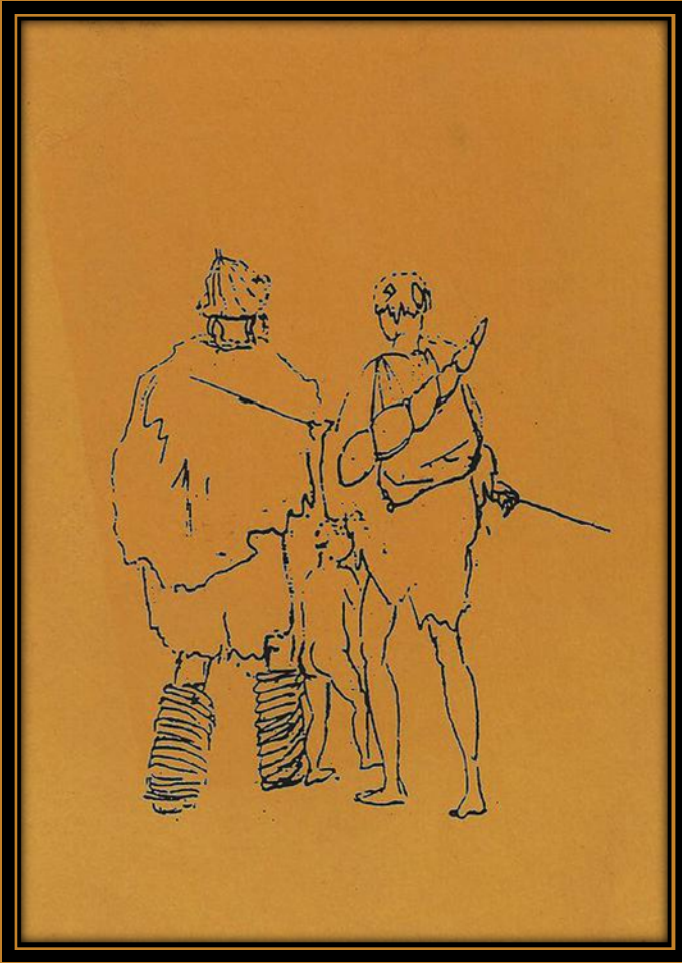


UL No. 02



*At war with Society...*  
did God hear?

the curious baptism in  
1705 of a 'Hottentot'  
infant named

**Ismael**

# Uprooted Lives

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

**Mansell G Upham**

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*Uprooted Lives* is an occasional series published by  
*Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years*

<http://www.e-family.co.za/ffv/ui45.htm>

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Editor: Delia Robertson

Design & Layout: Delia Robertson

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# Uprooted Lives

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

Mansell G. Upham



*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, sauce 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' accursed,  
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*

**S**ince 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 indigenes 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-eurafrican' 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 16<sup>th</sup> century has hitherto been unearthed. The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries have been more accessible to researchers and historians especially in view of the more legible and easier-to-read records. The 17<sup>th</sup> 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 (1955-2004)** & **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 trans-littoral 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 Khoe/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*<sup>1</sup>, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uijterste 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

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<sup>1</sup> *Buiten comptoiren* 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'].



be summed up by the following key words: fort, penal settlement, cemetery, hospital, 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 their 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 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.*:



## 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*)

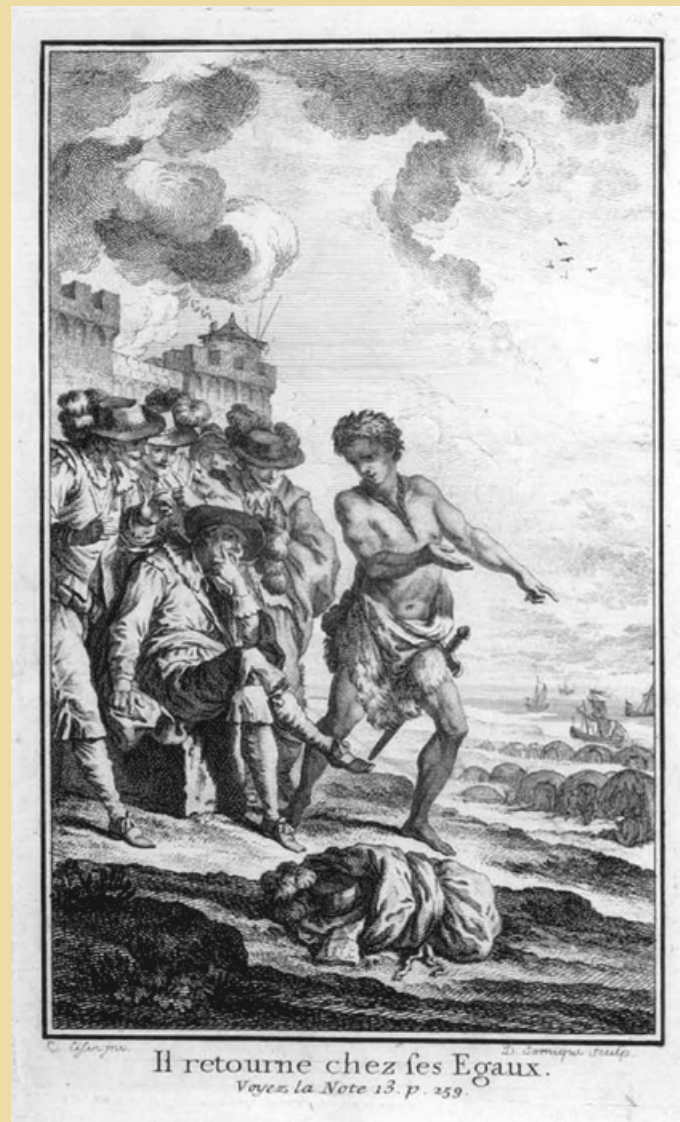
Thereafter the *rixdaalder* (*rixdollar*), abbreviated as *Rds* replaced these as the unit of account and converted generally to the amount of 2.5 to 3 *florins* per *rixdollar*. (1 *rixdollar* = 1 *real* = 3 *florins* = 48 *stuivers*). For the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Spanish-American *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*.





## *At war with Society . . .*

Did God hear?



the curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named

# Ismael

Mansell George Upham  
Helderstroom Farm, Bosjesveld (November 2000)  
/ Revised Tokyo, Japan (May 2012)



“The first day when we were come into the harbour three ['Hottentots']  
 came aboard with our shallop two men and a woman,  
 and filled the whole ship with their stink.  
 If one gave the men a scrap of tobacco they danced and leapt  
 and called therewith Hot: Hot: Hot;;  
 and both men and woman pushed their Carotzes aside  
 and let their privities be seen and called out repeatedly  
*de Dieber 'had' de Domine van Hammerfoort, Hammerfoort*  
*[The Devil 'had' the Dominee of Hammerfoort [Amersfoort],*  
 which no doubt they had learned from the sailors.  
 For such dishonest dancing they got tobacco enough,  
 And put it in a little bag which they had hanging on the front of their necks”.

**Christoffel Langhansz**  
 visiting the Cape of Good Hope (1694)





On 22 November 1705 the Rev. **Petrus Kalden** baptized the child of the 'Hottentot' woman named **Jacoba** (father unknown) at Cape Town's newly consecrated *Groote Kerk*. Situated in Adderley Street, the church (building completed December 1703) was consecrated during Kalden's ministry (6 January 1704). The child was given the Bible-derived name of *Ismael* - a name which in Hebrew (*Ishmael*) and Arabic (*Ismail*) - both Semitic languages - means "God will hear". The baptism was witnessed by the Orphan Chamber's secretary, **Albert Coopman** and his second wife **Maria Bergh**.

*22 nov[ember]: [1705] een kind van een onbekende vader, en wiens moeder is een Hottentottin genaamt **Jacoba** en welke getuyge syn **Aalbert Coopman** en **Maria Bergh**, gen[aem]t **Ismael**.<sup>2</sup>*

Who was **Jacoba**? So far, nothing further about her has been found. If she had embraced the Christian faith, no evidence of her baptism has come to light despite her assumed or ascribed Christian name. The man who fathered her son **Ismael** remains anonymous. Whether her son was mixed race (half European or White), or unadulterated 'Hottentot', or already either *Bastaard Hottentot* or *Bastaard* - as such people came to be designated, remains unknown.

**Bastaard Hottentots** - generally the offspring of indigenous Khoe / San mothers and non-indigenous slave fathers. Instinctively conscious about their tenuous 'legal freedom' through their 'Hottentot' mothers, they were equally and constantly aware of their illegitimacy through their enslaved ('socially dead') non-aboriginal fathers and when colony-bound - they invariably became officially indentured and effectively 'enslaved'.

**Bastaards** - 'product' of Europeans and indigenous Khoe / San asserting their legal freedom via both their white fathers but also their 'Hottentot' mothers - not necessarily at the same time. Unable to withstand their entrenched White / European-descended brothers monopolizing their mother's folk's watering holes, they trekked away and into the interior. In Dutch "bastard" means "mongrel" or "half-caste", as well as, indeed far more often than "illegitimate".<sup>3</sup>

Had the father been Christian, the usual practice would be to record him (often even when his actual identity was known) as "an unknown Christian" (*een onbekende Christen*).

Could the biological father, known to or unknown to Kalden, have been Muslim? We know nothing more about **Ismael** and his mother **Jacoba**. What makes this baptismal entry exceptional is not only the choice of the child's name - generally considered Muslim by association - but also the fact that during the period (1674-1705), no baptisms are recorded at the Cape for any aborigines or children of aborigine mothers. The last baptism of a child by an autochthon mother was **Anthonij** - the illegitimate son of the (in)famous Goringhaicona woman **Eva Meerhoff** (born **Krotoa**) (c.1643-1674), who was baptized (6 August 1673).<sup>4</sup> Ever since Dutch occupation of the Cape (1652) and prior to 1673, there were only **two** recorded baptisms of 'Hottentots': **Eva** (3 May

<sup>2</sup> Dutch Reformed Archives (DRC/A): G1 8/1 (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) (December 1695-30 October 1708), p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Ross, 'Going Beyond the Pale: On the roots of White Supremacy in South Africa', *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1994), p. 230, n. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Who were the Children of Eva Meerhoff?', *Capensis*, no. 4 of 1998, pp. 13-14.



1662) and **Florida** (3 March 1669)<sup>5</sup> together with the baptisms of Eva's three legitimate children and her one other illegitimate child: **Jacobus, Pieterella, Salomon** – children fathered by **Peter Meerhoff** (from Copenhagen) and “procreated by a natural autochthonous African woman” (*geprocreeert bij een Natuurlijke Ingeboorene Africaanse Vrouw*) and **Jeronimus** (father unknown). It is only 32 years later that we again find indigenes - **Jacoba** and her child **Ismael** - participating in the non-indigenous and fundamental Christian rite of baptism.

The statement by Elphick and Shell that “so far as is now known, Eva was the only [*sic*] full-blooded [*sic*] Khoikhoi baptised into the Reformed faith at the Cape in the Company period”<sup>6</sup> thus needs to be revised. In fact, **Eva**, notwithstanding, there were also the short-lived autochthon infant who was ‘rescued’ from being buried alive, confiscated and baptized **Florida** (1669), and much later, Jacoba's child, baptised **Ismael** (1705). We also ought to bear in mind that Krotoa need not necessarily have been full-blooded. We need to consider recorded physical descriptions of her and also the very real possibility that members of the motley Goringhaicona clan (called by the *Dutch Watermans* or *Harry's people* and later *Our Hottentots*) to whom she belonged, were possibly even mixed race given their peculiar make-up and distinctive life-style, their geographical *raison d'être* and long association and interaction, initially with Portuguese, but later more from the early 1620s already, with Dutch, English, Danish and French ships, regularly stopping over at the Cape.

Thereafter no more aborigines were baptized locally by Kalden. His ministry at the Cape was abruptly terminated (1707). By 1712 - the year preceding the devastating 1713 smallpox epidemic - no other persons designated *Hottentot* are to be found in that same baptismal register. The return of Krotoa's daughter, **Pieterella Meerhoff** (died 1713), wife of **Pieter Zaaijman** and her extended family to the Cape from Mauritius (1708 & 1709), however, did mean the re-appearance of more persons of ‘Hottentot’ descent in the Groote Kerk's baptismal register, namely her sons **Johannes & Christiaan** (baptized jointly 17 February 1709) and children of her daughter **Maria Zaaiman (Maijke)** (died 1713) by **Hendrik Abrahamsz de Vries: Daniel, Jacob & Pieter** (baptized jointly 4 November 1708) and **Isaak** (baptized 12 April 1711). Ishmael's baptism was an extraordinary event. After Kalden only one other person during the period researched – a slave boy of Muslim background – was baptized at the Cape with the name **Ismaël**. This ceremony took place (9 November 1710). We shall return to this baptism at the conclusion to this article.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Mansell G. Upham, *In Memoriam: FLORIDA* (born 23 January 1669 – died April 1669) - Mythologising the *Hottentot* 'practice' of infanticide - Dutch colonial intervention & the *rooting out* of Cape aboriginal custom', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2001), pp. 5-22.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Elphick & Robert Shell 'Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, settlers, slaves and free blacks, 1652-1795', pp. 187-188 in Richard Elphick & Hermann Giliomee (eds.): *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840* (Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town 1992).

<sup>7</sup> Two other instances of the name were found in the records of Cape slave purchases for (1658-1725) [Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves & Free Blacks* (Tafelberg, Cape Town 1977)], pp. 160 & 168). The slave **Ismael van Batavia** aged 14/15 sold (17 June 1692) by **Joan Steen** to **Willem Padt** for Rds 50 & the slave **Ismael van Macassar** aged 24 sold (with **Domingo van Aroe**) by **Cornelis Keeleman** (skipper of the *De Spiegel*) to free-burgher **Jan Mostert** for Rds 130 (11 May 1695). On the name's recurrence, see J.L. Hattingh's article 'Naamgewing aan Slawe, Vryswartes en Ander Gekleurdes', *Kronos*, vol. 6 (1983), p. 16.



How did the *Hottentottin* **Jacoba** and her son come to be singled out and be stage centre in 1705? Why did **Jacoba** ‘settle’ for the biblical, but exclusive, name **Ismael** for her son? Did Rev. Kalden or the Church intervene or indoctrinate **Jacoba** or decide for her? Was the name suggested by her sponsors, the Coopmans?

**Maria Bergh** (baptized Cape 1 March 1682) 2<sup>nd</sup> daughter to Cape-born *halfslagh* freed slave **Anna de Conink** and **Oloff Bergh** (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) & granddaughter of **Angela / Engela (Maaij Ans(i)ela van Bengale**; married Cape (1 January 1702) widower of thrice-wedded **Agn(i)eta van der Graght / Graft** (from Gorcum [Gorinchem]), sick-conforter (*krankbesoeker*) **Albert Koopman / Coopman** (from Hilversum but born in Naerden); they had the following children: (1) **Olof Koopman** baptized (15 November 1699)<sup>8</sup> [; (2) **Albertus Olof Koopman** baptized 22 February 1705 (witnesses: *de capteyn Olof Bergh en syn Huysvrouw Anna de Konink*)<sup>9</sup>; **Maria Bergh** married (2) 3 July 1707 **Johannes Visser / Vischer** (from Amsterdam), *Onderkoopman*.

Coopman’s 1st wife was also an influential woman in her own right:

**A(n)gn(i)eta van der Graaf(f) / Graft / Graght** from Gorcum [Gorinchem] arrived at the Cape (1676) on flute *Aardenburgh* [was she related to 1st wife of Rev. **Burenus, Juffr. Magdalena van de Graeff?**] she married: (1) Cape 1 March 1676 **Laurens Visscher / Visser van Wanerede uyt Hessen-landt** [Wanfried] (arrived 1666 on *Vergulde Tijgeri*); married (2) c. 1685<sup>10</sup> **Jacob Madsen Roodsteen / Rootsteen** (from Copenhagen); married (3) 3 February 1692 **Albertus Coopman** (from Naerden); she died Cape (c. 1699/1700).

Did **Jacoba** choose the name herself? Did the revered presence of Kalden’s immediate, but enshrined, neighbour **Shaikh Yusup** (1626-1699) – that exiled wise man of Islam – and the very recent removal of his Muslim adherents (September 1704), influence Kalden’s choice of the name **Ismael**? This was in the year preceding the baptism of Jacoba’s son. Did Kalden as a crusading minster (*predikant*), perhaps triumphantly appropriate a Muslim-associated name for his new-found, font-confined christened conscript: the infant **Ismael**?

## The name **Ishmael**

*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1975) defines *Ishmael* as follows:

**Outcast, one at war with society. Hence [Ishmael] ~ITE n.[oun] (Gen.[esis] xvi. 12)]**

*The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1955), informs us the following about the name *Ishmael*:

**Hebrew proper name = God will hear. Proper name of Hagar [sic]; hence, An outcast; one ‘whose hand is against every man, and every man’s hand against him’ (Gen. xvi 12), one at war with Society 1899. Hence Ishmaelite (a descendant of I.[shmael], as the Arabs claim to be): Ishmaelitic, Ishmaelitish.**

<sup>8</sup> Baptism not in De Villiers/Pama.

<sup>9</sup> Baptism is deleted in the baptismal record.

<sup>10</sup> Marriage untraced in the records – perhaps civil ceremony only or performed by an *en passant* Lutheran minister?



## The Biblical *Ishmael*

Ishmael makes his occidental début in Genesis (xvi 11) prior to God's covenant with the patriarch Abram, who, on becoming "the father of nations", becomes Abraham:

"Now Sar'ai, Abram's wife, bore him no children. She had an Egyptian maid whose name was Hagar; and Sar'ai said to Abram, "Behold now, the LORD has prevented me from bearing children; go in to my maid; it may be that I shall obtain children by her." And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sar'ai. So, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, Sar'ai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her maid, and gave her to Abram her husband as a wife. And he went in to Hagar, and she conceived; and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked with contempt on her mistress. And Sar'ai said to Abram, "May the wrong done to me be on you! I gave my maid to your embrace, and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked on me with contempt. May the LORD judge between you and me!" But Abram said to Sar'ai, "Behold, your maid is in your power; do to her as you please." Then Sar'ai dealt harshly with her, and she fled from her.

The angel of the LORD found her by a spring of water in the wilderness, the spring on the way to Shur. And he said, "Hagar. Maid of Sar'ai, where have you come from and where are you going?" She said, "I am fleeing from my mistress Sar'ai." The angel of the LORD said to her, "Return to your mistress, and submit to her." The angel of the LORD also said to her, "I will so greatly multiply your descendants that they cannot be numbered for multitude." And the angel of the LORD said to her, "Behold, you are with child, and shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ish'mael [God hears]; because the Lord has given heed to your affliction. He shall be a wild ass of a man, his hand against every man and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen." So she called the name of the LORD who spoke to her, "Thou art a God of seeing"; for she said, "Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him? Therefore the well was called Beer-la'hai-roi [the well of one who sees and lives]; it lies between Kadesh and Bered.

And Hagar bore Abram a son; and Abram called the name of his son, whom Hagar bore, Ish'mael. Abram was eighty-six years old when Hagar bore Ish'mael to Abram".

Thereafter a lesser 'chosen' Ish'mael makes a few more appearances in the Genesis story.<sup>11</sup>

"And God said to Abraham, "As for Sar'ai your wife, you shall not call her name Sar'ai, but Sarah shall be her name. I will bless her, and moreover I will give you a son by her; I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall come from her." Then Abraham fell on his face and laughed, and said to himself, "Shall a child be born to a man who is a hundred years old? Shall Sarah, who is ninety year old, bear a child? And Abraham said to God, "O that Ish'mael might live in thy sight!" God said, "No, but Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac [meaning *he laughs*]. I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his descendants after him. As for Ish'mael, I have heard you; behold, I will bless him and make him fruitful and multiply him exceedingly; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation. But I will establish my covenant with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to you at this season next year".

Abraham then takes the 13-year old Ish'mael and all the slaves and circumcises them all. After Isaac's birth there is tension in the household of Abraham and Sarah, who were not only man and wife - but half-siblings sharing the same biological father (but not, we are emphatically instructed, the same mother):

"But Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had born to Abraham, playing with her son Isaac. So she said to Abraham, "Cast out this slave woman with her son; for the son of this slave woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac." And the thing was very displeasing to

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<sup>11</sup> *Genesis* xvi 1-16; xvii 15-27; xxi 9-21; xxv 9-11, 12-18; xxxvii 28 & xxxix 1.





Abraham on account of his son. But God said to Abraham, "Be not displeased because of the lad and because of your slave woman; whatever Sarah says to you, do as she tells you, for through Isaac shall your descendants be named. And I will make a nation of the son of the slave woman also, because he is your offspring." So Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, along with the child, and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.

When the water in the skin was gone, she cast the child under one of the bushes. Then she went, and sat down over against him a good way off, about the distance of a bowshot; for she said, "Let me not look upon the death of the child." And as she sat over against him, the child lifted up his voice and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar from heaven, and said to her, "What troubles you, Hagar? Fear not; for God has heard the voice of the lad where he is. Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him fast with your hand; for I will make him a great nation. Then God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the skin with water, and gave the lad a drink. And God was with the lad, and he grew up; he lived in the wilderness, and became an expert with the bow. He lived in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took a wife for him from the land of Egypt".

Ish'mael next makes an appearance at his father's funeral where he helps his half-brother Isaac to bury the old man. His descendants are now listed.

"These are the descendants of Ish'mael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's maid, bore to Abraham. These are the names of the sons of Ish'mael, named in the order of their birth: Neba'ioth, the first-born of Ish'mael; and Kedar, Abdeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadad, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and kedemah. These are the sons of Ish'mael and these are their names, by their villages and by their encampments, twelve princes according to their tribes. (These are the years of the life of Ish'mael, a hundred and thirty-seven years; he breathed his last and died, and was gathered to his kindred.) They dwelt from Hav'i-lah to Shur, which is opposite Egypt in the direction of Assyria; he settled over against all his people".

His descendants, the *Ishmaelites*, are no longer the blood relations removed, but already a separate people who later purchase Jacob's youngest son, Joseph, from his many brothers.

### The Koranic *Ismail*

Abraham's first-born son, Ismail, makes numerous appearances in the Quran<sup>12</sup>. He is one of the "Men of Constancy and Patience", the apostle and prophet most "acceptable in the sight of his Lord". He is *zabihullah* - the chosen sacrifice of God in Muslim tradition. When Abraham told him of the sacrifice, he became "the fountainhead of the Arabian Ummat" and in his posterity became "the Apostle of God" earning the title of "Sacrifice to God". Roving in the desert surrounding Mecca, he and his mother Hagar were saved by the well of Zamzam (also known as the 'Well of Hagar'). At the time of the "clash of nations" he became the "founder of the new Arab nation". He is revered for having built "the house of Abraham" (the Kaaba) in Mecca and is regarded as the "founder of original Islam".<sup>13</sup> The festival *Eid-ul-Korban* ('Day of Sacrifice') commemorates the prophet Ibrahim's sacrifice to Ismail.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> viz. ss. ii 125-129; vi 86; xix 54-55 & xxi 85.

<sup>13</sup> *The Holy Quran* – translation / commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (Islamic Propagation Centre International, Lahore 1946). I am indebted to Ruth Labuschagne for these references.

<sup>14</sup> I.D. du Plessis, *The Cape Malays* (Maskew Miller, Cape Town 1944), pp. 14 & 22.



## Judæo-Christian and Eurocentric views of *Ishmael*

In Christianised Europe and those parts of the world that fell prey to European colonialism, the *un*-typically 'Christian' name *Ishmael* appears to have carried over a particular meaning with negative (proto-racist?) connotations. The name *Ishmael* evokes the story of Abraham's first-born (but illegitimate) outcast son who had to make way for Abraham's *chosen* (and legitimate) second son. But it is only the negative aspects of the biblical story's namesake that have been retained. *Ishmael* is thus, more often than not, associated by Jews, and later Christians, with the 'other' - especially other non-Jewish Semites - ie the Arabs, otherwise known as the *Ishmaelites* being the descendants of Ishmael - and ultimately non-tolerance, non-acceptance, non-inclusion, alienation, violence and terrorism. *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (1955) defines *Is(h)maelite* as "a name formerly sometimes given (especially) by Jews) to the Arabs as descendants of Ishmael, and so to Mohammedans generally".

The name is further embedded and perpetuated in Occidental memory by the *Ishmaelians* an Islamic sect maintaining that Isma'el, and not Moussa, ought to be Imam'. According to *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (1955) *Ismaelian*, *Ismaïlian*, derives from the proper name 'Ismael' or 'Ismaïl' being a "member of a sect of the Shiite branch of Islam which held that, at the death of Djafar Madeck, the Imamship ought to have descended to the posterity of his deceased elder son Ismaïl, and not to the surviving younger son Mousa, to whom he left it". In the tenth century they formed a secret society, from which sprang *the Assassins*. The latter are described as a band of Carmathians, collected by Hassan-Ben-Sabah, called the *Old Man of the Mountain*, because he made Mount Lebanon his stronghold. This band was the terror of the world for two centuries, when it was put down by Sultan Bib'aris. The assassins indulged in *hashish* (bahng), an intoxicating drink and from this liquor received their name (AD 1090).<sup>15</sup>

Notwithstanding the original Ishmael's initial accursed, but avenged, state (***He shall be a wild ass of a man, his hand against every man and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen***), there is ultimately divine *acceptance* of this outcast son and separate provision is finally made for Ishmael after Hagar's **second** expulsion. God eventually reassures Abraham: *I will bless him and make him fruitful and multiply him exceedingly; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation.*

Why would European Christians later ignore this positive outcome and divine reconciliation by encapsulating into this forename only the negative elements of the original story? By baptizing and naming the child of a Cape aborigine *Ismael*, what message did the Rev. Kalden, the Church Council (consisting (March 1706) of the following elders: **Willem Corssenaar, Cornelis Stevensz Botma, Abraham Poullé, Michiel Ley, J.H. Carnak** & deacons **Daniel Zevenhoven, J. van Hoorn, Jan Laurensz & Jan Oberholster**)<sup>16</sup>, his congregation (*gemeente*) and the Reformed Church send out concerning the limits or extent of their acceptance of the 'Hottentot' and even other heathens or pagans? Was the name a compromise amongst privileged Christians

<sup>15</sup> Brewer: *The Dictionary of Phrase & Fable*.

<sup>16</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *The Defence of Willem Adriaan van der Stel* (W.A. Richards & Sons, Cape Town 1897), Annexures O 1&2, pp. 167-168.



reluctant to share “God’s Kingdom” with converts who were culturally alien? Although Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey ascribe this attitude too hastily and too liberally to all ‘whites’, the sentiments were nevertheless quite real, certainly amongst some of the free-burgher population and ruling administration:<sup>17</sup>

“ ... because whites appear to have regarded their identity as ‘Christians’ as a key characteristic distinguishing them from other groups, they did not consider religious conversion to be a priority”.

### Reformed Church’s inability to convert the Heathen at the Cape of Good Hope

“There is no doubt, but that the Hottentots might be easily converted to the Christian faith: but it is to be much doubted, whether any body will ever trouble themselves with the conversion of these plain honest people, unless it should appear to have more connection that it seems to have at present with political advantages”.

**Anders Sparrman,**

*A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle  
Round the World and to the Country of the Hottentots  
and the Caffres from the year 1772-1776*

The Dutch VOC settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, was a fluid but hierarchic microcosm of Company officials, soldiers, sailors, artisans and ‘inhabitants’ (free-burghers), servants (*knechts*), *Mardijkers*<sup>18</sup>, ‘free-blacks’, political exiles, slaves, convicts and *Dutch Hottentots*. The last-mentioned were local Khoe / San who were gradually absorbed and culturally assimilated into the Dutch colony. Worth contrasting are the social hierarchies and *separate* ‘compounds’ (*kampongs*) of contemporary Batavian colonial society as reflected in one of its statutes: “... ships’ officers, inhabitants, Company servants, *Mardyckers* [usually free persons of colour that were mercenaries for the VOC], *Chinamen* [Chinese], *Moors* [Muslims] and *Gentives* [Hindus]”.<sup>19</sup>

The Dutch never quite embraced fully (or physically) the autochthons (‘Hottentots’ and ‘Bushmen’) whose land they came to colonize - especially in terms of religion, miscegenation, integration and assimilation. This arms-length co-existence is generally accepted uncritically or simply ignored. The singular example of **Krotoa (Eva Meerhoff)** is always cited. We are invariably informed that she was the colony’s only [*sic*] indigene to be baptised and marry according to Christian rites during the VOC period.<sup>20</sup> Her legacy as a failed “experiment in civilization” and diplomatic concession is presumed and perpetuated, serving as a questionable justification for the (undramatic?) *exeunt* by aborigines from the colony’s stage centre and apparent non-absorption into, and forced removal away from, Cape colonial society during the entire VOC period. Only once the frontiers begin to expand do colonists interface more intensely with aborigines - even cohabiting with their women. Enter the ***Bastaard*** ... the ***Bastaard Hottentot*** ... the ***Griqua*** ...

<sup>17</sup> See entry under ‘Christianity’ in their joint exercise in abridgment, *A Dictionary of South African History*, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> Foreign-born ex-slaves granted burgher status at Batavia and other parts of the VOC-empire.

<sup>19</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Received, 1695-1708*, p. 227.

<sup>20</sup> This myth is perpetuated by the recent multi-disciplinary work by Emile Boonzaier, Candy Malherbe, Andy Smith & Penny Berens, *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (David Philip, Cape Town 1996), p. 76.



To what extent did the VOC and the Dutch accommodate and integrate the aboriginal Khoe / San into colonial society? The converse must also be asked: to what extent did the Khoe / San accommodate and integrate the colonial Dutch into their non-colonial or inter-colonial world? To what extent were the Khoe / San peoples effaced; or put, differently: to what extent did these peoples efface *themselves*? Micro-historical and genealogical research and re-evaluation of extant records and recorded individuals - including women - from the earliest period of regular contact, collision and relations<sup>21</sup>, help to provide answers to these questions. Macro-historians often neglect to identify individually the characters in their drama and to contextualize these people thereby countering questionable generalizations about human behaviour. Unhelpful in this regard are absolute and unsubstantiated statements such as that by De Wet in his chapter on the social and cultural life of the Cape's free-burgher population: ..."in the original sources there is no [sic] evidence of general social intercourse between the free population and the Hottentots".<sup>22</sup> The role of the Reformed Church *vis-à-vis* the 'Hottentot' and 'Bushmen' and the church's reluctance, if not inaction, in terms of converting or even attempting any wholesale baptism of these original inhabitants requires further micro-historical investigation as does Khoe / San aversion, reluctance or inability to be converted and successfully 'civilized'.

### How do academics assess the situation?

"A Parisian is taken aback when he is told that the Hottentots  
cut off one testicle from their male children.  
The Hottentots are perhaps surprised that the Parisians keep two".  
**Voltaire**, *Philosophical Dictionary*: Circumcision

Elphick and Shell<sup>23</sup> summarize inadequately, also Eurocentrically, Dutch attempts at converting the Khoe / San. They fail to explain the void – well over a century - between initial abortive attempts at proselytizing indigenes and the eventual forced removal and herding of the remnant 'Hottentots' and Bushmen into the mission stations by the 1790s together with the cultural, linguistic, religious and sexual virtual effacement that ensued:

"... the speed at which Christianity grew at the Cape was largely dependent on the zeal of Europeans. However, other than Moravian Georg Schmidt, who won a few converts in the interior at Genadendal between 1737 and 1744, there were no fulltime missionaries independent of the congregational structure of the Dutch Reformed Church before the 1790s. Some strands of Calvinist theology were indifferent or even hostile to missions, and the reformed churches had no tradition of clerical orders independent of local congregations, such as those from which mission societies had developed in Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, the Dutch Reformed Church did conduct successful missions in this period; for example, in Formosa, Ceylon and Amboina. It did

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<sup>21</sup> The reductionist categories are derived from Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800* (translated by Ritchie Robertson, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 1989).

<sup>22</sup> "in die oorspronklike bronne is daar geen [sic] bewyse gevind van gewone sosiale verkeer tussen vryliede en Hottentotte nie" [Dr Con G. de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707* (Historiese Publikasie Vereniging, Kaapstad 1981), p. 128].

<sup>23</sup> Richard Elphick & Robert Shell 'Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, settlers, slaves and free blacks, 1652-1795', pp. 187-188 (in Richard Elphick & Hermann Giliomee (eds.): *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840* (Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town 1992)).





so, however, at the request and expense of the VOC, which wanted to combat Islam and Roman Catholicism in these regions. These geopolitical motives did not apply to the Cape...

... Despite the absence of funds for proselytisation a number of early Company officials and predikanten (ministers), influenced by precedents in Portuguese and Dutch spheres of the Indies, hoped that the Khoikhoi would adopt both Christianity and the Dutch language and culture. The first commander at the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, promoted these ends by raising Khoikhoi children in his own home. One of his *protegées*, the famous Eva, learned fluent Dutch and Portuguese, adopted western clothes and customs, and became a practising Christian. After Van Riebeeck's departure in 1662 she married the talented Danish surgeon Pieter van Meerhoff in a Christian wedding financed by the Company. On her husband's death a few years later Eva became a prostitute and drunkard. Wandering between two cultures in which she felt equally alien, she abandoned her children to the mercies of the Council of Policy. The Council imprisoned her at various times on Robben Island where, in 1674, she died ...

... Along with the very public tragedy of Van Riebeeck's promising *assimilée* [Eva Meerhoff], there were several other seventeenth-century Khoikhoi who declared their allegiance to Christianity and Dutch culture, but who were not baptised [*sic*]. One committed suicide, and others renounced their allegiance. These failures discouraged the Company from further ventures of proselytisation and planned assimilation, though several clergy in the seventeenth century tried to learn the Khoikhoi language and engaged in minor, and usually unsuccessful, proselytisation alongside their pastoral duties. By the eighteenth century the inaction of the Dutch Reformed Church had hardened into a tradition".

Any self-determination on the part of the culturally incompatible, atomised, scattered and itinerant Khoe / San clans is also generally disregarded by these writers. As Sales observes:<sup>24</sup>

"If it was difficult to find the kingpin in the authority structure of the Nguni people, it was completely impossible among the Hottentot. Their social structure was very diffuse, with only small-scale family-groups, headed by clan-leaders. At most a few hundred people acknowledged any one leader, and often they would separate into groups much smaller than that. This was particularly true under the circumstances in which they lived in 1800, having been squeezed from the west by the Dutch and squeezed from the east by the Xhosa".

Heese's careful assessment of the general failure to accommodate or assimilate or convert the indigenous Khoe / San is more concise:<sup>25</sup>

"Other than in the VOC's Eastern possessions, no concerted attempt was made to convert the Khoikhoi. This situation continued unchanged until the end of VOC-rule at the Cape in 1795. Reasons for this are probably twofold: on the one hand, little economic advantage for the VOC could be derived from baptism of the Khoikhoi; on the other hand, the cultural gap between European and Khoikhoi was so wide that the Dutch were reluctant to regard them as 'coloured Netherlands'. In contrast with the Khoikhoi, the Dutch in the East were in contact with groups that culturally were less averse to Europeans. Furthermore, with the arrival of the Dutch in the East, more than a hundred years of physical mixing between the less colour-conscious Portuguese and Orientals had taken place and Eurasians were common especially at the coastal regions of India and Indonesia".<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Jane Sales, *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1975), p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense* (University of the Western Cape, Bellville 1984), p. 16.

<sup>26</sup> "Anders as in die Oosterse besittings van die VOC is daar nie gepoog om die Khoikhoi doelbewus te kersten nie. Hierdie situasie sou onveranderd voortduur tot aan die einde van die VOC.-beheer aan die Kaap in 1795. Die verklaring is waarskynlik tweeledig: Enersyds sou die kerstening van die Khoikhoi geen ekonomiese voordeel vir die VOC inhou nie; andersyds was die kulturele kloof tussen Europeër en Khoikhoi so groot dat die VOC amptenare nie die Khoikhoi as "gekleurde Nederlanders" sou wou beskou nie. In teenstelling met die Khoikhoi was die Nederlanders in die Ooste met groepe in kontak wat kultureel nie by die Europeërs afgesteek het nie. Verder het daar met die aankoms van die Nederlanders in die Ooste reeds meer as a honderd jaar fisiese



By way of comparison, H.G. Nahuys van Burgst<sup>27</sup> attempts a telling, if not poignant, contemporary (1806) explanation of the effacement of the ‘Hottentots’:

“The Hottentots, the original people who were already inhabiting this region before it was discovered, are all born free. They hire themselves out to the farmers for a time, in exchange for cattle and sheep, after which they often retire inland with their live-stock. They are of a somewhat capricious nature, they seldom remain long in any service and are continually craving for change. Since the discovery of the Cape and the occupation by the Europeans, the number of Hottentots has dwindled to half of what it was. To the shame of one of the most civilised nations, one has, to speak the truth: that the Hollanders themselves must for the greater part be blamed for this. In all other countries the population increased as civilization progressed, and here exactly the opposite happened, the reason being that the poor Hottentot, if not by the government itself, at least under its supervision, has always been suppressed by the inhabitants and farmers of the Colony. With no right, or fairness, the Cape farmer has often driven him out of his small territory, to which no one but the Hottentot was justifiably entitled. The greater the Colony became and the further it expanded, the more need there was of the Hottentots. Yet, in spite of it being good policy therefore, and advisable, to get their numbers if possible, still to increase, these were steadily becoming less and less. The Hottentot, gentlest among all nations, is by the Cape countrymen considered to be of much less value than his slave from the Indies or Africa. The slave has been bought by him for money and should he lose him he reckons that this money is also lost. Should his Hottentot who herds his cattle or does other service die, he knows he can replace him again by another, and instead of less he often gains from the death of his Hottentot servant by not having to pay the wages he has owed him for many years. I hope that one day the unhappy state of the Hottentot will at last open the eyes of the Government of the Cape and cause it to decide to spare no effort to improve their condition”.

### Hottentot disdain for European civilization

“This is the ‘Hottentot’ way.

The old folk always did things in this way and this is why we do things so”.

*(Dat is Hottentots manier,*

*die oud volk altyd zoo makum en daarom ons ook zoo makum).*

“You folk, yes, you think us to be beasts; ha!

And that we are like dogs?

Just what kind of treatment is this?

We are not so, because we would not stand for this.”

*(Die Volk, ja denkum, ons beesten;*

*ha! ons zoo makum als de Honde?*

*Wat manier is dat?*

*Ons niet zoo, want het deugum niet).*

Telling utterances by Hottentots recorded and quoted by **Peter Kolbe**<sup>28</sup>

There is no doubt that the Cape aboriginal population found the colonial presence of their Dutch neighbours (together with all their hangers-on) and the imposition of their cultural (including religious) values incompatible, if not intolerable. We have no reason to assume doubt on their part as to the superiority of their own religious conception of the creation of the universe. In terms of division of labour, they saw the Dutch sea

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vermenging tussen die minder kleurbewuste Portugese en Oosterlinge plaasgevind en het Eurasiërs algemeen voorgekom, veral in die kusgebiede van Indië en Indonesië”.

<sup>27</sup> *Adventures at the Cape of Good Hope in 1806* (Friends of the South African Library, Cape Town 1993), p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> E.H. Raidt, *Afrikaans en sy Europese Verlede* (Nasou Beperk, Goodwood 1985), pp. 111 & 112).



*dogs*<sup>29</sup> as being hopelessly inferior for their men did the work traditionally reserved by Cape indigenes for women. The prolific, but rehashed, pseudo-scientific writings of the numerous 'learned' visitors to the Cape stereotyped, maligned and dehumanised the 'Hottentots' to the point of dismissing them utterly as human beings. The Khoe / San top the list as being the most ridiculed and misunderstood aboriginal peoples in Western-dominated world history. They have been generally portrayed as the very antithesis of the 'noble savage'.<sup>30</sup>

In the hope that they may be converted, an optimistic Jan van Riebeeck, the Cape's first commander, made a point of including the Cape's aborigines in the official prayer that took place at the commencement of each session of the Council of Policy.<sup>31</sup>

“... and [‘if possible’ – added later] to establish and extend in time Thy true Reformed Christian doctrines to these wild, brutal people [‘savages’] ... ( *ende onder dese wilde brutale menschen* [inserted later were the words ... *mogelijck sijnde* ...] *uwe ware gereformeerde Christelijke Leere mettertijt mochte voortgeplant ende verbreijt worden*)...”

Ironically, he had misgivings for he revised the prayer soon thereafter inserting the words “if possible” (*mogelijck sijnde*).

The Rev. **Johannes Overney** (from Friesland) did not mince his words when he dutifully and regretfully informed the *Classis* Amsterdam that even after more than 36 years of Dutch colonial occupation ... “no children of our own Inhabitants, the Hottentots, have been baptized except for one woman [**Eva Meerhoff**], who, having become a member, and her children also baptized – yet this nation is completely averse to our religion, no matter what means we have tried in order to do so (*geen kinderen van onse eigene Inwoonders, de Hottentots, werden gedoopt dan alleen een vrou, die, ledemaet geworden sijnde, haere kinderen ooc gedoopt zijn: doch dese natie is teenemael afkeerigh van onse Godtsdienst, wat middelen daertoe ooc voor desen zijn aangewent*).<sup>32</sup>

Despite initial lip-service to convert the ‘Hottentots’, the Cape’s first sick-comforter **Willem Barentsz: Wylant** in a letter (20 April 1655) to the *Classis* Amsterdam, by pleading in advance (translation is mine) the futility of such an exercise, ‘justified’ his nil return:<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The trial of Huguenot **Pierre Cronjé** (1707) reveals that the aborigines, when roused, also had their own pejorative view of their colonial invaders.

<sup>30</sup> Much has been written on this subject. For a recent example see Z.S. Strother, 'Display of the Body Hottentot' in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business* (editor: Bernth Lindfors (David Philip, Cape Town 1999), pp. 1-61.

<sup>31</sup> Cape Archives (CA): C 1, p.1; *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad* Deel I (1651-1669), p. 1. I am indebted to Lorna Newcomb for alerting me to the inclusion of the Cape's aboriginal population in the official prayer.

<sup>32</sup> C. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, (Hollandsch Afrikaansche Uitgevers Maatschappij v/h Jacques Dusseau & Co, Amsterdam – Kaapstad 1906 & 1907), vol. I, p. 28. The letter is undated but Overney was already at the Cape (1678).

<sup>33</sup> *Vorts wat aengaet dese natie hier te lande ofte dese inwoonders, is een seer arm elendigh volck na siel ende na lichaem; beroft van alle kennisse Godts; leven als het vee, so dat gij niet en kont bemercken datse eenyge maniere van godtdienst hebben ofte datter iets is, die sy eenige eer oft dienst bewisen, maer schint in dat stuck tusschen haer ende het onvernuytge vee van relige ofte godtdienst geen onderscheyt: want sie leven als beesten, die ock nergens geen werck van hebben, noch van saeyen ofte van planten, ofte dat men haer iets toepreft van Godt, die hebben der geen werck van; sodat het haest schint onmogelijck te zijn om haer tot die kennis der waarheyt te brengen, want haer spraecke nyet wel is te leeren. Ock so en willen sij niet in (een?) blijven wonen, want ick al tot twe reysen toe een van haer jonges gehad hebbe bij mij te wonen, daer ick van meende wat goets*



“Henceforth regarding this nation at this place or these inhabitants, they are painfully poor, miserable folk in terms of soul and body; robbed of any knowledge of God; living like cattle, so that we are unable and cannot discern any manner of religion or whether one even exists; not showing any honour or service to Him, it appears that like the dumb beasts in that place, no religion or worship of God exists for them, as they live like beasts, not given to labour, sowing or planting and they do not even recognize God or attempt to know him; so that any speedy attempts to bring them to the Word of God appear to be impossible as their wont is not to learn anything. Also, they do not want to stay in one place [given to wander], as I, after two expeditions, even had two youths live with me, whom I considered worthy of educating, teaching them to read and write and also speech, so as to bring them to the light; but these savages were only intent on living in the wild, and were averse to any control, so that it has been fruitless to win over this nation; this despite the love of Almighty God and those who are capable of being pulled from the darkness and brought to the light of Jesus Christ. Meanwhile I shall not neglect my guilty duty to use all available means, or God Almighty’s love. And in so doing to draw them out of the kingdom of darkness and deliver them from the hands and shackles of Satan and to bring them to the kingdom of His Son; as heartily one wishes that the one journey by God’s grace through His merciful love will serve as an example to these miserable people with whom one cannot be expected to deal without first describing the reality” ...

Effectively nothing happened thereafter except for the baptism of **Krotoa** with the ironic, hopeful but ambiguous name of **Eva** – “the *first* of these indigenous natives, called Hottentots” (*de eerste van dese ingeborene lantsluiden, genaemt Hottentoots*) - which baptism was not even noted in the Company’s Journal, not to mention the confiscation and hurried baptism of the short-lived infant **Florida**.

It is only on 4 July 1697 that an optimistic *Kaapsche Kerkenraad* together with the Rev. Petrus Kalden, report in glowing terms about “the state of the Church in this remotest part of Africa” (*de staat van de Kerk in het uytterste gedeelte van Afrika*) to the *Classis* Amsterdam that “... the Cape Congregation finds itself in a flourishing condition” (*de Kaapshe Gemeente bevindt zich in een bloeienden toestand*) and that any interest in Heathen (if not specifically ‘Hottentot’) conversion was being rekindled:<sup>34</sup>

“Concerning the congregation at the place of my calling, it is in a flourishing condition under God’s blessing, as confirmed by daily attendance of both members to the Holy Supper as well as Heathens who have given themselves to the Christian faith and have been baptized”.

On 4 April 1703 the Rev. **Henricus Beck** and his Church Council at Drakenstein pre-empted the Rev. Kalden by reporting in a letter to the *Classis* Amsterdam that already “we have as a convert one born of Mohammedan parents and member of the sacrificed

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*op te voeden, om hem lesen en schrijven te leeren ende ock van hem haer spraeke te leeren, om door dat middel haer tot het licht der waerheyt te brengen; maer het wilde nyet lucken overmits sie dat lopen int wilde so gewent sijn, datse [haer] nyet en konnen begeven onder subjectie van ons, sodatter luttick hoop schint te wesen van diese natie; doch wat den grooten Godt gelieft aen haer te doen is sijn almogentheyte bekend, diewelcke machtich is om haer te trecken yth die dusternisse en brengen se tot licht soons Jesu Christi. Ondertusschen en sal ick nyet nalaten mijn schuldige plicht om alle mogelijkc middelen te gebrucken oft den grooten Godt beliefsde, door dat middel haer te trecken uth het rijcke der dusternisse ende verlossen sie uth die handen ende banden des Satans ende brengen se tot het rijcke sijns Soons; want het van herten is te wenschen van den goeden Godt dat het hem beliefde sijn genade een reys aen haer te betonen, want het seer arme elendige menschen sijn, diewelcke men qualick sonder schreven kan aensien [C. Spoelstra, vol. I, p. 4].*

<sup>34</sup> *Wat de gemeente aen mijn gedestineerde plaetse aengaet, is onder Godes zeegen nog in bloeyende welstand, aenwassende dagelijx soo van leeden tot H. Avondmaal als van Heydenen die sigh tot het Christen geloof overgeven en laeten doopen. [C. Spoelstra, vol. I, p. 32].*





body of J.[esus] C.[hrist]”<sup>35</sup> expressing the “real wish that the elders inhabitants of this land (the Hottentots) can be brought to the sheep pens of our great God and shepherd so that Ham need no longer be a serf of serfs: it is indeed the wish that only through the Almighty hand of our merciful God will it be possible that conversion of the totality of the heathens will be possible”.<sup>36</sup>

Kalden was quick on the uptake. By baptising **Ismael** the unsuspecting infant of **Jacoba** a *Hottentottin* (1705), he could initiate the process without first having to rely on finding an adult convert acceptable to all his detractors. He never appears to have reported this significant event. Nevertheless he was able to cover his rear by requesting time off to study the 'Hottentot' language. Thus his unequivocal statement of intent *vis-à-vis* the Cape's original inhabitants in his *ex post facto* letter (2 April 1706) to the *Classis* Amsterdam:<sup>37</sup>

“But, Honourable Sirs, the one thing lacking is that this heathen Nation of Hottentots still remains in ignorance without knowledge of the true God and they are strangers to the bonds of mercy. Even though since being here, I have tried to make the language my own and even made much progress in vocabulary, I would need at least one year and a half in order to be more fluent, this would empower me to be of service to these Africans. Give it some consideration Honourable Sirs and convey this to the Honourable Eminent Sirs”.

### Rev. Petrus Kalden (c. 1670-1739)

From Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves, **Petrus Kalden** was the son of the sheriff **Ludwig Kalden** and **Maria ten Barten**. As was the custom amongst Dutch clergy, he signed (Latinized) his name **Petrus Kaldenus**.<sup>38</sup> Arriving at the Cape (1695) on the *Nichtevegt*<sup>39</sup> with the rank of junior merchant, he was appointed minister for the Cape. He was married to **Cornelia van Benthem** (daughter of **Johannes van Benthem**,

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<sup>35</sup> ... hebben wij een, van Muhammedaanse ouders gebooren, tot een proselyt, en lid van het verborgen lighaam J.C. aangenomen.

<sup>36</sup> ... dat onse grote God en herder der schapen, de oude opgeseten deses lants (de Hottentots) tot de schaapkooje van Jezus geliefde te brengen, opdat Cham niet meer een knecht der knechten zijn mogt: 't geen wel te wensen, maar niet als door d'almogende hand van onsen barmhertigen God op die tijd, wanneer de volheid der heidenen sal ingaan, schijnt te komen geschieden [C. Spoelstra, vol. I, p. 34].

<sup>37</sup> Dog tmeest, Eerw. Heeren, dat hier nog ontbreekt, is dat dese hijdense Natie of Hottentotten nog zitten in so een dustere oncunde, buyten kennis van den waren God, en vreemdelingen van de verbonden der genaden. Hebbe mijn vlijt, tsedert mijn aanwesen, al aangewent om haar taal mij ijgen te maken, en so ver geavanceert in woorden, dat indien een jaar of anderhalf mogt afsonderen, om deselve tot meerder volmaakthijd te brengen, soude mij durven sterk maken, om dese Africanen daarin dienst te doen. Geve dit, Eerw. Heeren in bedenking: hebbe daarin ook over aan d'Edele Hoog-Agtbare Heeren Bewinthebberen geschreven.

<sup>38</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Received* (1695-1708), p. 55.

<sup>39</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Received* (1695-1696), *Chamber of Amsterdam* to Simon van der Stel (30 September 1695), p. 3.



minister of Thienhoven) and they had the following children (of whom only two appear to have survived) all baptised at the Cape:

**Simon Andreas** baptised 6 December 1695

**Gerhardus** baptised 27 May 1697<sup>40</sup>

**Cornelia Petronella** baptised 13 June 1700

**Catharina Samilia** baptised 3 July 1701

The *Groote Kerk* was built during his ministry and consecrated (6 January 1704). For future contemplation Kalden even composed verses in Latin which were inscribed above the church's two entrances.<sup>41</sup> Prior to that, church services were held either in the hall of the *Casteel de Goede Hoop* or in the wooden church within the castle walls. Already by December 1677, the site of the present *Groote Kerk* had been set aside for a new cemetery where the remains of those who had been buried within and without the Castle's church (including Eva Meerhoff's and Florida's remains) were re-interred in a common grave over which the foundations of the present-day Dutch Reformed *Groote Kerk* in Adderley Street, were laid.

Amid growing free-burgher dissatisfaction with the colony's administration, Kalden was nick-named **Kalchas** - after Homer's Kalchas, the latter being a soothsayer of dubious popularity - by the disgruntled **Adam Tas** and his followers. In the grievances against commander **W.A. van der Stel**, there were complaints that Kalden - the "so-called preacher" - was "also one of the biggest farmers" (*mede een van de grootste landbouwers*) and that he was religiously inactive spending much more time on his lands than at the pulpit (*gansch geen werk van de godtsdienst ... gemerkt hij zich vrij meer met zijne landerijen dan met zijn predikstoel bemoeit*). Kalden had been singled out by the Lutheran **Henning Hüsing** and his cohorts as one of the official fat-cats at the Cape possessing land together with the governor, the *secunde* **Samuel Elsevier**, the fiscal **Johan Blesius**, the captain **Olof Bergh**, the cellar master **Jacobus de Wet** and the chief surgeon **Willem ten Damme**.<sup>42</sup>

Recalled by the VOC, Kalden's termination of office was ratified reluctantly by the Cape's Church Council (19 April 1707). The council elected unanimously to give him a positive testimonial. He was duly instructed to evacuate the manse (*pastorie*) and to hand over the church records.<sup>43</sup> Slandered by his successor who had been quick to capitalize on Kalden's dismissal, he later won his *crimen injuria* action against the histrionic Rev. **E.F. le Boucq** (April 1708):

"Yes, a person could believe that if the Governor presented a sheep in the clothing of a person, then the ministers would baptize that sheep".

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<sup>40</sup> Hoge has April [*sic*].

<sup>41</sup> See François Valentyn's detailed description of the church *Description of the Cape of Good Hope* (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town 1971), vol. I, pp. 88-95.

<sup>42</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched*, p. 287 (W.A. van der Stel (31 March 1706) to *Heeren Seventeen*, Amsterdam).

<sup>43</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt: *Letters Received*, p. 443.



It was Le Boucq who objected vehemently to baptism being “scandalously misused” at the Cape ... “so much so that it is an abomination” ... listing at least three main objections:<sup>44</sup>

- “the ministers do not determine whether the fathers or mothers are Christian, nor pass the appropriate act of adoption, and simply baptize as the Pope does ...
- some adult slaves (not from the best backgrounds either) are too easily baptized ... admitted to communion ... this being contrary to Church Law ...
- baptized slaves and their baptized children ... are often sold and used in slavery which is against Christian liberty...and this last practice is common throughout India as well”.

After permission to stay on at the Cape for a while longer, Kalden repatriated (23 April 1708) with his wife and two children on the flute *Roosenburgh*.<sup>45</sup> He became the minister at Thamen on the Amstel. In 1713 his memoirs were published. On 2 March 1721 he was sent to Ceylon as minister at Pointe de Gale. Thereafter he became rector of the seminary in Colombo where missionaries were trained. On 11 September 1737 he was honourably discharged and returned to the Netherlands (1738). He died in the Netherlands (31 August 1739). His commitment to missionary work amongst non-Europeans appears to have remained consistent.

### Kalden's Muslim Neighbours

Kalden was granted the farm *Zandvliet* in the Cape Dunes (near present-day Faure) in the district of Stellenbosch (4 January 1699), a farm of 61 morgen and 477 sq. roods. In 1701 a second grant of adjacent land measuring 30 morgen was granted. Kalden sold *Zandvliet* before his departure from the Cape (1 March 1708) to the burgher **Michiel Romond**.

Significantly, Kalden's farm was near the mouth of the Eerste River next to the place where the exiled Macassarese high priest – *den Macassarisse Priester, Schjegh Joseph – Muhammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99) alias Abd Allāh Abū al-Mahāsin al-Tāj al-Khalwātī al-Maqassārī* (known in Sulawesi as *Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa*) but better known in South Africa as **Shaikh Yusup / Yusuf alias Sheik(h) Joseph or Abidin Tadia Tjoessoep**<sup>46</sup> - and his 49 followers were allowed to settle.<sup>47</sup> The area came to be known as the *Macassar Downs* and is still known as Macassar to this day - unlike its namesake the original and historic Makasar on Sulawesi which was renamed post-colonially Ujung Pandang but which ‘politically corrected’ name has subsequently been dropped. Was Kalden granted the farm in anticipation of the death of an ailing Shaikh Yusup and a consequent expected eviction of his followers a few months

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<sup>44</sup> Robert Shell, ‘Religion, Civic Status and Slavery from Dordt to the Trek’, *Kronos*, no. 19 (November 1992), p. 41.

<sup>45</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched*, p. 365.

<sup>46</sup> Achmat Davids, *The Mosques of the Bo-Kaap* (S.A. Institute for Arabic & Islamic Studies, Athlone 1980), Chapter 2 - I am indebted to Ruth Labuschagne for this reference. For a detailed account of the life, teachings and important influence of **Muhammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99)**, see Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (ASAA Southeast Asia Publication Series, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales 2004), pp. 87-108.

<sup>47</sup> Resolution (14 June 1694) [Anna J. Böeseke, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, 1681-1707*, (Nasionale Handelsdrukkery, Kaapstad 1961), vol. III, p. 283].



later following the grant? **François Valentyn (1666-1727)**, a man of the cloth, describes his visit (1705) to *Zandvliet* as follows:<sup>48</sup>



“I was there, and noticed, in addition to the fineness of the property (which yearly brings in much money from the corn, as also from sheep-breeding), two things that gave me cause for wonder. One was the grave of the renowned **Sjeich Joesef** ... who was banished here and died near here, and is buried and honoured with an ornamental Moslem tomb, built up very high of stones. The other was the meeting with a Hottentot, with whom I and Heer *Kalde* talked much of theological matters”.

**François Valentyn (1666-1727)**

Was it on this farm that Kalden did most of his mission work amongst the ‘Hottentots’? The year 1705 is certainly not coincidental. Did Valentyn also meet our **Jacoba** the mother of **Ismael**? The Muslim community at *de mont van d’Eerste Rivier* had consisted of the following persons besides Shaikh Yusup himself:

- 2 wives named **Cara Contoe** and **Cara Pane**.
- 2 concubines named **Monuma** and **Naima**.
- 12 sons and daughters named **Moehama Radja**, **Radeengh Boerne**, **Moehama Hay**, **Moehama Djalani**, **Roemalang**, **Jahamath**, **Care Sangie**, **Siety Caeaty**, **Sanda**, **Sito Romia**, and **Siety Labieba**.
- 14 male and 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 and names have not been given

<sup>48</sup> *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, pp. 198-201.







**Macassar [Makasar / Makassar]**

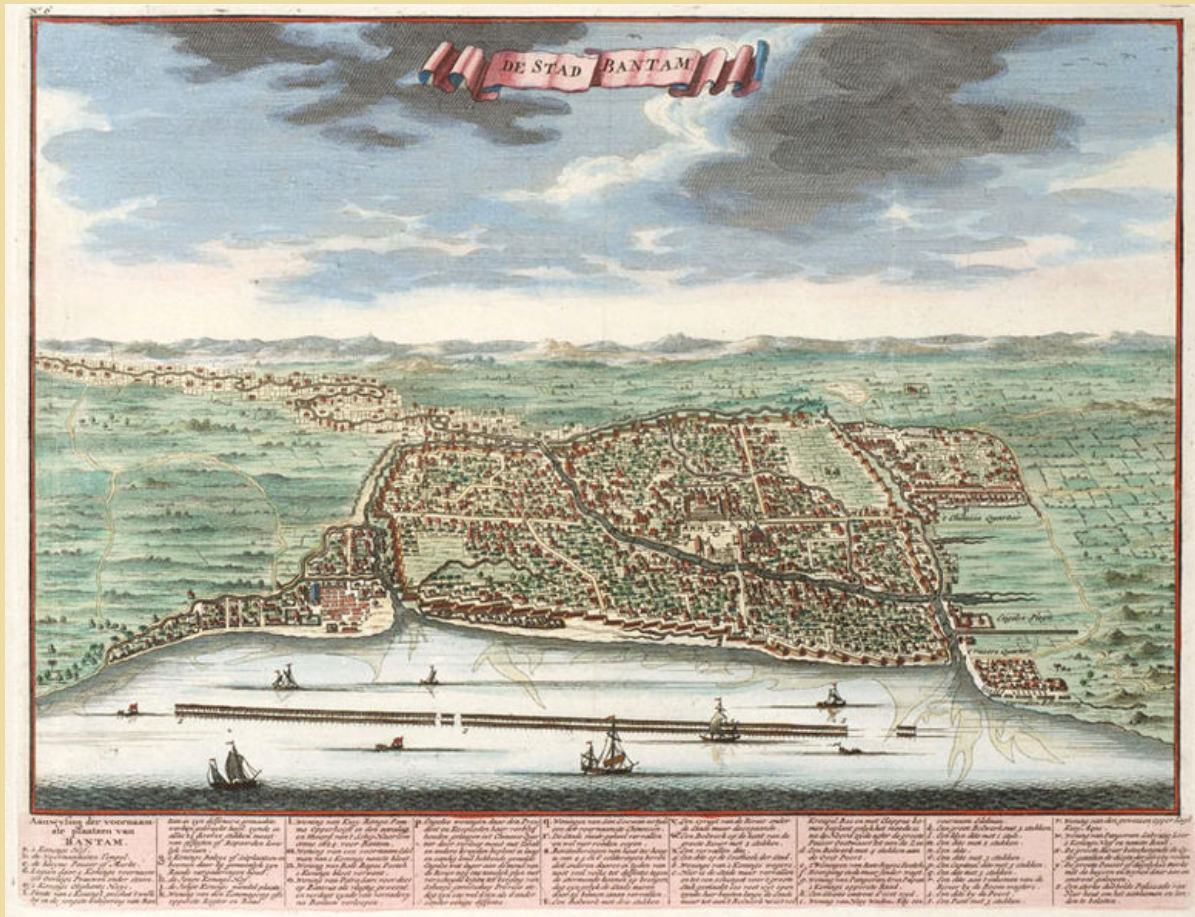
**Shaikh Yusup** was the brother of the king of Goa (Gowa) **Radja Goa** who had his capital at Macassar [Makasar / Makassar]. Davids states that he was a nephew on his mother's side to King **Bisei** of Goa.<sup>49</sup> Gowa was a kingdom in south-western peninsula of Celebes (Sulawesi) concentrated around the city of Makasar which adopted Islam in 1605. In 1671 bands of Makasarese refugees streamed into the sultanate of Banten in western Java [Jawa]. The Muslim teacher Shaikh Yusup was one of these refugees. Already in 1644 he had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca. Although these exiles mostly left for east Java (1673-4), Shaikh Yusup stayed on. He married the sultan's daughter.

At that time Bantam [Banten] was still independent in terms of peace treaties with the VOC. Its ruler **Sultan Ageng** was one of the VOC's chief opponents in the Indonesian archipelago. Also known as **Sultan Tirtayasa**, it was during his reign (1651-1683) that hostilities between the VOC and Banten resumed. These ended in VOC subjugation, the appointment of his rebel son (the 'young Sultan') as puppet and the end of Banten independence. The royal court split into two factions in terms of co-operation with the VOC. The Ageng and the Muslim elite opposed, while his son favoured, VOC support. The VOC was quick to exploit the situation.

<sup>49</sup> Achmat Davids, *The Mosques of the Bo-Kaap* (S.A. Institute for Arabic & Islamic Studies, Athlone 1980), Chapter 2.







## Bantam [Banten]

The Trunajaya rebellion, the collapse of Mataram (1677), fighting in central and east Java, the sultan declaring war on Batavia (1680) and a palace coup, finally resulted in the Dutch recognising Ageng's son. The latter - later known as **Sultan Haaji** (reigned 1682-1687) - deposed his father. Unable to hold onto his father's throne, he sought Dutch intervention submitting Banten to the VOC. The 'old Sultan' surrendered to the Dutch (March 1683) and died in exile at Batavia (1695). His ally, follower and son-in-law, Shaikh Yusup, was captured and banished to Ceylon (1684). Still too close for comfort, he was finally banned to the Cape (1693). He was initially detained at the Castle.



Shaikh Yusup died soon after Kalden's grant (23 May 1699) and was buried at Macassar. The kramat (*keramat*) of Shaikh Yusup is described in later land transfers as the *begraafplaats van de Maccassarsche Paap* at the present-day Macassar. Du Plessis had the following to say about this shrine:<sup>50</sup>

Shaikh Yusup (d. 1699)

<sup>50</sup> I.D. du Plessis, *The Cape Malays* (Maskew Miller, Cape Town 1944), p. 5.



“The site of the tomb at Faure overlooks the farm Zandvliet, formerly the property of the Rev. Kalden, where these exiles lived for ten years. Sjech Yussuf himself died in 1699, but his followers remained at the Cape until 1704, when arrangements were made to take his family back to Macassar. His family left the Cape with the exception of one member, who had married and requested to be allowed to remain behind. The rest of his followers were apparently left at the Cape”.

Following concerted diplomatic pressure from the Makassarese court commencing (as early as July 1699) and after initially refusing to leave the Cape without their menfolk – ‘we all go or none of us go’ - Shaikh Yusup’s widow **Carra Conte / Caro Conte** finally agreed to return to Batavia. The exiles were eventually shipped back (September 1704) aboard the ships *Liefde* and *Spiegel* arriving in Batavia (10 December 1704). A request for the bones of the late Shaikh Yusup by the Macassar king **Radja Goa** was handled with great sensitivity:<sup>51</sup>

“... you are authorized to grant a passage hither to the widow and her children and to connive at, and allow to pass as if not observed, the removal of the remains of that priest, if they wish to transfer them hither under their own care; but then you shall also take care that, under the pretext of belonging to that family, other Easterners may not escape who have been banished to the Cape quite apart from Sheik Joseph, and at other times, and who are to be detained at the Cape, until further orders”.

**Willem Adriaan van der Stel** was happy to comply:<sup>52</sup>

“As regards the widow of the Moorish priest **Sheg (Sheik) Joseph**, whom in your letter of 26<sup>th</sup> February you have been pleased to order back at the oft-repeated request of the Maccassarian king **Radja Goa**, we shall give her and her children a passage accordingly. We shall also allow to pass, by shutting our eyes, and doing as if we did not see it, should they be willing to take under their care and carry away with them the bones of that same priest. To our satisfaction this whole company will be sent with the first ship that has room. We shall also take care that no other Easterners under the pretext of belonging to that family, but who are in banishment here, get mixed up here in the number, and so escape from banishment. We shall detain them all, and grant them no passage until further orders. Whether they have dug up, or will have dug up the bones of the said priest we cannot tell, but should they be inclined to do so, they will be allowed to do so without any remark”.

Shaikh Yusup’s daughter, later recorded as **Sitina Sara Marouff alias Care Sals** (born 1679) opted to stay behind:<sup>53</sup>

“As one of the women of that family, and her two children, because they are married, have earnestly begged to remain here for the present, we have, considering that your orders do not say that those who were unwilling to go, should be made to go, left the matter in abeyance for your decision.”

She had married at the Cape the deposed and exiled Raja of Tambora, **Alubasi Sultan** - also referred to as **Sultan Nissa Nudum Abdul Rassa** and **Nissa Nidum, Abdula Radja**

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<sup>51</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Received* (26 February 1704), p. 334.

<sup>52</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched* (14 June 1704), p. 245.

<sup>53</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched* (12 September 1704), p. 249.



- banished to the Cape (1697) and who died there (1719).<sup>54</sup> Tambora is part of the Indonesian island of Sambawa whose rulers were reduced to Makassarese vassals and nominally converted to Islam. This explains the inter-changeability of the Hindu and Muslim titles *sultan* and *raja* respectively. Requests by her husband and his servant **Rinchou** to also return home were refused. His letters to Batavia were successfully intercepted and new ways had to be found to keep him isolated.<sup>55</sup>

“We will take good care of the exiled King of Tambora, that he has no communication with the passing ships, especially foreign ones, in order so to cut off all communication between him and his countrymen. He seldom has a chance, however, as he lives permanently at the Company’s garden, “Rustenburg,” or at the stables, where the Macassarian exiles of courtly rank are located. Should he, however, wish to write, it will be difficult to prevent him, unless he is closely confined and watched”.

The Raja and Raneë of Tambora later resided at *Vergelegen* where they became part of the governor's household. His widow, living in great poverty, petitioned the authorities at the Cape (1719) to send her and her five children back to Batavia. She lists her 5 children (1720) as: **Ibrahim Adahan** (21 years), **Mochamat Aseek** (9), **Mochamat Dayan** (7), **Mochamat Asim** (4) and a daughter **Sitina Asia**. This request was declined and she petitioned (1722) for a monthly allowance from the Company rather than have the three slaves at her disposal returned to her.<sup>56</sup> Both Muslim, their children eventually converted to Christianity:

- **Ibrahim Adahan / Ibrahim Adehaan** baptized (1721) as **Abraham de Haan**; married (20 September 1722) **Helena Valentyn**, daughter of **Hercules from the West Coast of India & Cecilia van Bengale**; descendants were taken up into the ‘white’ community.
- **Sitina Asia** baptized as **Maria Dotrothea Sultania** (1726);
- **Mochamat Dayan** baptized (1739) as **David Sultania** and
- **Mochamat Aserk** baptized (1746) as **Isaac Sultania**.<sup>57</sup>

Also left behind, however, was the Robben Island-detained and miserable prince **Manjampa Singara** - found recorded variously as **Damma Jampa / Daim Mengale / Dain Bengale / Dain Mangala / Dain Mangale / Dain Majampa / Dain Manjampa Singara / Dain Majampe / Dain Manjempa Singaeroe**:<sup>58</sup>

“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, and 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 and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here, he always carried one or two krisses with him – intending to murder his wife and then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision”.

He was a prince from Macassar and brother to the king there, **Crain Bisseë**. He was exiled to the Cape (1681). In 1685 he and his sons accompanied Simon van der Stel on

<sup>54</sup> K.M. Jeffrey claims that he was pardoned and returned to Batavia (1709). His widow’s petition (1719), however, states that she was always in exile [Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, p. 30, n. 21].

<sup>55</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched* (10 March 1708), p. 343.

<sup>56</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Memorials*, vol. III, p. 1037h, & vol. IV, p. 1180a.

<sup>57</sup> Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, pp. 14 & 30.

<sup>58</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched* (25 May 1707), p. 330 & François Valentyn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. I, p. 225, n. 7.





his historic trip to Namaqualand. He was eventually allowed to follow in the *Overryp* according to a despatch (30 June 1707).

The sacred site at *Zandvliet* was to remain a bone of contention for a long time to come. A Memorial in 1791 by the ex-heemraad **Hendrik Cloete**<sup>59</sup> complaining about injury caused by various charcoal burners around the farm *Zandvliet*, clarified the real *Macassar Downs* as being part of his farms *Zandvliet* and *Vogel(en)zang* (consolidated 1765) as opposed to the adjoining other *Macassar Downs* so-called, behind the Buffels Valley:

“The real “Macassar Downs” are a strip of land adjoining “Zandvliet”. When the Colony was in its infancy, some Macassar exiles had been located on it, but when these exiles had been got rid of, the Government sold it, giving diagram and title deeds to Memorialist’s predecessors, and which are still in the hands of Memorialist”.



**Hendrik Cloete Senior (1725-1799) & attendant slave boy**

*Imam Achmat van Bengale*, eventually finding the courage, addressed a memorial (1838) to the colonial authorities objecting to the land grant of the burial place to **Pieter Laurens Cloete** (22 July 1831) and complaining about inadequate protection afforded to Muslims when visiting the shrine. It appears that provision had nevertheless been made for the religious buildings to be erected and the rights of Muslims to visit and worship there. In 1862 *Imam Abdul Wahab* finally took transfer of this piece of land as a “recreational” area set aside for Muslims visiting the shrine. The importance of the shrine was also due to the fact that it served as an alternative place of pilgrimage for those Cape Muslims unable to undertake the requisite pilgrimage (*hadj*) to Mecca and Medina – a practice which did not, however, conform to the ritual requirements for *hadj* as prescribed by Islamic law:

“It has, therefore, been permitted and constantly practised since the death of the high priest [**Sheikh Yusuf**] who was buried on the spot ... and which he so long occupied to proceed thither as to the most sacred place for us to assemble for the worship of the almighty”.

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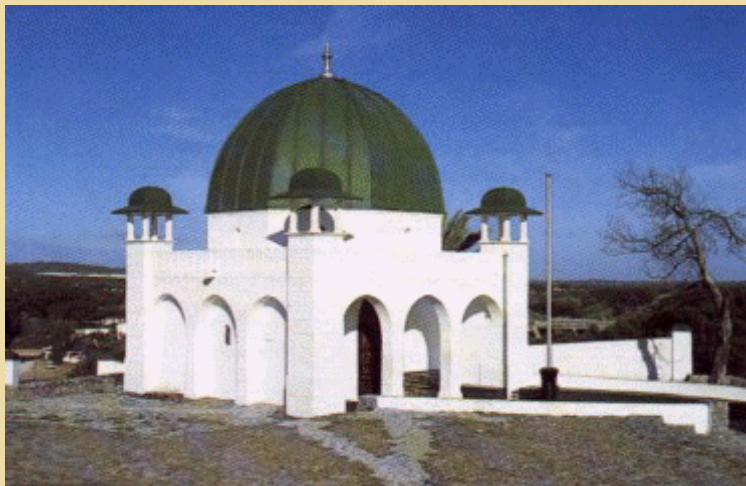
<sup>59</sup> **Hendrik Cloete Senior (1725-1799)** younger son of **Jacobus Cloete (1699-1757/8)** & **Sibilla Pasman (1693-1778)**; married (1753) **Hester Anna Lourens (1734-1794)**, daughter of **Pieter Lourens (1703-1748)**, landdrost of Stellenbosch; 11 children.; family lived at *Nooitgedacht*, from which base Hendrik became one of the Cape’s largest land owners: *Nooitgedacht*, *Dekkers Vallei*, *Vryberg*, *Hardenberg*, *Weltevreden*, *Vogel(en)zang* & *De Berg Sinai* (Stellenbosch); also *Zandvliet* near Faure & a cattle farm in the Overberg, as well as holding several others on quitrent.





Indonesian Islamic mystical ideas influenced Cape Muslim thinking at the time:<sup>60</sup>

“In the Indonesian mystical view, however, it is not necessary to be physically present at Mecca for the *hadj* ...The *hadj* is seen as a mystical experience and they believe that one may travel to Mecca in the same way the Prophet of Islam made his journey to heaven. Indonesian Muslims believe that seven visitations to and circumbulations [*sic*] around the cemetery at Imo Giri in which Sultan **Agung**, the founder of the Mataram dynasty, lies buried, constitute a *hadj*. Sultan Agung is one of the foremost saints of the Indonesian Muslims. Sheikh Yusuf acquired the same status of sainthood at the Cape and his grave is regarded as a *karamat* (miracle). Pilgrimages to the grave at *Zandvlei* would have been within the accepted mystical practices of South East Asia and in the interest of those who believed that visits to the grave of **Sheikh Yusuf** was a substitute for *hadj*. It was in the late 1830s when the shrine at *Zandvlei* was already frequently visited by Cape Muslims that the first four Cape Muslims left for pilgrimage to Mecca”.



**Kramat at Macassar near Faure**

Kalden could not have been ignorant of the import of the shrine on his doorstep. Although Islam at the Cape was officially discouraged, it was nevertheless tolerated. Valentyn, when visiting the Cape and *Vergelegen* - the contested estate of Willem Adriaan van der Stel situated at the Hottentots-Holland, was surprised to encounter none other than the raja and ranee of Tambora in residence!<sup>61</sup> He was busy transcribing (translating?) the Koran for His Excellency (*om den Coraan of Alcoraan voor zijn Edele zeer net uit te schrijven*) and she was supervising the governor's household (*zoo wat opzigt op dit huishouden*).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Achmat Davids, ‘Imams and Conflict Resolution Practices among Cape Muslims in the Nineteenth Century’, *Kronos*, no. 22 (1995), p. 65.

<sup>61</sup> I am indebted to Lorna Newcomb for this reference.

<sup>62</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders 1658-1700I* (Nasou, Cape Town 1964), p. 169





**Vergelegen at the Hottentot's-Holland**

We do not know whether Kalden ever perceived his Muslims neighbours to be a threat to his religious designs on the aboriginal population. Was it with relief when his neighbours were eventually shipped back to Batavia (September 1704)? Attempts made by Muslims at the Cape to convert the local aboriginal population are as yet unknown to the writer. This is a matter requiring further investigation. Governor-General **Joan Maetsuycker** re-issued an edict (*placaat*) for purposes of allowing the settlement of Muslims from Batavia and Ceylon at the Cape of Good Hope. Muslims were to be left in peace to worship in private - as long as they did not worship in public or propagate their religion among both Christian and Heathen. Should any be “drawn to God to become Christian”, these were not to be “prevented from joining Christian churches”. With the arrival of numerous high-ranking and even royal political exiles from the Indonesian archipelago, greater tolerance ensued.<sup>63</sup>

“The treatment afforded to **Sheikh Yussuf** of Macassar, the political exile and noted religious leader sent to the Cape in 1694 might have been politically expedient, but nevertheless shows tremendous religious tolerance on the part the ruling Dutch authority. Not only was **Sheikh Yussuf** royally received by the Governor, **Simon van der Stel**, but the stay of his entire party at Faure, was financed by the Dutch authorities. Here at Faure, some thirty-six miles from Cape Town, the first Muslim community in South Africa emerged. It is ironic to think that this embryonic community of Islam at the Cape was financed by the Calvinistic Dutch”.

The mean-spirited Dutch, however, were quick to account for their financial loss. In a despatch (1 July 1699) sent to Batavia, their appeal for the relocation of this growing Muslim community adumbrates Hendrik Cloete's later statement (1791) “when these exiles had been got rid of ...”: <sup>64</sup>

“On the 23<sup>rd</sup> May this year the Mohammedan priest, **Sheik Joseph**, who had by your orders been sent hither in 1694 with 49 followers in the flute “Voetboog”, from Ceylon, departed this life. Until the end of August, 1698, they, and others of their kind, have cost this Government in pay and maintenance *f* 24,421.12.12, and, adding this running year, the sum will reach *f* 26,221.12.12 – a heavy burden indeed on our revenue. Besides, these Mohammedans, by multiplying, are more and more increasing in numbers. However, as **Joseph** is now dead, we beg

<sup>63</sup> Achmat Davids, ‘Muslim-Christian Relations in Nineteenth Century Cape Town (1825-1925)’, *Kronos*, vol. 19 (November 1992), pp. 84-85.

<sup>64</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Letters Despatched*, p. 125.



you to find a proper method by which we may be released from his adherents and their heavy expense, and also that we may in future be exempted from such people”.

### Rev. Kalden's missionary zeal

“Onlooker, whoever you be that is accustomed to pass here  
Here you see clearly stand before you the way to the stars.”

*Spectator quicumque venis, transisque viator,  
Atria, crede, notant, quae sit ad astra via.*

**Petrus Kalden**<sup>65</sup>

Although opinions are sharply divided on W.A. van der Stel's alleged maladministration of the VOC-occupied Cape, the popular, if not mistaken, view favours the questionable complaints of a recalcitrant, but elitist, minority group within the free-burgher population. Kalden, as a Van der Stel cohort, is consequently dismissed generally and his ministerial and missionary performance seldom evaluated.

One of Kalden's significant contributions to the established church at the Cape was to introduce a system of separate (not necessarily equal) baptismal registers. The original baptismal register he separated into three separate sections: (1) *Namen der Christen Kinderen*; (2) *Slaven Kinderen des Vrijborgers of Comp:[agnies] Dienaeren* & (3) *Slaven Kinderen der Ed:[ele] Comp:[agnie]*. It is not clear why this *modus operandi* had been adopted. Did Kalden initiate this practice or was it pressure from others? His baptismal output in terms of converting adult slaves and ex-slaves and even *Moors* (Muslims) to Christianity was significantly greater than that of his predecessors. In terms of Kalden's brief<sup>66</sup> as minister under the auspices of the *Classis* Amsterdam stationed at a VOC *buitencomptoir*, the conversion and baptism of the aboriginal population were never prescribed or even entertained.

It was Kalden who undertook the unprecedented – and unpopular – step as *resident* minister, not only to baptize (without permission) the infant of a ‘Hottentot’ woman, but also to christen for the first time at the Cape a Chinese man **Lin Inko** baptized **Abraham** and who went by the name **Abraham de Veij / Vijf(f)**.<sup>67</sup> It was only on 12 April 1706 that Kalden requested permission from the *Classis* Amsterdam to learn the ‘Hottentot’ language. He did not divulge that he had *already* made a start by baptising **Ismael** the year before. Does this point to a certain hesitation on his part in terms of how his request would be received both locally and in the Netherlands and Batavia? That his efforts were not being appreciated is evident from Le Boucq's prophetic admonition ... “it is to be feared that the Afrikaners will decline into Hottentotdom” ...<sup>68</sup>

When Kalden finally left the Cape (23 April 1708), unrepentant, he took with him a ‘Hottentot’ convert who was baptised – unlike **Ismael** – with the unquestionably *Christian* (even if not authentically *biblical*) names of **Frederick Adolf** in the church at

<sup>65</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> part of Kalden's verse that appeared above the door of the *Groote Kerk* facing north-west.

<sup>66</sup> See the Instructions for the ministers and sick comforters in the Company's service in H.C.V. Leibbrandt: *Letters Received*, pp. 52-55.

<sup>67</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> maternal great-grandfather to the writer of this article.

<sup>68</sup> Letter (E.F. Le Boucq to *Classis* Amsterdam, 1708), in Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. I, p. 66.





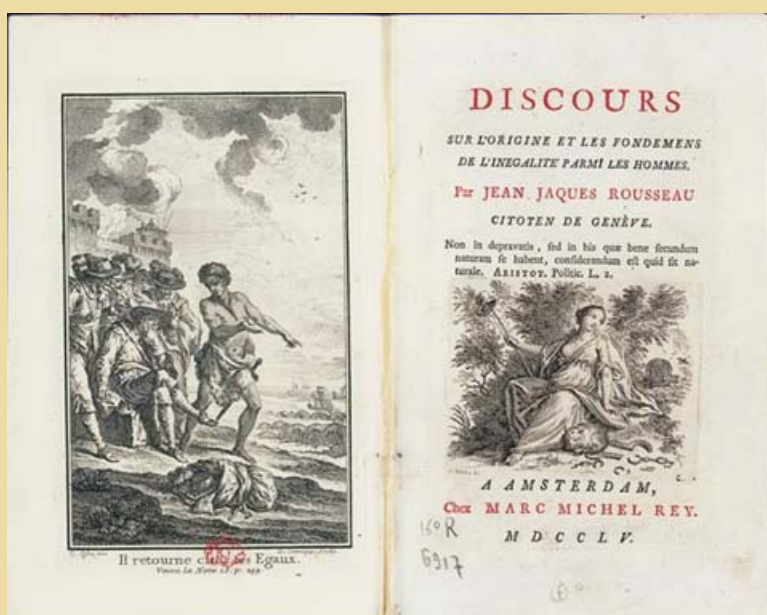
Vianen. Valentyn informs us that it was this man whom he had met during his 8-day stay at *Zandvliet*.<sup>69</sup>

“Heer **Kalden**, in the year 1705 at his country estate called Sandvliet, gave me the opportunity to speak with a Hottentot regarding matters of religion, who gave me as concise replies to all questions I put to him as well as any well-catechised youth could have done.

I must admit, that my heart greatly rejoiced at this, in that God had deigned to pour into such a poor vessel so much of His merciful light, to the further illumination of these, the most savage, stupid and filthy heathens I have ever met; and I must add, that I found myself utterly astonished at the completeness of this Hottentot's knowledge of godly matters. This man (I believe) is the one that H.E. [His Reverance] took to Holland in the year 1708, who (it seems to me) was christened **Fredrik Adolf** in the Duchy of Cleves, Duke **van der Lip**<sup>70</sup> being his godfather, and was later sent back to the Cape; but who did not properly requite this when he returned there, since he came to a pretty sorry end on the Robben Island”.



**Friedrich Christian, Count zur Lippe-Schaumburg (1681-1728)**



**Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, frontispiece to *Discourse on Inequality* featuring a 'Hottentot' [**Frederick Adolf**?] & Governor **Simon van der Stel** above the phrase, *Il retourne chez ses Egaux* [Van der Stel purportedly raised this 'Hottentot' from birth "in the principles of the Christian religion and in the practices of European customs" but who chooses to "return to his equals" rather than remain in civilized society].

<sup>69</sup> *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II, pp. 262-263.

<sup>70</sup> Possibly **Friedrich Christian, Count zur Lippe-Schaumburg (1681-1728)** founder of Older House of **Schaumburg-Lippe** or **Schaumburg-Lippe-Bückeburg** line; born 16 August 1655 Bückeburg; died 13 June 1728 Bückeburg; buried 30 July 1728 Stadthagen; married (1) 4 January 1691 Langenburg (County Crailsheim), divorced 1723; Countess **Johanna Sophia zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg**, daughter of **Heinrich Friedrich, Count zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg** & Countess **Juliane Dorothea zu Castell-Remlingen** born 16 December 1673 Langenburg; died 18 August 1743 Stadthagen; buried 28 September Stadthagen; he married (2) 3 December 1725 Brixen (South Tyrolia) **Maria Anna Victoria von Gall**, daughter of **Johann Michael von Gall** & **Maria Anna von Enzenburg** died 29 July 1760 Schwörstadt: <http://www.genealogienetz.de/reg/NSAC/SLP/nobility.html>.





Did Kalden finally concede (or pronounce?) that ‘Hottentot’ converts need not be kept at arm’s length by labelling them as tolerated outcasts - but could finally be embraced fully by the Church? His *protégé* apparently returned to the Cape. According to Elphick “his life was deemed so immoral that he was apparently obliged to spend the rest of his life on Robben Island”.<sup>71</sup> No confirmation of any appearance at the Cape or any relegation to Robben Island, however, has yet been found. Another casualty in a growing list of abortive attempts to win over the aboriginal inhabitants. The name *Hottentot* exists as a family name in the Netherlands to this day. One wonders whether people like Kalden’s *protégé* left descendants and how these would have come to be named or identified.

Undaunted and hyper-sensitive to the outright rejection by his compatriots of any reformation of the indigenes, Valentyn praised Kalden's attempts calling on the latter's successors to continue what Kalden had started.<sup>72</sup>

“Since His Reverance could attain this with this Hottentot, it is evident, that some foundations of knowledge can be instilled into this people, however stupid and ignorant they have been called until now, even if slowly and with great toil, to which task the Preachers there should apply all their efforts, since this salutary work, once properly set going, would make greater progress than is thought; and, both as regards them and as regards the slaves of the Hon. Company there, would be one of the greatest and noblest acts which any Preacher could laudably perform, and for which his reward from God would be great. And it is my desire that the Lord may deign to give his rich blessing to this task”.

### **After Kalden? Making common cause against the Hottentoots ...**

“... this flourishing congregation ...  
step by step sinks back into savagery and runs wild,  
so that at the end it will deteriorate and will be like Hottentots.”  
- Church Council, Drakenstein to the Cape Council of Policy (1713)<sup>73</sup>

Throughout the period (1652-1712), only one other person was baptised at the Cape of Good Hope with the name *Ismael*. On 9 November 1710 a slave child of **Jan Swart** and **Hester** – all slaves belonging to the burgher **Cornelis Victor** – was baptized with the name *Ismaël* witnessed by the daughter of their *patron* **Johanna Victor**. The baptismal entry reads as follows:

*9 novemb.[er] [1710] Een kind van Jan Swart en Hester, lijfeijgen van C. Victor; de Getuijge Johanna Victor - Ismaël*<sup>74</sup>

Cornelis Victor was son to sick-comforter **Gerrit Victor** (from Amsterdam) & **Christina (Styntje) van den Berg**. He married (8 August 1688) **Cornelia Jacoba Junius** (from Amersfoort). His daughter **Johanna Victor** was baptized (15 April 1691). She married (4 September 1707) **Michiel Ruys** (from Delft).

<sup>71</sup> Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985), p. 203.

<sup>72</sup> *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II, pp. 262-264.

<sup>73</sup> As quoted in *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. IV, p. 334.

<sup>74</sup> DRC/A: G1 8/1 (*Slaven Kinderen des Vrijborgers of Comp: Dienaren*) (23 September 1696-18 August 1712), p. 51.



The end of the Van der Stel *père-fils* era meant that the growing non-white free population had lost their protectors. Free-burghers, asserting selfishly their right to emulate the patrician lifestyle of their former governors, became increasingly reluctant to rub shoulders with their darker brothers and sisters lower down on the social scale. These views they were even prepared to put in writing.<sup>75</sup> Concerning the aborigines, they had the following to add:

“No dependence should ever be placed on the Hottentots, who have been treated in an un-Christian manner by Christians. By nature they are more than any people in the world inclined to vengeance and would ..., seeing their chance, attack all Christians, good as well as bad without distinction, and exterminate us”.

Members of the Victor family appear to have desperately clung to their precarious respectability. **Christian Victor** - the illegitimate son of Cornelis Victor's brother **Jacobus Victor** by a slave woman - affirmed his paternity and right to freedom (1723)<sup>76</sup>. Cornelis Victor's own eldest son **Gerrit Victor** had already married (1721) **Susanna Bockelenberg** - a woman who was one-eighth 'Hottentot' and the great-granddaughter of **Eva Meerhoff**. There was indeed a real fear that the family could “step by step sink back into savagery or decline into Hottentotdom”. This sentiment is even echoed centuries later in the words of Sir Garnet Wolseley when referring to the Boers during the Anglo-Boer War as “the only white race that has steadily been going backwards to barbarism”. In 1724 Eva Meerhoff's great-granddaughter and great-great-granddaughter both petitioned the Cape colonial authorities.<sup>77</sup>

“**VICTOR, JOH.[ANNA] MAGDALENA**; daughter of **Gerrit Victor**, and niece of **Anna Elisabeth Bockelenberg**, Widow **Hegers**; shows that her father has gone far inland, and wishes to compel her to join him there, where she will see nothing but slaves and Hottentots, and be cut off from all Christians and the blessings of the Gospel; she had seen the improper conduct of her father, when he was here, and this makes her dread going so far away in the “Veld”; she therefore prays that, as she is able to support herself, that she may be permitted to remain here in order to be taught the Christian tenets so that she may, with God and with honour, pass through the world; for similar reasons **Anna E. Bockelenberg** begs that Johanna's little sister, named **Maria**, only 7 years old, may also be left here, as she will undertake her maintenance and education; as, to her sorrow, she has found that the father is permitting not only these two girls, but their three brothers also, the eldest of whom is already 18 years old, to grow up as blind heathen”.

**Johanna Magdalena Victor** (baptized 6 May 1725) appears to have never married. Her aunt **Anna Elisabeth Bockelenberg** (born Mauritius 1702) was daughter to **Magdalena Zaayman**, granddaughter of **Petronella Meerhoff** and great-granddaughter of **Krotoa** (baptized **Eva**), wife of **Pieter Meerhoff** (from Copenhagen). Her sister **Maria Victor** (baptized 23 January 1735) later married (25 November 1753) **Jan Frederik Koegelenberg** (from Zutphen). Her three brothers were **Jacobus Victor** (married **Sara Koekemoer**), **Adrianus Johannes Victor** (married **Helena Lindeque**) & **Gerrit Victor** (married **Magdalena van Hoeting**, wid. of **Pieter Joubert**).

The worst fears of the Mauritius-born, hemi-demi-semi-‘Hottentot’, Widow **Hegers**, that her nieces and nephews would revert to savagery become all the more palpable when

<sup>75</sup> Cf. the petition quoted in Mansell G. Upham, ‘Christoffel Snijman – his curious origins and ambiguous position in early Cape colonial society’ - Part II of ‘*In Hevigen Woede...Groote Catrjn*, earliest recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope’, *Capensis*, no. 4 (1997), pp. 33-35.

<sup>76</sup> Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, p. 22.

<sup>77</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt: *Requesten* (no. 50), vol. IV (1715-1806), p. 1279.



we appreciate that she herself was the great-granddaughter of **Krotoa** (baptized **Eva**) – that tragic figure whose conversion to Christianity – but reversion to Hottentotdom – would never be forgiven or forgotten.

One may well ask: had the prayers of Widow Hegers and her niece not been answered? Had God indeed heard? Was this the reason for diverting her/their prayers to the Dutch colonial authorities instead? Had **Krotoa / Eva** – she who had been ‘at war with society’ - and her legacy come back to haunt her colonial offspring?

