Hr. Cornelis van Beaumont gehoord hebbende Daija Mamoetij of de Rds. 201 waar voor sijnslaaf leander van Mallebaar hadde gekogt, door denselven nietbehoorlijk was voldaan, en dienvolgens ook genijgt volgens beloftendenselven van sijnen slaafsen dienst t' ontheffen, in Raade geexhibeert behoorlijk acquit der voorseijde somma, weshalven verstaan is dat aan den voorn[oemd]je. leander een vrijbrief salworden verleend, mits borgen stellende van binnen den gestipuleerden tijt niet te komen ten laste der diaconije deeserplaatse.</i>

⁴⁰ Leibbrandt states that receipt for the money is attached with the Prince's mark on it (no. 77).



Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz.

M. DE CHAVONNES.

K. J. SLOTSBOO.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE.

JN. ALDERSZ.

A. V. KERVEL.

1722

Jonker van Macassar petitions with other free-fishermen & boatowners

Dingsdag den 22e December 1722, voormiddags. Allepresent, uitgesondert den Heer independent fiscaal, **Cornelis van Beaumont** ... Waar na in Raade is geleesen geworden het onderstaande requeste door eenige ingesetenen in volgende bewoordinge overgegeven: Aan de Wel Edele Gestre[nge]. Heere **Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes** — benevens den E.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. Raad van Politie. Wel Edele Gest[eng]e. Heer enE.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. Heren, Vertoonen met alle onderdanigheit Uwe Wel Edele Gestre. en E.[dele] Agtb[ar]e. seer nederige dienaren endienaresse **Paulus Hertog, d' wed[duw]je. Jan Verbeek, Harmen Grutter, Johannes Mulder, Titus Jacobsz., Jan Pretorius, Jacob van Bougies, Jonker van Macasser, Sobinko de Chinees, Hercules Valentijn en Daniel Deuren**, dat sij schuitten hebbende met deselvein persoon ofte door haare slaven laten visschen, tragtende alsoodaar mede op een eerlijke wijze de kost te winnen, dog dat seedert het jongst verongelukken der scheepen ter deeser rheede aan haarsuppl[ican]ten. is verboden langs de stranden bij en omtrent de SouteRivier met haare schuitten te komen ofte het net uyt te werpen, dewijlnu dien hoek de visch rijkste der gantsche Tafelbhaij is, en dat in de Rogge Bhaij of daaromstreeks geen visch meer te bekomen is, soonemen sij suppl[ican]ten. de vrijheit Uwel Edele Gest[eng]e. enE[dele]. Agtb[ar]e. op 't oodmoedigst te versoeken dat aan haarlieden wederom als voorheenen magh werden gepermitteert tothaar nodige kost winninge ter voormalte plaats te visschen. (Onderstond) 't Welk doende &a. Welken aangaande gedelibereertsijnde, is goed gevonden en verstaan dat het voor als nog dienstig was te verhinderen dat eenige particuliere vaartuigen naderde omtrent de wracken van 's Comp[agnie]s. geblevene schepen, endien volgens de suppl[ican]ten. voor als nogh te refuseeren van temogen vissen langs de stranden van het zeehoofd af tot aan de ZouteRivier toe, permitterende haarlieden nogtans sulx te mogen doen beoosten de voorm[eld]e. Zoute Rivier en elders in deese bhaij ...

Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz.[eijde].⁴¹

M. [aurits] DE CHAVONNES. K. J. SLOTSBOO. JAN DE LAFONTAINE. J[a]N. ALDERSZ. A. V.[an] KERVEL.

24 November 1722

Council of Policy provisionally banishes **Kacil Mahmud** & his slave to Robben Island for operating a brothel after being flogged [? Is **Kacil Mahmud**'s concubine freed at this point so that she is able to manage the princely household during his detention]⁴²

⁴¹ CA: C 62 (Council of Policy Resolution, 22 December 1722), pp. 22-35; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten* (1722), vol. II, p. 444: "Fisherman — Memorial of — who own fishing boats, & ask that they may again fish at, & near Salt River, which has been forbidden them since the vessels had been thrown on shore there in the late gale. Memorial signed by **Paulus Hartog**, the **Widow Jan Verbeek**, **Harmen Grutter**, **Johannes Mulder**, **Titus Jacobse**, **Jan Pretorius**, **Jacob of Bougis**, **Jonker of Macassar**, **Sobinko the Chinaman**, **Hercules Valentijn**, & **Daniel Deuren**. The Governor & Council decide as yet to withhold the permission, & not allow the memorialists to fish between the beach & the Salt River. (No. 86; 22 December 1722".

⁴² The resolution (24 November 1722) by the Council of Policy to banish the prince to Robben Island — more correctly *provisionally detain* (... tot nader ordre aan 's Comp[agnie]s. gemeene werken te arbeijden ...) — does not necessarily mean that the prince was immediately transported to the island the same day or soon thereafter. The prince first had to have his sentence carried out (to be whipped by the *Caffers*) & only thereafter is he to be sent to Robben Island to do hard labour. He was likely allowed time to manage his affairs & household (including slaves) before leaving for the island. Furthermore, given his



Dingsdag 24e November 1722): Voormiddags. Laastelijk is door den Heer independent fiscaal, **Cornelis van Beaumont**, aan den Edelen Heer Gouverneur en Raad kennis gegeven hoe dat Sijn E.[dele] al voor lange te vooren gekomen sijnde klagten over het quaad en onordentelijck gedrag van den hier gebanne **Prins van Ternaten**, en wel bijsonderlijk dat denselue werkmaakte van soo wel **Europeers als slaven en slavinnen** ten sijnen huijse bij nagt en dag op en aan te houden, soo tot den dobbel, hoererij als andere onordentelijckeeden, denselue dierhalven seer dikwils van dat quaad te vergeefs hadde afgemaand, en daaromme genoodsaakt was geworden tot stuiting van dat verderflik quaad een nauwer toesigt over deselfs gedrag te doen houden, tot soo verre dat denselue hardneckig blijvende in sijne quade behandelingen, genootsaakt was geweest dat hoeren en roof nest te stooren, als hebbende nu onlangs in 't midden der nagt uit zijn huis doen haalen **een Europeer en diverse slaven**, soo van 's Comp[agnie]s. dienaaren als andere ingesetenen, die actueelk met den dobbel besig waaren, weshalven Sijn E.[dele] sig verpligt vond den Edelen Heer Gouverneur en Raad in serieuse bedenkinge te geven of het niet nodig soude wesen dat soo halsterrigen **bandiet** tot voorkoming van verdere debausche van **slaven**, ten exemple van anderen in 't publicq wierde gestraft, en van deese plaats gedemoveert, soo wel als **desselfs slaaf** die in die quade gangen als brak in 't opdoen van 't wild is gebruikt geworden; Soo is, diesaangaend gedelibereert sijnde, goedgevonden en geresolveerd dat den voorm.[elde] gebannen **Prins van Ternaten** soo wel als **desselfs slaaf** door de caffers sullen worden gelaarst, en vervolgens naar 't Robben Eijland gesonden, omme aldaar voor de cost tot nader ordre aan 's Comp[agnie]s. gemeene werken te arbeiden.
Aldus geresolveerd ende gearresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz.[eijde] **M. DE CHAVONNES**.

C. V.[an] BEAUMONT.

K. J. SLOTSBOO.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE.

JN. ALDERSZ.

A. V.[an] KERVEL.⁴³

c. 1723[?] **Rosetta van Ceijlon** manumitted following judicial attachment of Prince of Ternate's estate

1724

Opgaaf

- (no. 342): **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar**: 2 sons, 3 daughters & 2 slaves [? **Alexander van Couchin [Cochin]** & either **Cassamie** or **Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis]** ...]

8 September 1724

Jan de la Fontaine — acting governor

1725

Opgaaf

- (no. 396): **Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar**: 2 sons, 2 daughters & 4 slaves [? **Alexander van Cochin** aka **Leander van Malabar**; **Cassamie**, **Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis]** & **September van Manda**]

30 January 1725

Mercurius van Bengale (25) sold by **Jacob Muller** [? related to siblings **Hendrik Möller**, **Regina Möller** & **Maria Möller** who marry into the **Heems** & **Decker** families] to **Jonker van Macassar** for 120.00

royal status & informal detention, the likelihood remains that he may have been allowed — even if for compassionate reasons — the opportunity from time to time to visit the mainland. In any case, it is on record that Robben Island relegated-convicts often did hard labour on the mainland from time to time when needed there. The prince's detention would not necessarily have prevented him from possibly being one of the free-fisherman signatories of the petition (actual date of signing unknown) which only come before the Council of Policy (22 December 1722) but would have been drawn up at an earlier date.

⁴³ CA: C 61, pp. 27-34 (Council of Policy Resolution, 24 November 1722).



5 September 1726	Mercurius van Bengale sold by Jonker van Macassar to Carel Pietersz: [van Bombay] for 150.00
24 January 1727	Jonker van Macassar draws up will [owns the slaves Alexander van Couchin [Cochin] ; Cassamie, Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis] ; September [van Manda] & makes provision for his concubine the <i>vrijswartinne Rosetta van Java</i> to be guardian to his 3 children (Jamela, Abdul Jolle [Abdullah] & Raja)]
25 February 1727	Pieter Gijsbert Noodt - governor
1729	Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine - recorded as Rosetta van Macassar becomes a member of Cape Church with certificate of membership from Batavia) ⁴⁴
23 April 1729	Jan de la Fontaine — acting governor
11 August 1730	September van Manda sold by Rosetta van Java to Martin Heem [Marthinus Heems who witnesses will (1727) of Jonker van Macassar] for 120.00
24 September 1730	Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine baptizes illegitimate son Johannes fathered by the free Sinhalese Bastiaan van Ceylon [Den 24 dito [september 1730] Johannis , (on echt) de moeder is Rosetta van Java , de zoogezegde vaeder Bastiaen van Cijlon , de getuijge is 't kints moeder]
14 January 1731	Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine baptizes an illegitimate son Adriaanby an unrecorded father — the witnesses are the married couple Johannes Pretorius & his wife Maria Jordaan ⁴⁵ who later marries into the families of exiled Sheik Joseph & the Raja / Sultan of Tambora [Den 14 Jan. [uarij][1731] Adriaan , (onecht) de moeder is Rosetta van Java , de getuijge zijn Johannes Prætorius en Maria Jourdaan]
2 December 1731	Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine baptizes their 2 illegitimate daughters [Den 2 X:ber [1731] Johanna , (on echt) de oudste} Catharina , (on echt) de jongste} de moeder is Rosetta van Java , de getuijge Titus Jacobze , en Diana van Makasser]
25 January 1733	Kaicil Mahmud` s illegitimate son Abdullah is baptized Den 25 dito [Januarie 1733] Een bejaard persoon nae voorgaande belijdenis, genaamt Adolf
11 February 1733	Kaicil Mahmud through the offices of Abraham Decker requests manumission of his 3 children by his concubine — recorded as Rosetta van Ceijlon — presumably because mother Rosetta van Java is moribund; the 2 daughters Jamela (Amel) &

⁴⁴ CA: VC 604 (List of members).

⁴⁵ **Johannes Pretorius** — son of *halfslag* **Maria Hansen / Hansz: van de Caep** by **Dirk Pretorius** (from Linteloo [Gelderland]) & likely grandson of **Maaij Isabella van Angola**; baptised Cape 27 May 1691 witnesses: **Claes Cornelisz: [van de Caep]** & **Maritie [Pietersz: van de Caep]**; marries (1) 10 June 1714 **Constantia van Bengale**, widow of **Joost Ventura van de Caep**; marries (2) Cape 1 February 1722 **Marie / Maria Jordaan / Jourdan** (baptised 16 November 1704), daughter of **Pierre Jourdan** (from Belle Etoile [Luberon, Provence]) & **Johanna Adriana Junius**; she marries (2) Cape 3 July 1740, **David Sultania alias Mochamat Dayan** (son of exiled **Albubasi Raja / Sultan of Tambora & Ranee / Sultana of Tambora** **Sitina Sara Marouff**; born **Mochamat Dayan**, baptised (4 January 1733) he adopted the names **David Sultania**; his sister **Sitina Asia**, baptised (22 December 1726) **Maria Dorothea Sultania**, is married (30 January 1729) to **Christiaan Carel van den Bos** (from Den Haag) who is executed for raping the 10-year-old **Johanna Hoog** (baptised 8 July 1725), minor illegitimate child of Widow **Pelzer, Elisabeth van den Berg**, by **Claas (de) Hoog** — rape took place in house belonging to the *deaconij* & inhabited by the impoverished ranee who is the daughter of **Shaikh Yusup** [<http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/RemarkableWriting/UL02Ismael.pdf>].



Raja (Talie) are taken into the household of **Abraham Decker** while **Abdullah (Adel)** is taken into the household of **Anna de Beer**, the widow of **Daniel Thibault**

*Woensdag den 11e Februarij 1733, voormiddags. Alle tegenwoordig ... Waarna ter vergadering verscheen den ondercoopman en negotie overdraager, Abraham Decker, dewelke uijt naame van den hier gebannen Ternataansen prins, **Ketees Malocco**, versoek quam te doen dat aan hem mogt werden geaccoerdeert om zijne drie kinderen, met naame **Amel, Talie en Adel**, door hem **Ketees Malocco** bij desselfs slavin, **Rosette van Ceijlon**, ter deeser plaatse geteelt, in vrijdom te mogen stellen, op dat zij na zyn overleiden, alzoo hij oud en siekelijk word, in geen slaverneij mogten blijven of vervallen, over het welke geraadpleegt zijnde, is goedgevonden dat men dit bij deeser ter memorie sal noteeren, en is gem[elde]. ondercoopman **Decker**, bij wien twee deeser kinderen van den Ternataanssen prins, **Ketees Malocco**, en het derde bij **de wed.[uwe] Thibault** zijn woonende, verders aangesegt dat hij hem kan waarschouwen zorge te draagen dat deselve kinderen bij zijne uijterste dispositie vrij worden verclaart en zoo het hem goeddunkt erfgenaamen gemaakt van het geene hij zal coomen na te laten, op dat het dies te klaarder blijkt dat hij haarlieden voor zijne kinderen komt te erkennen, en dat overzulk deselve niet als slaven kunnen gehouden of aangemerkt warden Aldus geresloveert ende gearresteert in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten dage en jaare voorsz. **JAN DE LA FONTAINE. A. V.[an] KERVEL. D. V.[an] D.[er] HENGHEL. J. T. RHENIUS. N[icolaes] HEIJNING. H[endri]K. SWELLENGREBEL. C[hristoffe]L. BRAND. R.[ijk] TULBAGH.** Rt. en secretarijs.⁴⁶*

ante 24 April 1733	Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine — recorded as Rosetta van Java — dies
24 April 1733	children of Kaicil Mahmud` s concubine — recorded as his deceased slave [sic] Rosetta van Ceijlon - are manumitted by the Council of Policy — <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amel [Jamelia later baptised Johanna] ▪ Talie [Raja later baptised Catharina] & ▪ Adel [Abdullah (Abdul) Jonker later baptised Adolph Jonker])
10 July 1734	Adolph Jonker is confirmed in the Cape Church - <i>beleijdenis</i>
5 October 1734	Council of Policy resolution concerning Rosetta van Bengale - <i>Eenmeijd van de weescamer toegestaan in vrijdom te mogen stellen</i> ⁴⁷ <p><i>Dingsdag den 5 October 1734, voormiddags. Alle present, behalvenden coopman en secretaris, d' E. Rijk Tulbagh. ... Aldus geresloveerd ende g'arresteerd in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, ten daageen jaare voorsz[eijde].</i></p> <p>JAN DE LA FONTAINE. A. V. KERVEL. D. V. D. HENGHEL. J. T. RHENIUS. NS. HEIJNING. HK. SWELLENGREBEL. CL. BRAND.</p> <p>Mij present, W. V. KERKHOFF. E.g. clercq.</p>

⁴⁶ CA: C 91 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 11 February 1733, pp. 108-117.

⁴⁷ CA: C 96, pp. 42-48. According to the Journal the Council meets (9 September 1734) & again (16 September 1734).⁴⁷ No *kladnotulen* exist for the 1st meeting but only for the 2nd meeting , & for a further meeting held (23 September 1734).⁴⁷ The *kladnotulen* for the meeting (23 September 1734) read as follows: "Donderdag den 23e September 1734, voormiddags. Alle present. Het erf van den Edelen Heer Gouverneur. Twee personen in vrydom gestelt. Twee smits, een thuijnier en een soldaat verbetert. **Een meijd van de weescamer toegestaan in vrijdom te mogen stellen**". Een van die twee persone aan wie 'n vrybrief toegestaan is, is waarskynlik **Jurriaan Hendrik Stigman**, wie se versoekskrif gevind kan word in C.236, *Requesten en Nominatiën*, 1733-1734, pp. 197-198. Die slavin, **Rosetta van Bengale**, is op 12.10.1734 vrygestel [CA: CJ.3084, (*Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, 1734), pp. 133-134) [TANAP].



16 October 1734	Adolph Jonker takes his oath as a burgher
12 October 1734	<i>slave meijd Rosetta van Bengale</i> of Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine — recorded as the deceased <i>vrijswartin Rosetta van Bougis</i> — is manumitted by the Council of Policy ⁴⁸
1735	<p><i>Opgaaf</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 312) Adolf Jonker (Cape) ▪ (no. 313) Jacobus Jansz: (Cape) ▪ (no. 443) Rosetta van Bengale & 1 daughter & 1 slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 462) Jan Jansz: van Ceylon vrijswart (Cape)
8 March 1737	Jan de la Fontaine — acting governor
31 August 1737	Adriaan van Kervel — governor
19 September 1737	Daniël van den Henghel (fiscal) — acting governor
1738	<p><i>Opgaaf</i> (Cape District)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 486) Abdul [Abdullah aka Adolph / Adel] Jonker (Cape) ▪ (no. 504) Jacob Jansz: (Cape) ▪ (no. 515) Rosetta van Bengale & 1 slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 528) Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Roselina van Bengale: 2 sons & 2 daughters (Cape)
1739	Rosetta van Bengale bequeaths monies in her will to JacobusJansz: & Adolph Jonker & manumits her slave Aron van Bali
1 February 1739	witnesses baptism of illegitimate infant of Cicilia van Jaffnapatnam <i>A:[nn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 1 Februarij ... Cicilia Elisabeth (onecht). De moeder Cicilia van Jaffena Patnam. De soogenaemde vader Moses van Peliakatte. De getuigen Christiaan Thomasz: en Rosetta van Bengalen.</i>
14 April 1739	Hendrik Swellengrebel - governor
5 July 1739	Adolph Jonker witnesses baptism of Jacobus one of twin sons of Elias Thomasz: & Anthonia Coopman <i>[A:[nn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 5 Julij Alardus Bartholomeus, } Jacobus, } tweelingen. De ouders Elias Thomasz: en Anthonia Coopman. De getuigen van het eerste Charl le Long en Francina van [Ec], en van het tweede Adolf Jonker en Elizabeth Bastro]</i>
26 June 1740	Adolph Jonker marries the free-black Maria Petronella Langeveld <i>Den 26 dito [junij 1740] Adolf Jonker, van Cabo de Goede Hoop burger alhier jongman, met Maria Piaternella Langveld van Cabo voorn:[oemde] jonge dochter]</i>
1741	<p><i>Opgaaf</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 213) Adolf Jonker, wife [unnamed] & 1 son: 1 flintlock & 1 rapier (Cape) ▪ (no. 299) Jacobus Jansz: 1 flintlock & 1 rapier (Cape): ▪ (no. 541) Rosetta van Bengale & 1 slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 502) Aaron van Balij & 1 slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 552) Jacob Jansz: van de Caep & 1 adult female slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 564) Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Rosetta van Bengale: 4 sons & 1 daughter (Cape)

⁴⁸ CA: C 3084 (*Obligatiën, Transporten van Slaven &c.*, 1734), pp. 133-134.



15 October 1741	Kaicil Mahmud's halfslag voorzoon marries Cape-born free-black Emerentia Schot [Den 15 dito [October 1741] ... Jacobus Jansen , van Amsterdam burger alhier jongman, met Emerentia Schot van Cabo de Goede Hoop jonge dochter]
1742	Adolph Jonker stands as surety for manumission Corydon vanBengale , slave belonging to freed-black Aron van Bali
21 October 1742	marriage between Rosetta van Bengale — recorded as Rosettavan de Kust [manumitted slave formerly assigned to Kaicil Mahmud's deceased concubine] - & her freed slave Aron van Bali [Den 21 October [1742] ... Aron van Balij , en Rosetta van de Kust bijde vrijswarten]
1745-1779	<i>koster</i> [sexton] (Drakenstein)
1745-1762	Adolph Jonker recorded as teacher at Paarl ⁴⁹
1745	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 133) Jacob Janse & Emerentia Schot & 2 daughters (flintlock & rapier) ▪ (no. 134) Adolf Jonker & Maria Petronella Langveld & 1 son (flintlock & rapier) (Cape) ▪ (no. 533) Aron van Balie (Cape) ▪ (no. 535) Rosetta van Bengale (Cape) ▪ (no. 567) Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & no wife: 4 sons & 3 daughters (Cape)
1747	Kaicil Mahmud dies on Robben Island
1750	Jonker (Adolff): burgher, & koster at Drakenstein; asks for thefreehold of a piece of ground at the Paarl 2 morgen in extent onwhich settle (no. 75).
27 February 1751	Ryk Tulbagh - governor
15 August 1752	Adolph Jonker granted land ⁵⁰ <i>Dingsdag den 15: Aug:[ustu]s 1752</i> 'S voormiddags alle præsent. <i>Is op het hierom in Schriptis gedaane versoek bij den Burger en Koster aan Drakensteijn Adolf Jonker, aan denzelven in Eigendom gegeeven, een Stukje Huijs Erf en Thuijn Land geleegen aan de Paarel ter groote van Twee Morgen Netto</i>
1757	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 12) Johannes B. Olkers & Johanna Jonker & 1 female adult slave & 1 male child slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 430) Wed. Jacobus Jansz: [Emerentia Schot] & 2 daughters (Cape) ▪ (no. 632) Aaron van Balie & Rosetta van Bengale & 1 slave (Cape) ▪ (no. 692) Johannes Jansz: van Ceylon & Roselyn van Bengale; 1 daughter & 1 slave child (Cape) ▪ (no. 1503) Adolf Jonker & wife [unnamed]: 5 sons & 1 daughter & 2 slaves (Drakenstein)
1758	Rosetta van Bengale marries (as widow of Arend [Aron] van Bali) Johannes Jansz: / Jansen van Ceijlon / Batavia , widower of Roselijn van Bengale
1761	<i>Opgaaf</i>

⁴⁹ Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRC/A): Paarl: *Notule* (1731-1784).

⁵⁰ CA: C 130, pp. 284-286.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 745) Adolf Jonker & wife: 7 sons & 1 daughter & 2 slaves (Drakenstein)
1762	<p><i>OpgAAF</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 741) Wed.[duwe] Jan van Ceylon [Rosetta van Bengale] & 1 slave woman (Cape)
October 1772	<p>Visiting Swedish botanist Anders Sparrman visits Paarl: "A little farther on lived a <i>Koster</i>, that is a Sexton, a set of people that are more respected with the Calvinists than with us. He was of black extraction by the mother's side ... The Koster's wife, who was rather in years, was then sick in bed."⁵¹</p>
30 March 1779	<p>Jonker (Adolph); Koster of Drakenstein (deceased); is succeeded by the burgher Hartwich Johannes Luttig⁵²<i>Dingsdag den 30 Maart 1779.</i> <i>Sijnde voorts naar resumptie eenen Missive van't Eerw:[aerde] Collegie van Kerkenraade aan Drakensteijn, de dato 22:ste Febr:[uar]ij Jongstl:[eden] goedgevonden, de gedaane aanstelling van den Burger Hartwich Johannes Luttich, tot Coster der Kerk aldaar in Steede van den overleedenen Adolph Jonker t' approbeeren.</i></p>



Mosque of the Sultan of Ternate

⁵¹ **Anders Sparrman** — *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope 1772 — 1776*, vol.1 (Van Riebeeck Society 1975, reprint 2007), p. 96.

⁵² Council of Policy Resolution (30 March 1779); *Requesten* (no. 41, 22 February 1779); CA: C 157, pp. 132-164.



GENEALOGY

Rosetta / Rosette van Boegis [Bugis] / Java / Macassar / Batavia / Jafnapatnam / Ceijlon

12 May 1702	sold as Rosetta van Jafnapatnam by Gerrit Koek to Willem Adriaan van der Stel for Rds 95;
4 May 1704	Kaicil Mahmud banished to Cape ex Batavia after death sentence suspended for committing rape
8 March 1705	Rosetta van Ceijlon slave of W.A. van der Stel witnesses baptism of Jacob Cornelis s/o Maria van de Caab & Seyser [Caesar] van Batavia baptized infant Cape (<i>Namen der Christen Kinderen</i>) 8 March 1705 (witness: Rosetta van Ceilon) [Note: presumably already baptized [?] as she appears here as witness — earlier baptism, however, not found at the Cape]
7 December 1706	Kaicil Mahmud` s petition to Batavia for maintenance forwarded to Batavia
post April 1707	[?] assigned [not sold as already baptized] from estate of recalled Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel to prince`s household
c. 1715	[?] Jacobus Jansz: <i>halfslag voorzoon</i> of Rosetta van Javaborn
c. 1716	[?] Kaicil Mahmud `pardoned` or `freed` & allowed to settle as free-fisherman [as vouched for by Daniel Thibault in Jonker van Macassar `s 1727 will][in keeping with VOC policy as evidenced by a letter despatched from Batavia concerning exiled convicts sent to the Cape]
17 February 1717	Kaicil Mahmud baptizes slave-born daughter Johanna also providing for the infant`s legal freedom
c. 1718	Adolph Jonker born
c. 1723	[?] Rosetta van Macassar manumitted following judicial attachment of Prince of Ternate`s estate
24 May 1718	November [? sic] van [no toponym][? Alexander van Cochinchina aka Leander van Malabar] sold by Matthijs Perreira to Jonkers van Macassar for 100.00
1719	Opgaaf <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 333) Jonker van Macassar & [his enslaved concubine? Rosetta van Macassar: 2 sons & 2 slaves]
1721	Opgaaf <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 336) Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Java: 2 sons & 2 slaves
1721	Leander van Malabar [? Alexander van Cochinchina [Cochinchina]] petitions Council of Policy to ensure Kaicil Mahmud liberates him as promised - named Dayan Mamodie, Prince of Kalomato . Bought by the "so-called Prince of Ternate" at a sale on the farm of Samuel Elsevier for Rds 201 — his petition appears to have failed as he appears again in the will of his owner (1727) of Jonker van Macassar
1722	Jonker van Macassar petitions with other free-fishermen & boat owners
24 November 1722	Council of Policy provisionally banishes Kaicil Mahmud & slave to Robben Island for operating a brothel after being flogged [? Is Kaicil Mahmud `s concubine freed at this point so that she is able to manage the princely household during his detention]



c. 1723	[?] Rosetta van Ceijlon manumitted following judicial attachment of Prince of Ternate 's estate
1724	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 342): Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar: 2 sons, 3 daughters & 2 slaves
8 September 1724	Jan de la Fontaine — acting governor
1725	<i>Opgaaf</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (no. 396): Jonker van Macassar & Rosetta van Macassar: 2 sons, 2 daughters & 4 slaves
30 January 1725	Mercurius van Bengale (25) sold by Jacob Muller [? related to siblings Hendrik Möller, Regina Möller & Maria Möller who marry into the Heems & Decker families] to Jonker van Macassar for 120.00
5 September 1726	Mercurius van Bengale sold by Jonker van Macassar to Carel Pietersz: [van Bombay] for 150.00
24 January 1727	Jonker van Macassar draws up will [owns slaves Alexander van Couchin [Cochin] aka Leander van Malabar; Cassamie, Fortuijn van Bougis [Bugis]; September [van Manda] & makes provision for concubine vrijswartinne Rosetta van Java to be guardian to his 3 children (Jamela, Abdul Jolle [Abdullah] & Raja)]
1729	Rosetta van Macassar becomes member of Cape Church with certificate of membership from Batavia)
11 August 1730	September van Manda sold by Rosetta van Java to Martin Heem [Marthinus Heems who witnesses will (1727) of Jonker van Macassar] for 120.00]
24 September 1730	Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine baptizes illegitimate son Johannes fathered by the free Sinhalese Bastiaan van Ceylon
14 January 1731	Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine baptizes an illegitimate son Adriaan by an unrecorded father — the witnesses are the married couple Johannes Pretorius & his wife Maria Jordaan who later marries into the families of exiled Sheik Joseph & the Raja / Sultan of Tambora
2 December 1731	Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine baptizes their 2 illegitimate daughters Johanana & Catharina
25 January 1733	Kaicil Mahmud 's illegitimate son Abdullah is baptized
11 February 1733	Kaicil Mahmud through the offices of Abraham Decker requests manumission of his 3 children by his concubine — recorded as Rosetta van Ceijlon — presumably because mother Rosetta van Java is moribund; the 2 daughters Jamela (Amel) & Raja (Talie) are taken into the household of Abraham Decker while Abdullah (Adel) is taken into the household of Anna de Beer , the widow of Daniel Thibault
ante 24 April 1733	Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine — recorded as Rosetta van Java - dies
24 April 1733	children of Kaicil Mahmud 's concubine — recorded as his deceased slave [<i>sic</i>] Rosetta van Ceijlon — are manumitted by the Council of Policy :— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amel [Jamela later baptised Johanna] ▪ Talie [Raja later baptised Catharina] &



- Adel [Abdullah (Abdul) Jonker later baptised **Adolph Jonker**])

12 October 1734 **Rosetta van Bengale**, the assigned slave of the concubine (recorded as **Rosetta van Boegis**) of **Kaicil Mahmud**, is manumitted by resolution of the Council of Policy.

1747 **Kaicil Mahmud** dies on Robben Island

marries (1) [?] *de facto*

Adam van Batavia

Slave of **W.A. van der Stel**

marries (2) *de facto*

NN Jansz: van Amsterdam

marries (3) *de facto*

Kyai Chili Mahmud / كيل مهمند - 'the praised one' **Prince of Ternate / Prince of Calomato [Kalamata]**

aka **Jonker van Macassar**

Daija Mamoetij

Catchiri Daijman Mamoeti / Moetie

Katsili Dayan Mamoedy

Kitsjel Dain Mamoedie

Ketees Malocco / Matmoetie

marries (4) *de facto*

Bastiaen van Ceijlon *vrijgebore Chingalees*

b1 **Catharina** born in slavery; baptized Cape 6 February 1707 (father: **Adam van Batavia**) (mother: **Rosetta van Jaffnapatnam**) (witness: **Maria van Macasser**); dies young [?]

b2 **Jacob Jansz: / Janze halfslag** born in slavery c. 1715; baptized Cape 24 September 1730:

[*Den 24 dito [september 1730] Johannis, (on echt) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de zoogezegde vaeder Bastiaen van Cijlon, de getuijge is 't kints moeder*];

manumitted on attaining legal majority at 25 - possibly on presumption of white or European biological fatherhood as, curiously & for reasons still unknown, he marries as **Jacobus Jansen, van Amsterdam**

marries Cape 15 October 1741

[*Den 15 dito [October 1741] ... Jacobus Jansen, van Amsterdam burger alhier jongman, met Emerentia Schot van Cabo de Goede Hoop jonge dochter*]

Emerentia Schot

(daughter of **Robbert Schot van Bengale & Lea van de Caep**)

baptized Cape 20 September 1722

[*20 d:[itt]o [7b:r 1722] Amerentie Robbert Schot, en Lea van de Caap Hendrik Constant, en Catharina van de Caap*]

c1 **Maria Pieterella Jansz:** baptized Cape 14 Octover 1742

[*A:[nn]o 1742 (Naemen der gedoopte) kinderen Den 14 October Maria Pieterella, de ouders Jacob Janze, en Emerentia Schot, de getuijen Adolph Jonker, en Maria Langevelt*]

c2 **Johannes Jacobus Jansz:** baptized Cape 8 December 1743:

[*Johannes Jacobus, de Ouders Jacob Jansz:, en Emerentia Shot, de Getuijen Isaac Sultania en Johanna Jonkers*] dies young

c3 **Lea Helena Jansz:** baptized 28 February 1745:

[*Lea Helena, de Ouders Jacob Janze, en Emerentia Schot, de Getuijge Robbert Hendrik Schot*]

c4 **Johanna Catharina Jansz:** baptized 19 February 1747 (witnesses: **Arent Schot & Catharina Jonker**)

c5 **Jacoba Jansz:** baptized 13 April 1749 (witnesses: *de ouders*)

b3 **Johanna heelslag** born in slavery born Cape c. 1717; baptized Cape 17 February 1717 (father not stated in baptismal entry)

17 Februarii [1717]. Gedoopt een slaaven-kind van Katsili Daijan

Mamoedij, Prins van Ternate: de moeder was Rosetta

van Batavia: de getuijen Titus Jacobsz: van Macassar,

en Johanna, van Macassar, zijn huisvrouw.



NB. Het kind is vrij gegeeven

Johanna

dies young

b4 **Adol Jolle [عبد الله (Abdullah) / (Abdul ع عبد / Adel / Adol)]** aka **Adolf(f) / Adolph Jonker (c. 1719-1779)** heelslag born in slavery; born Cape c. 1719: baptized (adult) Cape 25 January 1733
[Den 25 dito [Januarie 1733] Een bejaard persoon nae voorgaande belijdenis, genaamt **Adolf**];

manumitted 24 April 1733; dies 1779

marries Cape 26 June 1740

[Den 26 dito [Junij 1740] **Adolf Jonker**, van Cabo de Goede Hoop burger alhier jongman, met **Maria Piaternella Langveld** van Cabo voorn:[oemde] jonge dochter]

Maria Petronella Langeveld (1719-1773)

daughter of *halfslag Cornelia Jacobs: van de Caep alias Cornelia (Keetje) Pieters: van de Caep by knecht Pieter Jacobsz:* (from Langeveld) *alias Pieter Vrolijk* also recorded as *Pieter Willemse Langeveld* (from Dirkerdam);

granddaughter of **Dorothea van Angola** formerly slave owned by disgraced Cape *secunde Heinrich Lacus* (from Wesel) & **Lijdia de Pape** but appropriated by the Company.

10 July 1734 *beleijdenis* [simultaneous baptism?]

16 October 1734 oath as burgher [no record as Company employee or as immigrant ex Europe or Asia — most likely indicator that he is Cape-born

5 July 1739 witnesses baptism of **Jacobus** one of twin sons of **Elias Thomasz: & Anthonia Coopman**

[A:Inn]o 1739 Naemen der gedoopten Den 5 Julij **Alardus Bartholomeus, } Jacobus, } tweelingen. De ouders Elias Thomasz: en Anthonia Coopman. De getuigen van het eerste Charl le Long en Francina van [Ec], en van het tweede Adolf Jonker en Elizabeth Bastro]**

26 June 1740 marries

1745-1779 *koster* [sexton] (Drakenstein)

1745-1762 teacher [DRC/A: Paarl: Notule 1731-1784]

1750: **Jonker (Adolff):** burgher, and koster at Drakenstein; asks for the freehold of a piece of ground at the Paarl 2 morgen in extent on which settle (number 75).

15 August 1752 *Dingsdag den 15: Aug:[ustu]s 1752*

'S voormiddags alle præsent.

*Is op het hierom in Schriptis gedaane versoek bij den Burger en Koster aan Drakensteijn **Adolf Jonker**, aan denzelven in Eijgendom gegeeven, een Stukje Huijs Erfs en Thuijn Land geleegen aan de Paarel ter groote van Twee Morgen Netto [CA: C 130, pp. 284-286]*

October 1772

Sparrman visits Paarl: "A little farther on lived a Koster, that is a Sexton, a set of people that are more respected with the Calvinists than with us. He was of black extraction by the mother's side ...The Koster's wife, who was rather in years, was then sick in bed. [**Anders Sparrman - Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope 1772 — 1776**, vol.1 (Van Riebeeck Society 1975, reprint 2007), p. 96]

1779

Jonker (Adolph): Koster of Drakenstein (deceased); is succeeded by the burgher **Hartwich Johannes Luttig** [Resolution of the Council of Policy, 30 March 1779] (no. 41, 22 February)][CA: C 157, pp. 132-164]
Dingsdag den 30 Maart 1779.

Sijnde voorts naar resumptie einer Missive van't Eerw:[aerde] Collegie van Kerkenraade aan Drakensteijn, de dato 22:ste Febr:[uar]ij Jongstl:[eden] goed gevonden, de gedaane aanstelling van den Burger Hartwich Johannes Luttich, tot Coster der Kerk aldaar in Steede van den overledenen Adolph Jonker t' approbeeren.

c1 **Adriaan** baptised Cape 30 April 1741(witnesses: **Arij Bastiaan & Piaternella van de Cust**), dies young

c2 **Adolph** baptised Drakenstein 15 December 1743

marries 30 Novembe r 1766

Maria Sauerman





- b7** **Talie / Raja aka Catharina (Catrina) Jonker** *heelslag born in slavery; born c. 1725 baptized with older sister Johanna Cape 2 December 1731*
[*Den 2 X:ber [1731] Johanna, (on echt) de oudste} Catharina, (on echt) de jongste} de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de getuijge Titus Jacobze, en Diana van Makasser*]
manumitted 24 April 1733
- b8** **Johannes vrijgeboren** born c. 1728; baptized 24 September 1730 fathered by the free Sinhalese **Bastiaan van Ceylon**
[*Den 24 dito [september 1730] Johannis, (on echt) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de zoogezegde vaeder Bastiaen van Cijlon, de getuijge is 't kints moeder*]
- b9** **Adriaan vrijgeboren** born c. 1730; baptized Cape 14 January 1731
[*Den 14 Jan[uarij] [1731] Adriaan, (onecht) de moeder is Rosetta van Java, de getuijge zijn Johannes Praetorius en Maria Jourdaan*]



J. Degrandprez

11/27

Dit Leegel behoort
tot 't inleggende Sc,
1 Stomme, gespaarde
door Drucker van Hael,
gespaar, in Dato
24. Januarij 1727.

Wijden den 24^{de} Januarij 1727
 Compagnie door mij Davidt Broelt
 ledet van den C. Agt^{de} Maart v. J. 1727
 die deel des gouvernemente is ten presentte van
 & naarden getuigen, Tonker Van
 Maravassar hij gegeene ^{Nijp. Geesten acte en beke} Leijerijen ^{ve}
 heylk te bedde leggen, doo Lijr verstand
 sijns en memoriae volkoomnes maatsch
 ons gebruiken gelijk ons is gesleeches
 dewelke bij vertelling niet het portugeez
 in & neerlandtsch te kennen gaf, doe
 dat hij alvoren dese weere te verlaaten
 geneeghen was over Lijr tijdelijke goey
 dreyde beseele, da disponeren, hulc doen
 niet eigener wijs wille sonder bewaering
 van iemand tea weerd. —

Vooraf revocerende alle maakinge die hy voor
 dat deel mocht hebben gepaachtet als
 niet wille dat een Tab. dien in the
 minke haft quipes of effect ton tees
 sal of hiller myaar geholde voor nietig
 en has onwaard inwoegen nooit wylt was
 of waer gepaacht, betuigenet voort
 geene kinden te hebben das wiec hij
 enige maakinge hulc is. —

Van niemond disponerende gro Se Maand
 der Comp^t voor al te comteene maash
 en de besprekkes van one decetion
 Broekelaer Java en Glazoe Gronge
 gen^t Alexander van Corolien, sonder
 dat hier tegen eenige oppositie van
 iemand sal mocht geschilderen forme

met den selver van mij Comp^{te} or Rege^r
te doen, es handel, als niet ik daer den
eigen goed vonden Contradictie was iemands
ster weerd ; —

22

er handelcs als niet haer vrije enger
goed londen Leegenspreking haer iemphd toe
voerelijc mits mogtans dat dephoe
getorsten blijft par haer Zooq gant Jacob
vijf te Rekken voorwaige somtra par 75.50.
als hen vijf den bodel is Competetende
wijzaas oth Lijn Comp^td Hinden eerlijck
et den gelyk op te Roeden tot haer
mondighe gaedes ofte anderas geap nobe,
de staate alz volumen aar och is gelijk
haer ga hbedecke glae fal moedet laaten
volgen in welke gevallen rij haer tot
voerden over dephoe is auffstellende en
verbreken; —

Ayt hlytend by Testatenu den dies eijnde
de Heeres weifmeestere, depe) stek ofte
enige ander die haer niet Lijn bodel
solder wille bewoijen alle dephoe en
ees ieder van dier vora haer des ander
te neemene moijte Needig bedankens.

Alle heeme voorts. haat ds Comp^t dijstlyk
voorgelezen en in de portugese Taale
te verstaan gegeuen. Huid, verhlaen^r by
het seloe dat weers Lijn Testamen^t
laatste er vijf tenne wille, meeringe
en de Regente, willende en Reykenens
dat Ech seloe daer van voldeenen en
Effect porteece, sal t^e Lijn over welcke
benaming haer vijfsterke wille het ook
mogte Lijn, mit Leegenstaande enige
omstandigheder waaren verhuysd
de bij houd all volkomen asper inge,
lijft de Lijn, ter vier eijnden Haobchen
het vobele beneficium fudoir. —

Tunc

Toont den Spaerend aan Jacob
goed Hoop dat woonhijc van den
Compt. op daen dage voort. ~~tegen~~
~~tegen~~ dat des Hoorniddags de Clokken on
trent twaaltuinen ter oventhae van
Maximil. Heemst en Johannes Hen
rius Blanckenberg sal getuigen
van geloove diec Her fort. Welke
soo wel als mij Secret. de portugees
taal spreken den alle te voorstaande
better te verstaen gegeven, en in dae
presentie getuigd in dien voegen. Lijc. Vol
komene weesfinge te weepen.

M. Gotwigen. Dit werk is door Jonker
van ~~H~~ Macaffer gestelt
In kennis van mij
Blanckenberg. *D. G. Blanckenberg.*

Copia.

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S. Vérand prez

Huijsden den 24^e Januarij 1723.

Comparaende voor mij Daniel Libault secretaire
der E. H. C. Raad van Justitie des Gouverneu-
ter presente van de waarden getuigen, Jonker
Maccaffer, vroeggegevene Leijffiger, mij secretaris
getuigen bekent, sikhelyk te bedde Leggende, dog
verstaen, Linnen en memoria volkomen magtig
gebruighaerde, zelijks ons is gebleken, derwelke bij
tolking niet het portugeesch in't nederduytsche te
men gaff, toe dat ij sconew dese weerd te ten-
genzen was over hys tijdelijke Goederen te leveren
en disponeren, salt doode niet eijgenen vrye Wil-
lender aantding van iemand ten weerd,

Voor af revoceerde alle machting die ij voord
desel mogte hebben gesassert, als niet willead
dat een van dien in't minste Kraet grijpe
off effect porteeuw Lal off Lullen, maange-
den voor nietig en van outhaande, in oog-
nooit was off waren gesassert, betrijfende
geen vaders te hebben, van wie hy eenige in-
ge schalldig is,

Van nieuw disponerende, soo verstande den
voort aff te Legtieren, maken ende te beschrik
van de vijfdaagse Roletta van Java, een he-
younge genue Alexander van Concius, sooudat die
tage

tegen eenige oppositie van iemand dat mogen
gebetreden: souwe niet den selven na zijn Compt^{ts},
leijden te doen en handelen als niet van vrye eijen
goed sonder contradictie van iemand ten weersel.

Wijden belijgde des Compt^{ts} mede voor affte Legate,
en ende te bedrieken van lijske kinderen bij voortzitt^r,
dette verwoelt met namen Jacob en Gamela, een
slave jongen geut September, mitto^{rs} aant d^e d^e d^e
Jalle, en dat ja te Lamen een slave jongen
met namen Caesarius welke slaves moesten
met en bevesten een slave jongen gen^t fortuna
van Bougat^r, die nooit sal mogen verhoogt worden,
maar gedurende lijske leven onder haer Rocketta
en lijske Compt^{ts} kinderen moeten wonen, soos
lange zullen moeten verblijven, tot dat de
genoegde kinderen tot voudige jaen ofte anderage,
aprobeeide staate zullen gehouen lijske, al wan
neet ieder lijske aandeelde plaat ouerhident sal
mogen naer sig neemen, sonder dat de selve
kinderen eenige verdere plichten op den goedelijc^h
ken mogen maken.

Daerde daer tot verklaring van Eijgenaem
soos verhaalde den Compt^{ts} daer toe verhoorey
nouincert, ende g'instinctueert te hebben, gelijck
dat by deser de vrijstaende Rocketta van dat
voort, en dat in alle lijske goederen gene Eijg^r
soos voerende of onvoerende, actien, crediter, impoter
Eaffewijf

Effenwachten en besterfmeischen, Eijdelijke alleit,
ij niet en dood zal kommen te ontgaen van
te later, onne dat mede te doen, en laudelen,
als niet haer vige oogen goed, soudt tegenover
van iemand ter wereld, mit nochtans dat de
ve getrouwden blijft van haer loor geut, Jaco
nijt te heeren Podainge somma van dixd¹⁶51
als hem mit den bodel is Compteereende, wijds
ooke lijn Comp¹⁶ Kinderen eerlijck en duylselyk
voeden, tot haer moedige jaren ofte andere ge
procedende staate, als wancken aan een rege
haar aen bedelde flat sal moeten later volge
ni welke gevallen ij haer tot voogdesse over dejer
is aangestelde ende verhiefende, —

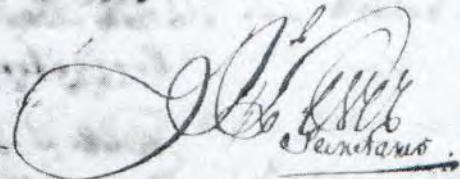
Nijt sluytende ij testamente ten dien eijnde de hec
veerduschesten dejer mede ofte enige andere
haer met lijn bodel vonden willen bewaigen
deselve ende een ieder van dien voor haer des ams
tenemere mochte nedig bedaupende.

Alle't gene voortzij staet dew Comp¹⁶ duylselyk,
voorgeladen ende in de portugeese taale te verta
gegeten lijnde, verklarende ij 't selve te wesen
testament, Laatste en ryttreste wille, mecum
ende begeerte, willende en begeertende, dat het
ve daer voor valideeren en Effect fortseeren
sal, t'ij onder welke beuwinge van ryttrest
wille het ook mochte liggen, niet tegenstaande enig
onstredig reden waren verfugt, die ij houdt a

Volhomen desen ingelijft te zijn ten dien tynde
versoekende het nobile beneficium predictum.

I gant aldus pastoorre aan Cabodegoede Hoop,
ter woon sijs van den Compagnie op zare endage
voor den des voorniddags de Clokkies ontrently
twalff minen, ten overstaan van Martinus
Heemels en Joannes Henricus Blaauwenberg,
als getuigen van geloove hier toe verzoekt, dat wel
sie so wel als mij Leoret^s de portugeese taale
sprekende, hem alle t' overstaande hebben te
verstaan gegeven, en mi haer presentie betuygt
in diez wezen sijn volhomen meeninge te we-
sen, die te minste desen beuebeul den Compagnie
ende mij Leoret^s mede behoorlyke hebben onder-
tekenet, onderstouw: /t welk ik getuige,
was getekeint: / De Ribault Leoret^s.

Verhoord ter beschouwing
van Cabode Goede Hoop den
20^e October 1727.

ACCOUERT

Leibault

In dienste Name Goedes & Amen

CJ 2658 Will of
Arend v Balij &
Rosetta v
Bengalen

Eenieder dien't Sonde mogen aangaan, Zy kensalijft by
den Inhoude van desen Leegenvoordigint oponbaaren
Instrumento, dat op huyden in dan staere naerde geboren
te onder Ayle landt en d'laelijcmaer Kerk & Kader Christi
Een Duysend & Ceven honderd & leeven en Vierig op den
aftrent Daag des Maand Decemb're, dat midtig de klokke
Elf uurant, voor my Petrus Jaffe Slotbos eerste ge-
swoore Clerg ter Politique & leeraarje alhier aan fabode goede
hoop, in de leegenwoordighid van de waergoed gescreygen in
Eygene persoon vorstheuen te zijn, den Urychwaert Arend van
Balij en Rosetta van Bengalen Echte Lyden, mij laste
Clerg en do getrijgen wel behaald. Cijnde beyde gescreuen van
tocham, mit groet: hun vero Pand, Samen en ryck spraak
Den wullen magtigen gebruykende, galg't. Sijf onder spaffe-
ren Deper ic gebleekant, dwellelic te kausen gaaven, dat naer
dien by hem in overweyng was gerooyent, de nietigheid des
menighyken Leevants, de Leekortreid No Dood, besevank des
ongewiss tyd en liere van't Overvew, Cij Liaden. Dieshalve he
raad geworden waoren, voor ende aler dit vorganghelyke
toegant des ewigheidsqnamant de verwijfelant, wan houne door
des huuren godheyd vertrouwane godcken in die swagen te dispa-
menen allt hiander dor dat wi. Den gescht, betrijgen en d'ly
te doen en p'sen. Bij en onbedwongen gemaed, Elender Groot
otte persutie van iemand ter waerd. —

Naa chiro Velijko Recommodatie dan van die eerderghaare
Soeverhaarden de Testatorien mitte desen te het roopen en
Le vernietigen alle Soodanige Testamen ten, gedicellen ofte
andere Diergelijke waarkingen als door haer t'zijde te ha-
men, dan wil en tyffonden voor 't verleiden veelv' moesten we-
sen opgezagt, en pris ipsaelyk Soodanige Neppofitie als doordel
Testatrix op den Dertigsten May 1739, voor den wylan. Den
voornaemigen Secretaris van Justicie daer g'overgaen
Mr Daniel Godfried Carnapck en Seelre ge truygen
ic gescreyft, alst niet begrepen is, dat de felde van Commissie
kracht of waer de goeden, mocht alst voorst geplaatst
h'len moeteng h'oren werden. —

Weeshalve mi des Novo dispensen vondt, o so verklarend de
Testament voor apte legaten aan. De diaconi et min-
istris. See de De Somme van Uyfstrieg v'lden. Indigt he
Velutie, om waer te overleggen van De Lijn. bij den int'getrouw
te werden. —

Bof

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Betrijfende de Testatoren van vader en moeder
slechte gneegenthuyd malkandoren over en den weder op te
weerdien den Eerst Stanseinde den Langstlevenre van hem
beiden de vorkiepen en saante hellen tot syne oppe haare
conige en universelle Erfgenaam in alle den naer telaste
goedren, Soo rousende des overvende, hebbende offensieke vorky-
ghe, geene intgoerder, Soodanig als deselve den Eerst
Stanseinde van den Langstlevenre niet verdoed sullen wou.
Den antre ingyt van den naergelaaten, ornme by den langstlevenre
vooral oock dat by eenigen goed beschreven worden, Sinden immind
tegen lappes, Dog wat di begerte van den Testatoren Rathen,
Raave Longen gen. Anthony van Mallebaal niet sal
mogen wedden vorky, maar naer hem bepercleyden met
beloven. Den overighed alhier, in Vrydor mogen werden ge-
wield.

Wydant betrijfende de Testatoren et hoortzij van haare
ewelijfke gij vrouw Rosetta van Roeghs heeft vry gekrogt,
egter daer haare matlaatse kinderen te Chamber den
Sommetje van vijfentwintig h. i 48. Stijf cedar, te ver-
maaken, woden in plachte van 4 geen henn anderfract
int haare matlaatshap sonden conopeeën, als betri-
jgandt selve voorrijen genomen te hebben als haartegen
woordig befit den kann.

E. Denyld de Testatoren malkandoren ook gneeghante aante
sullen tot gneeghante ofte heintre van dese hennedispositie
Soo begeerdhgh overfract niet, dat dij iemand anders met hem
men doel ofte matlaatshap sonden beweghen, Soolde seer
als dan dier alle magistraal personen, Dwelke sij in thopt
van haer officie Vordant kunnent ofte willen doen en wel
speciaalhck Claessen Waes meer tenen Daer plachte haue
88° voor dien anderfract te maenene enohte, balef dolgk
dan leggen de gij dafas.

Alle gneene vormel hant de Testatoren van Woerde tot
woerdhilaar en daigdelijk voorgelopen sind, Soo betrijfghs
gij, selve te wegsind hant haerent, Raeste en enghaffte
willen, mittegaente, dat t daersoor validerent en Effert
hortieren Pal, t h. als Testament, Codicil, giftes
Raakte des doode ofte Soodanig als best naer Regt der
Volkmen, Ces Vaen, alweer t Schoon, Dat conige uoor
staakelyke Obelammiteten, waaren gecommittet, Dwelke
als gneeghantib konde, ten dien tynde verfchante
en ryghte beneficium des Rozter

Daff

Dit gedicht gaffende aan fabo De goedt hoop op Saan
Maand dag en uine doot hi in dit gedenkondigheid der
Cluquins Jeremias & sine den Drik Ostrandt
al getrouw van gelove.

A. getuygoy.

Jeremias Aerts

L. Brents.

Dit is Ez het merk
Van Ez friend van baly

Dit merk Ez is door rofita
Van Bengalen geteld

In Remise Van my

Ez
Ez
E.G. Cluquin

Sp 4

85

Krij

Dijden Den 21st April 1733

Comparaerd voor mij Nicolaas Ley eerste gedwone
Uit de politieke Secretarie aldaer aan
Cabo el goede hoop, present & naangen getuige,

Den Ondervoorzitter en negotie Overdragen

J. Abram Decker, dewelke ingevolge

De dispositie van Catharijn Dajman
mocht / alias / Den Texnataanden Prins
Ketes matmocht, in dato Den 17th Feb. 1733
in presentie van Leuen getuigen op 't
robben eiland gescreft, mittags op daer
op bekomen content van den edelen

Leen gongneur en C. agts. Politieken
naad ofter plaatde volgens resolutie
van den 7th Apr. Loopenet maand april
verclaard te emant ip seeren, vryde geesey
en niet plaafde dienstbaarheit te ontstaen,
gelijk emant ip een vrijgaf en niet plaafde

Ondanksaerigt Ontloeg bij ofter Schreke
drie kinderen door bovengen. Texnataanden
Prins By hijn Overledene, Plas in roddels
van Leyton gescrekeert, met namen
amel, fatie en adol van de zaak,

Sermittelen

permitteende haarsleiden wijders
 om Sig niet alle geoorloofde hand-
 teekingen en strafquies, obbet god en moe-
 tere door de speekwet te moegen reddien
 en eenen

Oob verlaast meergem. J^r: abraham
 Decker Sig als borgte intekoneeren
 Dat soort: vagegesenen in a eerste
 huus agter een volgendo jaaren
 De diaconij Offer pleaste om eenig
 onderhoud mit dijken lastig valien
 of alimentatie verorberen. Onder
 verband als na regten

Dat aldus daagend der Secretarie voor
 ten Overstaan van Michiel Lentz en Pieter
 Walravens als getuigen

J. H. getuigen

M. Lentz

P. Walravens

P. Decker

J. hemmiffervanrij

H. J. Egeling

67.

Mij

Wijden den 12: October 1734.

Commissaris voor Mij Willem van Kerkhof
laatste geswore Chirurg ten politieque Secretarie
Arthur van Cabo de Goeje hooij Trefent de
Maren: Getuigen, den Onderkoorman en Secret.
der Wc. Kamer Dr. Jacob Leever als hier toe
vto het College van Heeren Meesteren des
Gaede, Commissioneerende den Obedel en nietaten:
Ichay tyde de Vrijwartin Prostetta van Bougis,
Onnes Gevommert, dewelke volgens geestri.
Werde permisie vanden Edelz heer Gouverneur
en C. tydt: Politieque Regt des Gouverne.
ments verclaard te Emanciperen, vry te
Geven en eyg. Slaven dienstbaarheid te ontslae,
Gelyk Emanciperen, Vrijaf en eyg. Slaven
dienstbaarheid ontslae. Bij deser, liekere Slave
Mijd Gen: Prostetta van Pensalei in eigendom
Aangehoudt Letbende de bovengen. Prostetta van
Bougis Westhalvez der Compt: in quaetijc
als rooms was veronttreerde van al het
rest en eigendom dat tot dato Deses op
Gem: mygezeven heeft gehad, vermeende
haar dijders omgaen lig met alle Georloofde
Handtearinge en Proficijns Met God en Met
eene door de Wereld te moegen predolezen en
Erneuen. —

Commissarieerde mede der Surgeant Dr. Fedrik
Ruisfou, dewelke verclaarde hem als Aborg te

interponeeren

interpretieren dat meergem. Rotetta van Bengalen
 in de eerste vier jaren een volgenden de jaaren
 de diaconij diep plaatso om enig onderhoud
 niet te lastig vallen nos alimentaria
 verfoeken, onder verband van deszelfs perfo-
 res Goeden als na tegen.

Wat aldus gescreide ter Secretarie voort: int
 bijvoeg van Pater Paulus Name ex Albert
 Lubbock Int als getuigen.

Als getuigen

P. Name
 P. Schmidt

D. W. G.

P. Rijssen

M. Remise van Mij

W. K. R. M.

Eggers