Consecrations to God

The ‘nasty, brutish, and short’ life of SUSANNA from BENGAL otherwise known as 'ONE EAR'
- 2nd recorded female convict
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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)

Mansell G. Upham
For min Far, min Mor
og min søstre

Tak for altid væsen ...
Preface

Timon:   Earth, yield me roots

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

William Shakespeare, Timon of Athens

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

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

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

the Goringhaicona:
Eva Meerhoff (born Krotoa)
the ‘Bastaard Hottentot’:
Frans Jacobs van de Caep
the African slaves:
Catharina Alexander van de Caep
Maria van Guinea [Benin]
Cecilia van Angola
Dorothea van Angola
Manuel van Angola
Diana van Madagascar
the Asian slaves:
Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta
Engela / 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 father William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006) for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate;
- Margaret Cairns (1912-2009) for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- Anna J. Böeseken (1906-1997) for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and
- Delia Robertson for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

Mansell George Upham
Tokyo, Japan
October 2012
Guide to the Text

General Historical Background

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

The VOC’s main priority at the Cape of Good Hope was to provide support to all of its ships that plied between the Netherlands (Patria) and the East Indies. This entailed the running of an efficient hospital, burying the dead and the ready supply of food and drink to the survivors. The colonial encroachment (occupatio) on aboriginal Khoe/San (‘Hottentot’/‘Bushmen’) lands resulted in the signing of ‘treaties’ ex post facto in attempts to ‘legitimize’ Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their ‘freedom’ to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, buiten comptoir¹, 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.
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Mansell George Upham
(1st published 2001, revised Tokyo, September 2012)
INTRODUCTION

SUSANNA VAN BENGALE *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). 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 MEERHOF, born KROTOA (c. 1643-1674) and the confiscation / appropriation of that woman’s three ‘Eurafrican’ children.
“...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 Cunaeus (from Leiden) and his Cape aboriginal protégé the famous Anthony alias Doman / Dominee. 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).

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.

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 Batavia: 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. This time the aboriginal personage Harrij Hottentoo [Autshumao], chief of the Goringhaicona, is also mentioned as a “convict for life”, but on Robben Island.

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]. 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] for another 4 years and Gerrit Gerritz 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. 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, 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 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{16} Since 1655, Baldeus has been chaplain in India under \textit{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 \textit{Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, Derzelver aangrensende 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 geheimenissen soo uyt de eygene Geschriften als ‘t Zaminspraak, en Bijwooning der Voornaamste Bramines en andere Indische Wetgeleerden getrouwelijk wierden aan ‘t licht gebracht}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Classis Amsterdam}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{halfslagh}. The first baptism recording \textit{halfslagh} status is only (5 July 1671). The child’s father is referred to as \textit{een christen vader}. This is during the time of the minister \textbf{Adriaan de Voogd}.\textsuperscript{19} He is brother to \textbf{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. 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? 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.

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

Ross states, inaccurately and questionably, that the Cape’s first resident minister Joan van Arckel 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:

“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. 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. 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. Andries Barentsz: - 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(I)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 as 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 is authorised by Commander Jacob Borghorst to investigate and prosecute the matter. Johannes Coon, Dirk Jansz: Smiendt, Joan Wittebol and Jan Valckenrijck assist him. The Journal informs us of the outcome:

“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 and Johann Schreyer, do an autopsy on the child’s corpse. 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 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. The chief gardener (baeshovenier) Wynant Leenderts: [Bezuidenhout], Jan Vlack van Meurs and Abraham Moste attest to the fact that they have examined three slave women, Florinde, Marija van Goa and Marie van Bengale as well as the slave Andries. According to the signature / mark of the male slave, however, he is (perhaps erroneously?) assigned the name Abram - 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. 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 Borhorst, Johannes Coon, Jacob Granaat, Dirk Jansz: Smiendt and Jan Brettal. The council hears the evidence put before it by the fiscal Cornelis de Cretzer. He demands the death sentence. The attestation of the doctors together with the declaration by two “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. 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:

“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 repent (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 – 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:

“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).”
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. Infanticide at the Cape was rare. 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?

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. 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. 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). 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). Florinda van Jafnapatnam, unlike Abram, the Company apparently had sold to De Voogd. He later sells her, then aged 30 (26 February 1672) to Nathaniel Goethardt, junior merchant sailing on the Hollantsen Thuyn for Rds 70.

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. 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 Rhyne (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 Rhyn74, 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
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:

"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**

Immediately thereafter, Borghorst can thus boast to his superiors:

"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**. 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:

"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” or Picard’s facile assessment of what he considers does not make for an “exciting period in Cape history”?:
"From these and other "highlights" of Borghorst'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-extraordinarius (1648); raad-ordinarius 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 (16-19 March 1658) - inspection of Cape affairs is preserved in his Memorie (18 March 1658).


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 Bengal 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 Bengalie, die om haere grove begane diefstal door den gerechte deser stede uijt wijsende de nevensgeaende sententie voor al haer leven van Batavia …

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 ...


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.


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 (Hillettje) Redog(h)s / Redox, wife of free-tailor Jan Israelsz: [from Borkulo [near Ingen, Gelderland]] & later wife to Jan Valckenijck [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 halfslagh 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]: C] 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 Rijklof van Goens (1657) & at Negapatan 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 Maandag den 22en Martij ao. 1666.

Nadat wij desen achtermiddach eenige questieuze saken voorgevallen op de uijt reijis, tuschen de
opperhooffden van 't alhier ter rheede leggende fluijtschip de Goude Leeuw, getransigeert en afgehandelt
hadden, heeft den Commandeur Wagenabar 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. Heer Gouvernr. Generael, ende d'
E[dele]. Comp[agni], die daertoe schoolen opgerecht heeft, om sodanige gedoopte kinderen, wanneer se tot
is sulcx hier een lange wijle aldus in observantie geweest, Ja oock selver omtrent de slavenkinderen van d'
hebben, totdat de belooffde permanente predicant uijt 't vaderlant hier souw verschenen wesen.
Ende ten aensien wij gisteren na 't eijndigen van de achtermiddaechs predicatie, die hier in de zael bij gemelde 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 aengelandt, om voorts daermede naer 't vaderlandt te retourneren) heel buijten dese order tradt, ende niet soo usact als hier alberijts ingevoert was, te werck gingh; maer scheen met 'et weijgeren van den doo aan seecker Comp[aag]nie. slavenkint te kennen te geven, dat hij dat werck better als ijmant van ons allen verstonth, off dat ten minsten ons daermede heeft willen verwijten, hoe onvoorsichtich en ongerijpt wij dus langh in het plegen van alsulcke heijlige actien alhier mosten geleedt hebben: want soo als gisteren in volle kerckelijke vergaderingh twee kinderen, te weten, een dat van Christelijke Duijtsche ouderen geboren, en het ander dat bij een slavinnen gewonnen was, ten heijligen doo gepresenteert wierden, heeft hij d[omi]nje. Baldeus het eerste in behoorlike 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 voorhond voorschat versmaldeijckerwijs van hem afgewezen, daer sijne E[dele]. nochtans alvoren 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[omde]. Command[eur]. den Raedt in serieus bedencken gegeven, en een ijder van deselve daer op affgevraecht heeft, off wij ons na de veranderingh off nieuweijt, die gisteren meergemelten anderslants tradt, ende niet soo usact als hier alberijts ingevoert was, nochtans alvoren 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,

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

Ende ten aensien wij gisteren na 't eijndigen van de achtermiddaechs predicatie, die hier in de zael bij gemelde 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 aengelandt, om voorts daermede naer 't vaderlandt te retourneren) heel buijten dese order tradt, ende niet soo usact als hier alberijts ingevoert was, te werck gingh; maer scheen met 'et weijgeren van den doo aan seecker Comp[aag]nie. slavenkint te kennen te geven, dat hij dat werck better als ijmant van ons allen verstonth, off dat ten minsten ons daermede heeft willen verwijten, hoe onvoorsichtich en ongerijpt wij dus langh in het plegen van alsulcke heijlige actien alhier mosten geleedt hebben: want soo als gisteren in volle kerckelijke vergaderingh twee kinderen, te weten, een dat van Christelijke Duijtsche ouderen geboren, en het ander dat bij een slavinnen gewonnen was, ten heijligen doo gepresenteert wierden, heeft hij d[omi]nje. Baldeus het eerste in behoorlike 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 voorhond voorschat versmaldeijckerwijs van hem afgewezen, daer sijne E[dele]. nochtans alvoren 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,

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Aldus gedaen ende geresolveert, in 't Fort, de Goede Hoope, ten dage ende jare als vooren.
blyven, twelck van my ooc met een gewillige genegentheid is aenge- nomen, verhopende dat de Opperherder [[jesus]: Ch:[ristus] die my hier gesonden heeft met syn kragt en [g..een] sal aendoen, om deselve als een onberspelyck voorbeelt voor te gaan, en Hem veele sielen toe te brengen. Ick dancke myn Godt, dat Hy mij hier gebracht heeft, also ick ten hooghenst vergenoeght ben, want hier een tamelycke gemeente, een burgerlycke volck, en hier is een frei man die het orden der kercken in [In-]dien, en dat selve wert ons deschtycks geconfirmeert 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 beraeckt. Op dat wy dan hier van ten vollen verschet mogten syn, so versoecck wy aatmoedelyck te informeren van’t gene hier in tot nog toe gedaen is, en welcke kinderen alhier gedoopt syn, do sидент te weten:-

1. dat geen kinderen van onze eigene inwoonders, de Hottentots, werden gedoopt dan alleen een vrou, die [felemaeckt] geworden syne haere kinderen ooc gedoopt syn: dog dese natie is [tunomael] afkeurig van onze godtsdienst, wat middellen daer toe voor desen syn aengewent.

2. ooc niet alle kinderen van slaven werden gedoopt, maer allen somige, waer van de meesters en eigenaers deselve comen te presenteeren, en daer voor beloven, om die mede te sullen onderwyseen in de christel;[ijcke] religie welcke 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 gemaecckt 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 geprocruert, ‘t sy dat de moeders syn gedoopt, of niet; en ooc alle slaven kinderen, die de e. companys dienaer antwoort, welcke 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 antwoort, welcke kinderen dan daer naer ter scholen werden gesonden, en men laet haer leren leessen en schryven, waer van enige de vragen van onse christel. cathechismus promptelyck alle sondagen weten op te antwoort.

4. ooc werden gedoopt kinderen van Paepsys ouders geboren, mits dat gereformeerde getuigen daer voor seggen over de kercke, en nae der hant werden sy dan gesonden tot den arbeit schryven, waer van enige de vragen van onse christel. cathechismus promtelyck alle sondagen weten op te antwoort, welcke kinderen dan daer naer ter scholen werden gesonden, en men laet haer leren leessen en

Over welcke saecke wy van de eerw: broederen onderri[ech]inge verwachten, op dat wy mogen weten hoe wy met de beste ordre in Gods huis sullen [verkeeren]. De grote Godt kroone uwe hoogh: arbeit met een

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Ouderling

Note: Rev. Verneiij 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.eggsa.org/sarecords/index.php/classis-amsterdam/slave-baptisms/31-1678-1679-letter-13-johannes-overneij]; 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)].

Replacing minister (Johannes) Petrus Wachtendorf (from Maasbommel) - husband of Maria Prignon - who dies at Cape (15 February 1667), Adrianus de Vooght / de Voocht / 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 Johannes de Vooght & Catharina de Vooght; he marries (27 November 1666) Anna van der Meer / Meranus (from Valkoogh / Wieringen) by whom 1 son: Pieter de Voocht; wife is daughter of
Resolutie mediterende van den 28n tot ultimo December 1676 en primo Januarie 1677 getrocken; praesentibus omnibus, dempto den lijtenant J. Cruse.

Den eerwaardigen Domine Hulzenaar, heden overgeleverd hebbende seeker extract uijt de naam van den Eerw.[aerde] Kerkenraedt wegens de Kerckelijke 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 besluyt van Ja, onder conditie dat d'ouders mede nog ongedoopt deelslag van de ouders tot dat H. werck somwyl niet te voorschijn koomen, sulcx vernemende, sullen gehouden zijn hare patroonen, overheijt, of die daer aan de naaste en wel 't meeste de waere gereformeerde religie is toegedaan, als getuigen te dienen. Soo is naer aendagige meditatie en serieuse deliberatie over dit heylig en noodig werck, verstaan d' Eerw.[aerde] Kerkenraadt voor haar goeden ijver tot waare gereformeerde religie is toegedaan, als getuigen te dienen, Soo is naer aendagige meditatie en serieuse dewelcke dan door aflijvigheit van de ouders tot dat H. werck somwijl niet te voorschijn koomen, sulcx

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sien, maer onderwijlen evenwel soo langh eenige van de gaasthe zwarte kinderen in de Duijtsche scholte te laaten gaan, mitsgadens een swart bequaem persoon te implojeren om opgem[eld]; slaven de gebeden t' savonts en 's mergens voor te houden en te instruere.

Soo is ooq op 't subject van de jaarlijckse veranderinge nopende door de Borgerraden overgegeven seecker nominatie en daer bi voorgestelt een dubbelt getal persoonen te weten Jan Valckenrijck en Gerrit van der Bijl om daar uijt bij den Raat de exelie gedaen te werden, werderende 't selve dan mede geaccoordeert en daer toe g'eligeert den eerstgenoemde vrijborger Jan Valckenrijck, mits de vrijborger Willem van Dieden mede verstaan wert van opgem. Valckenrijcq de plaats als vendrig te bekliden en in de plaats van den afgaanden luwt. Wouter Mostart als luwt. te emplojeren den afgaenden Borgerraad Harmen Gresnigt. Ende alsoo d' E.[dele]E.[erwaarden] Kerckenaert versoekt uyt d' persoonen Adriaen van Brakel en Jan Wittebol bij hare respective collegie tot ouderlingen genomineert mede een soude g'eligeert worden, soo is verstaan aan haar E.[dele]E[er]w.[Jaer]den 't selve te deferreren wie van die twee persoonen quamen te statueren ons al eens te sullen zijn en dienvolgens haer Ews. eygen goede voorsorge dat te willen aanbevolen laten, maer rakende de persoonen Johannes Praetorius en Jan Dirxsen van Wageningen bij haer Ede[le]. mede tot diacony geprophoneert, hebben verstaan te eligeren dan eeneden. Johannes Praetorius.

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

Aldus geresolveert en gearreestere in 't Fort de Goede Hoope ten dage en jaaren voors.

J.[OAN] BAX, g.[enaemtly.[an] HERENTALS.

DIRCQ JANSZ SMENDT.

H.[ENDRIK] CRUDOP.


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


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 / Burenius.

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.


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 jaren goede diensten heeft gedaan als metselaar, op zijn instantelijck 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 jaren in dienstbaarheijt van gemelte Compa. heeft berijkt, in vrijdom gestelt en als metselaar onder een drie jarig verband met een besoldinge van f10 per maand in dienst aangenomen.


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


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

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

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

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.

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

This phrase cannot be traced in the record.

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


Joannes Coon (from Sommelsdijk [Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) arrives (1664) as sergeant on Walcheren with wife Alexandrina / Alexandrine Jacobs: Maxvelt / Maxwl [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 Cuijsssaert) 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 refutes to condone further laxity of former protectors Rijckhoff 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 Rijckhoff 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 Schepenkennissen, 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/HeEnParadijs-DeHoopOpConstantia.pdf]; (3) Catharina van Malabar.
1669) becoming lieutenant of burghery (resolution: Council of Policy, 3/4 March 1670).

Friedrich Wreede [Georgius Fredericius Wreede] (1635-1672) commander accompanied by wife & 2 orphan sisters from New Amsterdam, New Netherland [New York, USA]; returns to Cape on cover of Robert Admaston, flagship of Commander Wreede (1671).

Hildega(a)rd (Hilletje) Redog(h)s / Redox (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).

Dirrcq / 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 Gransbergh) (1665) as surgeon; appointed ensign (1666); free-burgher (1670); again joins Company (1672); appointed captain (January 1676); accompanies Jacob Granaat (from Enkuizen) 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).

Joan Wittebol (from Amsterdam); likely fathers illegitimate halfslag child Henrietta Wittebol(s) by private slave of Willem van Dienen (from Amsterdam), Sara van Solor; witnesses (with Grussela Mostaert) baptism (20 May 1674) of Johannes Schreyer; marries Cape (16 September 1674) the orphaned Maria van Reuven / Ruijven / Ruiven (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 Suerwaarden) baptism (23 October 1678) of Machteldie, daughter of Willem van Dienen (van Amsterdam) & Margaretha Frans: Meeckhoff (from Steenwijck); Orphan Chamber secretary; dies 1681.

Jan Valckenrjck (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]) Hildega(a)rd (Hilletje) Redog(h)s / Redox, widow of Jan Israelz; (from Berkulo [near Ingen, Gelderland]; dies (2 February 1679) - falls off horse [Anna J. Böeseken, Slaves & Free Blacks, p. 86]

Pieter Walrand(t): / Wolbrant / Wollebrants: / Wo(o)llebrantsz: [Plott] (from Middelburg), senior surgeon (opperchirurgyn); neglectspatients & smuggles alcohol - banished (June-August 1670) to Robben Island for 3 years [Anna J. Böeseken, 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 /40 per month & banished to Robben Island for 10 years – after repeated requests sentence commuted (8 August 1670 to banishment to Mauritius [[CA: CJ 1: 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].

Johann Schreyer (from Loebenstein); joins VOC; arrives as midshipman (adelborst) arriving on Eendracht (3 December 1666); acting junior surgeon (1667); junior surgeon (1671) & surgeon (1672); as junior surgeon assigned task of doing the autopsy on corpse of Cape indigene suicide Zara; marries (24 January1672) Jacomynie / Jacomynje 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 bis 1677 handelnde von unterscheidenen Afrikanischen und Barbarischen Völkern, sonderlich der an dem Vor-Gebührige, Caput Bonae Spei sich enthaltenden sogenannen Hottentotten (published Leipzig, 1681) J. Hoge, Personalia der 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

CA: CJ 2394 (1665-1670), pp. 135-136: Wij ondergeschreve Chirurgijns, in dienst den E[del] Comp:agnije aan Cabo de Boa Esperance; can den Ed[el]le Commandeur Jacob Borghorst gelast sijnde, seekere jongh misties kinderen te openen, ’t welck naar ’t seggen van S’ Comp:agnije slaeven, door seeker slaeffin, en moeder van ’t selve genaemt Susanna, alias Een Oor) op primo deser desagts 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 verstopt, en met geroimen [geruimen = discharged] bloet verselt was, 't welck door de langheijt van tijt in een vuijle, en vergiftige materie is komen te veranderen, Zijnde bovendien de galblaes geborsten, mitsgaders gehele van de gehele van de gal ontblootd 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:

Naedat bovenen voorstaende attestatie gen:ooemde‘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 q[noon]dominij 9en =Xber [December] 1669.

[signed] P[iete]r Walbrandt
[signed] Jan Schreijer
[signed] Jan Valckenrijck
[signed] Cornelis de Cretzer

[signed] Johannes Coon
[signed] D.[IRCK][,ANSZ:] Smiend

Wij ondergeschrevene Wyntant Leenderts [Bezuuidenhout] baeshovenier, Jan Vlack van Meurs en Abraham Moste in 't Comp:[agne]ls 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:[ijck]s Florinde, Marija van Goa, en Marie van Bengale, ondervrugt en wel scherpel:[ijck]s gexammineert hebben op wat wise sj het kint dat door seeckere slaeffinne genaamt Susanna, (alias een Oor) geworght is geworden, ontweldight hebben, en ook hoedanich 't selven doen bij hun is bevonden, die van gesamentlijck, in antwoort voorde, wanneer op 't gesteen van 't kint opspringen, om te sien watter gaende woes, dat de voorsz Susanna de lamp uijt blu s, 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 gewelt 't selve malle reijk van haer gerucht hadden 't seeckerl:[ijck]s met haest de geest gegeven soude hebben.

Wijnand(t) / Wynant Leender(t)sz: [van Bezuidenhout] / [signed] Jan Vlack van Meurs

[signed] Abraham Moste

[signed] Jan Valckenrijck

[signed] J[oan]. Wittebol

1669

[signed] Jan Valckenrijck

Mij Present

[CA: CJ 2394 (1665-1670), pp. 135-136.]
Voogd mentions his guardian de H[ee]r. Pieter van Loon, Bewinthebber woonende op de Angel te gewoohn [?] de Appelmarck Amsterdam [Scheppenkennis], lists siblings Jan Leendertz; & Lysbet Leendertz; & 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]).

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].

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

Florinda / Florinde van Jaffnapatnam 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 Clinckenberg. 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 incarcerated under suspicion for poisoning her [?] de Appelmart Amsterdam.

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 Maria van de Cust, 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.

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 Catrijn) van Paliacatta 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 mei]; 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]; Isaak 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); Isaak 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 Lendelee [Zeeland]) [Frans Verkouter van Lendelee 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[urij]: Frans Verkouter als in huwelik hebbend de naargelaatene wed:[duw]e van den overleeden Vrijswart Isaak van Bengalen, alhier ten vergadering versoeg hebbende, dat aangesien den voornam [oemde] overledene als slaaf uijt Bengalen over veele jaren was weggevoeren gewest en bereijt alhier aan de Caab in de 40 jaren 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 derselve bloedvriinde 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 bevienden word, nadere Erfgen:[enaemen] daar jeegenwoordig of in der voor de dag te sullen weesen. Jan Blom as his female slave "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 incarcerated under suspicion for poisoning her [?"] de Appelmart Amsterdam.

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Andries (Arie) van Bengale, slave belonging to Commander Cornelis van Quaehbergen & 2nd wife Judith van den Bogarde; presumably arrives either (17 March 1663) on Return Fleet under Herman Klenke (from Odes) [Amersfoort, Wapen van Amsterdam, Slot van Honingen, Wassende Maan, Parel, Jonge Prins, Walecharen & 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 [Quillon]]; 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 / Gratia d’Costa; Gratia as Company slave baptizes halfslag son Herman (1666).

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 Voogt & 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, Leisbare 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 Bosheuwel (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) or commanding officer, Pieter Cruythoff (Complaint: Pieter Cruythoff against Willem Schalcq) ... presented to Council of Fort of Good Hope. No date, but year is 1664. Case of assault by Cruythoff by Schalcq. All this he (Schalcq) did on account of a certain female slave by whom he was father, and whom he had chambered in the kitchen at the time of her lying in' - ]. 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, D(ier)kje, 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 Siibrand 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 Jonker - Abraham sued for not paying Rds 6 for loan of Jan de Jonker’s plough & 3 bushels of wheat advanced him [1/STB 5/1 (Notule van verrigtinge in siviele sake, Jan Andriessen de Jonker contra Abraham van Guinea, 23 April 1692)]. Abraham & Paaij Claes singed 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 & Prodo (Prede) van Gene, dated 11 August 1696)]; Anna &
Paaij Claes are listed together (1700) in the census - Abraham & Koddo not mentioned (already deceased?).


De Slaefinne Susanna, (alias Een Oor) door fiscael, S[ieu]r. Cornelis de Creter, ten presentie van d’onderges:[chrewen]e gecommitteerdens, scherpelijck ondervraught en g’exammineert 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 geoopent hebben: mitsgaeders een diergelijke verclaringe by seeckere Slaeff en twee Slaefinnen die haer ’t kint ontwdeltigd hebben; ontkent, waerop haer niet pijningen gedrijght mitsgaeders haer de schroeff op den duyim even toegest hebben bekenkt dat sjij voornemens wack [moist!] geweest en beleij, in presentis van meerging;[oemde] gecommitteerdens had voorsz kint (met een bant oor den hals binden, te vermoorden en so om ’t leven te beroven en ten wacke haer sux van de voorst slaeff en slaeffinen niet over die lije waren dat een els uijt insaghte dat geen melck in de boorsten ter voetsel van haer vruught hadde, en geens van de mede slaefweninen ’t selve wilde laeten suijgen, off eenige hant rejicking doen, en sjij sijde sijnde niet langhe suck om met ’er kint konde uijtstaen, dierhalven om’t een Corte ent de door erlangen, ’t selven als voorsz onderstomt ons halle te willen brengen; Zijnde dit voorsz haere Confessie en beleijdenisse, van d’ voorn;[oem!]e deet; ’t welck haer dan te voren geteken sij bij ’t selve blijft Consteren; en begeren noch niet van, op’t toe gedaen te hebben, des ten oirconde door haer nersen meermelte gecommitteerdens geseej.

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

Ons present als gecommitteerdens
[Signed] Johannes Coon
(Signed) D.[irck] J.[ansz:] Smient

Mijn present
(Signed) Cornelis de Creter

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 Personalia 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, Smiert en J. Bretal
Eodem eij:[sche]r
contra

Susanna van Bengaelen
gewesene slaeffinne ende nu S’Heeren gevangene

Den eijscher leverde over een: - Schriften:[ijck]s daer de Cherurgijn beedigde attestatie, mitsgaeders een dien gelijke verclarhing bij twee lofwaerdige Luijden ondertijckent waer uijt opent:[lijck]k Comt te bewijsen, dat sjij als een godtv[er]geetene moordadigre vercken, haer soo seere hee been te v[er]loopen dat de handeni aan haere jonghe zuygelingh [sijnde een mistisies meisje] heeft geslaegen ’t selve met 3 stercke doeken 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 gloeijende tapijen 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: Overmirs den regter klaar en evident is gebleeken, dat Susanna van Bengaele (alias Eneo) gewesene slaeffinne in S’ Comp[a: gnie]s tuijn haar soo seere heeft komen te verloren, dat alle liefde, mede ejden, en moedereijse genegenthuijn, tot haar jonge kint geheel vertedende, als een moordadigh, overgeven, vuijl en beestachtigh mensch, op primo deser (des naqts, wanneer alle de andere slaeven en slaefinnen. haas tot ruste hadden begeven) heeft onderstaan, haar genoemde kint, met drie stucke doeken om den hals bindende, te willen verworgen hebbende daar en boven, om dit schrickelijck, moordadigh voornemen, des te
beter uittevoeren, en in ’t merck te stellen, eerst, en alvorens de lamp uitgeblazen, als wanneer ‘d’andere slaeuen, en slaeefinnen, op ’t jammerlijk gesteen, van ’t onnozele kint, opsprenge en haer ’t selve met gewelt uijt haer armen wrong, als willende ’t selve met los laeken, voor en alleen, ’t genoemde moordadigh feijt, ten vollen volbragt, en uitgevoert, had; Zijnde sulcx d’oorsaecke, dat ’et selve onnozele kint, niet aanstonds; maar den achten dagen, daar aanvolgende, is komen te overlijden, ’t welcke saeke zijn van een seer swaare, en affschreckelijck gewigtte met coniviebel, nemaar achtervolgens, de goddelijck als wereltlijcke wetten met de doot straffbaar; Soo ist dat wij ten dage dienende, gehoort, en wel naeuw aangemerckt hebben, de mondelingen eijsch van den Fiscaal in juditio gedaan, daar toe de beedigde attestatie van twee Chirurgijns, daarbij komt te consteren, dat sij ’t voorsz kint g’open, en naer visite bevonden hebben aldus, te weten, dat de vena pulmonas, of de lugt aderen van de longe, geheel verstopt waeren, en eijndelijk door ’t verloop van voorsz tijt, in een vijfije vergiftigte materie, was komen te veranderen, bovendien dat de gal blaas geborst, en geheel van sijn substantie onthoo waer geweest waaruit dan verklaerder, en opentlijk uittegen, dat sulcx door ’t voorsz worgen ontstaande, En dienvolgende ’t kint daar door de geest geheven heeft, mitsgaders haar gevangens eigen getekende confessie, voor Gecommitteerdens gedaen, een beleden, daer selver beleijt, dat sulcx bij manquement van zogh en degelijcx gekerm

Condemneeren haar gevangen, alvorens in een zack gebonden, hier buijten op de roede gebracht zijnde, door den scherpenregter in ’t water verdroncken te worden, dat’en de doot na volgt; Laetende

Eva Meerhoff.

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) krankbesoecker, voorsanger, & schoolmeester (appointed 1 September 1668); witnesses baptism (23 November 1670) of Jeronimus, illegitimate son of Cape [Goringhaicona] indigene


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).
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.
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).
79 Council of Policy (Resolution: 31 December 1669).
80 Journal (9 December 1669).
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 Ansela 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.