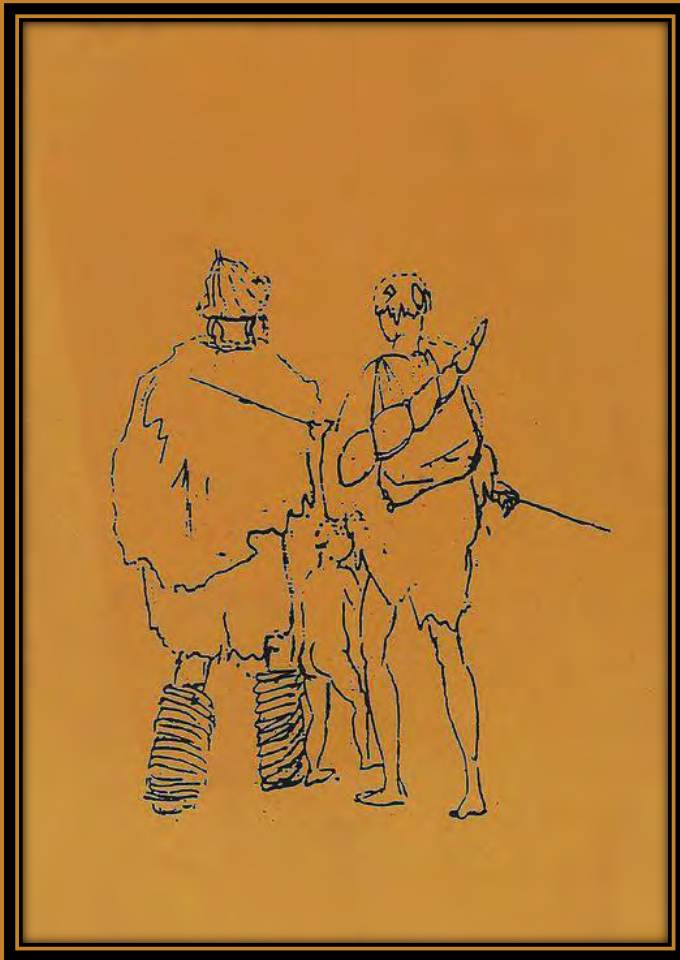


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Consecrations to God

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Cape of Good Hope



Uprooted Lives

*Biographical Excursions into the lives of the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest
Colonial Inhabitants*

Mansell G Upham

Uprooted Lives

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

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Uprooted Lives is an occasional series published by
Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years
<http://www.e-family.co.za/ffv/ui45.htm>
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*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 indigenouness 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-eurafrican' and then some ...:

the Goringhaicona:

Eva Meerhoff (born **Krotoa**)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

Frans Jacobs van de Caep

the African slaves:

Catharina Alexander van de Caep

Maria van Guinea [Benin]

Cecilia van Angola

Dorothea van Angola

Manuel van Angola

Diana van Madagascar

the Asian slaves:

Catharina (*Groote Catrijn*) van Paliacatta

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

Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale

Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar

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

Jacob van Macassar

Maria Jacobs: van Batavia

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

Lim / Lin Inko *alias* Abraham de Veij.

Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 16th century has hitherto been unearthed. The



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

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my mother **Maria (Ria) Catherine Upham, née Priem (1933-1996)** and my sisters, **Beryl Catherine Brighton, née Upham (1955-2004)** & **Anne Caroline Upham (1957-1988)**, for undying inspiration;
- my father **William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006)** for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate;
- **Margaret Cairns (1912-2009)** for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- **Anna J. Böesecken (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*¹, 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,

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



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: *Cabo de Boa Esperance*. The Dutch rendition of the name is generally found as *Caep de Goede Hoop*. *Caep* or *Caap* is often also found as *Caab*. Place names are used as the Dutch knew them at the time, as opposed to latter-day 'politically correct' names. The spelling of personal names found in the records have been standardized (except when quoted directly from the sources) in order to avoid confusing the reader unnecessarily. Foreign terms are translated into English when they first appear in the text. Archival sources are not referenced separately, but are detailed in endnotes after each chapter.

Naming people

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

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



Currency, weight & measurements

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

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

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

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



Consecrations to God

**The 'nasty, brutish, and short' life of
SUSANNA from BENGAL
otherwise known as 'ONE EAR'
- 2nd recorded female convict
at the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope**

Mansell George Upham

(1st published 2001, revised Tokyo, September 2012)



INTRODUCTION

SUSANNA VAN BENGAL *alias* EEN OOR is the second female convict to be banished (1658) by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to the Cape of Good Hope as a Company slave. She is again convicted (12 December 1669). This time it is for infanticide. After the thumbscrew is applied, Susanna 'confesses' to strangling her 'half-caste' infant ELSJE (1 December 1669). Slaves, trying to prevent the murder, wrench the child from her mother. The little girl, however, dies eight days later. Susanna is summarily put on trial. Her 'confession' legitimizes the court's right to impose the death sentence. As appropriate punishment, the prosecuting officer argues that her breasts should be ripped out from her body with red-hot irons and that she be burned to ashes. The minister and sick-comforter are sent to Susanna (although unbaptized) to extract a further 'confession'. On 13 December 1669, Susanna's sentence of the previous day is read out loud at the square before the Fort. She is then escorted to the roadstead. There, still visible to all the assembled slaves of the Company, she is sown into a bag with rocks, and dumped alive into Table Bay and drowned. This article retraces the extraordinary events leading up to Susanna's trial, the trial itself (including for the first time *verbatim* transcriptions of the extant trial papers) and her execution by exploring surviving local archival documentation. These sources are also contrasted with the few publications that briefly refer (directly and indirectly) to Susanna's existence. Susanna-with-the-one-ear is also the Company slave woman whose one infant ANDRIES is initially denied baptism at the Cape in 1666. This incident unleashes a prolonged theological / political debate concerning the right to baptism of VOC-owned slave-born infants of heathen parentage. This event has received some attention by academics and historians. The child and his mother, however, remain unidentified until now. Significantly, Susanna's life appears to be the very antithesis of that of her fellow convict and exile - the very upwardly-mobile CATHARINA VAN PALIACATTA *alias* GROOTE CATRIJN (1631-1683).¹ Reaction to the murder by Susanna of her other infant ELSJE and Susanna's subsequent conviction and execution in 1669, are likely influenced directly by at least two other momentous happenings at the Cape earlier in that same year:

- (1) the recent rescue from infanticide and appropriation of the soon-to-die 'Hottentot' infant girl who is adopted and baptised FLORIDA; and
- (2) the illegal detention without trial of the in/famous 'Hottentot' woman, the widow EVA MEERHOFF, born KROTOA (c. 1643-1674) and the confiscation / appropriation of that woman's three 'Eurafrican' children.²



“... no Society; and which is worst of all,
continuall feare, and danger of violent death;
and the life of man, solitary, poore,
nasty, brutish, and short”.

**Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), *Leviathan*,
The First Part, Of Man,
Chapter XIII
Of the NATURALL CONDITION of Mankind,
as concerning their Felicity, and Misery.**

Banished to the Cape of Good Hope, the convict **Susanna van Bengale** evidently arrives from Batavia (6 March 1658) on board the ship *Malacca*. The return fleet also brings commissioner **Joan Cunaesus**³ (from Leiden) and his Cape aboriginal *protégé* the famous **Anthony alias Doman / Dominee**.⁴ Susanna is the Cape's *second* recorded female convict. She is preceded by **Catharina van Paliacatta alias Groote Catrijn**, who already arrived on the *Prins Willem* (21 February 1657).⁵

Unlike **Groote Catrijn**, the Cape's first recorded female convict, Susanna's past while a slave at Batavia, still eludes us. *Groote Catrijn*'s trial papers (being her death sentence and pardon extracted from the VOC's Sentence Book at Batavia) accompany her on her voyage to exile and remain preserved at the Cape Archives (CA). These documents at least disclose the events leading up to her conviction and banishment. Although the trial papers relating to the sentence of Susanna were also despatched to the Cape, these - despite a thorough search - are not found preserved at the Cape Archives.⁶

Does Susanna have her ear lopped off as punishment - a common practice at the time - as part of the sentence of her latest crime? Or did this happen because of an even earlier crime? Is her physical disfigurement, re-inforced by an unsubtle and self-evident nickname? A hardened criminal visually, this judicial mutilation hampers her chances of future rehabilitation.

Susanna first appears as *Susanna* in the muster roll (5 March 1659). Susanna appears together with the Cape's other “black” convicts-for-life sent from Batavia⁷: **Groote Catrijn** and the former soldier **Domingo van Batavia**. One other convict, the 'Chinaman' recorded as **'t Sincko**, who had arrived on the *Haes* (17 July 1654), is no longer recorded as one of the convicts. Presumably he has died.⁸ This time the aboriginal personage **Harrij Hottentoo [Autshumao]**, chief of the Goringhaicona, is also mentioned as a “convict for life”, but on Robben Island.⁹

Although Batavia often gives Commander **Jan van Riebeeck** instructions to detain convicts on Robben Island, this seldom happens during the initial stages of Dutch colonial occupation of the Cape - especially in the case of female slaves. These women can be better utilized on the mainland. *Groote Catrijn* has the fortune to become part of the commander's household as a washerwoman while Susanna is lumped together with the other Company slaves and put to labour in the Company Gardens. Much later, the convict **Rebecca van Macassar** shares a strikingly similar fate as *Groote Catrijn*. Incorporated into the governor's household, she was baptized, pardoned, manumitted



and also given permission to marry a free-black [**Louis van Bengale**]¹⁰. Why Susanna does not share a similar fate, begs further enquiry.

We find Susanna again listed in the muster roll (1662) together with the rest of the Cape's convict population:

“Susanna and Catharina [**Groote Catrijn**] from Batavia for life, a Chinaman [**Waniko**]¹¹ for another 4 years and **Gerrit Gerritsz** from Lier for 1 and 3/4 years for misdemeanours committed at the Cape”.

On 28 March 1666 the Cape's first baptismal register (commencing in 1665) reveals a Company Slave named *Susanna* recorded as mother to an infant baptised with the name **Andries**. Thereafter (17 June 1669) a Company slave also named *Susanna*, is recorded as being mother to a *mesties* child baptized **Elsje**. The two baptized children appear to be siblings. Whether Susanna is mother to any children prior to 1666 could not be established with any certainty. Careful scrutiny of existing records for the period, reveal no other contemporary Company slave or convict also named Susanna.¹² Both infants become focal points of controversy. Does the burdensome existence of these two infants contribute directly to the gruesome death of their mother in 1669?

Fury at the Font

On 21 March 1666 the Reverend **Philippus Baldeus**¹³, stops over at the Cape en route from Ceylon. He profoundly upsets the virgin colony by objecting to the inexperienced 25-year-old resident minister **Joannes de Voogd**¹⁴ baptizing the infant of an unbaptized slave woman. In mid-ritual, the visiting (more senior) minister, vociferously interrupts the ceremony. He thereupon berates the resident minister for baptizing the child of a heathen in violation of church doctrine and disregarding the holiness of the sacrament. Immediately beforehand, the infant daughter of a prominent en passant VOC official has just been baptized:

“The daughter of **Jacob Huyssor** by his wife **Janniken Duyssink** was baptized **Jacomina** and witnessed by **Jan Anthonij Haemste**, **Paulus du Bois** and **Catharina Bel** “

The Cape's commander at the time, **Zacharias Wagenaer [Wagener]** (from Dresden), a compassionate, seasoned VOC official and well-travelled diplomat, diffuses the deadlock by temporarily deferring to Baldeus's ostensibly more informed opinion. The ceremony is duly interrupted, the slave woman and her infant, summarily dismissed. The following day, Wagenaer convenes his Council of Policy to deliberate the matter. If Baldeus is right, then the Cape has been in the wrong for quite some time. There are already a number of 'illegally' baptized slave children of heathen parentage in the Company Slave Lodge. Undaunted, Wagenaer and his Council of Policy resolved to continue with the allegedly improper practice until such time instructions to the contrary are received.

As authority, the council cites a dispatch from the governor-general in Batavia (25 January 1664). Not only have certain ministers already clarified this point - also with confirmation from church headquarters, the *Classis* [Consistory] Amsterdam - but the biblical example of the patriarch Abraham 'baptizing' (but not circumcizing) his



household slaves, is also invoked. As provision exists for the schooling of baptized slave children, these are sufficiently exposed to Christianity after baptism.¹⁵



Ds. Philippus Baldeus

*... Dit is Baldeus zelf, die 't blinde Heydendom,
Door leven en door leer bracht tot het Christendom ...*

Baldeus is duly informed that he is being overruled. When visiting the Cape the following year en route to the East, he makes himself available for the vacant post of resident minister there. Not surprisingly, another minister is appointed.¹⁶ Since 1655, Baldeus has been chaplain in India under **Rijckloff van Goens (1619-1682)** (from Rees in the Duchy of Cleves). Later he becomes the minister at Jaffanapatnam in Ceylon. A keen linguist, he acquires a good knowledge of local Asian languages. His writings are published in Amsterdam (1672) under the title *Naaauwkeurige Beschrijvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, Derzelver aangrenzende Rijken, en het machtige Eijland van Ceylon, Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte Ontdekking en Wederlegging van de Afgoderije der Oost-Indische Heydenen, waarin derzelver grootste geheymenissen soo uyt de eygene Geschriften als 't Zamenspraak, en Bijwooning der Voornaamste Bramines en andere Indische Wetgeleerden getrouwelijk wierden aan 't licht gebracht*.¹⁷

Baptismal policy continued to apply thereafter as confirmed and qualified in terms of the resolution by the Council of Policy (22 March 1666) and which is further qualified in a letter to the *Classis* Amsterdam.¹⁸ Any slave children of the Company can be baptized, provided such baptism is deemed appropriate and is witnessed by the Church Council or one of its members. Effectively, 'appropriate' in this instance means only mixed race slave children are baptised. In practice, initially only slave children, who are obviously 'half-caste', are baptised. No need exists for the ministers recording the baptisms to qualify these children as *halfslagh*. The first baptism recording *halfslagh* status is only (5 July 1671). The child's father is referred to as *een christen vader*. This is during the time of the minister **Adriaan de Voogd**.¹⁹ He is brother to **Johannes de Voogd** who had been theologically challenged by Baldeus. Why he feels the need to change his style of recording halfway during his stay (1667-1674) at the Cape, is an open question.



Thereafter, a practice sets in whereby even if the father's identity is indeed known, the baptismal entry usually states "an unknown Christian" (*een onbekent Christen*).

This resolution is superseded by a more detailed resolution of the Council of Policy effective for the period (28 December 1676-1 January 1677). The Church Council subsequently feels the need to reiterate this policy in terms of its own detailed resolution (10 January 1677). Infants of heathen parentage are only to be baptized if the parents are sufficiently prepared for admission into the church. Slave children of mixed race and children of a Christian parent, are exempt from such a requirement.²⁰



This impractical policy proves to be politically and racially exploitable. The terms 'Christian' and 'European', when used synonymously and restrictively, can be used to deny even non-European slave children (of whom at least one parent was Christian), the right to baptism. Is this the reason the Church Council and its new minister are still seeking approval thereafter from the *Classis* Amsterdam of *inter alia* the more liberal practice of baptising all Company slave infants, the only condition being that these are to be accounted for by a Company official?²¹ Even by 1685, visiting Commissioner **Van Reede** complains about the neglect at the Cape to baptize Company slave children who are allowed to walk around as unbaptized heathen.²²

Hendrik A. Van Rheede to Drakenstein (1636-1691)

Ross states, inaccurately and questionably, that the Cape's first resident minister Joan van Arckel²³ sets a "precedent" for the future (presumably consistent) baptism of non-Europeans at the Cape by baptizing the 'Hottentot' infant **Florida** and more specifically, for the baptism of all babies born in the VOC slave lodge. This makes no sense in the light of the developments sketched above:²⁴

"Within the context of the Netherlands, where nearly everyone was Christian, even if many were Roman Catholics, this argument [namely whether individuals ought to be baptised when adults rather than automatically as children] did not cause great problems. In South Africa, with numerous slaves and Khoikhoi who were not of Christian descent, further difficulties arose. It was as if there was a theological foreshadowing of the 'nature versus nurture' debate. Was it enough for children to be born and brought up in a Christian environment? Or was the acknowledged descent from Christian parents a requirement for infant baptism? There were those who took the former position, notable Dominee **Johan van Arckel** who ministered at the Cape for six months until his death in 1669 [*sic*]. He [*sic*] was prepared to baptise a Khoikhoi child [**Florida**] who had been adopted by Europeans, and he [*sic*] established the policy, which would continue throughout VOC rule, that all [*sic*] babies born in the VOC slave lodge were to be baptised".

Van Arckel cannot have baptized the 'Hottentot' infant **Florida**. The child is rescued by resident European women from being buried alive with the child's deceased mother in a



traditional Khoe ceremony (1669) and dies a few months later.²⁵ Van Arckel had died already (12 January 1666). It is **Adriaan de Voogd** who baptizes this child. Also, in view of the theological dispute set out above, no precedent is possible.

Although the dramatic intervention by Baldeus has received academic attention, there has been no attempt to identify the heathen mother and her rejected child.²⁶ Nobody has looked at the incident from the perspective of the victim/s of the incident. The slave woman at the centre of the controversy was permitted to again present her child for baptism the following Sunday. The baptismal entry (28 March 1666) reveals that the slave woman and the child in question, were none other than **Susanna** and her infant son. The child was duly baptised with the name **Andries**:

“the 28 March 1666 was baptised a son of one of the Honourable Company’s slave woman and was named **Andries** the mother was called **Susanna**”.

The positive identification of the victims concerned, allows us to speculate, justifiably, as to whether there is more to the incident than a mere ministerial objection to the baptism of a heathen’s child? Patently a convict, did Susanna’s grotesque appearance sour the refined sensibilities of the visiting high-ranking officials? Is the ceremony further marred because Susanna’s son, Andries, is a ‘half-caste’? Is the child’s biological paternity irrefutably and visibly Christian and European?

Not all slave infants are baptized by the Company. Preference is given to ‘half-castes’ in deference to their visual, known or recognized white biological fathers. Has Susanna already satisfied the church fathers that she herself is “sufficiently prepared for admission into the church” thereby providing sufficient grounds for her son to be baptized before her? We shall see later that at the time of her execution, Susanna is provided with religious support in order to prepare herself for her death “in a Christian manner”... Why else would there be such a fuss over the baptism of Andries?

If Andries does indeed attain adulthood, and is still alive in 1693, then (if not already manumitted by the age of 25), he is likely to be one of the only two recorded adult Company slaves both named *Andries* enumerated for that year.²⁷ **Andries Barentsz**:²⁸ - who is clearly younger - is a labourer in the public works while the other (older?) **Andries** works at the Company’s butchery. The Company *halfslag* slave **Andries (Ary) houtsager in ‘t bosch** is on record baptizing two infants by the Company slave woman **Cal(l)o / Kallo van Madagascar: Jan Thielman** (31 March 1680) & **Joanna** (19 August 1685) witnessed by **Maria (Marritie) Pieters: van de Caep** - likely daughter of **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta**).

Would an already mutilated Susanna be further scarred by such publicized rejection of her son whom she has consecrated to God? Does this in any way influence or aggravate the later tragic aspects of Susanna’s dismembered and stunted life, ending in infanticide and execution?



The wrenching of Elsje

Until now, the case of Susanna's infanticide has received little attention in published sources. Already in 1838 Moodie divulges the following.²⁹

"[No.] 112. Dec. 11.- Susanna of Bengale (*alias* Eenoor) late slave; murder of her own child by strangulation; (the child lived 8 days after the commission of violence), sentenced to be drowned".

De Kock (1963) anecdotalizes the incident leaving Susanna and her child unnamed. At the same time he misinforms us about the 'Hottentot' suicide **Zara / Sara**³⁰ whom he refers to mistakenly as a "slave":³¹

"Infanticide and suicide were also looked upon as heinous offences. A female slave who strangled her half-caste child was tied up in a bag and consigned to the cold water of Table Bay; and a slave [*sic*] girl who hanged herself was ignominiously dragged by a donkey to the gallows and there, "as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with her head in fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth".

Böeseken is the first historian to give Susanna any serious attention. Unfortunately the scope of her pioneering work on slaves and slavery at the Cape, disallows any in depth exploration of Susanna's identity, her circumstances and the trial itself. Böeseken's narrative, however, is factually questionable in places when compared to the original sources she herself consulted.³² The discrepancies are pointed out in the endnotes. She also omits the important point that Susanna herself is incapacitated and sick with smallpox.

"A most tragic event occurred at the Cape during the stay of Jacob Borghorst, who succeeded Cornelis van Quaelbergen in June 1668. One of the women who worked for the Company had a baby daughter known as a "mesties", which meant that the child had a European father. This slave, Susanna, came back from her work one night in December 1669 to find that her child was ill.³³ The baby cried and moaned incessantly. Susanna had no milk and felt helpless. The other women in the slave lodge would not help her. She was not popular; perhaps her nickname "Susanna een oor" indicated that she had fallen foul of the law.

According to Susanna's own evidence, she tried after the candles were snuffed to silence her baby with three strips of cloth.³⁴ The others who were with Susanna in the lodge gave evidence that she tried to strangle her child with a length of rope. They had tried to prevent her from doing so and had ultimately pulled the child from her arms.

Eight days later the baby died and the Council of Justice asked the *chirurgyn* to do a *post mortem*.³⁵ He reported that the *venae pilmonales* were blocked, that the gall-bladder had ruptured and that there was no bile in the little body, which condition, he concluded, had doubtless been caused by the attempt of the mother to strangle her child.

The woman denied that she had made an attempt on the life of her child. Thumbscrews were applied or, according to the scribe, "slightly applied"³⁶ and Susanna confessed her guilt. In accordance with the appalling laws of the time, the fiscal demanded that the murderess be taken outside the Fort, that both her breasts be ripped from her body by red-hot irons, and that she be burnt to ashes. This sentence was passed on the 11th of September 1669. The officials or members of the Council of Justice commuted the sentence and on the 13th of December Susanna was sewn in a sack and drowned in Table Bay.³⁷

When paging through the documents of the case, many questions remain unanswered. Had Susanna intended to smother the baby on that dreadful night when the child was crying, or had she tried to silence it for a few moments because at the end of a long and exhausting day she could not bear to listen to its moans? Why was she so unpopular with her fellow-slaves that they all testified against her? And lastly, could not the death of the child, eight days later, have been caused by the struggle that had resulted when the other slaves dragged the baby from her arms?"



The dust jacket of Böeseken's book further dramatizes the event:

“There was the slave who returned exhausted, from her labours in the Gardens to find her infant crying all night, to the annoyance of the other women who hated her, presumably because the father of the child was a white man. She tried to silence the baby, the other women tore it from her arms, and it died a few days later. She was convicted of murder and sentenced to having her breasts cut off with hot irons, and then burned to ashes outside the settlement. But this sentence was commuted, and she was sewn alive into a sack and dropped into Table Bay”.

Careful scrutiny and transcription of all local extant documents relating to Susanna and her trial, conviction, sentence and execution make it imperative that her story be reviewed.

On 17 June 1669 Susanna presents a second child for baptism. This time she is not dismissed from the font. This child she named **Elsje**. The name, a diminutive of the name *Elisabeth*, means “consecration to God”. The minister who officiates is **Adriaan de Voogd**, brother to **Johannes de Voogd** who had previously baptized her son Andries (1666):

“the 17 June [1669] a slave child of the Honourable Company who was named Elsje, the mother’s name Susan as witness stood *sieur* **Johan Bolten** in the name of the Honourable Sir [the commander] and his council”.

Five months later (1 December 1669) Susanna falls victim to the smallpox. While “lying stiff and stinking” from this disease, she allegedly strangles her infant. The child survives for eight days before expiring. Only then do the authorities intervene. The *fiscal* **Cornelis de Cretzer**³⁸ is authorised by Commander **Jacob Borghorst** to investigate and prosecute the matter. **Johannes Coon**³⁹, **Dirk Jansz: Smiendt**⁴⁰, **Joan Wittebol**⁴¹ and **Jan Valckenrijck**⁴² assist him. The Journal informs us of the outcome:⁴³

“December 11th. - In the evening meeting the Fiscal [**Cornelis de Cretzer**] reported that a female slave of the Company, named Susanna of Bengal, lying stiff and stinking of the small-pox in the slave house, had not hesitated to strangle her infant, a half-caste girl; he likewise submitted the sworn declaration of the surgeon, which mentioned that the poor innocent child had died in consequence. The Council having considered this serious affair at once, ordered that the murderous pig should be placed in confinement in order to be punished according to her deserts”.

Immediately, the Company doctors, **Pieter Walrandt**⁴⁴ and **Johann Schreyer**⁴⁵, do an autopsy on the child’s corpse.⁴⁶ Their findings, under oath, appear to be directly influenced by their initial acceptance of the fact that “according to what had been told by the Company’s slaves”, Susanna had strangled her child with a rope and that as a result thereof, the child had died eight days later. They cut open the cadaver carefully studying the innards for signs that will confirm what they have been told. The air ducts or *vena pulmones* [*venae pulmonales*] of the lungs are completely clogged with a considerable quantity of blood being present. With the passage of time this has changed into filthy and poisonous matter. The gall bladder has burst and no longer contains any bile. All this has certainly been caused by strangulation. Their findings lead them to the inescapable conclusion that the child has died from such inflicted injuries caused by strangulation.



Thereafter a joint statement of the officers in charge of the Company gardens and the slaves in the Company's garden is obtained.⁴⁷ The chief gardener (*baeshovenier*) **Wynant Leenderts: [Bezuidenhout]**⁴⁸, **Jan Vlack van Meurs**⁴⁹ and **Abraham Moste**⁵⁰ attest to the fact that they have examined three slave women, **Florinde**⁵¹, **Marija van Goa**⁵² and **Marie van Bengale**⁵³ as well as the slave **Andries**⁵⁴ [*sic*]. According to the signature / mark of the male slave, however, he is (perhaps erroneously?) assigned the name **Abram**⁵⁵ - not **Andries**.

These slaves – all ostensibly from the Indian sub-continent - jointly confirm that they have intercepted Susanna who has strangled her child. On hearing the moaning of the child, they jump up to determine what the commotion is. Susanna has extinguished the lamp. When the lamp is re-lit, they see the innocent child placed between the mother's legs and Susanna strangling the infant with strong rags wrapped around the neck. Had they not forcefully removed the child from her, the infant would certainly have given up the ghost even sooner.

On 11 December 1669, the smallpox-infested Susanna is arrested, tortured and a confession extracted.⁵⁶ In thumbscrew-induced compliance, Susanna admits to tying a belt around her child's neck and murdering her daughter. She has no milk of her own to breastfeed her infant. None of the other slave women are willing to help suckle her child or even help her in any other way. Being sick, she can no longer bear her predicament and resolves to quickly end her situation by doing what she did.

That same day Susanna is formally arraigned. She appears before the Council of Justice. The council consists of the following men: the commander **Jacob Borghorst**, **Johannes Coon**, **Jacob Granaat**⁵⁷, **Dirk Jansz: Smiendt** and **Jan Brettal**⁵⁸. The council hears the evidence put before it by the fiscal **Cornelis de Cretzer**. He demands the death sentence.⁵⁹ The attestation of the doctors together with the declaration by two [*sic*] "reliable" persons, clearly shows that Susanna is a "godforsaken murderous pig" and that she had tied three strong rags around her baby's neck and strangled her infant *mestiza* daughter thereby smothering the child to death.

Concluding his argument, De Cretzer insists that the accused be punished by having her breasts ripped out with glowing pincers and that she be burned to ashes. Susanna is finally convicted and sentenced by the Council of Justice.⁶⁰ The council, however, opts for a different punishment: drowning.



The Council in its judgement concludes that Susanna has lost totally her natural instincts for love as a mother. Instead, she has become a murderous, defiled and bestial person. When the slaves had retired for the night, and the lights snuffed, she intentionally strangled her infant with three strands of cloth. Had the other slaves not jumped up to come to the assistance of the wailing child; had they not discovered her in the act of intentionally strangling the infant; and had they not wrenched the child from her, the child would surely have died immediately thereafter. Instead, the child died eight days later. The gravity of her crime violates all divine and man-made laws and, as deterrence to others, has to be punished by death.

The findings in terms of the autopsy confirm that the child's injuries have been caused by strangulation. The accused, herself, admits strangling her child as she had no milk to feed her infant and could not stop the child from screaming. She has also signed her confession in the presence of commissioned officers. The court is authorized to sentence Susanna in the name of the States-General of the Free United Netherlands. In terms of tempering justice with mercy, the court sentences Susanna to be tied in a bag and taken to the roadstead. There she is to be tossed into the sea by the executioner so that death will ensue ... "letting the body reside there until one like the fish" ... On 12 December 1669 the Journal confirms Susanna's conviction and sentence:⁶¹

"December 12th. - This evening the Council decreed that the female slave, above mentioned, should be tied up in a bag and thrown into the sea. The minister [**Adrianus de Voogd**] and sick comforter [**Joannes à Bolte(n)**] were accordingly sent to her, to admonish her to repentance [*sic*] of what she had done, so that she might in a Christian manner prepare herself for death tomorrow afternoon."

It has been De Vooght who had baptized Susanna's child and **Johannes Bolten**⁶² – also found Latinized pretentiously as *Joannes Christiani à Bolten Zutphaniens* - in accordance with revised baptismal policy, who has stood in as the Company's representative at the baptism of the deceased Elsje. On 13 December Susanna is executed. The Journal records the spectacle:⁶³

"December 13th. - About 11 o'clock the sentence was read here on the square in presence of the murderess and the public, and afterwards carried out on the roadstead in the presence of all the slaves. For the maintenance of justice it was executed with death (? drowning)".



EXEUNT

How ludicrous the priest's dogmatic roar!
The weight of his exterminating curses,
How light! And his affected charity,
To suit the pressure of the changing times,
What palpable deceit! – but for thy aid,
Religion! But for thee, prolific fiend,
Who peopleth earth with demons, hell with men,
And heaven with slaves!
- Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), *Queen Mab*

Infanticide is certainly repugnant to the contemporary Dutch mind. Schama, referring to the few cases of infanticide tried in the Netherlands during the Golden Age, notes the high proportion of perpetrators being servant girls. There is a suggestion that these are likely to be singled out for trial in terms of their societally perceived loose morals.⁶⁴ Tried cases of infanticide at the Cape were rare.⁶⁵ Could one make a case for concluding that both the perpetrators' and victims' subordinate position in the racial / ethnic / social / sexual / gender / legal hierarchy of Cape colonial society, determined the singling out for trial of only certain mothers on charges of infanticide?⁶⁶

In the case of slave mothers, abortion is known to be common practice. VOC edicts openly admit that widespread abortion has directly induced the necessary prohibition of concubinage.⁶⁷ Infanticide must have been rife. When the Cape indigene **Florida** dies, there is no autopsy despite the major pre-occupation by Europeans and repugnance with infanticide as 'practiced' by 'Hottentots'. Do the size (presence?), legal status and age of Susanna's infant in any way affect the degree of repugnance? Elsje is already a 6-month-old 'half-caste' at the time of her death.

Notwithstanding Susanna's personal circumstances and her state of mind, we are left with numerous conflicting evidentiary aspects of her trial. Testimony by slaves is strictly prohibited in terms of Roman-Dutch law.⁶⁸ Yet, it is their testimony on which the whole case is based. Curiously, two of the slaves who testify are directly under the minister Adriaan de Voogd's control and influence. **Abram van Angola alias Abraham van Guinea** is loaned by the Company to him during his ministry at the Cape (17 April 1669).⁶⁹ Thereafter, he returns to the Company where he remains until manumitted with other old and redundant slaves in terms of a resolution (2 January 1687).⁷⁰ **Florinda van Jafnapatnam**, unlike Abram, the Company apparently had sold to De Voogd. He later sells her, then aged 30 (26 February 1672) to **Nathanial Goethardt**, junior merchant sailing on the *Hollantsen Thuyn* for Rds 70.⁷¹

The findings of Elsje's autopsy are problematic. The doctors never entertain the possibility that perhaps Elsje is fatally injured as a result of being wrenched from her mother's arms. Certainly, they are not competent to ascribe the infant's injuries to any specific perpetrator, let alone intent on her / their part(s). **Pieter Walrandt** is banished the following year for three years to Robben Island for malpractice.⁷² He neglected his patients.

Johann Schreyer further consolidates his position as senior VOC official by marrying the widow of his deceased predecessor *meester Jan Hol*. Although he has the good



sense and foresight to write about his stay at the Cape, he disappoints by not referring to noteworthy dramatic incidents in which he had been personally involved. Instead, he is content to satisfy his readers with the usual clichés about the Cape and its ‘freakish’ native inhabitants. Not only is he present when the indigene **Florida** is exhumed alive, but when she dies soon thereafter. No autopsy takes place. Why?



Willem ten Rhyn (1647-1700)

Porträt in Ten Rhijnes Buch *Dissertatio de Arthritide: Mantissa Schematica: De Acupunctura: Et Orationes Tres*, R. Chiswell, London 1683

Schreyer does, however, perform an autopsy on the aborigine suicide, **Zara / Sara** in 1671. What he all finds, he withholds from his readers.⁷³ His friend **Willem ten Rhyn**⁷⁴, however, relying on first-hand information from Schreyer, informs the world that Zara has two nipples in one of her breasts.⁷⁵ Is such an aside calculated to make his readers wonder whether all ‘Hottentot’ women were like this?

Whether Susanna ever has a fair trial is a moot point. Can trials ever be fair? The political philosophical question need not be answered here. A few observations ought to show at least that the odds are nevertheless stacked against Susanna. The Council of Justice at the Cape is merely the Council of Policy reconvened for trial purposes. The political make-up of the court is self-evident. The Cape has never had a qualified legal officer to act as prosecuting officer (*fiscal*). The first such person is **Pieter de Neyn** who only arrives in 1672.⁷⁶





**Ryckloff van Goens (1619-1682) (from Rees),
Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1678-1681)**

The niceties of cross-examination, attempted murder, and whether there has been actual intent, are never considered by the council. Successive visiting commissioners to the Cape condemn the informality, the caprice, and the illegality, which for many years mark the judicial proceedings of the Cape Council. So too, do they condemn, with equal justice, the undue severity of the legislative acts of the same body. As late as 1681 visiting VOC Commissioner **Ryckloff van Goens (1619-1682)** admonishes the Cape authorities for not dispensing justice properly in the colony:

"... for it appears to us to have grown into a practice to pay very little attention to the formalities and the indispensable proofs in actions at law, but frequently to yield too much attention to the influence of passions, and to proceed too readily to proceedings entirely opposed to the advancement of a poor colony, which we would be glad to see encouraged; and which tend to awaken the wrath of God ... we should proceed with the last degree of circumspection, with the utmost fear of God before our eyes".

The fiscal **De Cretzer** soon flees the Cape (April 1671) after killing a man in a brawl. Ironically he himself, when on the run, is captured off the coast of Algeria by pirates and sold into slavery.⁷⁷

Borghorst's administration is despotic, nepotistic and inefficient when compared to the previous and successive administrations of the Cape.⁷⁸ Generally unpopular, even to the indigenes who call him "sieckum", his departure from the Cape is generally welcomed. His hurried removal is also reflected in the church's list of members. There it is stated that he leaves without any attestation.

In an unprecedented move, he sells his 15 personal slaves (9 male and 3 female adults together with 3 infants) to the Company rather than to private individuals, let alone manumitting any of them.⁷⁹ At the time of Elsje's untimely death at the hands of her mother and possibly other slaves, Borghorst and his council formally prohibit the supply of alcohol to slaves and aborigines.⁸⁰ No prosecutions follow. Is this an *ex post*



facto justification for previous convictions? Soon after his departure, his successor **Hackius** is assailed by the Company slaves *en masse* complaining bitterly about their living conditions:⁸¹

“The Company’s slaves come to the Commander to complain that for a long time now, excepting their scanty clothing annually supplied to them, they have received no other change of garments or anything that they might use to over themselves with, as a protection against the cold during the night. The result has been that much sickness has broken out among their young children and old people, and therefore the Council decided, in order to prevent these discomforts, to provide them with some common coast blanket, as they required them”.

Why do Borghorst and his officials go to such remarkable lengths to prosecute the matter? This certainly does not happen each and every time the children of slave women died. The influence of the minister Adriaan de Voogd, and of his sister (who is married to the commander’s lackey **Hendrik Crudop**), should also be considered. It is De Voogd who takes it upon himself to act (also in terms of his name) as ‘guardian’ to neglected children - also those of mixed race - at the Cape. He is instrumental in confiscating the children of the illegally detained widow, **Eva Meerhoff** and indenturing the ‘saved’ **Florida**. The latter, after all, has been rescued from infanticide. So great is his concern, that all these unfortunate ‘Hottentot’ and demi-‘Hottentot’ children are placed in the care of one of the Cape’s most disreputable woman, a notorious, but protected, whore and whoremonger: **Barbara Geems**⁸² Immediately thereafter, Borghorst can thus boast to his superiors:⁸³

“The education and instruction of our slave youth in the true religion and the fear of God, is also so prosperous that we cannot doubt their souls are to be gained”.

The extraordinary intervention of De Voogd’s Church Council, and the inaction on the part of both the councils of Policy and Justice at the time must have influenced directly the institutionalized opprobrium solicited by Susanna’s crime and the outcome of her trial.

During his term of duty at the Cape, De Voogd is to be confronted with caring for an abnormally high percentage of other orphans following the massacre of eight free-burghers at *Moordkuil*.⁸⁴ Claasen, in his mini-biography on De Voogd, mentions the decision by De Voogd and his council “to take Eva’s three children away from her”. He also states that “De Voogd and the sick-comforter also stood by the slave, Susanna of Bengal, before her execution after she had been found guilty of strangling her baby”.

In retrospect, Claasen’s (positive?) estimation of De Voogd’s career at the Cape, need not necessarily ring so hollow:⁸⁵

“De V.[oogd] was a man who in spite of his ill health worked very hard and who had the satisfaction of a fruitful period of service at the Cape”.

In retrospect, how seriously ought we to regard Schutte’s dismissive statement that during Borghorst’s short term of office “nothing of exceptional import occurred”⁸⁶ or Picard’s facile assessment of what he considers does **not** make for an “exciting period in Cape history”?⁸⁷



“From these and other “highlights” of Borghorsts’s term of office, such as the digging out by a couple of indignant local ladies of a Hottentot baby buried alive by the parents [*sic*] together with its dead sister [*sic*], to comply with an ancient custom (extensively recorded in the Journal), one does not gain the impression that it was an exciting period in the history of the Cape”.



ENDNOTES

¹ Mansell G. Upham. 'In hevigen woede ... Part I: **Groote Catrijn**: earliest recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope - a study in upward mobility', *Capensis* Quarterly Journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape), no. 3 (1997), pp. 8-33; 'Part II **Christoffel Snijman**: his curious origins and ambiguous position in early Cape colonial society', *Capensis*, no. 4 of 1997, pp. 29-36.

² Mansell G. Upham, '**Zara (c. 1648-1671)**: an inquiry into the (mis)application of traditionally prescribed punishment against persons committing suicide during the VOC's colonial occupation of the Cape of Good Hope', *Capensis* 4/2001, pp. 14-37; 'In Memoriam: **Florida** (born 23 January 1669 - died April 1669) - Mythologizing the 'Hottentot' 'practice' of infanticide - Dutch colonial intervention & the rooting out of Cape aboriginal culture', *Capensis* 2/2001, pp. 5-22; 'At war with society ... Did God here? - the curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named **Ismael**, *Capensis* 4 /2000), pp. 29-51; 'In a kind of custody: For **Eva**'s sake ... who speaks for **Krotoa**?' & 'Who were the Children of **Eva Meerhoff**?', *Capensis* 4/1998, pp. 6-14; 'Subjects of the King of Denmark - their genealogical impact on South Africa, *Capensis*, no. 4, pp. 14-31; 'Creolization and Indigenization - **Burlamacchi & Diodati** family ties in the Dutch VOC empire', *Capensis*, 4/1991), pp. 16-34;

³ **Joan Cunaeus (1617-1673)** born Leiden (1617), studies law in Leiden; joins VOC: *advokaat-fiscaal* (1644); secretary to Governor-General (1645); sheriff (*balju*) (12647); *raad-extraordinaris* (1648); *raad-ordinaris* of India (1650); colonel of Burgher Watch & president of Council. Later *ordinaris Raedt van India* serving Company as jurist in Batavia & finally as envoy to Persia; dies (1673) in Leiden; commissioner at the Cape (6-19 March 1658) - inspection of Cape affairs is preserved in his *Memorie* (18 March 1658).

⁴ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. III, p. 233.

⁵ Susanna's record of arrival & banishment is problematic. Initially she appears to be incorrectly referred to by Batavian authorities as *Maria*. India Council informs (17 December 1657) Cape's 1st commander, Jan van Riebeeck, that *Malacca* is taking a female slave named **Maria of Bengale** sentenced "in consequence of her thieving propensities, to exile on Robben Island, during the term of her natural life": *Op 't schip Malacca gaet over een slavinne genaemt Maria van Bengale, die om haere grove begane diefstal door den gerechte deser stede uijt wijsende de nevensgeaende sententie voor al haer leven op't Robben Eijlant gebannen is. Batavia, 17 Decemb:[er] 1657 Get.[ekent] Door den Indischen Raad en gecollationeerd met het origineel op den 26 Dec.[ember] 1657*. For an English translation see H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received 1649-1662*, Part II, pp. 56-57.

⁶ Accompanying sentence has neither been found filed with original letter, nor in archival series containing (misfiled) trial papers of **Groote Catrijn** despatched from Batavia.

⁷ *Bandijten ende Kettinghgasten ... Swartes voor al haar lewen van Batavia ...*

⁸ Mansell G. Upham, 'The First Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

⁹ For mini-biography on **Autshumao alias Harry / Herry / Hadah**, see the *Dictionary South Africa Biography*, vol. 2, p. 296.

¹⁰ For information on **Louis van Bengale** see Mansell George Upham, 'Made or Marred by Time - the Other Armozijn & two enslaved Arabian 'princesses' at the Cape of Good Hope (1656)', *First Fifty Years Project* (2012) <http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/MadeorMarred.pdf>.

¹¹ Mansell G. Upham, 'The First Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

¹² Two contemporary slave women also named *Susanna*, are recorded at the Cape: **Susanna** - slave of Commander **Zacharias Wagenaer** [error for **Annica van Bengale**?] and **Susanna** - slave of **Hildegard (Hilletje) Redog(h)s / Redox**, wife of free-tailor **Jan Israelsz**: (from Borkulo [near Ingen, Gelderland]) & later wife to **Jan Valckenrijck** (from Amsterdam). These were privately owned, however. If at any stage, these were sold to the Company, no record of such a sale has been found. In the list of Company slaves for 1693 [AR: VOC 4030], only 2 Company slave women named *Susanna* are enumerated: one *heelslagh Susanna* (origin not stated) & other *halfslaggh Susanna van de Caap*. Two Company slave women, both



named Susanna, are baptized as adults: **Susanna van Madagascar** & **Susanna** (origin not stated). Only Susanna van de Caap baptizes a child in period (1676-1695). Is last-mentioned daughter of Company slave woman **Catharyn** who baptizes a daughter **Susan** (2 October 1667)? Two wills of a certain free-woman **Susanna van Batavia** are filed with Council of Justice [Cape Archives [CA]: CJ 2598, nos. 25 (1711) & 68 (1713)].

¹³ Father **Philippus Baldaeus** / **Baelde** or **Philip Balde (1632-1672)** (from Delft), born Delft October 1632 of Flemish origin his ancestors having left Ypres (1584) & orphaned at 4; uncle **Robertus Junius** is missionary on Dutch Formosa [Taiwan] as minister goes to Jaffnapatnam with invading Dutch force becoming 1st European to document life, language & culture of Tamil people living in the north of the island; studies Oriental languages in Groningen (1649) & theology in Leiden (1650), & discussions with **Arnoldus Montanus** preaches (1655 onwards) at Batavia, Jaffnapatnam & Point de Galle in Dutch & Portuguese; serves under **Rijkloff van Goens** (1657) & at Negapatnam on the Coromandel (1658) & Ceylon where **Cornelis Speelman** becomes 1st governor - by 1660 Dutch control entire island except for Kandy; participates in Dutch occupation of the Malabar coast (1661), returns (c. 1662) to Ceylon where he learns Sanskrit & studies Hinduism; Company objects to Baldaeus' suggestions for improving religious education & converting natives, ruling that funds be raised from fines levied when enforcing school rules - refuses to conform & is accused of dishonest financial dealings; cannot continue linguistic studies because the Church, bound by the state, deems it waste of time; returns (1666) to Netherlands & preaches in Geervliet (from 1669) until death aged 39 or 40; leaves behind account of civil, religious & domestic condition of countries visited, introducing Hindu mythology & specimens of Tamil language including translation of Lord's Prayer; author of *Description of the East Indian Countries of Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon, etc.* (in Dutch, 1671) book dedicated to bailiff **Cornelis de Witt**; dies Geervliet 1672;

¹⁴ **Johannes** / **Johannis de Voogd** / **Vooght** / **de Voocht** (from Amsterdam) arrives at Cape (26 February 1666) on *Constantia*; stands in temporarily as minister; gives 1st sermon (28 February 1666); gives 1st sermon in new church in Castle (4 July 1666); marries (3 October 1666) **Elizabeth Pauw** (from Dordrecht) they leave (December 1666) for Indies where he becomes minister at Ceylon.

¹⁵ *Maendag den 22en Martij ao. 1666.*

*Nadat wij desen achtermiddach eenige questieuse saken voorgevallen op de uijt reijs, tusschen de opperhooffden van 't alhier ter rheede leggende fluijschip de Goude Leeuw, getransigeert en afgehandelt hadden, heeft den Commandeur **Wagenaer** daer op den Raedt verthoont, en deselve voorgelesen seeckere kerckelijcke order, nopende een kinderdoop alhier, bestaende in dit navolgende geschrift.*

Extract uijt seeckere missive geschreven bij d' Ede.[ele] Heer Gouvernr. Generael, ende d' E.[dele]E.[erwaerde] Heeren Raden van India, aen den Commandr. ende Raedt deser fortresse sub dato 25en Januanj A[nn]o. 1664.

*Ons is door d' heer **Pieter Overtwater**, en oock den predicant **Petrus Casier** voorgedragen ende te kennen gegeven hoe U E.[dele] hun enichsints verlegen vondt in 't stuck van de slavenkinderen, die ginder geboren worden, te laten doopen, als niet wetende hoe sich eijgentlijck daerinne sullen hebben te gedragen, hier is tevoren bij de kerckelijcke vergaderinge over dat poinct, al eenige disputatie gevallen, te weten off slavenkinderen van ongelovige ouders geboren zijnde, een H.[eiligen] doop mochten ingelijft worden, dan niet, ende is na voorgaende communicatie mette Classis in 't vaderlandt verstaen van ja, en dat op dusdanigen wijze, te weten, dat alsulcke kinderen op 't Christengelove, van degeene, daer se bij inwonen, 't sij het hun lijffheeren zijn, ofte niet, wel mogen werden gedoopt, mits dat deselve haer verbinden, sodanich kindt, off kinderen in de Christelijcke religie op te trecken, sijnde dit ten principalen gefundeert, op het exempel van den patriarch Abraham, op wiens gelove, alle die van sijnen huijse waren, besneden wierden, en is sulcx hier een lange wijle aldus in observantie geweest, Ja oock selver omtrent de slavenkinderen van d' E[dele]. Comp[agnie]., die daertoe schoolen opgerecht heeft, om sodanige gedoopte kinderen, wanneer se tot hare jaren comen, in de Christelijcke religie te laten onderwijsen, des U E.[dele] ginder na desen regul oock wel mogen schicken, latende dit H.[eilige] werck in dier vougen voortaan aldaer, gelijk hier geschiet mede sijn voortganch nemen, waer aen U E.[dele] Christelijck en wel doen zult.*

*Op welke order den Eerwaardigen **Joan van Arckel** zaliger eerste uijtgesonden en wettich gestelde predicant over dese Gemeente alhier, voor den tijt van 5 maenden, alle kinderen die ten H.[eiligen] doop gebracht wierden, sonder onderscheijt 't zij die van gelovige Christelijcke off ongelovige heijdensche ouderen gesproten waren off niet, den H. doop heeft laten genieten, waer van de outste Comp[agnie]s. slavenkinderen, naderhant ter schoole gehouden, en aldaer in de kennisse Godts dagelijcks onderwesen sijn, gelijk na sijn overlijden oock alsoo gedaen heeft, den predicant **Joannes de Voocht** als die wij onlangs geleden van 't schip *Constantia* met sijn believeen aen landt genomen, en in do[m]ine. van Arckels plaets zaliger soo lange gestelt hebben, totdat de belooffde permanente predicant uijt 't vaderlant hier souw verschenen wesen.*



Ende ten aensien wij gisteren na 't eijndigen van de achtermiddaeche predicatie, die hier in de zaal bij gemelte do. **de Voocht** gedaen wiert, met verwonderingh hebben gesien, dat een tweede predicant, die, die tijt, nevens ons present, en een mede auditeur van do. **de Voocht** was, genaemt **Philippus Baldeus** (sijnde op den 6en deser per 't schip Venenburch van Ceijlon alhier aangelandt, om voorts daermede naer 't vaderlant te retourneren) heel buijten dese order tradt, ende niet soo usact als hier alberijts ingevoert was, te werck ginch; maer scheen met 'et weijgeren van den doop aen seecker Comp[agnie]s. slavenkint te kennen te geven, dat hij dat werck beter als ijmant van ons allen verstonth, off dat ten minsten ons daermede heeft willen verwijten, hoe onvoorsichtich en ongeregelt wij dus langh in het plegen van alsulcke heijlige actien alhier mosten geleefd hebben: want soo als gisteren in volle kerckelijcke vergaderingh twee kinderen, te weten, een dat van Christelijcke Duijtsche ouderen geboren, en het ander dat bij een slavinnen gewonnen was, ten heijligen doop gepresenteert wierden, heeft hij d[omi]ne. **Baldeus** het eerste in behoorlijcke form met de besprengingh des waters, en daer over te geven Zegen den H.[eilige] doop geniete laten; maer het ander slavenkindt heeft hij met goeden voorbedacht versmadelijckerwijs van hem afgewesen, daer sijne E[dele]. nochtans alvore den Commandeur, ofte ten minsten een ouderlingh off diaken, had behooren te vragen, wat methode in dat werck bij ons, tot noch toe was onderhouden geweest, nadien hij wel wist, dat op dese tijt een off meer alsulcke slavenkinderen tot dien eijnde in de kercke stonden gebracht te werden, Soo is 't dat als nu voorn[oemde]. Command[eur]. den Raedt in serieus bedencken gegeven, en een ijder van deselve daer op affgevraecht heeft, off wij ons na de veranderingh off nieuwichheit, die gisteren meergemte. E[dele] **Baldeus** in 't celebreren des H.[eilige] Doops heeft soecken in te voeren, in 't toecomende alsoo behoorden te schicken, off bij onse voorsz oude order te blijven, ten aensien deselve niet alleen met het advijs van den Kerckenraedt tot Batavia; maer oock met dat van de Classis in 't vaderlandt, t' onser gerustheijt crachtich versterckt bevonden, waer op nae voorgaende accurate overwegingh hier in eenparich verstaen, en gearresteert is, dat wij ons voortaan, na die eens gegeven goede order reguleren, en den predicant de Voocht aenseggen sullen, dat sijn E[dele] dat H.[eilige] werck sijn voortganck sal laten nemen, en aenstaende Sondach, dat wegh gewesen slavenkindt, en alle ander, die daerom soude mogen comen versoecken, ijder sijn doopsel te laten genieten, mits dese onse resolutie alvore veelgemelten **Baldeus** [sic] sal gethoont, en met eenen aengedient werden, dat bij aldien sijn E[dele] bij aendachtige resumtie der dickmaels genoemde dooporder eenige grove defecten off ietwes dat met de algemeene Sinodiale Gereformeerde Kerckenorder in dese landen eenichsints strijdich vinden mochten en echter op sijn aenwijzen met cleijne moeijte conde geremedieert off wegh genomen werden, wij ons hierin altijt geseggelijck vinden laten, en daer voor danckbaer blijven sullen, om daermede allesints te doen blijcken, dat wij de gewenste eendracht, en vrede soo wel in kerckelijcke als politicque saken alhier te bevorderen, en alsoo t' onderhouden soecken.

Aldus gedaen ende geresolveert, in 't Fort, de Goede Hoop, ten dage ende jare als vooren.

Z.[ACHARIAS] WAGENAER.

ABRAH.[AM] GABBEMA. 1666.

HENDR[IK]. LACUS.

CORN.[ELIS DE CRETSE]. Secret[ari]s. 22.3.1666

[TANAP: C 4, pp. 5-10 (22 March 1666); CA: C 2, pp. 119-124 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 22 March 1666); Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel I, (1651-1669), pp. 340-341; CA: C 2, pp. 119-124 (Resolution: Council of Policy, 22 March 1666); Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel I, (1651-1669), pp. 340-341].

¹⁶ Church Council Resolution (2 January 1667).

¹⁷ A. Dreyer, *Eufeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid-Afrika 1824-1924* (Nasionale Pers Bepers, Kaapstad 1924), pp. 31-32.

¹⁸ 54 [1679 - in pencil, date received?]

Hoogh eerwaerde Godtsal: en hoogheleerde heeren en broeders des Classis tot Amsterdam :-

Also het Godt Almagtigh belijft heeft ons door syne goedertierens bewaeringe geluckigh en behouden te brengen aen de Caep de Bona Esperance den 17 october, a[nn]o' 1678 nae dat wy den 21 mej uit Thessel waeren gelopen, so laet ick u hoogh eerw[aerde]: met dese myne letteren laet weten, als dat wy, mae dat wy daer aenlant gecomen wa[e]ren, hebben bevonden, dat d[omine] **Hulsenar** sal: die ontrent 21 maenden dese ge[m]einte met het geestel: voetsel van Godes h:[eiligen] woort en der h:[eiligen] sacramenten heeft bedient, doe ontrent 10 maenden geleden was overleden, so hebben de e:[dele] heer **Hendrick Cruidop**, commandur-

rende in de plaets van den ed: heer **Backs** sal: en de e: achth: raeden goet gevonden, om dese gemeente niet langer onbloomt te laeten, dewyle d: **Stumphius** voorby was gepasseert, en so haest geen gelegetheit en saegen om van een dienaar te conen versien werden, my de eere hebben gedaen, ende versogt om daer te



blyven, twelck van my ooc met een gewillige genegenheit is aenge- nomen, verhopende dat de Opperherder J[esus]: Ch:[ristus] die my hier gesonden heeft met syn kragt en [g..een] sal aendoen, om deselve als een onberispelyck voorbeeld voor te gaen, en Hem veele sielen toe te brengen. Ick dancke myn Godt, dat Hy mij hier gebragt heeft, also ick ten hooghsten vergenoeght ben, want hier een tamelycke gemeente, een burgerlyck volck, en hier is een frei man die het opperhoofdschap becleedt, en een seer ordentelycke regeringe, en can als nog niet anders vermercken (sonder roem gesproken) als een goet genoeg. En also hier voor desen eenige swaerigheit wierde gemaect over het doopen van slaven kinderen, so is dan goet gevonden, om daer over nae Batavia to schryven, en hebben den ed:[ele] heer generael en syne e:[dele] achtbare raeden van Indien dese stamen gaende Resolutie [sic] overgesonden, waer [naer] dat sig altyt hebben gereguleert de die- naers van dese gemeente. Maer also d: **Philippus Baldeus**, comende van Ceilon en vertreckende nae het vaderlant heeft geweigert een companie slaven kint hier ter laetse te doopen, en daar by verhaelt hoe sulcx was tegen de ordre der kercken in [In]-dien, en dat selve wert ons deschtycks geconfermeert van den eerw:[aerde] broeder d. **Johannes de Vooght** nu comende van Ceilon nae het vaderlant. Ick en vinde hier niets van in onse kercke boekck, [weot] evenwel dat hier van particulier resolution by de e. synoden beraemt. Op dat wy dan hier van ten vollen verschiet mogten syn, so versoeckem wy aatmoedelyck het oordeel advys en resolutien hier van de eerw:[aerde] broederen te verstaen. Om dan u eerw:[aerde] volcomentlyck te informeren van't gene hier in tot nog toe gedaen is, en welcke kinderen alhier gedoopt syn, so dient te weten:-

1. dat geen kinderen van onse eigene inwoonders, de Hottentots, werden gedoopt dan alleen een vrou, die [leedemaet] geworden synde haere kinderen ooc gedoopt syn: dog dese natie is [tunemael] afkeurigh van onse godtsdienst, wat middelen daer toe ooc voor desen syn aangewent.
2. ooc niet alle kinderen van slaven werden gedoopt, maer allen sommige, waer van de meesters en eigenaers deselve comen te presenteeren, en daer voor beloven, om die mede te sullen onderwysen in de christel:[ijcke] religie welke belofte van sommige wel wat beter behoorde betracht te worden, overmits een ieder huisvader de syne [deer] van moeste versorgen, want al syn het syne slaven, en lyfeigen, so syn het evenwel menschen, en behoorden door haere slavernie by ons niet erger maer geluckiger gemaect te worden.
3. dat ordinaris gedoopt werden de slaven kinderen, daer van de ouders by de Portugeesen gedoopt syn; ooc die kinderen, die by de Duitse natie worden geprocreeert, 't sy dat de moeders syn gedoopt, of niet; en ooc alle slaeven kinderen, die de e. companie toebehooren, waer voor by den h.[eilige] doop een companys dienaar antwoordt, welke kinderen dan daer naer ter scholen werden gesonden, en men laet haer leren leesen en schryven, waer van enige de vragen van onse christel. cathechismus promptelyck alle sondagen weten op te seggen over de kercke, en nae der hant werden sy dan gesonden tot den arbeit
4. ooc werden gedoopt kinderen van Paepsys ouders geboren, mits dat gereformeerde getuigen daer voor antwoorden.

Over welke saecke wy van de eerw: broederen onderri[ch]inge verwachten, op dat wy mogen weten hoe wy met de beste ordre in Godts huis sullen [verkeeren]. De grote Godt kroone uwe hoogh: eerw: arbeit met een vollen segen des Evangeliums.

Uwe eerw:[aerde] dienstwillige medebroeder

Johannes Overnei [symmista]

aen de Caep de Goede Hoop

Elbert Dimeer

Ouderling

Note: Rev. **Overnei** states incorrectly that the included resolution was sent to the Cape from Batavia - only the 'missive' came from Batavia - the resolution itself was made by the Council of Policy at the Cape of Good Hope [Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Classis Amsterdam van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk: *Ingekomen stukken betreffende kerkelijke zaken op Kaap de Goede Hoop (1655-1792)*: NL-SAA, archiefinventaris 379, inventarisnummer 206, pp. 54-55

<http://www.eggssa.org/sarecords/index.php/classis-amsterdam/slave-baptisms/31-1678-1679-letter-13-johannes-overnei>]; C. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, (Hollandsch Afrikaansche Uitgevers Maatschappij v/h Jacques Dusseau & Co., Amsterdam - Kaapstad 1906 & 1907), vol. I, p. 28. The letter is undated but **Overney** was already at the Cape (1678)].

¹⁹ Replacing minister (**Johannes**) **Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel) - husband of **Maria Prignon** - who dies at Cape (15 February 1667), **Adrianus de Voocht / de Voogd / Vooght (1636-1674)** arrives (10 May 1667) on *De Handelaer* with sister **Catharina de Vooght** who becomes wife to **Heinrich / Hendrik Crudop** (from Bremen); they are children of **Pieter de Voocht & Aeltje de Voocht** & siblings to **Joannes de Vooght & Catharina de Vooght**; he marries (27 November 1666) **Anna van der Meer / Meranus** (from Valkoogh / Wieringen) by whom 1 son: **Pieter de Vooght**; wife is daughter of



predicant **Arnoldus van der Meer & Aagje Jacobsz: van der Helm** & sister to **Magdalena van der Meer**; he & wife leave for Batavia (February 1674); widow returns to Cape & remarries (17 May 1676) **Johannes Ravenbergh** (from Haarlem); obtains following slaves: (1) **Catharina van Bengale** [no purchase record – possibly from Wachtendorp's estate or his widow – likely already mother to at least other *halfslag* children, notably **Jannetje [Hendricks: Bord / Bort]** (baptised 1663), **Anthonij** (baptised 1665) & **Susan** (baptised 2 October 1667), baptizing (20 October 1669) *halfslag* daughter **Catharina (Catharijn Opklm)** – [?] sells her & *heelslag* daughter - **Marth(h)a / Martina Manuels: / Emanuel(sz)**: (born c. 1671) - [no record] to **Hester Jans: / Weyers: Klim** (from Lier), Widow **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert** (from Utrecht); has one more *heelslag* daughter **Magdalena** (born c. 1674); (2) **Florinda van Jaffnapatnam (born c. 1641)** [probably obtained from **Anna Romswinkel (Widow Clinckenberg)** after being confiscated / arrested following Clinckenberg's death (poisoning?) in suspicious circumstances] [later sells (26 February 1672) - aged 30- to **Nathanial Goethardt**, junior merchant on *Hollantsen Thuy* for Rds 70]; (3) **Abraham (Abram) [Serry?] van Guinea** [seconded as Company slave (17 April 1669) previously belonging to **Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel), his widow **Maria Prignon** (1668) & Commander **Jacob Borghorst** (1669)] - special provision (27 January 1671) made for manumission of five-and-a-half year old *heelslag* slave girl **Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep (born c. 1664)** daughter of private slave woman **Catharina [van Batavia / Bengale?]** belonging to **Elbert Dircksz: Diemer** - Abraham's biological paternity is uncontested - **Sijbilla** to serve 10 years as free-person in return for food & clothes; (4) **Thomas van Bengale / van de Cust** (25) sold (30 September 1671) to **Gillis van Breen** on behalf of **De Vooght** from **Cornelis Zwart** (from Amsterdam) on *Burgh van Leiden* [later sells (16 January 1672) to brother-in-law, **Hendrik Crudop** for Rds 70]; (5) **Jacob van de Coromandel / van de Cust van Malabar** [buys (29 March 1672) from **J. Hendrik Willingh**, merchant on *Sparendam* for Rds 60 – later sells (15 February 1674) to brother-in-law **Hendrik Crudop** for f 200]; (6) **Cupido van Bengale** [purchases (29 March 1672) - aged 10 - from **Lambert van der Heijden** for Rds. 45 – later sells (15 Februaruy 1674) - aged 16 [sic] to unmarried successor, **Rudolph van Meerlandt** (from IJsselsteyn) for Rds 50]; (7) **Claes from the Coast opposite Ceylon** [buys (4 April 1672) - aged 24/24 - from Admiral **Joan Barra** for Rds 45];

²⁰ 28n tot ulto. December 1676 en primo Januarie 1677

Resolutie mediterende van den 28n tot ulto. December 1676 en primo Januarie 1677 getrocken; praesentibus omnibus, dempto den luitenant J. Cruse.

*Den eerwaardigen Domine **Hulzenaar**, heden overgelevert hebbende seeker extract uijt de naam van den Eerw.[aerde] Kerckenraedt wegens de Kerckelijcke resolutie bij haar Ede, op gisteren genomen op de voorstellinge of men de swarte kinderen die haar ouders heydenen zijn en van deselve ter kercken gepresenteert werden, wel soude doopen, mitsgaders 't besluit van Ja, onder conditie dat d'ouders mede nog ongedoopt sijnde, alvoreen sullen dienen daer toe bequaem gemaekt te werden, en van 't formulier des H.[eilige] Doops genoegsame informatie gegeven, omme als dan de ouders en kinders te gelijc te laten doopen, en op die trant de waare Godsdiens verdere doen wijs en delagtig werden, maer nopende die geene mede welckers ouders een van beyde mogten Christenen zijn, ofte die van een Hollandtse vader en swarte moeder, 't sij swarte vader of half Hollandse moeder, sijn ten H.[eilige] Doop voors. gepresenteert werdende te werden aangenomen, maer dewelcke dan door aflijvigheijt van de ouders tot dat H. werck somwijl niet te voorschijn koomen, sulcx vernemende, sullen gehouden sijn hare patroonen, overheijt, of die daer aan de naaste en wel 't meeste de waare gereformeerde religie is toegedaan, als getuijgen te dienen, Soo is naer aendagtige meditatie en serieuze deliberatie over dit heylig en noodig werck, verstaan d' Eerw.[aerde] Kerckenraet voor haer goeden ijver tot grootmakinge van Godes alderheyligsten Naam en welstandt der waare Religie besonderlijck te bedancken met versoek of gelieven op die goede wijze voort te varen, en wegens de maniere van India (volgens seecker Acte in den Jare 1666 van Battavia erlangt alle de deelen daer in vervath) te observeeren, mitsgaders volgens pligtschuldigheijt van tijt tot tijt daer bij continueren.*

Ende gemerckt opgem.[emelden] haar Eerw.[aerde] verdere mede hebben gelieven in te sien dat het seer nodig sij alhier gelijc als in India een school, soo wel voor de swarte als Duijtsche kinderen reets geschiet is, op te regten om deselve met 'er tijt mede tot een goede gemanierde discipline en menschelijcke kennisse te leijden, Soo sijn insgelijcx daer van gansch niet vreemt geweest, maer hebben d' Eerw[aerde]. als vooren voor haer goeden ijver seer bedanckt en geresolveert oock na een bequaam persoon en gelegentheijt per eersten uijt te



sien, maer onderwijlen evenwel soo langh eenige van de gaauste swarte kinderen in de Duijsche schole te laten gaan, mitsgadens een swart bequaem persoon te implojeren om opgem[elden]. slaven de gebeden t' savonts en 's mergens voor te houden en te instrueren.

Soo is oocq op 't subject van de jaarlijcxse veranderinge nopende door de Burgerraden overgegeven seecker nominatie en daer bij voorgestelt een dubbelt getal persoonen te weten **Jan Valckenrijck** en **Gerrit van der Bijl** om daar uijt bij den Raat de elexie gedaan te werden, werdende 't selve dan mede geaccordeert en daer toe g'elingeert den eerstgenoemde vrijborger **Jan Valckenrijck**, mits dat de vrijborger **Willem van Dieden** mede verstaan wert van opgem. **Valckenrijck** de plaats als vendrig te bekleden en in de plaats van den afgaanden luytt. **Wouter Mostart** als luytt. te employeren den afgaenden Borgerraadt **Harmen Gresnigt**. Ende alsoo d' E.[dele]E.[erwaerden] Kerckenraet versoeckt uyt d' persoonen **Adriaen van Brakel** en **Jan Wittebol** bij hare respective collegie tot ouderlingen genomineert mede een soude g'elingeert worden, soo is verstaan aan haar E.[dele]E[er]w.[aerden] 't selve te deferreren wie van die twee persoonen quamen te statueren ons al eens te sullen sijn en dienvolgens haer Ews. eygen goede voorsorge dat te willen aanbevolen laten, maer rakende de persoonen **Johannes Praetorius** en **Jan Dircxsen van Wageningen** bij haer Ede[le]. mede tot diacony geproponeert, hebben verstaan te eligeren den eerstgem. **Johannes Praetorius**.

Zijnde mede in Rade g'arresteert tot commissarissen der houwelyckse saken volgens de methode van India (vermits dat collegie alhier noch niet was opgeregt) te eligeren de persoonen **Martinus van Banchem** ondercoopman, **Wouter Mostart** out Borgerraet **Johannes Praetorius** vrijborger en **Andries de Man** Raat en Secretaris waer van den eerstgem. verstaan wert te sullen praesideren.

Aldus geresolveert en gearresteert in 't Fort de Goede Hoop ten dage en jaaren voors.

J.[OAN] BAX. g.[enaemt]v.[an] HERENTALS.

DIRCQ JANSZ SMIENDT.

H.[ENDRIK] CRUDOP.

M.[ARTINUS] VAN BANCHEM, R[ae]t. en Se[cre]t[ari]s.

CA: C 10, p. 33-59 [TANAP]].

²¹ Undated (post 1678) letter to Classis Amsterdam: **Johannes Overney** & **Elbert Diemer** (C. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, Deel I (1906), p. 27). See Robert Shell's comments (*Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*, (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1994), pp. 337-340).

²² Mansell G. Upham, 'Armosyn Revisited', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), p. 22.

²³ **Johannes / Johan / Joan van Arckel** (1640-1666) arrives (17 August 1665) on *Nieuw Middelburgh* (leaves Holland 24 March); lays one of Castle's cornerstones (2 January 1666); draws up his will (9 January 1666); dies unmarried at the Cape (12 January 1666) aged 26; burial is 1st in Castle's new church. His sister **Elisabeth van Arckel** marries at the Cape (30 January 1667) Ds. **Jacobus Burenus / Burenus**.

²⁴ Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 95-96. For lack of 'precedence' & Dutch reluctance (& inability) to baptized the indigenous Cape population in the initial years of colonial occupation, see Mansell G. Upham, 'At war with society ... Did God hear? ... - the curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named **Ismael**, *Capensis*, no. 4 (2000), pp. 29-51.

²⁵ Mansell G. Upham, 'In Memoriam: **Florida**', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2001), pp. 5-22. In his latest book *Armosyn van die Kaap – die wêreld van 'n slavin 1652-1733* (Tafelberg, Cape Town 2000), Karel Schoeman, quoting Anna Böeseke, incorrectly refers to this child as **Flotilda**.

²⁶ See *inter alia* C. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, Deel I, pp. 27-31 & 256-257; Anna J Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape (1658-1700)* (Tafelberg, Cape Town 1977), p. 27; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Beleid en Praktyk: Die doop van slawekinders en die sluit van gemengde verhoudings aan die Kaap voor 1720', *Kronos*, vol. 5 (1982), p. 27; Hans F. Heese, *Groep sonder grense: die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap. 1652-1795*, (1984), p. 31; Richard E. van der Ross, 'Vyfhonderd Jaar se Groepverhoudinge in die Onderwys' *Kronos*, vol. 16 (1989), p. 53 [Referring to incident, Van der Ross claims, incorrectly, that minister had refused to baptize two [*sic*] slave children. Only one slave child had been presented for baptism on this occasion] & Robert Shell's 'Religion, Civic Status and Slavery from Dordt to the Trek', *Kronos* (Journal of Cape History), no. 19 (1992), pp. 28-63 & *Children of Bondage*, pp. 330-331].



²⁷ AR: VOC 4030 (courtesy of Dr Hans F. Heese).

²⁸ **Andries Barendsz**: evidently *heelslag* petitions (1710) for freedom but to continue as mason for Company - manumission approved by resolution of the Council of Policy: **Andries Barendse**, *alhier in de logie van een 's Comps. slavin gebooren, is ten aan zien den zelve de E.Compe. bereets den tijt van 20 jaaren goede diensten heeft gedaan als metselaar, op zijn instantelijk verzoek, en volgens de naargelatene instructie van weijlen den Commissaris Generaal, de Heer Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, vermits den zelve al voor lange den tijt, ofte ouderdom van 40 jaaren in dienstbaarheid van gemelte Compa. heeft berijkt, in vrijdom gestelt en als metselaar onder een drie jarig verband met een besoldingh van f10 per maand in dienst aangenomen*. Same person as slave infant **Andries** baptised (29 December 1679), son of deceased slave woman **Onbanradi van Madagascar**? [CA: C28, pp.17-18; TANAP <http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>; CA: VC 40: *Generale Monsterrollen*, 1701-1715, p. 177; Resolutions of the Council of Policy, vol. IV, p. 170; Karel Schoeman, *Early Cape slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717* (Protea Book House, Pretoria 2007), pp. 177 & 327].

²⁹ Donald Moodie, *The Record* (1838), p. 313.

³⁰ Mansell G. Upham, '**Zara (c. 1648-1671)**: an inquiry into the (mis)application of traditionally prescribed punishment against persons committing suicide during the VOC's colonial occupation of the Cape of Good Hope', *Capensis* 4/2001, pp. 14-37.

³¹ Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage*, p. 184.

³² *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 31.

³³ Susanna does not return from work, but in fact is sick herself.

³⁴ The allegation (exaggeration?) that Susanna had used *three* bands is only found mentioned in trial proceedings itself in terms of the evidence presented to the council by **Cornelis de Cretzer**.

³⁵ There are *two* doctors who do the autopsy and report on their findings.

³⁶ This phrase cannot be traced in the record.

³⁷ The sentence is never commuted. The Council ignores the suggested punishment by **De Cretzer** and decrees its own punishment.

³⁸ See *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, p. 110.

³⁹ **Joannes Coon** (from Sommelsdijck [Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) arrives (1664) as sergeant on *Walcheren* with wife **Alexandrinea / Alexandrine Jacobs: Maxvelt / Maxwal [Maxwell]**; appointed full ensign (1665) by Commissioner **Pieter de Bitter**, provisional lieutenant; prior to transfer to Cape had already served 8 years in Indies; succeeded **Pieter Evraerts**: (from Cruijssaert) as head of garrison; dies (1673) on St Helena; his widow remarries at Cape (29 September 1679) **Louis / Lodewyck François Bureau / Boureau / Buro / Brureau alias Lodewyk Francen** (from Brussels) (born c. 1649), son of Brussels advocate **Carel Burou** who after military service in Europe, joins VOC serving at Cape as soldier, clerk & finally victualler; charged with theft, dismissed from service for life & deported to Netherlands - deportation order, however, initially not carried out & becomes free-burgher at Cape; Commissioner Van Rheede refuses to condone further laxity of former protectors **Rijckloff van Goens the Elder & the Younger**. Childless; **Juffrouw Coon** owns following slaves: (1) **Maria (Marij) [Maria Pekenijn van Angola?]** (purchased 1 May 1665 from **Zacharias Wagenaer**) who is mother to: **Maria [Lozee] van de Caep** (baptized Cape 12 September 1666) & **Cornelia [Bogaerts?] van de Caep** (baptized Cape May 1669); (2) **Alina [Lijsbeth?] van Bengale** (sold by Commander **Jacob Borghorst** 9 April 1669) [note: Coon purchases pregnant slave woman named **Alina** [error for **Elisabeth?**] but from **Rijckloff van Goens** [?] in similar transaction for lesser price (80.00) - thereafter (28 May 1669), slave named **Anna** [Elisabeth's daughter?] is sold by Coon to junior merchant on *Alphen* **Johannes Cauwenburg** for 80:00 - cryptic transcriptions of *Transporten en Schepenkenissen*, however, suspect & require further investigation: is Lijsbeth also purchased by Van Goens & paid for by Coon with perhaps special arrangements for daughter Anna to be taken to Batavia? Lijsbeth's daughters nevertheless are subsequently either used as domestic servants in households of commander (or acting commander) or members of Council of Policy or take up responsible positions in Company's Slave Lodge: **Maria Hendricks: van de Caep** works for Acting Commander **Heinrich Crudop** (from Bremen), **Margaretha Jans: Visser(s) van de Caep** became *matres* in Slave Lodge & **Anna van de Caep [Anna Pieters van Batavia?]** (after returning from Batavia?) becomes integrated into Coon household] [Mansell George 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>]; (3) **Catharina van Malabar**



(sold by Commander **Jacob Borghorst** 17 April 1669); (4) **Jan van Bengale** (purchased 16 May 1666 from **Jacob Cauw**); (5) **Anthonij van de Cust Cor(o)mandel** (purchased 4 April 1679 from **Tobias Marquart**);

⁴⁰ **Dircq / Dir(c)k / Dirrick Jansz: Smiend / Smien(d)t** (from Groningen) arrives ex Batavia in Return Fleet with wife **Annatje / Annetie / Annetje Jans(z): Speckaert** (from Gramsbergh] (1665) as sergeant; appointed ensign (1666); free-burgher (1670); again joins Company (1672); appointed captain (January 1676); accompanies **Jacob Granaat** (from Enkhuizen) on expedition to Mauritius & Madagascar on *Hoogh Caspel* (27 June 1666); sent again on *Poelsnip* to Mauritius (29 June 1668) replacing **Georg Friedrich Wreede [Georgius Fredericius Wreede] (1635-1672)** (from Uetze [near Hanover]) as commander accompanied by wife & 2 orphan sisters **Neeltje Sterreveld & Adriana Sterreveld** (both from New Amsterdam, New Netherland [New York, USA]); returns to Cape on *Voerman* (9 December 1669) becoming lieutenant of burghery (resolution: Council of Policy, 3/4 March 1670).

⁴¹ **Joan Wittebol** (from Amsterdam); likely fathers illegitimate *halfslag* child **Henrietta Wittebol(s)** by private slave of **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam), **Sara van Solor**; witnesses (with **Grusella Mostaert**) baptism (20 May 1674) of **Johannes Schreyer**; marries Cape (16 September 1674) the orphaned **Maria van Reuven / Ruijven / Ruyven** (from Delft) *Jongedochter geboortigh van Delft* who arrives on *Vryheijt* (19 October 1672) at Cape with father **Johan (Jan) van Reuven** (dies 22 January 1673) & unnamed mother ("very dangerously ill" dies soon after father); as salesman & provisional junior merchant has deficit in administration (1673) degraded from office, rank & pay & further declared unworthy to serve Company any longer at the pen (28 December 1674) [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 228]; witnesses (with **Elsje van Suerwaerden**) baptism (23 October 1678) of **Machteldie**, daughter of **Willem van Dieden** (van Amsterdam) & **Margaretha Frans: Meeckhoff** (from Steenwijk); Orphan Chamber secretary; dies 1681.

⁴² **Jan Valckenrijck** (from Amsterdam) marries (1671 [day & month not recorded in marriage register but *ante* 22 July 1671 - however, see A.J. Boeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel 2, p 66]) **Hildeg(a)rd (Hilletje) Redog(h)s / Redox**, widow of **Jan Israelsz:** (from Berkulo [near Ingen, Gelderland]; dies (2 February 1679) - falls off horse [Anna J. Bøeseken, *Slaves & Free Blacks*, p. 86]

⁴³ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1662-1670*, p. 308.

⁴⁴ **Pieter Walrand(t): / Wolbrandt(s): / Wolbrant / Wollibrants: / Wo(o)llebrantsz: [Plott]** (from Middelburg), senior surgeon (*opperchirurgyn*); neglects patients & smuggles alcohol - banished (June-August 1670) to Robben Island for 3 years [Anna J. Bøeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, 1652-1672, pp. 291-319] - but information conflicts with CA: C6, PP. 24-65 - TANAP <http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/> drunken behaviour & neglecting work after salary increased by Commissioner **Mattheus van den Brou(c)ke** to f40 per month & banished to Robben Island for 10 years - after repeated requests sentence commuted (8 August 1670 to banishment to Mauritius [(CA: C] l: *Criminele en Civiele Regts Rolle*, 1652-1673, p. 256 verso - 257 verso, p. 277 recto - 283 recto, p. 293 recto]; re-appears as free-burgher & mason on mainland (1673) & neighbour to **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta & Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**; disgraced again, leaves for Batavia (1677) with wife **Lijsbeth Jans:** & children - Governor **Joan Bax** describes him as being "an indolent man ... who, besides, was not free from suspicion of being an idler and abettor of many thieves and rogues" [Letter: **Joan Bax** to *Heeren XVII* (14 March 1677); Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 348].

⁴⁵ **Johann Schreyer** (from Loebenstein); joins VOC; arrives as midshipman (*adelborst*) arriving on *Eendracht* (3 December 1668); acting junior surgeon (1670); junior surgeon (1671) & surgeon (1672); as junior surgeon assigned task of doing the autopsy on corpse of Cape indigene suicide **Zara**; marries (24 January 1672) **Jacomyntie / Jacomyntje Backers / Bakkers / Barkers** (from Amsterdam), widow of senior surgeon, *meester Jan Holl*; they have following children: (1) **Johannes** baptized 19 March 1673 (dies in infancy) & (2) **Johannes** baptized 20 May 1674; Schreyer & family - including stepdaughter **Gertruijda Hol** (baptized Cape 22 March 1671) - go to India; authors book also giving description of Cape entitled *Neue Ost-Indische Reisbeschreibung von Anno 1669 biss 1677 handelnde von unterscheidenen Afrikanischen und Barbarischen Völkern, sonderlich dere an dem Vor-Gebürge, Caput Bonae Spei sich enthaltenden sogenannten Hottentotten* (published Leipzig, 1681) J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape* (Cape Archives Year Book 1946), p. 37 & R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, vol. I, pp. 114-139. Is he the same person as **Johannes Schreyer (1655-1694)** - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Schreyer?

⁴⁶ CA: C] 2394 (1665-1670), pp. 135-136: *Wij ondergeschreve Chirurgijns, in dienst den E.[dele] Comp:[agnie] an Cabo de Boa Esperance; can den Ed:[el]e Commandeur Jacob Borghorst gelast sijnde, seekere jongh misties kinderen te openen, 't welck naar 't seggen van S' Comp:[agnie]s slaeven, door seeker slaeffin, en moeder van 't selve genaemt Susanna, alias Een Oor*) op primo deser des nagts met een touw



gewurgt, en sodanigh gehandelt is, dat 't er voorsz kint op 8e daaraanvolgende is komen te overleijden; 'T selve den geopent en de binnenste deelen des lichaams naeukeuringh besigtigt, en gevisiteert zijnde hebben bevonden dat de lucht aderen ofte de vena pulmones, van de longe gehele verstoppt, en met geroimen [geruimen = discharged] bloet verselt was, 't welck door de langheijt van tijt in een vuile, en vergiftige materie is komen te veranderen, Zijnde bovendien de galblaes geborsten, mitsgaders gehele van de gehele van de gal ontbloedt geweest, dat sekerlijck door 't voorsz worgen is ontstaan; gevende voorsz: bevindinge ons sodanig sekerheijt, en waerachtige blijcken, dat we absoluijt vastellen en openlijck uijt seggen, dat het voor:[genoemd]e kinderen hier van gestorven heeft; al't welcke voorsz: wij met goede opmerckinge, sodanig hebben bevonden, en presenteren 't selve des noots sijnde, met Eede te bevestigen, des ter oirconde hebben wij desen met onse gwoonelijcke hant tekenen bekrachtigt.

Aldus gedaan en gevisiteert. In 't Comp:[agnie]s Tuijn - desen 8e Decemb:[e]r A[nn]o 1669.

Ons present als getuigen

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

[signed] **Jan Schreijer**

[signed] **J.[an] Wittebol**

[signed] **Jan Valckenrijck**

Mij present

[signed] **Cornelis de Cretzer**

Naedat bovenen voorstaende attestatie gen:[oemde]n Chirurgijn andermael van woonde te woonde voorgelegen was hebben deselve merkeninnen weer bekrachtigh onder g:e woorden soo waerlijck moet ons Godt almachtigh helpen.

In't Fort de Goede Hoope a[nno]d[omin]ij 9 Xber [December] 1669.

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

[signed] **Jan Schreijer**

Als Gecommitteerdens

[signed] **Johannes Coon**

[signed] **D.[IRCK]J.[ANSZ:] Smiend**

[Cape Archives (CA): C] 2394 (1665-1670), pp. 133-134.]

⁴⁷ Wij onderges:[schreven]e **Wynant Leenderts [Bezuidenhout]** baeshovenier, **Jan Vlack van Meurs** en **Abraham Moste** In 't Comp:[agnie]s thuijn hier ter plaetse berwerken, verclaeren wij onse mamse waerheyt, ten versoeke van den fiscael S[ieu]r. **Cornelis de Cretzer**, hoedat we seeckere slaeff genaemt **Andries**, mitsgaeders drie slaeffinnen, name[n]tel:[ijc]k **Florinde**, **Marija van Goa**, en **Marie van Bengale**, ondervraght en wel scherpel:[ijck]s gexamineert hebben op wat wijze sij het kint dat door seeckere slaeffinne genaemt **Susanna**, (alias **een Oor**) geworcht is geworden, ontweldight hebben, en oock hoedanich 't selven doen bij hun is bevonden, die van gesamentlijck, in antwoord voorde, wanneer op 't gesteen van 't kint opspringen, om te sien watter gaende woest, dat de voorsz **Susanna** de lamp uijt blus, de welcke by haeren, weder opgestoocken sijnde, hebben se 't onnosel kint tussen haer beenen gevonden, dat oock wel ter degen [with intent] met stercke doecken om den hals was gebonden, en sodanigh gewurght, dat indien se 't niet met geweld 't selve malle reijk van haer gerucht hadden 't seeckerl:[ijck]s met haest de geest gegeven soude hebben.

Al 't welcke voorsz schreven staet genoemde slaeffe en slaeffinnen ons op reghtel:s voor de waerheijt naedat wij deselven nauwkeuringh hadden ondervragt hebben verclaert, Des ter oirconde bij ons geteijckent.

In 't Fort de Goede Hoope a[nno]d[omin]ij 9en =Xber [December] 1669

Geteijckent bij [signed] **Wynant Leenderts [Bezuidenhout]** [signed] **Jan Vlack van Meurs**

[signed] **Abraham Moste**

Den v[oor]sz: met sij geven hant

Dit merck

Abram [sic] geteeken bij

Ons present als getuigen

[signed] **J[oa]n. Wittebol**

1669

[signed] **Jan Valckenrijck**

Mij Present

[CA: C] 2394 (1665-1670), pp. 135-136.]

⁴⁸ **Wijnand(t) / Wynant Leender(t)sz: [van Bezuidenhout]** (from *Besuyenhouten* / den Haag 't *Bezuydenhouwt* [Besuijenhouten]), arrives (1666) as sailor on *Tijger*; appointed (1668) chieff gardener (*baas thuijnier*); marries Cape 23 September 1668 **Jannetie / Jannetje Gerards: / Gerrids: / Gerrits:** (from Amsterdam [North Holland]); joint will (16 September 1669) witnessed by **Adriaen de**



Voogd mentions his guardian de H[ee]r. **Pieter van Loon**, *Bewinthebber woonende op de Angel te gewoon* [?] *de Appelmart Amsterdam* [Schepenkenis]; lists siblings **Jan Leendertsz. & Lysbet Leendertsz.**; wife is assaulted by their *knecht* **Jan Blom** “so that blood flowed”; purchases (13 February 1671) slave **Anthonij van Angola**; free-burgher (1672) purchases (14 April 1674) slave **Isabella van Angola** from **Jan Reijniesz.** (from Amsterdam) she marries (2) Cape 17 February 1675 **Cornelis Stevensz. [Botma]** (from Wageningen [Gelderland]).

⁴⁹ **Johann Heinrich Vlock** (from Moers [Meurs - formerly Mörs, Duchy of Cleves]); soldier (1669-70); burgher (1670); sergeant - burgher militia (1687); Cape Church deacon (1685 & 1689); marries **Maria Jans Schröers** (from Kapellen [near Moers]; 5 children; he dies (1720) [J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806*, p. 436].

⁵⁰ Unidentified. A soldier **Abraham Nastigt** listed in garrison (1672).

⁵¹ **Florinda / Florinde van Jafnapatnam** slave belonging to **Adriaen de Voogd** possibly obtained (1669) from **Anna Romswinkel**, Widow **Pieter van Clinckenberg** (from Middelburg). Is she the slave woman incarcerated under suspicion for poisoning her *patron*?: 13 November 1667: “Death of the junior merchant and salesman, *Sieur Pieter van Clinkenberg*. Since last Thursday (10th) he had suffered dreadfully from stomach ache, so that we are not without suspicion that he has been poisoned, especially as his female slave [**Florinda van Jaffnapatnam**], who had been beaten by him some time previously, had hinted as much,, and she has always been known in India as a very malignant woman. The body was therefore opened this afternoon, and the stomach and intestines were found to be full of wind and very much swollen. The rest of the body was found to be quite sound, only the right lung being somewhat inflamed and bad. The result did not confirm our suspicions, but we have nevertheless placed the woman in confinement, in order to examine her later on”; De Voogd later sells her (26 February 1672) – aged 30 - to **Nathanial Goethardt**, junior merchant sailing on the *Hollantsen Thuyn* for Rds 70.

⁵² A Company slave woman named **Maria [van Goa / Angola?]** baptizes (2 February 1670) a *halfslag* infant [son?] **Claasjen**: ... *den 2 febr: An. 1670 een slaevinne kindt van de E.[dele] Compagnie wiert genaemt Claasjen, de moeder daar van zynde Maria*. Other than this entry no further trace of any **Maria van Goa** has yet been found in the records.

⁵³ Likely to be **Maria / Marij da Costa / de Korte [sic] / van Casta / van de Cust Coromandel / Bengale / Couchin / Paliacatte** [Note: not to be confused with **Maria van Bengale** - former slave of **Hans Rugert Tro(o)st** (from Elberfeld) & previously of **Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale** & wife, **Catharina (Groote Catrjn) van Pailiacatta** who marries the shaven [Muslim] Chinese (*den Chinees*) **Domingo van Bengale**]; former slave of Cape's 1st commander **Jan van Riebeeck** freed (Council of Policy resolution: 14 March 1680); listed alone muster roll (1682); baptised Cape as adult (18 March 1685 [**Maria van Bengale een vrye meit**]; *de facto* wife (by 1685) to free-black **Isa(a)k van Bengale** (baptised as adult 1693) [slave so named sold by Cape's ex-commander **Zacharias Wagenaer** ex Batavia returning to Netherlands (1666)?]; they marry 16 May 1701 [**Isaak van Bengale Vryman met Maria van de Cust Coromandel**]; **Isak van Bengale** granted (25 August 1685) *erf* in Table Valley [1/133] [Block H] (65r) (927,9 Ha) - 9 years occupancy; sells to **Christoffel Hazewinkel** [3 r 36'] [Hattingh]; regular appearance in tax rolls (*Opgaaf*) (1682-1705); **Isak van Bengale** granted garden in Table Valley [2/108] [1002r37' / 1,4593] - sold 3 years later to **H. Wendel** [Hattingh, *Kronos*, vol. 10 (1985), p. 42]; she marries 2ndly (8 June 1710) **Frans Verkouter / [ver] Kouter** (from Lendeleë [Zeeland]) [**Frans Verkouter van Lendeleë jongman met Maria van Bengaalen, wed. van Isaac van Bengalen**]; joint will (13 September 1710); CA: MOOC 5/1 blad 13: *Diverse Voorvallen 1711. 31 F[e]br[uar]ij: Frans Verkouter als in huwelik hebbend de naargelaatene wed:[duw]e van den overleeden Vrijswart Isak van Bengalen, alhier ten vergadering versogt hebbende, dat aangesien den voorn:[oemde] overleedene als slaaf uijt Bengalen over veele jaaren was weggevoeren geweest en bereijts alhier aan de Caab in de 40 jaaren hadde gewoont, sonder dat ooit in die tijd eenige vrienden van deselve sig hadden opgedaan en dat het uijt dien hoofden niet apparent was, dat'er eenige derselven bloedvrinden Christens zijnde in wesen souden zijn, hij dieshalven de voorsz nalatenschap in 't geheel mogte bekoomen, soo is goedgevonden 't selve hem te accordeeren mits stellende twee borgers voor en restitutie der helf bij aldien bevonden word, nadere Erfgen:[enaemen] daar jeegenwoordig off in der tijd te sullen weesen*; after her death, husband marries (2) Drakenstein [Paarl] (15 February 1728) **Maria Bock alias Maria Groothenning / Gruuteynde wed. Thomas Eyman** & prior to that widow of **Nikolaas / Nicolaas Bruyn(s)** (from Osnabrück).

⁵⁴ **Andries (Arie) van Bengale**, slave belonging to Commander **Cornelis van Quaelbergen** & 2nd wife **Judith van den Bogaerde**; presumably arrives either (17 March 1663) on Return Fleet under **Herman Klenke** (from Odess) (*Amersfoort, Wapen van Amsterdam, Slot van Honingen, Wassende Maan, Parel, Jonge Prins, Walecheren & Hof van Holland*) and/or ex Ceylon (1665) on *Medenblicq?*) together with *inter alia*: **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale, Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale, Titus (Tita) Thomsen /Thomzen van**



Bengale, Jeremias van Coromandel, Baddou / Barru van Bali, Catharina van Bengale, Susanna van Bengale, Gratia d'Costa, Florinda / Florinde van Jafnapatnam, Jacob Cornelisse: van Colombo / Malabar / Bengale, Helena van Malabar, Jantje van Bengale [?], Paulo van Malabar [?], Ventura van Ceylon & Jan Luij van Ceylon [DELETE & Dina van Coylang [Quilon]]; sold (1668) to Jacob Borghorst; sold (20 October 1669) to Company; manumitted (Council of Policy resolution:); appears in *Opgaaf* (1693, 1695 and 1696) with *de facto* wife Gratia / Gratie d'Costa; Gratia as Company slave baptizes halfslag son Herman (1666).

⁵⁵ Abraham (Abram) [Serry?] van Guinea purchased as Company slave at Popo [Benin] arriving on *Hasselt* (6 May 1658); slave belonging to minister Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp (from Maasbommel); sold (1668) by Widow Wachtendorp [Maria Prignon] - with Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale & Maria da Costa van Bengale - to Commander Jacob Borghorst who sells (1669) him to Company; seconded as Company slave (17 April 1669) to resident minister Adriaen de Voogd & wife Anna van den Meer (from Valkoogh and/or Wieringen); also in minister's household are Catharina van Bengale & Florinda van Jafnapatnam (born c. 1641); Thomas van Bengale / van de Cust; Jacob van de Coromandel Coast; Cupido van Bengale; Claes from Coast opposite Ceylon [Tuticorijn / Madura]; fathers daughter - *heelslag* slave girl Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep (born c. 1664) with private slave woman Catharina [van Batavia / Bengale?] belonging to Elbert Dircksz: Diemer - special provision (27 January 1671) for manumission of 5-and-a-half year old Sijbilla to serve 10 years as free-person in return for food & clothes; minister & family proceed (18 February 1674) to Batavia [widow returns to Cape & remarries (17 May 1676) Johannes Ravenbergh (from Haarlem)]; Abraham reverts to Company (date unknown); manumitted (resolution: Council of Policy, 2 January 1687) with other old & retired Company slaves, including *de facto* wife Sara de Waster alias Koddo / Prodo / Prede / Cladoor / Pladoor - alliteratively caricaturized as *Plad Oor* ('Flat Ear') & Adriaen (Arie) van Bengale & his *de facto* wife Gratia d'Acosta, Leidsare van Madagascar & pardoned convict Mira Moor van Ceylon; Koddo initially belongs to free-burgher Leendert Cornelisz: (from Sevenhuijzen) [no wife at Cape]; Cornelisz: also owns: Judas de Wever van Guinea, Pieter Pietersz: van Guinea & Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg [same person as Christina (Christijn) van Guinea [Angola?]] & Jan Bruijn van Madagascar (son of Company slave woman Eva van Madagascar - sent by mistake to Batavia); Koddo confiscated by Company when unruly Cornelisz: is fired as burgher councillor & made to leave the Cape; Company slave at *Bosheuvel* (1664), becoming concubine to Company official, Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe (from Broek in Oud-Beyerland - illegitimate daughter: Maria [Schalk(s)] [illicit union & ensuing illegitimate child are subject of report (1664) by commanding officer, Pieter Cruijthoff (Complaint: Pieter Cruythoff against Willem Schalcq) ... presented to Council of Fort of Good Hope. No date, but year is 1664. Case of assault of Cruythoff by Schalcq. 'All this he (Schalcq) did on account of a certain female slave by whom he has a child, and whom he had chambered in the kitchen at the time of her lying in' - J. Hoge quoting H.C.V. Leibbrandt's *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope (Attestations)*, p. 48]; soon thereafter, Koddo baptizes (6 September 1665) daughter Maria Schalk(s): (1664-1700) with likely elder sibling, Dierkje - mother recorded as Company slave woman Koddo (sibling's gender unknown - although, generally a female name, *Di(e)rkje*, could also be diminutive for boy's name *Dirk*) - Had child been female & survived into adulthood, no female slave named *Dirkje* traced; Abraham listed alone in census (1688) - no mention of wife; Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) [Sanders: / Sandra:] van de Caep desert (1688) father of her children, Louis van Bengale going to her foster mother [Anna van Guinea [Angola?]] but also meets her lover at place of Abraham & Koddo at Jonkershoek. Abraham & [?] son-in-law, Matthijs Calmer, purchase (29 December 1689) farm at Stellenbosch originally occupied by Hendrik Potman for f 520 - included in transaction are a plough & wagon valued at f 120 CA: 1/STB 18/152 (*Notarial Declarations: Matthijs Calmer & Abraham van Gene [Guinea]*, 29 December 1689); J.L. Hattingh, *Die Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 47; Matthijs Calmer withdraws from partnership & enters (1 July 1690) service of secretary to *landdrost* Sijbrand Mankadan - farm never formally granted to Abraham; Koddo & Abraham listed in census (1692) with 5 oxen. - also listed are Paaij Claes & Hoena (Anna) & Matthijs Calmer & Jannetje van de Caep; free-black Maria van Guinea witnesses (23 April 1692) in legal dispute between Abraham & Jan Andriessen de Joncker - Abraham sued for not paying Rds 6 for loan of Jan de Joncker's plough & 3 bushels of wheat advanced him [1/STB 5/1 (*Notule van verrigtinge in siviele sake, Jan Andrieszen de Joncker contra Abraham van Guinea*, 23 April 1692)]. Abraham & Paaij Claes singled out (1693) as ideally suited (*seer bequaem*) to manage Company's new plantation at Stellenbosch set aside for planting oak trees to alleviate colony's wood shortage [CA: 1/STB (*Notule van Landdrost en Heemrade*, 11 September 1693)]; Koddo & Maria make joint declaration tabled during civil suit (11 August 1696) between Paaij Claes van Guinea & Jan Leeuw / Luij van Ceylon [1/STB 18/153 (*Notarial Declarations, Declaration of Marij van Gene & Proddo (Prede) van Gene*, dated 11 August 1696)]; Anna &



Paaij Claes are listed together (1700) in the census - **Abraham & Koddo** not mentioned (already deceased?).

⁵⁶ CA: CJ 2952 (*Confessiën en Interrogatoriën van't jaer 1654 tot 1673*) pp. 269-270 [old no. 162] (11 December 1669): 11 Xber [December] 1669

De Slaefinne **Susanna**, (alias **Een Oor**) door fiscael, S[ieu]r. **Cornelis de Cretser**, ten presentie van d'onderges:[chrewen]e gecommiteerdens, scherpelijck ondervraght en g'examineert sijnde, nopens 't worgen, en om 't leven brengen, van haer kint, heeft sulcx niet jegen staende, de daer op verleen attestaties van d' Chirurgijns die 't kint doot sijnde geopent hebben: mitsgaeders een diergelijcke verclaringe bij seeckere Slaeffen en twee Slaeffinnen die haer 't kint ontweldight hebben; ontkent, waerop haer niet pijnigen gedrijght mitsgaeders haer de schroeff op den duim even toegeset hebben bekend dat sij voornemens wack [moist!] geweest en beleid, in presentis van meergen:[oemde] gecommiteerdens had voorsz kint (met een bant oor den hals binden, te vermoorden en so om 't leven te berowen en ten wacke haer sulx van de voorst slaeffen slaeffinen niet over die lije waren dat een els uijt insaghte dat geen melck in de boorsten ter voetsel van haer vrucht hadde, en geens van de mede slaeffeninen 't selve wilde laeten suigen, off eenige hant reijckingh doen, en sij sieck sijnde niet langhe sulck om net met 'er kint konde uijtstaen, dierhalven om't een Corte ent de door erlangen, 't selven als voorseijt onderstont om hals te willen brengen; Zijnde dit voorsz haere Confessie en beleidnisse, van d' voorn:[oemd]e daet; 't welck haer dan te voren geteken sij bij 't selve blijft Consteren; en begeren doch niet van, op't toe gedaen te hebben, des ten oirconde door haer nervens meergemelte gecommiteerdens geseijt.

Aldus gedaen en bekend in't Comp[agnie]s thuijn aan Cabo de Boa Esperance, a[nno]d[omin]ij 11en Xber [December] 1669

geteijckent

[her mark is a circle with an inkspot to the upper-left side]

Susanna voorn:[oem]t

met eijgene hant

Ons present als gecommiteerdens

[signed] **Johannes Coon**

[signed] **D.[irck] J.[ansz:] Smiend**

Mijn present

[signed] **Cornelis de Cretser**

⁵⁷ **Jacob Granaat** (from Enkhuizen) arrives as assistant (1663); goes on expedition to Mauritius and Madagascar (1666); junior merchant & garrison bookkeeper.

⁵⁸ **Jan Brettal / Brital van Dantsick** (from Danzig [Gdańsk, Poland]) arrives ex Batavia (1662) on *Wapen van Amsterdam*; appointed (1667) *onderstuurman* by VOC Commissioner **Jan van Dam**; skipper of the *Voerman* which plied between Cape & Mauritius

[CA: C 5, pp. 74-75 - TANAP <http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>] [He is not listed by J. Hoge in his *Personalialia of the Germans at the Cape* (Cape Archives Year Book 1946)].

⁵⁹ CA: CJ 1 (Deel 2) 1668-1673, p. 514.

Present d'heer:[en] **Coon, Granaat, Smient en J. Bretal**

Eodem eij:[sche]r

contra

Susanna van Bengaelen

gewesene slaefinne ende nu S'Heeren gevangene

Den eijcher leverde over een: - Schrifte:[ijck]s daer de Cherurgijn beedigde attestatie, mitsgaders een dien gelijcke verclaringh bij twee loffwaardige Luijden ondertijckent waer uijt opent:[lijc]k Comt te bewijzen, dat sij als een godtv[er]geetene moordadighe vercken, haer soo seer heeft comen en te v[er]loopen dat de handeni aen haere jonghe zuygelingh (sijnde een mistisies meijse) heeft geslaegen 't selve met 3 stercke doecken om den hals bindende, te v[er]worgen ... daar door is coomen v[er]smooren en de geest gegeven heeft ... Concludeert dien weegen, dat de Morderes hier buijten 't fort alvorens de borsten met gloeiende tangen van't lijff gerucht synde, tot asche sal v[er]brant werden.

Is met v[er]drincken achter volgens sententie dato 13en desen Gestraft geworden.

⁶⁰ CA: CJ 780 Sentence no. 112 (11 December 1669), pp. 333-334:

Overmits den regter klaar en evident is gebleeken, dat **Susanna van Bengaele** (alias **Eenoer**) gewesene slaefinne in S' Comp[agnie]s tuijn haar soo seere heeft komen te verloren, dat alle lieffde, mede eijden, en moedereijse genegenthuijt, tot haar jonge kint geheel vergetende, als een moordadigh, overgeven, vuyl en beestachtigh mensch, op primo deser (des nagts, wanneer alle de andere slaeven en slaeffinnen. haas tot ruste hadden begeben) heeft onderstaan, haar genoemde kint, met drie stuccke doecken om den hals bindende, te willen verworgen hebbende daar en boven, om dit schrickelijck, moordadigh voornemen, des te



beter uyttevoeren, en in 't merck te stellen, eerst, en alvorens de lamp uytgeblaesen, als wanneer d'andere slaeven, en slaeffinnen, op 't jammerlijck gesteen, van 't onnosele kint, opsprongen en haer 't selve met geweld uijt haer armen wrongh, als willende 't selve met los laeken, voor en aleen, 't genoemde moordadigh feijt, ten vollen volbragt, en uijtgevoert, had; Zijnde sulcx d'oorsaecke, dat 'et selve onnosele kint, niet aanstonts; maar den achtten dagen, daar aanvolgende, is komen te overleijden, 't welcke saeke sijn van een seer swaare, en afschrickelijcken gewigte met coniviebel, nemaar achtervolgens, de goddelijcke als wereltlijcke wetten met de doot straffbaar; Soo ist dat wij ten dage dienende, gehooft, en wel naeuw aangemerckt hebben, de mondelingen eijsch van den Fiscaal in juditio gedaan, daar toe de beedigde attestatie van twe Chirurgijns, daarbij komt te consteren, dat sij 't voorsz kint g'opent, en naer visite bevonden hebben aldus, te weten, dat de vena pulmonas, off de lugt aderen van de longen, geheel verstopt waeren, en eijndelijck door 't verloop van voorsz tijt, in een vuile vergiftige materie, was komen te veranderen, bovendien dat de gal blaas geborsten, en geheel van sijn substantie ontbloot waer geweest waaruijt dan verklaarder, en opentlijck uijtseggen, dat sulcx door 't voorsz worgen ontstaende, En dienvolgende 't kint daar door de geest gegeven heeft, mitsgaders haar gevangens eijgen getekende confessie, voor Gecommitteerdens gedaan,, een beleden, daer selver beleyt, dat sulcx bij manquement van zogh en degelijcx gekerm van 't kint ondernomen had, ende [abbreviation] vorders, waarop ons te leen stonde, off ter materie dienen, en moveren konde, Doende regt, uijt de naamen van wegen, haar Ed:[el]e d'Hoogmogende Heeren Staten Generael, den vrije Verenigde Nederlanden, gebruijckende als noch gratie, in plaatse van reguir.

Condemneeren haar gevangen, alvorens in een zack gebonden, hier buijten op de roede gebragt zijnde, door den scherpenregter in 't water verdroncken te werden, dat'en de doot na volgt; Laetende t'lighaam tot een als der visse, aldaar verbleijven.

Aldus gedaen In 't Fort de Goede Hoop desen 11 Decemb:[e]r 1669 mitsgaders gesententioneert den 13 dag daeropvolgende.

[signed] **JACOB BORGHORST**

[signed] **JOHANNES COON**

[signed] **GRANAAT**

[signed] **D.J. SMIENT**

[signed] **G. BRETTAL**

⁶¹ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, pp. 308-309.

⁶² **Johannes Bolten** alias **Johannes Christiani à Bolten zutphaniens** (from Zutphen) arrives (1668) as midshipman (adelborst) kranckbesoecker, voorsanger, & schoolmeester (appointed 1 September 1668); witnesses baptism (23 November 1670) of **Jeronomus**, illegitimate son of Cape [Goringhaicona] indigene **Eva Meerhoff**.

⁶³ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 309.

⁶⁴ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, (Fontana Press, London 1988) pp. 459, 521 & 523.

⁶⁵ Hans F. Heese, *Reg en Onreg: Kaapse Regspraak in die Agtiende Eeu*. (C-Reeks: Navorsingspublikasies, No. 6, Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, Universteit van Wes-Kaapland, Bellville 1994). Two cases in particular have received attention by academics: **Trijntje van Madagascar** [CA: C] 782, no. 54, Hans Heese, pp. 113-121 & 267; Nigel Penn, 'The Fatal Passion of Brewer Menssink: Sex, beer and politics in a Cape family 1694-1722', *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways: Eighteenth-Century Cape Characters* (David Philip, Cape Town 1999), pp. 9-72 & that of the 'Hottentot' **Sara** [Hans F. Heese, pp. 13 & 254 & Susan Newton-King, 'The Enemy Within', *Breaking the Chains* (ed. Nigel Worden & Clifton Crais) (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1994), pp. 252-253].

⁶⁶ A subsequent article by Prof. Gardiol J. van Niekerk investigates this question: 'Criminal Justice at the Cape of Good Hope in the Seventeenth Century: Narratives of Infanticide and Suicide (University of South Africa 2005)

<http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/3635/Van%20Niekerk%20Gardiol%208%20December%202005.pdf?sequence=1>.

⁶⁷ Eric Jones, 'Wives, Whores, and Concubines: Early Modern Dutch Marriage Law and the Transmission of Family Wealth in Asia', *Spring 2000 All-UC Group in Economic History Conference: Families, Households, Kin and Networks in the Economy*, April 28-30, 2000 at UCLA) & Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1983), p. 15.

⁶⁸ Gijsbert Hemmy, *De Testimoniis: the testimony of Æthiopians, Chinese and other pagans as well as of the Hottentots inhabiting the Cape of Good Hope, likewise about the complaints of East Indian slaves – a thesis presented to the University of Leiden in 1770 for the Degree of Doctor of Both Laws* (edited & translated by Margaret Hewett, University of Cape Town 1998).



- ⁶⁹ J. Leon Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke waarin Slawe van Vryburgers en Amptenare vermeld word, Deel I', *Kronos*, vol. 14 (1988), p. 63.
- ⁷⁰ For a mini-biography of **Abram / Abraham van Angola / van Guinea**, see J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 47.
- ⁷¹ CA: CTD 5, p. 175; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke waarin Slawe van Vryburgers en Amptenare vermeld word, Deel II', *Kronos*, vol. 15 (1989), p. 18 & Anna Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks*, p. 129.
- ⁷² Anna J. Böeseke, *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672*, pp. 291-319.
- ⁷³ Mansell G. Upham: 'In Memoriam: **Florida**', p. 13 & Willem ten Rhyne, *A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who inhabit that region*, pp. 124-127. Same person as **Johannes Schreyer (1655-1694)** - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Schreyer?
- ⁷⁴ **Willem ten Rhyn** born Deventer [Overijssel] (1647), doctor & botanist who writes 1st European account of acupuncture *De Acupunctura* & 1st detailed study of tea; appointed physician for VOC in Java (1673); becomes member of Council of Justice; also writes book *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots* describing Khoikhoi during early Dutch settlement at Cape; dies Batavia (1 June 1700).
- ⁷⁵ Mansell G. Upham: 'In Memoriam: **Florida**', p. 14.
- ⁷⁶ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. II, p. 180.
- ⁷⁷ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, p. 110.
- ⁷⁸ Mansell G. Upham: 'In Memoriam: **Florida**', pp. 21-22.
- ⁷⁹ Council of Policy (Resolution: 31 December 1669).
- ⁸⁰ Journal (9 December 1669).
- ⁸¹ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis: Journal* entry for 25 June 1670. **Jacob Borghorst** departs (18 April 1670).
- ⁸² Mansell G. Upham: 'In Memoriam: **Florida**', pp. 5-22.
- ⁸³ Extract of a Despatch from Commander **Borghorst** & Council, to Chamber XVII (22 March 1669) quoted in Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 305.
- ⁸⁴ Mansell G. Upham, 'Maaij Ansel and the black sheep of the family - a closer look at the events surrounding the first execution of a free-burgher in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1998), pp. 27-28.
- ⁸⁵ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. V, p. 194.
- ⁸⁶ Gerrit J. Schutte, *South African Dictionary of Biography*, vol. III, p. 80. See also Mansell G. Upham, 'Maaij Ansel and the black sheep of the family', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1998), p. 29.
- ⁸⁷ *Masters of the Castle* (C. Struik, Cape Town 1972), p. 62.

