Uprooted Lives

Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope’s Earliest Colonial Inhabitant (1652-1713)

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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

Since 1976 Eva Meerhoff, born Krotoa (c. 1643-1674) and Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat] (c. 1631-1683) have haunted me. Discovering Krotoa (ancestor to both my father and my mother) and Groote Catrijn (seven traceable lineal descents – five maternal and two paternal) to be two of my most prolific ancestors; and also that these two formidable women are lesser known ancestors (even multiple) to so many other colonially induced people rooted at the tip of Africa – like so many other ancestral beings from my/our past - were reasons enough for me to give them undivided attention. But the discovery that Krotoa was the first indigenous Cape woman to be colonially incorporated; and that Groote Catrijn was the first recorded female convict banished to the Dutch-occupied Cape of Good Hope and its first Dutch East India Company (VOC) slave to be liberated - exacted their release from the shadows demanding that their stories be told. My ongoing research into the lives of especially the Cape’s earliest colonial women (indigene, settler, sojourner, slave, convict) – women being the fons et origo of ongoing culture - affords me the opportunity to continue revisiting my original research - many initially featured (since 1997) in numerous articles in Capensis, quarterly journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape). Krotoa’s and Groote Catrijn’s importance and that of their colourful contemporaries has now been reassessed in terms of unravelling and understanding more fully the impact of Dutch colonization at the tip of Africa. There is
now a heightened awareness in South Africa of indigenousness and slavery. Until recently, however, both Krotoa and Groote Catrijn – and many other folk - have been mostly overlooked or excluded from the orthodox and politically selective slave pantheon currently encountered in the rewriting and re-institutionalization of South African historiography. The reality of shared indigenous and slave roots across a diminishing racial or ethnic divide, however, cannot any longer be suppressed. There is a need for expanded biographies on, and ongoing genealogical inquiries into, not only these very important early Cape colonial figures, but many others.

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

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

the Goringhaicona:
Eva Meerhoff (born Krotoa)
the ‘Bastaard Hottentot’:
Frans Jacobs van de Caep
the African slaves:
Catharina Alexander van de Caep
Maria van Guinea [Benin]
Cecilia van Angola
Dorothea van Angola
Manuel van Angola
Diana van Madagascar
the Asian slaves:
Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta
Engela / Angola (Maaïj Ans(i)ela van Bengale
Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale
Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar
Maria Magdalena (Mariana) Jacobse van Ceylon [Sri Lanka]
Jacob van Macassar
Maria Jacobs: van Batavia
and the pardoned Chinese convict:
Lim / Lin Inko alias Abraham de Veij.

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

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my 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. Böseken (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, 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 be summed up by the following key words: fort, penal settlement, cemetery, hospital,

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1 Buiten comptoiрен were out stations or subordinate dependencies, each with its own governor or commander, which before (1652), extended from Ceylon in the west to the Celebes and Japan in the east [CA: BP (Cape Pamphlets): Colin Graham Botha, ‘Early Cape Matrimonial Law’].
slave lodge, vegetable garden, drinking hole and brothel. Transferred officials and servants could not be expected to stay there indefinitely and ‘free-burghers’ (vrijburghers) - a minority of whom were manumitted slaves termed ‘free-blacks’ (vrijzwarten) - and their wives, if not legally bound to stay for a fixed period as ‘free citizens’, would have opted to leave sooner. Some even deserted by running or stowing away. There were very few imported women so that there existed a maximum demand for sexual favours from slave women and detribalized aborigines. Some European women, appreciating this chronic shortage, even risked cross-dressing and leaving for the Cape and the East Indies disguised as men. A number were discovered even before their ships sailed past the Cape. Then, there were many more stowaways and high-sea captives. All life revolved around the coming and going of the VOC fleets and 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 17th & 18th century writing conventions & archival sources

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

Naming people

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

van Malabar / van Cochin / van Coromandel / van Paliacatta / van Bengale
Currency, weight & measurements

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

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

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

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

the 'accomodatory' life and times of a 17th century family from Timor exiled to Java, Mauritius & the Cape of Good Hope

Mansell G. Upham
Tokyo, Japan (July 2012)
Introduction

Countless descendants of a 17th century displaced Timorese family effectively ‘colour’ a number of major colonially induced families in Southern Africa of European (German, Dutch & Scandinavian) origin: **BLOM, CAMPHER, DE JAGER, ERASMUS, KRÜGEL, PUTTER, VAN DER SWAAN and VAN WYK. Amsoeboe**, his wife **Inabe** and daughters **Iba** and **Baauw** - a politically exiled, but un-enslaved, family from Timor - is sent (1676) by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) from Jakarta to Mauritius. There, the family is accused of conspiring (1677) with Company slaves and exiled convicts to overthrow the colony, massacre its officials, and escape. They are interrogated (1679) by Commander **Isaac Johannes Lamotius** and his council. Also implicated is a Company soldier **Hans Behr**, concubine to **Iba**. Two conspirators hang themselves. **Behr** dies mysteriously during interrogation. Claiming no authority to legally try **Amsoeboe** and his family, **Lamotius** sends them to the Cape of Good Hope (1679). The family settle amongst the colony’s free-population. Their household (1681) - one of the small colony’s two operational brothels – is censured by Commander **Simon van der Stel** and his council authorizing the fiscal to arrest any offenders he finds there. The census (1682) enumerates 5 unnamed ‘daughters’ for this family- including presumably 3 illegitimate daughters for **Iba**. **Amsoeboe** is now recorded as **Paay** (‘Father’) **Timoreses** or **Moor** - and his wife as **Ansel van Timor**. After the death of **Inabe** the Orphan Chamber inventorizes (1683) the impoverished family’s meagre worldly goods. **Baauw** – like her mother now also known as **Ansel** – moves into the Company Slave Lodge baptizing 3 illegitimate children as Company slaves (1686, 1690 &1692) but appearing (1695) again as a ‘free’ person. She joins the household of Pomeranian colonist **Lorenz Campher** at **Muratie** (now a wine estate of note) and her children adopt his name. **Iba** – now known as **Anthonique** - joins the Stellenbosch household of free-burgher **Jacob Aertsz: Brouwer** and his twice-widowed wife **Agnetha Rix**. **Brouwer** assaults his wife regularly and on one occasion also another free-burgher’s wife. He later viciously assaults **Iba** (1686) with a broomstick soon after also whipping his slave **Tido van Goa** who dies from his injuries. **Iba** finally jointly baptizes (1693) her 3 daughters each adopting their own biological father’s name. **Amsoeboe** next appears (1692) as a miller with both daughters in the Cape District alongside free-burgher **Gerrit Theunisz:** (from Utrecht) - concubine to **Iba** - which couple is again recorded (1695). Her father is again listed (1697) - but as **Clasius** [sic] **van Timor**. Finally, the rotting corpse of the town beggar **Paay Moor** is discovered (1708) in his hut in the Company Gardens - one of Cape Town’s first recorded bergies. After judicial inquiry, the decomposed body is buried on the same spot. Nevertheless, his daughters and grandchildren contribute significantly to the genetic and multi-cultural ‘eurafricasian’ make-up of the nascent colony with one great-grandson **Willem Namaqua** becoming a legend in his own life-time.
Immersed in my thoughts
I was suddenly shaken
From the sea, my sea,
out of the bellies of ships,
tremors came
I looked at the erupting sky,
and the size of the sea were
cries of agony
the gentle breeze
the smell of dust and blood
the kiss of the foam
the death-rattle
the sea’s slumber.
the pebbles of the gravestone
and the pretty shells
traced
the destiny of the Homeland!

-Xanana Gusmão, My Sea of Timor

The island of Timor² is a far cry from the tormented, wind-swept, yet hope-instilled, southern tip of Africa. This is an inquiry into a deracinated 17th century Timorese family whose descendants effectively ‘colour’ a number of major colonially induced South African families of European (German, Dutch, Danish and Swedish) origin: BLOM, CAMPHER, DE JAGER, ERASMUS, KRüGEL, PUTTER, VAN DER SWAAN and VAN WYK.³

On 20 March 1676 Amsoeboe, his wife Inabe and two daughters Iba and Baauw – a politically exiled, but un-enslaved, family from Timor is sent from Batavia [Jakarta on the Indonesian island of Java] on the hooker Goudvink ⁴ to Mauritius – a VOC outpost (buitenpost) governed from the Cape of Good Hope which latter colony is itself governed from Batavia [Jakarta] on Java. The commander on Maritius at the time is the outgoing reformed privateer Hubert Hugo.⁵ Their unnamed son, however, remains at Batavia:⁶

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² Island (30,777 square kilometers) at southern end of maritime South-East Asia, north of Timor Sea divided between East Timor (independent state) & West Timor (part of East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia). The name is a variant of timur, Malay for ‘east’; so-called because situate at eastern end of Lesser Sunda Islands. Nusa Tenggara (‘South-East islands’) constitutes the following two present-day provinces of Indonesia:

West Nusa Tenggara (Lombok & Sumbawa)
East Nusa Tenggara (Sumba, West Timor, Flores & Solor & Alor archipelagos), East Timor, the Moluccas (Maluku) & Irian Jaya.

³ The writer has 4 descents from this family: a double descent from the daughter Baauw via his paternal grandmother Hester Maria Johanna Upham, born Basson (1895-1930); and a double descent from the other daughter Iba via his maternal great-grandmother Jeanetta (Iconetta) Christina Dale, born Marais (1883-1963).

⁴ A 90 ton hooker (hoeker) built in Delft (1670) departs Maas, Netherlands (18 March 1671) with Jan Kornelisz: Egmond as master; leaves 1 seaman on Las Palmas, arrives Cape of Good Hope (7 August 1671), departs (14 August 1671) arriving at Batavia (25 October 1671). Ship is sold at Batavia (1687) [De VOC. Scheepvaart tussen Nederland en Azië 1595-1795. http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS/detailVoyage/92271].

⁵ Born Delft, joins VOC (1639); goes to Batavia (c. 1641); serves in Surat (12 years); returns as vice admiral to Netherlands (1654) & sails (1661) on Black Eagle to Le Havre hiring 40 sailors; sails via Torbay & Madagascar, arrives at Mocha in the Red Sea capturing 4 Arab ships; returns to France (1662) visiting Mauritius en route; 34 Dutch sailors from distressed ship Arnhem join him promising to take
"With this hooker, your Excellency has been sent a family of four Timorese about whom you need to bear in mind that they have actually not come (directly) from there; but that they must remain in freedom and should it not initially be possible (to allow them to be free) then to be of service to the Company ..."

The events leading to their forced removal from Timor to Java remain sketchy but likely coincide with concerted Dutch attempts to limit Portuguese control of Timor. Are Amsoeboe and his family part of Timor’s indigenous ruling elite? Does an unwanted or compromising presence on the island warrant their removal during these violent and unsettling times? Worth noting is the arrival at the Cape with the Return Fleet (21 April 1673) of a cargo of Timorese and Rottonese slaves and convicts shipped from Batavia:7

"The 39 slaves bought at our request at Batavia and the 3 convicts were landed. One of the 39 died during the voyage. The rest were strong, healthy fellows, who will not be amiss here'.

We learn more about the cargo in a letter from Batavia (2 February 1673) brought by the Voorhout:8

"We send you some Timorese and Rottonese slaves, who, though required here, should be employed by you at the Cape, in order to deprive them of the opportunity of deserting to their own country, from which they should necessarily be kept away. They are 39 in number, exclusive of 3 others, who are for life to labour in irons, named Roosje of Sabo, Pieter of Macassar, and Jeremias of Cabelang, late slaves of Sieur Hendrik Ter Horst, Mrs Van den Helm and Daniel Sicx9, total 42, divided among the six return ships and the yacht Voorhout."

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7 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal, p. 130.
8 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal, pp. 129-130.
9 Opperhoofd or kapitan at Dejima [Nagasaki, Kyushu, Japan] (18 October 1666-6 November 1667) & (25 October-14 October 1669).
European contact with Timor

Colonies and natives are not mere possessions to be exploited. They must be considered continuations of Portugal, and all those living there, regardless of their skin colour, must feel Portuguese, and as such must have the same liberties and must be inspired by the same ideals, honouring the same traditions and be ruled by the same institutions.

In this conception skin colour is no more than a mere coincidence.

Afonse de Albuquerque (1453-1515)  

European contact with Timor intensifies after the conquest of the Sultanate of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula (1511) in sync with Iberian efforts to wrest control of the trade in sandalwood from the Chinese and Muslims (Moors). Timor remains a marginal destination even once Dominican priests convert Sunda Islanders to Catholicism on nearby Solor. By now the Iberian seaborne 'empires' in South and South-East Asia are already over-extended. The Portuguese and Spanish crowns are dependent on the cooperation of mercenary European privateers (feringgi – 'foreigners') who settle, interface and interlard with the natives, their cohorts and the slaves they bring with them from Africa, Arabia, India, Sri Lanka or China producing - in or out of slavery - creolized Eurasian or mestizo communities (notably Mestiços, Casados, Serani, Kristang, Portuguese Burghers, Malacceiros, Papangers, Larantuqueiros, Mestizeen, Mardijkers, Indos, Peranakan [Cina (Chinese) / Belanda (Dutch) / Jepang or Jepun (Japanese)], Baba-Nyonya etc.) in all the littorals where they fortify their maritime presence (Goa, Malacca, Macau, Luzon, etc.) and whose bi-continental loyalties and novel sense of autonomy begin to vacillate with encroachment by competing European maritime powers and their cohorts.

In time, these free-born or manumitted people and their communities become commonly known as Topasses (Tupasses / Topas / Topaz / Topassi). The name's etymology most likely derives from the Hindi word topi ('hat' or topee) - characteristic hats worn by the men of this community as markers of cultural collaboration with Europeans. They are also referred to as 'Hat People': gente de chapeo in Portuguese or as gens à chapeau in French accounts. In the language of the tribal Atoni Pa Meto, having the longest established contact with them on Timor, they are known as Sobe Kase – ‘Foreign Hats’. Another variant among the Rotinese on the small island at Timor’s western tip is Sapeo Nggeo – ‘Black Hats’. Since slaves and heathens are forbidden to wear hats and shoes which are the 16th/17th century passport of a Christian and free-person, Topasses are allowed this privilege - if not both hats and shoes, at least exemption from any formalized bans on wearing hats. Their ability to adapt to unsettled times also earn them the nick-name ‘Accomodators’ or ‘Topazers’ like the precious stone, topaz.

‘Accomodators’

The increasing regional power of the mercenary, intermediary and multi-lingual Topasses needs broader contextualization given the preceding Portuguese presence in Asia (at least a century before the Dutch, English, Danes and French) and the containment - but also further diaspora - of these people following encroachment by these European maritime powers on Portuguese settlements.

**Dutch Containment**

Throughout the 17th century new Dutch settlements in Asia - including those wrested from the Portuguese are populated by native (indigenously/historically caste-defined) Asian peoples but also inherit communities of hybridized offspring of mostly Lusitanians interbred with local Asian women - including the later appropriated Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa. The Dutch tolerate, appropriate and relocate these colonial by-products invariably utilising them as bridging folk to consolidate their own presence in Asia.

In the Dutch settlements (Ceylon [Sri Lanka], Cochin [Kerala], Malacca, Moluccas, Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Batavia, etc.) these adopted communities become known also as - or associated and interlarded with - Mardijkers (‘free people’) or inlandse Christenen (‘indigenous Christians’), and likewise given burgher status evolving into the current Indo [‘Indonesian Eurasian’] community who, patrilineally biased, are practically expelled holus-bolus after Indonesian independence. After the Dutch conquest of Malacca (1641), especially Batavia – the VOC’s chief port and seat of its governor-general – becomes home to many of these relocated folk as do the Papangers originating from Pampanga [Luzon].

The word mardijcker derives from the Bahasa (Malay) word mardeka meaning ‘free’. Johann Nieuhof in his *Travels to the East-Indies* (1662) gives us the following account of the Mardijcker population in Batavia.

> “The Mardijkers or Topassers are a mixture of divers Indian nations, call’d Topassers, ie Accomodators, because they will accommodate themselves easily to the manners, customs and religion of such as they live among; tho’ some will have them derive their name from a precious stone call’d a Topaz. They live both within and without the city, the chiefest of which be merchants, who traffic in their own vessels with the adjacent isles, live in very stately houses. The rest live upon husbandry, grasing and gardening, and have some artisans amongst them; they have their own captains, who sit in the council of war, and school-masters who teach their children to read and to write. Their dress approaches near to the Dutch fashion, but their breeches reach down to their ankles, and wear a kind of cap on their heads. Their women are clad like other Indian women. Their houses are better built than those of the other Indians, generally of stone, and cover’d with tiles, stately built and arch’s. Before their houses they plant

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12 The Cape of Good Hope was the first ‘Asian’ port of call for the Dutch VOC. The Company Charter sanctioned control of the Cape from Batavia in terms of its East Indian operations. Notable migrants (often becoming curiously schoolmeesters at the Cape) include: Jan Figeredo / Figoredo / Figureido; Jan Pasquael; Nicolaas Ogendatie / Ondatie / Ondatje / Ondaatje / Ontatthi; Franciscus / Francisco [Perreira] van Macau; Emmanuel / Manuel Perreira; Daniel Valentijn Rodrigo / Rodrigues / Rodriguez [CA: C] 2599, no. 14 Will: Daniel Rodrigo (1715)]; the mardijcker Johannes (Jan) de Soeza / Soisa / Sousa / Souza / Zousa van Calijjepatnam [baptized 5 August 1696 gedoopt na voorgaende geloofs belydenis Johannes de Souza [CA: MOOC 8/2, no. 1 (1705)] and possibly Ventura van Ceylon.
coco-trees, and all sorts of Indian fruit and flowers, but the backside they reserve for the keeping of pigs, pidgeons, fowl and other sorts of poultry, which they bring to sale in the market”.

The term **Mardijker** is a Dutch corruption of the Portuguese version of Sanskrit **Maharddhika** meaning ‘rich, prosperous and powerful’. In the Malay archipelago, this term also means a freed slave with the Dutch and their clients also using it more generally to describe any freed full-blood Asian slaves (*zwarten* or ‘blacks’). Between the 18th and 19th centuries their original Portuguese-based creole **Portugis** (Ternateño) becomes increasingly subsumed by a Malay-based one (**Betawi Malay** or **Omong Betawi**) and nowadays also **Bahasa Indonesia** with the old creole surviving in old song lyrics such as **Keroncong Moresco** or **Keroncong Tugu**.

*A Mardijker, his wife and child [Churchill 1704]*

**‘Second Wave’ Portuguese Diaspora**

Effectively, only those **Topasses** confined to Dutch-conquered-ex-Portuguese littorals or who relocate to Dutch settlements or switch allegiance, become **Mardijkers**; otherwise **Topasses** – still drawn to their mixed ancestry, Catholic religion and the Portuguese Crown – move away. Following the loss of Portuguese settlements to the Dutch, many **Topasses** loyal in varying degrees to the Portuguese Crown relocate south – many settling on Solor (1600s). There, they clash with Dominicans (sent by the Portuguese Crown to convert Asians to Catholicism) and their preoccupation with trade rather than religion make for a new settlement on Flores at Larantuka. With the Dutch seizure of Solor (1613) the Dominicans also come to Flores. Larantuka is strategically placed in terms of the sandalwood trade becoming the main Portuguese trading centre for South-East Asia. It also becomes a place of refuge for VOC deserters. When Malacca falls to the

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13 Batavia’s census (1699) classifies the inhabitants in terms of four distinct non-Javanese categories: **Chinese** (3 679); **Mardijkers** (2 407); **Europeans** (1 783); **Mixed blood** (670); **Others** (867).

14 Common **Mardijker** family names include:
- **Portuguese**: De Fretes, Ferrera, De Mello, Gomes, Gonsalvo, Cordero, De Dias, De Costa, Soares, Rodrigo, De Pinto, Perreira and De Silva.
- **Dutch**: Willems, Michiels, Bastiaans, Pieters, Jansz, Fransz, Davidts.
Dutch (1644), Larantuka’s population increases dramatically as do the villages of Wureh and Konga. The Dutch offensive in Macassar (1660) results in even more Portuguese refugees going to Flores. Topasses now elide into Larantuqueiros (‘inhabitants of Larantuka’) but become more commonly known by the Dutch as Zwarte Portugeesen (‘Black Portuguese’). As William Dampier, an Englishman visiting Timor (1699), observes:

“These [Topasses] have no Forts, but depend on their Alliance with the Natives: And indeed they are already so mixt, that it is hard to distinguish whether they are Portugueze or Indians. Their Language is Portugueze; and the religion they have, is Romish. They seem in Words to acknowledge the King of Portugal for their Sovereign; yet they will not accept any Officers sent by him. They speak indifferently the Malayan and their own native Languages, as well as Portugueze”.

The Portuguese-speaking Larantuqueiros become a new regional power. Theoretically subordinate to Portugal, they operate autonomously and eventually come to be dominated by two rival dynastic families: Hornay (descendants of a Dutch deserter) and Da Costa. António de Hornay – a Topasse - controls the Sunda Islands as ‘uncrowned king of Timor’ (1673-1693). Thereafter another Topasse Domingos da Costa deposes the first envoy of the Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies António Pimentel de Mesquita becoming ‘king’ (1693-1722) alternately allying himself or opposing the Portuguese whenever expedient. Alliances are made with the indigenous rulers of Flores and Timor; the most important raja generally being converted to Catholicism by military force, made to swear allegiance to the king of Portugal and created a Dom. Rajas are allowed to continue ruling their subjects autonomously but in war are obligated to supply auxiliary forces. In this way Larantuqueiros infiltrate Timor settling at the present-day coastal Oecusse exclave (Lifau, Tucicão, Animata and Pante Macassar) monopolizing inland sandalwood production and prices. In exchange, local chiefs cooperate on delivery of musketry and in turn expand their own realms. The Topasse leadership of Oecusse evolves into a Timorese kingship with members of the Hornay and Da Costa families reigning as liura (kings) until modern times. They regularly intermarry with indigenous Ambeno royalty thereby entrenching legitimacy. Finally in the 1780s the governor in Dili and the Topasses are reconciled and loyalty to the Portuguese crown is belatedly formalized.15

**Dutch on Timor**

One century after the Portuguese, the Dutch take advantage of the continued limited Portuguese presence on Timor (no more than 89 whites and 45 mestizos resident mostly at Lifau) Timor at that time is an island of several hundred thousand inhabitants - seizing the port of Kupang (1613), a small Portuguese settlement on the western side of the island. Only in 1642, after converting local chiefs to Catholicism, do the Portuguese undertake military operations into the interior. Given their limited numbers (90 soldiers or so), the Portuguese use divide-and-rule tactics relying on the support of Timorese warriors from opposing local kingdoms. Thus they expand their control over

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15 H. Hägerdal, ‘Colonial or indigenous rule? The black Portuguese of Timor in the 17th and 18th centuries’ Article / Letter to editor, IIAS Newsletter, 44, 26 (2007).
the island by subjugating the paramount Wehali kingdom strategically important for its spiritual authority acknowledged by most of the island’s other kingdoms.16

Intensified Dutch infiltration into South-East Asia results in the VOC again seizing Kupang (1651) inhabited by the Helong people restricting the Dominicans to the present-day Oecusse exclave. To counter further invasion Portugal concedes the permanent Dutch presence in Kupang and West Timor in return for Dutch recognition of Portuguese sovereignty over the rest of the island (formalized by treaty in 1859). Portuguese sovereignty, however, remains tenuous following the infiltration by Topasses. Following the settlement at Lifau by Dominican brothers (1641) and the baptism of Ambeno royalty, a permanent but informal settlement arises in the 1650s. Many ‘Portuguese’ relocate from their old colonial seat Larantuka (on Flores) in response to Dutch occupation of Kupang. Despite continuous hostilities with the Dutch, Topasses obtain a steady foothold on Timor defeating Dutch military expeditions on Timor with the help of Timorese allies (1653, 1655, 1656 and 1657).

Lifau only later becomes a more formalized Portuguese colonial settlement and gubernatorial seat (1702-1769) – after two centuries of contacts - but has to be relocated further north to Dili following competition and resistance by semi-autonomous Topasses based nearby at Pante Macassar. Dampier notes that the natives acknowledge the king of Portugal, allowing the Portuguese a colony to build a fort (Lifau), and the Dutch to do the same at Kupang but they never allow either to intervene in the government of their country. He notes further that people of Lifau speak Portuguese and are Catholic and proud of their Portuguese descent and would be very angry if anyone dared to tell them they are not Portuguese. Yet, while there, he never sees more than three whites, two of whom are priests.17

The dispatch (1702) of the first Portuguese governor to Timor (António Coelho Guerreiro) only lasts three years before he is forced to flee following repeated attacks by Topasses – a clear demonstration of Portugal’s continuing fragile position on the island. These recurrent attacks, however, never stop Portugal from sending governors. Guerreiro does, however, leave two legacies of note which have a lasting effect on Portuguese-Timorese relations; one promotes trust, the other sparks conflict. Assigning Portuguese military ranks ensures chieftainal support with initial relations being built on symbolic alliance, trade and commerce. Introducing, however, the finta system – tributes in kind obliging allied kingdoms to pay the Portuguese governor – ignites numerous ensuing wars.


Atoni

At this stage we do not know anything more about Amsoeboe and his family's Timorese origins. The family's ethnic names - even if only phonetically rendered into Dutch orthography in the written record - may well prove helpful in future to positively identify their tribal or clan origins more precisely. Were they displaced pawns, captives or refugees in the hands of the Dutch in efforts to gain more control over West Timor? If so, are they part of the dispersed Uab Meto-speaking Atoni people whose chief polities the Sonbai and Amabi later ally with the Dutch while another, the Amarasi, remain clients or vassals of the Topasses and the Portuguese – all three groups being traditionally subject to the paramount Tetun-speaking Wehali further inland? These politically expansive (now musket-enriched) realms ally with the encroaching Portuguese. The Sonbai and Amabi switch sides (1655), however, supporting the VOC. The Amarasi and the Topasses defeat a Dutch expedition led by Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn (1656) and for almost a century the Amarasi remain Portuguese vassals engaging in low-scale warfare and headhunting raids against the VOC’s Timorese clients in the Kupang area in westernmost Timor before submitting to Dutch rule following the battle of Penfui (1749).

The Sonbai are divided following serious defeats (1657-58) at the hands of the Topasses. One part (Sonbai Kecil or ‘Lesser Sonbai’) migrate to Kupang (fortified by the Dutch since 1653) becoming one of the so-called five loyal Dutch allies (with the Amabi, Kupang-Helongm, Amfoan and Taebenu). This group finally merge with other principalities to form the larger zelfbesturend landschap (‘self-ruling territory’) of Kupang (1917). The new principality is governed by the Nisnoni family, a side-branch of Sonbai, surviving the Japanese Occupation (1942-45) and Indonesian Revolution.

In the interior of West Timor, a Sonbai principality remains under Portuguese suzerainty (after 1658). The rulers, known to the Europeans as ‘emperor’ usually have an inactive role while executive governance is done by ‘lieutenants’ of the Kono family. Therefore the Sonabi Besar (‘Greater Sonbai’) inland principality is often known as Amakono (ama = ‘father’). Their ruler defects from the Portuguese escaping to Kupang and submitting to the Dutch (1748-49). Later (1782), they again break with the Dutch re-establishing an autonomous realm in the interior (Fatuleu, Mollo and Miomaffo). This realm breaks up (after 1667) as minor rajas assert their independence. The last ruler is captured by Dutch colonial troops (1906) effacing the principality.
Conspiracy on Mauritius

Three years later while still exiled on Mauritius, Amsoeboe and his family are interrogated (1679) – two years after the event - for conspiring one night (6 September 1677) with Company slaves and exiled convicts to overthrow the colony, massacre its officials and escape. This is at the time when outgoing Commander Hugo is being replaced by incoming Commander Lamotius. By this time his daughter Iba is presumably already mother to two illegitimate halfslag daughters (later baptized at the Cape as Willemina [sic] and Catharina van Mauritius becoming known as Hermina Carels: and Catharina [de] Beer / Bero, respectively). Also implicated in the conspiracy is the Company soldier (presumably German) Hans Beer [Behr], concubine (bijsit) to Iba and biological father of her second daughter Catharina. Two of the detained conspirators hang themselves and Behr dies mysteriously during interrogation. Sleigh gives a semi-fictionalized account of the events (1677-79) surrounding the family’s detention in his novel Eilande (2004): 19

“...In the time they were working on the sawmill, the new commander began to show his fangs. Some months after Hugo’s departure, the flute Hasenburg arrived from Batavia with provision and convicts. Among them was a convict Goulan and a Chinese Tianko, and a family [sic]: Ansubu and his wife Inabe, and their daughters Bau and Iba, who had been banished from Timor for fomenting unrest against the Company. One night somebody heard that slaves in Ansubu’s house were plotting to kill the officials, burn down the Lodge, and escape on the sloop. When Ansubu’s house was searched, pistols, powder and lead that must have been stolen from the magazine, were found under the floor. A soldier called Hans Beer was summoned, because he had an interest in the older daughter. The commander had Goulan, Tianko, Asubu and Hans locked up, and the Council started formal interrogation. Goulan and Tianko hanged themselves from the beams in their cell on the first day. That was what was said: died under interrogation.

Commander Lamotius’s wife sent word to her husband in Council that they shouldn’t interrogate Hans Beer together with the others. It was wrong, since there was a relationship between him and the daughter of a fellow accused. She even wrote a formal letter about the matter to the Council. She explained that the father might say, if Hans did not testify in his favour, he would avenge it in his daughter, and if he testified against him, he would do the same. But the council met only on Mondays, and by the time her letter was read, Hans was already dead, deceased during interrogation, as the phrase goes”.

The family under interrogation

Amsoeboe and his family are all separately interrogated in a pre-trial investigation by Commander Isaac Johannes Lamotius (1646-1718) 20 and his council: 21

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18 See Addendum II for a verbatim transcription of the muster (ante 18 April 1679) for the slave population on Mauritius taken just after the family’s forced removal to the Cape.
20 Baptized Beverwijk [North Holland] (29 May 1646), son of Johannes Lamotius; father plays leading part in Dutch capture of Malacca (January 1641) marrying in Batavia widow of Matthejs Quast & as sergeant-major is stationed (c. 1642 onwards) on Dutch Formosa [Taiwan] later residing (1653) at Beverwijk [Netherlands]. His son Isaac serves as commander (1677-1692) on Mauritius. Lamotius & his secunde are shipped to Batavia and tried, sentenced & banished to the Banda Islands for private trading (1695) [CA: cj 644 (Documents in Specified Criminal Cases, 1686-1813) Papieren concerneerende de vuyle huishouding van het Opperhoofd op het Eyland Mauritius, Isaac Johannes Lamotius / Papers relative to the careless administration of Isaac Lamotius, Chief of the Isle of Mauritius 1691]. Perhaps better known for being an early ichthyologist and his 250 drawings of fishes now housed at Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris [L.B. Holthuis & T. W. Pietsch, ‘Les Planches inédites de Poissons et autres Animaux marins de l’Indo-Ouest Pacifique d’Isaac Johannes Lamotius [Isaac Johannes Lamotius (1646-c. 1718)’ &
Amsoeboe

In the interrogatory drawn up by the secretary of the Council of Justice Louis Crajers (8 April 1679) we are informed that the exiled and now detained Timorees Amsoeboe can only speak and understand ‘Timorese’ and can therefore not answer any of the following nine questions.

- How old and where born?
- Whether the two daughters named Baauw and Iba are his legitimate children?
- Whether he is not aware that the Company slaves had decided and determined on 6 September during the night of Saturday and Sunday to massacre all the Hollanders or Company officers in their sleep?
- Whether he did not influenced the slaves or conspirators and when everything had been accomplished whether he would not have joined them and fled?
- Whether he called the slaves from the Lodge to his house at night and whether they did not bring 3 muskets, some gun powder and bullets to be hidden there until such time that they could be used?
- Whether he did not know that Hans Beer was also complicit in this conspiracy?
- Why he allowed the Company slaves to bring stolen rice and other goods from the mess to his house at night?
- Whether he did not know that the slaves had stolen these, had no access to rice and were therefor not entitled thereto?
- Whether he did not know that Hans Beer had stolen much property from the Company?

Inabe

Next, his wife is interrogated and this time the Dutch get responses:

- How old and where born?
  - Says does not know her age; born in Timor
- Whether she was not also aware that the Company slaves had decided and determined on the evening of Saturday, 6 September 1677, when all were asleep, to massacre all the Hollanders or Company officers and to set fire to the Lodge?
  - Says never heard or knew before the slaves were arrested and heard same from the wife [Lucretia van Bengale] of Jan Harmensz: [Woltering] alias Noordoost [nick-named ‘North-East’]
- Whether she did not encourage the slaves and when all had been accomplished, whether she would have joined them and fled.

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See Addendum I for the verbatim transcriptions of all 4 interrogatories.

22 From Amsterdam, he marries (9 May 1678) at the Cape Maria (van) Rosendael (daughter of Jan Huijbertsz: Rosendael (from Leiden) & Barbara Geems (from Amsterdam) & step-daughter of Hendrik Reijnsz: Gulix (from Dircksland).
Says knows nothing.

- Whether the Lodge slaves did not come to her house on other nights bringing muskets, powder and lead for safekeeping until such time they could carry out their evil plans?
  - Says that the slaves were in her house but that no guns, powder and lead was brought.

- Whether she did not know that Hans Beer was complicit in this conspiracy?
  - Says knows nothing and further that she did not know the feelings of Hans Beer.

- Why she allowed Company slaves to bring into her house rice rations stolen from the mess?
  - Says knows nothing about it being stolen.

- Whether Hans Beer had not hidden various stolen goods in her house?
  - Says Hans Beer did have some stuff in her house; but that she knew nothing about any of it being stolen; and that Hans Beer had removed the said stuff into the bushes after her daughter had refused to marry him which had made him angry.

- Whether the two daughters named Baauw and Iba are her legitimate children.
  - Says yes and that she has a son in Batavia.

Inabe writes X as her mark, as do her daughters, in the presence of Hans J:[aco]b Hoeven, Gerhard Buremeister, Louis Crajers.

Baauw

Next is the turn of Baauw:

- How old and where born?
  - Says does not know her age born in Timor

- Whether the old Timorese couple with whom she shared a house, were her legitimate parents.
  - Says yes.

- Whether she was not complicit in the murderous conspiracy by the Company slaves who had on the night of Saturday, 6 September 1677 planned to massacre all Netherlanders or Company officers when they were asleep?
  - Says certainly heard from Hans Beer that at the time the Commander Hugo was leaving for Batavia that he had pickled some meat for the said Hugo and that Hans Beer had heard one Company slave named Matthijs Canareij say that if the new commander were to ill-treat him, he would rather flee as a fugitive to another land.

- Whether she had not encouraged the slaves and when the conspiracy had been accomplished she would join them and and also flee?
  - Says knows nothing about that.

- Whether the slaves did not come to her house from the Lodge bringing rice stolen from the rations of the mess?
  - Says it is true that the slaves namely Paul, Abraham, Claas, Amide and Goulam did indeed come to her house but that she knew nothing about what they had brought.

- Whether Hans Beer had not been complicit in this and requested assistance?
  - Says that she do not know the heart and mind of Hans Beer.

After the three interrogatories, the Council decides that it has no authority to legally try the persons interrogated, opting instead to send them and the evidence to the Cape of

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23 Kanara / Canara region or Coastal Karnataka on the Indian sub-continent. This term refers generally to the coastal people at Goa and Vengurla in present-day Karnataka and Kerala and their languages Konkani (canarim or lingua canarim) and/or Kannada (Kanarese). The term may derive from the Persian word for coast kinara; if so, it would mean the 'language of the coast'.
Good Hope. As an afterthought and presumably because of her intimate association with Hans Beer, an interrogatory for Iba follows:

Iba

- How old and where born?
  - Says does not know but is born in Timor.
- Whether the old Timorese couple with whom she resides are her legitimate parents?
  - Says yes.

Whether she was not complicit in the conspiracy on the night of Saturday, 6 September 1677 to massacre all the Hollanders or Company officers here and to set alight the Lodge fleeing to the other side of the island to build a craft to go to the Island of Bourbon [Réunion] taking as much Company provisions and goods as they could carry away?
  - Says knows nothing about any of this nor ever heard of this before the slaves were taken into custody and that she had heard the rest from the other inhabitants at Grote Limoen.
- Whether the slaves here at the Lodge had brought any rice, powder, bullets and other stuff kept at the Lodge?
  - Says that Paul did indeed bring raw and cooked rice as well as some salted sinking fish and cooked meat to accompany his sweet potatoes.
- Whether she had not known that her concubine named Hans Beer had been complicit in this conspiracy?
  - Says knows nothing about that.
- Whether the slaves had given three rifles and powder and lead to Hans Beer for him to hide until such time they could carry out their evil plot?
  - Says Hans Beer had indeed 2 rifles one of which he had bought from one of the settlers here and the other obtained from Commander Hugo’s slave and where he Hans Beer had obtained the gunpowder she knew nothing?
- Whether she had not seen or known that Hans Beer had stolen so much stuff from the Honourable Company?
  - Says knows nothing about that but that Hans Beer had brought a bag with rice to her house saying that it had been given him by the commander and to keep it there until such time he could set up his own home?
- Whether she knew about other powder as well as bullets or any of the other stuff?
  - Says that she only knows about the stuff Hans Beer had with him when he was arrested.
- Whether other goods that had been hidden were not known to her, namely 1 rifle as well as a kettle and some other powder and lead?
  - Says knows nothing about that.

Claiming to have no authority to formally try Amsoeboe and his family, Lamotious and his council send the family to the Cape where they arrive (15 August 1679) on the Boode.
Confined to the Cape of Good Hope

The family is allowed to settle amongst the colony’s free-population. They next come under the spotlight (1681) when Commander Simon van der Stel singles out the Timorese household as one of two operational brothels in the small colony, authorizing the fiscal to arrest anybody found there in flagrante delictu.24

“Taking into consideration the scandalous and shameful households of two families, one being a Timorese family and the other a certain freed slave woman named Catarijn25 where it is known that also the Company slave women in particular at frequent times and give themselves to be used by Europeans not even ashamed to openly commit such dirty wantonness; and while such same [behaviour] no longer will be tolerated, consequently it is decided to order the resident fiscal to visit the afore-mentioned two houses whenever he deems it expedient and, on finding any Europeans there, to admonish them a first time and warn them, but that, if found there a second time, to apprehend them; and after investigation, they are to be punished; but regarding the female folk or slave women, it is to be understood that any found there shall certainly be forthwith punished”.

By this time Iba presumably gives birth to a third daughter Maria Elisabeth van de Caab who later goes by the name Maria Elisabeth Jooste(n). Seven family members are enumerated (1682) in the census (Opgaaf): three extra members presumably being Iba’s daughters. Amsoeboe is now recorded as Paay Timorees.26 The latter name is later contracted to - or erroneously [?] recorded as - Moor27. His wife now appears as Ansela van Timor.28 The Netherlandized terms pa(a)ij and ma(a)ij are Portuguese for ‘father’ (pai) and ‘mother’ (mãe) commonly used as a term of respect throughout the colonial East Indies – also in the Dutch settlements – to address or refer to elderly Asian and African ‘blacks’.29 Both words have been carried over into modern Afrikaans. Amsoeboe is not to be confused with the contemporary banished Muslim convict (bandiet) Miera / Mira / Mirra Moor van Ceylon.30


26 See Addendum.

27 The possibility that he was Muslim cannot be discounted.

28 Paaij Moor [CA: MOOC 23/5]; Paay Timorees [Opgaaf Rollen (1682, no. 43)]; Paay Timoor [CA: J 153 (1692)].

29 Examples found in Cape records include: Paay / Paaij Ceylon [Opgaaf Rollen (1682, no. 39 & 1686) for the freed slave Marquart van Ceylon; Paaij Claas for the freed slave Claes van Guinea alias Claas Swart; Pay Wiera [sic] Moor for the exiled convict Miera / Mira / Mirra Moor van Ceylon [Opgaaf Rollen (1688 no. 64); CA: J 153 (Opgaaf) (1692), no 64: Pay Miera Moor: 1 man; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Caep; Sine Paay van die Kus [Opgaaf Rollen (1712, no. 618)]; Maaij Ansela [CA: J 153 (1692)] for Angela / Engela van Bengale; Maaij Betrice for Beatrice van Cochin; Maaij Claesje for Claesje van Angola; Maaij Isabella for Isabella van Angola. The curious appearance of Paeij Venetie [CA: C 294] in Cape records begs the question whether this ‘Italian’ immigrant was not perhaps originally from Asia or whether such terminology is also used for Europeans.

30 See the chronology of his recorded appearance at the Cape at the end of this article.
Inabe dies

The following year (March 1683) the clearly impoverished family’s meagre worldly goods are inventorized by the Orphan Chamber - presumably after the death of Inabe alias Ansela. The only items listed are:

1 kettle, 1 blanket, 1 cushion and cover, 2 piece of old sail cloth, 1 lamp, 1 oil pot, 1 barrel with rice pots and pans and other lumber (later given to the knechts [presumably Company servants]) and 1 chest with some inconsequential contents.

Concubine to Pomeranian Lorenz Campher

For reasons not entirely clear – perhaps poverty and/or censure - his younger daughter Baauw – now known like her mother also as Ansela and at times misrecorded as being Cape-born – is taken up into the Company Slave Lodge appearing once again as a ‘free’ person (1695). During this time she baptizes three children (father/s unnamed) as Company slaves: Cornelis (1686), Angenitie (1690) and Jacobje [Jacob] (1692). All three children adopt the surname of her de facto husband Lorenz Campher (from Morrouw) and become part of his household. Her heelslag status prevents her from legally being able to marry her partner. Her status as vrij meid has been obscured by her temporary incorporation into the Company Slave Lodge. Legally, she is never enslaved. As founding mistress of the historic Cape wine estate Muratie at Koelehof, Stellenbosch and even having some of the estate-produced wine named after her (‘Ansela van de Caab’), Baauw is currently grandiosely re-invented, romanticized and incorrectly identified. Commissioned research by a local cultural historian mistakenly has her as the former private slave – also named Ansela van de Caab - of Christina Does (from Nijmegen), widow of Elbert Dircksz: Diemer (from Emmerich) and baptised as an adult.

Concubine to Dutchman Gerrit Theunisz:

His elder daughter Iba – now known as Anthonique / Anthoinetta [van] Timor van Mauritius becomes concubine (bijsit) to free-burgher Gerrit Theunisz: (from Utrecht). He is the former farming partner (compagnon) of free-burgher Willem van Wyk (from Ingen). Together they purchase (7 April 1678) the place Paradijs at Constantia and

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31 See Addendum III.
32 Being the youngest daughter, her Timorean provenance is likely later overlooked with recording officials mistakenly assuming her to be Cape-born.
34 She is Ancelaar / Ansela / Anzela [Hendricks:] van de Caab baptised as an adult (19 June 1695) een bejaard persoon nae voorgaende belijdenisse gen:[aem]t Angela van de Caep & manumitted (28 June 1695); marries [no record] Hans Silberbach. They live on Sandvliet before selling to Christoffel Snijman van de Caep and moving further afield to the farms Meerrust & Eensamheid. [CA: CJ 1254, fol. 107; CA: C 681, pp. 247 & 261; C 728, p. 65; J. Hoge, Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806, p. 399].
35 Willem van Wyk (from Ingen [Wijk bij Duurstede in the Betuwe, Gelderland]); formidable Cape colonial paterfamilias 1st recorded as servant in Company Gardens (1672); fathers 2 daughters likely by Company slave Dorothea van Angola - een Angoolse kaffarinnen (confiscated private slave of disgraced official Heinrich Lacus (from Wesel)): Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) [van Wijck] van de Caep & Johanna
four slaves (Thomas van Bengale, Jantje van Batavia, Paulus van Cabo Verde & heelslag Petronella (Pieterneel / Pyttie) van de Caep\textsuperscript{37}) from Hester Weijers: / Jans: Klim (from Lier), wid. Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht).\textsuperscript{38} The partnership is short-lived as Van Wyk is listed the following year (1679) with a new partner (socius): in compagnie met Hans Ehrentraut. Theunisz: relocates to Stellenbosch where he and Iba live in concubinage.

Iba’s sister Baauw’s immediate offspring, however, continue to be intimately associated with Willem van Wyk and his family. Her eldest daughter (Anthoinetta / Agnetha Campher) marries his eldest son from his first marriage (Arie Willemssz: van Wyk); her son’s eldest daughter (Johanna Catharina Campher) marries his youngest son from his second marriage (Willem Willemssz: van Wyk); and one other granddaughter (Sophia Campher) marries a first cousin (Christoffel van Wyk).\textsuperscript{39} It is her legendary grandson Willem Namaqua Van Wyk (1712-1777) however, who makes an indelible mark on the South African veld and whose life and legacy is further unravelled at the end of this article.

**Assault on Iba**

\textit{(Jannetje) [van Wijck] van de Caep, becomes a free-burgher; listed (1679) with partner Hans Ehrentraut; but listed alone (1682): (Opgaaf): No. 15: Willem van Wyk: 1 man; 1 sm [adult male slave]; 1 sv [adult female woman] [Petronella (Pyttie) van de Caep]]; 7 bste [oxen]; 80 skpe[sheep]; 1 vk[pig]; 3 kgs [sown wheat]; 25 kgw [unharvested wheat]; 2 sh [snaphaen / flintlock]; 1 dg [degen / rapier; Cape; Ehrentraut fathers son by their jointly-owned Cape-born heelslag slave Pyttie; child is promptly baptised (12 November 1684) & concubinage not only made public but possibly causes partnership to break up: Joannes by Hans Eentruij / E(h)rentraut / Evertraut: Hans Eentruij, de moeder Pyttie, slavin (witness: Jan Holmsits Mary [Maria Bartels: van de Caep alias Mostaerts Marij]); Van Wijck sells (25 April 1685) his share of Paradijs & slaves to Ehrentraut & purchases garden Roode Hek in Table Valley from Cornelis Petersen Linnes (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway]); Ehrentraut - presumably moribund - makes testamentary provision (23 June 1688) for liberation of concubine Petronella of the Cape (aged 23/24) which Orphan Master authorizes according to wishes of Ehrentraut before his death; deceased’s former partner marries (5 August 1685): Willem van Wyck, vryburger en Catharina Hillebrants; Van Wijck and his new wife Catharina (Trijntje) Hillebrandt / Hillebrand(s:) relocate to new farm Sandwyk at Drakenstein (Paarl); Van Wijck remarries Catharina (Trijntje) Harmens: who in turn remarries Jurgen / Jurrien Kervel (from Haarlem).

\textsuperscript{36} Mansell G. Upham, ‘Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia / De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia: Jan Grof(died ante 1700) and his extended family at the Cape of Good Hope – a glimpse into family, household, patriarchy, matriarchy, bondage, marriage, concubinage, adultery, bastardy, métissage, manumission, propinquity and consanguinity in 17th century Dutch South Africa before slavery’s abolition, the weakening of kinship and emergence of the modern nuclear family http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/HelEnParadijs-DeHoopOpConstantia.pdf.

\textsuperscript{37} Likely daughter of Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Angola & half-sister to Maria Bartels: [Mostaerts Marij / Jan Holsmits Marij] van de Caep.

\textsuperscript{38} Deeds Office, Cape Town [DO/CT]: Transport en Schepenkennissen, vol. 3 (no pagination) [T 219].

Iba and her concubine (bijsit) join the household at Stellenbosch, possibly as domestic servant and knecht respectively, of free-burgher Jacob Aertsz: Brouwer⁴⁰ (from Tiel) and his twice-widowed wife – Agnetha (Aagje) Rix (from ter Veer)⁴¹. Both former husbands are killed by Cape indigenes during hunting expeditions (1673 & 1677) into the interior. Iba’s adopted name is a corruption or variation of - or interchangeable with - the names Agnetha / Angenietie / Agatha and is probably taken from the name of the wife of her new employer. The name and all its variants re-appear amongst the descendants of all three of her daughters.

Brouwer not only assaults his wife regularly, but also on one occasion assaults (1680) his neighbour’s wife [Elisabeth Nieuwmeijer, wife to Jan Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht)] and again later viciously assaults Iba (1686) soon after fatally assualting his slave Tido(or) [Tidore] van Goa who dies from his injuries. The events are set out below briefly as gleaned from the surviving written record.⁴²

The vrij meid Iba presents herself (13 December 1686) to the secretary Sijbrand Mancadan, acting on orders of the Landdrost Johannes Mulder and Heemraden, for assessment of her injuries (28 January 1687) sustained in an assault by Brouwer. She has a large contusion on her left shoulder and arm and a gaping wound on her right hand. The bone of the forefinger can be seen protruding all the way up to her wrist. Mancadan intimates that more information precipitating the accident is to be provided by her concubine.

Iba (now described as vrij swartinne) and Theunisz: appear before Landdrost Mulder and the Council of Justice with officials J.H. Blum⁴³, J.M. Rootsteen⁴⁴ and Melchior

⁴⁰ Jacob Artzen / Aertzen / Ertzen / Hertz / Aartsz: Brouwer (from Tiel [Gelderland]). His marriage is recorded as follows: Jacob Hertsz: Brouwer van Tiel, jongman met Hoghie Rijcks van der Veer, weduwe [DRC/A: G1/1, p. 82].

⁴¹ Agnetha / Aag(t)je / Hoghie Rich / Rijks / Rix (de wedde Kliyne Klaus) (from ter Veer [near Middelburg, Walcheren, Zealand]); married (1) Cape June 1671 free-sawyer Claas / Claus Jacobsz: (from Meldorp [Ditmarsken]), widow of Dorothea Anna Margaretha Spelinghs (from Klostergreun [Klostergroeningen near Magdeburg]); dies Moordkuil; married (2) Cape 17 March 1675 Jacob Hendricksz: (from Leyden) Jacob Hendricksz geboortigh van Leyden en Aagtje Rich van Middelburgh, weduwe van Claas Jacobsz van Meldorp [DRC/A: G1/1 p. 79] [massacre victim 1677?]; married (3) on 2 May 1677 Jacob Hertsz: Brouwer (from Tiel [Gelderland]); she has 2 children:

2 May 1677:
(1) Susanna Claasen baptised Cape 19 February 1672; marries 12 November 1684 Matthias Greef (from Magdeburg)
(2) Jacob (Hendriksz) baptised 29 April 1676

⁴² See Addendum V for verbatim transcripts for all the surviving archival documents found concerning this case.

⁴³ Jan Hendrick Blum soldy boeckhouder (drowns 28 August 1691); marries Cape 7 October 1685 Margaretha Hendrina van Otteren (from Maastricht [Limburg]); she marries (2) (12 July 1693 Heinrich Bernhard Oldeland / Oldenland (from Lübeck) (dies 1697); she marries (3) 30 May 1700 Hendrik Donker / Doncker (from Amsterdam).

⁴⁴ Jacob Matzen [Madsen] Roodsteen / Rootsteen (from Copenhagen [Denmark]); marries Cape (c. 1685) [no record – civil registration only?] Agnetha van der Graaff (from Gorinchem), wid. Laurens Visscher (from Wanerede uyt Hessen-landt); she remarries Cape ( 3 February 1692) Albertus Coopman (from Naerden)
Kemels, in attendance. Iba, supported by her concubine as fellow witness, declares (3 February 1687) that while residing in the house of Brouwer she witnesses Brouwers and his slave Tido return one evening (September 1686) from the bush with a load of wood. Brouwer locks himself and his slave in a room. Iba hears Tido scream for about 30 minutes with Brouwer thereafter emerging from the room - whip in hand - with which he has severely beaten Tido. Thereafter Tido complains at various times that he can longer urinate. Iba also witnesses his further rapid deterioration as his master mercilessly forces him to work so that by the third day Tido is found dead in his bed.

The Cape-born free-burgher Ferdinandus Appel declares (3 February 1687) how that during November last he comes to the house of Brouwer and sees Tido in unbearable agony, lying on his stomach outside the door covered with a blanket. When speaking with him, Tido complains to him that he is unable to urinate (niet pissen conde) and if not helped, his bladder will burst.

Theunisz: and the Cape-born Jacob Hendricksz: Hages are summoned to give evidence. They declare (4 February 1687) on their “worthiness as men” rather than under oath that two months ago Theunisz, who is repairing and working at Brouwer’s house, at about 10 o’ clock in the morning sees Iba – described in the record as being a vrij swartinne – enter the kitchen to cook some Turkish beans so that these will be ready for lunch. Taking away a tea kettle, which she finds hanging over the fire; she replaces it with another pot to cook her beans. Seeing this, the daughter of Brouwer, Susanna Claassen?, goes to complain to her father who thereupon storms into the kitchen admonishing Iba for disobeying his orders calling her a “black whore” (swart hoer). Iba questions why she would disobey him and that if he does not wish her to cook; she will leave off cooking muttering “Moer!” Both Theunisz: and Hages are near the door and can hear the commotion. They also hear Brouwer hit Iba with a stick whereupon a howling Iba emerges showing them her severely damaged hand with bones protruding. Hages further confirms these events, this time under oath.

Summoned by Landdrost Mulder (4 February 1687), Brouwer confesses that on an evening in the month of November 1686, the exact time he can no longer remember, he and his slave Tido return home from the bush. Taking Tido into his room, he whips his slave for certain unnamed misdeeds. The impression is given that he, as slave-owner (patroon), need not disclose what constitutes – in his estimation – a ‘misdeed’. His slave, however, dies three days later. His slave he had originally purchased (14 May 1683) from Leendert Jansz: van Gijselen who had previously bought him from Tobias Marquaert (10 November 1677). Nothing further comes to light about this incident. The Council of Justice now attend to the more ‘important’ matter concerning the assault on Iba.

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45 Melchior Kemels (from The Hague) arrives (1685) on Adrichem; corporal later secretary of Council of Justice; marries Metjen van Veldhuijsen sister-in-law to free-burgher Jan Dircksz: de Beer (from Wageningen [Geulders/Gelderland]).

46 Susanna Claassen baptised Cape 19 February 1672; marries 12 November 1684 Matthias Greef (from Magdeburg).

47 Moer - a contraction for ‘mother’ - effectively is a euphemism for ‘cunt’ and/or abbreviation for the expletive moerneuker (‘motherfucker’).

48 Transporten en Schpenkennis (10 November 1677 & 14 May 1683).
Brouwer confesses (4 February 1687) to the Council that in December last without being able to remember the precise day he wakes up to find that his fellow free-burgher Theunisz: and Hages have consumed all the morning tea and instructs his daughter to again put the kettle on the fire. At that point Iba enters the kitchen, removes the kettle and flings it across the floor. His daughter complains to her father who goes to the kitchen and punishes Iba for her improper behaviour, reprimanding her for back-chatting and swearing by hitting her once on her shoulder with a broomstick.

The Court rules (7 February 1687) in favour of Iba, rejecting Brouwer’s defence that Iba has not been paralysed or maimed even though he has hit her with a broomstick, ordering Brouwer to pay compensation for Iba being maimed and for pain and suffering; and to pay, over and above Rds 50, a further sum of Rds 12 with costs.

Much later (1705), Aagje Rix finally charges her husband for assault declaring that during the 25 years of their married life Brouwer often assaults her even threatening her with her life. She tolerates this “because of love”. Brouwer is banished to Robben Island. We last catch a glimpse of him in a pathetic letter sent from Robben Island:

“Jacob Artzen Brauer states that he was formerly freeman at the Cape and lately farmer at Stellenbosch, is 76 years old and has never been so poor. All his things have been taken away. He had without clothes or bedding been sent to Robben Island. On dry rice and water he is obliged to work in his old age, and of that even he hardly gets half enough. He cannot cover himself against the cold. As I have heard, they have sold all my things, and they do not even give me a pipe of tobacco. They wish to make out that I cannot pay my debts. I do not owe more than f 300 (Cape), and last year I was offered that amount for my property. Why should I eat the Company’s rice, if I have enough of my own and for which I have worked so long and so hard. I therefore beg that I may receive a little assistance out of my own property, or that I may at once be summoned before you to stop the wicked mouths of the false traitors, if there be still any justice for me. They entered my house and beat me lame and cripple. I hope that the Lord God will repay it a thousand-fold to your Honour (should you help me).”

Amsoeboe & Iba set up an independent household

Amsoeboe next appears in the records (1692) as a miller (moolenaar) with two daughters in the Cape District alongside Gerrit Theunisz: (from Utrecht) - de facto husband to Iba which couple is again recorded (1695). Her father is again listed (1697) but as Clasius [sic] van Timor. Is this perhaps a transcription error for Darius? Iba’s heelslag status prevents her from legally being able to marry her partner. No children are enumerated. Are they taken up into another household? Her three daughters are jointly baptized (8 February 1693) with two manumitted adult slaves Isaac van Bengale and Catharina van Bengale:

50 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journals, Letters and Documents Received, Letters Despatched from the Cape, Memorials or Requests (W.A. Richards & Sons, Cape Town 1900). 3 July 1705: Letter Received, no. 466 (3 July 1705), pp. 277 & 365.
51 Probably slave sold by Cape ex-commander Zacharias Wagenaer when returning to Netherlands from the East (1666) to Boccaert who likely sells him to Company; sues (1 July 1671) in capacity as Company slave Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson (jagt) (from Wesel) husband of Maaij Anseal van Bengale; manumitted (already by 1685) but no appearance as free-black (1682); granted (25 August 1685) erf in
Syn deze onder geschrevene personne op hare voorgaende belijdenisse door het sacrement van den H[eilig]e Doop Christi kerke ingelijfen Isaac van Bengalen met Catharina van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van Mauritius en de Maria Elisabeth van de Caab alle vrylieden alhier.

All three daughters soon marry Europeans – former VOC servants who have opted to become colonists (burghers):

- Pieter Christiaansz: de Jager (from Zutphen [Geulders]),
- Barend Pietersz: Blom (from Swedish Pomerania) nicknamed Magere Barend and Pommerijntje; and
- Peter Rasmussen / [Pieter Erasmus] (from Denmark) nicknamed Pieter den Deen.

Although the archival evidence unearthed so far remains sparse, these three women clearly appear to be siblings. Not only are they baptized jointly, but two are Mauritius-born with one adopting a name that significantly harks back to Iba’s concubine Hans Beer on Mauritius. The Timorese household at the Cape at one stage reflects (1682) an increased membership of three more unnamed individuals (Iba’s daughters?). That these three jointly baptised girls are very likely to be related to each other, is further corroborated: (1) by the two eldest both naming their eldest daughters Agatha [Agnetha] or Anthoinetta – an extremely rare name at the Cape during this period; (2) all three acting as witnesses inter se when baptising their children; (3) by intermarriage within these families and; (4) by the association of Willem van Wyk with, not only Gerrit Theunisz: (from Utrecht) and Lourenz Campher, but also the Widow Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht) and her extended household – also her slaves (one of whom appears to also be jointly baptized with these three girls. The curious discernible Geulders/Gelderland (Van Wijk & De Jager), Utrecht (Mostaert & Theunisz:), Scandinavian-Pomeranian links (Erasmus, Campher, Oelofse, Blom, Swart, Strang, Raesen & possibly Scholtz,) should also be taken into account. Finally, after dredging up the entirety of the contemporary Cape colonial population, the...
curious presence of these three girls cannot otherwise be explained any more satisfactorily.

**Cape Town’s 1st Bergie**^{53}\footnote{Bergie is a term usually referring to indigenous vagrants found in Cape Town their only permanent shelter being the city’s famed Table Mountain.}

Finally, the rotting corpse of one of Cape Town’s first recorded *bergies* - the town beggar *Paay Moor* is discovered (4 February 1708) in his hut in the Company Gardens. After judicial inquiry, the decomposed body is buried on the same spot:^{54}\footnote{H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*: Journal, p. 159.}

> “The body of an old black, known as **Paay Moor**, found dead in the gardens in a small hut. He was accustomed to beg his food in the town. The Fiscal and surgeon and secretary of justice went to examine it. It is believed that he died of natural disease and great poverty. The body being partly decomposed, was buried on the spot”.

The disadvantaged position (economic, social and political) of exiles, free-blacks and hybrid non-European males at the VOC-occupied Cape not only stems from having been enslaved or banished, but also from being granted freedom with strings attached. Hattingh notes that the free-blacks do not always appear in the census (*Opgaaf Rollen*) without explaining their disappearance or non-enumeration. The extent of free-black poverty at the Cape and being phased out of the colonial equation in terms of being free and equal citizens, requires greater critical examination. The plight of *Amsoeboe*, however, serves as an (extreme?) example of the extent of free-black political, cultural, social and economic alienation - if not also hopelessness - at the Cape of Good Hope.
Amsoeboe's great-grandson, and Baauw's grandson, is often cited as a rare, but idiosyncratic, example of a colonist who went 'native' - but by historians quite oblivious to his hybridized Timorese origins. The degree of intercourse between colonist and aborigine, however, remains an insufficiently explored theme (also genealogical) in South Africa. Until now Willem Namaqua Van Wyk (1712-1777) is considered to be the very first recorded 'white' [sic] colonist to undergo the 't Kammi rite of passage and become a fully fledged member of a Cape indigenous Khoekhoe tribe. Less appreciated is the fact that he spawns a whole Van Wyk clan of Nama, Griqua, Koranna and Rohoboth Basters that ramify throughout the Northern Cape and Nambia - Namaqualand, Bushmanland, Namaland and Rohoboth. We now know that he is effectively an 'accommodator' of sorts and one of the key mixed race bridging folk instrumental in helping to prize open the frontier of an expanding Dutch colony in Africa.

Various isolated references to Willem Namaqua - as he comes to be known – appear in published sources, eg Elphick and Shell write the following:55

"... and an occasional farmer like Willem van Wijk, who married the daughter of a Nama chief in a Khoikhoi ceremony, dressed and bore himself as a Khoikhoi".

Smith tells us a little more about him:56

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"Van Wyk underwent a Namaqua initiation ceremony (‘t Kammi) to make him a member of the tribe. This is described by H. [endrick] Cloete in a letter to Hendrik Swellengrebel, jnr. Since the ceremony involved being urinated upon, Van Wyk became quite famous in the colony and at the time of his death, in 1777, was known as Willem Namaqua’.

The ceremony is described in graphic detail by Hendrik Cloete of Groot Constantia in one of his published letter to Hendrik Swellengrebel Junior (1734-1803). Although published verbatim in the original Dutch, this letter lacks an English translation like the other letters in the collection. This censorial omission is now rectified by the writer’s own translation into English:

“It is also customary amongst the Namaquas that if one wanted to do ‘t Kammi, so as to become one of their members, a piebald (swartbont) sheep is slaughtered at own cost and as the skin is often damaged when slaughtering, these are rejected until an undamaged hide can be got which the initiate ties all around his neck like a tie. That being done, he receives from some of the others a clout or punch with the hand on his ears, and so strong that he even falls down; meanwhile one of the elders pinches closed with both his fingers the skin in front of his ‘shame’ [penis] until bursting with piss, and immediately once he has emptied the ‘fly’ [foreskin] with piss into the mouth of the one clouted, pisses on his head and body the remainder of his piss from his filled bladder. That is when all the bystanders, of which usually there are a great many, all clap hands shouting ‘t Kammi! ‘t Kammi! That being done, the slaughtered sheep (or other sheep) is (are) picked up ceremoniously and the initiate has to keep it [the skin] around his neck just as long even until it actually rots off and then he may no longer eat rabbit considered by them to be impure. This happened some time before to one of our Cape burghers, with the name Willem

57 Ook is onder de Namaquas gebruikelijk dat als men iemand ‘t Kammi maken wil, zoo veel te beduiden als een Lidmaat van haar dan word een Zwartbont scheep, op zijn onkosten geslagt, en die Zoo dikwels als in ‘t afslagten ‘t vel geschonden word. Word afgekeurd, tot zoo lange men een ongeschondene afgeslagt krijgt, waar van den aengenomene het geheele net om zijn hals evenals een das word gebonden. Wanneer dan alle de omstanders, ‘t welk gemeenlijk in groote quantiteijt bestaat, alle met handeklap uitroepen: ‘t Kammi! ‘t Kammi! Dat geschied zijnde word de geslagte schaap of schapen met glorie opgegeten, en de aengenomene moet het net zoo lang om zijn hals houden, tot dat het zelfs afrot, en dan mag hij ook van geen haas, bij haar als onreijn verklaart, meer eten. Waar van Zig voor eenige tijd een Onreijn was gedacht, so as to become a member of the tribe. This is described by H. [endrick] Cloete in a letter to Hendrik Swellengrebel, jnr. Since the ceremony involved being urinated upon, Van Wyk became quite famous in the colony and at the time of his death, in 1777, was known as Willem Namaqua’.

59 G.J. Schutte (English translations by Dr Anna J. Böeseken & Prof. H.M. Robinson), Briefwisseling van Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr oor Kaapse Sake 1778-1792 (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town 1982), pp. 73-74.
60 Son of 1st and only Cape-born governor Hendrik Swellengrebel Senior (1700-1763) & Helena Willemina ten Damme (1706-1746).
van Wyk, who had a vested interest in a chief’s daughter, in order to take her as his wife, and in this way underwent ’t Kammi. That is why he was called Willem Namaqua until his death about 2 years ago”.

Other than his ’t Kammi notoriety, we are able to add a little more biographical ‘flesh’ to this man’s exceptionally eventful life.

Baptised (8 May 1712), he is the son of Arie Willemsz: van Wijck and Agneta Campher, widow of Gerrit van der Swaan (his parents marrying 27 December 1711), the paternal grandson of Willem van Wijck (from [?] Ingen) Catharina Hildenbrand and stepson to Tryntje Harmens: & Juriaan Kervel (from Haarlem); his maternal grandparents are Lourenz Campher (Mohrow [Pomerania]) and the free-black woman Baauw van Timor and his maternal great-grandparents are the Timorese exiles Amsoeboe and Inabe. He is mentioned (1729) as 19-years-old in his father’s deceased estate. His mother marries (31 May 1733) her third husband Joachim Scholtz (from Altmark), the widower to Anna Maria Swart (from Stockholm) and formerly widow of Carl Strang (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) and prior to that the widow of Martin Mecklenburg (from Königsberg). With his mother’s 12 children (one of whom dies in infancy), the household is supplemented with his step-father’s son - it is not known whether his previous wife’s two daughters (one legitimate, the other illegitimate) are incorporated into the household. He becomes superintendent at Jan Valck’s farm in the Sandveld. He participates (1738) in a follow-up expedition to the !Ariep [Gariep or Orange River] with Lodelyk Putter, Hendrik Ras, Matthys Willemsz, Jacob Swart, Frans Campher, Andries van der Walde, Sybrand van Dyk, Augustus Lourens & Jan Gous – servants of Hendrik Kruger [sic - Krügel] – having been preceded by Pieter de Bruyn. He accompanies (2 October 1739) Giebeler to Meerhoffs Casteel52 In 1739 / 1740 he is a farmer53 He acts as surety with Willem Steenkamp (1763) with the manumission of Rachel of the Cape and four children belonging to Hermanus Louw.54 His daughter Elsje by the Hottentottin Lysje is baptised (1768) at Zwartland. He dies (1777).55

Were it also not for the writings of the Swedes, Anders Sparrman and Carl Thunberg and also Jacob Haafner, Willem Namaqua’s place in South African folklore may never have been secured.66 Regrettably, a broader historical inquiry - or lack thereof - confirm that it has been generally impolitic for Willem Namaqua to be sufficiently researched,

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61 E.E. Mossop, The Journals of Brink and Rhenius, van Riebeeck Society, no. 28, Cape Town 1947, p. 94. Most of these individuals were related either by blood or marriage to the matriarch Zacharia Jans: Visser – see Mansell G. Upham, ‘Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia / De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia: Jan Grof (died ante 1700) and his extended family at the Cape of Good Hope – a glimpse into family, household, patriarchy, matriarchy, bondage, marriage, concubinage, adultery, bastardy, métissage, manumission, propinquity and consanguinity in 17th century Dutch South Africa before slavery’s abolition, the weakening of kinship and emergence of the modern nuclear family http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/HellEnParadijs-DeHoopOpConstantia.pdf.
63 Requesten, no. 48a, vol. IV, p. 1276.
64 Requesten, no. 136, II, p. 685.
65 Hans F.Heese, Groep sonder grense
resurrected and appreciated by successive generations, within and without South Africa, still ideologically caught up in untangling the country's separated-yet-intertwined racial tapestry.
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GENEALOGY: AMSOEBOE (PAAY TIMOOR / TIMOREES / MOOR)

15 August 1679: Timorees family arrive at Cape on Boode [Lorna Newcomb]
26 November 1681: *enee Timorees huifjesin* [Resolution: Council of Policy Wednesday, 26 November 1681 [Journal, 27 November 1681]]

1682 (Opgaaf): *Paay Timorees & Anselva van Timor* – enumerated as couple with 5 daughters [Anthonique & 3 voordogters & Anselva]

1683: death of *Anselva van Timor*
March 1683: (Inventory: *Paij Moor*, March 1683)

1688 (Opgaaf): *Paay Timoor* & *Ansela van Timor* – enumerated as couple with 5 daughters [Anthonique & 3 voordogters & Ansela]

1692 (Opgaaf): *Pay Timoor* [no wife] & 2 daughters [Anthonique & Ansela]; listed as moolenaar

1692 (Opgaaf): No 89: *Pay Timoor* (vryswart); 1 man; 2 daughters; Cape

1695 (Opgaaf): *Gerrit Teunissz en Antonica Timor* Cape District

1697 (muster roll): *Clasius [Darius?] van Timor* appears with *Gerrit Theunisz*; (from Utrecht) & *Athoni[que]*

4 February 1708: decomposing body found dead in Company Gardens

**marries de facto**

*Anselva van Timor* died Cape 1683

b1  *Iba alias Antonica / Anthonique* born Timor

1679: arrives from Mauritius

1682 (Opgaaf): *Paay Timorees & Anselva van Timor* – enumerated as couple with 5 daughters [Anthonique & 3 voordogters & Anselva(?)]

1686-1687: *Jacob Aartsz: Brouwer* assaults free-black woman *Anthonique van Timor* [CA: 1/STB 18/152 (Notarial Declarations 1685-99), declaration concerning contusion (*contusie*) of *Antonije van Mauritius* (13 December 1686 & 28 January 1687); CJ 290, pp. 49-66 & CJ (Sentence, 7 February 1687)]

marries de facto

*Gerrit T(h)eunissz:* (from Utrecht)

7 April 1678: Partner of *Willem van Wijck* (from Ingen) at *Paradijs*, Constantia

*Hester van Lier*, wid. *Wouter Mostert* sells to *Willem van Wijck & Gerrit Theunis* in partnership & free-farmers her farm at Constantia, *Paradijs* & 4 slaves: *Thomas van Bengale, Jantje van Batavia, Paulus van Cabo Verde* & [Cape-born heelslag *Piterneel van ...* [TS 3, no pagination] [T 219]

1692 (Opgaaf): appears single as *Gerrit Theunis* next to *Pay Timoor* [latter is enumerated with no wife & 2 daughters]

8 Feb. 1693: baptism of 3 voordogters

*Syn deze onder geschrevene persoonhe op hare voorgaende belijdenisse door het sacrament van den H:[eilig]e Doop Christi kerke ingelijfen *Isaac van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van Mauritius en de Maria Elisabeth van de Caab alle vrylieden alhier.*

1695 (Opgaaf): appear as couple *Gerrit Theunisz & Antonica van Timor* [no children enumerated]

1697 (muster): appears with *Clasius van Timor & Anthoni[que]*

1700: not enumerated

1705: *Gerrit van der Swaan* [not same person as *Gerrit Theunisz:*] appears in *Opgaaf* alone

1706: husband to Agneta Campher

c1  *Willemina / Harmina / Hermina Carelse / Carlse:/ Karlse* born Mauritius

baptized Cape 8 February 1693

*Syn deze onder geschrevene persoonhe op hare voorgaende belijdenisse door het sacrament van den H:[eilig]e Doop Christi kerke ingelijfen *Isaac van Bengalen met Catharina van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van Mauritius en de Maria Elisabeth van de Caab alle vrylieden alhier.*

dies 1713 (smallpox epidemic)
marries Cape 19 February 1696
Pieter Christiaansz: / Christejanse / de Jager (from Zutphen [Gelderland]); he remarries 15 July 1714
Adriana Janse (Gerritsdochter) by whom he has no issue

d1 Antoentta de Jager baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 30 September 1696 (witnesses: Lodewyck Wiederhold & Margarita Jans: [Visser van de Caep]); dies young

d2 Andries de Jager
burgher Drakenstein
marries 29 September 1726
Elisabeth Potgieter

Geertruy Willemse (d/o Maria Cornelisse van de Caap, estranged w/o Gerrit Willemse (from Leeuwaerden) & Isaak Pietersz: van de Caap)
dies young

Andries de Jager

borgher Drakenstein
marries 29 September 1726
Elisabeth Potgieter

Geertruy Willemse (d/o Maria Cornelisse van de Caap, estranged w/o Gerrit Willemse (from Leeuwaerden) & Isaak Pietersz: van de Caap)
dies young

Barend Pietersen Blom (Pommerijntje) (from Swedish Pomerania)
arrives 1707; farmer at Groendal (obtained 28 February 1699) in Wagenmakersvallei [Wellington]

Agatha Blom baptized Cape 20 November 1695 (witnesses: Willem Lodewijk Wiederhold & Maria Joostende)
[CA: MOOC 10/1, no. 4 – for transcription see Marilyn Coetzee, 'Vendu (Auction) Roll of Agatha Blom wife of Lucas Meyer, 23 June 1774', Capensis 1996/3, pp. 9 -12]
marries (1) 19 November 1713
Lucas Meyer (s/o Wilhelm Meyer (from Essen [Lueneburg]) & Catharina Kie ns, wid. Pieter Visagie)
maries (2) 1758
Hermanus Smuts (from Sluis [Zeeus-Vlaandere]) (s/o Michiel Cornelisz: Smuts & Cornelia Emael), wid./o Johanna Best & wid./o Susanna van Boven, wid.
Servaas de Kock

Pieter Barend Blom baptized Pierre Drakenstein 29 April 1699 (witnesses: Pi
eter Rassemus ... et la mere de lanfant ...) marries
Maria Jacobs (d/o Daniel Jacobs & Louise Cordier)
she marries (2) 1757 Stephanus du Toit

Geertruy Blom
marries 30 May 1717
Pieter Boeiens / Booyens (from Blokzijl) (s/o Jhoon Pieter Bojens van Cathri
nenheerd in de Eyderstedt [Eiderstedt, Nordfriesland, Duchy of Slesvig] & Battin
Moline Rus); dies 18 May 1777
he marries (2) 26 December 1734 Maria Marais, wid. Pieter Taillefer

Breggie / Bregje / Brechie Booyens baptized 5 December
1717

Maria (Elisabeth) Booyens
marries
Jacob Marais

Johannes Booyens baptized 13 July 1721
marries 11 April 1784
Magdalena du Plessis

Catharina Booyens baptized 21 March 1723
Jurrien Petrus Booyens baptized 5 May 1725
Barend Booyens baptized 22 June 1727
marries 28 January 1748

Elisabeth Catharina Strijdom

Geertruida /Geertruy Booyens baptized 27 July 1729

Maria (Marritjie) Elisabeth Jooste(n) born Cape
baptized Cape 8 February 1693

Syn deze onder geschrevene persoon op hare voorgaende belijdenisse door het
sacrement van den H[eilige]e Doop Christi kerke ingelijfen Isaac van Bengalen
met Catharina van Bengalen, Willemina van Mauritius met Catharina van
Mauritius en de Maria Elizabeth van de Caab alle vrylieden alhier.
dies September 1723

marries [no record] c. 1698

P(i)eter Rasmussen [Erasmus] (from Denmark) alias Pieter den Deen
burgher 1691; farmer at Groenkoof [now Ovewacht, Bovlei] granted 28 February 1699
but registered 1714, Drakenstein (Wagenmakersvalleil)
Erasmus [Rasmus] Pieters Erasmus baptized Erassemus Drakenstein 21
September 1698 (witnesses: Beerne Piter Blom & Caterina Blom)
maries 4 November 1725

Susanna Jacobs (d/o Daniel Jacobs & Louise Cordier)

Maria Elisabeth Erasmus
Louisa Erasmus
Susanna Erasmus
marries
Pieter le Roux

Engela Erasmus
Hester Erasmus
Catharina Erasmus

Marie Hanna Erasmus baptized Drakenstein 25 October 1699 (witnesses:
Pierre Christiaans de Jaager & Iremena de Jaager); died young

Esther [Hester] Erasmus born c. 1703
marries her 1st cousin 8 April 1725
Carel de Jager

Laurens Erasmus baptized Drakenstein 22 June 1704 (witnesses: Pieter Jager
& Marie Pieterse Blom)
maries (de facto)
Catharina Hoffman (d/o Maria Louisz)
maries 9 December 1731
Martha Pienaar (d/o Jacques Pienaar & Louisa Cordier)

Catharina Erasmus baptized Drakenstein 24 January 1706 (no witnesses)

Johannes J. Muller

marries (1) 12 August 1725

Roelof van den Burg

Laris [Lars?] Erasmus baptized Drakenstein 6 February 1707 (witnees: Hermanus Buijs & Harmina Carelsz)

Jacob Erasmus baptized Cape (Namens der Christen Kinderen) 19 August 1708 (witnesses: Willem Wiederhold & Catharina de Beer)

Hester Pienaar (d/o Jacques Pienaar and Louisa Cordier)

marries (2) 4 August 1737

Sara de Klerk (d/o Abraham de Clerk and Madeleine Mouton)

Baauw alias Ansala / Anselia / Ansila born Timor
temporary Company slave

marries de facto

Laurens / Laerenz / Lourens / Lorenz Camfer(s) / Campher / Kam(p)fer (from Mornouw / Morrouw [Mohrow, Swedish Pomerania]) [from Werehond [Wiederhold?] according to Council of Policy resolution (CA: C 51, pp. 53-65. 21 November 1719)]

[http://www.ballfamilyrecords.co.uk/kfp/t641.html]

burgher Stellenbosch; owns Muratie near Koelenhof

1685: promised Muratie

1682 (Opgaaf): No mention

1688 (Opgaaf): No. 201: Laurens Campher: 1 man; 1 kgs; 2kgw; 1 sh,

Stellenbosch

1692 (Opgaaf): No mention

1695 (Opgaaf): No. 96: Laurens Campher: 1 man; Ansela van de Kaap: 1

wife; 1 son; 2 daughters; 2 oxen; 21.50 sheep; 2 kgs; 3kgw; 1 sh; 1 dg; Stellenbosch

1700 (Opgaaf): No. 69: Laurens Campher: 1 man; Ansela: 1 wife; 1 son; 2 daughters; 2 oxen; 20 sheep; 2000 vines; 3 leaguers; 1 sh; 1 dg; Stellenbosch

1705 (Opgaaf): No. 282: Laurens Camfer: 1 man; 1 wife; 1 son; 2 daughters; 2 cows; 2 calves; 2 pigs; 30 vines; 3 leaguers; 16 gru; 16 grb; Stellenbosch

No. 371: Cornelis Campher: 1 man; Stellenbosch

1709 (Opgaaf): No. 128: Laurens Campher: 1 man; Ansela van de Kaap: 1 wife; 1 daughter; 8 oxen; 4000 vines; 2 leaguers; 1 sh; 1 dg; Stellenbosch

No. 47: Cornelis Campher: 1 man; Dorothea Oelofsz: 1 wife; 1 daughter; 4 horses; 14 oxen; 1 sh; 1 ps; 1 dg; Stellenbosch

27 February 1699: Muratie granted to Laurens Campher

25 February 1725: Campher transfers Muratie to Coeraad Samuel Reedeman

c1

Cornelis [Campher] halfslag Company slave; baptized Cape 13 October 1686 (witness: Maria een vrie meit [Maria van Bengale?])

de moeder Ansila een slavin van de Compy. Maria een vrie meit

marries 7 January 1709

Dorothea O(e)lofse (d/o Anders / Andries Svenssen O(e)lofse / Olofssen (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway]) & Sara Leenderts: / Jans: van Gijselen van de Caep)

Anna / Johanna Catharina Olofse voordochter baptised 19 June 1707 [Note: date is suspect];

marries 2 January 1729

Willem Willemsen van Wyk (s/o Willem van Wyk (from Ingen) & Catharina Harmens)

Lourens Campher baptised Lauren\nStellenbosch 11 April 1710 (father: \nCornelis Campher; mother: Dorothea Oelofse; witnesses: Leendert Oelofse \n& Jacoba Camfer)

Andries Campher baptised 18 November 1711

Frans Hendrik Campher baptised 8 October 1713; marries 1 April 1764
Johanna Margaretha Lecrivent (Lekkerwyn)

Sophia Campher baptised 26 January 1714; marries her 1st cousin
Christoffel van Wyk (s/o Arie Willemsz: van Wijck & Anthoinetta Campher)

Elias Campher baptised 28 October 1717; attains adulthood

Cornelius Capher baptised 24 May 1721

Roelof Campher baptised 2 July 1724; marries 10 September 1752
Anna Elisabeth Janse van Vuuren

Jacoba Alida Campher baptised 26 October 1726; marries 30 March 1749
Joachim Rouwers (from isle of Fehmarn); sailor 1748; marries (2) 1 March 1761
Andreas Dirksen / Dercksen (from Danzig); sailor 1758; quartermaster 1759-89

Margaretha Campher baptised 4 September 1729

Agnet(h)a / Agnita / An(h)e nitie also found as Ant(h)of(l)netta / Anthonique Campher (1690-1735) half slag baptized Cape as Company slave 29 January 1690; dies Elands Kloof 1735
Gerrit van der Swaan [was he brother to Barbara van der Swaan (from Leyden) who marries Gottfried Meyhusen?];
marries (2) 27 December 1712
Adriaen (Arij / Arie) Willemsz: van Wijck (s/o Willem van Wijck ([? from Ingen] & Catharina Hillebrand, step-son of Catharina (Trijntje) Harmens) [CA: MOOC 8/5, no. 40 (Inventory of Arij van Wijk & surviving spouse Antonetta Campher), 1729]: heirs:
Willem 19; Gerrit 17; Catharina 15; Christoffel 12; Adriaan 11; Roeloff 9;
JACOBA 7; ANNA 7; LIJSBETH 4
marries (3) Stellenbosch 31 May 1733
Jochem Scholtz (from Altmark [Bradenburg]), widower of Anna Maria Swart (from Stockholm [Sweden]) (c. 1690-1732), wid. Carl Strang (from Gothenburg [Sweden]), formerly wid. Stooe Heinrich Raesen
born c. 1690 in Duchy of Altmark, Brandenburg; dies 1738 on farm De Klijne Vogelvallei near Piquetberg
With him come the following children:
(1) Maria Strang illegitimate; baptised 10 September 1719
(2) Christina Strang baptised 14 September 1721
marries
Jacob Kruger
(s/o Jacob Kruger & Jannetje Kemp van de Caep)
(3) Sophia Strang baptised 26 September 1723; dies in infancy?
(4) Johannes Paasen Scholtz baptised 21 September 1727; dies in infancy
(5) Jan Joachim Scholtz baptised 24 June 1730; dies 2 August 1804
marries (1) 19 September 1748
Catharina Elisabeth van Wyk (d/o Gerrit Willemsz: van Wyk & Elisabeth Viviers)
marries (2) 22 November 1778
Johanna Elisabeth Hamman
soldier 1720; later farm hand
Scholtz, after the death of his previous wife is left destitute & he & his late wife’s illegitimate’s baby daughter are cared for by Andries Bester & his wife:
“SCHOLTS, JOCHEM: mentions the death of his wife, who had left an illegitimate child, named Maria Roos, who having no money left her, was not taken charge of by the Orphan Chamber. She was therefore handed to the “Diaconie” of Drakenstein for maintenance, which, after two months returned her, at night, to Memorialist by the “Koster”. He had then requested the Rev. F. Le Sueur that the child might be maintained by the Cape Diaconate, who had replied that this would be irregular, and that the child should be supported by Drakenstein, where petitioner had lived a considerable time, and which diaconate was in duty bound to support it. As petitioner is maimed and poor, he finds it difficult to earn enough for himself and his own child. The agriculturist, Andries Bester, had however taken compassion on him and his child and allowed both to live with him, and therefore petitioner requests the Council to come to his aid, and relieve him of the care of the illegitimate child. (see Resol. 26th June 1732) (no. 113)” [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten, vol. III, p. 1053]

Anna van der Swaan baptised Stellenbosch 20 June 1706 (father: Gerrit van der Swaan; mother: Agnitie Camfer; witnesses: Mattys de Beer & Heyltie Smit) [Mattys de Beer fathers a child Geertruyd (baptized Stellenbosch 8 November 1705 & witnessed by Antonio do Santo & Clementie van de Caab) by Maria van de Caab; his wife is a victim of attempted rape by a slave just prior to her marriage - see M.G. Upham, ‘Keeping the gate of Hell’, Capensis] marries her husband’s half-brother

Johannes Lodewyk Putter, alias Lodewyk Putter d’oude (s/o Dietrich Putter (from Zierenberg [Hessen-Kassel]) & Zacharia Jans: Visser & stepson of Maria Ras) he accompanies Willem Namaqua van Wyk & Frans Campher et al on illegal expedition to the !Ariep (1738)

e1 Zacharia Putter
   died ante 27 October 1801
   marries 27 December 1747
   Pieter Ernst Kruger
   (s/o Jacob Krüger from Sadenbeck i.d. Prignitz & Jannetje Kemp van de Caep)

e2 Anna Catharina Putter
   marries
   Philip Arnoldus Olivier

e3 Maria Putter
   died ante May 1773
   marries
   Frans Kruger, wid. Judith Coetsee
   (s/o Jacob Krüger (from Sadenbeck i.d. Prignitz) & Jannetje Kemp van de Caep)
   (he marries (3) Magdalena Catharina Erasmus)

e4 Johannes Diederk Putter
   marries 2 April 1758
   Catharina Elisabeth van Wyk
   (d/o Gerrit Ariesz: van Wyk & Maria Magdalena Eykhoff)

e5 Gerrit Putter
   marries 5 April 1759
   Sophia van Wyk
   (d/o Gerrit Ariesz van Wyk & Maria Magdalena Eykhoff)

e6 Arnoldus Putter

e7 Johanna Aletta / Alida Putter baptised 26 November 1747; died 1813
   marries 6 November 1768
   Johannes Jacobus Kruger
   (s/o Hendrik Kruger & Francina Cloete)

d2 Maria van der Swaan baptised Marritie Stellenbosch 19 May 1709
   (father: Gerrit van der Swaan; mother: Agnitie Camfer; witnesses:
Claas Janse [van Rensburg] & Aaltie Schalk;  
marries 16 November 1727 husband’s half brother

**Hendrik Krügel**  
(s/o Andreas Krügel (from Tennenlohe) & Zacharia Jans:  
Visser, wid. Putter & stepson of Maria Ras))

his servants participate in attacks on Namaqua.  
he accompanies social bandit **Estienne Barbier** to church

e1  **Barbara Krügel** baptised 19 March 1730  
marries  
**Coenraad Hendrik Feyt**  
(s/o Conrad Heinrich Viedt (from Alverdissen) & Maria Koster - later Mrs Opperman & Mrs Daniel de Vries)  
he has grazing rights at the present-day Pella Mission, Bushmanland

e2  **Margaretha Krügel** baptised 21 September 1732  
marries  
**Albert Hanekom**

e3  **Maria Feyt** baptised 17 October 1751  
marries  
**Matthys Michiel Basson**

2nd marriage:  
d3  **Willem van Wyk d’jonge** (Willem Namaqua) baptised 8 May 1712  
farmer [Requesten, no. 48a IV 1276]  
ancestors to ruling Van Wyk clan of the Rehoboth Basters

marries de facto  
**Lysje Hottentottin**

e1  **Elisje** baptised Swartland 1768 [Hans Heese, Groep Sonder Grense, p. 71]

d4  **Gerrit Arie van Wyk d’jonge** baptised 30 September 1714; burgher  
Drakenstein; farmer at Riefontein, Piquetberg; dies 1776  
1724/1725: resident at Piquetberg [Requesten, no. 31, 23 April 1725] [Requesten, IV, 1260]  
marries Paarl 2 November 1738  
**Maria Magdalena Eykhoff** baptised 15 June 1721;  
(d/o Matthys Hendrik Eckhoff & Elisabeth Viviers & stepdaughter of her husband’s uncle **Gerrit Willemsz: van Wyk**); dies Tulbagh 6 August 1776

1739:  **Widow Gerrit van Wyk** flees with cattle from ‘Hottentots’, and therefore cannot pay [Requesten, no. 48e IV 1277]

e1  **Arie Willem** baptised 2 November 1738  
marries 3 April 1763  
**Elisabeth Viljoen**

e2  **Catharina Elisabeth** baptised 22 January 1741  
marries  
**Johannes Diederic Putter**

e3  **Sophia** baptised 3 March 1743
marries
Gerrit Putter
Jacob Johannes Kruger
Maria Margaretha
Johannes Stephanus Olivier
Christiaan Maurits Lechel
Angenita van Wyk
Cornelia Olivier
[from whom descend golfers Gary Player & Ian Player via their ancestor Angenita Olivier – see Familia]
Gerrit Matthys van Wyk
Cornelia Olivier
[from whom descend golfers Gary Player & Ian Player via their ancestor Angenita Olivier – see Familia]
Elisabeth Scholtz (d/o Jan Joachim Scholtz & Catharina Elisabeth van Wyk)
Gerrit Jacobus van Wyk
Sara Johanna van Zyl
Catharina Elisabeth van Wyk
Jan Abraham Nel
Maria Magdalena van Wyk
Nicolaas Vlok (s/o Arnoldus Christiaan Vlok & Anna Margaretha Catharina Davel)
Elisabeth Margaretha Vlok
Arnoldus Christiaan Vlok
Anna Christina Vlok
Christiaan Coenraad Basson
Nicolaaas Johannes Vlok
Anna Jacomina van Wyk
Jacobus Nel
Elisabeth Jacoba van Wyk
Johannes Adolph Sandberg
Maria Margaretha van Wyk
Dirk Jacobus Pretorius
Gerrit Steenkamp
Sophia Christina van Wyk
Cornelis Jacobus Coetzee
Barend Frederik Lubbe
Martha Cecilia van Wyk

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Johanna Francina van Wyk baptised 19 February 1786

Joachim van Wyk baptised 5 October 1788

Jacomina baptised 14 March 1756

Anna Cecilia baptised 5 March 1758

Christina Magdalena baptised 4 July 1760

Christoffel Hendrik baptised 6 October 1764; burgher

Margaretha Johanna van Zyl

Catharina van Wyk baptised 6 December 1716

Christoffel van Wyk baptised 3 September 1719; burgher

Sophia Campher

Adriaan van Wyk baptised 16 February 1721

Roelof van Wyk baptised 2 May 1723

Jacob van Wyk baptised 4 February 1725

Johannes Meintjes (s/o Johann Heinrich Meintjes (from den Berg [Muensterland]) & Christina Bastiaansz: & grandson/o Anna Maria de Leeuw & Francois Bastiaansz: (from Armentières))

Anna van Wyk baptised 4 February 1725

Elisabeth van Wyk baptised 27 April 1727

Hermanus Louw

Maria Raes / Roos // van Wyk illegitimate baptised 9 October 1730 [De Villiers/Pama has 1720 [sic]]; dies in infancy

Jacoba Campher born Cape Company slave; baptized Jacobje 7 September 1692

Den selven Dito [2 September 1692] .. list of slave children [multiple baptism]

Den kind van Ansala van de Caep genaemt Jacobje kastiesje

Joost de Klerk (from Serooskerke) [dies Smallpox epidemic?] marriages (2) 31 December 1713

Christoffel Ameen (from Rostock), wid. of Anna Maria van de Caep alias Maria Dominicus, previously wid. Claes Beu / Beust (from Aalst [Ditmarsken]) (dies c. 1711) sailor (1696); soldier (farm hand (1706) dies 1723

Rudolph Frechen (from Stadtlohn [Westphalia])

Barend de Klerk
CHRONOLOGY: PAAY MIRA / MIERA / MIRRA MOOR VAN CEYLON

Paay Mira / Miera / Mirra Moor van Ceylon convicted Company slave from Ceylon

c.1671 banished to Cape from Ceylon [Sri Lanka]

21 April 1673: “The 39 slaves bought at our request at Batavia and the 3 convicts [Mira Moor?] were landed. One of the 39 died during the voyage. The rest were strong, healthy fellows, who will not be amiss here”. [Journal, p. 130]

1682 (Opgaaf): no. 39: Paay van Ceylon [Marquart van Ceylon?]; Vryswart; 1 M; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Kaap

2 January 1687: Mira Moor - manumitted by Council of Policy resolution with other slaves. free-black

1688 (Opgaaf): Mira Moor

1692 (Opgaaf): No. 64: Pay Miera Moor: 1 man; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape

29 June 1697: Anthony van Bengale (24) sold by Johan Lispensier, sailing on Cattendijk to free-black Mira Moor for Rds 70 [Anna J. Boeseken, Slave and Free Blacks, p. 180]

13 December 1698: Intje Poetje van Malacca & Mirra Moor van Ceylon co-purchase erf [1/230 - T455] in Table Valley from A. Coopman [Block H] (7 r 72') (107,1 sq m) price: f 1380

1702 (Opgaaf): No. 603: Mira Moor 1 man 1 flintlock & 1 rapier; Cape District

30 September 1705: Letter to Colombo

“Two natives, named Mira Moor and Witty Amanja, banished hither 36 and 30 years ago, beg for permission to return. No papers have been received about them, and we refer the matter to you”.

1706: recorded as one of the Vrij Vissers supporting W.A. van der Stel [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope - The Defence of Willem van der Stel (W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Cape Town 1897), pp. 180-181]

15 December 1707: “We have had all the old papers examined but could find no sentence against the exiles Mira Moor and Witty Amanja. As you say they are very old, and unable to earn a living at the Cape, the one banished already 36 and the other 30 years, you may send them on to this, if you like ...[H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received, p. 415]

19 May 1710: Joost Ventura [testamentary manumission of David van Mallebaar (witnessed by: Joost Ventura & Josias van Boven)]
ADDENDUM I: Incoming Letter and Interrogatories from Mauritius concerning an exiled Timorese Family [Cape Archives (CA), Cape Town: C 316 (Letters Received – Politieke Raad: Inkomende Brieven, 9 April 1679-15 August 1679) [p. 24]

P:[e]r de Gout vinck

Extract uit de ooriginele missijve

doer d:[e] ed:[e]le heer Generaal
Joan Maatsuijcker en
D[e]:ed[de]le heeren raden van judia

gesz: aan d:[e] E[dele] heer commandeur:
Hubert Hugo eioneert raadt op 't iji:[an]t
Mauritius in dato 20e Maert 1676

Met desen hoecker wort u e:[dele] toegesonden een huis gesin bestaande in vier Timoresen op de welck sal moeten gelet worden datse vooral nooit daar van daan comen maer hun daar in vrijdom moeten treden en indien sij het voor eerst soo niet souden cunnen stellen soo sal haar van de Comp:[ag]n[ie] wat moeten de hant geboden worden sijnde genaamt

Een man Amsoeboe
sijn vrouw Inabe
haar eene dochter Iba
en de ander dochter Baauw.

G’Collationeert Accordeert met
de originele i’nt Comptoir
Hans Jacob Hoeven

[pp. 16-17]

Interrogatorien om daar op gehoort
en g’Examineert te warden

den Timorees genaamt Amsoeboe
G’Exilierde tegen woordig gedet:[aineerde]ae
In persoon &c.

Met dese hebben niet cunnen
tere raacken nademael
denselven niet als Timorees
kun spreken en verstaan ende
hier niemandt is die zulk
verstaan noch spreken kan.

1
Hoe oudt en van waer geboortigh

2
off de twee dochters zijn
genaamt Baauw en Iba
sijnde wettige kinders zijn
3

Off sij niet mede bewust is geweest hoe dat de Comp:agnie’s slaven hadden besloot en vastgesteld om op den 6en 9ber 1677 tusschen den Saturdayh en Sondagh des nachts wanneer een ider op sijn rust lagh aldan alle Hollanders off de Comp:agnie’s dienaer alhier te massacreren.

4

Off sij niet met de slaven off Conspirateurs soude aangespannen hebben ende wanneer alles volvoert was hem niet de gedagte Conspirateurs soude geconjungeert en daer mede gefugeert hebben.

5

Off hij de Slaven die hier aan de Logie bescheijden waren niet in sijn huijs des nachts heeft aangesouden en off sij niet 3 stux roers nevens een partij bus cruijt en coogle hebben aangebracht ende aldaar ter bewaringe gestalt totter tijd dat haar baas voornemen soude aanvangh nemen.

6

Off hij niet geweest heeft dat Hans Beer mede annex aan dese Conspiratie was.

7

Waarom hij de Comp:agnie’s Slaven des Nachts in sijn huijs op hielt bregende hem de rijs de welcke sij uijt de Combuijs van het volck rantsoen ontstoolen hadden newens meer andere goederen

8

Off hij niet wiste dat de Slaven zulx gestoolen hadde ende dien volgende niet vermocht en deselve aan te nemen viel min de Slaven daar toe op te houden

9

Off hij niet geweeten heeft dat Hans Beer soo veele goederen van de Comp:agnie gestolen hadde.

Geollationeert Accordeert in’t Comptoir Mauritius a[nno] d[omin]ij 8 April 1678

Louis Craijers
[pp. 18-19]

Interrogatien om daar op geneemt
en g’Examineert te warden
de Huijsvrouw van de Timorees
genaaamt Inabe g’Exilierde
tegenwoordigh gedet:aineerde]ne in persoon &c.

1 hoe oudt en van waar geboortigh.
1 Segt haar ouderdom niet te weten is van Timoor geboortig.

2. Oft sij mede niet bewust is geweest hoe dat de Comp:[agnie]s Lifijigenen hadden beslooten en vastgestelt
omme den 6en 9ber 1677 den Saturdag naachts wanneer een jder op zijn rust lagh als dan alle Hollanders
oft Comp:[agnie]s dienaer alhier te massacreren en de logie Jn de brand te steecken.
2 Seght dat daar niet van gehoort noch geweten heeft voor dat de Slaven in hetgenis waren ende daer het
selvige van Jan Harmensz: off alias Noordoost sijn vrouw [Lucretia van Bengale] gehoordt hadde

3 Off sij niet de Slaven soude aangespannen hebben ende wanneer alle volvoert was geweest haer niet met de
gedagte Conspirateurs soude geconjunjeert en gefugeert hebben.
3 Seght daar niet van te weeten.

4 Off de Slaven van de logie der nachts andere tyden niet in haar huis quamen ende aldaar roers nevens cruijt
en loot aanbrachten en ter bewaringh stelden tot tot tyt dat haar boos voornemen soude aangaan.
5 Seght dat de Slaven was in haar huis quamen maer geen roers noch cruijt en loot aldaar hebben gebracht.

5 Off sij niet geweten heeft dat Hans Beer mede annex aan dese Conspiratie was.
5 Seght zulx niet te weeten noch dates Hans Beer sijn hart niet gekent heeft.

6 Waarom sij de Comp:[agnie]s Slaven des nachts in haar huis aanhielden brengende haar rijs de welcke sij
uijt de Combuijs van t’ volks rantsoen gestoolen hadden.
6 Seght dat Paul een weijnigh vuylje rijs daar gebracht heeft waer van sij en de huis vrouw van Jan
Harmensz: alias Noordoost [Lucretia van Bengale] ieder wat hebben van genoten ende dat de rijs
dewelcke Jn haar huis bevonden is deselvige Hans Beer toe hoorden sight oock dat Paul wel wat gekoockte
rijs op verscheijden tijden heeft gebracht waer voor dan wederom pattattas heeft genoten.

7 Off sij niet geweten heeft dat de Slaven Zulx gestoelen hadden ende dien volgende niet vermocht de selve aan
te nemen veel min de Slaven daar toe aan te houden.
7 Seght niet geweten te hebben dat zulx gestolen was.

8 Off Hans Beer niet verscheijdene gestoelen goederen in haar huis ende daar omtrent verborgen heeft
gehadt.
Seght dat **Hans Beer** wel eenigh goet in haar huijs heeft gehad maar niet te weten dat zulx gestoelen was ended at **Hans Beer** het voorzsz goet wederom uijt haar huijs hadde genomen en daen in 't bos gebracht hadde uijt oorsaack dat sij hem haar dochter geweijgert hadde te huwelijcken waarom hij doen quaat was.

9
Off de twee dochters genaamt **Bauw** en **Iba** hare wettige kinders zijn
9
Seght Ja en dat noch een soon op Batavia heeft.

Alle t’ welcke voorsz Staat verclaarde sij g’interrogeerde de rechte waarheijt te zijn, en heeft oner zulx 't selvige met eijgenen hant onderteeckent, Actum Int Comptoir Mauritius desen 8en April a[n]no 1679
Onderstondt en was getekent X dat is **Inabe** stondt ons present en was getekent **Hans J:aco:ib Hoeven**, **Gerhard Buremeister, Louis Crajers**.
Gecollationeeirt Accordeert

In 't Comptoir Moritius datum en jare ut supra [signed] **Louis Crajers**

[pp. 20-21]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogatien om daar op gehoort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>En g’Examineert t warden,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Timorese dochter genaamt <strong>Bauw</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g’Exilierde tegenwoerdigh gedet:[aineerde]ne In persoon &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Segt dat waar is dat de Slaven namentlijk Paul, Abraham, Claas, Amide en Goulam wel in haar huys quamen maer niet te weten dat zij in’t daar aanbrachten.

6 Off Hans Beer haar tot het voor melte verraadt niet aangeraden en daertoe versocht heeft.

6 Segt dat zij Hans Beer zijn hart en gedagten niet gekent heeft.

Alle t’ welcke voorsz Staat verclaarde sij g’Interrogateerde de opregte waarh:[eij]t te zijn en heeft over zulx met haar hant onderteeckent

X Dat is ’t merk van Baauw

Actum in’t Comptoir Mauritius desen 8en April a:nn[o] 1679
Onderende en was getekent ten zyde, stondt ons present Hans Jacob Hoeven, Gerhard Boeremeister, Louis Crajers.

[signed] Louis Crajers

V[erde]:ns nademael ons selven niet geauthoriseert hebben bevonden om dese voorstaende geinterrogeerdens te verhoren namen verbrengen, soo gaan de selven per dese weijnige iets [?] en soveel van hun naar Cabo de Boa Esperance.


[signed] Louis Crajers

In ’t Comptoir Mauritius datum en jaren supra

[pp. 22-23]

Interrogatorien om daar op gehoor En g’Examineert te worden de Timorese dochter genaamt Iba g’Exilierde tegenwoordigh gedet:ai[n][eerd]e in Persoon &c.

1 Hoe oudt en van waar geboortigh
1 Seght niet te weten hoe oudt sij is maer is van Timoor geboortigh.

2 Off de Timorese oude Luijden bij de welcke sij is huijshoudende haren wettige ouders zijn.
2 Segt Ja.

3 Off sij mede niet annex en bewust is geweest van de Conspiratie omme de Hollanders oft Comp:[agnie]s dienaers alhier op den 6en 9ber 1677 des Saturdags snachts gesamentl:k te massacreren ende haar aldaar na dat de Logie inde brandt souden gesteecken hebben met de vlucht na de ander kant van dit Eijlandt souden gefugeert hebben om aldaar een vaartuijgh te maacken waer mede na ‘t Eijlandt Bourbon souden retireren mede nemende soo veele Comp:[agnie]s provision en goederen als souden bergen en vervoeren.
3 Segt van dit alles niet te weten noch niet gehoorht te hebben voor dat de Slaven al jn hechtenis saaten en dat sij doen het rest van de andere luiden aan het Grote Limoen Bos gehoorst heeft.
Off de Slaven die hier aan de Logie bescheijden waren des nachts en andere tijden geringe rijs als mede buscruijt en cogels en andere goederen meer de welcke sij hier aan de Logie bechards hebben toe gebracht.
4 Segt dat Paul wel wat rauw en gekockte rijs heeft gebracht als ook eenige soute stincckende vis en gekoockte vleis voor t’ welcke hij wederom wat pattattas eijste [?] die hij daarop eetende was.
5 Off sij niet geweten heeft dat haeren bijsit gen:aem)t Hans Beer mede aan dese Conspiratie annex is geweest.
5 Segt daer niet van te weten.
6 Off de Slaven niet drij stux roers nevens cruijt en loot aan Hans Beer hadden gegeven om door hom verborgen te houden totter tijt dates haar boos voornemen souden int werck stellen.
6 Segt dat Hans Beer wel 2 st[u]x roers hadde waer van hij het eene seijde van een der besettelingen alhier gekost ende het ander hadde hij van de Commandeur Hugo zijn slaven gekregen, ende wear dat hij Hans Beer 1 bus cruijt gekregen heeft weet sij niet.
7 Off sij niet gesien en geweeten heeft dat Hans Beer soo veel goederen van de E.dele Compagnie gestoolen hadde.
7 Segt daar niet van te weten maer dat Hans Beer eene een sack met rijst in haar huijs heeft gebracht seggende dat hem deselvige door het opperhooft gegeven was en zullende die daer soo lange berge totter tijt dat sijn huijs soude opgemaectz zijn.
8 Nademael sij nu parthij cruijt wist aan te wijsen nevens eenige cogels off sij dan oock van het andere goet niet geweeten heeft.
8 Segt dat Hans Beer wanneer in hechtenis raackte belsat hadde zulx te verbergen maer weet van de rest niet.
9 Off haar niet bekent is waer noch eenige goederen mogten verborgen sijn namenl:[ijc]k noch een roer als mede een ketel en noch eenigh cruijt en loot.
9 Segt van Zulx niet te weten.

Alle twelcke voorz staat en verclaarde sij g’interrogoerde de reghte waarh:[ei]t te zijn en heeft over zulx t selve met eijgener handt onderteeckent.

Actum In ’t Comptoir Mauritius desen 8en April 1679 en was getekent X Dit is Baauw [sic], ter ijde stondt, ons present H:[endrik] J:[aco]b Hoeven, Gerhard Buremeyster, Louis Crajers

Gecollationeert Accordeert
i’nt Comptoir Mauritius datum en jare als boven [signed] Louis Crajers
ADDENDUM II CA: C 316, [p. 96] [359] (ante 8 April 1679) (Lijst der E:dele Comp:s Slaven en Slavinnen op’t Eijland Mauritius)

Adam Batavia Mandoor

In’t huijs van ’t opperhoofd
Claas en
Coridon Bengale

Pinna kok
Loubou kok & jongen

Pinna melkboer

Jongens
Arentje
Coutje Pinna

Beestenwagters
Ritsje
Calicoutje

Innocenten
Anthonij
Sijmon

Ola Mallebaar, sijnde een stock out man

Slavinnen

Geexileerde
Tija 2 kinderen
Gamber 1 kind

In ’t huijs van ’t Opperhoofd
Domingo Mallebaar
Macca

Arbeiden inden Comp:s Thyuijn
Annica Souria
Susanna Mallebaar
Esperance Bengale

Sijn met het monbun besmet kunnen geen werk doen
Esperance Baddinga
Margareta Bengale

Somma
13 Slaven
9 Slavinnen
3 Kinderen

[p. 97] [359]

Lijste van de Slaven en Slavinnen als Beestaal door d’E[dele] Comp:[agni]e alhier aan de vrijluijden dese Eijlands op hun Credit verstrekt namentlijk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slaven</th>
<th>Slavinnen</th>
<th>Koeijen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gerrit Jansz: van Ewijck
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan Harmensz: Woldrig</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendrik Jansz: Karssenboom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willem Willemisz: van Deventer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willem Pietersz: van Touwe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieter Jansz: Nimmegen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurens Gabrielsz:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focke Jansz: van Groningen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomeus Borms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Saaijman van Vlissingen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somma</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Cornelisz: van Stavanger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDENDUM III  Resolution of Council of Policy (26 November 1681) concerning a Timorese Family running a brothel [CA: C 5, pp. 66-68]

In aanmerckinge genoomen sijnde de schandeleuse en infame huijshoudinge van twee familien, sijnde het eene Timorees huijsgesin en ’t ander seecker vrijgeworden slavin, Catarijn genaemt, alwaer soo wel de slavinnen van de Compe. als particuliere haer op gesette tijden weeten te transporteeren en haer lichaem t’eenemael aan alle verfoeijelijcke vleesselijke wellusten overgeven en door Europianen laaten gebruiken, zelfs sigh niet schamende haer vuijle lusten in ’t openbaer te plegen, en dewijl ’t selve niet magh nogh behoorende te werden getollereert, Soo is goetgevonden den fiscael deser resedentie te qualificeeren de voorn[oemd]e. twee huïsen, t’elckens wanneer hij sulcx raatzaem oordeelt, te visiteeren, en bij bevindinge van eenige Europianen aldaer, d’selve voor d’eerste maal van daer te wijsen en te gelijck te waarschouwen haer van daer te onthouden, dogh echter de tweedemael aldaer weder gevonden werdende, deselve te apprehendeeren om naer bevinden van saacken daerover gestraft te werden, maer in ’t reguart van de vrouwluïjden off slavinnen is verstaan wanneer eenige gevonden werden, dat deselve aanstonts in verseeckeringh sal neemen om daer over gestraft te werden. Aldus g’arresteert en geresolveert in ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop, datum uts.

S.[imon] v.[an der] Stel
Inventaris & van de goederen van
Paij Moor soo als des selve ten overstaan
van de ongkenens gecommitteerdens zijn bevonden //namentl[ic]k

1 [Coles - deleted] Catel
1 Combaers
1 Kussen en een sloop
twee stucks out seijl doeck
1 lampe
1 oly potje
1 vat met rijs potte en pannen en andre [name: - deleted] rommelij [ie remmelarij = lumber] aan de knechts gegeven
1 kist met wat rommeling

Aldus geïnventariseert en bevonden.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den Maart 1683

Ons present als gecommitteerdens
Mij Present
[signed] J. Blesius
Clercq
ADDENDUM V: Notarial Declarations for Inquiry, Criminal Case & Record of Proceedings concerning assault on Antonique van Mauritius [Timor]

CA: 1/STB 18/152 (Notarial Declarations: S. Mancadan, 28 January 1687)

Volgens hedene en met communicatie van Landrost en Heijmrade verklaer ik onderghes:, hoedat op den 13 December 1686 tot en bij mij is gekomen Antonijke van Mauritius vrij meijd, hebben aan haar slinker schouder en boven op den slinker arm een groote contusie, en sijnde het been loopende van den eersten vinger des regteren hande naar ’t gewrichten des arms (naer mijs beste kennis) omtrent het midde hande markelingh ontstucken, ’t welk door ordere hebbe verbonden, is te regte geset is gespalkt, met geode apprend van volkoome genesingh des breuks, ghe:l de contusie ghenesen is, indien de patient jn alles mijs raad en ordere hadde achtervolght, vorders met meetende ats door des patients en Gerrit Theunis relaes hoe de accidenten sijs bij ghekoomen sijnde dit wat jn effect van de sake kan verklaar. Jn kennisse mijs hand den 28 Januarij 1687

1687 Secr:[etari]s
51.2
2

CA: CJ 290 (Documents in Criminal Cases, 1687-1688), pp. 49-66

[p. 49]


[signed] Jacop Aertzen

[signed] J.H. Blum
[signed] J.M. Rootsteen

Ter oirconde
[signed] Melchior Kemels
Secretaris
1687

[pp. 53-54]

Compareerde voor naergenoemd gecommiteerden uijt den Achtb:[aren] Raed van Justitie deses commandements de vrijburger Gerrit Teunisse, ende Jacob Hendrixe Hages, dewelcke ter requisitie van den landdrost S:[ieu]r Johannes Mulder verclaerede bij hane marne ware woorden in plaetse van eede, waer ende waerachtig te sijn namentlijk dat hij eerste deposant om trent twee maenden geleden ten huijse ende op de woning van den vrijburger Jacob Aertze Brouwer in de arbeijt sijnde, gesien heeft dat s’morgens om 10 uren in de combuis van gemelte woning gekomen is met eenige turxe boontjes de vrij zwartinne Anniques van Timor, van mejinginge om gemelte boontjes te koken ende tegens de middag gereet te maken, dat sij Anniques een teekel dat sij op ’t vuer vont daer off genomen ende een andre ketel tot koken van voorz boontjes ende in plaetse gehangen hebhende, het dogtertje van gemelten Jacob Aertze daerop aan hem Jacob gegaen clagen, dat den voorn:[oemde] Jacob Aertze aenstonts daerena mede in voorziejde combuijs gecomen is, ende heftig tegens de voorz: Annique uitvarende haer bevolen heeft te swijgen haer met enen voor een swart hoer uitscheldende dat de voorz: Annique daerop aen de voorzijde Jacob antwoordende vraegde waerom sij soude swijgen, ende indien hij niet hebben wilde dat soudte koken dat sij t’ selve dan soude nalaten ende sulx moer hadde te seggen, dat hij eerste deposant benever den tweede staende opde dors vloer ende t’ gene voorz is aenhorende, doenmaels oock gehoort heeft dat gemelte
Jacob Aertze Brouwer de voorn: [oemde] Annique een slag met een stock gaff, waerop de voornoemde Annique buijten de combuijs al wenende bij hun beijde deposanten comende hun lijden seijde ende ook aenwees haer hant door den voorn: [oemde] Jacob Aertze Brouwer aenucken gassen te sijn gelijck sulx oock aen d’uijstekend beentjes boven op de hant quam te blijken verders met verklarende praesenteer den t’ gene voorz is des noots nader onder solemnelen eede te bevestigen gedaen in ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 4 Febr: [uarij] 1687.

Ons present als gecomm: [eerder]

[signed] J.H. Blum

[signed] J.M. Rootsteen

[p. 55]

Compareerde andermael voor naergenoemde gecommitteerden uijt den E.: deel Achtbaren Raed van Justitie deses Commandements de bovengenoemde deposanten dewelke hare depositie van woorde ten woore duijdelijk voorgelesen sijnde verclaerde daerbij te persisteren niet begerende daer iets bij off van gedaen te sullen warden sprekenes ende gesprenken heef teer sjeef of lijflijken van gemelde Jacob Aertze, dewelcke aan hem deposant claegde dat niet pissen kunde, ende dat indien niet geholpen wierden soude moeten bersten, leggende doenmaels op sijn buijck buijten de deur met een combaers gedeckt, ende sijnde nae t’ uijttel: [iij]k ende aan sijn clagen scheen vol pijn, werders niet verclaerende presenteerde t’ gene voorz is des noots nader onder solemnelen eede te bevestigen, gedaen in ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 3 Febr: [uarij] 1687.

Ons praesente als gecomm: [eerder]

[signed] J.H. Blum

[signed] J.M. Rootsteen

[pp. 61-62]


[signed] Ferdinundus Afpel

[signed] J.H. Blum

[signed] J.M. Rootsteen

Ter oirconde

[signed] Melchior Kemels

Secretaris

1687

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Ons praesent gecomm:
[signed] J.H. Blum
[signed] J.M. Rootsteen

Ter oirconde
[signed] Melchior Kemels
Secretaris
1687

CA: CJ 2 (Court of Justice: Records of Proceedings)

Vrijdagh den 7 Feb:ruaryj 1687

Idem Eijscher Johannes Mulder Landdrost noie off:[cilj] Eijs:[che]r contra
Jacob Aartze Brouwer vrijburger an Stellenbosch,
Ged. over ‘t quetsen en verminken van de vrijmeijd Antoniqu van Timor.

Hij doet Eijsch, en gecludeert produt in scriptis, overleverende de sticken en documenten tot verificatie van dien specterende.

Den Ged:[aeghde] antwoordende confesseert de voorn:[oemde] Antoniq met een besemstock een slag gegeven te hebben, seijt egter haar regterhand daar door niet verminct is, concludeert derhalven ten fine van niet onfankelijk en dat den Eiss:[che]r sijn eijsch en conclusie sal worden onteijjt.

Den Eijs:[che]r persisteert voor replijcq.

Den Ged: voor Duplicq.

En renuncieeren de partien van verdere production.

Den Raad &c condemneert den Ged:[esse] an Antoniq van Timor tot vergoedinge van hare verminctheijt, als mede pijn en smerte, boven het meester loon, te betalen een summa van 50 Rijxdaalde, en condemneert hem ten behoeve van den Eijs:[she]r in een pecuniele amende van 12 gelijke Rijxdaalde, cum expensis.
Addendum VI: Inventories of Property of Deceased Estates of Descendants/Relations of Amsoeboe van Timor [Ref: TANAP]

CA: MOOC8/3.34
Testator(s):
Pieter Christiaansse de Jaager

6 Maart 1715
C: v: Beaumont
Inventaar is der goederen naergelaaten en met er doot ontruijmt bij wijlen Pieter Christiaansse de Jaager, ten voordeele van desselfs naargelaatene huïjsvrouw, Ariaantie Jansse ter eenre, en
Andries de Jaager
Kaarl

desselfs vijf minderjaarige hier ondertenoemene kinderen, als Johannes ter andere zijde
Kristiaan en
Laurens de Jaager

Aan contante in den boedel bevonden, seven hondert en vijf aghentig guld:s tien stuijvers segge £785:10 stuv:
2 kaadels
2 veere buistsake
2 kombersen
2 hooft kussens
2 leedige kisten
1 coopere kandelaar
1 coopere kandelaar
1 vierkant thetaafeltien
3 rakken
2 schilderijties
1 leepel rakkie
1 verkeertbord
1 taafeltien
1 deegen met 1 portepee
1 kist daar in een partij thegoet
1 Psalm boeck
1 veerkijker, 1 sleijpsteen
1 verlak doossien
2 ellen
2 thebakkies
1 blek trommeltie
1 spiegeltien
2 coopere snuijters
2 tinne schootels
3 tinne comme
10 tinne borde
1 leepel rakie met 14 tinne leepels
1 tinne trekpot
1 porsseleijn schootel
1 tinne pintie
1 tinne treger
1 kooper beeker
1 tinne mutssie
1 kaadel met cits behangssel, daarop een veere bedt, 1 peuling en 4 hoofcussens
1 combeers
1 kleijn spiegeltien
1 hakke bort
1 metaale pot
3 ijzere [pot]
2 coopere thekeetels
1 kap mess
2 waater emmers
2 koeke panne
1 coopere schuijmspaen
2 roosters
1 treeft
1 tang
1 hasschop, 1 ijzere lamp
2 coopere vuijr tessies
1 coopere taargetie
1 ijzere leepel schuijmspan en
1 rijsblock
2 oude vaaten
2 toomen
1 oude osse waagen
7 ossen
1 schuijt met zijn toebehooren
2 viszeegen
1 partij rommelareij
1 paert
8 stoelen

Aldus g’inventarizeert aen Cabo de Goede Hoop den 6:en Maart 1715.
J:D: Feyerabend, Jacob van der Heijde
Mij present: A: v: Kervel, Secret:s
Staat ende inventaris mitsgaders taxatie der goederen, naargelaten en met 'er dood ontruijmt bij wijlen Christoffel Amijn ten voordeele van sijn nagelatene huisvrouw Jacoba Campher ter eener en zijn verdere onbekende vrienden ter andere zijde, zo als zij wed:e deselve aan d' ondergetekende gecommitteerde Weesm:ren heeft opgegeven, namentlijk
In haar woning in de kamer aan de linkerhand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Value</th>
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<td>14 gesorteerde schilderijprintjes met lijsjes tot 16:--</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 ronde spiegeltjes met 3 Oostindische backjes een klijn Oostindische tabeletje 5:--</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 oude kadels met 3 Indische, en 2 vade:e combaarsen en 3 kussens tesamen 38:5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kleer kasje tot 36:--</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 verkeerbort met houte schijven tot 3:--</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 ledige matrose kist 3:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 vierkante vuurenhoute tafel 6:--</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 stoelen oude 24:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tinne camerpotten 6:--</td>
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In 't voorhuijs

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In de combuijs

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<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>5 thee rackjes met divers gesort:t porcelijn 18:-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 tinne commen 5:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kopere theeketelje en 2 blice kannetjes tot 6:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 lepel rackjes met 14 tinne lepels 3:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 spiegeltje met een zwarte lijst 3:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 rak met 2 klijne en 3 grote tinne schotels 12:-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 out watervat, 2 emmers en 1 out wasbaletje tot 6:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 out hakbort met een kapmes 2:5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 houte en 1 kopere oude kandelaars tot 1:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 oude rooster met een ijzere koekpan 3:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 treet met 3 ijzere schoorsteen kettings 4:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 oude kopere thee ketel, 1 oude blice lamp, en 1 oude tang en asschop 3:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ijzere vlees vork en 2 ijzere schuijmspanen 3:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kopere hangblakertjes, 1 kopere strijkijzer, 1 kopere suikkerbosje, en 1 tinne mostert potje, 1 tinne mutsje en 1 klijn tinne tregertje 5:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 klijn koper keteltje, 1 koper staartponnetje, 1 koper rasp, 1 tinne kom, 1 tinne bekertje, 1 tinne tuijt kan, 3 tabeletjes en 2 Oostindische backjes te samen op 6:--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 klijn houte kisje en 1 ledige fles kelder 2:--
3 ijzere potjes halv sleet tot 6:--
2 kopere oude stoofpannetjes 3:15
1 klijn pottebank en 1 rijstblok met zijn stamper 1:--
2 oude kelders met 15 ledige flessen 4:10
1 tinne steekbekken 2:5

een slave jonge genaamt Abraham van Ceijlon getax:t op 270:--
Somma 542:15

Lasten off schulden des boedels volgens opgaaft van de weede:

voor kerkengeregtigheijt, aanspreken en dood graver 35:5
voor de kist en ’t bekleden van deselve 39:--
tabak, pijpen, koekjes, krakelingen, brood en wijn op de begravenis geconsumeert 39:--
aan de meester 9:--
aan d’ h:r Eksteen voor 5/m huijshuur 75:--
aan de burger Isack Esser voor een rol tabak en verschoten geld 78:--
aan den burger Jacob Manik voor verschote geld 60:--
aan Rudolf Freggen knegt van Esser voor geleent geld 160:10
aan den burger Arend Vlok voor geleend geld 7:10
aan den Secrets: der Weeskamer voor ’t inventariseeren desen boedel 17:5
Gaat aff 520:10
Blijft ’t geen dese boedel in bonus is 22:5

Aldus geinventariseert en getaxeert aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, den 9:e April 1723
Gecommitteerde Weesm:ren: P:s R:s de Savoij, J:C: Rigter
Dit merk + heeft Jacoba Campher eijgenhandig gestelt
Mij present: J:b Lever, Secretaris
MOOC 8/4, no. 47 (Inventory: Pieter Erasmus (1723))

Testator(s):

Pieter Erasmus

4 November 1723
Staat ende inventaris mitsgaders taxatie der goederen van den wedunaer, Pieter Erasmus ten voordeele van hem selfs ter eener, ende desselfs ses kinderen
Erfgenamen desen boedel

Pieter Erasmus ter eener en
ses sijner kinderen met name

Erasmus Pieters Erasmus oud 25 jaar

Ester oud 20 jaar

Lourens oud 19 jaar

Catharina oud 18 jaar

Laris is oud 17 jaar en

Jacob Erasmus oud 16 jaar

De plaats genaemt de Groene Berg

een plaats gelegen aen de Vierentwintig Rivieren genaemt [ ... ]

Inboedel

ƒ

combuijs 150
’t voorhuijs 30
de kamer 60

een nieuwe wagen, een oude wagen en een oude kar, ook en eg 480
twe ploegen met haer toebehoren 60
tuijn gereetschap 9
elf leggers leeg 330
paerde twee meris en twe vuelens 210

Op de plaats aen de Vierentwintig Rivieren

ƒ

drie potten, twee karrens en een botervat 42
hondert en acht en dertig beesten 4140
genegen hondert en acht en vijftig schapen 4790
vier man slaven 1200

Aldus geinventariseert en getaxeert, op de plaats genaemt de Groene Berg den 4:e Novemb:r 1723

Jacques Therond
S:W: v: M:
Mijn PE merk Pieter Erasmus

Erasmus Pieters Erasmus
CA: MOOC8/5.28a

Testator(s):
Geertruij Blom

18 Julij 1730
N:s Leij
Staat ende inventarisje, mitsgaders taxatie der goederen, als 'er ab intestato zijn naargelaten en met 'er dood ontruijmt door wijle Geertruij Blom ten voordeele van haar nagelatene man Pieter Boijens ter eener, en

Brigje oud 12 jaren
Maria oud 10
Johannes oud 8
Catharina oud 6
Barend oud 4 en
Geertruij Blom oud 1 jaar
ter ander zijde
hare 6 nageblevene minderjarige kinderen met namen
zoo als deselve door goede mannen zijn opgenomen en gewaardeert, namentlijk

ƒ
Een plaats ofte hofstede gelegen in de Wagemakers Valleij, gen:t de Klip Valleij, getaxeert op 1800
inboedel in 't generaal getaxeert op 100
een wagen getaxeert op 150
12 ossen a f30 't stuk 360
8 paarden à f50 't stuk 400
Bouwgereetschap 30
6 leggers à rdrs:8 't stuk 144
2 mansslaven à rdrs:80 't stuk 480
Zomma f3464
te quaad zijnde schulden 900
Blijft per resto nogh f2564
Aldus opgenomen ende g'inventariseerd, mitsgaders getaxeerd op voornt: plaats genaamt de Klip Vallei' den 18:e Julij 1730.
Pr: Boijens
Dit is het merk van Catharina + de Beer weede Barend Pietersz: Blom eijgenhandigh gesteld.
CA: MOOC8/4.93 [9 August 1735]

Testator(s):
Hester Erasmus
Karel Pieterse de Jager

[.....]

Inventaris mitsgaders taxatie der goederen van Karel Pieterse de Jager en zijn overledene huijsvrouw
Hester Erasmus ten voordeele van gem:e De Jager ter eenen en
zijn dogtertje bij bovengen: zijn vrouw in huwelijk Ester de Jager sijnde oud 7 ter andere
verwekt gen:t maanden zijnde

doord d’ ondergetekende naaste bloedvrinden gedaan, namentlijk

ƒ

den gehelen inboedel 50

ƒ
een jonge 300

ƒ
acht en twintig beesten 840
een wagen 150
aen bou gereetschap 12
nog te goet 469
Somma 1821 guldens

Karel Pieterse de Jager
Dit P is E het merck van Pieter Erasmus
Dit is + het merck van de weduwe Barent Pieterse Blom
Testator(s):
Pieter Barendsz Blom

13 Maer 1738
Een klijn vertoogh aan den Heere Presitent en te Heere Weesmeesteren aan Capo de Goede Hoop van te naelatenschap van den overleeden Pieter Blom van ons ondergeschreve naegesien en geteld uijt versoek van de weeduwe Blom terwijl het ver van der hand is also verklare wij met onse beste weetenschap niet meer gevonden te hebben op te blaez aan het Pallemtte Ravier, als volgt beesten so groot als klijn 131 schapen soo groet als klijn 102 Gepasseert aen het Pallemtte Ravier den 13 Maert 1738.
Jan Loosen
Andris Dejager
Karel de Jaeger
Testator(s): Jochem Scholts

23 September 1738

W: v: Kerkhoff

Inventaris en vendu rol van alle soodanige goederen, als ‘er door d’ ondergeteekende gecommitt:te Weesm:ren van Cabo de Goede Hoop, den 23:e September 1738 zijn verkogt op de plaats van den landbouwer Daniel Walters, naargelaten en met ‘er dood ontruijmt door den mede landbouwer Jochem Scholts, namentlijk:

4 emmers en 1 baletje
3 vatjes, 3 sickels en 1 karn
2 tinne schotels
1 tinne kom en 4 tinne borden
1 lepelrak met 15 tinne lepels en 1 tinne zoutvatje
1 kopere rasp, 1 kopere schuifmspaan, 1 kopere lepel en 1 vlijsvork
3 racken, 1 pik en 2 kapstocken
1 rooster en 1 dooppannetje
2 kandelaars, 2 snuijters en 1 coffijmoolen
1 kist met rommeling
1 veere bultsak, 1 kussen en 1 combaars
1 partij porcelijn
1 bed en 3 kussens
1 kist, 2 tinne trekpotten en wat rommeling
1 bultsak met 2 kussens
12 zijldoekse sacken
1 viszegen
1 olifantsgeweer
1 oude zadel met 2 snaphanen
1 opstal geleegen aan de Picquetberg, gen:t de Klijne Vogelvalleij
1 opstal geleegen aan de Olifants revier gen:t de Riet valleij
172 schapen
1 paard
1 paard
2 [paard]
1 paard
1 ossewagen
1 ossewagen
1 kist met wat gereetschap
1 ploeg met zijn toebehoren en 1 tafel
2 ploegen, 1 eg en 1 bijl
2 beesten
2 beesten
2 beesten

Guiljam Visage 4:6
de wed:e Gobregts 2:--
Hendrik Kruger 2:6
Hendrik Kruger 1:4
Pieter Willemsz: van Heerden 1:--
Pieter Willemsz: van Heerden 3:--
Hendrik Kruger 0:2
P:W: van Heerden 1:4
Jacob Terron 0:5
Jan Villiers 0:3
Jan Villiers 8:5
Jan Villiers de jonge 3:6
Hendrik Kruger 9:--
Jan Villiers de jonge 1:2
Hendrik Kruger 4:1
Hendrik Kruger 0:4
Hendrik Kruger 13:--
David Villiers 7:--
s:r Joh:s Cruijwagen 0:7
Hendrik Kruger 900:--
Pieter Paulus Tame 50:--
Charle Marais 88:--
Christiaan Henning Huijing bij Plaisir, sadelm:r 15:4
Jacob Terron 19:--
Jan Guarde 24:4
Jacob Terron 21:--
Mijndert van Eeden 10:--
Hendrik Kruger 20:--
Hendrik Kruger 30:2
Jan du Plaisir 2:2
Hendrik Kruger 4:--
Hendrik Kruger 2:--
Pieter Villiers 17:1
Pieter Villiers 16:1
Daniel Walters 17:--
11:6
Lambert van der Bijl
2 beesten
Steven Marais
16:5
Pieter Villiers
2 beesten
Jan Loots
14:7
Pieter Villiers
2 beesten
Jan Guarde
15:--
Pieter Villiers
2 beesten
Jan Guarde
13:1
Lambert van der Bijl
2 beesten
Pieter Paulus Tame
11:--
Pieter Villiers
2 beesten
Daniel Walters
18:--
Nicolaas Labuster
4 beesten
Jacob Mallang
22:--
Nicolaas Labuster
4 beesten
David Mallang
17:--
Hendrik Kattenberg
4 beesten
Arnout Hendrik Scholts
15:5
P:r P:s Tamé
10:1
Gijsbert Schalkwijk
12:--
Jan Villiers
3 beesten
Matthijs Zondag
11:1
Matthijs Zondag
10:3
Matthijs Zondag
11:2
5 beesten
Arnout Hendrik Scholts
15:5
P:r P:s Tamé
10:6
4 beesten
David Villiers
12:2
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
16:--
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
16:2
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
16:5
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
17:--
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
16:7
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
17:--
10 mudden koorn
Hendrik Kruger
17:4
10 mudden koorn
Matthijs Zondag
17:--
1 jonge gen:t Floris van Mallabaar
Hendrik Kruger
83:--
1 ijsere pot
Daniel Walters
3:5
1 ijsere pot
Jacob Coetzee
2:--
1 ijsere pot
de wede Jacobus Coetzee
2:1
1 kopere theeketel en 1 kopere strijkyser
Daniel Walters
2:2
1 tang, 1 koekepan en 1 treeft
Pieter W: van Heerden
0:7
1 kadel
Hendrik Kruger
0:4
Sommets
Rd:rs1896:7

Gecommitteerde Weesmeesteren: D:d d’ Aillij, J:ns Cruijwagen

Mij praesent: J:N: von Dessin, Secrets
Recently the following question was put to me: "What is the current thinking concerning Pieter Erasmus and whether he was Danish or Dutch?"

I am not sure if there is any. The question implies possibly that if more people think the same, then perhaps a majority view will determine the truth of his 'ethnicity' ... but then we might heed the Norwegian playwright and anarchic philosopher Henrik Ibsen's remark that "the majority is always wrong" ...

There are at least two schools of thought and until further unequivocal documentary evidence comes to light, perhaps these two schools of thought will persist. I personally, do not think that these two schools of thought are necessarily mutually exclusive - also given a Western (Carl Linnaeus-driven? - a Swede ...) convention of labelling and categorizing each and everything and opting for 'black or white', 'gay or straight' with no place for 'grey' ('brown?') or 'bisexual' or whatever:

1. The Cape was a VOC colony peopled by Khoe/San indigenes, slaves from further afield in Africa and Asia and, as far as the European contingent goes, predominantly Dutch officials and North German, Frisian and Scandinavian underlings all hailing from the lowlands or netherlands of Northern Europe.

2. The lowlands or netherlands geographically and culturally span Flanders in France and the present Kingdom of Belgium right up to Jutland in Denmark. The present 'Kingdom of the Netherlands in effect is a kind of misnomer (as is 'Holland' for the whole country) as it forms only a tiny part of a wider lowland culture and the present Dutch are effectively Low Germans. Actually, when one thinks about it, it is not a particularly good name for a country or nation-state - but then the same applies to so many others, too ...

3. The history of the Dutch, Germans, Frisians, Danes and Norwegians overlap. Only in recent times have Flemings, Dutch, Frisians, Germans, Danes and Norwegians regarded themselves as being politically, culturally and linguistically exclusive. In fact the word 'Dutch' is just another form of the word 'Deutch' and this is reflected in the current Dutch national anthem in which the Prince of Orange identifies himself as a being of 'Duijchen bloet'. Had Martin Luther not succeeded in getting High German (with its artificially imposed Latin grammar) to dominate in the Reformation, then the whole of Germany, Austria and parts of Switzerland and Italy would all be speaking Low German or 'German proper' (as I like to call it ...) without any Latin contamination in terms of grammatical structure.

4. People of Lowland extraction were particularly active throughout Scandinavia especially during the years when the Hanseatic League dominated the economic scene. They were aided and abetted for a time by the Roman Catholic Church which made it obligatory to eat fish for more than one day of the week (until it was reduced to Fridays only) thereby enriching the Baltic city states. This means that Denmark and Norway under Christian IV (whose daughter married the son of Mary Queen of Scots and successor to Good Queen Bess, James I, in Oslo), for example, were happy to allow people from the South (current Netherlands and Belgium) to settle in major ports such as Copenhagen or Bergen where there were 'Dutch' communities of merchants, traders, engineers, fishermen etc and all settled there for long periods of time even to the extent of settling and intermarrying/interbreeding with locals. It also meant that the VOC could tap into this existing network and employ Scandinavians and North Germans to man their ships and colonies in the East.

5. This is not to say that the Scandinavians had not already evolved more distinctly than their German neighbours and Dutch visitors. At the Cape the Dutch were quick to distinguish Scandinavians as Danes (eg 'den Deen') or 'de Noorman' (ie 'the Northman' - meaning Norwegian) and I have encountered several examples during the early part of Dutch colonial period at the Cape.

6. So, what about Pieter Erasmus?

6.1 First of all, the name Erasmus ... this latter-day Latinized form stuck with the man once he settled at the Cape. There could be a number of reasons: it was common for educated (read people schooled in Latin) to Latinize their names and the famous Humanist Erasmus is a case in point with the important
caveat that he was more likely to be a singular celibate (hopefully?) example and that there does not seem to be a tangible collection or clusters of Erasmus families in the present-day Netherlands ... The more modern Dutch form of the name Erasmus is Gerrit or Gerhard/us which immediately brings you closer to the more modern German name - we have both in Afrikaans. For some reason or other the name Erasmus took root with Danes and Norwegians as a very popular boy’s name - but in its contracted form: Rasmus. It may just be that recorders at the Cape were less familiar with the Scandinavian form of the name and better acquainted when writing in Dutch with the more formal Erasmus-form, also because of the widespread fame of Erasmus himself ... who knows, really? ...

6.2 Pieter Erasmus, by process of elimination in the census rolls at the Cape, appears once as ‘Pieter den Deen’ - ie Peter the Dane. Careful scrutiny of preceding and successive census rolls reveals that this can only be him unless for one year only a Danish man appeared out of nowhere - highly unlikely and nowhere corroborated ... this was a nickname of sorts as the record keepers clearly knew him well enough to record him as such and being a Dane could single him out amongst all the other non-Danes at the time.

6.3 Pieter Erasmus baptized his eldest son Rasmus - this is a clear give away that the family hailed from Denmark or Norway. Also his brother-in-law hailed from Sweden which confirms the power of soort-soek-soort or ‘birds of a feather, flocking together’ in old Cape families ...

6.4 The Erasmus family in SA were never - at least at the Cape initially - of the educated Latinized sort like the Gouda-born Humanist Erasmus ...

6.5 It is well established by now that most Dutch settlers at the Cape brought out wives or at least were able to tap into a pool of Europeans when taking wives whereas the majority of Scandinavians and Germans at the Cape were less advantaged (in more ways than one) and many had to settle for Cape-born (usually of mixed race) women as companions - legally or illicitly. Pieter Erasmus fits the profile of a Scandinavian who took a wife of exiled Asian, slave or free-black origin.

7. Finally, of the two schools mentioned above ... one is more inclined to ‘wishful linking’ in terms of status and respectability and regretfully attracts especially Erasmus surname-bearing descendants more than the Scandinavian school ... a not too un-understandable predilection for many genealogists (especially of the antiquarian ilk) who vainly (pun certainly intended) seek vicarious vainglory through their antecedents.

I, too, descend from Pieter Erasmus, known as Pieter den Deen ... and from the above, it almost seems neither here nor there or important really whether he was actually Dutch or Danish ... the name of his son, Lars, is yet another tell-tale sign that the Cape’s Erasmus forefather was more likely to be Danish than Dutch.

The comments above confirm that I am fairly satisfied that Pieter den Deen would have been a Dane and more properly called Peter Rasmussen and are a knee-jerk reaction to an article that appeared in the journal Familia by Ds Erasmus some years back and the dom-astrant non-lateral thinking/attitude of some Afrikaans-speaking Erasmusses (Erasmis?) which still exasperates me and forces one to have to reinvent the wheel again and again. Perhaps a good thing, in retrospect, so that we can revisit our research and be more certain ... I am having a similar ‘ethnic cleansing’ fracas with the Myburgh Familiebond who persist with their claims to being originally Dutch when the documentary evidence at the Cape is quite unequivocal that the founding father was Norwegian ... another Ragnarök or Ragnarök moment ...

It’s not that I want everyone to be Scandinavian ... actually, I consider myself to be a 'closet Dane' - and for numerous reasons including descent - notwithstanding my Anglo-Saxon surname. This recent query consequently roused me from my Holger den Danske-esque slumber which is good and has forced me to apply my mind to addressing the origins of Mrs Erasmus knowing that there are people out there that care to know.
The Soetkoek Syndrome - the dangers of 'wishful linking' & perpetuating genealogical myths when sharing ancestors and genealogical data

Mansell G. Upham (Capensis 2/2001)

When recording one's genealogical research certain factual inaccuracies become so indelible, they become accepted as gospel. The problem ramifies when the facts concern an ancestor whose prolific progeny is not restricted to any one section of South African society. One such set of inaccuracies still doing the rounds - especially in cyberspace - is the assumption that:

1. The Rev. Pierre Simon's bachelor brother-in-law the sergeant Louis de Bérault and the allegedly bigamous Louis de Péronne / Peront / de Pierron / Pirone / de Pironne (from Nazareth [Flanders]) were one and the same person; and that
2. 'he' was the father of Catharina [de] Beer (whom Heese later calls Catharina de Bero [2]) the wife of Magere Barend ['Meagre Barend'] [3] and founding mother of one of the Cape's old colonial clans: the family BLOM.

Catharina [de] Beer's paternity has been attributed in error to a baptismal entry found in the register of the Groote Kerk in Cape Town under the date 5 November 1684. We shall return to this baptism at the end of the article.

The myths emanate from an article written in 1976 by the late Dr J.A. Heese. Entitled, 'Louis de Berault en ’Juffrouw Coon', the article was featured in Familia. [4] In this article Heese attempted to identify the three children listed by historian George McCall Theal ("Louis de Pierron, with wife and three children") that Colin Graham Botha [5] incorrectly assumed to be the children of the childless, Juffrouw Coon, alias Alexandrina Maxwal / Maxvel(t) / Maxwell. Also found as Sandrina Jacobs [6], she was the widow of Johannes Coon (from Sommelsdijk).

Heese also wondered whether Maria Magdalena de Piron, alias Maria Berou (who married firstly, Jacob Mostert and secondly, Cornelis Brits de Oude), was not perhaps a sister to Catharina [de] Beer. He also noted another likely contender for Juffrouw Coon's purportedly 'adopted' children presumably 'fathered' by her husband by different slave women: Jacob Steijn - voorzoon of the manumitted wife of the founding father of the Steyn family in South Africa.

The original myth has been further complicated by the fact that already in 1919 Colin Graham Botha[7] originally confused the unmarried Louis de Béraut with Lodewijk Francois Berou / Bureau / Bureauu / Bureau / Burou, alias Lodewijk Francen (from Brussels). This confusion of identities was subsequently clarified in 1981 by Maurice Boucher [8] and in 1989 by Margaret Cairns. [9]

The shared parentage of Maria Magdalena de Péronne and her brother Bernardus has been confirmed in 1991 by William de Villiers. [10] She appears to have been the younger of Louis de Péronne's two children and was probably the unnamed child baptised at Drakenstein on 14 December 1695:

Le 14 Decembre [1695] Il y a eut deux enfans baptize l’un de Louis Peront & l’autre de Cobus Vandray, je nay point eut de billiet ny des uns, ny des autre pour le mettre a vitesse dans mon livre.[11]

I have translated this entry into English as follows:

"On 14 December [1695] there were two infants baptised, the one of Louis Peront and the other of Cobus Vandray [the Cape-born halfslag ensign (vaandrich) Jacobus van As who is illegitimate son to the free-black Maaij Ansela van Bengale]. I no longer have the certificates, neither the one nor the other, in order to enter these immediately into my register."

Worth noting is that Maria Magdalena de Péronne was resident behind the Blaauw Berg at the Kleine Zoute Rivier (already by 1720). At the time of her first husband's decease she was living in ... een opstal
gelegen agter de Blauweberg aan de Zoute Revier. [12] This would have been on the farm known today as Vaatjie. Her prolific descendants were to populate the Blaauw Berg and beyond for many generations after.

Despite any piecemeal debunking thus far of the myths surrounding Catharina [de] Beer, the misleading genealogical data appearing in standard genealogical reference works will continue to predominate for a long time to come. [13]

The baptism of 1684

Reviewing the original baptism of 5 November 1684 purportedly that of Catharina [de] Beer shows that a misreading took place. Careful scrutiny and transcription of the baptismal entry reveals the following: [14]

... eodem dit[to [ie the same aforesaid = den 5 November [1684]]
[kinderen] Catharina
[ouders] Kees de Boer en Catharina
[de getuigen] Marytie van Juffr.[ouw] Beroo ... 

For Kees de Boer, Heese had read ‘Louis de Bor’ [sic]. For Marytie van Juffr. Beroo, Heese read Marytie [sic].

The Catharina in question was the daughter of Kees de Boer and his free-black wife Catharina van Malabar. Kees de Boer was the free-burgher Cornelis Claesz: (from Utrecht). Kees is the diminutive for Cornelis. Thanks to the existence of the Groote Kerk marriage entry (9 July 1683) for his Cape-born halfslag stepdaughter Adriaentie Gabriels, we can link the man and the nickname. The child Catharina and her siblings all went by their father’s patronymic Cornelisz or Cornelissen. It was this Catharina who married Robbert Jansz: van Hoorn (from Bommel), alias Robbert Janse. Her non-existence in published form, resulted in genealogical compilations such as De Villiers/Pama and Heese/Lombard misallocating Kees de Boer’s daughter to the genealogy of Jan Cornelisz: (from Oudbeyerland), alias Jan Bombam.

Catharina (baptised Trijntje 12 May 1675), eldest daughter of Jan Bombam by his first wife Catharina Hermansz: (from Rhelnen), appears to have died in infancy and was not the Catharina who married Robbert Jansz: van Hoorn as stated incorrectly in the afore-mentioned genealogical publications. This is confirmed by the differing patronymics. Both Jan Bombam’s son Cornelis, and daughter Anna, were recorded and used the patronymic Jansz: while Catharina is consistently recorded with the patronymic Cornelisz:. [15] The opgaaf rollen (1682 & 1688) further confirm where Jan Bombam is recorded with only one daughter. This singular daughter would have been Anna Jans: and the most likely inference would be that the eldest daughter Trijntje had died in infancy. In her will Anna Jans: only makes mention of her surviving father and her brother. [16] No other surviving siblings appear to have existed.

We should not be surprised, then, by the fact that it was in the house of Catharina Cornelis: and Robbert Jansz: van Hoorn that her sister Aeltje Cornelis: was brutally deprived of her lover’s company when he was murdered by the free-shoemaker Jan Adam Pugel (from Corbach). Aeltje Cornelis: had been wife to Heinrich Jansen Heyder (from Erfurt) and was then houvrou (concubine) to the murdered Jacobus van den Berg (from Breskens). [17]

This puts us back to where we were in 1976 with still no indisputable baptism for Catharina [de] Beer. Frustrated descendants of Catharina de Beer, like myself, must look elsewhere for evidence of her parentage.

To all those frenetic piranha-like, Pokémonesque data-collecting / data-collating, multiplicating / multiplacating instant genealogists who blindly accept genealogical information off the Internet and copy from secondary sources, a word of caution: refrain from also perpetuating this myth whilst playing with your genealogical software. Try not to proliferate cyberspace and virtual reality unnecessarily ... Always go back to the original records ... and verify ...
ENDNOTES


[12] CA: MOOC 8/4 (Inventory: Jacob Mostert & Maria Magdalena Peron, 21 December 1723), no. 49.


[14] DRC/A: G1 1/1, p. 29.

[15] I am indebted to Lorna Newcomb for convincing me about Mrs Van Hoorn's correct paternity.

[16] CA: 1/STB 18/1, no. 3 (Joint will: Jan Jacobsz: van Dijck & huijsvrouw Annetie Jans dogter van Jan Cornelis van Out Beijerlant, 17 March 1699).