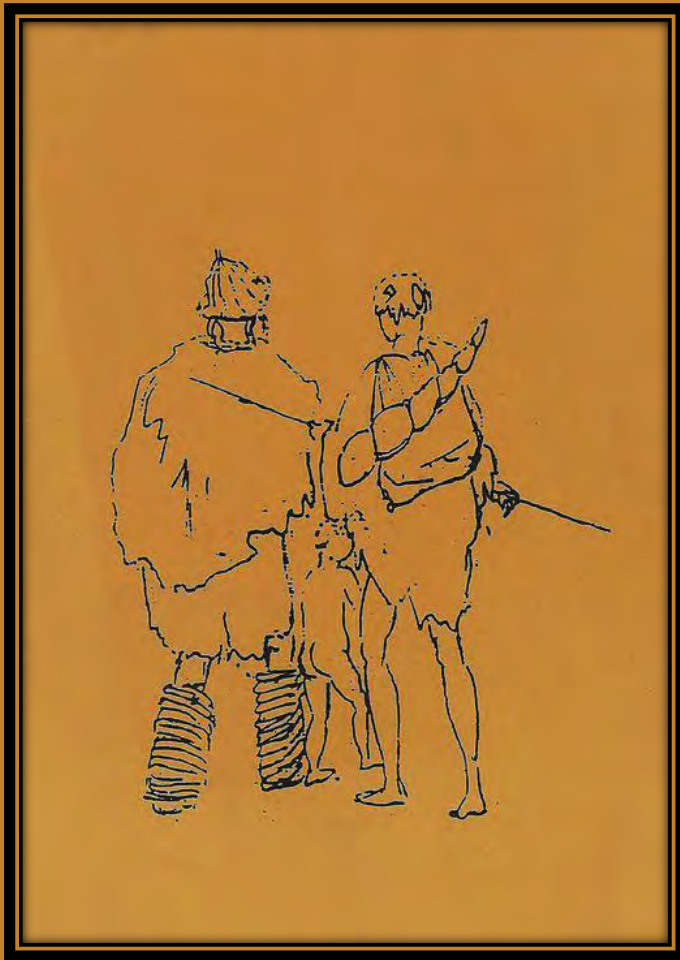


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ZARA

An inquiry into the
(mis)application of
traditionally prescribed
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of the
Cape of Good Hope



Uprooted Lives

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

Mansell G Upham

Uprooted Lives

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

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Uprooted Lives

*Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest
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Mansell G. Upham



*For min Far, min Mor
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



Preface

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

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



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

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

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

the Goringhaicona:

Eva Meerhoff (born **Krotoa**)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

Frans Jacobs van de Caep

the African slaves:

Catharina Alexander van de Caep

Maria van Guinea [Benin]

Cecilia van Angola

Dorothea van Angola

Manuel van Angola

Diana van Madagascar

the Asian slaves:

Catharina (*Groote Catrijn*) van Paliacatta

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

Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale

Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar

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

Jacob van Macassar

Maria Jacobs: van Batavia

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

Lim / Lin Inko *alias* Abraham de Veij.

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



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

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my mother **Maria (Ria) Catherine Upham, née Priem (1933-1996)** and my sisters, **Beryl Catherine Brighton, née Upham (1955-2004)** & **Anne Caroline Upham (1957-1988)**, for undying inspiration;
- my father **William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006)** for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate;
- **Margaret Cairns (1912-2009)** for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- **Anna J. Böeseken (1906-1997)** for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and
- **Delia Robertson** for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

Mansell George Upham

Tokyo, Japan

October 2012



Guide to the Text

General Historical Background

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Naming people

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

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



Currency, weight & measurements

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

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

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

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





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**



Mansell G. Upham
(1st published Cape Town 2001, updated Tokyo, September 2013)



This article amplifies, contextualizes and re-evaluates the life of the Cape aboriginal (Khoikhoi) woman called ZARA / SARA (c. 1648-1671). Preserved original records and published sources have been closely scrutinized. This follows a preliminary inquiry into the judicial treatment of the sin and crime of suicide during the VOC's colonial occupation of the Cape. Zara's extraordinary case is contrasted with other recorded incidents of suicide at the Cape. Zara's corpse was not only put on trial, but also impaled and left to rot in public. Significantly, all the other cases of suicide considered here, generally were handled by the Cape's colonial administration contrary to the traditional and prescribed punishment for suicides: impalement and the denial of burial in consecrated ground.



On 18 December 1671 the suspended corpse of the 24-year-old female ‘Hottentot’ suicide **Zara** (also found as **Sara**) is found hanging in the sheep pen of freed slave woman **Angela / Engela (Maaij Ansela / Ansiela) van Bengale**, wife of free-burgher **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson** (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]) locally known as **Jagt**.¹ She is found by **Maaij Ansela** and **François Champelier** (from Ghent). Although the Cape’s deceased commander, **Pieter Hackius**, has barely been put to rest (3 December 1671), a provisional administration under **Daniel Froymanteau**² (from Leiden) has quickly been put in place. A much-reduced Council of Justice is quick to convene the same day the corpse is discovered:

“The Council having examined two persons namely **Francois Champelaar**, servant of **Joris Jans [Appel]**, and **Angela of Bengal**, wife of **Arnoldus Willems [Basson]**, who state that the said Hottentot was found hanging in her own gown band, fastened in the thatch overhead; and that on their first coming, they observed some motion in the veins of the neck, which induced said **Champelaar** to cut down the body in hopes that life was not extinct; but that, on the body falling to the ground, it was found that Satan had already taken possession of her brutal soul”.

The Company Journal entry for that day states that:

“This morning, very early, it came to our ears that a certain Hottentoo girl, about 24 years old, who had, since her early childhood been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reason, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her ‘cabaij’ band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal [**Hendrik Crudop** (from Bremen)] in presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation ... According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by the donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and earth, as will be seen in the Criminal Roll”.

Less than a month later, Zara’s impalement is interrupted. On Sunday 10 January 1672 the Company Journal - also revealing that Dutch-Aborigine relations were at an all-time low - noted the following:

“Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author. During the afternoon the mounted guard brought in five wanton Hottentoos tied to one another with ropes and charged ... The day of the Lord religiously kept.”

Zara’s subsequent ‘resurrection’ is noted in the Company Journal (11 January 1672):

“Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork”.

Zara appears to be the Cape’s first recorded suicide. More than seventy years later, Zara is still the only recorded suicide at the Cape to have her corpse dishonoured in terms of European traditional, juridical and judicially prescribed punishment. That ‘temporary insanity’ comes to be invoked in ensuing incidents - especially in the case of non-indigenous suicides at the Cape - begs further inquiry.



European attitudes towards Suicide

“Suicides were formerly buried ignominiously on the high-road, with a stake thrust through their body, and without Christian rites”.

Chamber: *Encyclopædia*, 1x. p. 184, col. 1

Todd summarizes both the traditional and changing European attitudes towards suicide:³

“Christianity had made suicide a sin by calling it self-murder. The corpse of a suicide was supposed to be buried with a stake on the public highway. The state in its turn had made the act criminal and sought to confiscate the criminal-victim’s property and money. In England suicide remained both sin and crime throughout the eighteenth century - staking and burying on the highway officially stopped in 1823, forfeiture only in 1870 - but the attitudes were modified long before. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, penalties were almost always avoided, even in the clearest of cases ... Although suicide still excited horror and demanded burial in unconsecrated ground, a secular attitude was gaining strength. Along the Thames and by the Serpentine, humanitarian groups set up suicide stations to resuscitate the living or identify the dead.

Socio-historical studies always consider gender in suicide. While men chose to hang or shoot themselves, women overwhelmingly chose drowning or poison, a slower method leaving the body intact”.

Todd, also gives a useful literary and philosophical overview:

“For the literary classes two new attitudes were available, the rational and the romantic. The philosopher David Hume regarded suicide as a native liberty, and asked why we think that a ‘man who tired of life, and hunted by pain and misery, bravely overcomes all the natural terrors of death ... has incurred the indignation of his Creator. When pain and sickness, shame and poverty in any combination are overwhelming, when a person has weighed up the benefits of the future against the misery of the present, then he has a right to proceed to end his being and not consider either God or society since he is not obliged to do a small good to others at the expense of a great harm to himself ... Godwin sought to refine Hume. In the first version of *Political Justice* he saw suicide as neither criminal nor sinful, but he distrusted the Humean motives for escape from life - pain and shame - for pain, he claimed, was momentary and disgrace imaginary. In a later edition he became more utilitarian, insisting that the would-be suicide consider the net pain caused by life or suicide, including in the latter case the misery to remaining relatives”.



European suicides at the Cape

“a mournful and melancholy spirit ...
always fe[eling] aggrieved by all worldly matters
however trivial”.

Europeans at the Cape who are on record for committing suicide, vary from two soldiers, two free-burghers, a minister of the church and a high-ranking member of the Council of Policy. Significantly, unlike Zara, not one of these suicides are ever ‘punished’ *post mortem* in the juridically and judicially prescribed manner for hating their lives and for purposes of deterrence to others.

On 17 May 1673 the Council of Justice deliberates on the question of suicide in the case of **Jan Elias Busch**. Rather than apply the prescribed punishment for suicide, the council opts instead to rationalize the suicide as a case of ‘temporary insanity’:⁴

“When the gate was opened this morning the sergeant of the New Castle reported that last night the soldier **Jan Elias Busch** of Dorlach had cut his throat and died. At once Commissioners and the Fiscal were deputed to investigate the matter and examine such witnesses as might be able to give information. They reported that the soldier had cut his throat, and that from the evidence of the witnesses it appeared that feeling somewhat indisposed last night he had taken some medicine to open his bowels; that about 3 in the morning he had said to one of the witnesses that he was going outside the barracks to get a little fresh air; and that shortly afterwards deponent having been sent out with some others to look for him, had found him lying outside the curtain of the Fort on the sea shore bathed in blood, with a bloody knife at his side. During the evening meeting the question was discussed whether the suicide should be allowed burial, or whether the Council should proceed according to law with the corpse. It was decided to bury it, as it was presumed that the patient, in consequence of his indisposition, must have suffered from temporary insanity, and did not commit the act because he hated his life, but that he had been bereft of his senses and thus killed himself. In such a case the strictness of the law is not desired, which decrees that such malefactor shall be dealt with as an example to others”.

On Friday evening (28 September 1703) **Abraham Bastiaansz: Pyl** - married to **Cornelia Cornelissen**, the daughter of **Kees de Boer [Cornelia Claes: (from Utrecht)]** and the manumitted slave **Catharina van Malabar** - is brought soaking wet into the house of the free-black **Jan Luij / Leeuw van Ceylon** by the latter’s children who have rescued him out of the Eerste River. Pyl who is made to sit and dry himself that evening before the fire on the understanding that he is to spend the night there. Later that night gurgling and screams rudely awaken the family. Pyl is found lying facewards on the ground with his throat slit by a knife. The *landdrost* **Pieter Robbertsz: (from Neustadt [Holstein])** and two *heemraden* **Dirk Coetse [Coetzee]** and **Guilliam [Guillaume] du Toit** are duly called. On their arrival they find Pyl still alive. His throat has been cut through “in such a way that the trachea has been completely severed” (*zoodanig dat de lange-pijp geheel afgesneden was*). On asking Pyl what had happened, he indicates that the wound is self-inflicted. But after the surgeon **Jean Prieur du Plessis** (from Poitiers) dresses the wound, Pyl can be more clearly heard to confirm two or three times that he had indeed slit his own throat. When asked why he answers simply, and without any further explanation: “My wife is the reason for this” (*Mijn vrouw is er de oorsaak van*). He dies a few days later.⁵ His widow soon shackles up with a Dane named **Richard Adolphus: Rigt** (from Tønder).





Peter Kolb (1625-1726)

In 1704 the minister **Hercules van Loon** commits suicide. His suicide, an embarrassment in the extreme, is covered up to avoid any scandal. Were it not for the writings of **Peter Kolb(e) (1625-1726)**, this incident may well have been successfully suppressed. Kolb(e) informs us that Van Loon's tragic death occurs when he leaves his farm *Hercules' Pilaar* at Joostenburg for Stellenbosch on horse. In a lonely field he "slit his throat with a pen knife so that nobody would ever know what despair had befallen him" (*zich zelve met een pennemes den hals afgsneden, zonder dat iemand ooyt heeft geweten, waar door hy tot die wanhoop vervallen is*).⁶

In 1705 **Hendrik Munkerus** (from Haarlem) takes his own life:⁷

"The morning curtains opened themselves today with a sorrowful and miserable occurrence connected with the person of the junior merchant and cashier **Henricus Munkerus**, who was found dead about eight o'clock in his bedroom, before his bed (his wife being in the Tiger Bergen on her farm). He lay in his underclothing with a Japanese cloak [yukata] around his body, having fallen forward with his face to the earth. His whole skull, as far as above the nose, was found shot away with a pistol and smashed. The brains were scattered about the room. After the proper inspection had taken place in the presence of the Fiscal and Commissioners, attempts were made by the former to obtain information concerning this horrible affair, but he could gain nothing more from the domestics than that the said **Munkerus** having arrived home healthy and well the preceding night at 9 o'clock, went into his room shortly afterwards in order to go to bed, closing the door behind him. That not being accustomed to his lying in bed so late, they had at the time mentioned opened the door, and entering, found the body as described. At once they had given notice to the Fiscal. They also stated that they had heard no report or the least noise, and as the windows were carefully locked on the outside and inside, it was taken for granted that he had killed himself in this horrible manner. This was confirmed by the presence of a discharged pistol near the body, a small powder horn filled with powder on a chair before the bed and three pistol bullets found in his pockets".

Later, disgruntled freemen at the Cape blame the besieged governor, **Willem Adriaan van der Stel**, for his death. Van der Stel denies this accusation:⁸

"The Governor replies that no more wicked and libellous lie could be invented than that he had brought the cashier **Munkerus** to that state of despair in which he killed himself as the result of persecutions and oppression, for he can conscientiously declare that he had never given him cause for such unnatural thought, and never treated him badly; but the general presumptions were that this reasonless man had always suffered from a mournful and melancholy spirit, and always felt aggrieved by all worldly matters however trivial they were, and that finally he came to this desperate resolve".



On 26 September 1716, the body of a soldier **Coert Simonsz Bruyningh** who has committed suicide literally falls into view and, despite the suicide's negligence, becomes a source of merriment:⁹

"The thoughtfulness of the soldier **Coert Simonsz Bruyningh** went so far that he hanged himself in the belfry of the tower from a beam under the bell, and this might have caused the death of another man, viz the "rondganger" (the man who makes the rounds) and whose turn was to strike 4 o'clock. For that purpose he mounted the ladder, but an arm of the "hangebast" (gallows bird) struck him in the face. This unexpected encounter so startled him that he fell down in a swoon, right from the top to the bottom. The officer of the guard, astonished why the hour had not been struck, sent a man to enquire the reason, when, it was found that the "rondganger" who had to strike the hour, was lying down half-dead in consequence of his unexpected contact with the suicide. He soon, however, came to himself again, and about 7 p.m. the dead body fell through the noose".

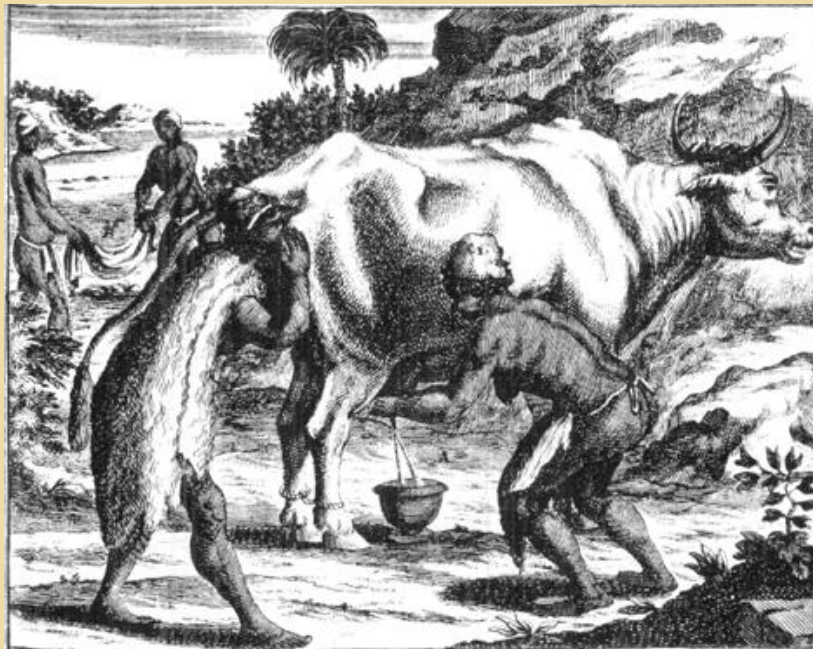
In 1743 the French-speaking refugee (Huguenot) **Jacques Nourthier** (from Picardy) commits suicide. He appears not to be punished *post mortem* for having done so.¹⁰



Suicide amongst the slaves

During the period researched, no direct references or trials of any slave suicides come to light.¹¹ Suicide amongst the slaves at the Cape thereafter, appears to be frequent. The 'practice' appears to be particular prevalent amongst Malagasy slaves.¹²

Suicide at the Cape, as in other slave societies, is the most tragic form of slave response, reflecting the desperation of the slave condition.¹³ Nigel Worden warns us, however, that distinctions must be made in the nature and the possible motivations of slave suicide. Bids to avoid the torture of certain painful death by the authorities when slaves are on the point of capture after committing crimes or running away are less indicative of the desperation of some slaves. Desperation is more acute in suicide cases that are planned as a means of escaping from the ordinary situation of the slave not being threatened by imminent punishment.



Cape Indigenes featured in Olfert Dapper



Suicide amongst the aborigines

The extent that suicide occurs amongst the Cape's aboriginal population is not really known. We do, however, have an inkling of sorts, thanks to the writing of **Olfert Dapper**.¹⁴

“As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces”.



Olfert Dapper (1636-1689)



Zara and the Lacus Household

“... in the room behind, Rebekah slept with Sartje
- a little, yellow-brown, frizzly-haired girl
she had adopted five years before
as a little baby and treated in all ways as her own child,
except that it was taught to call her mistress ...
Olive Schreiner, *Fireflies in the Dark*”.
From Man to Man - or perhaps only ...

Zara, ostensibly a ‘detribalized’ ‘Hottentot’ like her mother, is placed at a young age into the service of the *secunde* **Hendrik Lacus** (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]) and his wife, **Lydia de Pape**. The following historians write very briefly about Zara or Sara but they never, however, make the connection that the ‘Hottentot’ servant in the Lacus household known as Zara / Sara, is in fact the same person as the Cape indigene Zara who committed suicide:

Dr Anna J. Böeseken¹⁵; Prof. J. Leon Hattingh¹⁶; and Dr G. Con de Wet¹⁷.

Likewise, the following academics, researchers and writers all briefly recount Zara’s suicide and trial but never connect her to anybody or to any particular colonial household:

I. Schapera and B. Farrington¹⁸; Victor de Kock¹⁹; Major R. Raven-Hart²⁰; Richard Elphick and Robert Shell²¹; Henry C. (Jatti) Bredekamp²²; Robert Ross²³; Prof. P.J. Coertze²⁴; Richard Elphick²⁵; Frances Karttunen²⁶; Carmel Schrire²⁷; and Premesh Lalu²⁸.

The use of local aborigine girls as house servants to VOC officials and free-burghers is an established practice at the Cape. Thus the indigenes **Krotoa** (*alias* **Eva Meerhoff**) and **Cornelia, Dobbeltje** and **Vogelstruijs** come to be part of the **Jan van Riebeeck**’s household:²⁹

“The GORINGHAICONAS, of whom Herry has been usually called the Captain; these are strandloopers, or fishers, who are, exclusive of women and children, not above 18 men in number, supporting themselves, without the least live stock of any description, by fishing from the rocks along the coast, thus furnishing a great accommodation to the Company’s people and freemen, and also rendering much assistance to those who keep house, by washing, scouring, fetching firewood, and other domestic work; and some of them placing their little daughters in the service of the married people, where they are clothed in our manner, but they must have a slack rein, and will not be kept strictly, such appears to be contrary to their nature; some of them, however begin to be tolerably civilized, and the Dutch language is so far implanted among them, old and young, that nothing can any longer be kept secret when mentioned in their presence”.

The indigenes living close to the fort are initially a motley throng of detribalized *Quena* known as the Goringhaicona (Watermans) and an apparent offshoot of the Goringhaiqua (Caepmans):³⁰

“*The Goringhaiconas subsist in a great measure by begging and stealing.* – Among this ugly Hottentoo race, there is yet another sort called Goringhaicona, whose chief or captain, named Herry, has been dead for the last three years; these we have daily in our sight and about our ears, within and without the fort, as they possess no cattle whatever, but are strandloopers, living by fishing from the rocks. They were at first, on my arrival [1662], not more than 30 in number, but they have since procured some addition to their numbers from similar rabble out of the interior, and they now constitute a gang, including women and children, of 70, 80, or more. They make



shift for themselves by night close by, in little hovels in the sand hills; in the day time, however, you may see some of the sluggards (*luyaerts*) helping to scour, wash, chop wood, fetch water, or herd sheep for our burgers, or boiling a pot of rice for some of the soldiers; but they will never set hand to any work, or put one foot before the other, until you have promised to give them a good quantity of tobacco or food, or drink. Others of the lazy crew, (who are much worse still, and are not to be induced to perform any work whatever,) live by begging, or seek a subsistence by stealing and robbing on the common highways, particularly when they see these frequented by any novices off ships from Europe”.

As the colony begins to expand territorially, more and more detribalized indigenes from neighbouring clans swell their ranks so that by 1672 up to thirty of their men can be put to work by the Dutch:³¹

“The Governor engaged 30 Hottentots, who generally loiter about the fort in idleness, to wheel earth for the new fort, on condition of receiving 2 good meals of rice daily, together with a *sopie* and a piece of tobacco; these Africans undertook the work with great eagerness”.

These folk are very likely encamped at what today has recently been renamed *Heritage Square*. Originally known in the early colonial period as *Hottentot Plein*, this appropriated and contested area is later renamed *Boeren Plein* and in the more recent past again renamed *Van Riebeeck Plein*. At the time of Zara’s suicide, there are already forty-one Dutch households, many of whom are already making use of ‘Hottentot’ women and child labour.

Zara’s mistress is the daughter of Ds. **Nathaniel de Pape** and his wife, **Elisabeth Veenbergh**, who arrives at the Cape with her father and brother (3 October 1662) on board the *Orangien / Oranje*. The family are en route to Negapatnam on the Coromandel Coast where De Pape has been appointed minister to the VOC factory there. Soon thereafter, the nubile **Lydia de Pape** is engaged to **Hendrik Lacus** (19 October 1662).³² They marry (Sunday 29 October 1662).³³ The couple have three daughters: **Lydia** (baptized Cape 2 September 1663), **Henrietta** (baptized Cape 23 August 1665), and **Elisabeth** (baptized Cape 15 December 1669).

Lydia de Pape’s voyage to the Cape is marred by the cruel actions of the skipper **Pieter Crynsz: Kant** against whom there are many complaints - also by her minister father, **Nathaniel de Pape**. Kant is accused of underfeeding the crew, preventing the surgeon and sick-visitor from performing their duties, causing thereby many unnecessary deaths.³⁴

Lacus arrives (already in 1659) at the Cape as midshipman (*adelborst*). Also having a good knowledge of French, he is appointed successively: assistant, bookkeeper and secretary of the Council of Policy (1660), fiscal (1663), junior merchant (1666), *secundus* [second in command] (1667). In 1665 Lacus gives power of attorney to **Jan van Weert** and **Adolff Woesthoven** *coopluijden binnen Amsterdam* to manage his inheritance from his mother **Mechtelt Gunter** which is being administered by his uncles **Jan Woesthoven** and **Reijnier Tellegens**. Family property amounts to three *hoeven* of 48 morgen *leggende in't landt van Gulick tusschen de steden Zittert [Sittard] ende Wassenberch* [Wassenberg]. This is situated on the Dutch border (Limburg province) within present-day Germany.



On 12 September 1666 Lydia de Pape witnesses the baptism of **Eva Meerhoff's** legitimate, half-'Hottentot', Robben-Island-born son, **Solomon**, together with **Joannes Coon**³⁵ (from Sommelsdijk) and **Pieter Clinckenberg/Klinckenburg**³⁶ (from Middelburg). Lacus draws up his will (12 July 1667). The Lacus household consists of one female slave (*een Angoolse Kaffarinen*) **Dorothea van Angola** and three male slaves: **Louis van Bengale**, Dorothea's son **Johannes van de Caeb**³⁷ and one other (as yet unidentified) adult. **Zacharias Wagenaer** had sold Louis to Lacus (25 September 1666): for Rds 80 or f 240.

Accused of theft of Company goods and embezzlement of Company money to the amount of 6,865 guilders, Lacus is suspended by Commander **Cornelis van Quaelberg** (5 September 1667). He responds to the allegations against him (17 October 1667). On 31 October 1667, his property is confiscated, including his slaves - with the exception of **Louis van Bengale**. This slave he is permitted to retain as a personal attendant.³⁸ **Dorothea van Angola**, now a Company slave, is to baptize several children thereafter: notably **Cornelia halfslagh** (baptized Cape 27 March 1672); **Cecilia halfslagh** (baptized Cape 8 September 1675); **Dorothea halfslagh** (baptized Cape 26 November 1679) and **Claes** (baptized Cape 21 April 1686). Their house servant, the 'Hottentot' Zara, is allowed to continue serving Lydia de Pape. This appears to be short-lived.

Böeseken reads incorrectly into this resolution that Zara is the 'wife' of Louis van Bengale.³⁹ This misconception is perpetuated by De Wet.⁴⁰ Hattingh, however, points out that Louis would be too young at the time for Zara to be his concubine. Instead, he suggests that Lacus *himself* may be Zara's concubine.⁴¹ A careful reading of the resolution confirms simply that Lacus is allowed to retain the services of Louis, while his wife [Lacus's wife and not that of Louis van Bengale] is to be allowed to keep the ... *d'Hottentottinne Zara* ... in her service.

In retaliation to Lacus's unwillingness to co-operate with the investigation, his household is disbanded and his personal effects inventorized in his presence. His slave Louis, now also confiscated, becomes a Company slave like Dorothea. It is only on 13 April 1672 that Louis is permitted to purchase his freedom in terms of a promise made by visiting Commissioner **Ijsbrand Goske** (February 1671).⁴² Lacus is confined to the sergeant's quarters within the Fort while it is arranged for his wife and their daughters to move into a separate room at the Widow Wiederholt's place also within the Fort.⁴³ She is **Geertruijd Mentinghs** who had just lost two husbands in recent years: **Evert Ro(o)leemo** and **Willem Lodewyk Wiederholt**. Is it at this stage that Zara joins the household of **Maaij Ansela**?

Lacus's trial commenced (2 March 1668). In terms of a resolution of the Council of Policy (7 March 1668), Lacus is to be detained on Robben Island. Zara and the slaves **Louis, Marij**⁴⁴ and the exiled convict (*bandiet*) and washerwoman to the commander's household), **Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat]** - become part of the inquiry (9 March 1668). Being slaves, and in the case of Zara - a 'Hottentot' and thus a heathen - they are not able to give testimony under oath, such 'evidence' being inadmissible in judicial proceedings. Nevertheless, whatever they disclose comes to be incorporated into the interrogatories of other 'competent' witnesses, viz. the third surgeon (*derde barbier*) **Ignatius Oogst** and **Anthonij de Chinees** [sic]. The latter being



none other than **Ant(h)oni(j) de Later van Japan** - the baptized former slave of former Commander **Zacharias Wagenaer**.⁴⁵

Oogst states that, on orders from his superior, the *eerste chirurgyn* **Paulus Winckler**, he had brought a *kasje* to the house of Lacus and handed it to Zara. He denies knowing what is in the chest.⁴⁶ Antoni van Japan, in turn, states that he had received a *kasje* from Lacus containing sake (Japanese rice wine), money and Lydia de Pape's best clothing. This he had buried under his table. Lacus had requested Antoni to hide the chest in safekeeping for the Cape's former commander, **Zacharias Wagenaer** (Antoni's and Louis's former owner), who would stop over at the Cape (1667). Of the money in the chest, one bag he returned to Lacus and the other two he fetched from Louis: one of these belonged to Lacus while the other he obtained from the *jongen* of the late **Pieter Meerhoff** (from Copenhagen) - the slave boy known as **Jan Vos van Cabo Verde** [Cap Vert, Senegal].

Antoni states further that he had heard from Louis that Dorothea had received some money from **Thielman Hendricksz**: (from Utrecht). He had also heard from Zara, Marij and *Groote* Catrijn that another chest had been sent away to Ceylon with **Pieter Dombaer**. Louis had also said that if his master were to punish him (again?), he would turn informer and reveal the whereabouts of items hidden by Lacus. Louis had also mentioned to him how Lacus, when drunk, would physically abuse his wife Lydia.⁴⁷

Lacus's detention on Robben Island, if not immediately put into effect, would not have been later than 4 May 1668 when it is on record that a boat is sent to the island. His wife and children accompany him. There they join the recently widowed **Eva Meerhoff** - the 'Hottentot' woman **Krotoa** - late wife to the island's superintendent, **Pieter Meerhoff** (from Copenhagen), the news of whose massacre at Antogil Bay, Madagascar had been received on the mainland (27 February 1668). The Widow Meerhoff is to keep the Lacus family company until her own return to the mainland, together with her three Eurafrican children - the youngest being Lydia's godson - (30 September 1668). Eva Meerhoff returns to the island less than six months later. This time, however, as a detainee like Lacus.

The Lacus family's detention on Robben Island continues for almost a year. The fact that the Cape now has a new commander, the unpopular **Jacob Borghorst** (since June 1668), in no way changes their situation. On 14 March 1669, however, Lydia de Pape's prayers to be allowed to return to the mainland are answered: ⁴⁸

"Decided to comply with the humble prayer of the wife of the junior merchant, **Hendrik Lacus**, to be allowed with her children to leave Robben Island for this place, on condition that she shall support herself without becoming a burden on the Company".

She and her three daughters return to the mainland (15 March 1669). Where do they live once on the mainland? Do they have move in with **Maaij Ansela**? Does Zara return into Lydia's service? On her return, Lydia experiences directly, the plight of her friend, **Eva Meerhoff**, then already incarcerated in the Fort's 'Black Hole', soon to be relegated without trial, like Lydia's husband, to Robben Island (26 March 1669). She hears first hand about the confiscation of the 'Hottentot' infant **Florida** from **Geertruyd Mentingsh**, now married to the physically lame **Dirk Bosch** (from Amsterdam). Lydia's former roommate is one of the European women who had disrupted the living child's



funeral.⁴⁹ Also, how the soon-to-die Florida and Lydia's godson (**Solomon Meerhoff**) and his siblings have been dumped by the Church Council with **Barbara Geems**, the brothel-keeper who is *Maaij* Ansela's neighbour.⁵⁰ Lydia also soon witnesses (July 1669) the removal from office of her husband's other friend, the *heemraad* **Thielman Hendricksz**: (from Utrecht).

On 24 August 1669 Lydia is granted permission to take her daughters to her father, **Nathaniel de Pape**, in Negapatnam. She does not go, however. On 14 February 1670 she addresses the Council of Policy in person to plead her husband's release from Robben Island. The Council agrees. Lacus returns to the mainland (16 February 1670). Finally on 12 March 1670, the Council of Justice formally sentences Lacus to be degraded to the rank of soldier and to be sent to Batavia. His sentence is one of Commander Borghorst's last duties before his departure from the Cape. Lydia and her children accompany her banished husband to Batavia.

Zara joins *Maaij* Ansela's household

Zara probably becomes part of the household of *Maaij* Ansela and her new husband, **Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson**, already at the time Lydia and her daughter move in with the Widow Wiederholt at the end of January 1668. The following year there is a concentration of 'Hottentots' and demi-'Hottentots' at Barbara Geems's place next door. Following the untimely death of the indentured Florida and the illegal detention of Eva Meerhoff on the grounds of public indecency, tolerance for indigenes – especially the 'detrribalized' indigenous labour force *within* the little colony is at an all-time low.

Like Zara's former master (Lacus), her new master Basson also hails from Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves. Now the mother of her husband's first child (**Willem Basson**), his lawful wife *Maaij* Ansela is already mother to four Cape-born *voorkinders*: **Anna de Coning**, **Jan van As**, **Jacobus van As** and **Pieter van As**. Prior to her marriage and whilst still a slave belonging to Lacus's predecessor, the *secunde* **Abraham Gabbema**, *Maaij* Ansela had lived in concubinage with at least two Company officials: **François de Coning** (from Ghent) and **Joan van As** (from Brussels). Her fourth child (presumably that of Van As) dies in infancy. The newly married couple own 80 sheep and have 1 flintlock according to the muster (1670). Still at the lowest rungs of Cape colonial society, this family later rises dramatically to respectability.⁵¹

Basson, after leaving the Company's service, starts out as *knecht* for the *Saldanhavaerder* and innkeeper, **Joris Jansz: Appel** (from Amsterdam) and his wife **Jannetje Ferdinandus** (from Courtrai). Also in their employ is another *knecht* **François Champelier**. The latter has associations with the concubine of *Maaij* Ansela's friend **Groote Catrijn**, **Hans Christoffel Snijman** (from Heidelberg), who in turn is closely associated with *Maaij* Ansela's husband, *Jagt*.⁵² Both men had joined the VOC's Chamber of Enkhuizen. *Maaij* Ansela's concubine, **Joan van As** (from Brussels), and the sergeant **Willem Lodewyk Wiederholt** are also in the employ of this same Chamber. Another of their associates from the same Chamber is **Georg Friedrich Wrede** (from Uetz), 'Hottentotologist' *par excellence*. He, Joan van As, and *Groote Catrijn*'s other



concubine, **Pieter Everaerts**: (from Cruijssaert), had all gone on 'discovery' expeditions into the Cape interior together with Eva Meerhoff's husband, **Pieter Meerhoff**.

Was Zara's suicide a total and utter rejection of the Dutch?

What prompted Zara to take her own life? Bredekamp makes an all too easy assumption:⁵³

"A general practice since the sixties was the indenturing of young Khoikhoi girls by their parents whom the Dutch took into their service as domestic servants. In this manner the young girls came into closer contact with European culture. These girls wore Dutch clothing, learning Dutch and Portuguese and becoming acquainted with the basic tenets of the Christian faith. The change in life pattern which these girls had to follow placed them in such an internal conflict that their lives became tragic. The most famous case is that of **Eva (Kratooa [sic Krotoa])** ... a less known tragic case is that of the girl **Sara**. She, too, grew up in the houses of Company officials [sic] and free-burghers [sic] gradually becoming alienated [sic] from her mother and the Khoikhoi way of life [sic]. While still young she had had loose relationships with white men [sic] and when one of them dropped her, she withdrew [sic] from white civilization. Concerning a third woman **Cornelia** who soon also worked as a servant for whites [initially **Jan van Riebeeck** and successive commanders] and who later returned to her traditional lifestyle, little is known except that she could speak Dutch well and knew the names of all the governors [sic]".

Bredekamp is silent as to why **Cornelia** should escape any tragedy in her life. Why is no fuss made of Cornelia as a 'success story'? François Valentyn actually met **Cornelia** and describes her as follows:⁵⁴

"In 1705 I spoke to an old Hottentot woman named **Cornelia**, who after living for many years in the home of the first Commander, **Heer van Riebeeck**, went back again to her own people, where she still is. She spoke excellent Dutch, and apart from her native dress and animal skins was so civil and well mannered as to call forth astonishment. She then appeared to me somewhere between 80 and 90 years old, and could recall all the Cape governors by name".



Valentyn states that many Cape indigenes opted to return to their own traditional lifestyles even after being in the service of Europeans for many years "as also many such could be pointed out at the Cape".⁵⁵

"As regards the men, these are in themselves the laziest creatures that can be imagined, since their custom is to do nothing, or very little; and this is the life of the truly free Hottentots, the owners of the land as they call themselves, regarding us as the greatest slaves in the world, with our so exactly fixed and precise way of life. If there is anything to be done, they let their women do it".

François Valentijn (1666-1727)



We may never know Zara's inner turmoil or the extent of her tragedy. Had she been culturally challenged? What personal circumstances were at stake? But we have been left with one piece of recorded contemporary hearsay. Rumour has it that Zara had "hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word" - if we are to believe the questionable pronouncements of **Willem ten Rhyne**⁵⁶ who visited the Cape (1673).⁵⁷



Willem ten Rhyne (1647-1700)

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

François Champelier, the man who cuts down Zara's corpse, is a bachelor until he marries the widow **Hans Ras** (from Angeln) who had been massacred in November 1671 by indigenes during a hunting expedition in the interior. His widow, **Catharina Hostings, alias Trijn Ras**, marries Champelier (17 April 1672). Could he have been romantically attached to Zara? Was it he who jilted her? Although we are free to speculate, these still remain open questions for lack of any substantial proof. Champelier dies later (June 1673) at the hands of indigenes whilst on a fishing expedition at Saldanha Bay.⁵⁸



In his book *A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who inhabit that region* (published 1686), he was thought (due to errors in translation) to claim to have actually met Zara in person, alive, and that he had spoken with her.⁵⁹ This is impossible, however, as she had already taken her own life by 1671. He also 'met' two other aboriginal women (*viz.* the notorious **Krotoa** baptised **Eva**) and **Cornelia** whom, together with Zara, he 'found' to be "distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding" in contrast with the rest of *this savage and depraved people*. Characteristically, he also confuses Eva with Cornelia and vice versa:

"Thus I spoke with two Hottento⁶⁰ women, the one **Aeva** [*sic* - he means **Cornelia**], who being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues, disclosed for me many secrets of this people [...] the other **Cornelia** [*sic* - he means **Aeva**], she gave up her impious ignorance of religion for Christianity married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been banished from the Fort; a third [woman] had the name of **Sara**, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word."



Ten Rhyne does, however, reveal his (chief?) source of information. His "friend the surgeon had dissected" the deceased Zara.⁶¹ The friend in question who had performed the autopsy on Zara's corpse is **Johann Schreyer**.⁶² At the time of Zara's suicide, Schreyer is resident junior surgeon at the Cape. When Ten Rhyne stops over at the Cape in 1673, Schreyer had then already been promoted to resident surgeon. When describing the physical attributes of 'Hottentot' women, Ten Rhyne also relies on Schreyer as a reputable 'authority':⁶³

"The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*, just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women - the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom - then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman [**Zara**] who had been strangled. He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas.

The appropriation of 'Hottentot' body parts as amulets or trophies is also known to have taken place:⁶⁴



“What is more, the Governor [**Goske**], whose word can absolutely be relied upon, added the following: *I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet.*”

The autopsy

Johann Schreyer, the junior surgeon assigned the task of doing the autopsy on Zara's corpse, hailed from Lobenstein. He joins the VOC and comes to the Cape as midshipman (*adelborst*) arriving on board the *Eendracht* (3 December 1668). Thereafter, he becomes acting junior surgeon (1670), junior surgeon (1671) and surgeon (1672). He marries (24 January 1672) **Jacomyntie / Jacomyntje Bakkers** (the latter name is also found as **Backers** and **Barkers**) of Amsterdam, the widow of the senior surgeon, *meester Jan Holl*. They have the following children:

- (1) **Johannes** baptized 19 March 1673 (dies in infancy)
- (2) **Johannes** baptized 20 May 1674

Schreyer and his family, including his stepdaughter **Gertruijda Hol** (baptized Cape 22 March 1671), later go to India. He writes a book in which he also gives a description of the Cape entitled *Neue Ost-Indische Reisbeschreibung von Anno 1669 biss 1677 handelnde von unterscheidenen Afrikanischen und Barbarischen Völkern, sonderlich dere an dem Vor-Gebürge, Caput Bonae Spei sich enthaltenden sogenannten Hottentotten* which is published in Leipzig (1681).⁶⁵

In his writings he makes no mention, whatsoever, of Zara or of the autopsy that he performed on her corpse. He is also the surgeon who helps perform (with **Pieter Walbrandt**) the autopsy (8 December 1669) on the strangled infant of the Company slave woman **Een Oor [Susanna van Bengale]**.⁶⁶ Schreyer is also uniquely and strategically placed when the surviving ‘Hottentot’ infant baptized **Florida** is exhumed alive [24 January 1669] but who dies soon thereafter in April / May that same year.⁶⁷ No record of any autopsy having been performed on Florida can be found. Is an autopsy ever performed on that occasion?

The report of the autopsy done by **Jan Schreyer** on Zara's corpse is preserved but has hitherto never been published.⁶⁸ On 18 December 1671 in the presence of commissioners, Schreyer cuts open the corpse of a certain female “Hottentot known popularly as Sara”. Externally, her face is purple and swollen like a ball. The mouth is full of foam. Around the neck a purple ring can be observed, likely to have been caused by a cord cutting into the flesh but without any external wounds being visible. Internally, blood has collected in the hollow of the chest and the lungs are full of foam and flooded with blood. The findings are indicative that the deceased ‘Hottentot’ women did not die naturally, but died a violent death due to suffocation. Of course, Schreyer makes no mention whatsoever of Zara's one double-nippled breast and gives no description of her dangling genitalia. There is also no mention of any pregnancy. What happens to the stones found in her pancreas?

Ick ondergeschrevene Jan Schreijer van Löwenstein onderchirurgijn in diens van de Vrije Vereenigde Nerdelantsche g'Octroijeerde Oost-Indische Comp:[agni]e en alhier in des Fortresse de Goede Hoope in die qualiteit, mits 't afsterven van den Opperchirurgijn, alleen bescheijden hebbe



ten ordre van den Achtbaeren Raad deser Residentie, op huijden den 18:en desen maant Xbris, in presentie en ten overstaen van Gecommitt:[eerd]ens uijt deselve, geopent en gevisiteert het dode lichaem van seker Hottentots vrou mensch in de wandeling genaamt **Sara**, en bij incisie het selve cadaver sodaenigh gevlees gevonden als volgt, te wetens het aengesicht was paers en bol opgezwollen, de mond vol schuijm, en om de hals een paerse cringh, door de insnijdinge ener koorde oft diergelyc geschiet sonder dat aen alle de buytenvleden eenigh leke van quetsingh off violentie conde bespeurt werden gelijk oock alle de doen van binnen hebbe bevonden gaeft en wel dispoort te zijn behalwen dat inde hollight der borst eene vergaderinge van bloet, en de longhe vol schuijm en met bloet onderlopen haer vertoonde uijt welcke tekenen dat voor genoemde Hottetotinne [sic] niet natuuren, maer door een geweldige doot en een suffocatie is overleden.

Aldus verclaert in d'Fortresse de Goede Hoop deses 18 Xbris 1671.

[signed] **Jan Schreyer**

The Trial

Zara is immediately put on trial *in absentia*. Rather, it is her *corpse* that was put on trial. Donald Moodie's translation of the court proceedings is fairly accurate.⁶⁹

Presentibus, - **Joannes Coon**, Lieut. **Daniel Fraymanteau** [sic] and **Willem van Dieden**,⁷⁰ Members of the council of this residency. The fiscal [**Hendrik Crudop**] having reported to the Council, that a certain Dutch female Hottentot, had this morning hanged and thus strangled herself, in the sheep house of one of the free men, near this fortress - as shown by a declaration of the surgeon, (who, by order of the Council, had dissected the body) that the said female has died from no other probable or conceivable cause than by the violent death inflicted by her upon herself, by means of suffocation. The Council having also examined two persons namely **Francois Champelaar**, servant of **Joris Jans [Appel]**, and **Angela of Bengal**, wife of **Arnoldus Willems [Basson]**, who state that the said Hottentot was found hanging in her own gown band, fastened in the thatch overhead; and that on their first coming, they observed some motion in the veins of the neck, which induced said **Champelaar** to cut down the body in hopes that life was not extinct; but that, on the body falling to the ground, it was



found that Satan had already taken possession of her brutal soul. It was therefore concluded-as the said female Hottentot, known by the name **Sara**, and about 24 years of age, had resided (*verkeert*)⁷¹ from her childhood with Company's servant or free men, and that not merely from her bare food, but also with some persons for wages, by which means she had thus long maintained herself, and had thus acquired the full use of our language and of the Portuguese, and had become habituated to our manners and modes of dress; and as she had also frequently attended Divine service, and had furthermore, (as is presumed) lived in concubinage with our, or other German people⁷² not having any particular familiarity with her kindred or countrymen; which is the case also with her mother, who also maintains herself by earning daily wages among our inhabitants - That, from the said allegations and reasons, it is concluded that the said Hottentot can not be any longer considered as having led the usual heathenish or savage Hottentot mode of life, but to have entirely relinquished the same, and adopted our manners and customs (*levens- en lantsaardt*) and that accordingly, she had enjoyed, like other inhabitants, our protection, under the favour of which she had lived; as this animal (*bestie*) then, has not only-actuated by a diabolical inspiration-transgressed against the laws of nature, which are common to all created beings; but also-as a consequence of her said education-through her Dutch mode of



life-against the law of nations, and the civil law-for, having enjoyed the *good* of our kind favor and protection, she must consequently be subject to the rigorous punishment of *evil*; seeing that those who live under our protection, from whatever part of the world they may have come [*sic*], and whether they be Christians or heathens, may justly be called our subjects-And and this act was committed in our *territorium*, and in a free man's house under our jurisdiction; which should be purified from this foul sin, and such evil doers, and enemies of their own persons and lives visited with the most rigorous punishment. It is upon these grounds claimed and concluded by the fiscal, that the said dead body, according to the usages and customs of the United Netherlands, and the general practise (ingevoer) of the Roman law, be drawn out of the house, below the threshold of the door, dragged along the street to the gallows, and there hanged upon a gibbet as a carrion for the fowls, and the property of which she died possessed confiscated, for the payment, therefrom, of the costs and dues of justice.

The court, having heard the arguments advanced in support of the conclusion of the fiscal, and attended to every thing relative to this matter;- accedes to the conclusion and claim of the officer, including the execution of the same.

In the Fortress the Goede Hoop: *datum ut supra*.

A verbatim transcription of the original record by the writer follows hereunder:⁷³

Veneris den 18:en Xbris [December] 1671

Præsentibus

S:[ieu]rs Joannes Coon Lieut:[enan]t

Daniel Froijmanteau

Willem van Dieden

Raadtsluijden deser Residentie

Den fiscaal hebbende ter vergaderinge gerapporteert, hoe dat sigh van de morgen sekere Duijtse Hottentottin in een der Vrijlieden schapenstal onder dese fortresse gelegen, opgehangen en zulk verworpt hadde, oock vervolgens bij een verclaringh van den Chijrurgijn alhier, die ter overstaen van Gecomitt:[eerd]er, ten ordere van den Raad 't voors: cadaver bij incisie gevisiteert hadden) gedoceert, dat gemelde vrouwmensch uijt geen andere bedencklijke off blijckelijcke oirsaeken was comen te overleven, als eenelick van een geweldige doot door voorsz suffocatie aen haer selffs gepleegt, oock wijders den Raad doen hooren en verclaeren van twee persoons, te weten **François Champhelaer**, knecht van **Joris Jansz** en **Angela van Bengaelen** huijsvrouw van **Arnoldus Willemsz**, hoe dat zij lieden in haer Angelaes schapenstal gedugte Hottentottin aen haer eigen cabaeij band, boven aan het dack vassgemaect, hebben bovenden te hangen oock op haer verschijninge, nogh min ofte meer eenige aderen in den hals zien bewegen en, op hoope van noch te leven, bij geseijden Champhelaer los gesneden, doch ter aerden nedergefallen, bevonden dat sigh den Satan beseijte van haer bestialesche ziele meer te gemaect hadde, heeft ingevolge van 't voors: g'allegeerde, conclusie genomen, also de gedachte Hottentotin, bij genaemt **Sara**, ongevaer de 24 jaeren out, van kintsgebeent, so bij Comp:[agnies] dienaeren als Vrijlieden heeft verkeert, en niet alleen voor de bloote kost, maer oock bij sommige voor loon gedient, en haer zulk dus lange gesustenteert daerdoor bij gevolge onse Nederduijtsche en Portgeesche tale promptelijk aangenomen ende nae onse landtsaerd van klederen en ommeganck gehabitudeert, oock verscheijde maelen tot'et gehoor van Godes heijlige woort inde predicatie verscheenen, zelft oock /: so als mits presumeert :/ met onse, ofte andere Duijtse natien, in concubinaatschap geleeft en toegehouden, geene sonderlinge conversatie met haer Lantslieden en maegen gepleegt, gelijck oock voor als noch haer moeder, die sigh insgelijx bij dese oft geene onser ingesetenen voor een dagloon is generende, mede niet en useert. Doet uijt de voors: redenen, ged:e Hottentotin niet meer can verstaen werden een gewoonlijcke heijdensche ofte sodanige brutale Hottentotsche manier van leven gevoert, maer daer al gehelik affstand van gedaen, en oversulx onse levens= en lantsaardt aengenomen te hebben, Invoegen dat sij oock te dien oorsaeke onse bescherminge, gelijk andere ingesetenen, t'haeren *faveur* heeft genoten, en dack onder gewoont gehad: Ende, alsoo dese bestie dan door een diijvelsche inspiratie, haer niet alleenich heeft versondigt, tegens 't regt der natuer, dat allen Creaturen toegeëijgent is, Waer oock door de g'allegeerde opvoedinghen gevolghde Duijtse maniere van leven, 't volckeren en burgeren Regt, daerenboven, door't gemeten van onse goedentierne protectie *en faveur* in't goede, oock



gevolgelyk subject geworden een ongenaedige ontgeldinge in't quaede, Aegesien met regt d'sulcke onse ondersaten werden genaamt, die onder onse bescherminge leven, niet seclusie uijt welcken deel der werelt deselve gecomen oft Christenen oft onchristenen mogten zijn, overzulk dit feijt bestaen op onse *territorium*, en in een vrijmans huijsinge onder onse Juridictie, die voorval van dese vuijle sonden sonde moeten werden gesuijwert en diergelijckene quaat doenders en vijanden van haer eijgen lijff en leven ten Exempel van anderen met rigereusche ontgeldinge gestraft, wierde bij hem fiscaal *hinc* inde geconcludeert, dat 'et voors: doode lichaem naer d'usantie en costume der Vereenigde Nederlanden en t'algemeene ingevoerde Roomse Regt onder den drempel van't huijs deurgehaelt, de straat tot aen de galge langs gesleept, en aldaer aen een mick tot een aes den vogelen zoude werden opgehangen, haere nalatenschap geconfisq:t omme daeruijt de costen en mise van de Justitie te voerden.

Eodem dies

Den Raadt gehooft hebbende de redenen dienende tot de verificatie der genomen conclusie van den Fiscaal, en vorders op 't een en 't ander dese materie raekende gelet, staende officer zijn eijse en conclusie, met d'uijvoeringe van dien daerin begrepen, t'eenemael toe.

In d'Fortresse de Goede Hoope
Datum uts supra

The court that tries Zara consists of only three men **Joannes Coon** (from Sommelsijk), **Daniel Froymanteau** (from Leiden), **Willem van Dieden** (from Ansterdam). Coon is one of the men who tried the Company slave woman and convict **Susanna van Bengale** *alias Een Oor* while Van Dieden is the second husband of **Grietje Frans: Meeckhoff**, who had been one of the women who had the live 'Hottentot' infant **Florida** forcefully removed from burial. The fiscal is none other than **Hendrik Crudop** (from Bremen). He is brother-in-law to the Cape's resident minister **Adriaen de Voogd**⁷⁴ who had been instrumental in confiscating **Florida** and the Meerhoff children and securing the illegal and indefinite detention of **Eva Meerhoff**.

Crudop arrives at the Cape (1668) as a midshipman on board the *d'Amiata*. He is steward to three successive commanders **Cornelis van Quaelbergen**, **Jacob Borghorst** and **Pieter Hackius**. In 1669 he becomes *assistent aan de pen* and seneschal. In 1671 he combines the duties of fiscal and accountant. This is not because it was the Company's policy to economize, as claimed by Dutch historian Gerrit Schutte.⁷⁵ From the time of the very unpopular commander Jacob Borghorst, there is a chronic shortage of competent officials.

Following Commander Hackius's death and the appointment of *Governor Ijsbrand Goske* as his successor, there follows an awkward interregnum in the colonial administration of the Cape of Good Hope. This is to last for 10 months. The colony has been placed under the provisional administration of **Daniel Froymanteau**, assisted by the aristocrat **Conrad von Breitenbach**⁷⁶, **Joan Coon** and the omnipresent **Crudop**.⁷⁷ The provisional administration is to last four months until the arrival of the newly appointed *secunde*, **Albert van Breugel**⁷⁸ (23 March 1672). The interregnum is to last for another dramatic six months until (2 October 1672) when Goske finally assumes office as the Cape's *first* governor.

It is a curious fact that Zara's trial takes place at a critical stage of Dutch colonisation of the Cape of Good Hope and at a time when Dutch / Khoena relations are deteriorating rapidly. The colonial administration is clearly unable to control the growing illegal



trade between colonist and indigene. This is evident from Crudop's *placcaat* (3 December 1670) forbidding the colony's inhabitants to go beyond the outposts without permission and also from the various judicial arraignments of *inter alia* **Thielman Hendricksz's** wife, **Mayke Hendriks: van den Berg** (14 January 1671), **Jacob Cornelisz: Rosendael** (27 May 1671), and **Frans Gerrits Noortlander** (18 November 1671). This situation is being exacerbated by the fact that more and more 'visiting' indigenes are increasingly aggressive in their dealings with the occupying Dutch. The Dutch, in turn, retaliate by assaulting indigenes and taking hostages wherever, whenever and whomever - with and without authorization.⁷⁹ This is also the start of disappearances of Europeans while hunting and trading illegally in the interior, either killed by wild animals or murdered by indigenes.⁸⁰ Finally, the 'degenerate' Widow **Eva Meerhoff** remains in banishment on Robben Island while the products of her labours are in the custody of a brothel keeper with the blessing of the minister **Adriaan de Voogd** (brother-in-law to **Crudop**) and his Church Council.

With the charged political atmosphere as sketched above, Zara's contemporaneous trial cannot be viewed in isolation. Ross, analyzing the judicial aspects of Zara's trial, claims that "no motives of revenge and scarcely any of setting an example played a role in the arguments as to the treatment of her corpse", are questionable and need to be re-evaluated.⁸¹ The *raison d'être* for the traditionally (European) prescribed punishment of impalement is deterrence – in this case not only to the Dutch, but also the insouciant indigenes resident within the colony, and even those threatening the colony from without. It is indeed so that the court accepts this "mixture of natural law ideology and the concept territorial jurisdiction" as justification for dishonouring Zara's corpse. The suggestion, however, that the court is comprised of competent judicial officers as part of a stable colonial administration 'applying their minds' to a unique but weighty problem cannot be sustained in the light of all the various disruptive events taking place at the time and the responses of a provisional skeleton-staffed colonial administration without even a commander or *secunde*:

"In a certain sense this case was most exceptional. Presumably because it was forced upon them in what was still a very small, face-to-face community, Dutch authorities were persuaded that they had to take action in a case where the criminal and the victim were both Khoi, or rather where they were both the same individual".

The events that follow Zara's impalement point to very definite motives for revenge and certainly the setting of an example. The visual and violent disfigurement of Zara rotting against the backdrop of Table Mountain must have sent out exceptionally powerful signals to the indigenous people of the Cape of Good Hope. The administrative hiatus allows the men temporarily in charge to disregard momentarily, the VOC's official policy of non-aggression against the 'free' indigenous people of the Cape. Or is it just a case of 'crisis management'? Significantly, when *Magister* **Froymanteau** dies (12 April 1672), his administration is found to be in a shambles:⁸²

This night the Junior Merchant **Daniel Troymanteau** [*sic*], who arrived here in the *Zierikzee*, and in consequence of the misfortune of **Cornelis de Cretzer**, had been kept here by the late Commander **Hackius**, after a few days illness died in the flower of his life. He had been acting as provisional Commander (since the death of Mr. **Hackius**), but after his death matters were found to be in great confusion, and the books quite white (not written up), so that we shall have our hands full again.



Significantly the very next day a resolution to legalize (albeit very belatedly) Dutch residency at the Cape in terms of International Law or the Law of Nations, is passed by the Acting Commander **van Breughel** and his council at the insistence of the visiting commissioner, **Arnout van Overbeke**⁸³. This is a crucial turning point in Dutch/Khoe relations. The Dutch are most uneasy about their legally tenuous occupation.

... *een vuyl nest* ... the rot sets in ...

At this critical stage **Crudop** appears to seize the opportunity to ensure Dutch supremacy at all costs. Zara's conviction, albeit *post mortem*, paves the way for yet another unprecedented arraignment (10 January 1672), this time of *live* indigenes:

"Five evil disposed Hottentoots were brought in by the mounted guard, fastened together. The guard stated that the prisoners had laid hold of a certain burger's shepherd, who was herding his sheep near the guard house, forcibly rifled his pockets of all their contents, and made off with a large portion of his flock, but were pursued and overtaken by the mounted guard, who rescued the prey out of their thievish hands".

Dutch motives for revenge and setting an example are stated unequivocally in the Journal (11 January 1672):

"Some Hottentoots brought, by way of ransom for the five prisoners, eight fine young cattle, and 8 sheep, but were sent back unheard; for the insolence of those people begins to get beyond bounds and insufferable, and requires an exemplary punishment to deter others, more particularly as the prisoners are subject to the chief Gonnema, through whose means 2 of our burgers [**Han Ras** (from Angeln [Holstein]) & **Gijsbert Dircx: Verweij** (from Cuijk)] were so cruelly massacred last year".

This is the first time that we find the **Gonnema**, *alias* the 'Black Captain', being held responsible for the massacre of the two burghers. War has become inevitable by 13 January 1672:

"All the burgers were mustered in arms to the number of 93; it was a pleasure to see how well they handled their infallible weapons".

The situation remains tense as evidenced by the Journal entry (5 February 1672):

"Those interested for the 5 detained Africans again offered a large number of sheep and cattle for their release; their offers were rejected as before, and it is intended soon to let them feel something else, for their arrogance begins to be too great".

The Council of Justice sits to try the five indigenes (10 February 1672):

"The Council of the Fort, with the assistance of the **Burgerraden**, held a Court for the trial of the 5 Hottentots before mentioned, and after examination, 3 of them were sentenced to be flogged and branded, and banished to Robben Island, *ad opus publicum* in chains for 15 years; and the two others, who were not equally guilty, but were only voluntary accomplices in the theft of the sheep, were sentenced to be also well flogged, and banished to the said island for 7 years, as may be seen by the criminal roll".

The man who has just prosecuted Zara's corpse is again prosecuting (persecuting?) officer. Once again, **Crudop** comes into his own. Though the indigenes appear at a glance to be "more beast than man", he argues (quoting numerous legal authorities), it



was beyond doubt that they have the form of rational creatures. Hence they possess rational souls. All such beings are endowed by their Creator with knowledge of Natural Law (the judgement necessary to distinguish right from wrong) and the Law of Nations (law common to all people). It is thus appropriate for the council to try these indigenes under 'universal' codes.⁸⁴ The court agrees. Their sentence is carried out (11 February 1672):

The 5 Africans sentenced yesterday, were this morning, about 11 a.m. brought to the place of execution (after their sentence had been solemnly read in front of the fort) and severely punished for their crime, as above stated; meantime others of that people offered for sale 7 good sheep, which were added to our flock for the usual merchandize.



Aernout van Overbeke (1632-1674) *Reiziger en dichter* - oil painting on copper by Jan Maurits Quinkhard (1771) Schilderijencollectie Rijksmuseum

On 18 February 1672 the sentenced *Hottentoots* are sent to Robben Island where they join their kinswoman, the banished **Eva Meerhoff**. A desperate **Albert van Breugel** assuredly knows that the die had been cast and that things will not quite be the same again at the Cape of Good Hope. Visiting VOC commissioner, **Aernout van Overbeke (1632-1674)**, returning from the East, captures the mood of the times. Already in July 1668 he had stopped over at the Cape en route to the East, taking the former



commander, Van Quaelbergen with him and having unpleasant altercations with the new commander, Borghorst. Van Overbeke writes the following poem (23 April 1672) on confronting Van Breugel's exasperation while in 'control' of the Cape of Good Hope – which poem makes more sense when placed in the context of the violent and *unsettling* times.⁸⁵

**The head of that *head* of Good Hope,
Despaired: "*Alles caput, ja!*"
And hoping against hope, asked what counsel I could give?
I said; my friend, 'tis a *foul* nest:
To be (a) patient and to convalesce, is here best;
While confined on *Good Hope* to rest.**

*The Genealogy of the gentleman Aelbrecht van Breugel,
Commanding Officer at the Cape of Good Hope:
where he (one day coming before me)
found everything had come to a head;
about which he often complained to me:
the 23rd April, Anno 1672
Arnout van Overbeke⁸⁶*

**'t Hooft van het Hooft de Goede Hoop,
Vondt alle dingen over hoop:
En vroegh my, wat voor raedt ick hem daar in kon geven?
Ick seg; mijn vriendt, 't is een vuyl nest:
Gedult te hebben, is hier best;
Wijl ghy gedwongen zijt, op Goede Hoop te leven.**

Die groot kop van die *kop* van Goeie Hoop,
Word orals deur hoop onthoof:
Watse raad, vra hy, het jy vir my?
Ek sê, my vriend, dis 'n vuil nes:
Geduld te hê, is hier bes;
Terwyl jy op *Goeie Hoop* móét bly.



ENDNOTES

- ¹ Mansell G. Upham, 'Maaij Anselva 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. 33-34.
- ² Magister **Daniel Fromanteau / Froymanteau / Froijmanteau** (from Leiden); arrives (24 May 1671) on *Het Wapen van Zierikzee*; provisional administrator (*administrateur*) heading administration of Cape following death of Commander **Pieter Hackius** (30 November/1 December 1671); dies at Cape (12 April 1672); buried (13 April 1672) - day when 1st treaty with Cape indigenes is signed).
- ³ Janet Todd (ed.), *Mary & Maria* by Mary Wollstonecraft / *Matilda* by Mary Shelley (Penguin, Harmondsworth 1992), pp. xxii-xxiv.
- ⁴ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal* (W.A. Richardson & Sons, Cape Town 1902), p. 134.
- ⁵ CA: 1/STB 18/154 (Notariële Verklaringe, 4 October 1703); MOOC 3/3 (Inkomende Briewe, Landdros en Heemrade – Weesmeester, 16 October 1703).
- ⁶ Dr A.M. Hugo, *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* (Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria), vol. I, p. 867.
- ⁷ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1699-1732*, pp. 75-76.
- ⁸ Report handed in to the Governor-general and Council of Netherlands India by **Pieter de Vos**, ordinary, and **Hendrik Bekker**, extraordinary Councillor of India, concerning the quarrels which have occurred between Mr. **Willem Adriaan van der Stel**, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and various freemen there (18 September 1706). [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Letters Received* p. 428].
- ⁹ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Journal 1699-1732*, p. 270.
- ¹⁰ Maurice Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape in the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule: The European background* (University of South Africa, Pretoria 1981), pp. 251-252.
- ¹¹ For a case concerning attempted suicide, see Mansell G. Upham, 'The First Chinese and Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis* (no. 2 (1997), pp. 11-12.
- ¹² Eg. **Ringe alias Sionko van Malabar** committed suicide by hanging himself in (October 1728) - a practice associated with slaves from Madagascar [VC 23, *Journal* (31 October 1728); Hans F. Heese, *Kronos*, vol. 11 (1986), p. 10].
- ¹³ Premesh Lalu, 'Sara's Suicide: History and the representational limit' *Kronos*, no. 26 (2000), p. 91.
- ¹⁴ Dapper (1668) featured in I. Schapera & B. Farrington, *The early Cape Hottentots described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus de Greyvenbroek (1695)*, (Van Riebeeck Society, vol. 14, Cape Town 1933), pp. 60-61.
- ¹⁵ *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672* (Government Printer, Pretoria 1986), pp. xiv no 421, 194 & 204 & *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* (Tafelberg, Cape Town 1977), pp. 90-91 & 97.
- ¹⁶ 'Die Blanke Nageslag van Louis van Bengale en Lijsbeth van die Kaap' *Kronos* (1980), pp. 6-7 & *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720* (University of the Western Cape, Bellville 1981), pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁷ *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707* (Historiese Publikasie-Vereniging, Cape Town 1981), p. 211.
- ¹⁸ *The early Cape Hottentots described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus de Greyvenbroek (1695)* (Van Riebeeck Society, vol. 14, Cape Town 1933).
- ¹⁹ *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slaves at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (H.B. Timmins, Cape Town 1950).
- ²⁰ *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702: The First fifty years of Dutch colonisation as seen by callers* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1971).
- ²¹ *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840* (Longman, London & Cape Town 1979).
- ²² *Van Veeverskaffers tot Veewagters: 'n Historiese ondersoek na betrekkinge tussen die Khoikhoi en die Europeërs aan die Kaap, 1662-1679* (University of the Western Cape, Bellville 1981).
- ²³ *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1982), pp. 169-170.
- ²⁴ *Die Afrikanervolk en die Kleurlinge* (HAUM, Pretoria 1982).
- ²⁵ *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985).
- ²⁶ *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1994).



²⁷ *Digging through darkness: Chronicles of an Archaeologist* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1995).

²⁸ 'Sara's suicide: history and the representational limit' *Kronos (Journal of Cape History)*, no. 26 (2000), pp. 89-101.

²⁹ *Jan van Riebeeck: Memorandum to Zacharias Wagenaer (5 May 1662)* [Donald Moodie, *The Record or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native tribes of South Africa (1838)* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1960, p. 247].

³⁰ Zacharias Wagenaer: Memorandum to Cornelis van Quaelbergen (24 September 1666). [Donald Moodie, *The Record*, 291].

³¹ *Journal* (7 October 1672).

³² *Heden hebben haer in ondertrouw begeven Hendrick Lacus van Wesel, boeckhouder ende secretaris deser Fortresse, ende Lijdia de Pape, dochter van den Eerwaardigen en Godtsaligen dome. Nathaniel de Pape, predicant op het hier jonghst aengewesen schip Orangien.* [*Journal*: Zacharias Wagenaer, p. 29].

³³ *Naer 't ordinaris sermoen zijn wettelijck getrouwt de personen die haer op den 19en deses in ondertrouw hadden gebeven.* [*Journal*: Zacharias Wagenaer, p. 31].

³⁴ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Attestations*, pp. 455-457 (12/13 October 1662).

³⁵ **Joannes Coon** (from Sommelsdijck [Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) arrives (1664) as sergeant on *Walcheren* with wife **Alexandrine / Alexandrine Jacobs: Maxvelt / Maxwal [Maxwell]**; appointed full ensign (1665) by Commissioner **Pieter de Bitter**, provisional lieutenant; prior to transfer to Cape had already served 8 years in Indies; succeeded **Pieter Evraerts**: (from Cruijssaert) as head of garrison; dies (1673) on St Helena; his widow remarries at Cape (29 September 1679) **Louis / Lodewyk François Bureau / Boureau / Buro / Brureau alias Lodewyk Francen** (from Brussels) (born c. 1649), son of Brussels advocate **Carel Burou** who after military service in Europe, joins VOC serving at Cape as soldier, clerk & finally victualler; charged with theft, dismissed from service for life & deported to Netherlands - deportation order, however, initially not carried out & becomes free-burgher at Cape; Commissioner Van Rheede refuses to condone further laxity of former protectors **Rijckloff van Goens the Elder & the Younger**. Childless; **Juffrouw Coon** owns following slaves: (1) **Maria (Marij) [Maria Pekenijnvan Angola?]** (purchased 1 May 1665 from **Zacharias Wagenaer**) who is mother to: **Maria [Lozee] van de Caep** (baptized Cape 12 September 1666) & **Cornelia [Bogaerts?] van de Caep** (baptized Cape May 1669); (2) **Alina [Lijsbeth?] van Bengale** (sold by Commander **Jacob Borghorst** 9 April 1669) [note: Coon purchases pregnant slave woman named **Alina** [error for **Elisabeth?**] but from **Rijckloff van Goens** [?] in similar transaction for lesser price (80.00) - thereafter (28 May 1669), slave named **Anna** [Elisabeth's daughter?] is sold by Coon to junior merchant on *Alphen* **Johannes Cauwenburg** for 80:00 - cryptic transcriptions of *Transporten en Schepenkenissen*, however, suspect & require further investigation: is Lijsbeth also purchased by Van Goens & paid for by Coon with perhaps special arrangements for daughter Anna to be taken to Batavia? Lijsbeth's daughters nevertheless are subsequently either used as domestic servants in households of commander (or acting commander) or members of Council of Policy or take up responsible positions in Company's Slave Lodge: **Maria Hendricks: van de Caep** works for Acting Commander **Heinrich Crudop** (from Bremen), **Margaretha Jans: Visser(s) van de Caep** became *matres* in Slave Lodge & **Anna van de Caep [Anna Pieters van Batavia?]** (after returning from Batavia?) becomes integrated into Coon household] [Mansell George Upham 'Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia / De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia: Jan Grof (died ante 1700) and his extended family at the Cape of Good Hope - a glimpse into family, household, patriarchy, matriarchy, bondage, marriage, concubinage, adultery, bastardy, métissage, manumission, propinquity and consanguinity in 17th century Dutch South Africa before slavery's abolition, the weakening of kinship and emergence of the modern nuclear family: <http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/HelEnParadijs-DeHoopOpConstantia.pdf>]; (3) **Catharina van Malabar** (sold by Commander **Jacob Borghorst** 17 April 1669); (4) **Jan van Bengale** (purchased 16 May 1666 from **Jacob Cauw**); (5) **Anthonij van de Cust Cor(o)mandel** (purchased 4 April 1679 from **Tobias Marquart**).

³⁶ **Pieter van Clinckenberg / Klin(c)kenbergh** (from Middelburg) arrives with wife **Anna (van) Romswinkel** at Cape on *Meese* (April 1658); *onderchirurgyn*; promoted to *chirurgyn*; witnesses (12 September 1666), with **Lydia de Pape** & **Joannes Coon**, baptism of **Krotoa's** son **Solomon**; joint will: **Pieter van Clinckenberg ondercoopman en Anna van Romswinkel**, *Echte luijden* (12 November 1667); he dies (1667); 13 November 1667: "Death of the junior merchant and salesman, *Sieur Pieter van Clinkenberg*. Since last Thursday (10th) he had suffered dreadfully from stomach ache, so that we are not without suspicion that he has been poisoned, especially as his female slave [**Florinda van**



Jaffnapatnam?], who had been beaten by him some time previously, had hinted as much,, and she has always been known in India as a very malignant woman. The body was therefore opened this afternoon, and the stomach and intestines were found to be full of wind and very much swollen. The rest of the body was found to be quite sound, only the right lung being somewhat inflamed and bad. The result did not confirm our suspicions, but we have nevertheless placed the woman in confinement, in order to examine her later on"; 2 July 1669: "The agents of the widow of the late **Pieter van Klinkenberg** have requested permission to sell a certain garden, dwelling house and sheep stables situated in this valley. This we allowed them to do, also to affix the proper notices of the intended sale. *The property to be put up in the Hall of the Fort*, next Thursday, and to be sold to the highest bidder, and the sum of f 183.17.12 to be deducted from the amount realized, the said **Klinkenbergh** standing indebted to the Company for that sum. (See the 4th below) [no mention of any slaves]"; 4 July 1669: "This forenoon the garden, dwelling house, &c. (see July 2) of Mrs **Anna Romswinkel**, widow **Klinkenbergh**, was sold for f 445 to the burgher **Elbert [Dircksz:] Diemer** [from Emmerich]" [no mention of any slaves]"; [Journal, 2 & 4 July 1669]; they have following child at Cape: (1) **Petronella** baptized posthumously Cape (29 March 1668).

³⁷ Baptized at the Cape (23 May 1667).

³⁸ Anna J. Böeseken (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. I, pp. 362-363 (resolution, 31 October 1667).

³⁹ Dr Anna J. Böeseken (*Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*) (1977), pp. 90-91.

⁴⁰ Dr G. Con de Wet (*Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*) (1981), p. 211

⁴¹ Prof. J. Leon Hattingh ('Die Blanke Nageslag van Louis van Bengale en Lijsbeth van die Kaap', *Kronos* (1980), pp. 6-7 & *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720* (1981), pp. 24-25)

⁴² Anna J. Böeseken (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. II, p. 82. (resolution: 13 April 1672).

⁴³ Anna J. Böeseken (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. 1, 1651-1669, p. 365 (26 January 1668).

⁴⁴ Not positively identified. If not **Maria van Bengale (Marij da Costa)** - belonging to **Jan van Riebeeck** [? sold to **Dr. Johannes de Voogd**], then possibly **Maria van Guinea**, slave belonging to **Widow Wiederhold**.

⁴⁵ Mansell G. Upham, 'The First Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22 & 'In hevigen woede ... Groote Catrijn: earliest recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope - a study in upward mobility', pp.21-22.

⁴⁶ CA: CJ 2952, pp. 194-196 (Interrogatory: **Ignatius Oogst**, 7 & 9 March 1668).

⁴⁷ CA: CJ 2952, pp. 214-217 (Interrogatory: **Anthonij de Chinees** [sic] who signs his name **Ant(h)oni van Japan** 7 & 9 March 1668).

⁴⁸ H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Journal 1662-1670* (14 March 1669), p. 269.

⁴⁹ Mansell G. Upham, '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 custom' *Capensis*, no. 2 (2001), pp. 5-22.

⁵⁰ **Maaij** Ansel's property in Cape Town's Block C and **Barbara Geems's** property in Block B both bordered on the *Heere Straat* (present-day Castle Street).

⁵¹ Mansell G. Upham, '**Maaij Ansel** and the *black* sheep of the family - a closer look at the events surrounding the first execution of a *vrijburgher* in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', Parts 1-7, *Capensis*, 4/1997, 4-18; 1/1998, 22-35; 2/1998, 26-39; 3/1998, 21-28; 4/1998, 37-40; 1/1999, 38-40 & 2/1999, 27-38; Mansell G. Upham, 'This corner of the world smiles for me above all others: Gysbert Hemmy from Africa - a reappraisal', *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, January-March 2007, vol. 63, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 16-30.

⁵² Mansell G. Upham, 'In Hevigen woede ... Part I: Groote Catrijn: Earliest recorded female *bandiet* at the Cape of Good Hope - a study in upward mobility', *Capensis*, no. 3 of 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. 29-35.

⁵³ "'n Algemene praktyk sedert die sestigejare was die indiensnaming van jong Khoikhoidogters wat deur hul ouers as huisbediendes deur die Hollanders in diens geneem is. Op dié wyse het die jongedogters in nouer kontak met die Europese kultuur gekom. Dié meisies het Hollandse klere gedra, Hollands en Portugees aangeleer en met die basiese beginsels van die Christelike geloof kennis gemaak. Die veranderde lewenspatroon wat hierdie dogters moes volg, het sommige in so 'n innerlike konflik geplaas dat hul lewe 'n tragiese wending geneem het. Die bekendste geval is dié van **Eva (Kratoa [sic])** ... 'n Minder bekende tragiese geval is dié van die jongdogter **Sara**. Sy het ook van kindsbeen af in die huise van die Kompagniesamptenare [sic] en Vryburgers [sic] grootgeword en mettertyd vervreemd geraak van haar moeder [sic] en Khoikhoileefwyse [sic]. Sy het op jeugdige leeftyd losse verhoudings met blanke mans gehad en toe een van hulle haar in die steek laat, het sy haar aan die blanke samelewing onttrek.



Oor 'n derde vrou **Cornelia** wat indertyd ook as bediende by Blankes gewerk het, en later na haar tradisionele leefwyse teruggekeer het, is min bekend, behalwe [*sic*] dat sy Hollands goed kon praat en die name van al die goewerneurs [*sic*] geken het”.

⁵⁴ *Beschrijvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop*, 1726, (Van Riebeeck Society Part II second series, no. 4, Cape Town 1973) pp. 72-73.

⁵⁵ *Beschrijvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop*, 1726, pp. 70-75.

⁵⁶ Born Deventer (1647), doctor and botanist who writes 1st European account of acupuncture *De Acupunctura* & 1st detailed study of tea; appointed physician for VOC in Java (1673); becomes a member of the Council of Justice; also writes a book *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots* describing the Khoikhoi during early Dutch settlement at the Cape; dies Batavia (1 June 1700).

⁵⁷ I. Schapera & B. Farrington, *The early Cape Hottentots*, pp. 124-127.

⁵⁸ Mansell G. Upham, 'Beat the Dogs to death! Beat the Dogs to death!: Making a *moordkuil* of our hearts – the Moordkuil Massacre and its Manifestations', (unpublished paper delivered to the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape Branch) 19 March 1996).

⁵⁹ I. Schapera & B. Farrington, pp. 124-127. But see Hans den Besten, 'The manuscript underlying Ten Rhyne's *Scediasma de promontorio Boane Spei*: a comparison of two versions', *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, vol. 61, no. 4 (October-December 2007), pp. 33-45.

⁶⁰ Ten Besten notes that the adjective *Hottentonicus* (instead of *Hottentotticus*) derives from 17th century Dutch *Hottento*, the older (and original) form of *Hottentot* adding further that the etymology of *Hottento(t)* - despite claims to the contrary - is not a 17th century invective reapplied to the Khoekhoen.

⁶¹ *De Qua sup: quam amicus chirurgus dissecuerat*. Concerning whom [ie Sarah] see above. She was the one my friend the surgeon dissected.

⁶² Cape Archives (CA): C 2397 (18.12.1671).

⁶³ I. Schapera & B. Farrington, pp. 114-115.

⁶⁴ Ten Rhyne quoted in I. Schapera & B. Farrington, p. 115.

⁶⁵ J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape* (Cape Archives Year Book 1946), p. 37 & R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, vol. I, pp. 114-139. Is he the same person as **Johannes Schreyer (1655-1694)** - see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Schreyer?

⁶⁶ Mansell Upham, 'Consecrations to God: The *nasty, brutish and short life* of Susanna van Bengale - otherwise known as 'One Ear' - the Cape of Good Hope's 2nd recorded female convict', *Capensis*, no. 3 (2001).

⁶⁷ Mansell G. Upham, 'In Memoriam: FLORIDA, *Capensis*, no. 2 (2001), p. 13.

⁶⁸ CA: C 2397 (18 December 1671), pp. 133 or 20 or 193.

⁶⁹ He fails, however, to mention the fact that it was in *Maaij* Ansel's sheep pen that the corpse had been found hanging.

⁷⁰ **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam); marries **Margaretha Frans: Meeckhoff** (from Steenwijk [Overijssel]), widow of **Heinrich Heeinrichsen** (from Sürwürden [Oldenburg]); burgher ensign, free-burgher & privileged trader at Saldanha Bay.

⁷¹ The word *verkeert* is used which is closer to involvement, or having dealings or intercourse with. The word is telling ...

⁷² ... *onse, ofte andere Duytse natien* ... [Note: *Duytse* is used here in the ethnic sense: *Germanic*].

⁷³ Trial of the Corpse of the Suicide SARA (1648-1671) transcribed by Mansell Upham [Cape Archives (CA): Council of Justice (CJ), vol. 1 (1668-1673)].

⁷⁴ Replacing minister (**Johannes**) **Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel) - husband of **Maria Prignon** - who dies at Cape (15 February 1667), **Adrianus de Voocht / de Voogd / Vooght (1636-1674)** arrives (10 May 1667) on *De Handelaer* with sister **Catharina de Vooght** who becomes wife to **Heinrich / Hendrik Crudop** (from Bremen); they are children of **Pieter de Voocht & Aeltje de Voocht** & siblings to **Joannes de Vooght & Catharina de Vooght**; he marries (27 November 1666) **Anna van der Meer / Meranus** (from Valkoogh / Wieringen) by whom 1 son: **Pieter de Vooght**; wife is daughter of *predicant* **Arnoldus van der Meer & Aagje Jacobsz: van der Helm** & sister to **Magdalena van der Meer**; he & wife leave for Batavia (February 1674); widow returns to Cape & remarries (17 May 1676) **Johannes Ravenbergh** (from Haarlem); obtains following slaves: (1) **Catharina van Guinea** aka **Licinne / Ticonne alias Regina van Rapenberg** [no purchase record - possibly from Wachtendorp's estate or his widow - likely already mother to at least other *halfslag* children, notably **Jannetje [Hendricks: Bord / Bort]** (baptised 1663), **Anthonij** (baptised 1665) & **Susan** (baptized 2 October 1667), baptizing (20 October 1669) *halfslag* daughter **Catharina (Catharijn Opklīm)** - [?] sells her & *heelslag* daughter - **Marth(h)a / Martina Manuels: / Emanuel(sz):** (born c. 1671) - [no record] to **Hester Jans: / Weyers: Klim** (from Lier), Widow **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert** (from Utrecht); has one



more *heelslag* daughter **Magdalena** (born c. 1674); (2) **Florinda van Jaffnapatnam (born c. 1641)** [probably obtained from **Anna Romswinckel (Widow Clinckenberg)** after being confiscated / arrested following Clinckenberg's death (poisoning?) in suspicious circumstances] [later sells (26 February 1672) - aged 30- to **Nathanial Goethardt**, junior merchant on *Hollantsen Thuyn* for Rds 70]; (3) **Abraham (Abram) [Serry?] van Guinea** [seconded as Company slave (17 April 1669) previously belonging to **Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp** (from Maasbommel), his widow **Maria Prignon** (1668) & Commander **Jacob Borghorst** (1669)] - special provision (27 January 1671) made for manumission of five-and-a-half year old *heelslag* slave girl **Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep (born c. 1664)** daughter of private slave woman **Catharina [van Batavia / Bengale?]** belonging to **Elbert Dircksz: Diemer** - Abraham's biological paternity is uncontested - **Sijbilla** to serve 10 years as free-person in return for food & clothes; (4) **Thomas van Bengale / van de Cust** (25) sold (30 September 1671) to **Gillis van Breen** on behalf of **De Vooght** from **Cornelis Zwart** (from Amsterdam) on *Burgh van Leiden* [later sells (16 January 1672) to brother-in-law, **Hendrik Crudop** for Rds 70]; (5) **Jacob van de Coromandel / van de Cust van Malabar** [buys (29 March 1672) from **J. Hendrik Willingh**, merchant on *Sparendam* for Rds 60 - later sells (15 February 1674) to brother-in-law **Hendrik Crudop** for f 200]; (6) **Cupido van Bengale** [purchases (29 March 1672) - aged 10 - from **Lambert van der Heijden** for Rds. 45 - later sells (15 Februaruy 1674) - aged 16 [sic] to unmarried successor, **Rudolph van Meerlandt** (from IJsselsteyn) for Rds 50]; (7) **Claes from the Coast opposite Ceylon** [buys (4 April 1672) - aged 24/24 - from Admiral **Joan Barra** for Rds 45].

⁷⁵ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. III, p. 188.

⁷⁶ (**Johann**) **Conrad / Coenraad von Breitenbach / Breytenbach** (from Palatinate); Prussian aristocrat; captain & head of the garrison (1673-1674); married to **Anna Maria Roersché**; signed treaty of 19 April 1672.

⁷⁷ Resolution (1 December 1671).

⁷⁸ **Albert van Breugel** acting commander at Cape (23 March 1672-2 October 1672) succeeding **Magister Daniel Froymanteau** (from Leiden) who dies Cape (12 April 1672); arrives (23 March 1672) from Ceylon on *Macassar* with wife **Johanna Leenders**: & daughter **Elisabeth van Breugel**; *secunde* with rank of upper-merchant (1672-1676) disgraced for deficit caused during his administration; departs from Batavia (4 June 1676).

⁷⁹ *Journal* (16 January 1671, 8 July 1671, 10 August 1671 & 16 August 1671).

⁸⁰ *Journal* (7 September 1671, 16 September 1671, 12 October 1671, 30 October 1671, 21 November 1671 & 28 November 1671).

⁸¹ Robert Ross (*African Perspectives* 5 (1982) 7-37 [see also 'The Changing Legal Position of the Khoisan in the Cape Colony, 1652-1795', Chapter 8 of *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, 1994]).

⁸² H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis: Journal 1671-1674 & 1676*, p. 51.

⁸³ **A(e)rnou(d)t van Overbe(e)ke / Overbee(c)k (1632-1674)** born The Hague (15 December 1632); studies law at Leiden; advocate in Amsterdam & The Hague (since 1659); en route to Batavia as advocate-fiscal sails on *Zuyd Polsbroek* stopping at Cape (July 1668); VOC Honourable Councillor of Justice in Batavia (1668-1672); returns to Netherlands as admiral of Return Fleet ex Batavia; appointed commissioner to inspect Cape administration; sails on *Tidoor* arriving at Cape (25 March 1672) & departing (23 April 1672); instigates 1st treaty formalizing 'purchase' of Cape of Good Hope from Cape indigenes (treaty signed 19 April 1672); writer & poet in style of Tegnagel & Focquenbroch: *Anecdota sive historiae jocosae* (1672-1674) & travel journal *Geestige en vermaecklycke reijs beschrijving naar Oost-Indiën* (1668) & poetry anthology *Geestige wercken* (1678); back in The Hague member of Rederikerskamer dies Amsterdam (16 July 1674).

⁸⁴ CA: CJ 282, pp. 37-63 & Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and founding of White South Africa*, p. 184.

⁸⁵ *IN HET STAMBOECK VAN DEN HEER AELBRECHT VAN BREUGEL; COMMANDERENDE AEN CABO DE BOA ESPERANZA: Daer hy (een dagh voor my gekomen) alles in 't Wilt vondt; waar over sich dickwils aen my beklaegde: den 23 April, Anno 1672.*

⁸⁶ Afrikaans and English translations by Mansell G. Upham (7 September 2004).

