Uprooted Lives
Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope’s Earliest Colonial Inhabitants (1652-1713)

Cape Mothers

Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta (c. 1631-1683), her slave Maria van Bengale & her de Savoye daughter-in-law Marguerite-Thérèse (1673-1742)

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Uprooted Lives is an occasional series published by Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years
http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui45.htm
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Uprooted Lives

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

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

Tak for altid væsen ...
Preface

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

William Shakespeare, Timon of Athens

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

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

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

the Goringhiacona:
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 (1955-2002) & 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. Böseken (1906-1997)** for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and

- **Delia Robertson** for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

**Mansell George Upham**

Tokyo, Japan

October 2012
Guide to the Text

General Historical Background

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

The VOC’s main priority at the Cape of Good Hope was to provide support to all of its ships that plied between the Netherlands (Patria) and the East Indies. This entailed the running of an efficient hospital, burying the dead and the ready supply of food and drink to the survivors. The colonial encroachment (occupatio) on aboriginal Khoe/San (‘Hottentot’/‘Bushmen’) lands resulted in the signing of 'treaties' ex post facto in attempts to 'legitimize' Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their 'freedom' to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, buiten comptoir1, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (het uijterste hoeck van Africa). Significantly, the Cape of Good Hope was the only Dutch colony where the Dutch language, albeit creolized and indigenized, effectively took root and evolved into a formalized and institutionalized language - Afrikaans.

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

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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 its 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*.
Cape Mothers

Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta (c. 1631-1683), her slave Maria van Bengale & her daughter-in-law Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye (1673-1742)

MANSELL G. UPHAM
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Mansell Upham (2009) at Rijswijck the site where Groote Catrijn downed her lover in 1656
PROLOGUE

Christoffel Snijman van de Caep (1668-1705)

His curious origins & ambiguous position in early Cape Colonial Society.

The SNYMAN family in South Africa is one of the oldest and largest colonially induced Southern African families of European origin also having Asian slave origins. The family dates back to the early years of the Cape of Good Hope’s 143-year colonial occupation by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The names SNIJMAN and SNYMAN are interchangeable. The former is an older Dutch spelling, while the
latter conforms to modern Afrikaans spelling conventions. The family’s ramification is evident by the surname’s ongoing omnipresence in the male line. Owing to the custom of relinquishing maiden names at marriage, the extent of the family’s permeation into South African society in the female line is as pervasive, albeit less visible.

Notwithstanding even a diaspora of the family throughout Southern Africa and nowadays globally, the many descendants (in both female and male lines) still amount to a major cross-section of South Africa’s current colonially derived and genetically linked ‘eur-afric-asian’ minority population. An exceptionally high degree of consanguinity amongst this group brings into question the deceptive categories of ‘Afrikaners’ and ‘English-speaking [white] South Africans’, and ‘[Cape] Coloureds’ (not excluding ‘Cape Malays’). Being the amalgam of interlarding VOC officials, free-burgher2, religious refugees, political exiles, *mardijckers*3, free-blacks4, Chinese5, slaves, convicts and detribalized Cape aborigines – these people amount to a limited gene pool that has been insufficiently appreciated or acknowledged by geneticists, genealogists, historians and even politicians.

The family’s ascribed founding father (*stamvader*) has been a conundrum for some time. He has been of particular, but limited, ethnocentric interest to genealogists and other researchers. The incorrect assumption persists that he is one of the very few recorded early Cape colonial inhabitants of non-white paternity (paternity in the biological sense) to sire a prominent white-looking ‘Afrikaner’ family and also to ‘colour’ the initial ‘whiter-shade-of-pale’ Huguenot (French-speaking refugees)6, community at the Cape.

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2 These are originally Company officials (usually European) granted freedom papers and allowed to settle permanently in the colony independent of the Company. The term later includes their offspring and also manumitted slaves known as free-blacks.

3 *Mardijckers* originates as mercenaries imported by the Dutch to Ambon (and later Batavia) from other parts of Asia. These are products of the earlier Portuguese Asian empire. Mostly *mestizo*, these Eurasians are predominantly Christian and Portuguese-speaking. The term later becomes more fluid and original *mardijckers* soon become indistinguishable from the rest of the free-black and mixed race free-Asian or non-enslaved local population. For discussions on the concept see J. L. Hattingh, *Mens = maar van ‘n ander kleur: Vrygestelde Slawe in Nederlandse Kolonies elders as die Kaap die Goeie Hoop 1600-1800*; Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1838*; Robert Shell: ‘The March of the Mardijckers: The toleration of Islam at the Cape, 1633-1861’, *Kronos: Journal of Cape History Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, Bellville*, no. 22 November 1995, pp. 3-20; Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*; Jean Geldman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*.

4 Free-blacks are imported slaves from Asia with some even brought in elsewhere from Africa, who are manumitted in the colony and allowed to become free-citizens locally. Relocation to other parts of the Dutch Indies is permissible.

5 The term is generic and also includes members from the various *nihonmachí* (Japanese communities: *nihon* = Japan & *machí* = town) in south-east Asia.

6 With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by French king Louis XIV (1685), Protestants are outlawed in France. Many seek refuge in the United Netherlands. The Dutch re-settle (1688) some of these refugees at the Cape. These have been fairly comprehensively documented and written about: see *eg* Colin Graham
Initially it was generally but erroneously accepted that the progenitor (stamvader) is one Christoffel Snijman and that he is either born in Europe or of European parentage. Even a spurious coat of arms exists (since 1945) for the family.\(^7\)

Since Christoffel Snijman is a member of a community at the Cape that is predominantly Huguenot even possible (more desirable?) French origins were entertained. Etymologically, the name Snijman is a Dutch name: snij = cut and man = man. The name reflects the occupation of tailor and even that of executioner.\(^8\) Some people even infer an unlikely corruption of a presumed Huguenot family name. A French connection is assumed due to the variations of the name, viz. C’nayman\(^9\), Senaymant\(^10\), Senaimant\(^11\), Senaima\(^12\) and Sçirinaan\(^13\) found recorded (in French) in the church register at Drakenstein. Paul Roux (from the Principality of Orange) is responsible for these phonetic (Gallicized) corruptions when writing up Le livre de registre des enfans qu’on a’ baptize dans nôtre eglise françoise de Drakestein du depuis le 29 a’ oust lannée 1694. These variations are merely attempts to record the Dutch name Snijman found in the baptismal registers of the Dutch Reformed Church at Paarl in the Western Cape. This is where Christoffel Snijman worships together with his Europe-born wife, Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye (1672-1742), popularly known as Margo, who is born in Ghent, Flanders in the Spanish Netherlands (present-day Belgium).

Later, documents emerge wherein Christoffel Snijman signs receipts as universal heir to the deceased estate of “my father” (mijn vader) Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale. The latter is both a prominent free-black and free-burgher resident at the Cape originating from Bengal – West Bengal, India and East Bengal / Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) – or even further afield. He dies intestate at the Cape (c. December 1682). It was consequently, but erroneously, accepted that Christoffel Snijman is the biological son of the afore-mentioned Anthonij.\(^14\) By implication, it is presumed that the lawful

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9 Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Augustus 1694 eindegende met 5 March 1713, no. 1 (15 December 1697).

10 Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Augustus 1694 eindegende met 5 March 1713, no. 1 (22 July 1695).

11 Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Augustus 1694 eindegende met 5 March 1713, no. 1 (25 October 1699).


13 Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Augustus 1694 eindegende met 5 March 1713, no. 1 (1 August 1697). Colin Graham Botha, The French Refugees at the Cape, p. 103 incorrectly transcribes the names as Sçniman.

14 J.G. le Roux includes this new information in his Hugenotebloed in ons are, p. 95 as follows: “Christoffel Snyman was die seun van ’n vryburger genaamd Antonie van wie slegs bekend is dat hy van Bengale na die Kaap gekom het en in 1683 oorlede is.”
The numerous examples cited in the aforementioned article by Snijman: his curious origins and ambiguous position in early Cape colonial society (1997, pp. 29-36) clarify many aspects of South African society. The development and interaction of various social groups, such as black men marrying Cape-born women, is an intriguing subject of study. In a study by Shell – *Children of Bondage* (1986), p. 318 – the writer noted that examples of a Europe-born woman marrying legally a non-hybrid black man, however, can be found by the writer in the records consulted.

Subsequently, the actual parentage of Christoffel Snijman (1668-1705) has been clarified. He is certainly born and baptized as a halfslag infant at the Cape of Good Hope. Being recorded *Christoffel Snijman van de Caep* (‘from the Cape’ or ‘of the Cape’, thus Cape-born) further confirms his origins. He is recorded in the list of communciants of the Reformed Church at Stellenbosch:


Conceived and born inside the *Cat* – the residence of the commander within the Fort *de Goede Hoop* – his mother is washerwoman there to the households of successive VOC commanders. He is indeed the son of the in/famous *Catrina van Paliacata* – but by a white (Europe-born) father in terms of an illegitimate liaison. His ascribed biological

wife of **Anthonij, Catharina van Paliacatta (c. 1631-1683)** is the mother of Christoffel Snijman.\(^{15}\)

Thereafter, Christoffel Snijman takes on a new complexion. He is now the son of liberated ‘black’ parents. His name supposedly derives from his trade.\(^{16}\) His marriage to the daughter of a prominent Huguenot places him in an exceptionally rare category: one of the very few recorded ‘black’ (as opposed to ‘coloured’ or mixed race) men at the Cape to enter into a legal union with a white woman, let alone a Europe-born woman. A number of documented cases exist for black men marrying Cape-born women of exclusively or predominantly European origin.\(^{17}\) The numerous examples cited invalidate Shell’s statement that “...the welcome practice of quantifying primary records has caught now hold in South Africa, and thanks to the careful genealogical work of the Historical Institute at the University of the Western Cape, we know that only two [sic] liaisons between a “full-breed” (heelslag) or mulatto [sic] (halfslag) male slave (or ex-slave) and a settler woman ever resulted in marriage”.\(^{18}\) No example of a Europe-born woman marrying legally a non-hybrid black man, however, can be found by the writer in the records consulted.

\[^{15}\] J. Hoge states the following in his *Bydraes: “Christoffel Snynman: Volgens MOOC 14/212 anno 1683 is hy seun en “universele erfgenaam” van die vryburgher Anthony van Bengale wat in 1683 oorlede is. Laasgenoemde is miskien identies met Anthony van Bengale wat met sy vrou Catharina van Bengale in 1676 onder die ledemate van die Kaapse Kerkgemeente en in 1682 met een kind onder die vryburghers vermeld is. Die vrou word ook Catharina van Palicatte genoem."

\[^{16}\] Andries de Villiers, for example, persists with the singular view that the surname *Snyman*, like that of *Louw*, are both [sic] of local origin. See his article ‘Genealogical Facts and Fallacies’ *Familia*, vol. XXIII no. 1 (1986), p. 4.


\[^{18}\] R. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 318. The 2 examples that he cites are Marguerite de Savoye who married Christoffel Snynman and Maria Roos who married David Hoon.

\[^{19}\] Mansell G. Upham, *‘In hevigen woede ... Part I Grote Catrijn: Earliest recorded female bandiet at the Cape of Good Hope – A study in upward mobility’* *Capensis* (Quarterly Journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape Branch), no. 3 of 1997, pp. 8-33 & *‘In hevigen woede ... Part II Christoffel Snijman: his curious origins and ambiguous position in early Cape colonial society’, Capensis*, no. 4 of 1997, pp. 29-36.
father is the banished soldier **Hans Christoffel Snijder alias Snijman [Hans Christoff Schneider]**, from Heidelberg in the Palatinate, Germany. The child even comes to bear his assumed biological father’s family name. The name *Snijman* is the Dutch for *Snijder* being akin to the German name *Schneider*.

His mother – popularly known as *Groote Catrijn* (literally ‘Big Catherine’ or ‘Catherine the Elder’) – is a convict (bandiet). Condemned to death in Batavia [Jakarta on Java in Indonesia] for killing her co-slave lover *Claes van Malabar*, her death sentence is modified to banishment for life to the Cape as a VOC slave. She has the unique distinction of being the Cape’s first recorded female convict and first ever Company slave to be freed at the Cape. Adept at survival, she becomes an indispensable part of successive commanders’ households as washerwoman. Anna J. Böseken, in *Slave and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* (pp. 20-21), incorrectly states that the records do not give any details about her criminal past. Böseken also does not make the connection in her publication that the banished *Catharina van Paliacatta*, the wife of *Anthony van Bengale* (p. 93), the 3 women named *Catharina* or *Catrijn van Bengale* (pp. 30, 32 & 87) or the woman she describes as *Groote Catrijn* (pp. 80 & 95) are all one and the same person. Later again pardoned and freed, it is in terms of the legal union between *Groote Catrijn* and the liberated private slave *Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale* (1671) that her pre-wedlock son (voorzoon) *Christoffel Snijman*, now also freed, is legitimiz ed as her husband’s adoptive son (step-son).

Her son’s hypergamous marriage (1689) to *Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye*, however, continues to intrigue but is perhaps not too surprising following the influential marriages of his 2 older half-sisters to Company officials – bearing in mind, too, that both his mother and step-father are ‘products’ of (and sustained by) the households of successive Cape commanders / governors. His own wife is the daughter of the influential, controversial and tempestuous Huguenot refugee, *Jacques de Savoye* (1636-1717) (from Ath in Hainault [Hanaut / Hanegouwe] in the Spanish Netherlands [now Belgium]). Curiously, *Christoffel Snijman* remains the only example at the Cape, of a slave-born mesties or halfslag (mestizo or ‘half-caste’) man, whether Cape-born or born elsewhere, who enters into a legal union with a Europe-born woman. His wife, in turn, is the only known example at the Cape, of a Huguenot daughter’s legal mésalliance with a mesties ex-slave. After his death, she remarries *Henning Viljoen* (1682-1712) who is Cape-born of a Netherlandised French father and Dutch mother.

Being the son of a slave woman belonging to the Company, *Christoffel Snijman* is automatically born into slavery. His mother is denied the right to be legally married; a right reserved for free persons. *Snijman* is thus, for all intents and purposes, born illegitimate. Acknowledged as the son of a European and Christian man, he is what the Dutch term halfslag or mesties. Because his mother is Asian (if not perhaps already Eurasian), and not African, he is labelled mestizzo, as opposed to being termed a mulatto. That these distinctions are in use and taken seriously, can be seen from the carefully worded petition addressed to the VOC’s ruling body in the Netherlands, the *Heeren XVII*, by disgruntled free-burghers when complaining about various categories of the ‘blood of Ham’ (*…de Caffers, Moulattos, Mestiços, Castiços en al dat swart gebroeijdsl*
onder ons wonende). The VOC makes special legal provision at the Cape for halfslag children belonging to the Company born in slavery. On obtaining legal majority (22 years for females and 25 years for males), these children can claim their freedom. There are a few hitches, however. Proving white paternity is not easy if the father is unknown, or does not come forward and publicly acknowledge his biological offshoot. A slave mother who announces (or denounces) the biological father of her child would likely be met with suspicion. Even naming the child after a putative white father is no proof of biological paternity. What does help is either a somatic advantage – a whiter appearance or obvious white looks or some incident that establishes and even verifies the child’s ascribed fatherhood.

The granting of freedom, however, is never unconditional. ‘Half-breeds’ are ‘assured’ their freedom on attaining legal majority but certain conditions have to be met: they have to be baptized, sufficiently conversant in the Dutch language, schooled in the Christian (Reformed Protestant) faith and costs for their education and the Company’s loss of future services has to be recouped. Once freed, these people of colour are never entirely free from the stigmas of illegitimacy and bondage.

Christoffel Snijman’s mother Groote Catrijn is a remarkable and resilient woman. If Snijman does not look obviously half-white, then his mother’s (sufficiently documented) compelling life story, strategic situation within the households of successive Cape commanders and 5 specific incidents in particular, all confirm that at least 2 European men father at least 2 of her children. The 5 incidents in question are:

1. a testamentary legacy (1664) whereby the dying head of the garrison provides for the maintenance of Groote Catrijn’s unborn child;
2. the trial (and banishment to Robben Island) of a disobedient soldier named Snijman who prefers to sleep with Groote Catrijn rather than be the commander’s sentinel.
3. Christoffel Snijman’s baptism (1669);
4. Christoffel Snijman’s subsequent membership of the Church where he is on record as being Cape-born; and
5. Christoffel Snijman becoming sole universal heir to the testate deceased estate of his step-father, Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale who legally marries his mother, Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta.

Groote Catrijn’s phenomenal pardon (1671) by Batavia-based Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker coincides with the termination of her life-long banishment as Company slave, manumission and permission for her to marry lawfully a free-black man. Her son is prematurely freed from slavery at the age of 2 years. Effectively, he is exempted from the usual legal requirement that half-caste male slaves belonging to the Company are to be freed on obtaining legal majority at the age of 25 years.

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21 There is only one recorded baptism for a Cape-born infant named Christoffel during the early stages of the colony at the Cape of Good Hope and there is sufficient corroborative evidence in existence linking this baptism to the halfslag Christoffel Snijman and his mother Groote Catrijn.
PART 1

Groote Catrijn (c. 1631-1683)

Pulicat Pariah

“This is what it means to be a slave: to be abused and bear it, compelled by violence to suffer wrong”...

EURIPIDES, Hecuba (c. 425 BC), tr. William Arrowsmith

The Indian sub-continent

Christoffel Snijman’s mother Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta is born in India into an indigenous slave-practising society (sometime from 1631 onwards). As indicated by her provenance or toponym ‘van Paliacatta’ – the name is recorded variously throughout the records as: Paleacatta, Paleacatte, Paliacatta, Paliacatte, Palicatte, Palleacatta, Palliacatte and Palliecatte – she comes from the place Pazhaverkadu or Pulicat (called Paliacatta by the Dutch) – a place north of the city of Madras [Chennai] situated in the Thiruvallur District in Tamil Nadu. Pulicat is an important VOC trading post on the Indian sub-continent’s Coromandel Coast washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal. Situated in the traditional province of Dravida, the town borders Lake Pulicat which shores are shared by the two present-day states of predominantly Telegu-speaking Andra Pradesh and the Tamil-speaking Tamil Nadu. Both states are chiefly Hindu. Native to this traditionally Hindu Dravidian region are
tribal peoples, the indigenous caste system, polyandry, matriarchy and untouchability. The current Indian constitution – Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950 – lists 1,108 castes across 25 states in its First Schedule, while the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 lists 744 tribes across 22 states in its First Schedule. There are 36 Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu alone in accordance with The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976.

At the time of Groote Catrijn’s birth the port of Pulicat is in Dutch hands for at least 22 years. Occupied in terms of concessions made by local rulers, the Dutch man a fort Het Casteel Geldria there (1609-1795). Initially, this is the main fortified trading post of the VOC on the Coromandel Coast, and also for Bengal, before being replaced by Negapatnam (in the 1680s). Thereafter the factory falls into the hands of the British. Up to the 1680s Pulicat is the VOC’s headquarters and main military force on the Coromandel Coast and initially the principal European factory in south-east Asia.22 During the 186-year Dutch rule, the settlement (together with the numerous other Portuguese, British, Danish and French trading posts in India and Ceylon) help to deliver from the Indian sub-continent its spices, cotton and human chattels.

22 Jonathan I. Israel, Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740, pp. 103 & 331.
Johan Nieuhof (1618-1672) (from Uelsen), who visits Pulicat (1662), gives us a contemporary description of this fortified, cosmopolitan VOC trading base and its diverse inhabitants:

"The Dutch East-India company has a strong fort here, with four bastions of stone work, call’d 
Geldria, of which they have been possess’d ever since the year 1619. Without the castle is a 
plantation or town, which to the land-side is defended by an earthen wall, which is but 
indifferently kept, but the houses within are very close and well built. It is inhabited partly by 
Hollanders, partly by Jentives [From the Portuguese gentiam. The peculiar Cape term of abuse for 
a prostitute: jintoe / jintoo / jentoe / gentoo, most likely has a similar derivation] or pagan 
natives; the last of which live for the most part upon trade with painted and white callicoes and 
linen. The rice which grows in this country in great plenty, is as well as all other sort of grains 
brought weekly to the market here. The fort is on one side wash’d by a river, which swells very 
high in the rainy season, when the merchandizes may be unloaden here by the help of lighters. 
But in the summer season the river being quite dry’d up, the goods are forc’d to be carried ashore 
on their backs. This river abounds in fish in the winter-time, most of which die in the summer, 
which makes the inhabitants catch them before that time, and dry them in the sun, and so 
transport them to other places. The north Monzon begins here in October, and holds all the 
November and December, with such violence, that the ships can scarce ride in the road. In January 
the Monzon changes, and the fair season returns...As to the city of 
Paliakatte, its inhabitants are 
for the most part Mestices and Kastices; Mestices are such whose parents were married with 
foreigners; as for instance, when an Hollander marries an Indian woman, or an Indian man a 
Dutch woman; but the children of the Mestices are called Kastices. Thus many of the natives, 
especially of the Thioles have married Dutch women, as on the other hand, several Hollanders are 
moved to women of the Thioles, from whence is come a numerous off-spring of Mestices and 
Kastices. Many Bramans, Banyans and Panekayers, or Thomists and Jews live here, of great traffic; 
for every month comes hither the Kaffila or caravan of Agra. The Banyans and Jews are the 
chieftest of all the traders here, this city being a place Golconda, Suratte and Cambaia by land; both 
Christians and Mahometans bring to this place their merchandizes from the Red-Sea, the Persian 
Gulph, from Suratte, Goa, Malabar, Sumatra and Malacca. There is great plenty of fish at 
Paliakatte, and a neighbouring country furnishes them with all sorts of provisions".

Given the cosmopolitan nature of Pulicat and centuries of transcontinental human contact, we cannot be certain about Groote Catrijn’s racial and cultural make-up. She is nevertheless once recorded as being “born” at Pulicat and once as being “Muslim” (Moor). This latter term may merely be ascribed culturally and need not mean that Groote Catrijn is a practising Muslim.\(^{24}\) Worth noting is the evidence of 2 Muslim priests (1824) on marriage & education before the Secretary John Gregory:

> “It is generally supposed that the priests make proselytes of the slaves of Christian masters? – Many slaves of Christian masters are called Mahometans who are really not so, and the distinction is not adverted to. There are people who are guilty of stealing and of other crimes, who call themselves and are considered Mahometans, who are either rejected by the priests or have never been admitted in the mosques. It is customary with these people to wear the Mahometan handkerchief; but they are no more Mahometans than are men who wear hats as Christians”.

Islam is a non-indigenous proselytising religion imported into India. We do not know whether Groote Catrijn adopts or is born into that faith.

\(^{24}\) Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of Native Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 208.
**Groote Catrijn’s** recorded place of origin varies throughout the records consulted: either from where she last arrives or with whom or which place she is last associated. She is recorded variously as hailing from Pulicat, Bengal, Malabar (Kerala) and Batavia. The persistence of a Bengal provenance begs the question: does she or her mother originate from that place? Her ascribed Muslim faith strengthens this contention and possibly explains her being a slave in the Hindu-dominated settlement at Pulicat. The Dutch, averse to enslaving local indigenous populations for reasons of security, generally import slaves into their trading posts from places further afield. In the case of Pulicat, the Dutch presence is actually a treaty-defined trading concession by local rulers. This necessitates either importing slaves from elsewhere or purchasing slaves from the local rulers either traditionally enslaved or also imported from further afield. Slaves are possibly obtained from Golconda and Hyderabad – both inland Muslim-ruled enclaves.

Especially relevant to **Groote Catrijn’s** situation is a second short-lived boom in the export of Coromandel slaves which occurs during a famine following the revolt of the Nayaka Hindu rulers of South India (Tanjavur, Senji & Madurai) against Vijayanagara overlordship (1645) and the devastation of the Tanjavur countryside by the Bijapur army. Indigenous informants recount more than 150,000 people being taken by the invading Deccani Muslim armies to Bijapur and Golconda so that 2,118 slaves are exported to Batavia (1646) – the overwhelming majority from southern Coromandel. Some slaves are also acquired further south at Tondi, Adirampatnam and Kayalpatnam.

By 1718 the Dutch have long since established 6 trading settlements in Mughal-occupied Bengal: Balasore (Bellesoor), Falta (Ballouwa or Volta), Baranagar (Bernagoor), Hoogli / Hug(h)li (Houghlij), Kazimba (Cossema Besaar) and Patna (Patana). There are also trading posts or factories manned by the English, Danes and French. **Johan Daniel Buttner** singles out the factory at Baranagar for its carnal pleasures:

> “The Dutch Company has a pleasure-garden, although it is now in a desolate state. This is a place where dwell none but whores, of all sorts of peoples, such as Portuguese, Jentiven [Hindus] etc, and here prostitution is no disgrace, nor reckoned as any sin. Anyone who desires a whore can rent such a female and use her as long as he will; everywhere he goes he can take her with him, and when he will have her no longer nor desires her, he lets her go off again, and pays her so much as he thinks fit. This is called here ‘keeping a female’”.

**Buttner’s** early 18th century description of the local Hindu population (Jentives) is worth quoting:

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The Jentiven, inhabitants of the lands of Bengal, have been here since antiquity, but are not under the rule of the Great Mogul. They offer their services to the Europeans who arrive by ship, to serve them as attendants or servants, since the custom here is that anyone may take a servant to serve him so long as he remains here, for which he pays him nothing except that he has the ‘Costumada’, that is to say when he buys anything [for his master] he receives from the merchant one rupee for each 100 rupees, and this is his pay. In addition, he gets Costumada from everything, although one must beware of such, since they are very deceitful ... The inhabitants of the country are called Jentiven, although all the country is occupied and inhabited by the Moors. The Jentiven dress like the Moors or Turks, all in white linen, with a turban on the head. They live very frugally and eat little. They may not kill nor eat any living animal, but nourish themselves with milk, butter, roots, rice etc. They are very deceitful, and everyone must have a care of them lest he be deceived, and special care of the merchants, who are called Benjanen [Banians], who are very sly and clever in trading. As regards language, they speak a distinct tongue which is not the same as Arabic, and this is called here the Bengal language, although Arabic is also in use and both are spoken ...When the rich die they are burned. The wife also lets herself be burned with him, and leaps into the fire to the sound of many instruments. If she will not do this, her hair is cut off and she is chased away. Such a woman may not marry again, but must live by prostitution, and this they call ‘Pousseraun’, chasing away. Dead poor are usually thrown into the water. They take old men who can no longer walk or work to the bank, set a funnel in their gullet or neck and pour into the throat a mixture of sand and water so that they suffocate, and are then thrown into the water”.

The origins of slavery in Bengal are steeped in antiquity. The resistance to incorporation into – or exclusion from – Hindu or Muslim communities and the ancient indigenous caste-system facilitate the purchase and transport of slaves from the Indian sub-continent by the various European East Indian Companies. Groote Catrijn is even likely to be a tribal autochthon or an untouchable or pariah – a victim of this caste system. The caste system in India is an ancient one. It is considered a divine institution consisting of kshatriyas (warriors), brahmans (priests), vaisyas (peasants), sudras (subjugated peoples and those of mixed blood), and pariahs (those without caste). Pariah-status, together with debt-bondage and prisoner-of-war captives are all plausible grounds for the enslavement and easy forced removal from the Indian sub-continent of unfortunate individuals such as Groote Catrijn. She or her mother may not initially even have been Muslim or even Hindu. There exist to this day so-called tribal and mountain peoples (aborigines) on the fringes of Muslim and Hindu society. Even people from places further afield such as Assam and Arakan in Burma (Myanmar), are also abducted, enslaved and removed to (or from) Bengal for sale to European buyers.28

Worth noting are the comments of Governor-General Joan Maetsujcker, a man who influences greatly the latter part of Groote Catrijn’s eventful life:

“The Portuguese language is an easy language to speak and easy to learn. That is the reason why we cannot prevent the slaves brought here from Arakan who have never heard a word of Portuguese (and indeed even our own children) from taking to that language in preference to all other languages and making it their own”.29

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29 C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800, p. 251.
**Groote Catrijn at Batavia – the trial**

Either a slave by birth, or later enslaved and alienated by her own or other people to the Dutch, we find her (1656) described as a “Moorish (Muslim) female slave” (*een Moorse slavinne*) in Batavia. When she is removed from Pulicat to Batavia is not known. There it is **Groote Catrijn**’s lot to belong to a local woman named **Maria Magdalena**. Her owner (patronesse) is described as a “free woman and lady in this city” (*vrije vrou ende juvrouw ten desen stede*). Her owner’s lack of surname indicates that she is a non-European woman, either local or freed elsewhere, and a member of the **mardijcker** community at Batavia. The word ‘mardijcker’ derives from the Bahasa (Malay) word *mardika* meaning ‘free’.

The **mardijkers** are a distinct colonial community that evolve out of the earlier Portuguese and later impact by other European nations on the Indies. They originate as mercenaries imported by the Dutch from other parts of Asia and brought to Batavia. These are already products of the earlier Portuguese Empire in Asia. Mostly mestizos, these Eurasians are predominantly Christian and Portuguese-speaking. The term **mardijcker** later becomes more fluid and the original **mardijckers** soon become indistinguishable from the rest of the free-black and mixed race free-Asian or non-enslaved local population. They are free-Asians and often even slaves imported from elsewhere later freed by the Dutch and allowed burgher status in any of the Dutch colonies.\(^{30}\) **Johan Nieuhof** in his *Travels to the East-Indies* (1662) gives us the following account of the **mardijcker** population in Batavia.

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\(^{30}\) For a more detailed account of these communities see Mansell George Upham, ‘Pai Timor – the ’accomodatory’ life and times of a 17th century family from Timor exiled to Java, Mauritius & the Cape of Good Hope’, *First Fifty Years Project* (Tokyo 2012) – [http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/PaiTimor.pdf](http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/PaiTimor.pdf).
"The Mardiikers or Topassers are a mixture of divers Indian nations, call’d Topassers, ie Accommodators, because they will accommodate themselves easily to the manners, customs and religion of such as they live among; tho’ some will have them derive their name from a precious stone call’d a Topaz. They live both within and without the city, the chiepest of which being merchants, who traffick in their own vessels with the adjacent isles, live in very stately houses. The rest live upon husbandry, grasing and gardening, and have some artisans amongst them; they have their own captains, who sit in the council of war, and school-masters who teach their children to read and to write. Their dress approaches near to the Dutch fashion, but their breeches reach down to their ankles, and wear a kind of cap on their heads. Their women are clad like other Indian women. Their houses are better built than those of the other Indians, generally of stone, and cover’d with tiles, stately built and arch’s. Before their houses they plant coco-trees, and all sorts of Indian fruit and flowers, but the backside they reserve for the keeping of pigs, pidgeons, fowl and other sorts of poultry, which they bring to sale in the market"
The events leading up to Groote Catrijn’s life-long banishment to the Cape of Good Hope are preserved in 2 detailed judicial documents from Batavia. These are copied from the sentence book (Sententiebouck) of the Batavian Council of Justice that accompanies Groote Catrijn on her voyage of exile to the Cape.\footnote{CA: CJ 281, no. 44, Case of Catharina van Paliacatte (16 November 1656), folios 5-7. Extracts from the Sentence Book (16 November 1656 & 18 November 1656) are extracted (25 November 1656).} Copies survive and are housed in the Cape Archives in Cape Town. These have proved exceedingly difficult – if not almost impossible for most – to read as the folios have handwriting on both sides with the ink showing through.\footnote{Historian Anna J. Böseken (1977), even though referring to these very sources in her Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, pp. 20-21, almost condemns Groote Catrijn to oblivion by stating the following: “During Van Riebeeck’s administration the Council of Justice did not often meet to consider cases involving slaves. In one instance, a woman called Catharina from Paliacatta is mentioned. As she had been sentenced in Batavia for a misdemeanour which is not [sic] specified in the documents, we are merely informed that she was condemned to death, but that her sentence was changed to lifelong banishment to the Cape. She was in fact the first female convict at the Cape, but in the documents she is described as a female slave”. Böseken again overlooks this important case in her later work Uit die Raad van Justisie 1652-1672 (1986) comprising 100 transcribed cases tried at the Cape before the Council of Justice. Her book provides, however, a comprehensive list of 463 cases together with essential summaries. For case no. 44, which, unlike the rest of the cases, was never tried at the Cape, she merely states the following: “44; 16.11.1656; Catharina van Paliacatte; vonnis en begeadiging; instede van doodstraf word sy lewenslank na die Kaap verban. CJ 281, pp. 5-7.”}
Batavia

Despite her unique distinction as first recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope and first slave to be freed there by the Company, Groote Catrijn has yet to be fully incorporated into the mainstream of historiographical writing on slavery in South Africa. Shell, for example, in his *Children of Bondage* (1994), makes no mention of this important slave figure. She is also not mentioned in the earlier works of Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (1983), and Victor de Kock, *Those in Bondage* (1963). Schoeman, *Early slavery at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1717* (2007) – barely mentions her despite being fully apprized of substantive published research (1997) about her.

More documentation recorded at the time of Groote Catrijn’s trial may survive either at archival institutions in the Netherlands or Indonesia. This includes documents such as attestations by witnesses, an autopsy of the murdered victim’s corpse and Groote Catrijn’s own confession – Roman-Dutch legal practice requires a confession by the accused. The following quote illustrates the legal position regarding the prerequisite of a personal confession before the death penalty can be applied:

“Sentence of Chinaman Oeydsoeko for committing godless sin of sodomy. The important portion of it is that though detected, the criminal had even under the severest torture refused to confess, and the sentence says, ‘that the mildness of our laws requires that no one shall be executed or condemned unless he personally confesses to the crime of which he is accused’. That the prisoner although tortured, would not confess, and that therefore he should be banished for life to the Cape or any other place selected for that purposes.”


Failing voluntary confession, torture is introduced to accelerate procedure.

From the extracts taken from the Batavian sentence book and despatched to the Cape, we know that Pulicat-born Catharina appears to be about 25 years old at the time of her conviction. This estimation is based on her physical appearance (na aensien omtrent 25 jaeren). Appearing before the Council of Justice at the Castle at Batavia on a charge of manslaughter Groote Catrijn, now a prisoner, relates the events leading up to her arraignment. This she does ‘of her own free will’, meaning that she ‘voluntarily’ confesses – with or without the aid of torture. For a year and a half, she and the late Claes van Malabar commit carnal intercourse (vleeschelijke conversatie) as husband and wife. Concubinage is outlawed in Batavia in terms of edicts (placaaten) dating back to 1620, 1622 and also the Statutes of India (the laws promulgated at Batavia) which hold sway (1642-1765). During his lifetime Claes is the slave of the Company’s stablemaster Sieur Hendrick Christoffel Loser. His relationship with Groote Catrijn, first compounded (sometime in mid-1654), terminates abruptly at about 2 o’clock in the afternoon of 8 October 1656.

Map of Batavia showing Rijswijk (centre)


36 One wonders whether he has any link to the biological father of the Cape-born private slave Maria Lozee.
On that eventful day Groote Catrijn arrives at the garden of Claes’s master and owner. This is situated at the Rijswijck Fortress outside of Batavia. She brings with her a pot of cooked chicken and pork. Claes had requested the food. Groote Catrijn is keen that he shares the meat with her. Her expedition is abortive. Groote Catrijn’s offerings Claes politely refuses. He has already eaten his midday meal. Groote Catrijn turns on him in anger. Hurling abuse, she grabs hold of Claes and calls him a ‘motherfucker’ (moerkneuker). This timeless universal expletive is deliberately muted in the court record. The scribe notes euphemistically that during her confrontation with Claes, Groote Catrijn also adds most uncivilly: “you kiss your mother” or “you know your mother carnally”.

moerkneuker

The abusive term moerneuker, or equivalent thereof, likely to be used, is inferred. The common use of moerneuker as a term of abuse at the Cape is confirmed by an incident during the slave rebellion (October 1808). The Bastaard Hottentot Arrie Abel is arrested and put on trial (6 November 1808) for inter alia calling his victim Hendrik Priem [Heinrich Prien] (from Schmalstede [Danish Holsten] – incidentally the author’s more recent ancestor and maternal great-great-great-great-grandfather) a moerneuker: “Ha jou moerneuker, ben jy hier – jy bent altyd zo een uithaalder geweest”. This translates as: “Ha! You Motherfucker! It’s you! You were always such a flasher.” Given the historical and geographic removal and evolution of Afrikaans from Dutch, we need to consider the shifts in meanings of certain basic words currently shared by both languages. In Dutch (and Afrikaans) moer is a contraction for moeder – moefdejr – moer (‘mother’). In Afrikaans, the word is now often offensive and used as a term of abuse. Curiously, it can also mean when used as a verb ‘to beat up’ or ‘to thrash’. The word neuker (derived from the verb neuk) in Dutch means ‘fucker’. In Afrikaans, the word neuk, however, has lost this sexual, vulgar, crude and offensive connotation and now, like moer, simply means ‘to thrash’ or ‘to strike’ (especially with a fist) or ‘to bother’ or ‘to annoy’. In effect, the term moerkneuker is tautologous in Afrikaans and appears no longer to be in use in South Africa.

A scuffle ensues, with an enraged Claes grabbing hold of Groote Catrijn and throwing her to the ground. Once separated, Groote Catrijn, now in a blind fury and violent rage (in hevigen woede) grabs hold of a sharp-cornered cobblestone. The writer when originally transcribing the court record misread “ladder” for “cobblestone”.

37 The site of the original fortress is now covered by Merdeka Square (Medan Merdeka / Lapangan Merdeka)
40 This error has ramified and is repeated in all subsequent publications by numerous authors – including Le Roux (2011) supra who claims to have “revisited” this original record. The error came to light when re-preparing a verbatim transcription for publication by the writer and is now finally corrected in this publication.
Aiming for his genitals, she hits Claes with all the force she can muster. But Groote Catrijn misses her mark. Instead, she hits Claes against the droop of his belly – almost connecting his manhood. The force of the impact causes Claes’s bladder to burst. Four days later, on the night of 11/12 October 1656, he dies.

**Rijswijk**

The site of the original fortress at Gambir (formerly Harmoni, Molenvliet & Rijswijk) in present-day Jakarta is now covered by Merdeka (‘Freedom’ / ‘Independence’) Square (Medan Merdeka / Lapangan Merdeka) formerly Koningsplein and 2 palaces Istana Negara or State Palace built (1796-1804) and Merdeka (formerly Istana Gambir) built (1873-1879) – previously used as the official residence of the Dutch governors-general of Indonesia and now the official office and residence of the presidents of the Republic of Indonesia.
Arial view of State Palace complex, Jakarta

Negara Palace
**Groote Catrijn** has taken a life. The law insists on reciprocity as a deterrent to others. The Council of Justice feels compelled to apply the death penalty. This is obligatory in terms of the accused prisoner’s voluntary statement. **Groote Catrijn** is condemned (16 November 1656) to be tied to a stake and executed by strangulation (garroted) and her property confiscated. A stick called a *garrotte* is to be used to twist the cord tight that is tied around the victim’s neck.

The men who sit in judgement of **Groote Catrijn** are the following:

Joan Cuneus / Cunaeus (1617-1672), Dirck Janssen Steur, Johannes Burgers, L.P. Vernattij, Johan van Dam (1617-1677), Jacob Cau, Hendrik Bogaert and Vincent van Work.

Later, some of these top officials encounter, or at least enquire after, **Groote Catrijn** during her exile at the Cape of Good Hope. En route either to Batavia or to the Netherlands (*Patria*), these are appointed commissioners to inspect the Cape’s administration and make recommendations to both the governor-general at Batavia and the directors of the VOC in the Netherlands, the *Heeren XVII*. Their arrival at the Cape is eagerly awaited. Commissioners, being more senior than the commander at the Cape, could overrule any local decisions. Understandably any aggrieved subject of the Company resident at the Cape would try to make use of any opportunity (doubtless restricted) to be heard.

**Joan Cunaeus (1617-1673)** is commissioner at the Cape (6-19 March 1658). His inspection of affairs at the Cape is preserved in the form of his *Memorie* (18 March 1658). He would be up-dated about **Groote Catrijn** while at the Cape. Born Leiden (1617), he studies law there. His VOC career advances rapidly: *advokaat-fiscaal* (1644); secretary to governor-general (1645); sheriff (*balju*) (1647); *raad-extraordinaris* (1648); *raad-ordinaris* of India (1650); colonel of the Burgher Watch and president of the Council. Later *ordinaris Raedt van India* he serves the Company as a jurist in Batavia and finally as envoy to Persia. He is also on record as being sheriff of Batavia and son-in-law to the wealthy and influential Italian banker and trader *Philippe Calandrini* and wife *Margaretha van der Meulen*. In their joint will (“after longest living”) they appoint him (17 September 1648) together with Sr. *Rijckloff van Goens* and *Pieter Kemp – Capiteyn der Burgerije* of Batavia – as joint guardians and executors when bequeathing their furniture, household goods, silverware, clothing and jewelry to their 6 children (*Charles*, *Elisabeth*, *Dudley*, *Susanna*, *Catharina* and *Maria*). He dies at Leiden (1673).

In April 1664 **Dirck Janssen Steur** is commissioner at the Cape. He rises quickly in the VOC ranks: junior merchant (*ondercoopman*) (1637); merchant (*coopman*) (1640); vice-president of Council of Justice (1650); *raad extraordinaris* of India (1651); president of Council of Justice (1653); *raad ordinaris* of India (1657) and admiral of return fleet (1663).

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41 [http://www.nikhef.nl/~louk/CALAN/generation2.html](http://www.nikhef.nl/~louk/CALAN/generation2.html)
42 *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, p. 313, n. 2.
A man and his wife who also again come back into Groote Catrijn’s life are Jacob Cauw / Cauw and Anna Machtelt van Coevoerden. He is a junior merchant (1656) in Batavia serving later in Macassar and commander (1664) of the western coast of Sumatra. A jurist, he sits on the Council of Justice at Batavia. When admiral of the return fleet (May 1666), he inspects the Cape as commissioner where he again encounters Groote Catrijn. His presence at the Cape, and that of his wife, are not particularly well received. 43 Already at Batavia, Johan van Dam becomes (1655) councillor extraordinary of India (extraordinarie raet van India) and returns (May 1667) to the Netherlands. En route he is commissioner at the Cape. Unfortunately no report appears to survive. He would be fully aware of Groote Catrijn’s situation when visiting the Cape.

Groote Catrijn is pardoned

Groote Catrijn’s death sentence, however, is a technicality. She is pardoned by the governor-general Joan Maetsuijcker 2 days later (18 November 1656). In the Pardon she is referred to as Catharina “from Malabar” (van Mallebaer), whereas when originally sentenced, she is mentioned as Catharina “born in Pulicat” (geboortich van Paliacatte). Her sentence is commuted. She acted in a rage and self-defence and did not have the intent to kill Claes at the time of the scuffle. Her sentence is consequently altered and she is banished for life to the Cape of Good Hope to serve there “for the term of her natural life” as a Company slave. The Cape authorities are duly notified in terms of a despatch (with accompanying documentation) from the Governor-General and Council of India (4 December 1656):44

“The Prins Willem brings you three convicts. Two have been banished to Robben Island for a series of years, and a female slave for the term of her natural life at the Cape”.

Accompanying this letter, are extracts from the Sentence Book confirming her conviction, sentence and pardon. As a convict, Groote Catrijn ceases to belong to the free-woman Maria Magdalena and her status changes to that of a slave belonging to the Company.

Joan / Johan Maetsuijcker (1606-1678) the man who pardons Groote Catrijn is governor-general of the Dutch Indies (1653-1678). He is a great proponent of Dutch colonisation especially in Ceylon where he is governor (1646-1650) and later elsewhere:45

“Maetsuyker, at an early stage of his colonial career, was a professional admirer of the Portuguese system of promoting colonization by encouraging white men to marry Asian or Eurasian women and settle down in the East. The children of these mixed marriages, he averred, were better acclimatized than those born of pure European parentage, and, after the second or third generation, they differed little if at all from pure Netherlanders in complexion. He admitted that many of these half-caste offsprings at present were apt to turn out rather badly, but this he

43 Resolusies vandie Politieke Raad, vol. I, p. 341, n. 1. See Wagenaer’s comments about the unpopularity of Mr & Mrs Cauw [Anna J. Böeseken, Memoriën en Instructiën, p. xvi].
44 Pr. ’t schip Prins Willem comen tot UE.[dele] over driej van jaren op’t Robben eijlandt ende een slavinne voor al haer leven en de Caap gebannen zijn, gel : bij de nevensgaende sententie des achtbaren Raedts van Justitie te consteren compt die UE.[dele] achterevelgens den inhout van dien in hun bannissement geliefft te stellen en alsoo haer condemnatie te laten voldoen. Batavia, 4 Dec[ember], 1656. [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received 1649-1662), Part I, pp. 322-323].
ascribed to their lax upbringing in households where slavery was the general rule, and not to any inherent racial defect. The remedy for this state of affairs, he added, lay in the provision of good schools and in proper supervision by the parents. Maetsuyker maintained that with suitable encouragement by the Company’s high officials – which so far had been conspicuously lacking – the free-burghers could establish themselves as cobblers, tailors, smiths, armourers, jewellers, carpenters, masons and surgeons. He even claimed that they could compete with the Chinese in agricultural pursuits. He further alleged that the Company’s senior officials were the worst enemies of the free-burghers, since they favoured their Chinese and Asian competitors on account of the ‘squeeze’ and bribes which they received from the latter.”

His successors in Ceylon are less enthusiastic. Van Kittensteijn, an adherent of the rival and much larger school of thought, still maintains that Dutch settlers would never do any hard work in Asia, and that their indigenous or half-caste wives are inherently viscious and immoral. Rijckloff van Goens senior only tolerates intermarriage with the Sinhalese, Tamil and Eurasian women stipulating that the daughters of such unions should nevertheless be allowed to marry Netherlanders “so that our race may degenerate as little as possible” 46

Maetsuijcker is disliked, however, by the Chinese in Batavia who describe him as:

“... a man of cantankerous and unpleasant character, so that low-class people did not dare to pass by his door. If any of them did do inadvertently, he was apt to arrest and punish them. The Company made no effort to stop this.”47

Maetsuijcker is also notoriously anti-clerical. Whatever Protestant orthodoxy he claims to uphold is suspect, as he had been educated at the Roman Catholic University of Louvain.48 He is also a jurist of note, a doctor of law who had rapidly worked his way up

47 C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800, p. 266.
the ranks of the VOC. He appears to be more racially tolerant than most of his contemporaries, pointing out to his successor in Ceylon that the custom of “many among us who regard them (the local Sinhalese) with prejudice” by calling them “black dogs” is insulting and unchristian.\(^{49}\) It is he who authors \((1642)\) the *Statuten van Batavia* being a compilation of all the laws, statutes and edicts that hold sway throughout the VOC empire. He marries \((1^{\text{st}})\) in the Netherlands Haasje Berkmans: \((1610-1663)\), and marries \((2^{\text{nd}})\) at Batavia Elisabeth Abbema \(\text{(widow of Simon Jansz: Cos)}\).\(^{50}\)

Maetsuijcker’s second wife’s brother Sijbrand Abbema \((1637-1684)\) \(\text{from Vianen [Duchy of Vianen]}\) will visit the Cape \((9 \text{ February-14 March} \text{ 1670}), \text{again from (May-July 1674} \text{) and as commissioner (20 February-27 March \text{ 1680}).}\(^{51}\) On his first visit he likely brings the following slaves:

- Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale
- Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale
- Sara van Solor
- Titus (Tita) van Coromandel \([\text{Titus Thomsen} / \text{Thomzen van Bengale}]\)

Abbema likely sells the other 3 slaves mentioned above – one being Groote Catrijn’s future husband – to the wealthy free-burgher Hendrik Snijer \([\text{Heinrich Heinrichsson}}\) \(\text{from Sürwürden [Oldenborg]}\)). Abbema liberates his slave Titus (Tita) van Bengale allowing him to take the Cape-born slave formerly belonging to Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert \(\text{from Utrecht}\), Catharina Opklim and her infant to Batavia. Titus (de) Thomsen \(\text{/Thomzen}\) thereupon joins the Company later becoming bookkeeper on the *Africa* which stops at the Cape \((8 \text{ February} 1693)\) bringing Catharina Opklim back to the Cape. Sara van Solor he probably sells to Willem van Dieden \((\text{from Amsterdam})\), the second husband of the newly remarried widow of Hendrik Snijer, Geertruijdt Frans: Meeckhoff \(\text{from Steenswijk}\).

“Banishment to that barbarous and remote corner the Cape of Good Hope”

*Groote Catrijn* arrives at the Cape \((21 \text{ February} 1657)\) on board the *Prins Willem*. The other ships forming the fleet are *Het Wapen van Amsterdam, West Vriesland, Amersfoort* and *Dordrecht*. The ship is part of the return fleet that left Batavia \((4 \text{ December} 1656)\) under the command of the admiral Matthijs Crab, the vice admiral Pieter Hackius and the rear admiral Pieter Kemp. Hackius later becomes commander at the Cape \((1670)\) inheriting *Groote Catrijn* as part of his household and we shall reveal more details about him as the narrative progresses.

Pieter Kemp is the former *Capiteyn der Burgerije* of Batavia who is appointed there \((17 \text{ September} 1648)\) by the wealthy Italian banker and trader Philippe Calandrini and wife Margaretha van der Meulen in their joint will (“after longest living”) together with Sr. Rijckloff van Goens and none other than one of the judges at Groote Catrijn’s trial – the testators’ son-in-law and sheriff of Batavia, Joan Cunaeus \((1617-1673)\) – as guardians and executors when bequeathing their furniture, household goods,


silverware, clothing and jewelry to their 6 children (Charles, Elisabeth, Dudley, Susanna, Catharina and Maria). Likely members of the same Kemp family later become part of the Cape’s colonial population, eg:

- Pieter Kemp (from Brughes) who marries (1 September 1715) Rentien (Luitje) Willemsen baptized Cape (25 January 1694) daughter of Gerrit Willemsen and Maria Cornelisse and granddaughter of Cornelis Corneliszen (from Utrecht) aka Kees de Boer and Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar;
- N. [c]olaeus Kemp who is recorded as being biological father to Company casties Jannetje Kemp van de Caep by Company halfslag (mulatta) Cecilia Mulders: aka Cecilia Sweris / Swerisse van de Caep;
- Johannes Kemp, exile & mandoor of Company’s Slave Lodge.

**Maaij Ansla & Lijsbeth van Bengale**

It is in this same return fleet that the slave women Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale and Engela / Angela (Maaij Ans[i]ela) van Bengale – both the personal property of Kemp – arrive at the Cape on the Amersfoort. They are sold by Kemp to the Cape’s commander, Jan van Riebeeck. Found recorded variously as: Ansla, Anselaar, Ansla & Ansla – Ancilla is Latin for slave girl, servant girl or maidservant – and later popularly known as Maaij Ansla (literally ‘Ma Angela’), Angela becomes wife to the free-burgher Arnoldus Willemesz: (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]). Popularly known as Jagt, he is the progenitor of the Basson family in South Africa.

**Groote Catrijn** and **Maaij Ansla** become close friends. They are jointly baptized and listed together as communicants. Both are godmothers to each other’s sons. Maaij Ansla herself and two of her sons (Jacobus van As and Willem Basson) later witness baptisms of some children of Groote Catrijn’s son, Christoffel Snijman, the latter being Maaij Ansla’s godson. Christoffel Snijman in turn witnesses, with Maaij Ansla, her grandchild’s baptism. As Maaij Ansla’s husband Basson is sent out to the Cape under the Chamber of Enkhuisen, he knows, if not befriends, Groote Catrijn’s soldier lover Snijman. We shall see later, that Maaij Ansla and her husband are also well acquainted with François Champelier (from Ghent [Spanish Netherlands]) who once absconds with Snijman. Maaij Ansla outlives Groote Catrijn by 38 years. She and her large influential family will play a continuous part in the life of Groote Catrijn’s son and his family.

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52 L. Lapikás, Fragment Genealogie Calandrini version 1.1, Muiden, UTC (Muiden, The Netherlands) [http://www.nikhef.nl/~louk/CALAN/generation2.html#2a](http://www.nikhef.nl/~louk/CALAN/generation2.html#2a)

53 Mansell George Upham, ‘Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia / De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia: Jan Grof (dies 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](http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/HelEnParadijs-DeHoopOpConstantia.pdf)


**Prins Willem**

The *Prins Willem* is the pride of the VOC's Indies fleet. The ship, a *spiegelretourschip*, is in use by the VOC (1650-10 February 1662) before it disappears off the isle of Brandon near Madagascar. The ship is built (1649) for the Chamber of Zealand at its shipyard at Middelburg under supervision of *scheepstimmerman* Cornelis Spelderman to the following specifications:
- length: 51m; width: 14.32m; depth: almost 4m; load capacity: 600 last/1200 ton; armament: 24 (later 40) canons. It is the largest *spiegelschip* ever built by the VOC. The ship is 68m long and the 2 main masts are 54m high.

A replica of this ship stood for many years in the open air museum *Oranda Mura* (‘Holland Village’) in the bay of Omura at Nagasaki in Japan and later at the amusement park *Cape Holland* at Den Helder where it burned down by accident (30 July 2009).

![Replica of Prins Willem](image1)

The *Prins Willem* departs (5 May 1651) on its first voyage to India. With the outbreak of the First English War (1652-1654), the ship is refurbished after its return to the Netherlands and armed with 40 canons, instead of its original 24 canons and utilized for 3 months in the war fleet. The ship takes part in the Battle of Duins (1652), serving as *admiraalsschip* for Admiral *Witte de With* and returned damaged to the VOC. It is reconditioned into a *retourschip* and its heavy weaponry retained. The *Prins Willem* disappears (10 February 1662) at 25/26°ZB during a heavy storm at the isle of Brandon near Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.
The ship's voyage details (voyage number; departure date; from; to; arrival date; chamber; skipper) are as follows:56

Voyage I: 4 May 1651 Wielingen Batavia (30 October 1651) Zeeland via S. Vincente (21 June 1651-?) via Cape of Good Hope (no stop over)
Return Voyage I: (19 December 1651) Batavia (1652) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (no stop over)
Voyage II: (11 May 1653) Wielingen Batavia (31 December 1653) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope no stop over
Return Voyage II: (19 December 1651) Batavia (1652) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (no stop over)
Voyage III: (1 January 1655) Wielingen Batavia (14 July 1655) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (12 April 1655-10 May 1655)
Return Voyage III: (4 December 1656) Batavia Wielingen (18 July 1657) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (21 February 1657-8 March 1657)
Voyage IV: (25 January 1658) Wielingen Batavia (12 September 1658) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (17 June 1658-5 July 1658) via S. Vincente; here one man deserts
Return Voyage IV: (18 December 1659) Batavia Wielingen (10 July 1660) Zeeland Daniel de Loper via Cape of Good Hope (2 March 1660 -20 March 1660)
Voyage V: (10 January 1661) Wielingen Batavia (10 September 1661) Zeeland via Cape of Good Hope (9 June 1661-29 June 1661).
Prins Willem departs again from Wielingen (7 February 1661). During this voyage one child is born.

Return Voyage V: (23 December 1661) Batavia disappearing (10 February 1662) Zealand Adriaan van Leene. De Prins Willem disappears at 25/26°ZB during heavy storm (10 February 1662) at island of Brandon (Madagascar) in Indian Ocean.

“... that barbarous and remote corner” ... Banishment to the Cape of Good Hope

February 1657 heralds the transformation of the Cape of Good Hope under its first commander Jan van Riebeeck from a refreshment station into a colony. Most activities had been confined to the little mud Fort of Good Hope, the Company’s gardens and Robben Island. Now Company servants are liberated from Company service and granted free-burgher status with land to till for the benefit of the Company. This also paves the way for the urban development of what becomes the city of Cape Town. Commissioner Rijckloff van Goens the elder (1619-1682) prescribes (already on 16 April 1657) that only married men can obtain ‘letters of freedom’ and single men become their knechts (indentured servants or labourers). This proves impossible to implement. It means that men wishing to become freemen can now send for their wives – if they had any – otherwise they have to look for them locally or back home. The result is that letters of freedom are granted to a large proportion of bachelors, not necessarily abstinent – many in no great hurry to marry legally either imported or local wives. Sexual outlets are already plentiful – the local aborigines, the slaves and each other.

The worst suspicions of the local aboriginal clans are confirmed. The Dutch (and their human imports) have arrived to stay... The Company Journal (20 February 1657) – one day before Groote Catrijn’s arrival – is most telling in this regard:
"Harry and the fat chief [Gogosoa], with some of their principle men, seeing us looking about and hearing us say that we intended building houses here and there... (for many of them are already able to understand much of the Dutch language and to speak it, some to such a degree that they use it when bartering with us), asked where they were to go should we build houses there and cultivate the land. This they saw was our intention, for they were encamped at the spot where some of the freemen had selected their sites. We answered that they might live under our protection and that there was everywhere room enough for grazing their animals. We would use the land in order to make bread and tobacco, of which we would as good friends give them a share. They were satisfied with that, but it was evident that it was not entirely to their liking”.

Impotent, those ‘Men of Men’ or Quena [Khoena / Khoekhoe]57 witness the increasing and continuous arrival of hardy VOC officials, sailors, soldiers and settlers. These mostly hail from predominantly Hanseatic areas and the lowlands of northern Europe still recovering from the ravages of the 30-years War (1618-1629): the Republic of the United Free Netherlands, the Spanish Netherlands, northern Germany, Denmark-Norway and Sweden. These Europeans are supplemented by slaves and convicts mostly uprooted from India, Ceylon, South-East Asia, the Malayan peninsula, the Indonesian and Filipino archipelagos, China, West Africa, Angola, Madagascar, Mozambique and East Africa – one of the first of these being Groote Catrijn. François Valentijn (1666 – 1727) gives us an interesting ‘ethnic’ break-down or early Cape colonial society:58

“The inhabitants of this land are either Servants of the Hon.[ourable] Company; or Burghers, also called Freemen; or Hottentots. We shall speak of each of these separately, after adding in a word that all nations are found here, Dutch, English, French, Germans from all parts, Savoyards, Italians, Hungarians, Malays, Malabars, Sinhaleese, Macassar-folk, Banians, Amboinese, Bandanese, Buginese, Chinese, men of Madagascar, Angolese, inhabitants of Guinea and the Salt Islands [Madura], with whom one can get along in Dutch, Malay and Portuguese”.

The 5-year-old settlement at the time of Groote Catrijn’s forced arrival now totals 145 non-aboriginal souls resident at the Cape (zielen aen de Caeb resideeren):

105 Company officials
10 free-burghers
1 free-black woman
6 European women
12 European children
3 male slaves
8 female slaves.


58 François Valentijn, Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it (p. 170-171).
The slave population of 11 are distributed as follows:

- 4 female slaves and 1 male slave with the Commander
- 1 male slave with the Sergeant
- 1 female slave with the Sick-Comforter
- 1 female slave with the Junior Merchant
- 1 female slave with the Gardener
- 1 Madagascar female slave to sweep the Fort
- 1 male slave with the Barber

The new colony is instrumental in the further detribalization of the local aborigines. This phenomenon started already from the time of the first regular European contact (from the 1620s onwards). Initially it is the Goringhaicona, called by the Dutch Watermen, “Harry’s people” and later “Our Hottentots” who cluster around the Fort and
whose children (eg the (in)famous Eva born Krotoa⁵⁹, Zara / Sara⁶⁰, Cornelia, Dobbeltje and Vogelstruijs) are taken in by the Dutch as household servants.

“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”⁶¹.

Four years later, there is a noteworthy increase of “Dutch Hottentots” inside the colony. The Goringhaicona are soon supplemented by alienated members from the other local aboriginal clans, the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua:

“The Gorinhaiconas subsist in a great measure by begging and stealing. – Among this ugly Hottentoo race, there is yet another sort called Gorinhaicona, 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, 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 an 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 of ships from Europe”⁶².

As a convict, Groote Catrijn is first enumerated with the Chinese man ‘tSincko (from Jamby [Sumatra]).⁶³ Together they appear as convicts and chaingang (bandieten ende Kettingasten) in the muster roll (May 1657).⁶⁴ Groote Catrijn and ‘tSincko are again mentioned in the muster roll (15 February 1658) as convicts banished for life (banditen

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⁵⁹ Mansell G. Upham, ‘In a kind of custody – for Eva’s sake … who speaks for Krotoa?’ ‘Who were the children of Eva Meerhoff?’, Capensis, no. 2 (1998), pp. 6-14.
⁶¹ Jan van Riebeck, Memorandum to Zacharias Wagenaer (5 May 1662); Donald Moodie, The Record, p. 247.
⁶² Zacharias Wagenaer, Memorandum to Cornelis van Quaelbergen (24 September 1666); Donald Moodie, The Record, p. 291.
⁶⁴ Monsterrolle van officieren, matroosn, ende soldeyen beschijden in’t Fort de Goede Hope, aen Cabo de Boa Esperance de laesten Maij 1657, 1658 & 1659. The 2 are listed as follows: Bandieten ende Kettingasten te weten:

Chinees }
Catarina van Paliacatte, swartin } al haar lewen ...


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In the muster roll (5 March 1659) Groote Catrijn appears with 2 other black convicts-for-life from Batavia:65 Susanna van Bengale alias Een Oor66 and yet another Chinese man: Domingo / Dominicus d’Moor van Bengale / Batavia. The ‘Chinaman’ ‘TSincko appears to have died. Now the personage Harrij Hottentoo, chief of the Goringhaicona, is also mentioned as a “convict for life”, but on Robben Island, so that Groote Catrijn finds herself in curious company in terms of criminal classification.67

Dominicus d’Moor

Groote Catrijn’s early association with her fellow exiled convict Domingo van Bengale / Batavia alias de Chinees Dominicus d’Moor – as we shall see later – continues throughout her life-time. He is a shaven [Muslim (Moor)] Chinese and mardijker. A former VOC soldier, he arrives at the Cape as a convict (bandiet). An ex-VOC soldier condemned to death in Batavia (28 August 1657), he is banished to Robben Island after having his sentence commuted. “Lately a soldier”, he is sentenced (28 August 1657) to be shot, pardoned and exiled on Robben Island, arriving at the Cape (1 April 1658) and is sent (17 July 1658) to Robben Island. There, however, he stows away in the return fleet. Apprehended, he remains with skipper Campen on St Helena with others to guard VOC equipment and is written off the Company books at the Cape.68 He returns to the Cape and is likely pardoned and somewhat rehabilitated and we find him listed as a soldier in the garrison (1672). Later, he will marry (18 May 1691) Maria van Malabar – the former slave woman once belonging to Groote Catrijn.

Domingo is not to be confused with Domingo [sic] van Bengale whom Böeseken assumes (incorrectly) to be male. She is either another female slave probably named Dominga belonging to Jan van Riebeeck but who never features again, or perhaps more likely the name is a clerical error for another slave woman: Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale. There is also another Domingo van Bengale who buys his freedom (1 August 1689) from his master Matthijs Greeff (from Magdeburg). Previously owned by Simon van der Stel who sells him with Dominga van Bengale (aged 25/26) and Bacacan van Macassar (25 September 1686) to Greeff. Böeseken mistakenly assumes him to marry Maria van Bengale. No record of Simon van der Stel purchasing Domingo has been found. A Domingo van Bengale is sold (13 March 1681) by the widow of Joan de Koningh to Jan Pietersz: Wittebol (from Amsterdam) for Rds 40 (Cape valuation). Wittebol dies at the Cape (1681). Presumably Van der Stel purchases Domingo thereafter from the deceased estate.

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65 Bandijten ende Kettinghasten ... Swartes voor al haar lewen van Batavia.
66 Mansell G. Upham, ‘Consecrations to God: The nasty, brutish and short life of Susanna from Bengal, otherwise known as ‘One Ear’ – second recorded female convict at the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope, Capensis, no. 3 (2001), pp. 10-24 – for updated version see First Fifty Years Project (FFY) http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ul104.htm.
67 See Dictionary South Africa Biography (vol. 2, p. 296) for a mini-biography on Autshumao alias Harry / Herry.
Looking at the women ....

“Allert van Haefte, sergeant on the Malacca made a voluntary statement that he had come ashore this day and went out of curiosity to the sand hills to the Hottentoes to look at their women” (21 October 1659).69

Pieter Hansz, one of the many accosted Cape stowaways declared that he had hid himself as he was afraid to get into trouble because of a certain black women, whom some maintained he had fructified; also that some of the return crew had urged him to run away, a fact which most of the deserters will declare (22 March 1660).70

Groote Catrijn’s convict existence takes on a new dimension. Pivotaly positioned and single, she is one of the few available, non-aboriginal, non-male, sexual receptacles for the new colony’s rampant, burgeoning but fluid adult male population – both European and slave. In 1657 she is one of the settlement’s 15 imported women, 7 of whom were already married and free. Six of these women are European and one a free-black woman. Although free and married to a junior official, the latter is still classified separately as a free-black. Are her colour and ‘otherness’ sufficient grounds for exclusion? The other 8 are all slave women. With the exception of one, all are household servants. Like Groote Catrijn, the other slave women are in the ironic and precarious position of being sexually ‘free’, yet in bondage. Of these, at least 5 are known to have liaisons, even offspring, with European men. In terms of numbers, this means one non-aboriginal woman for every seven non-aboriginal men stationed-at-the-Cape. These figures increase dramatically, also in terms of pregnancies, with the ratio expanding (dis)proportionately: one free woman for 11 European men by 1664.

The Cape’s non-aboriginal male population is variable, never static. Many ships drop their anchors and many sailors their drawers, on a regular basis. The afore-mentioned proportions merely reflect limited non-aboriginal female sexual access available to the Cape’s more permanent or stationed non-aboriginal male population. The gender

imbalance is eased by an increase in female slave importation and sexual interaction with the growing detribalized local aboriginal population.

On average, 24 VOC ships, flutes and yachts are sent each year to the East Indies with 13 Indiamen and other craft returning to the Netherlands for the period (1660-1670). The majority of these stop over annually at the Cape en route and again every two and half years sailing back to the Netherlands (Patria) as part of what is termed the return fleet (five to seven ships). Almost monthly there is at least one ship in Table Bay. The larger ships carry any amount of crew from 250 to 350 men per voyage. In effect, whenever an outward bound fleet or return fleet is anchored in Table Bay, the colony’s resident population are outnumbered. For example, the return fleet (February 1661) consisted of seven ships – roughly 2100 men. The Cape settlement enumerated 463 resident souls under its jurisdiction according to the muster roll (1662). Thus, for each non-aboriginal Cape colonial inhabitant, there could be a maximum of five sailors on shore for at least one visit a year. The realities of multiple deaths at sea and the high degree of convalescing sailors is unlikely to minimize the sexual impact resulting from the terrific numerical gender imbalance that existed throughout each year and especially during visits by the annual return fleet.

Working with mean averages, the total VOC personnel stopping over annually at the Cape en route to Batavia for the period (1680-1690), amounts to 3900 men. Taking into account a mean average of 60.16% losses in the form of deaths (at sea or on land), desertions, accidents, crimes, natural disasters and those who elected or were forced to remain in the East, the total crew returning annually to Patria via the Cape amounts to 1600 men. Thus every year 5500 men on average stopped over at the Cape.

Concubinage and that shameful crime of fornication or whoredom (het schandelyke crime van fornicatie ofte hoerendom) with slaves were strictly forbidden in terms of the Statutes of India. Also outlawed was sexual intercourse by Christians with Muslims and Heathens. The peculiar circumstances of the Cape as a virgin, well-nigh women-less, colony allowed for greater relaxation of these laws. On one crucial occasion the Cape’s first commander is quite explicit in a despatch to Batavia that he had high hopes for the Company’s men to take wives from the first shipload of slaves (‘black gold’) that the Company had contemplated providing from Angola.

“As soon as we shall have obtained male and female slaves from Angola ... we believe that it will then be the right time to lay the foundations for private agriculture, and should some of these agriculturists marry the women, they will be nicely bound to the Cape for life, and be further accommodated with slaves on credit. It is our opinion that this will also lay a good foundation for a young colony as regards agriculture”.

Jan van Riebeek even purports to encourage his men to fructify the Company’s slaves as this could only be beneficial to the Company (het is ten dienste van de Compagnie) in

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71 See the Table 6.15 VOC ships sailing out from, and returning to, the Dutch entrepôt from the East Indies, 1640-1795 in Jonathan I. Israel, Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740, p. 258.
72 The figures are mean averages gleaned from Dan Sleigh, Die Buitepost: VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur 1652-1795, p.4
swelling the available labour force. It is only after Commissioner IJsbrand Goske’s visit to the Cape (1671) that fornication and concubinage with slave women begins to be discouraged. The realization sets in that the Company’s free labour pool will diminish dramatically if half-castes are successful in affirming their right to freedom on obtaining majority. The first edict (placaaten) to be promulgated by the Council of Policy at the Cape is only formulated (as late as 30 November 1678) and soon becomes a dead letter. Significantly, the first formal prosecution, 20 years later (1690), involves a privately owned halflag slave woman and not a Company slave. Named Catharina (Catrijn / Caet) van de Caep, she is concubine (later wife) to the partner of Groote Catrijn’s son’s partner, Ernst Friedrich Walter. We shall return to this important incident later.

Circumstantial evidence unfurled throughout this narrative points to Groote Catrijn already being mother to her first child, a halflag daughter Catharina whom she later presents for baptism with a second halflag daughter (9 October 1662), Maria – later known as Maria (Marij) Pieters. Significantly, her eldest daughter never adopts or assumes a patronymic and is known throughout her life as Catharina (Catrijn) van de Caep; and after her marriage as Catharina Wagenmakers; – being the nickname of her husband Andreas Bayer (from Saxony). Her lack of patronymic – especially for an acknowledged halflag – makes one wonder whether Groote Catrijn is ever able (or willing) to identify the biological father. Is she the victim of multiple rapes during her voyage to the Cape?

The arrival of convicted criminals from Asia coincides with the arrival on the Amersfoort (28 March 1658) of a Portuguese prize of ‘Angolan’ slaves (mostly children) captured of the coast of Brazil, followed by the arrival (6 May 1658) on the Hasselt of slaves purchased by the Company at Popo in Upper Guinea. The mortality rate is phenomenal. Those surviving West African slaves not forwarded to Batavia form the bulk of the Company’s slaves initially confined to the Cape until supplemented later by slaves from the coasts of Malabar, Madura, Madagascar and Moçambique. Groote Catrijn witnesses a substantial increase of privately owned African slaves in Van Riebeeck’s household. Prior to this, the Van Riebeeck household consists of the following acquired personal slaves:

- Maria (Marij) da Costa / van Costa / de Cust Coromandel / Bengale / Couchin [Cochin] / Paliacatta / Paliacatte [Pulicat]
- Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale (born c. 1643);
- Maaij Ansela van Bengale;
- Mijndert (from Antongil [Madagascar]); and

• **GROOTE CATRIJN VAN PULICAT** (Company slave on loan).

Now, from ‘Guinea’ came:

• Evert & Maria;
• Dirk & Dirkie aka Anna [Hoen(a) or Hoewij];
• Oude Hans & Lobbetje / Lobbitje [Jajenne / Gegeima] aka Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg.

And from ‘Angola’ came:

• Matthijs & Marselij [Maaij Claesje?];
• Domingo & Francina (Francijn);
• Thomas Keuken & Marij;
• Claes / Klaas Kelder;
• Jan Meeuw & Marij Pekenijn;
• Jackie Joy (alias Gratias Maialas);
• Ouwe Jan;
• Isabel(la); and
• Christina (Christijn).

Unfortunately the muster rolls (1660, 1 March 1660 and 1 April 1662), do not list the Cape’s convict population. Only the garrison are listed. We do, however, catch a glimpse of **GROOTE CATRIJN** in a second muster roll (1662). Here, she is listed with another ‘Chinaman’ **Waniko alias Ythcho / Ijtschio Wancho**\(^{77}\) and the same **Susanna Een Oor** as 3 of the Cape’s 4 convicts:\(^{78}\)

"**Susanna** and **Catharina** from Batavia for life, a Chinaman for another 4 years and **Gerrit Gerritsz** from Lier for 1 and 3/4 years (over delecten aen de Caep gepleeght) for misdemeanours committed at the Cape”.

**Van Riebeeck** is relieved to receive convicts from Batavia. More work can be got out of them. Whatever heinous acts they previously committed are of little concern. It is initially expedient for the virgin colony not to stigmatize convicts to any great extent.\(^{79}\) Thereafter, **GROOTE CATRIJN** appears among the commander’s slave women (slavinnen …bij den Commandeur). The fact that she is formerly a household slave and privately-owned, thus domesticated, probably exempts her from hard labour. Her fellow female convict **Susanna** is not so lucky. Labelled **Een Oor** (literally ‘One Ear’), she is put to work as a slave in the Company’s garden and has to live with the rest of the Company slaves housed in communal quarters. Is she minus an ear due to some previous misconduct and a consequent deliberate maiming to keep her in line?\(^{80}\)

The year 1662 is the start of a disruptive pattern of numerous short-term commanders at the Cape for the next 20 years. During **GROOTE CATRIJN’s** time at the Cape, she


witnesses the arrivals, departures (even deaths) of 8 commanders / governors and their wives, viz:

- 1652-1662: Joan Ant(h)onisz: van Riebeeck & Maria de la Queillerie
- 1662-1666: Zacharias Wagenaer & Maria aux Brebis
- 1666-1668: Cornelis van Quaelderben & Judith(a) van den Bogaerde
- 1668-1670: Jacob Borghorst (bachelor)
- 1670-1671: Pieter Hackius & Alida Paets
- 1672-1676: IJsbrand Goske (wife dies either before leaving Patria or en route to the Cape)
- 1676-1678: Joan Bax van Herentals & Aletta van Hinloopen
- 1679-1699: Simon van der Stel

Of these, *Groote Catrijn* serves as washerwoman in at least 5 of their households. With each change in command *Groote Catrijn* loses a surrogate family. The disruption occasioned by so many changing commanders erodes *Groote Catrijn’s* ambiguous position as Company slave-cum-convict for life. It does not take long before successive administrations can no longer account for each and every slave / convict’s personal circumstances.\(^81\) *Groote Catrijn’s* convict-status soon becomes blurred and superceded by mere Company slave-status.

Evidently, during Van Riebeeck’s 10-year sojourn at the Cape, his private Indian female slaves are all soon sexually appropriated by some of his officers – if not also shared as concubines.

**Maaij Ansela** has the following *voorkinders*:

- a daughter, Anna de Coning(h) (c. 1661-1734), by Francois de Coning(h) / Coninck (from Ghent) \(^82\);
- and thereafter 3 illegitimate sons by Joan van As / Asch / Assen (from Brussels):
  - Jacobus van As (c. 1663-1713)
  - Joannes (Jantje) van As (1665-executed 1688)
  - Pieter van As (born 1668)

**Lijsbeth van Bengale** has the following *voorkinders*:

- Maria Hendri(c)ks: / Hendrix: (c. 1655-1720)
- [?] Hendrick baptized Cape 17 July 1659
- Margaretha (Margarita) Jans: Visser(s:) (1659-c. 1710/11)
- [?] Jacob Hendrixe: [van] Hagen(s:) / Hages / Hagis (born c. 1661)
- Anna [Anna Pieters: / Pyters: van Batavia alias Anna Libert?] baptized 2 September 1663
- Anthonij baptized Cape 6 September 1665

The more senior Maria da Costa, who arrives earlier at the Cape in the Return Fleet (2 April 1655), is childless but not loveless:

\[^81\] The exiled convict Mira Moor is a case in point. When the Batavian authorities eventually request his return, he is already a freeman at the Cape and his detention papers cannot be traced; [http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui72.htm](http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui72.htm).

\[^82\] Françoise de Coninck (from Ghent) – arrives (August 1658) at Cape on Leerdam as soldier; later mason [Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel I (1651-1669), p. 278]. He is not to be confused with the bookkeeper (a relative?) on board the Oijevaer having the same names (see Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel I (1651-1669), p. 101).
On Sunday night 22 August 1660 Maaij Ansela’s lover, François de Coninck, together with the surveyor Pieter Potter and the sergeant Jan Danckaert, testify before the Council of Justice.

Declaration of Pieter Potter, land surveyor, Jan Danckaert and Fr[ancois] de Coninck, soldiers of the Fort, that they and the Commander Riebeeck did last night, long after the sentries were posted, arrive at the dwelling of Gunner Willem whom they found undressed, lying alongside the female slave of the Commander, named Maria.

They happen upon the constable Willem Cornelisz: (from Rotterdam) – Constabel dese forteresse – and Van Riebeeck’s slave, Marij da Costa, in flagrante delictu. They are discovered in each other’s arms between 10/11 that night in the constable’s room which is near the magazine where the gunpowder is stored. The proximity of his room to the gunpowder could not be a more apt setting for such an explosive situation. Van Riebeeck sends Marij back to her room and has Willem put into custody. For his transgression (dereliction of duty) Willem has his original sentence of 50 years in the public works (ad opus publicum) and fine of 100 reals commuted to a fine of 50 reals and dismissal from his post as constable. Thus, Marij, who appears to find her own way to Cornelisz’s room, is saved from the clutches of Cornelisz.:  

Cornelisz: arrives at Cape (15 July 1659) on the Achilles and is employed as trumpeter with a wage of f12 per month. He requests to also serve as constable occupying both posts and receiving a salary of f20 per month. He is arraigned (25 May 1661) for insulting Commander Van Riebeeck and again (22 October 1666) for being involved in a stabbing incident. Thereafter he is employed as gunner. He later accuses Van Riebeeck – not without any foundation – of victimizing him. The free-burgher and tapper Jurriaen (Joris) Jansz: Appel (from Amsterdam) and his wife Jannetje Ferdinandus (from Courtrai), not only threaten to report (10 July 1660) Cornelisz: to the authorities about his secret tapping of brandy, but actually do so. He is duly charged but not sentenced for theft (7 August 1660). Cornelisz: does not take kindly to judicial harassment. More complaints about him and his recalcitrant behaviour ensue (20 May 1661).

20 May 1661: Declaration of Roeloff Michaelsz, sailor, Andries Thysz, do., P. Hendriksz, of Odendaal, carpenter, and P. Jacobsz, soldier, stationed at the Fort, that on Monday last, the 16th inst., about 8 p.m., after the watch had been placed, the gunner of the Fort, Willem Cornelisz:, was brought to the main guard, who behaved very disorderly and disobediently towards the fiscal [Abraham Gabbema], who wished to imprison him for creating a commotion within the Fort. He would not listen to the Fiscal, but roared out like a madman, using many bad words, saying also that the Commander and Council had taken from him about f170 in a thievish way, because as he exclaimed, he had been intimate with the Commander’s female slave [Marij van Bengale?]. Besides for having tapped and sold a glass of brandy, he had had to pay f70 more, &c. He said also that the officers of the Fort were rascals and dogs, and that he had served other

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83 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations (23 August 1660), p. 448.
84 Falls foul of the law again (1661 & 1666). Attempts to re-convict (1660) for theft, however, appear to be unsuccessful.
86 Anna J. Böeseken, Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672, p. 139, n. 415; p. 447 (10 July 1660); ‘Leibbrandt’, Attestations, p. 454;
87 Case no. 710, Attestations, p. 447 (10 July 1660).
88 Anna J. Böeseken, Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672, p. 139, n. 415; p. 447 (10 July 1660).
gentlemen than this one of the Cape, who had the power to hang and burn, which, however, this
one here did not possess; and other enormities more added against the Council. He went so far
that a great commotion was caused among the garrison. The above confirmed by oath, 23 May.

20 May 1661: Declaration of Corn: [elis] Willemsz; Corporal, and George Fredericus, of Uts
[Lueneburg], that on Monday, the 16th inst., about 8 p.m. the gunner, Willem Cornelisz, of
Rotterdam, used some bad words towards G. [eorge] Fredericus, which went so far that a great
commotion was created at the Fort. The commander ordered the gunner to be put in irons. The
latter (whilst deponent, the corporal went to inform the fiscal [Abraham Gabbema] of the row,
and who also heard the bad words), went into his room for his side arms which he brought out
bare in his hand. He ran with it to G. [eorge] Fredericus, but H. [endrick] Hagens [from
Lochum] and Frans de Coninck took the sword from him and prevented him from doing any
mischief. He swore and scolded and made a great noise, &c. The above certified by oath, 27th
May.

Worth noting is the presence of both H. [endrick] Ha(e)gen(s:) (from Lochum) and Frans de Coninck (from Ghent) in the attestation. Two of Van Riebeeck’s other slaves are their concubines (Maaij Ansea and Lijsbeth van Bengale). Why are certain officials punished for committing fornication (vleeschelijke conversatie) or for cohabiting with the handful of female slave women resident in the colony at the time, while others are not? Cohabitation per se is probably not the problem; rather dereliction of duty and the unlawful use of other people’s property. The presence of De Coninck (likely biological father to Maaij Ansea’s eldest Cape-born halfs lag Anna (Annetje) de Coninck / Coning(h) and one H. [endrick] Ha(e)gen(s:) (likely biological father to one of Lijsbeth’s other Cape-born voorkinders Jacob Hagis (Ha(e)gens) and sexually active with her at that very time) begs the question: why is Cornelisz: singled out?

Is Cornelisz, however, also sexually active with another slave in the household of the sick-comforter Pieter van der Stael (from Rotterdam) – Van Riebeeck’s brother-in-law – who is mother to the Cape-born halfs lag Pietertje [Pieter Willemsz: Africano or Tamboer] baptized (18 July 1660)? The infant’s unnamed slave mother at the time of baptism is Van Riebeeck’s expropriated slave Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna. Significantly, Maaij Ansea is concubine to the above-mentioned Francois de Coninck who had participated in at least one of the expeditions (30 January 1661-11 March 1661) into the interior with the intrepid Dane, Pieter Meerhoff (from Copenhagen). At that time Meerhoff is living openly in concubinage with the in/famous interpreter, the indigene Krotoa (later baptised Eva). With them on the same expedition is Johannes van As (from Brussels) who takes Maaij Ansea as his concubine after De Coningh. He is to participate with Meerhoff in the next expedition (21 March 1661-23 April 1661). Significantly, Pieter Evrard leaves his concubine Groote Catrijn behind when he joins Meerhoff on the following expedition into the interior (14 November 1661-13 February 1662). No wonder Willem Cornelisz: is embittered especially after suffering further institutional harassment.

89 Is he the Corporal Haegens serving later on Mauritius (1667/1668)?
Frans de Coninck (now a free-burgher) soon also falls foul of the law. With Coenraet Jansz: Schilbergen he is given a suspended sentence (24 February 1663) while 2 other free-burghers, Nicolaes del Bort (from Arien) – who fathers a child by the private slave Lobbetje van Guinea – and Nellie Cloepert are both sentenced to 100 lashes and a fine of 6 reals of 8 each – all four being punished for fighting and disorderly behaviour. Thereafter De Coninck disappears from the Cape records.

Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale is first recorded with co-slaves and compatriots Marij da Costa and Maaij Ansela – in a statement (18 September 1659) formalizing ownership by Van Riebeeck in the absence of a formal deed. Only heelslag slaves are registered. These 3 women evidently have no heelslag children at the time and any halfslag children are left unrecorded – presumably because of their legal right to freedom at majority. In this declaration, however, Lijsbeth appears to be incorrectly recorded as Domingo [sic]. Van Riebeeck owns 3 female slaves from Batavia according to the muster (1657). Domingo is a male name. The female version should be Dominga.

It is during the time Lijsbeth is slave in the Van Riebeeck household that the Company’s hunter and soon-to-become free-burgher Johannes Coenraedsz: Visser (from Ommen [Overijssel]) alias Jan Groff impregnates her. Perhaps their brief relationship is tolerated in much the same way as the concubinage of her co-slave Maaij Ansela – with 2 officials, François de Coninck (from Ghent) and Joannes van As (from Brussels) and that of the commander’s washer woman, the exiled convict and slave Groote Catrijn – with the head of the garrison – Pieter Evrard (from Cruijsard). Cornelisz., her other co-slave Marij’s lover, however, is not so fortunate. Nonetheless, he must be happy to see the back of Van Riebeeck and his extended family departing for Batavia (7 May 1662) after a 10-year sojourn.

Groote Catrijn witnesses the sale of Maaij Ansela by Jan van Riebeeck to her new owner the secunde Abraham Gabbema. Also worth noting are the sale of his slaves Christina (Christijn) van Angola and Isabella van Angola. The former is sold to the free-tailer Elbert Dirx: Diemer (from Emmerich) and his wife Christina Does aka Stijntje de Boerin – who is sister to Mrs Gabbema – while the latter is sold to Heinrich Heinrichssen (from Surwurde [Oldenborg]) aka Hendrik van Zuervaarden and his wife Margaretha (Grietje) Meeckhoff. The households of matriarchs Stijntje de Boerin and Grietje Meeckhoff and the influence of their household slaves on the young colony will impact greatly on the lives of Groote Catrijn, her family and other associates.

Lijsbeth and Marij are sold from Van Riebeeck’s estate (28 November 1665) some time after his transfer (1662) to Batavia, most likely joining the household of Minister Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp (from Maasbommel). They probably serve the Cape’s first resident minister Johannes van Arckel (1640-1666), a bachelor accompanied by his sister Elisabeth van Arckel who arrives at the Cape (17 August 1665) on the Nieuw Middelburgh and whose ministry is short-lived. He dies (12 January 1666). His sister

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91 He is still a soldier in 1662.
92 Anna J. Böeseken, Uit die Raad van Justisie, p. xxvii.
marries (30 January 1667) her brother’s intended replacement, the widower Ds. Jacobus Burenus, who arrives on the Diemermeer (31 December 1666) but the newly wed couple elect to proceed to Batavia (12 February 1668) with Wachtendorp being appointed resident minister.

Lijsbeth and Marij probably also attend to the minister Johannes de Voocht (from Amsterdam) who serves as temporary minister (February 1666-December 1666) after arriving (26 February 1666) on the Constantia and later marrying (3 October 1666) Elisabeth Pauw soon after her arrival on the Dordrecht. The couple leave the Cape (December 1666) for Ceylon where he becomes minister. At the Cape De Voogd purchases (30 September 1666) the slave Willem van Bengale from departing Commander Zacharias Wagenaer for Rds 90 or f 180. Wachtendorp arrives (29 October 1666) with his wife Maria Prignon and children on the Beurs. They had left the Netherlands (1666) for the East but never get there, as he dies unexpectedly at the Cape. In terms of a Council of Policy resolution (12 November 1666), he is appointed acting minister until the new resident minister-elect Burenus arrives but dies the following year (15 February 1667).

Wagenaer arrives as second Cape Commander

The new commander, Zacharias Wagenaer [Wagener] (1614-1668), hails from Dresden in Germany, the son of a Saxonian judge and painter. He is a seasoned and

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94 Transport en Schepenkennis (hereinafter ‘Slave Transactions’) by Anna J. Böeseken / Margaret Cairns in Slaves & Free Blacks & J. Leon Hattingh in Kronos – courtesy of Rob Shell.
highly cultured VOC official – nicknamed Der Donnerman (literally ‘Thunder Man’, hence a volatile and difficult man) while stationed at Dejima (literally ‘exit island’), the VOC’s toehold in Japan at Nagasaki. Prior to that, he is quartermaster to Prince Maurits of Orange at Recife in Dutch Brazil leaving posterity valuable drawings of his time there. The commander is accompanied by his thricely-widowed aristocrat wife, Maria Auxbrebis (from Wesel) and her daughter from a previous marriage, Maria de Bucquoi, the widow Cornelis (Coen) Verburg(h). Marie Françoise Auxbrebis / aux Brebis (1609-1666) is a scion of the ancient aristocratic family in the Val d’Hermeton, Naumur in the Spanish Netherlands [Belgium] and daughter of François Auxbrebis de St-Marc and Catherine de Romerée marrying (1st) David de Bucquoi, (2nd) Adriaan Anthonissen, (3rd) Jacob Sweerts [Sweris] and finally (4th) Zacharias Wagenaer.

Arriving from Batavia, Wagenaer is able to bring a retinue of slaves from Asia. Had he come from the Netherlands, this would be impossible. Generally permission is denied for slaves to be taken to the Netherlands. When this does happen in exceptional cases, these slaves are entitled to automatic freedom when setting foot on Dutch soil. Officials travelling from the East are happy to have slaves accompany them either for comfort or for resale but seldom manumission. Although private trading is frowned upon in all other instances, this is one of the few ways in which officials can profit after an overseas posting on the voyage home.

Wagenaer brings and acquires a number of slaves to the Cape inter alia:

- the baptized Japanese Christian Anthonij van Japan
- his concubine the unbaptized Annica van Bengale
- Maria (Marij) van Bali
- Willem van Bengale
- Louis van Bengale.

Soon after arrival, his step-daughter acquires slaves in attendance:

- Jantje van Bengale
- Matthijs van Coromandel
- Paulo van Malabar (later property of Groote Catrijn’s future husband, the free-black Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale) and
- de meijt Catharijn [Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar (born c. 1637)].

Last-mentioned is likely to be the same person as Catharina van Batavia sent by Jacob Does in Batavia with merchant Gillis Nonnemans sailing on Princess Royaal to hand over to Jochem Blanck (from Lübeck) at the Cape (transferred 3 April 1662). She is later sold (30 September 1666) to Wagenaer’s successor Commander Cornelis van Quaebergen. One Jan Jacob Does marries the sister-in-law to Cape commander (later governor) Simon van der Stel, Agatha Six, daughter of Willem Willemzoon Six.

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95 Généalogie des Auxbrebis de St-Mard de Neuville: https://sites.google.com/site/valhermeton/les-villages/neuville/histoire/genealogie-des-auxbrebis-de-st-mard-de-neuville.
97 Likely purchased from Jan Van Riebeeck [no record] & sold (30 September 1666) to succeeding Commander Cornelis van Quaebergen.
(1637-1681) luitenant der burgerij and Agatha Guldenwagen (1638-1717), wid. Johan Daniel D’Ablaing, heer van Haulsin (daughter of Cornelis Guldenwagen mayor of Haarlem). Members of the Does family are also well represented at the Cape in form of the Widow Velten Does, Johanna Boddijs and her family.

These slaves are part of a group of 15 individuals who are sent out on the Return Fleet. It is possible that Groote Catrijn, being senior to Catharina van Malabar, comes to be known as such to distinguish the 2 slaves both named Catharina from each other and both working in the commander’s household. At this stage the Company’s slave population at the Cape (1662) amounts to 55 geographically removed individuals: 30 from ‘Guinea’, 17 from ‘Angola’, 6 from Madagascar and 2 from Batavia. The last mentioned are none other than the 2 convicts Groote Catrijn and Susanna Een Oor van Bengale. Of the colony’s 58 privately owned slaves, 27 belong to the free-burghers and 31 are at the beck and call of Company officials and their wives.

A few months after Wagenaer’s arrival, circumstantial evidence which unfurls in more detail as this narrative progresses, points to the Company slave Groote Catrijn presenting her 2 voordochters for baptism (9 October 1662):

Catharina99 [later known as Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep]; and Maria100 [later known as Maria (Marritie / Maritje) [Pieters: van de Caep].

The 2 children are indeed sisters – or more correctly half-sisters. This is stated in the wills of Maria Pieters:101 The later assumed patronymic Pieters: of her second daughter Marritie telling points to her biological father in all probability being the ensign in the garrison, Pieter Evrard (from Cruijssard). He signs his name Evrard but is found recorded variously as: Euvraets, Everaerd, Everaerts, Everard, Everardts, Everart, Everhard, Evrard, Evrardt, Evrart and Evrat. His provenance – location as yet undetermined – is found variously as: Cruyssart, Cruysaert, Cruysaert, Cruyssart and Kruyssart. The name appears as a surname in Belgium. The presence of French books in his inventory points to the likelihood that he hailed from a French-speaking area – perhaps French Flanders. The belated joint baptism of the 2 half-sisters is possibly explained in terms of initial uncertainty about their legal status as children of a convict exiled to the Cape as a Company slave and their right to baptism.102 Should the mother’s punishment (exile to the Cape as a Company slave) apply to her halfslag children?

98 http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui67.htm
99 Cathalina dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren.
100 Mary dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren.
102 See infra for elaboration on this point – also with regard to manumission.
Pieter Evrard

Evrard begins his distinguished Company career serving in the VOC militia in India. His time there undoubtedly gives him and Groote Catrijn something to talk about. He arrives at the Cape (17 November 1658) having left Zealand (31 May) that same year as corporal commanding of the flute De Harp (corporael commandant van’t fluijtschip de Harp) and is appointed as corporal with a salary of f20 per month (1 March 1659). He rises rapidly in the ranks: wachtmeester (2 May 1662) with a salary of f25 per month finally succeeding the deceased Jan van Harwaerden (from Zevender [Utrecht]) as sergeant and ensign and finally head of the garrison with a salary of f36 per month. He is promoted for his vigilance and bravery shown on various occasions (ten reguare van zijn vigilantie en dapperheit in verscheijde gelegenheden behoont). He takes part in various expeditions into the unexplored interior, is an active participant in the ‘First Dutch/Khoe War’ and serves as a member of both the Council of Policy and the Council of Justice. Evrard’s illicit intercourse, sexual and otherwise, with the convict Groote Catrijn is doubtless unexemplary for a member of the Cape’s two highest governing bodies.103

Wagenaer’s posting as Cape commander is brief – just over 4 years. Now a widower – his wife having died at the Cape (14 June 1666) – he departs with his stepdaughter Maria Verburg on the Dordrecht (1 October 1666) bound for Batavia. Groote Catrijn later catches a last glimpse of her former ‘protector’ when Wagenaer finally returns to Europe, stopping at the Cape (March 1668), only to die soon thereafter in Amsterdam (18 October 1668).

From this time onwards we find Groote Catrijn also recorded as originating ‘from Bengal’ (Catharina van Bengale). The ascribed provenance of slaves at the Cape is seldom consistent. Furthermore Paliacatta is understandably interchangeable with Bengal as Pulicat, being situated on the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, and is easily superseded by Bengal as a larger and more widely used geographical concept. We also know that Pulicat is initially the main Dutch fortified trading post on the Coromandel Coast, and also for Bengal, before replacing Negapatnam in the 1680s.104 We shall see later that she marries as Catharina van Bengalen (1671), appearing as such together with her husband as members of the church congregation (1676); but thereafter appears in the muster rolls variously as:

Catrina van Palicat (1672), Catharina van de ... [left blank] (1673), Catrijn van Paliacat (1674), Cat.[harina] van Paliacate (1675), Catr.[in]a v.[an] Paliacata (1677), Catrijn van de ... [left blank] (1678), Catharina van Paliacatta (1679) and Catharina van Paliacatte (1682).

We first learn of Groote Catrijn’s childbearing lot when a moribund, but well-connected, Evrard makes a most extraordinary, but legally invalid, provision in his will (13 March 1664). An expectant Groote Catrijn is to receive the payment of f150 (150 guilders) for purposes of maintaining her unborn child – if born alive.105 If the child is

103 Anna J. Böeseken, Uit die Raad van Justisie, p. 131 n. 383.
104 Israel, Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740, p. 331.
105 ... aen Catharina van Bengalen omme van de E.[dele] Comp[agni]e. In minderinge sijner te goed hebbende gaggie te genieten een somme van hondert vijfigh guildens te XL grooten stuk ende dat tot sustentie ende opvoedingh van een jongh kint daervan deselve Catharina in corten staat verlost te worden doch met die reserve dat ingevalle het kint doot ter werelt in het baeren quame te overlijden dat alsdan ‘t
stillborn, the monies are to go to his other legatees *ab intestato* (in terms of the governing rules of intestate succession). He expires 3 days later (Saturday 15 March 1664) having endured for some time much pain caused by a bladder stone “and other complications”.106 *Groote Catrijn’s* relationship with the greatly respected Evrard stands her in good stead. That a *stable* relationship of sorts had existed is certain. Is this provision by her lover perhaps an acknowledgement of paternity – even if indirect and at the brink of death? Evrard is buried (Monday 17 March 1664) with full military honours107 leaving *Groote Catrijn* ‘carrying’ the unborn baby.

His will makes no provision for the manumission of either *Groote Catrijn* or her / their unborn child. They remain the property of the Company. Does the *f* 150 left conditionally to *Groote Catrijn* go to the Company? Slaves in principle are legally disabled “so long as someone is a slave, he is subject to physical and legal authority”.108 When regulating slavery the Dutch religiously apply the principles of Roman law relating to slavery. They cannot legally own any property but can possess concessionary personal effects (*peculium*) that can revert to the master (*patron*) at any time.109 The *Institutes of Justinian* are unequivocal on this matter: 110

“Slaves are in the power of their masters (which power, indeed comes from the law of nations: for we can observe that among all nations alike masters have the power of life and death over their slaves) and anything acquired through a slave is acquired by his master”.

A slave cannot inherit or qualify as a legitimate legatee. Legacies can only be bequeathed to those having testamentary capacity.111 Those with capacity to inherit have to be free from power and citizens of the body politic.112 A slave’s ‘right’ to inherit at the Cape is still unregulated by statute (as late as 1726). The Council of Policy, in an extraordinary departure from established legal principles, allows (26 March 1726) 2 half-brothers who are still Company slaves to inherit from their freed half-brother.113 The peculiar circumstances of the case demand an expedient remedy. The incident appears to be *sui generis* (in effect unique) – a political decision and may well serve as a precedent in similar circumstances thereafter. Prior to 1726, the ‘right’ appears to be

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106 In de verleden nacht is Pieter Everard vaendrigh en houf van de militie deser Fortresse comen t’overlijden,ubbende geruijmen tijt herwaerts ellendigh met ’et graveel en ander accidenten gequelt geweest [Anna J. Böeseken, Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer 1662-1666, p. 137].

107 ... der achter achtermiddaghs te vijff is de voorn.[oemde][Pieter Everaerts] vaendrigh na krijggebruijk begraven, ubbende desevel all de officiers en schippers der presente 6 schepen die laetste eer bewesen en hem uijtgeleijde tot aen sijn graf gedaen.

108 De Libertinis (On Freedmen) Book I, Tit. V ... quamdu quis in servitute est, manui et potestati suppositus est [J.A.C. Thomas, The Institutes of Justinian: Text, Translation and Commentary, p. 17].

109 Barry Nicholas, An Introduction to Roman Law, p. 74.

110 De his qui sui vel alieni iuris sunt (On those who are independent and dependant), Book I, Tit VIII [J.A.C. Thomas, The Institutes of Justinian: Text, Translation and Commentary, p. 24].

111 De Legatis (On Legacies) Book II, Tit. XX: Legari autem illis solis potest, cum quibus testamenti facto est [J.A.C. Thomas, The Institutes of Justinian: Text, Translation and Commentary, p. 144].

112 Max Kaser, Römische Privatrecht / Rolf Dannenbring, Roman Private Law, p. 363; Barry Nicholas, An Introduction to Roman Law, pp. 236 & 239.

generally denied. This is evident from the earlier wills (1713 & 1721) of freed heelslag Company slave Armosijn Claesz: whose enslaved legatees (her own descendants) can only inherit on condition that they be already liberated.\footnote{Mansell G. Upham, ‘Armosyn Revisited’, \emph{Capensis}, no. 2 (2000), pp. 26-27; see updated version on First Fifty Years Project (FFY) \url{http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui70.htm}.}

The Company is unlikely to have set aside the money for the benefit of Groote Catrijn’s child in keeping with the wishes of the deceased testator. In all likelihood the legacy’s invalidity was upheld. The records investigated reveal nothing about the fate of the unborn child: whether born dead or alive, or whether the legacy was ever made available. Only Evrard’s friends, the soldier Jan van Laer (from Amsterdam) – provisional head of the Dutch settlement at Mauritius (1668) – and Gerrit Jacobse van der Laen, formally acknowledge receipt of their inheritance. The latter is a derde cherurgijn who arrives at the Cape (1663) on the \emph{Fenix}. Groote Catrijn had been excluded. Evrard’s inventory is detailed to the extent that we even know how much underwear he possesses. Judging from his wardrobe, he comes across to modern readers as quite dandy. Perhaps most extraordinary of all, are his 14 books (mostly French). Books are exceptionally rare and seldom found in inventories for the period.\footnote{CA: CTD, p. 88 (Inventory: Pieter Evrard (from Cruijsard), 17 March 1664). His will & inventory – transcribed verbatim – appear in Appendix 4.}

That at least one child is born by an expectant Groote Catrijn (some time after 13 March 1664) is certain. If her age is correctly recorded, she is then a mother at the age of 33 years. We find her baptizing a child (6 September 1665) according to the Cape’s first baptismal register.\footnote{CA, VC 603: G 1/1 Doopregister 1665-1695, p. 2.} Her child is recorded in a list of More female slaves’ children of the Honourable East India Company:

the mother Catharina whose child is named Petronella.\footnote{Noch van de Slavinnes kinderen der Ed.[ele] Oostyndische Compagnie: ... de moeder Catharina diens kind is genaamt Petronella.}

Is Groote Catrijn’s daughter given a feminized form of her father’s name as a first name? Petronella survives to become the adoptive daughter of the free-black Anthonij Jansz: van Bengal. She becomes known subsequently as Petronella van Bengale, after her stepfather, and Petronella schoondogter van Antony van Bengal.\footnote{Mansell G. Upham, ‘Armosyn Revisited’, \emph{Capensis}, no. 2 (2000), pp. 19-33.} Company slave children are generally baptized a few months after birth. It becomes policy at the Cape to baptise all slave children belonging to the Company. This did not always happen, however. Preference is initially given to halfslag children. Examples of even Cape-born Company slave children who are only baptized in adulthood have been traced.\footnote{CA: CTD, p. 88 (Inventory: Pieter Evrard (from Cruijsard), 17 March 1664). His will & inventory – transcribed verbatim – appear in Appendix 4.} Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (1636-1691)’s observes (1685) that there still remained even unbaptised halfslag slaves in the Company’s Slave Lodge.\footnote{Mansell G. Upham, ‘Armosyn Revisited’, \emph{Capensis}, no. 2 (2000), pp. 19-33.} Company slave children who escape childhood baptism are perhaps children of die-hard Muslims and other Christian-wary mothers or parents – assuming that the mothers had any choice in the matter.

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{itemize}
\item[114] Mansell G. Upham, ‘Armosyn Revisited’, \emph{Capensis}, no. 2 (2000), pp. 26-27; see updated version on First Fifty Years Project (FFY) \url{http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui70.htm}.
\item[116] CA, VC 603: G 1/1 Doopregister 1665-1695, p. 2.
\item[117] Noch van de Slavinnes kinderen der Ed.[ele] Oostyndische Compagnie: ... de moeder Catharina diens kind is genaamt Petronella.
\item[119] Den heijligen doop behoort voor al niet verwaarloost te worden ontrent de kinderen van Duift[sche] vaders; niet te verantwoorden zijnde, men deselve tot veel jaaren toe als heijdenen ongedoopt te laten heen lopen. [Anna J. Böeseken, \emph{Memoriën en Instructiën 1657-1699}, p. 208].
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotes}
Sufficient circumstantial evidence exists that Groote Catrijn already has other children before 1664. Since the time of her year and a half cohabitation in Batavia with Claes van Malabar, she would be of childbearing age. We do not know whether she leaves any children behind in Batavia. Being enslaved, like their mother, their mutual owner (patronesse) is at liberty to alienate or transfer ownership of these children – if they are unbaptised and/or heelslag. According to the Cape’s muster roll (16 April 1657), no slave children are listed. Groote Catrijn evidently arrives at the Cape without children.

Bearing in mind the limitations of contemporary contraceptive methods and the general shortage of women, the very real likelihood exists that she has other children at the Cape before Petronella. It is an exasperating task to identify, not only the children of slave mothers, but also to establish their paternity – also maternity – in early Cape records. This is frustrated by the fact that baptisms for the period (April 1652-23 August 1665) – a period of just over 13 years – are not initially collectively and consecutively recorded. With the arrival of Joan van Arckel as first permanent minister (1665), a rough list of the Cape’s first baptisms prior to August 1665 is purportedly drawn up. It is not known how complete this ‘list’ is. The situation is aggravated by the disappearance of this ‘list’. A transcription of this ‘list’, however, is in existence listing only children’s names and baptismal dates. An alternative source, but incomplete, since slave baptisms (only the event itself) are seldom included, is the Company Journal. This mentions from time to time baptisms that took place during this early period. Infant mortality, however, is generally high for any number of reasons: diet, venereal

120 Margaret Cairns – personal communication.
disease, abortion and infanticide. Muslim women are notorious in the Dutch East Indies for aborting foetuses fathered by Christians.

There are at least 3 baptismal entries for slave infants born to a Company slave woman (or women) named Catharina for the period (23 August 1655-1669) – the commencement of the Cape’s first baptismal register until the baptism of Christoffel Snijman. The infant Anthonij is baptized on the same day as Groote Catrijn’s daughter Petronella in a mass baptism of Company slave children. The 2 infants appear in separate entries. Are there 2 Company slave women both called Catharina baptizing their children on the same day? Or does Groote Catrijn baptize the same day 2 children who come to be recorded separately? If Petronella is not the unborn child acknowledged by Evrard, could the infant be Anthonij? These questions are posed because Petronella, unlike her half-brother Christoffel Snijman, is not found in the records identified by her biological father’s name. Had her acknowledged biological father indeed been Evrard, one expects the memory of this famous and high-ranking official to be perpetuated.

We again find (1667) two (or is it one?) Company slave women named Catharina baptizing infants but on different occasions. The first Susan is baptized (2 October 1667) and the second Louis is baptized (13 November 1667). It is not unlikely that at least one of these infants is a child of Groote Catrijn. The writer suspects that the later baptism relates to Groote Catrijn given her close association with Louis van Bengale. No further record of such children, if indeed her children, can be found. These children probably die in infancy. When Groote Catrijn commences her relationship with Evrard is not known. It may be any time since his arrival at the Cape (17 November 1658). But as we shall see later, she does not necessarily restrict herself to individual lovers.

**Van Quaelbergen household**

Groote Catrijn next slaves for the Van Quaelbergen household now supplemented by other slaves:

- Claes van Coromandel [Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale].
- her future husband Anthonij van Coromandel [Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale].
- Andries van Coromandel [Arie van Bengale].
- Jeronimus van Coromandel.
- Tita – from Bengal [Titus (de) Thomsen / Thomzen van Bengale]; and
- the Maleijer (‘Malay’) Barru [Baddou].

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121 The low fertility rate or inhibited reproductive capacity of slave women at the Cape remains a bone of contention. For an insightful critique see Patricia van der Spuy’s article ‘What, then, was the sexual outlet for black males?: a feminist critique of quantitative representations of women slaves at the Cape of Good Hope in the eighteenth century’, *Kronos*, no. 23 (1996), pp. 43-56.


123 ... de moeder Catharina [Catharina van Malabar?] wiens kind is genaemt Anthonij.


The slaves Anthonij, Claes and Titus arrive possibly also with Sijbrand Abbema (9 February 1670) who sells them to the free-burgher Hendrik Snijer. Therafter they appear to be sold from his deceased estate to Van Quartzbergen, Baddu and Jeronimus arrive earlier in the Return Fleet (1662). The youth of some of these slaves and the fact that at least two later adopt patronymics (Claes Gerritsz: and Anthonij Jansz:) point to the likelihood that some of these slaves are born into slave households in Batavia and consequently appear to be more assimilated / acculturated into the Dutch East Indies culture. All these slaves – with the exception of Jeronimus – leave indelible marks on the early colony. Anthonij and Claes appear to be purchased from the deceased estate of Hendrik Snijer with both listed in his inventory:127

“Jacqje, Anthonij and Pieter, one old slave Frans [van Macau] and one young slave Claes”.

- Jacqje Jooi alias Gracías Maialas (born c. 1647) originally belonging to the free-Saldanha traders and partners (compagnons), Thomas Christoffel Müller (born c. 1636) (from Leipzig [Saxony]), previously a soldier (1656) and cattleherd on Robben Island who becomes a burgher (5 January 1658) and Jochem Elbertsz: (from Amsterdam). On 18 September 1659 they exchange their slaves Jacqje Jooi van Angola and Jan Meeuw van Angola, respectively 12 and 13 years old, for the slaves Oude Hans van Guinea and Lobbetje van Guinea belonging Jan van Riebeek.128 Before departing for the East, Van Riebeek sells him (1 May 1662). Van Riebeek had already sold (20 April 1662) the slaves Domingo van Angola, Jan Meeu van Angola, Thomas/so van Angola and Maaij Claesje van Angola, also to the secunde Roeloff de Man. Their new owner dies prematurely (6 March 1663), however, and he and the other slaves are again sold from the deceased estate (27 March 1663) as one of the “three Angolan slave men and woman” (drie Angooske slaven en [een] slavinnen): Domingo, Jan Meeuw, Thomas/so Keukien and Maaij Claesje. Thomas/so probably dies sometime during the interim, Jan Meeuw and Domingo are purchased by the new secunde Abraham Gabbema (from The Hague) while Jacqje Jooi’s new owner becomes Hendrik Snijer.

- Pieter Rob van Guinea is purchased (12 March 1668) from Thomas Christoffel Muller (from Leipzig) who had purchased him from Leendert Cornelisz: (from Sevenhuizen).

- Frans is the same person as Francisco that Willem van Dieden (from Amsterdam) – who marries his master’s widow – sells to buy his freedom (25 May 1684). He appears in the census (1688) recorded as Frans van Makon [Macau].129

- Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale

Commander Cornelis van Quaelbergen stops over already once before at the Cape (April 1658) on his return to Europe. He is no stranger to Groote Catrijn. He and his second wife Judith(a) van den Bogaerde are apparently very popular at the Cape as observed by the visiting (1668) Arnout van Overbeke sailing on the Zuys Polsbroek: “Quaelbergen was still so beloved".130 They are also kindly disposed towards at least their own maid Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar (born c. 1637). Before leaving the Cape (11 August 1668), they free her presumably respecting her changed circumstances. She is already the mother of a child named Adriaentje Gabriels: (born 1667) by a European man and also likely mother to 2 halfslag sons Louis (born 1663) and Anthonij (born 1665), soon becoming the tolerated concubine (and later lawful wife) of the Company’s superintendent at Groote Schuur, Cornelisz Claesz: (from

129 Later recorded as Francois van Maccor & Frans/co or Franciscus Per(e)era or Perreira. He is not to be confused with the convict Francisco Manilha.
Utrecht), better known as **Kees de Boer**. The rest of their slaves the commander sells to his unmarried successor Commander **Jacob Borghorst**.

**Christoffel Snijman’s ‘unimmaculate conception’**

Regular nocturnal activity on the part of a distracted sentry inside the living quarters of the Fort’s washerwoman – the Company slave familiarly known to all as **Groote Catrijn** – results in the conviction (30 July 1667) of **Hans Christoffel Snijman** [Hans Christoff Schneider]. He is convicted for leaving his post as sentry to sleep at the living quarters of a certain known black ‘girl’ (te slapen sigh ten woonplaets van sekere bekende swarte meijt). His sentence entails flogging and banishment to Robben Island for 2 years with the forfeiture of 2 months salary to the fiscal (prosecuting officer).\(^{131}\) His banishment on Robben Island is confirmed in the muster roll (1668) where he is listed as one of the convicts.\(^{132}\) He is not enumerated again in the muster (1669). This is probably drawn up just after his 2-year term of banishment had been completed.

But it is **Groote Catrijn** who is left, yet again, carrying the baby ... **Groote Catrijn’s** illegitimate son is later baptized **Christoffel** (9 March 1669) and witnessed by **Maaij Ansela**.\(^{133}\) The child’s paternity is no secret. He is named directly after the biological father now relegated to Robben Island. Throughout his life he is identifies himself (and is identified) by his father’s surname, which surname is used by his numerous descendants.

The infant **Christoffel’s** ascribed biological father, also recorded as **Hans Christoffel Snijder** – and once even as **Christoffel Snijman** – hails from Heidelberg in the Palatinate. First enumerated in the muster rolls (1666) as **Hans Christoffel Snijder van Heydelberg soldaat** he is a soldier under the Chamber of Enckhuizen together with **Arnoldus Willemsz: [Basson]**\(^{134}\). The latter is **Jagt** – the future husband of **Maaij Ansela. Snijman** appears again in the muster roll (1667).\(^{135}\)

From the very time of his arrival, **Snijman** appears to constantly fall foul of the law. The father of the child has already been convicted for assault (1665) and a few months later for participating in a group desertion in which a hostage is taken. He is convicted (3 October 1665) for being part of a brawl. The Council of Justice is satisfied that he antagonized and hit a fellow soldier **Diedeloff Tim** who retaliates and stabs **Snijman**. Both **Tim** and **Snijman** are tried separately and punished.\(^{136}\) **Tim** is banished to Robben Island for 6 months. He retains his wages but forfeits his daily allowance. He also has to pay his victim’s medical costs and a fine of 2 months salary to be forfeited to the fiscal.

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\(^{132}\) ... op’t Robben eylant gecommandeert als gebannen: **Hans Christoffel Snijman** [CA: VC 39, vol. II (muster roll, 1668), p. 110].

\(^{133}\) ... een soontje van **Groote Catrijn** wiert genaemt **Christoffel** tot getuigen stont **Angila** [CA: VC 603, G 1/1, Doopregister (9 March 1669), p. 5].

\(^{134}\) **Hans Christoffel Snijman** appears to be enumerated erroneously twice. On p. 66 he is recorded as **Hans Christoffel Snijman van Hartsb. Sold:[ae]t.** CA, VC 39, II, (Monsterrol, 15 May 1666), pp. 66 & 77.

\(^{135}\) **Hans Christoffel Snijman** sold:[ae]t [CA: VC 39, II (Monsterrol 1666 [sic – 1667]), p. 81].

\(^{136}\) CA: CJ 1, no. 160, Case of **Hans Christoffel Snijman** (3 October 1665), p. 292.
Snijman, in turn, is fined 3 reals-of-eight to be forfeited to the fiscal. We do not know how seriously Snijman is wounded.

Soon thereafter (4 December 1665), a scarred, hungry and work-shy Snijman is punished with 19 others. Disgruntled with unacceptable hard labour and danger in the work place, they take one Jan Barentsz: hostage and leave for the interior. Snijman is accused no. 2. Is he one of the four main instigators? The Company Journal records the event (3 December 1665) as follows:

“This morning, after the roll was called, 20 soldiers ran away towards the sand hills (duyntjes) near here, wishing no longer to work at the Fort, saying straight out that they had not come to India for that, so that we were obliged to chase some with horses to bring them back to the Fort, but the rest, finding towards evening that on those dry sandhills the cook would not cater, returned of their own accord, with various flimsy (blauwe) excuses, which, could not be accepted, so that, as a warning to others, they will be punished, that the evil may not creep further”.

They are sentenced to be chained to each other in twos, while others are chained to wheelbarrows, condemned to work for 3 months with a daily wage. The men convicted are charged in the following order:

Hendrick Hendricxsz; Christoffel Snijman, Hans Christiaensz; Jochum Teunisz; Abram Adamsz; Arien Jacobsz; Jan Teunisz; Gerrit Barentsz; Hendrick van Elsen, Daniel Willemsz; Christoffel Jacobsz; Jan Bastiaensz; Dirck van der Speck, Jan Jansz: van Utrecht, Fransz Schamtelaer [François Champelier (from Ghent [Flanders])], David Cornelisz; Gerrit Pietersz; Arnout Allert, Joost Proost and Hans Veugelin.

The Journal records their punishment:

“This day the 20 soldiers who would no longer work on Thursday last, and boldly marched inland, were according to placcaet [edict] all riveted in irons, namely, 4 of the principle ringleaders, in Batavia fashion, two and two together; nine were each separately chained to a wheelbarrow, and the remaining seven, because they were all somewhat disabled (gebreckelyk) had each a small chain attached to the leg, and thus to labour for a month as a punishment, and without pay. We hope that this will make the others more careful and obedient in future”.

137 Soo zijn van de morgen oock na ‘t rollen lesen 20 soldaten na de duyntjes hier dicht bij gelegen, gelopen begerende aen dese Fortresse met graven niet langer te arbeijden, seggende recht uijt dat daerom niet naer India gevaren waren, sulx wij genootsaect zijn geweest sommige met paerden achter na te jagen en weder binnen te brengen maer de overige tegens den avont, siende dat op die drooge zantheuvelen de kock niet schaffen en wilden, bennen van selffs wederom gecomen onder verscheijde blauwe excusen die geensints aen te nemen waren, weswegen oocq andersten tot een excempel alleer dat quaet vorder kruijpt, staen gestraft te worden [Anna J. Böeseken , Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer 1662-1666, p. 233 & H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal, p. 167].


139 Ondertusschen zijn de 20 soldaten die verleden Donderdagh niet langer wilden arbeijden, maer stoutelijck lantwaertin liepen ongeslagen altemael in de kettingh gecloncken, te weten 4 der principaalst roervincken op zijn Batavias 2 aen 2 aen malcanderen; 9 zijnder doch ieder apart, aen een kruwijagen vastgesloten en de resterende 7 is eenelijck (om dat die eenigsints gebreeckelijck vonden) ieder een cleijn kettinghe aen hun been geleit, om alsoo dese maent tot een straff sonder dagloonen daerin te arbeijden, ‘t welcj wij hoopen dat voortaen d’ andere omsichtig en gehoorsamer maken sal. [Anna J. Böeseken, Dagregister en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer 1662-1666, p. 233 & H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal, p. 167.
Curiously, a penitent Hans Christoffel Snijman appears (already in 1666) in the church register as a fellow communicant with Groote Catrijn and Maaij Ansela who make their first appearance soon after (1667 / 1668). Snijman's appearance is extraordinary. Very few ordinary soldiers are ever enumerated in this list of generally senior ranking people. Indeed, even many senior ranking people are conspicuous by their absence as members of the church. Scrutiny of the names of the communicants reveals a small membership and limited participation by the majority of the colony's Christian inhabitants. This is confirmed even much later by François Valentijn (1666 – 1727). See his keen observation:

“When in 1714 I went to the Lord’s Supper here ... I found that the Church-members totalled 40 men and 48 women only, including those in the return-fleet, of whom there were a number, and it was entirely surprising that among those who approached the table there was no Member of the Council of Policy, and apparently also none of them was a church-member. / From this it can be seen, how little so many Preachers have gained in all these years by their toil among these inhabitants, due in no wise to faltering of their zeal, but to the stupidity and indolence of the Burghers. I perceived also, that there are many Lutherans among the Servants”

This is prior to his son's birth and Groote Catrijn's own joint baptism with Maaij Ansela (29 April 1668). After mid-1668 Hans Christoffel Snijman disappears. Despite his propensity for desertion, what becomes of this man is still unknown. Does he expire suddenly or does he opt for removal from the Cape, either back to Europe or to some other colonial clime? Nothing more in the records has come to light yet regarding this man.

At Catharina’s request...

With Hans Christoffel Snijman relegated to Robben Island, Groote Catrijn finds her company monopolized by other men. Recorded as Catarina van Bengale she is also the focal point of a gambling incident in which two officers, Cornelius van Benthem (corporal to the midshipmen – corporael van d'adelborsten) and the midshipman Aurelius Probenius (from Basle) win a large sum of money off her. Aurelius Probenius / Probst (from Basle [Solothurn, Switzerland]) serves (1666-1671) as a cadet at the following Company outposts (buitenposten): 1668 Diep River (1668) and Saldanha Bay – the fort at Kraal Bay (1670). A communicant of Reformed Church at the Cape, he later repatriates.

They are each obliged to pay (5 September 1667) her Rds 25 (25 rixdollars). In the course of the evening Groote Catrijn loses Rds 80. Feeling cheated, Groote Catrijn complains. The two men are arraigned before the Council of Justice and sentenced to pay Rds 25 each to Groote Catrijn thereby reducing her loss to Rds 30. They also have

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141 [Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it, vol. II, pp. 258-259].
142 … zijn gedoopt na gedaen belydenisse twee bejaerde personen, waer de een genaemt wiert Angila de andere Catharien, CA: VC 603, G 1/1, Doopregister (29 April 1668), p. 4.
143 Cornelis van Benthem. The wife of Rev. Petrus Kalden is Cornelia van Benthem. Are they related?
to pay a fine of 6 reals-of-eight for breaking the law against gambling with slaves.\textsuperscript{146} They state in their defence that \textit{Groote Catrijn} had asked them to play with her (\textit{op Catrijns versouck})\textsuperscript{147} yet she is neither arraigned nor punished nor even fined. Possibly the Council thinks her loss of Rds 30 to be sufficient punishment. Böeseken states that the two convicted soldiers are found guilty of contravening gambling laws. The case, however, is resolved more on the basis of restitution in terms of unjust enrichment. As if to justify the sentence, a new edict emerges \textit{ex post facto}. Gambling and the playing of cards inside the Fort are specifically outlawed. The prohibition is deemed necessary to prevent the serious quarrels that often ensue (\textit{waer uijt dan veeltijts hooge qurellen ontsaten, en dickwils groot onhijlen connen voort coomen}).\textsuperscript{148}

This is not the first time the authorities appear to be kindly disposed towards \textit{Groote Catrijn}. Her popularity with the garrison and VOC officialdom become increasingly evident in the records with even her living quarters providing a convenient backdrop for nocturnal recreation with other men. \textit{Groote Catrijn} is again involved in a judicial enquiry the following year. We learn (7 March 1668) from an interrogatory and sworn statement by her friend the free-black \textit{Anthonij van Japan} (signs his name \textit{Antoni van Japan} but is referred to in the document as \textit{Anthonij de Chinees [sic]}) that his hearsay evidence against the former secunde Hendrik Lacus (from Wesel) – charged with corruption, fraud and the appropriation of Company property – actually derives from none other than \textit{Groote Catrijn and others (Grae Catrijn... en andere)}\textsuperscript{149}. In this document she is also referred to as \textit{Catarijn}. Together with \textit{Sara [Zara]} – the ‘Dutch Hottentot’ woman \textit{Duijtse Hottentotinnen} (a purportedly detribalized / acculturated aboriginal servant in the \textit{Lacus} household) – and a woman \textit{Marij}, \textit{Groote Catrijn} had mentioned to \textit{Anthonij} that the engineer \textit{Pieter Dombaar} (from der Gouw) took to Ceylon a certain box with money – presumably on \textit{Lacus’s} instructions.

\textit{Zara} is first mentioned in the records (31 October 1667) as \textit{d’Hottentotinne Zara}. She is servant to the wife of Hendrik Lacus, Lydia de Pape. She and the slave \textit{Louis van Bengale} are allowed, temporarily, to remain in the disgraced Hendrik Lacus’s service. \textit{Louis} only becomes a free-man after Lacus’s conviction. He is given permission to buy his freedom by visiting Commissioner IJsbrand Goske (1671). In April 1672 he has not yet succeeded in doing so, but when Commissioner Arnout van Overbeeck is at the Cape, \textit{Louis} petitions the Council of Policy, submitting that he has now acquired some money and wishes to buy his freedom. The Council allows him to do so for 50 reals-of-eight.

In response to the question: “Whether he knew what goods had been sent from here?” \textit{Anthonij} responds by saying “he had heard from \textit{Grae [Gro]otje or Gra[n]de} Catrijn and others that one box had been sent away with \textit{Dombaar} and that he knows nothing

\textsuperscript{146} M.K. Jeffreys, \textit{Kaapse Plakkaatboek Deel I (1652-1707)}, p. 46: \textit{Interdictie over ‘t Dobbelen ende Spelen (6/8 December 1658).}

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{De ged[aechd]hens voor antwoord dat op voorsz Catrijns versouk wel mat haer ge[s]peelt, maer niet merkelijk gewonnen hebben.}

\textsuperscript{148} M.K. Jeffreys, \textit{KaapsePlakkaatboek Deel I (1652-1707)}, p. 103: ... ‘t spelen op verkeerbort, kaerten, en dobbelstenen binnen dese fortresse te spelen verbooven! The law was again amended (1673 & 1687).


\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Off niet weet wat goederen van hier versonden zijn}."
further”. 151 Again in reply to the question: “Whether he also had knowledge or had heard of any other goods that any money or things had been buried here, squandered or carried away?” 152, he “… declared that the afore-mentioned box with money had been buried under his [Lacus] table, and knew nothing else except for what had been told to him by Zara, Marij [possibly Maria van Guinea] and Catarijn that a box went with Dombaer to Ceylon and that he knew of nothing that was suspect”. 153 Groote Catrijn is never summoned herself, however, to give evidence before the Council of Justice. Testimony by slaves before a court of law generally had questionable legal validity. That she is already playing an active role in the community despite her criminal past and lowly position, however, becomes clear from the records.

Groote Catrijn is again the focal point of another trial. A soldier, Nicolaas Phlegel / Slegel (from Basle) – yet another Swiss – his curiosity getting the better of him, is charged for forcing entry into Groote Catrijn’s sleeping-quarters. She is called Catharina van Bengale in the record. 154 He is convicted (26 August 1671) for leaving his post as sentry. He is supposed to stand guard (19 August 1671) at the entrance to the living-quarters of the Commander of the Fort. These are situated in the part of the Fort known as the Cat. He is also charged for having stolen bread that had already been previously stolen. 155 He leaves his post and goes to the place of a “certain female slave called Catharina from Bengal [Catharina van Bengale]” here inside the Fort under the staircase leading up to the wall. Forcing open the door by means of a large stone, he steals 2 freshly baked loaves of bread. These have just been stolen beforehand by a certain male slave in the Commander’s kitchen and left concealed on the table. The Council of Justice is satisfied that the accused has “stealthily” stolen the stolen bread. After the guard is replaced, the accused even divides it amongst his friends who indulge themselves with doubly stolen goods.

Unfortunately his absence, amongst other things, is noticed. During his trial, the fiscal demands a sentence of heavy corporal punishment and 2 years on Robben Island. This is changed to 4 months’ banishment to Robben Island, without pay. Phlegel’s defence is that the bread he took had been stolen and that he had immediately returned to his post. The Council disagrees and sentences him, in addition to a stay on Robben Island, to the loss of a month’s wages forfeited to the fiscal. Furthermore, he has to sit for ten days on the wooden horse with a weight of 5 pounds tied to each foot. In the muster roll (1672) he is enumerated as Daniel Nicolaas Slegel and is back at the Fort after serving his sentence on Robben Island.

One wonders how 2 loaves of bread, stolen by one of the slaves in the Commander’s kitchen, find their way into the very heart of Groote Catrijn’s locked living quarters (woonplaetse)? This is not the first time that her abode serves as a backdrop for illicit

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151 Segt gehoort te hebben van Gra[nd?]e Catrijn en andere een kasje met Dombaar sou weggesonden zijn, en verder niet te weten.
152 Off ook kennis heeft of van andere gehoort heeft dat alhier enig gelt of goet begraven, verdronken of anders weggebracht is.
153 Verclaart dat voorsz kasje met gelt onder zijn tafel heeft begraven gehad, en anders nergens van te weten als dat van Zara, Marij en Catarijn heeft gehoort dat een kasje van Dombaer mee na Ceylon genomen was, dag van geen verdrenken te weten.
155 …was gecommandeert geweest hier voor’t ingaan van d’H[ee]r. Commandeurs wonigh, genaemt d’Cat de gewoonlijke schildwacht te houden …
activities by sentinels. We learn from the above incident that Groote Catrijn is compelled to slave away at the Fort as washerwoman (waster) and that her living quarters are in close proximity to those of the Commander. By this time the majority of Company slaves are housed in a separate slave lodge. Being singled out in this way may be due to not only good fortune, but also her personal attributes – whatever these might be.

**Groote Catrijn “Company slave yet Christian”**

Abandoning her Muslim faith, Groote Catrijn converts to Christianity (29 April 1668) – a turning point in her life. She is jointly baptized in adulthood\(^{156}\) by the minister Adrianus de Vooght simply as Catharien together with her friend, companion and former co-slave in the Van Riebeeck household, Maaij Ansela\(^{157}\). Her friend is already a free woman – manumitted with her 4 illegitimate Eurasian children by the secunde Abraham Gabbema (13 April 1666). Together Groote Catrijn and Maaij Ansela appear as “communicants found here”\(^{158}\) (from 1668 onwards). Becoming Christian has distinct advantages. Once baptized and regularly attending Holy Communion, Groote Catrijn acquires immunity from being resold with the hope that some day her halfslag children will be in a position to buy their freedom. She is also now available to be freed by a prospective marriage partner.

**Adrianus de Voogd**

The man who baptises Groote Catrijn is Adrianus de Voogd. Replacing minister (Johannes) Petrus Wachtendorp (from Maasbommel) – husband of Maria Prignon – who dies at Cape (15 February 1667), Adrianus / Adriaen de Voocth / Voogd / Vooght (1636-1674) arrives at the Cape (10 May 1667) on De Handelaer with his sister Catharina de Vooght who becomes wife to Heinrich / Hendrik Crudop (from Bremen)\(^{159}\). They are the children of Pieter de Voocht and Aeltje de Voocth and siblings to Joannes de Voocht and Catharina de Vooght. He marries (27 November 1666) Anna van der Meer / Meranus (from Valkoogh / Wieringen) by whom he has one son: Pieter (Petrus) de Vooght. His wife is the daughter of predicant Arnoldus van der Meer and Aagje Jacobsz: van der Helm and sister to Magdalena van der Meer. He and his wife leave for Batavia (February 1674). His widow returns to the Cape and remarries (17 May 1676) Johannes Ravenbergh (from Haarlem). While at the Cape, he obtains the following slaves:

- Catharina van Bengale [no purchase record – likely seconded Company slave – likely mother to following children: the heelslag Isabella (Sijbella) van de Caep (born c. 1664), the halfslag Susan (baptized 2 October 1667), & the halfslag Catharina baptized (20 October 1669)]

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\(^{156}\) ... bejaarde persoon.

\(^{157}\)... den 29 April [1668] zijn gedoopt na gedaen belydenisse twee bejaerde personen, waer de een genaemt wiert Angila de andere Catharien.

\(^{158}\)Communicanten alhier bevonden.

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 Nathaniel Goethardt, junior merchant on Hollantsen Thuyn for Rds 70];

Abraham (Abram) [Serry?] van Guinea [purchased from the Company (17 April 1669) previously belonging to Johannes Petrus Wachtendorp (from Maasbommmel), his widow Maria Prignon (1668) & Commander Jacob Borghorst (1669)] – special provision (27 January 1671) made for manumission of 5-and-a-half year old heelslag slave girl Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep (born c. 1664) daughter of private slave woman Catharina [Catharina van Bengale?] formerly belonging to Elbert Dircksz. Diemer – Abraham’s biological paternity is uncontested – Sijbilla to serve 10 years as free-person in return for food & clothes;

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];

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 f200];

Cupido van Bengale [purchases (29 March 1672) – aged 10 – from Lambert van der Heijden for Rds. 45 – later sells (15 February 1674) – aged 16 [sic] to unmarried successor, Rudolph van Meerlandt (from IJsselsteyn) for Rds 50];

Claes from the Coast opposite Ceylon [buys (4 April 1672) – aged 24/24 – from Admiral Joan Barra for Rds 45].

Groote Catrijn’s own joint baptism with the influential and free Maaij Ansela is particularly significant. Both women appear to be popular enough to be informally mentioned in the church records as if even future readers would automatically know who they are. Effectively, genealogically significant, twice-pardoned but previously exiled, convict and washerwoman to successive Cape commanders Groote Catrijn, is the first heelslag imported Company slave adult to be baptized (1668) at the Cape. On 3 June that same year Groote Catrijn (called Catrine this time), a Company slave “yet (doch) Christian” witnesses the baptism of Maaij Ansela’s fourth illegitimate child named Pieter likely fathered by Jacobus van As (from Brussels).161 Later that month (25 June) she again becomes godmother to Theuntje, the daughter of her friends the free-blacks Anthoni de Later van Japan and his wife Annica / Annicke van Bengale.162 This time she is mentioned as Groote Catrina in the record.

This is the first time that we find Groote Catrijn mentioned as such. That she has become a regular and socially acceptable feature in Cape society becomes increasingly clear in the records. She is mentioned mostly by her first name being well known to all. If not mentioned simply as Catharina, or even more intimately as Groote Catrijn, she now seldom appears with her name qualified by her ascribed provenance or toponym (van Paliacatta or van Bengale).

Christoffel – later known as Christoffel Snijman van de Caep

Groote Catrijn presents for baptism (9 March 1669) yet another child to the Cape congregation: Christoffel. The child is baptized by the resident minister Adrianus de

160 .. doch christen.
Vooght. No mention of the child’s paternity is made. A curious feature about this particular baptismal entry is the fact that neither Christoffel nor his mother’s slave status is mentioned. Her friend Maaij Ansela reciprocates as godmother. We shall see later that Maaij Ansela lives long enough to witness, with her godson, the baptism of one of her own grandsons. This is the baptism of Willem, son of Maaij Ansela’s voorzoon Jacobus van As and his wife Helena Willemse [van der Merwe]. The baptism is witnessed by Angela Basson and Christoffel Snijman.

The child Christoffel is later called (and calls himself) Christoffel Snijman. He thereby confirms and makes it known to the world at large that he is the biological son of Hans Christoffel Snijman (from Heidelberg). The fact that his biological father also comes to be listed as a communicant and member of the Cape congregation (already in 1666) is indicative perhaps that his concubinage with Groote Catrijn is at least tolerated initially. Could this be a reason for Groote Catrijn opting for baptism at the time she does while still a Company slave? One thing is certain: Christoffel’s paternity is no secret.

Jacob Borghorst

During this time the Cape again has a new commander, the immensely unpopular Jacob Borghorst. He is installed (18 June 1668). He has already stopped over at the Cape (1 March 1665-22 April 1665) en route from the Indies to the Netherlands. His presence may well convince Hans Christoffel Snijman, once released from Robben Island, to leave on the first available ship. Mauritius, as a new buitenpost and Cape-ruled colony becomes a popular destination for men who fall into disfavour at the Cape. François Valentijn (1666 – 1727) writes later about Borghorst’s unpopularity:

François Valentijn (1666 – 1727)

163... den 9 Maert [1669]: Een soontje van Groote Catrijn wiert genaamt Christoffel tot getuigen stont Angila.
"The Heeren Wagenaar and Van Quaalbergen had indeed left good instructions and set good examples to Heer Borchorst as regards the artisans; but on his own authority, and without the knowledge of the Council he had so altered these, that he made them work by day and stand at night, by which he had made himself so hated by them that scarce any wished to remain here longer, and also during his rule he had caused very great discontent among the civil population, so that it was full time for him to depart.

Aernout van Overbeke (1632-1674)

Even the local aborigines refer to him as being him Sieckum to make known their disgust. That Borghorst is disliked intensely is confirmed by the visiting Arnout van Overbeke (1632-1674) who claims that the only monster he meets at the Cape is Borghorst:

"All his quarrelsomeness came from the fact that Quaelbergen was still so beloved that no one was very willing to have anything to do with him. Even the Hottentots, who each year give a free-will present to the Commandeur [Borghorst], were fed up with him: "What sort of a Captain is that?" they said, "always Sieckum!" (that is to say sick, bad, grumpy, ugly – everything that is no good is sieckum, thus bad tobacco is "sieckum Tabak," etc.); and that made our friend mad. He wants to get by force what in reality can be had only by affection. For that matter, he punishes himself every evening with a few glasses of spirits which one of those in his confidence brings him under cover."

A(e)rnou(d)t van Overbe(e)ke / Overbee(c)k (1632-1674), born The Hague (15 December 1632) studies law at Leiden becoming advocate in Amsterdam and The Hague (since 1659). En route to Batavia as advocate-fiscal, he sails on the Zuyd Polsbroek stopping at the Cape (July 1668). After serving as VOC Honourable Councillor of Justice in Batavia (1668-1672), he returns to the Netherlands as admiral of the Return Fleet ex Batavia and is appointed commissioner to inspect the Cape administration. He sails on the Tidoor arriving at the Cape (25 March 1672) and departing (23 April 1672). While at the Cape, he instigates the first treaty formalizing

the ‘purchase’ of the Cape of Good Hope from the Cape indigenes (treaty signed 19 April 1672). A writer and poet in the style of Tengnagel and Focquenbroch, he publishes Anecdota sive historiae jocosae (1672-1674), a travel journal Geestige en vermaecklycke reijs beschrijving naar Oost-Indiën (1668) and a poetry anthology Geestige wercken (1678). Back in The Hague he becomes a member of the Rederikerskamer dying in Amsterdam (16 July 1674).

Besides the slaves that he purchases from his predecessor, Borghorst also acquires the following slaves:

- Venture [Ventura van Ceijlon]
- Pollecij [Maaij Claesje van Angola?] (with her child Lijsbeth [Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Wijk]?)
- Serry [Abraham (Abram) van Guinea?]
- Lijsbet [Elisabeth van Bengale?] (& 2 children)
- Marija [Maria da Costa van Bengale?]
- Cattrijn [Catharina van Malabar?]

Slaves in Commander Borghorst’s household

Thereafter Lijsbeth (and 2 children – Anna and Anthonij) appear to be sold (11 August 1668) – with Marij and Serry [Abraham (Abram) van Guinea?] – for f660 by Widow Wachtendorp to Commander Jacob Borghorst, joining the slaves Pollecij [Maaij Claesje van Angola?] and Ventura [Venture van Ceylon / Bengale] – later chef to Governor Simon van der Stel. With Borghorst’s departure, he mostly sells (31 December 1669) his slaves to the Company – with the exception of Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar whom he sells to Rijckkloff van Goens although the purchase price is paid by Sergeant Johannes Coon (from Sommelsdijk), viz.:

- Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale
- Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale
- Andries (Arie) van Bengale
- Jeronimus van Coromandel
- Titus (‘Tita’) (de) Thomsen / Thomzen van Bengale
- the ‘Malay’ Barru [Baddou van Bali?].
- Marij da Costa van Bengale
- Pollecij [Maaij Claesje van Angola?]
- Serry [Abraham (Abram) van Guinea?]
- Ventura van Ceylon
- Paul(o) van Malabar
- Matthijs van Angola

Before departing Borghorst sells the bulk of his slaves for the lump sum of f2 8442:10:-. Borghorst appears to have sold Alina [Lijsbeth?] van Bengale (9 April 1669) and Catharina van Malabar (17 April 1669) to Joannes Coon (from Sommelsdijk). A few days prior (9 April 1669) to Catrijn’s purchase (17 April 1669), a pregnant slave woman named Alina [an error for Elisabeth?] is also purchased by Coon but from Van Goens in a similar transaction but for a lesser price (80.00). Soon thereafter (28 May 1669), a slave named Anna [Elisabeth’s daughter?] is sold by Coon to the junior
merchant on the *Alphen Johannes Cauwenburg* for 80:00. The cryptic transcriptions of the *Transporten en Schepenkennis*, however, are suspect and require further investigation. is *Lijsbeth* also purchased by *Van Goens* and paid for by *Coon* and perhaps special arrangements made for her daughter *Anna* to be taken to Batavia? *Lijsbeth’s* daughters nevertheless are subsequently either used as domestic servants in the households of the commander (or acting commander) or members of the Council of Policy or take up responsible positions in the Company’s Slave Lodge. *Maria* works for Acting Commander *Heinrich Crudop* (from Bremen), *Margaretha* becomes *matres* in the Slave Lodge and *Anna* (after returning from Batavia?) becomes integrated into the *Coon* household.

1669

In the year 1669, the Cape witnesses a series of significant events. The (in)famous ‘Hottentot’ interpreter *Eva Meerhoff* born *Krotoa* (*c.* 1643-1674), now widowed, is finally banished without trial and returned to Robben Island. *Groote Catrijn’s* fellow female convict *Een Oor* dies a gruesome death. Convicted of infanticide, she is put into a bag with rocks and drowned in Table Bay (13 December 1669). Two days later (15 December 1669), *Maaij Ansela*, now a free-woman, enters into a legal union with a man known to all as *Jagt*. He is *Arnoldus Willemz: Basson* who hails from Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves. His wife is already mother to 4 *voorkinders* by 2 different fathers. Why does a single man like *Jagt* settle for such a large ready-made family? His family’s apparent non-conformist, dissident and anabaptist Familist religious background perhaps explains in part such accommodatory behaviour.

**Pieter Hackius**

The sickly *Pieter Hackius* succeeds (25 March 1670) *Borghorst* as commander at the Cape. In an unprecedented move, *Borghorst* manages to sell 2 of his female slaves (*Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale* and *Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar*) to private buyers hurriedly selling the remaining 15 of his slaves (including *Anthonij Jansz; van Bengale*, *Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale* *Paulo van Malabar* and *Baddou*) to the Company, rather than directly to his successor, before he leaves the Cape (March 1670). *Hackius* is married to *Alida Paets*. He stops over at the Cape previously (1656) and is part of the return fleet that brings *Groote Catrijn* into exile at the Cape. He arrives at the Cape with wife, children “and further family” on board the *Sticht van Utrecht* (18 March 1670). Thanks to the writings of the Norwegian *Frederick Andersen Bolling* (from Tønsberg) we have a detailed description of the ship’s voyage to the Cape and Indies. Presumably some of *Goske’s* former slaves are re-incorporated into the new commander’s household. Is this household the last where...
Groote Catrijn works before obtaining her second pardon, her freedom and permission to marry a free-black man?

Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale

After Hans Christoffel Snijman’s forced removal from the mainland, Groote Catrijn now associates with the free-black and free-burgher Anthonij van Bengale who is also to be found as one of the recorded communicants attending Holy Communion. Here he is listed as Anthoni Gillisz: [sic] van Bangale. He is found recorded variously as Anthonij Jansz, Anthonij de Later and Anthoni Gillisz.

Groote Catrijn appears with Anthonij as witnesses to the baptism (14 September 1670) of Maria the illegitimate halfslag daughter of Elizabeth (Lijsbeth) van Angola alias Sabba belonging to Hester Weijers: Klim. Possibly fathered by Bartholomeus (Bart) Borns (from Leeuwaerden [Friesland]), this child is later known as Maria Bartels: van de Caep alias Mostaerts Marij and Jan Holtsmit’s Marij and named after the 2 successive husbands of her patronesse Hester Jans: / Weyers: Klim (from Lier): Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht) and Jan Holsmit (from Sittard [Zitterd, Limburg]). We shall see later that Lijsbeth van Angola is remunerated by the deceased estate of Anthonij for baby-sitting and that her daughter’s husband features prominently with Christoffel and his partner at the Company buitenpost Clapmuts.

The appearance of Groote Catrijn with the newly baptized Anthonij – as an adult just 2 days earlier – as a couple prepares us for their impending marriage. One wonders about the legal problems confronting them: a freed slave wishing to marry a convict-cum-Company slave banished-to-the-Cape-for-life, mort vivant gallows-escapee and mother of enslaved, illegitimate mesties offspring. Groote Catrijn and Anthonij – also known as Anthonij de Later (curiously also found once as de la Terre) – marry (20 December 1671), Adrianus de Vooght performs the ceremony.

Just prior to her marriage, 2 people who directly impact on her life die. Pieter Hackius dies (30 November / 1 December 1671) “to the universal sorrow of this African continent”. No record of his will or any inventories of his deceased estate have survived. The strong likelihood persists that some of his personal slaves obtain testamentary manumission as is the custom and Christian thing to do. His widow leaves the Cape almost 5 months later (24 April 1672).

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173 Free-blacks are also de jure free-burghers. The legal niceties of such equality is insufficiently appreciated by G. Con de Wet in his Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707, p. 204: “Hoewel die vryswartes as groep ’n deel van die vry bevolking van die Kaapse nedersetting uitgemaak het, is hulle onderskeie nu nodig om hulle vervyfs te nooit [sic] vryliede genoem nie. Daarom word hulle hier afsonderlik behandel”. In the muster roll (1666) Maaij Ansela van Bengale, for example, is clearly grouped under the vryliede. See Hans Heese’s observations in this regard in his book review entitled ‘Challenging Certain Aspects of Intergroup Relations in The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840: A Review Article’, Kronos, no. 17 (1990), p. 73.
174 den 14 Sept[ember]: een dochtorche van Elisabeth van Bangale [sic – Angola], wiert genaamt Maria tot getuyge stonden Anthoni en Catharyn [CA: VC 603, G 1/1 (Doopregister), p. 5].
176 den 20 Xber [December] [1671] Anthoni de Later jong s[wart]m[an] van Bengalen met Catharina van Bengalen [CA: VC 605, G 1/1 (Marriage Register, 20 December 1671), p. 76].
177 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1671-1674 & 1676, p. 33
Zara the ‘Hottentot’ commits suicide (18 December 1671). Removed from the Lacus household as their servant, she moves in with Maaij Ansela. She is found hanging in Maaij Ansela’s sheep pen. This tragic suicide happens just 2 days before Groote Catrijn’s wedding day. The corpse is found by Maaij Ansela and François Champelier (from Ghent), the latter being one of the men who previously absconds with Hans Christoffel Snijman and other soldiers and is jointly charged for desertion and abduction.178

Although Goske is already appointed the Cape’s first governor (13 October 1671), he only fills this position on his arrival (2 October 1672). The death of Hackius creates an interregnum of almost a year in which relations between the Dutch and the aboriginal Khoena are at an all-time low. Arriving as governor, Goske is no stranger to Groote Catrijn. He has been to the Cape at least twice before (1664) en route to the Indies to take up his post at Cochin), and (1671) as visiting commissioner at the Cape returning to the Netherlands.

Marriage

Does Groote Catrijn’s peculiar dual status as convict and life-long Company slave influence in any way the Memorial of visiting commissioner IJsbrand Goske (12 March 1671)? Significantly, between the time of Anthonij’s baptism (12 September 1670) – a prerequisite for marriage in church – and his marriage to Groote Catrijn (20 December 1671), Goske specifically orders convicts banished to the Cape to be recorded separately from slaves:179

“No Indian blacks banned here by the justice [system], are to be carried over into the ledger under Company slaves, but are to be recorded in the journal for convicted people together with a reference to where they come from as given the entrenchment of administrateurs, the same can be prevented from being transported as slaves and from being confused with the slaves of the Company”.

The fusion of Company slaves and convicts continues to be a problem. Commissioner Hendrik A. van Rheede modifies (1685) the above instructions also adding that the living quarters of the Company slaves and convicts are no longer to be communal, but are to be separated.180

179 Onder des Comp[agnie]s. lijfijgenen sullen bij ’t grootboeck geen Indiaanse swarten door de justitie hier gebannen, overgedragen, neen, maar alleen in ’t jurnaal als gecondemnederdens genoteert werden, met aanwijsinge van waar gecomen sijn, tot vooroominge dat bij verschantsinge van administrateurs, de selve voor geen slaven getransporteert, en ’s Comp[agnie]s. lijfijgenen verdruistert mogen werden [Goske: Memorie voor den adminstrateur en negotieboeckhouder deser presedie om hem na te reguleren (1671 & 1686) in Anna J. Böeseken, Memorien en Instructiën 1657-1699, p. 113].
"...the convicts, who until now have been mixed together with the slaves in the same quarters, are to be isolated to a suitable place because nothing good can ever be learned from such people".

By marrying a free-black, **Groote Catrijn** is finally a free-woman in the legal sense. Prior to her marriage, no record of any formal pardon or release from her sentence as life-long exile-*cum*-Company slave at the time of her marriage has been found. Given the chronic shortage of available women at the Cape and the soliciting of promiscuity, perhaps the authorities are relieved to see **Groote Catrijn**'s situation stabilize despite Van Rheede's opinion about convicts that "nothing good can ever be learned from such people". Her marriage frees the Company of the singular burden of supporting her illegitimate children. Has she earned her freedom in a way that makes orthodox methods seem pointless? Her popularity, and the word is used the broadest sense possible, presumably stand her in good stead and one cannot exclude any influence or role that **Anthonij** might have played in securing finally her legal freedom.

When **IJsbrand Goske** visits the Cape as commissioner, he initiates reforms in compliance with the Statutes of Batavia that directly affect the fate of **Groote Catrijn**'s mixed race children. In a memorandum (23 February 1671) he orders the formation of Positive Orders including the following instructions:

"...to prevent the communication between Europeans and female slaves, male and female slaves were to be united as man and wife, but not formally married, until baptized and instructed in their mutual obligations; breach of both engagements were to be punished, with this difference, that those of married females should be punished according to law; but the heathen at discretion, according to the nature of the offence; Company slaves were to be forced to attend prayers; children, the progeny of Europeans and slaves, of whom 12 were then at school, were to be taught, and particular care to be taken that they were not alienated, so as to remain in constant slavery, but that they might in due time enjoy the freedom to which, in the right of the father, they were born."181

The right to freedom of children of the Company's female slaves, by Dutch fathers is reiterated (1685) when the visiting commissioner **H. A. van Rheede** states that:

"... the Company can entertain no idea of keeping in slavery...such children have no share in the faults of the parents, but, being indisputable of our own nation, cannot be made slaves."

**Goske's** stipulations appear to be specially tailored to **Groote Catrijn**'s circumstances. Only as late as 1679, however, is there again such an officially recorded marriage between two free-blacks. This is the marriage of the manumitted private slave **Grusias (alias Jackie) van Angola** to the freed private Cape-born **heelslag** slave slave **Maria Everts**: **Groote Catrijn**'s concubinage with **Anthonij** is soon officially sanctioned and the couple are duly instructed in preparation for their pending marriage. **Anthonij** is already baptized (12 September 1670).182

**Groote Catrijn**'s friend and co-slave **Louis van Bengale** later claims that he has permission to buy his freedom by the *same* visiting commissioner. His manumission follows the temporary banishment to Robben Island of his discredited owner, **Hendrik**

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182 ... *den 12 Sept:ember* een bejaart persoon, wiert genaamt **Anthoni van Bangile**. CA: VC 603, Doopregister 12 September 1670, p. 5.
Lacus. *Groote Catrijn*, it will be recalled, had been an important source of damning evidence. Is she, like Louis, pardoned and manumitted as a reward for her contribution?

*Groote Catrijn’s* legal status is finally clarified *ex post facto*. In a letter (6 January 1672) and despatched to the *Heeren XVII*, we learn that she has been freely pardoned and released from slavery. At the same time permission is given for her to marry a free-black, which marriage promptly took place. In a letter to Batavia to *Joan Maetsuijcker*, the Cape authorities inform the governor-general that his instructions concerning *Groote Catrijn* have been carried out. *Groote Catrijn* is freed from slavery and allowed to marry the free-black now recorded as *Anthonie de Later van Bengale*.

“Regarding *Catharina from Paliakatta* [in] 1656 pardoned from death by the supreme government in Batavia and banished for ever to serve as a slave at the Cape, by your Honour’s orders to be granted freedom and discharged from slavery, also to be allowed to marry a certain free black *Anthonie de Later from Bengal*, all of which have taken place at the same time”.

*Maetsuijcker* himself gives orders for her second pardon and grants permission for her to marry. Why would Governor-General *Maetsuijcker* himself, of all people, continually involve himself personally in *Groote Catrijn’s* life? It is a decision that he would not regret. For the remainder of her life, *Groote Catrijn’s* behaviour is exemplary. She is never once on record for any more violent outbursts. That fatal afternoon (8 October 1656) with *Claes van Malabar* at Rijswijck, is the one tragic moment in her life. What would have been just another uneventful life had been ineluctably changed for good. Had she been so beside herself with rage that her behaviour could be exonorated without any reservation? For *Maetsuijcker* to take such a personal interest in her life thereafter, one expects perhaps the unbearable build up to her extraordinary outburst to have been sufficiently known.

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184 *Aen Catharina van Paliakatta* 1656 bij de hooge Regerenge tot Batavia van de doodt gepardonneert en de slavernije onslaegen, mitsgaeders toegestaen, omme een seker Vrije Zwart *Anthonie de Later van Bengale* te mogh trouwen, gelijk oock allerets daerop is gevolgt ...voor eeuwigh in slavendienst aan de Caap gebannen hebben, op UEd:[e]l[le] orderen vrijdom vergunt en van de slavernije onslaegen, mitsgaeders toegestaen, omme een seker Vrije Zwart *Anthonie de Later van Bengale* te mogh trouwen, gelijk oock allerets daerop is gevolgt.
Curiously, no explicit provision is made for the manumission of Groote Catrijn’s 2 youngest children. Petronella is already aged 6 and Christoffel, aged 2. Both are still too young to become part of the Company’s slave workforce. What is their status being the *mestice* children of a convict? No precedent or unequivocal provision existed that entitled them to their freedom on attaining majority in terms of their recognised respective white biological fathers. Their manumission before majority thus circumvents a thorny legal question from having to be settled until 1697. In a letter to the governor of the Cape of Good Hope (26 February 1686) the commander at Mauritius, Rodolf Diodati, requests legal clarity on this very issue:  

> "Regarding the half-breed girl mentioned by us to you, you order that she is to serve the Company until her 22nd year, when she is to be emancipated on condition that she makes profession of her (Christian) faith, and moreover pays £150 for her education. We are well aware ...

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that this rule is observed in the case of slave children having Dutch fathers, but whether it applies to children of convict women by Dutch fathers, as the case of this girl, we would like to hear from you.”

The Cape authorities rationalise the lacuna resorting to a restrictive interpretation of the governing instructions. The half-caste offspring’s convict mother is equated as if she were a Company slave. After all, if Van Rheede, who is a ‘L.M.’ (magister of law), makes no explicit distinction, why should the council?:

“We again insist on what we have written regarding the half-caste (mestiza) girl, as we cannot see, although her mother is a convict, that any difference is caused thereby; the less so, as the instructions of Commissioner-General H.A. v.[an] Reede (L.M.) makes no distinction in the matter.”

One wonders whether Groote Catrijn’s situation does not served as a precedent? Nevertheless, Groote Catrijn’s marriage results in the convenient, albeit premature, manumission of both her illegitimate mesties children and their consequent legitimisation and legal adoption by Anthonij. Curiously Petronella is only recorded and known by her step-father’s toponymn of van Bengale while Christoffel is assigned and even assumes his biological father’s family name.

**Free-Blacks / Free-Burghers**

Do Groote Catrijn and Anthonij unite as man and wife in anticipation of formal marriage in terms of Goske’s recommendation? Is Anthonij conveniently positioned to be freed as well? Van Riebeeck’s original hope that mardijckers – and especially washers – be allowed to populate the virgin colony had finally, albeit very belatedly, fallen on deaf ears:

“Two or three Mardycker families would also be very necessary here; they would be able to earn a living by washing, to the particularly great comfort not only of the people of the Fortress, but also of the passing ships, who are often much in want of such accommodation, so that such washers would derive much profit from their work, as the Netherlands’ women, however humble their condition may be, when once outside their Fatherland, consider themselves too good/generous and precious (waardig) for such work”.

Already by 6 November 1656 the Council of India agrees to allow non-European settlers at the Cape.

“As very often black people are brought to this country by the higher officers of the Company as servants and who again return to India, we would like you to persuade them to settle at the Cape and earn their living as Mardykers; your success in this, you are to communicate to us off and on, and annually send us a list of the new women and children resident at the Cape and servants of the Company or otherwise”.

Settlement of free-Asians at the Cape does not happen easily. Van Riebeeck can retain any slaves and manumit them as mardijckers but slaves are usually re-routed to Batavia.

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188 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received 1649-1662*, Part I, pp. 300-1.
where they were always in great demand. Batavia reiterated the difficulties of settling Chinese or mardijkers at the Cape:

“We shall do our best in order to promote agriculture to send you some industrious Chinese or Mardykers. It may be that we may persuade some impoverished Chinamen to go, but no Mardykers will leave this [place] for the Cape. They are a very indolent and lazy lot by nature. Nor can we provide you with washers, unless some of the slaves leaving India with their masters and manumitted at the Cape, are induced to stay there. You may make the attempt. We fear, however, that they will be unwilling. Some black servants are now leaving with their masters and mistresses. They are to be sent back, unless you are shown our written authority that they may be taken to Holland”.\(^{189}\)

At last, 15 years later, the Cape finally has its own mardijker / washer residents in the form of the exemplary married couple Anthonij and Groote Catrijn whose services are very much in demand. Christoffel Snijman’s stepfather has the unique distinction of being the first known free-black at the Cape of Good Hope to purchase land and become a registered landowner. He must be a man of means as he does not rely on any grant of land. This is in contradistinction to Groote Catrijn’s Japanese friend Anthonij being the first recorded free-black to be granted registered land.

As adoptive father to the illegitimate half-siblings, Petronella and Christoffel, the childless, but enterprising, Anthonij is to play a vital role in the upbringing of these 2 children. After his death, his liquidated estate was able to provide monies for the further education of the genealogically-significant Christoffel Snijman in reading, writing and learning (lesen, schrijven en te leeren) thereby explaining adequately the literacy evidenced in various existing specimens of Snijman’s confident and flamboyantly fashionable and practised signature.

signature of Christoffel Snijman

Anthonij purchases (4 September 1671) 100 sheep, a garden (stuk tuingrond) higher up in Table Valley and an erf (with a house) in Zee Straat from the free-burgher Jacob Cornelisz: Rosendael (from Woerden [South Holland]).\(^{190}\) This purchase is highly significant. This is the first time ever that a free-black or mardijker purchases property at the Cape. In terms of the contract Rosendael sells to Anthonij, described as a free-black and likewise burgher of this place (vrije swart insgelijx borger alhier) – a house and erf together with 100 sheep and a garden in Table Valley. For all this, he is to pay f\(^{191}\) 100 and register a debenture for f\(^{191}\) 2 900.

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\(^{189}\) H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received 1649-1662*, Part I (letter, 4 December 1656), pp. 320-22. This is how Maaij Ansela and Lijsbeth, both female slaves from Bengal, come to the Cape. They are sold, however, and not manumitted.


\(^{191}\) CA: CTD 5, p. 64 (T 116 & T 173) 4 September 1671: “Jacob Cornelissen Rosendael, burger en vry ingesetene, verkoop aan Anthonij van Bengale, vrijeswart insgelijx borger alhier, ’n huis en erf geleë volgens die erfbrief van 21 Oktober 1666 aan die einde van Zeestraat, noordwaarts [daarvan] is die
The former landed property is situated at the end of the Zee Straat [Strand Street]. The property is bordered on the north by wasteland at the tail of the Lion Mountain. On the eastern side is the seashore. To the south, the property borders the erf of the free-burgher Giacomo Jacolini. Also found as Jacques Jacquelijn / Jacquelini, he is a shoemaker from Venice. Maaij Ansela and Anthonij van Japan and their families both live diagonally opposite on either side of Jacolini. With him is his knecht Barent Hendrix: Backer (from Lingen) who later marries Lijsbeth Roelofszi: (from Bommel [Den Bommel, Goeree-Overflakkee, South Holland]) The western border consists of undeveloped erven towards the Company's horse stable. The other piece of land, a garden, was also in Table Valley and is situated behind the mill in the vicinity of the Company's horse stable bordering the garden of Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht) and his wife Hester Weyers: Klim (from Lier).

The debenture is duly registered. Anthonij undertakes to pay Rosendael in 2 payments. The first payment of f 1 200 is be paid when the second return fleet from Batavia (1672) has left the roadstead in Table Bay. The second payment of f 1 700 is be paid the following year when the return fleet from Batavia lays for 14 days in the roadstead. Anthonij, however, is unable to meet his obligations in terms of paying for the properties he had purchase from Rosendael. Boeseken informs us that, unable to pay his debts owing to Rosendael, Anthonij requests an extension [sic] until 31 May 1673. She adds that possibly Rosendael grew tired of waiting for his money and withdrew the grant. She states, incorrectly, that there is no evidence of this in the records. Documentary evidence does exist, however. Enforcing his hypothec, the Council of Justice accedes to Rosendael's request on that same day (31 May 1673) to have his property restored. Clearly Anthonij is found to be incapable of raising the necessary monies owing to Rosendael. Rosendael is not only notoriously litigious, but always quick to draw his knife.

woeste land van die stert van Leeuwenbergh, ooswarts die see, suidwaarts aan die erf van die vryburger Jacques Jacquelijn en weswaarts aan die nog onbeoude erwe na die Kompanjie se perdestal; saam met 100 skape en 'n ander stukkie grond in Tafelvallei, volgens die erbrieft van 4 Oktober 1667 in die omgewing van die Kompanjie se perdestal aan die tuin van Wouter Mostaert, alles vir f 100 en 'n skuldbrief vir f 2 900".

192 CA: CTD 5, p. 647 (4.9.1671): “Skuldbrief van Anthonij van Bengale, vryswart en inwoner, ten gunste van Jacob Cornelisz: Rosendael vir die bedrag van f 2 900 weens die koop van 100 skape, sekere huise en erwe geleë in Tafelvallei op die hoek van Zeestraat na die stert van Leeuwenbergh en nog 'n stukkie tuinland geleë agter die meule in die omgewing van die Kompanjie se perdestal aan die huis van Wouter Mostert volgens die erfbriefe van 4 en 21 Oktober 1666 en 1667 respektiewelik. Hy beloof om Rosendael in twee paaemomente te betaal, die eerste f 1 200 wanneer die tweede besending skepe uit Batavia in 1672 dié rede verlaat het, die tweede f 1 700 die volgende jaar wanneer die eerste retoervloot van Batavia 14 dae voor die rede lê.”

Duck-stabbing Incident

Eviction follows and the family has to squat on empty land in Tweede Bergdwarstraat - also known later as Venus Street [St George’s Mall]. Their new neighbours are Joachim / Jochem / Jochum Ringel (from Amsterdam), his wife Annetje Remmers: Groeneewoud and 3 children. They come to the Cape (1675). Groote Catrijn and her family gain notoriety in (1674) when suing their new neighbour’s son, Dirck Ringel for the death of their duck observed going along a public road (in’t doden van de eendt gaande op vrije straat van Swart Anth:[oni]o van Bengale). Is it Christoffel Snijman and Petronella who run to Groote Catrijn to report that they had witnessed their duck waddling down the street with a knife in its back? This is confirmed in the sworn declaration of the chief witness, the trumpeter Adriaen Tatixen / Taticksen made at the request of the fiscal (1 August 1674).

About 6 weeks earlier he is visiting the house of the free-black Anthonij. Some kids come running inside calling him to come look at a duck with a knife in its back walking outside the door of the house. Outside he sees Dirck Ringel, son of Jochum Ringel, standing by the duck with a knife in his hand. The knife is dripping with blood. Groote Catrijn, who also runs out, now confronts Dirck wanting to know why he has stabbed the duck. The duck always bothers him when he is cleaning fish, is the reply. He had not intended to stab the duck (om dat d’eend de visschen die hij doenmaels schoon maakte quamen oplieten, ende het niet al willens hadde gedaan). The chief witness then hears Groote Catrijn confront the boy’s mother informing her that she is most unhappy about what has happened. She also demands compensation for the loss of the duck. Annetje Remmers: Grownenwoord, however, refuses responding caustically: “Nothing stops you

[Strandstraat vandag] in Tafelvallei (soos Kaapstad destyds bekend gestaan het) asook 100 skape en ’n stuk tuinland elders aan Anthonij van Bengale verkoop het. Anthonij het onmiddellik 100 gulde in kontant betaal en toe ’n skuldbrief (wat Böeseken as ’n verkoopakte verstrek) vir die oorblywende 2 900 gulde eteken. Hierdie is die vroegste grondtransaksie waarmee ’n vryswart grond aan die Kaap deur aankoop bekom het en as sodanig is dit dus ’n uitsers belangrike dokument wat Böeseken verswyg en vermink voorhou.”

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from smearing the duck with butter [and eating it] so what’s there to give back?” (dat men d’eent maer met wat boter soude smeeren zullende daeroft niets te lever sonder meer). Groote Catrijn’s neighbour is no push over. She is on record (1679) for exasperating her other neighbour Hans Jurgen Grimp to the point that he assaults her.197

She meets her match, however. An ever-litigious Groote Catrijn – no stranger to the Council of Justice, is not prepared to be so easily dismissed by her neighbour. The Council of Justice agrees with her husband. Not only has Ringel (his parents?) to compensate the family for the loss of their duck and for the costs of the court case, but Dirck also has to labour for one month in the public works.198 Dirck Ringel joins the Company 5 years later and goes to Batavia (1679) with the fleet of Commissioner Dirck Blom.199

Notwithstanding the duck incident, the occupied land is finally granted (12 February 1675) to Anthonij by the outgoing Commander Goske.200 Anthonij is again granted (1 June 1676) on loan (in leen) another garden by Goske’s successor, Joan Bax van Herentals.201 This time the authorities step in to bail him out. Now Groote Catrijn and her husband are as economically dependent as the rest of the free-black population at the Cape. Their house borders on the property of the mason Pieter Walrand(t): / Wolbrandt(s): / Wolbrant / Wollebrants: / Wo(o)llebrantsz: [Plott] (from Middelburg), the property of Jochem Ringel and that of the enterprising Widow Barentsz:. She is Jannetje Ferdinandus (from Courtrai / Kortrijk) who soon marries – after a cause célèbre in which she is accused of adultery and refuses or declines a church wedding – her third husband Hans Jurgen Grimp (from Gehrden [Brunswick]).

Anthonij’s garden borders on the property of Jan Jansz: van Eeden (from the Duchy of Oldenborg) and Louis van Bengale. Their neighbour Plott, disgraced, leaves for Batavia (1677) his wife Lijsbeth: and children. Governor Bax describes him as being “an indolent man... who, besides, is not free from suspicion of being an idler and abettor of many thieves and rogues”.202

Pieter Walrand(t): / Wolbrandt(s): / Wolbrant / Wollebrants: / Wo(o)llebrantsz: [Plott] (from Middelburg) as senior surgeon (opperchirurgyn) neglects his patients,
smuggles alcohol and is banished (June-August 1670) to Robben Island for 3 years. For his drunken behaviour and neglecting work after having his salary increased by Commissioner Matheus van den Broecke to f 40 per month, he is banished to Robben Island for 10 years. After repeated requests, his sentence is commuted (8 August 1670) to banishment to Mauritius.

An increasingly precarious economic situation threatens the family’s upwardly mobile existence. Anthonij is one of the free-burghers granted a ration of rice (4 March 1678). He previously purchases a slave called Maria van Malabar (27 April 1676) sold to him by the skipper on Sparendam Jan Jacobsz: Slooper for the amount of Rds 35. This same skipper sells another slave Dina van Cochin to an unknown buyer [Jan Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht)?] with circumstantial evidence pointing to this slave actually being Dina van Coijlang [Kollam Quilon]. Anthonij purchases (12 August 1678) the slave Paul van Malabar from Mejuffrouw Aletta van Hinloopen, the widow of the Cape’s late commander E.dele HHeeft Johan Bax van Herentals (c. 1637-1678) for Rds 100. He also has the use of the slave Baddou van Bali. Baddou is none other than the slave who arrives at the Cape in the Return Fleet (1662) and incorporated into the Van Quaelbergen, Borghorst, Hackius, Goske and Bax households.

Isaac de l’Ostal / Lostal de Saint-Martin (c. 1629 – 14 April 1696)

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205 Vrijdagh 4 Maart 1678 ... Rolle hoofdangien quantiteijt rijst een ijder deser vrije ingesetenen maandelijcx van de E[dele] Compaa[gnie] voortaan staat te genieten, namentlijck: ... Antoni van Bengale lb 150 rijst [Anna J. Böeseken, Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, Deel II 1670-1680, p. 232].

206 According to J. Leon Hattingh, the original document is now lost. Jan Jacobsz: Slooper, skipper on the Sparendam, also sells 3 other slaves at the Cape: Salamme to Gerrit Jansz: van Wynegom for Rds 55, Jacob van Casta Malabar to Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht) for Rds 43 and Diana van Cochin [Dina van Coijlang?] aged 19 for Rds 40 to an unidentified buyer [Jan Luijs] / Leeuw van Ceijl] [Anna J. Böeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, p. 132].

207 His second wife Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Gertse Nieumeijer (from Deventer) features as a witness to the baptism of Jan Luijs / Leeuw van Ceijl & Dina van Coijlang [Quilon / Cochin [Koch]].

208 Aletta [Alida] Hinloopen (born 1649), daughter of Jacob Fransz: Hinloopen (1618-1671) & Maria Huydecoper van Maarseveen (-1658) & granddaughter of Frans Jacobsz: Hinloopen (1583-20 June 1628) & Cornelia Oetgens (1586-1651), married (1st) Batavia (1669) Johan Bax van Herentals (born s‘- Hertogenbosch), son of jonkheer & ritmeester (captain) Willem Maurits Bacx & Jeannette Hoejjisser & grandson of Jonkheer Johan Bax ridder (1578) & kastelein (1584-1587) to Gouverneur van Heusden governor of Muiden & Maria van Huchtenbroek, daughter of Albert van Huchtenbroek Utrechtsch edelman, kompan en een der verbonden edelen en van Maria van Hoxwier], married (2nd) 1681 with Jan van Leenen.


Baddou is sold (20 November 1676) by the commander Joan Bax van Herentals (c. 1637-1678) to St. Martin [Isaac de l’Ostal Saint-Martin (c. 1629-1696)] a French chevalier, who comes in an unknown year from the Béarn to the Dutch Republic. He leaves (1657) for Batavia, after a training in the Dutch States Army, together with Hendrik van Rheede and Johan Bax van Herentals – later appointed commander of the Cape Colony. He is stationed on Ceylon and Dutch Malabar (until 1672) and serves under Admiral Rijcklof van Goens in campaigns against the Portuguese on the west coast of India and against the sultans in Mataram (Java), Ternate and Bantam. Lostal lives in Utrecht (from 1683) with his compagnon Hendrik van Rheede, a naturalist. A bachelor like Van Rheede, Lostal is also interested in botany and a friend of Joan Huydecoper, an Amsterdam burgomaster and one of the managers of the Dutch East India Company. He sails again (1684) to Batavia. During his stay at the Cape he makes a trip to the north. Together with Simon van der Stel he searches for medical or economical plants (1685). A valley north of Piketberg is named after Lostal. When he arrives in the East he takes seat on the Council of India. Lostal owns 3 microscopes and helps the blind Rumphius, a German botanist on Ambon Island, to get his books written and published. Lostal orders Engelbert Kaempfer to do research on the components of Japanese rice paper. He dies (1696) and his inheritance goes to his brother Gratian in Oloron, a lawyer in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques receiving 1200 books in Hebrew, Arab, Persian, Portuguese and Malay. Lostal is one of the first to collect such books in the Malay language. His mansion and garden in Kemayoran with a Japanese pavillon are sold to Joan van Hoorn, as non-resident owners are not allowed to own property on Java.

1679 is not a good year for Anthonij and Groote Catrijn. There are numerous civil claims against Anthonij. The vrije caffer (free-“kaffir”) Jackje Joij van Angola sues him (22 March 1679) for monies owing to the amount of Rds. 93.212 His newly acquired slave Paul van Malabar is sentenced (12 April 1679) to be flogged and branded for harbouring a pregnant Company slave Calahowa / Calafora van Madagascar in his master’s garden for 3 nights.213 Anthonij probably has to pay for all expenses incurred. In June Jan Pietersz: Wittebol sues Anthonij to repay the sum of f 222 that he had borrowed from Manuel van Angola.

In an attempt to pay outstanding debts, Anthonij negotiates a loan from the Aletta van Hinloopen, widow of the late governor Joan Bax van Herentals. He borrows f 300 undertaking to repay (1679). This document is never cancelled. Is the debt ever extinguished?214 Bax dies (29 June 1679). Clearly, Anthonij and Groote Catrijn have

211 Jacqje Joij van Angola aka Gratias Maialas; marries (but judicially separated) Maria Everts: van de Caep (daughter of Evert van Guinea & Anna van Guinea).
212 Donald Moodie, The Record, p. 384.
213 Anna J. Böeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, p. 90; Donald Moodie, The Record, p. 383. A slave woman named Calawou baptized (9 August 1686) 2 sons named Jan van Hagen (no father recorded) & Pyt (father recorded as the tuinier Lourens).
214 CA: TS 3, no pagination (24.8.1678): “Antoni van Bengale, vry ingesetene alhier, erken mej Aletta van Hinloopen, weduwee van die Ef(dele)He[er] Johan Bax van Herentals, in lewe goewerneur alhier, die bedrag van f300 skuld spruintente uit die koop van die lyfie Paul vir f300; beloof om aan mej Bax met haar vertrek van hier na Batavia soveel te betaal as waartoe hy instaat sal wees en die res wanneer die
influential benefactors in the form of Joan Bax, his wife Aletta van Hinlopen and for a while, even Lt. Dubertin.\textsuperscript{215} Aletta Hinlopen, for example, is related (both directly and by marriage) to the Van der Stel, Cranendonck, d’Ablaing, Burlamacchi and Diodati families – all powerful and entrenched VOC families.\textsuperscript{216} Are these people merely carrying out the benign wishes of Governor-General Maetsuijcker himself?

**Daughter’s manumission**

Meanwhile, Groote Catrijn’s likely eldest daughter the halfslag Company slave Catharina (Catrijn) van de Caep in an unprecedented move, asserts her right (13 March 1680) to manumission in terms of the Statutes of Batavia. She is formally liberated in terms of resolution of the Council of Policy.\textsuperscript{217} Manumissions on attaining majority of halfslag Company slaves are not always recorded. Are any impedimenta thrown her way? In this instance her lack of a European patronymic or ascribed and identifiable biological European or white father comes to mind. Does she have to rely somatically on her apparent ‘white’ features? Just prior to her freedom she baptizes (19 February 1679) a casties voorzoon Willem\textsuperscript{218} by an unknown white father – possibly the same person as Willem Carelsz: van de Caep who later appears as a free-burgher at Stellenbosch. Once free, she opens her own brothel in competition (or in partnership?) with Amsoeboe van Timor (Pai Moor) and his wife (Inabe), daughters (Iba and Baauw) and granddaughters.\textsuperscript{219}

**Request to return to Batavia granted**

The various civil claims against Anthonij result in the authorities declaring him persona non grata, in all but name. His request for the family to relocate to Batavia is gladly approved (15 March 1680).\textsuperscript{220}

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\textsuperscript{215} Mansell G., ‘Creolization and Indigenization: Burlamacchi & Diodati family ties in the Dutch VOC Empire’, *Capensis*, no. 4 (1999), pp. 16-34, for an exposé of Aletta’s Hinlopen’s extended familial ties at the Cape and throughout the VOC empire.

\textsuperscript{216} Mansell G. Upham, ‘Creolization & Indigenization – Burlamacchi & Diodati family ties in the Dutch VOC empire’, *Capensis*, no. 4 (1999), pp. 16-34.

\textsuperscript{217} CA: C 4, pp. 121-155; *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel II 1670-1680, pp. 322-323: Woensdagh 13 Martij 1680.

\textsuperscript{218} *den selfden ditto Willem Catharina* een Companys mestice of mixtice


\textsuperscript{220} *Anthonij van Bengale* vrij ingeseten alhier in de vergaderingh versocht hebbende dat zij om de vooren gegallegeerde reden, mitsgaders wijt crachte van haar vrijdom die haar van haar vaderkant wettelijk toeguam, in vrydom ocht werden gestelt, en van haar dienstbaarheijt ontslagen, soo is goet gevonden haar in vrijdom te stellen om haar als een vrij vrouw te moogen erneeren.
Consent has been given to Anthonij from Bengal, free resident of this place, who has requested this meeting to move to Batavia with his family. Being indebted to the Honourable Company and totally useless to the general citizenry and also for various weighty reasons not needed at this place, he could well be done without here.

Although twice pardoned, does Groote Catrijn’s original life-long banishment to the Cape ever come into consideration? Significantly the meeting is chaired by visiting Commissioner Sijbrand Abbema, the brother-in-law of Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker.

An improved economic situation (mostly the proceeds from their distillery and garden produce), however, appears to have confined them to the Cape. Or is it Groote Catrijn’s resurrected past; the fact that she had previously been forbidden to return to Batavia? Unsure of her reception on returning, is she reluctant to go back? Thereafter, the couple manage to avoid any serious criminal detection. Only twice does Anthonij appear in the records being formally charged for minor offences. The “black free-burgher Antoni” is fined (17 June 1680) Rds 25 for hunting out of season, his dog having killed a steenbok and (3 July 1680) he is acquitted from a charge of cutting wood without a permit.221 “Black Anthonij” (Swart Antoni) is fined by the Council of Justice together with seven other free-citizens (including Maaij Ansla’s husband) for neglecting to produce permits for the gathering of wood (over nalatijeit van het overleven den briefjes rackende het bereijden van branthout).222 Given the size of the colony, this blanket prosecution points to bureaucratic attempts to clean up the administration and ensure greater burgher compliance and co-operation. The accused (which includes Fiscal Tobias Vlasvath’s mother-in-law) are listed as follows:223

“Juffrouw Mostart, Elbert Diemer, Matthijs Michielsen, Hendricq Jacobsen, Cornelis de Boer, Jagt, Swart Antoni and Swarten Evert”.

The names in order of appearance are interesting. They appear to be indicative of a certain pecking order with the free-blacks (the Asian Antoni and the African Evert) mentioned last and European free-burghers having ex-slave wives (Kees de Boer and Maaij Ansla’s husband Jagt) mentioned second last.

Groote Catrijn witnesses the baptism (7 April 1680) of the baby of their slave Maria van Malabar, a heelslag (?) daughter named Elisabeth.224 She appears as Catharina geconsenteert, also hier seer wel can worden gemist. [Anna J. Böseken, Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, II 1670-1680 (Resolution: 15 March 1680), p. 324].

221 Anna J. Böseken, Slave and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, pp. 113-114.
222 G. Con de Wet, in his Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in the Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707, omits Jagt in his Bylae I.
223 CA: CJ 2, p. 114 (3 July 1680).
224 The heelslag Elisabeth Marcus / Marcusz: / Markess / Markeuse / Markense / Markus & Lijsbeth van de Cae, she has several children by different fathers; her 1st child is by Christoffel Armregt / Armbrrecht (from Bodenweiler) – shoemaker (1702-1703) who agrees to purchase (1702) a slave from Olof Bergh (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) in exchange for another of Bergh’s slaves whom he wishes to marry; he already has a child by her & is raising this child as his own; her second child is fathered by Dirk Janse: de Graaf; her third & fourth children are fathered by Daniel Meerken; her fifth child is fathered by Pieter Knurf. Being heelslag she is precluded her from being legally married; her children:

(1) Wilhelm Armbrrecht baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 3 October 1700 (no witnesses)
Anthonii (Latin – genitive case – for Catharina of Anthoni).225 She and her daughter (and other children?) appear to pass hands, either before, or at the time of the deaths of Groote Catrijn and her husband. They are not mentioned in the surviving (incomplete) deceased estate papers (1683) of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale. How the missing deceased estate papers of predeceased Groote Catrijn are wound up, remains unknown. She is also not mentioned in an earlier undated (c. 1681) list entitled Vercoopingh van de Gexecuteerde goederen van Antoni van Bengale. Are they sold in advance – to help extinguish outstanding debts or was she confiscated by the Company? Paul, however, remains in Anthonij’s possession. As money is still owing to Paul’s previous owner, presumably he cannot be confiscated by the Company. Who sells Maria van Bengale and her children? Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale and/or his wife? Circumstantial evidence points to this slave family passing to the free-burgher Hans Rutgert Trost (from Erbervelt / Herbervelt)226 – whose last two names mostly appear contracted in the records as Rutgertroost / Rutgentroost / Rutgentrooster and of whom more is revealed later in this narrative – and their daughters being farmed out to Company officials such as Olof Bergh (from Gothenburg) and Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel).

(2) Dirkie de Graaf baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 7 December 1704 (witnesses: Emanuel van Macassar & Sytje van Macassar)

(3) Johannes Meerkens baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 20 May 1708 (witnesses: Pieter Pietersz de Groot & Willemina Willemsz)

(4) Johanna Meerkens baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 18 August 1709 (witnesses: Cornelis van der Laan & Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout)

(5) Hendrik Knurf baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 22 May 1712 (witnesses: Steven Winterhof & Willemina Willemsz)

Concerning her biological paternity, there is a slave named Marcus van Bengale (born c. 1663) who comes into the commander (later governor)’s possession (5 June 1683). Aged 20, he is sold by Jacob Dircxz: Jaarsma, skipper on Asia on behalf of Jacob Overwater for Rds. 40 to Simon van der Stel. He is also likely to be biological father of heelslag slave, Nicolaas Marcus, who baptizes a child Francina (23 August 1699) by the slave woman Appolonia van Badaga, slave belonging to Baes Jan Vosloo (from Plettenberg) baptized as an adult (17 July 1703) – witnesses are Joost Ventura van de Caep & Elisabeth van Madagascar. Appolonia baptizes another child Casper [later Casper Vosloo] (12 June 1701) – the witnesses are Jan Wirik Vormer & Cape-born Jannetie Willems: van Wyk; Cornelis van der Laan also appears as witness to baptism of one of Elisabeth Marcus:’s children.

225 … den 7 April [1680] Elisabet; de moeder Mary een slave van Antonij van Bengale; de peet daer van was Catharina Anthonii. [DRC/A: G1/1, Doopregister].
226 Elberfeld (now incorporated into Wuppertal) in land of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Federal Republic of Germany.
In 1681 *Grote Catrijn* and *Anthonij* take leave of their neighbour *Jochum Ringel* and his family. His daughter, *Margaritie Jochums: Ringels:*, marries (28 January 1680) the Swede, *Swen Hellensson alias Sven Telleson* (from Stockholm [Sweden]) and joins him on Mauritius where he soon dies an alcoholic.\(^{227}\) His son *Dirck*, who joins the Company (1679), had already gone to Batavia. Having asked permission to leave the Cape, the Council of Policy was happy to see him go. Like *Anthonij*, the council is of the opinion that he is a burden to the Company.\(^{228}\) *Ringel* sells his house and erf to the Deaconate (*diaconij*) of the church (1681).

**Daughter’s Brothel closed**

At the end of that year the colonial authorities close the colony’s two independent brothels.\(^{229}\) The fiscal is authorized to arrest anybody found there *in flagrante delictu*.\(^{230}\) Moral condemnation of these institutions is graphically set out in terms of a resolution of the Council of Policy (26 November 1681):\(^{231}\)

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231 The Resolution of Wednesday (26 November 1681) [CA:C 5, pp. 66-68] [*Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, Deel III 1681-1707*, p. 28]: In aanmerkinghe genoomen sijnde de schandeleuse en infame huijshoudinge van twee familien, sijnde het *eene Timorees huijsgesin* en ‘t ander seecker vrijgeworden slavin, *Catarijn* genoemt, alwaer soo wel de slavinnen van de Compe. als particuliere haer op gesette tijden weeten te transporteren en haer lichaem t’eenemael aan alle verfoeilijckhe vlesselijckhe wellusten overgeven en door Europianen laaten gebrijcken, zelfs sigh niet schamende haer vuilte lusten in ’t openbaer te plegen, en dewijl ’t selve niet magh nogh behoorende te werden getollerew, Soo is goetgevonden den fiscael dese resedentie te qualificeeren de voorne. twee huijsen, t’elckens wanneer hij sulcx raatzaem oordeelt, te visiteeren, en bij bevindinge van eenige Europianen aldaer, d’selve voor d’eerste maal van d’ercken te gelijck te waarschouwen haer van daer te onthouden, dogh echter de tweedemaal aldaer weder gevonden werdende, deselve te apprehenderen om naer bevinden van saacken daerover gestraft te werden, maer in ’t reguwart van de vrouwlijcken off slavinnen is verstaan wanneer eenige gevonden werden, dat deselve aanstonts in verseeckeringh sal neemen om daer over gestraft te werden. *Aldus g’arresteert en geresolweert in ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop, datum uts.*
"Taking into consideration the scandalous and shameful households of two families, one being a Timorese family\textsuperscript{232} and the other a certain freed slave woman named Catarijn [Catharina Wagenmakers: van de Caep] where it is known that also the Company slave women in particular frequent at certain times and give their bodies wholly over to all kinds of disgusting carnal cravings and allow themselves to be used by Europeans not even ashamed to openly commit such dirty wantonness; and while such same [behaviour] no longer will be tolerated, consequently it is decided to order the resident fiscal to visit the afore-mentioned two houses whenever he deems it expedient and, on finding any Europeans there, to admonish them a first time and warn them, but that, if found there a second time, to apprehend them; and after investigation, they are to be punished; but regarding the female folk or slave women, it is to be understood that any found there shall certainly be forthwith punished". 

An enterprising Anthonij continues (1682) keeping a ‘tavern’ or ‘inn’ of sorts. He strikes separate business deals with the immensely wealthy and influential Willem van Dieden (from Amsterdam) – second husband to his former patronesse – and the elusive and enterprising Andries Houwer. He signs (3 February 1681) an agreement with Van Dieden\textsuperscript{233} and a contract with Houwer (7 February 1682).

**Willem van Dieden**

Van Dieden has a Company concession to distil spirits. Anthonij undertakes to obtain brandy supplies only from Van Dieden. Anthonij binds himself to paying 15 stuivers per flask.\textsuperscript{234} The contract is drawn up in anticipation of revised laws that now open up the right for free persons to sell alcohol to the public. Each licensee has to provide two sureties to ensure payment of the licence. Groote Catrijn’s daughter Marrtie appears to already be a servant in Van Dieden’s household if she is indeed the same person recorded as Van Dieders / Dieters [Van Dieden?] Marreij who later purchases from Anthoij’s deceased estate.

Van Dieden arrives (1665) aboard the Amersfoort as adelbors. He is appointed (1668) assistent and first clerk which position is ratified (15 March 1669) by Joan Thijszen.\textsuperscript{235} He appears (24 December 1671) as garnisoen boekhouer en provisionele dispensier.\textsuperscript{236} Hackius uses him as dispensier promoting him (11 April 1672) to ondercoopman he is dismissed (1673) by Commander Goske and becomes a free-burgher.\textsuperscript{237} He becomes very active as wynpagter, traankoker, free-butcher and also burgervaandrig and lieutenant also appearing (1682) Hout Bay (first settled in 1677 by Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe (from Broek / Oud-Beijerland) and Swarte Piet [Pieter van der Westhuizen (from Ghent)]).
Andries Houwer

Houwer agrees to sell all the fruit and vegetables in his garden to Anthonij (called Antonio in the contract, the Portuguese version of his name). His 10 pigs Anthonij can deal with as if they are his own and his garden and house are available for Anthonij to use as he sees fit. Anthonij, in turn, agrees to pay Houwer cash to the amount of Rds 130 during the year (1683) once the first and the last return fleet (Oorlammen238) leave the roadstead. They also agree to plant an acre of turnips. The profits that accrue are to be shared equally by both parties. The illiterate Houwer signs with a cross while Anthonij signs his initials AB in a determined and bold hand. This agreement is found filed amongst Anthonij's estate papers and the contractual arrangements reflected in terms of two receipts made out to Houwer (6 May 1683 & 13 June 1683) for payments out of the deceased estate.

Houwer's provenance is (as yet) unknown. He is somewhat elusive only making a singular appearance in the Opgaaf (1682) owning the farms Coornhoop [Mowbray] in the Cape District which he purchases (post 1683) from Gerrit Cloete (from Cologne) and sells (5 October 1691 [T302] & 1692 [T311]) to Abraham Hartog (from Frankfurt am Main).

He also owns the farm Gelukwaard(s) [gelegen over de Vier en Twintig Rivieren onder 't district van Drakensteijn / gelegen over de 24 Rivieren district Worcester] (11 September 1714 & sold 1730) to Jan Stevensz: Botma) and an (as yet) unidentified farm at Drakenstein. Thereafter he likely repatriates. The agreement is witnessed by Caspar(us) / Gaspar Wilders / Willers (from Hamburg [or Homburg?]).

238 Derives from Bahasa term orang lama = man of experience. Also found is the word orlammi or Oranglammen meaning (experienced) men coming from the Indies as opposed to Bahren or Orang Bharu (inexperienced Indies-bound men coming from the Netherlands) derived from orlang baru = neophyte [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1671-1674 & 1676, p. 3].
Groote Catrijn’s family, resident in the Cape district, is again enumerated in the muster roll (1682):

Antony van Bengale: 1 man; Catharyn van Palikatte: 1 wife; 1 son [Christoffel Snijman]; 1 daughter [Petronella van Bengale]; 3 male adult slaves [Paul van Malabar, the Malay Baddou [van Bali?] & NN]; 2 male slave children [names unknown]; 2 horses; 3 cattle; 39 sheep; 12 pigs; 1 muid wheat sown; 7 muids wheat reaped; 2 flintlocks; 1 rapier

In this muster roll the entire family (father, mother, son and daughter) appear for the last time. Tragedy soon strikes this little family. Within the space of nine months, 4 of its members: father, mother, daughter and newly born granddaughter are wiped out. Only Christoffel Snijman survives. Is there been some sort of epidemic or contagious sickness within the family? Unfortunately no copies of the Company Journal for this year are to be found in the Cape Archives that may have recorded their untimely deaths.

Anthonij is already deceased by 17 December 1682. An inventory of his deceased estate and all his worldly possessions is drawn up and sold by public auction on that date. He leaves no will. After 12 years of marriage, Groote Catrijn is left to fend for her 17-year-old sickly daughter, a newly born illegitimate grandchild-in-arms and 14-year-old Christoffel Snijman. A few days before the household is broken up and the family possessions inventorised for public auction, Groote Catrijn’s daughter Petronella van Bengale baptizes her only child (13 December 1682). The child is also named Petronella. The parents are given as the corporal Willem Jansen and Petronella, the daughter-in-law or step-daughter (schoondogter van) of Antony van Bengale. The term schoondogter like swaer has a wider meaning in Dutch than just the English daughter-in-law. There is no mention of Anthonij or Groote Catrijn as witnesses. Are they both too ill, and Anthonij perhaps already dead, to witness the baptism?

It is Catharina Wagenmakers: who witnesses the baptism.239 The child’s godmother is the free-black Catharina van de Caep. As concubine to the Company master wagonmaker, Andreas Baier / Beijer (from Saxony), she is identified here in terms of her lover’s profession. She and her children are enumerated in the muster roll (1682):

No 38: Catharyn van de Caap: 1 woman; 1 son; 1 daughter; Cape District.

A former halfslag slave belonging to the Company, the infant’s godmother is a remarkable woman in her own right. Coming of age, she is the first mestissa / mulatta slave on record to invoke Company regulations and formally challenge the Company to free her in terms of her white paternity. She is formally manumitted (13 March 1680).240 In the following year, she is singled out, together with the free-black Paaij

239 den 13 December [1682] Petronella Willem Jansen corporael: en Petronella schoondogter van Antony van Bengale Catharina Wagenmakers: [DRC/A: G1 1/1 Doopregister, p. 28].
Timorees, his wife Ansela van Timor and 5 ‘daughters’, for both keeping brothels. This is followed by an edict the same day forbidding all forms of socializing between Company servants and slave women. Public immorality, apparently, had deteriorated to the point that people are seen to be dancing naked and committing all sorts of sexual acts in public.

A bereft and moribund Groote Catriijn and her little family witnesses the public auctioning (17 December 1682) of their personal belongings. Not only their beds, but all their finery including underwear are auctioned for all the world to see: 2 books, 1 corset, 1 box doll’s things, silver buttons, buckles, gold buttons, 1 ticktackbort, 1 sewing cushion, 6 pairs of paintings, 1 mirror, 2 gold earrings, 1 red ormuzine (armosyn) suit, 1 suit of satin clothing, 2 veils, 1 white undergarment...

doodle from Anthonij’s Vendu Rol

Judging from the various buyers, one gets the impression that virtually anybody who is somebody comes to buy. An interesting cross-section of the Cape's economically active
population at the time bought moveable property from the deceased estate. Their names can be seen in the inventory appearing in the appendix. The inventory of goods sold reveals that the deceased estate is finally liquidated to the amount of 2608: 9: 12.244 These miscellaneous (incomplete?) papers are stored in a loose envelope in the Cape Archives. These have been transcribed verbatim and analysed by the writer and form the basis of much of Groote Catrijn’s present reconstructed biography.

The former Jew and ex-executioner, the baptized Abraham Hartogh (from Frankfurt am Main) purchases all Anthonij’s landed property: the house and erf and the garden (plus 45 sheep). The house and erf Hartogh later sells to Maaij Ansela’s Swedish son-in-law, Oloff Bergh (from Göteborg). The slave Paul van Malabar is sold by the Orphan Master to Bergh for 336 eeu slaaf genaamt Pauel ... de vaandrager. The sale is registered (11 July 1683).245

The deceased estate, however, is not to be wound up until much later. The sudden deaths of not only Groote Catrijn and her daughter Petronella senior sometime soon after (in January and February / March 1683 respectively), but also of Groote Catrijn’s infant granddaughter Petronella junior (in September the same year), explain possibly the peculiar nature and belated winding up of Anthonij’s estate.

Family, friends and neighbours step in to help Groote Catrijn’s disintegrating household. Groote Catrijn is the next victim. She withdraws, however, quietly from stage centre. Her final exit is at the age of approximately 51 years. Although not specifically mentioned in any official records, her curtain call is no less theatrical and exceptional when contrasting her initial dramatic entrance into the historical record, her upwardly mobile and irrepressible presence and her personal impact on the Cape colonial scene. Unable to nurse her daughter, or already deceased, an ailing Petronella senior is nursed by the free-black Lijsbeth van Angola246 for 9 days. Another free-black Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon247, looks after, and stands guard at, the house of the daughter of the late Anthonij van Bengale (waaken en oppassen ten huïjes bij de dochter van Anthonie van Bengale sal[j]i:[e]r).248 Soon after Groote Catrijn’s demise, Petronella senior herself, dies. During these difficult times the Company wagonmaker Andreas / Andries Bayer / Beijer / Beyer(s) (from Saxony) finally marries (21 March 1683).

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244 CA: MOOC 14/212 (1683), Deceased Estate Papers: Anthony Jansz: van Bengale; MOOC 22/2(a) Verscheide boedel cedullen, boedel van Anthony van Bengale (1683).
245 Anna J. Böseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, p. 140.
246 Elisabeth (Lijsbeth van Angola aka Sabba is manumitted (16 April 1681) by her mistress Hester Weijers: Klim (from Lier).
247 Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon.
248 CA: M 42 (d).
1683) his pregnant concubine – presumably Groot Catrijn’s eldest daughter Catharina (Catrijn) van de Caep.249

Funeral & Burial Arrangements

A notice of items purchased and the costs thereof, is drawn up (April 1683) by the messenger of the court (gerechts bood) Godfriedt Meijhuijsen (from Magdeburg) and the total amount of f 159 : 12 : 8 subtracted from the proceeds of the liquidated deceased estate.

Listed are items acquired for the burial of both Groot Catrijn and Anthonij’s adopted stepdaughter Petronella senior. Alimentary necessities such as sugar, candles, brandy, vinegar, oil, butter, beer, eggs, wine, mutton and fire wood are purchased. One pound of tobacco is purchased for the pallbearers (aen taback voor de dragers... Baas Doue) [Douwe Gerbrandsz: Steijn [Steyn] [from Leeuwaarden [Friesland]] is paid f 6 for digging 2 graves and f 12 are paid for the booking of 2 funerals.

Clothing and sewing materials purchased for the occasion included chintz and mouris / moeris (blue cotton or fabric from Coromandel), white ribbon, thread, cloth and a pair of shoes while f 4 were claimed for the material to make a corset and f 7 : 12 : 0 for the making of kindergoet (children’s stuff). At this time money has to be paid for ironing work done by Monseigneur Elbert Dircx: Diemer (from Emmerich) and Guilliam Heems (from Brughes [Flanders]).

The lieutenant Jan Baptist Dubertin / Dubertijn, alias Jean Baptiste du Bertine (from Scharpenheuvel250) is paid out monies (10 April 1683) from the deceased estate of Anthonij for which he acknowledges receipt. This is for money owing to Andries Houwer.

Dubertin’s successor on the Council of Policy is Maaij Ansela’s son-in-law, Oloff Bergh.251 Dubertin lands a seat on the Council of Policy through the influence of the commissioner and councillor-in-ordinary (raed ordinaris) Rijckloff van Goens the younger and is appointed one of the commissioners for minor matters (commissarissen van de cleijne saaken).252 Returning home, he arrives from Ceylon on the Sumatra (1680). His Cape sojourn as head of the garrison, however, ends abruptly when he is

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249 Andries Baeick [sic – Beyer / Bayer] jonkman, eers Wagenmaker van de Ed.[ele] Comp.[agne] en Catarina [sic] geboren aen de Caep de Boa Esperance [CA, VC 603, G 1/1 (Trouregister), 83]. For some obscure reason C.C. De Villiers & C. Pama, Genealogies of Old South African Families (Cape Town 1966), I, p. 51 list her as Catharina Vryman. The name Vrijman cannot be located in any of the records searched by the writer. The speculation is that perhaps C.C. de Villiers had originally been aware of the Snijman connection, but that the name had erroneously been printed as Vryman or that it may be a misreading of her designation as a vrijzwart which name appears immediately after her first name in her joint inventory with her husband (1700).

250 His provenance is also recorded as Frankfurt am Main.


252 Appointed with garrison bookkeeper Philip Theodoor Welcker & provisional assistant Jan Blesius, (appointed secretary) & burgher councillors Elbert Dircks: Diemer (from Emmerich) & Willem van Dieden (from Amsterdam) [Anna J. Böeseken, Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, vol. III, p 47].
found guilty of theft and embezzlement (26 May 1685). He builds himself a fine mansion with materials stolen from the old fort. Then aged 50 years, he is banished to Mauritius for 25 years (23 June 1685). His wife, Aletta Uijtenbogaert, and children accompany him. Prior to that, the Council of Policy reprimands him for not attending meetings and soon accuses him of disobedience and neglect of duty. After his banishment, the house is occupied by the resident minister Johannes Overneij (from Friesland) and after his departure, becomes the school.

The secretary and messenger of the Orphan Chamber supplement their salaries (1 May 1683) with monies paid from the estate of Antonij Jansen van Bengale. Throughout the joint suffering of Groote Catrijn and Petronella senior, it is Catharina Wagenmakers: who nurses her likely goddaughter and niece, the infant Petronella junior. This is already from January 1683 onwards. During this crisis, and already a mother herself with young infants, she soon becomes wife to the father of her children the Company’s master wagonmaker, Andries Beijer. They marry (21 March 1683). She, and later her husband, are remunerated by the deceased estate of Anthonij for wet-nursing the infant on a monthly basis. The child, too, does not survive. The last payment for alimentation was made (28 September 1683). On that same date, the commander Simon van der Stel authorizes the payment from the Company’s coffers for 2 little casks of blacking for a coffin. On that same date, Commander Simon van der Stel authorizes a claim from the estate for the payment of 2 little casks of blacking for a coffin which costs had initially been carried by the Company’s coffers. The following month, the surgeon Jacob Budewik is paid (20 October 1683) with funds from Anthonij’s deceased estate by the cashier of the Orphan Chamber, Roelof Backer. The payment of f 10:18 is for attending and administering medication to the child of the daughter of Anthonij.

Are Anthonij, Groote Catrijn, Petronella senior and Petronella junior all victims of some pestilence? Bubonic plague? How else do we explain the non-existence of estate papers for Groote Catrijn before or after the death of Anthonij or the separate and erratic filing of the estate papers (likely incomplete) or that only Christoffel Snijman inherits testately as universal heir to his adopted father’s (and mother’s, and sister’s and niece’s) estate? How else do we explain the disappearance of Groote Catrijn, her daughter and granddaughter from the records – also the tax rolls?

At this stage Catrijn van de Caep and her husband Andreas Bayer have just baptized (10 October 1683) their first child Elisabeth witnessed by the church deacon Joris van

253 M. Boucher, French speakers at the Cape: The European background, p. 303.
254 Also found as Alette Uijtenbogaert.
258 Andries Beijer purchases (1684) the garden adjoining that of Anthonij from Jan Jansz: van Eeden (from Oldenborg).
260 J. Hoge reads his signature as Jacob Budewilz (Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806, p. 53.
261 He is remunerated (20 October 1683).
Stralen and the fabulously wealthy Anna Haecks / Hoecks262, her third husband was the ensign Isaaak Schrijver (from Leiden). Anna Haecks / Hoecks / Ucks marries (1st) Kaspar / Gaspard Hasselaar, marries (2nd) Philip Feirhier and marries (3rd) Cape (9 July 1683) the sergeant Isaaak Schrijver / Schryver (from Leiden).263 Between Schrijver and after his decease, Haecks, they consolidate all the farms of the Jonkershoek valley in the Stellenbosch District – including those farms once granted to the free-blacks Jan Leuijs / Leeuw van Ceijlon, Anthonij van Angola and Louis van Bengale. Schrijver is granted (1692) Lanzerac [Schoongezicht], purchases (October 1692) Mount Happy [formerly Angola] & purchases (December 1692) Klein Gustrouw [formerly Bengale & later Leeof-Hoop] & his widow Anna Haecks purchases (1712) Nektar [formerly Jan Lui, later part of Weltevreden, Old Nectar, Glenconner and Nektar] and finally purchasing (1714) Jonkershoek [formerly Wynand]:264

- **Lanzerac formerly Schoongezicht**
  - Isaac Schrijver (granted 1692)
  - Anna Hoeks, wed. Isaac Schrijver
  - Maria Elisabeth van Coningshoven, wife of Jacob Hasselaar
  - Anna Hasselaar, wife of Christoffel Groenewald

- **Mount Happy (south of Eerste River) [Angola]**
  - Anthonij van Angola (granted 1683 & 1692)
  - Isak Schrijver pays f600 [MOOC 10/1 (Vendu Rollen), fol. 7, sale of property of Anthonij van Angola (12 October 1696)]265

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262 E.E. Mossop incorrectly states that they are from his [sic] previous marriage. See Hattingh ... Hans Fransen & Mary Alexander Cook, The Old Buildings of the Cape, A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1980) & J.L. Hattingh, Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720, University of the Western Cape, Belville 1981).


• **Klein Gustrouw** formerly Leef-op-Hoop [Bengale]
  - Louis van Bengale(n) (granted 1683 & 1692)
  - Anthonij van Angola
  - Isaac Schrijver (1696) Orphan Chamber sells farm from deceased estate of Anthonij van Angola [MOOC 10/1 (Vendu Rollen), fol. 8, sale of piece of land, 15 December 1696; J.L. Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 20] [Schrijver pays f381 for farm at public auction]

• **Nektar** formerly Jan Lui, part of Weltevreden, formerly Nektar, Glenconner, Old Nectar
  - Marquard van Ceylon (*Paai Ceylon*) & Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceylon (1692)
  - According to Hattingh Jan van Ceijlon sells this farm to Jan Botma for f800 but keeps 3 morgen for himself in kloof on which stands his house
  - Anna Hoeks (1712) [Transporten en Schpenkennis], T 177, (29 September 1712); J.L. Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 38] [Council of Justice rules that farm be sold to Anna Hoeks, wed.[uwe] Isak Schrijver for f810]

• **Jonkershoek** formerly Wynand
  - Jan Andr(i)esen de Jonker (granted 1683) (regranted 1692)
  - Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceylon (1698)
  - Steven Jansz: Botma (1701)
  - Wynand Wynands(z): [Bezuidenhout] (1711)
  - Anna Hoeks (1714)
Anna Haecks is mother to two sons from her first marriage: Jacob Hasselaar and Gaspard Hasselaar. They accompany her to the Cape. Her son Jacob Hasselaar (from Middelburg) concludes a contract (6 December 1712) with Robert Jansz: van Hoorn – leasing house and garden formerly belonging to the free-black Jan Luij / Leeuw van Ceijlon for 3 years for f 5 a month on condition that no other family be allowed to occupy the house or property. He marries at Stellenbosch (25 November 1704) Maria Elisabeth van Coningshoven. Born in wedlock, she is the daughter of Dirck van Coningshoven (from Utrecht) and the mulatta Johanna (Jannetje) Bort van de Caep, the likely maternal granddaughter of Nicolaes Bord (from Ariens) and Jajenne / Gegeima van Guinea (aka Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg and nick-named Lobbetje) and the niece to the halfslag Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Jans: van de Caep and her husband Jan Andr(i)essen Arendsdorf aka Jan de Jonker. She is baptised (12 October 1687) the witnesses being Christiaan Freeser and Anna Hoeks. They have 4 children:

1. Anna Hasselaar baptised 15 February 1705; marries 24 December 1729 Christoffel Groenewald (s/o Christoph Grünwald (from Koenigsberg) & Catharina Nieman / Niemand / Niemant / Niemans: (from Amsterdam))
2. Johanna Hasselaar baptised 2 October 1707; marries 27 March 1729 Johannes Verbeek (son of Jan Verbeek (from Rotterdam) & Catharina Jacobs: van de Caep & grandson of the heelslag Martha Manuels: van de Caep & great-grandson of Catharina van Bengale by Manuel van Angola; he marries (2) 6 June 1734 Geertruyd Loos, wid/o Adam Albertyn & wid/o Hendrik Lodewyk Wiederhold
3. Kaspar Hasselaar baptised 11 August 1709
4. Dirk Hasselaar baptised 9 April 1713

A mere 2 months later Catharina Wagenmakers: baptises (9 December 1683) a third infant Marritie. The child is presumably named after her maternal aunt and Snijman’s other half-sister Marrite Pieters: van de Caep. The parents are recorded as Andries Beier and Catharina and the witnesses are Douw Gerbrants: [Steyn] (from Leeuwarden [Friesland]) and Maria Weshuizen.267

266 1/STB 18/42 (Contracts), Jacob Hasselaar & Robert Jansz: van Hoorn, (6 December 1712); J.L. Hattingh, Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720, p. 38
Maria Hendriks: Winkelhausen / Maria Hendrix: de Lieven / Lievin / Maria Pieters: / Marij van Westphale (from Burgsteinfurt [Münsterland, Westphalia]) who arrives at the Cape (15 April 1673) on Azie ex Patria with her sister-in-law Margaretha Hoefnagel(s): aka Grietje Aelberts: widow of Heyndrick Schaeckelman (from Harderwijk, [Gelderland]) and wife to Albert Barends: Gildenhausen beijde nieuwelinx met Asia aengecomen and possibly latter’s son Arend Gildenhausen (from Legden [near Burgstainfurt]. She is wife to Pieter Jansz: van der Westhuizen and possibly latter’s son Willem Basson also acquires property.

Andries Beijer purchases (1684) the garden adjoining that of his likely late father-in-law Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale from Jan Jansz: van Eeden (from Oldenborg). This garden is later transferred by Hans Rutgert Trost back to Bayer (1700) and (1701) from the deceased estate of Bayer back to Hans Rutgertoost.

The same parents baptise (2 September 1685) their third child (her fourth) Johannes (Johannes Jurgen Beyers:) witnessed by Joris van Stralen (whom we have already encountered) and Catrina Hilbrants: – possibly daughter to Groote Catrijns friend Sabbata van Angola.

Catrijn Wagenmakers: baptises (19 September 1687) her fifth child and names him Christoffel presumably – and if so, very significantly – after her half-brother Christoffel Snijman. The baptism is witnessed by the infant’s maternal aunt Marretie van de Caap.

Marritie

Just prior to Christoffel’s own marriage, his likely second eldest sister Maria (Marritie) Pieters: finally marries (23 January 1689) her first husband Anna Hommes (from ‘s Heeren Veen). Somewhat elusive, he appears to be a VOC official. He is likely to be related to Isac Hommes who witnesses baptisms of the children of the freed Company halfslag (mulatta) and former personal slave to Commander (later Governor) Simon van der Stel: Jannetje Bort van de Caep by the Company sergeant Dirck van Coningshoven (from Utrecht). Prior to her marriage Marritie Pieters: witnesses the baptisms of 4 Cape-born infants:

- 14 May 1684 (with Jan Pasquael(s:)) baptism of Jannetie (daughter of Jannes & Kallipetie);
- 19 August 1685 baptism of Joanna (d/o Calo & Andries houtsager in ’t bosch);
- 14 April 1697 (with Louis van Bengale) baptism of Anna Elisabeth (daughter of Dirck Pretorius & Maria Hansz: van de Caep);
- 8 June 1699 (with Arij Jants:) baptism of Willemijntje (daughter of Evert Pietersz: from Pumerend [North Holland]) & Susanna Catharina van Ceijlon).

Again Catrijn Wagenmakers: baptises (26 February 1690) another infant (her 6th) Margaretha witnessed by Joris van Stralen and Maria van der Westhuijsin whom we have encountered before. Thereafter, she baptises at Stellenbosch (20 July 1692 and 12 May 1696) 2 more daughters both named Susanna – presumably her seventh child dies in infancy – the witnesses being Jan Magnet and Magdalena Manantot for the first baptism and Hendrik Venterz: [Venter] and Anna Viljon [Viljoen] for the second baptism, respectively.

Jean Magnet / Maniet deacon of French Church at Drakenstein (1689).269

269 De Villiers/Pama incorrectly have 14 [sic] September.
Madeleine Menanteau (from Poitou, France), First wife of Huguenot refugee Jean Prieur du Plessis.

Hendrik Venter (dies 1713) (from Hamel [Nord-Pas-de-Calais, France]), widower of Johanna Mostert – daughter of Johannes (Jan) Cornelisz: Mostaert [Mostert] (from Utrecht) & Alida van Hulst (from The Hague) marries (secondly) 9 December 1691 Anna Viljoen (1678-11 May 1713), daughter of Francois Villion (from Clermont [France]) and Cornelia Campenaer (from Middelburg [Zealand]) & future sister-in-law to Christoffel Snijman’s widow Margo.

Clearly Christoffel Snijman is socially very well-connected and an accepted part of the colonial establishment.

Maria van Bengale

Groote Catrijn’s former slave Maria van Bengale next appears as the slave (no record of transfer or registration) belonging to the Cape free-burgher Hans Rutgert Trost (from Erbervelt / Herbervelt) who frees her (c. 1686). A soldier (1670) and listed as Hans Rutgert Troost in the muster roll of Officers and Men at the Cape (1672) as one of the schapewachters [i]n d'boere woningh, he becomes burgher at Stellenbosch (1677). He purchases (24 August 1684) an unnamed male slave [Pampus van Malbaar] from Tobias Marquart. The slave Pieter van Madagascar (aged 17) is sold (30 November 1686) by Roedolf Diodati, bookkeeper of the Jambi, to Trost for Rds 50. Trost is promised (1687) the farm Weltevreden at Bottelary which property later passes to Andreas Bayer (from Saxony).

Her 3 eldest children – all daughters – appear to be farmed out to the Company officials Olof Bergh (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) and Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel) – presuming that the adopted names after baptism are not necessarily those of their biological fathers or of their future step-father.

Maria van Bengale gives birth to a halfslag daughter Johanna later known as Johanna (Jannetje / Jannetie) Hans: / Hanse: / Hansen / Rutgertoost. As a slave in the household of Willem ten Damme she is recorded as Johanna [Antonisz:]/ van de Caap.

Thereafter Maria van Bengale gives birth to a third heelslag daughter Anna Maria (born c. 1683) later known as Anna Maria Dominicus. The name Dominicus is a variation of the name Domingo which would be the name of her likely step-father Domingo van Bengale – if not also her biological father. Anna Maria van de Caap is later baptized (13 December 1705)270 as a private slave together with her daughter Elsje Catharina.271 She marries in the Cape Church (31 July 1707) Claus (Claas) Beu /

269 Colin Graham Botha, The French Refugees at the Cape.
270 Na voorgaande belydenis gedoopt Anna Maria en haar dogter Elsje Katrina
271 Elsie / Elsje Catharina Beust born c. 1697; baptized Elsje Katrina with mother (13 December 1705); manumitted 31 May 1706; marries (19) Joachim Pietersz: Posthumus (from Bolswaard [Friesland]); marries (2nd) Johann Meyer (from Rothenthal / Rosenthal) [CA: MOOC 7/6 (Testamenten, 1736-1745), no. 93]: 9 children: (1) Rynje Posthumus marries Matthys Pietersen; (2) Nicolaas Posthumus; (3) Petrus Posthumus; (4) Nicolaas Posthumus; (5) Anna Catharina Posthumus marries Jan Jacobs (from ter Veere); (6) Albertus Posthumus; (7) Elisabeth Posthumus marries Jan David Storm, (8)
Beust / Beusz: / Bue / Buis (from Aalst [in the Ditmarsh272]). Just prior to her marriage her husband arranges (31 May 1706) for the manumission of his concubine and her (their?) 9-year-old daughter and paying what seems to be less than the usual going amount for slaves. His concubine, however, is not required to pay back any of the money tendered for her release. Instead, she has to stand by Buis or the rest of her life helping to earn their keep and to assist him.

Anna Maria de Mainekes [Dominicus], together with Caspar Jansz: Casper Janse: / Johannis: van Cabo (son of the freed slaves, Jan Luij / Leeuw van Ceylon and Dina van Coelang), witnesses (3 February 1709) the baptism of Jacoba Jürgens: (later known as Jacoba Coetzee), daughter of Hans Jurrien [Glim / Glam] van Saltsburg and Elizabeth Laurensz:. Last-mentioned is the daughter to freed slaves, Louis van Bengale and Lijsbeth Sanders: / Sandra van de Caep. Curiously, listed in the Opgaaf (1697) is an entry at Stellenbosch for Hans Hurrian and Anna Mary halfslag. They appear immediately after Laureens Campe [Laurens Campher] & Hansla [Ansela] van de Caap.

Widow Beu marries (2nd) at the Cape (26 December 1712) Christoffel Ameen (from Rostock). She dies (1713) during the smallpox epidemic. Her husband marries (2nd) at the Cape (31 December 1713) Jacoba Campher, widow of Joost de Klerk and daughter of Laurens Campher and Anselfa van de Caap.

Meanwhile Maria van Bengale’s eldest daughter Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van de Caep Elisabeth Marcusz: / Markess / Markeuse / Markense / Markus has several children by different fathers. Her first child is by Christoffel Armregt / Armbrecht (from Bodenweiler). Recorded as shoemaker (1702-1703), he agrees to purchase (1702) a slave from Olof Bergh (from Gothenburg [Sweden]) in exchange for another of Bergh’s slaves whom he wishes to marry. He already has a child by her and is raising this child as his own. Her second child is fathered by Dirk Janse: de Graaf. Her third and fourth children are fathered by Daniel Meerkens. Her fifth child is fathered by Pieter Knurf. Being heeslag she is precluded from being legally married.

(1) Wilhelm Armbrrecht baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 3 October 1700 (no witnesses) ... van Christoffel Armregt & Elisabeth Markense gen[aem]t - Wilhelmus
(2) Dirkje de Graaf baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 7 December 1704 (witnesses: Emanuel van Macassar273 & Sytje van Macassar274)

Johannes Hasuerus Posthumus; (9) Femma Posthumus marries (1st) Albertus Johannes Myburgh: marries (2nd) Philip Wouter de Vos.

272 Ditmarsken (Danish) / Ditmarschen (German) – originally part of Kingdom of Denmark but now part of land of Schleswig-Holstein in Federal Republic of Germany.

273 Emanuel / Manuel van Macassar & Maria van Cel[]lon / van Malabar are recorded as twee oude en afgeleerde vrijegewene slaven van d’heer Andries d’Man Saliger gewesen – both manumitted (1695) by Eilsje van Suurwaerden (Mrs De Man). He is a free-fisherman. Manuel van Macassar purchases (12 December 1696) erf in Table Valley [Block L] from Jan de Soeza (5 r 56’) (76,9 sq. m.); couple listed in Opgaaf (1705): 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed]; no children; he witnesses (with Constantia van de Caap) (13 May 1708) baptism of slave Americentie, slave child belonging to Gerrit Jansz: van Aart & daughter of Anna van Bengalen.

274 Seijtje / Sijtje / Zijtje van Macassar (born c. 1670). On 25 May 1690 she (then aged 20/21) given in loan by Franciscus Villierius, skipper of Pijlswaard to Jan Holsmit who undertakes to look after her maintenance until Villierius returns to Holland. A note is added to this document, stating that brother of by now deceased Villierius is only heir & entitled to claim Sijtje of Macassar. On 27 February 1698 she is
Concerning her biological paternity, there is a slave named Marcus van Bengale (born c. 1663) who comes into the commander (later governor)’s possession (5 June 1683). Aged 20, he is sold by Jacob Dircxz: Jaarsma, skipper on Asia on behalf of Jacob Overwater for Rds. 40 to Simon van der Stel. He is also likely to be the biological father of heeslak slave, Nicolaas Marcus, who baptizes a child Francina (23 August 1699) by the slave woman Appolonia van Badaga, slave belonging to Baes Jan Vosloo (from Plettenberg) baptized as an adult (17 July 1703). The witnesses are Joost Ventura van de Caep and Elisabeth van Madagascar. Appolonia baptizes (12 June 1701) another child Casper [later Casper Vosloo]. The witnesses are Jan Wirik Vormer277 and Cape-born Jannetie Willems: van Wyk.278

Before her manumission Maria van Bengale gives birth to a fourth daughter Cornelia van de Caeb / Caap alias Cornelia Lamans: / Lammans: van de Caep (born c. 1685). Worth noting is that Olof Bergh sues den schipper Jan Jansen Laman for injurie. Is he the biological father? Significantly, there is also one Claas Laman listed in the Opgaaf (1691) immediately after Martje Pieters: [Marritie Pieters:] met haar zoon given in loan to free-black [sic], Octavia [sic] van Macassar, by Holsmit, who is about to return to Patria. Octavius / Octavio van Macassar arrives in company of brother-in-law Prince Dayan Majampe (1681) objects to being called a free-black as he has never been enslaved claiming to be of royal descent; baptized as adult (22 September 1686) & described as vry dienaer; promises to return Zijtje to heirs of her former master, late Franciscus Villierius, should they come to Cape to claim her; she witnesses (20 January 1709) with Fredrik van Santen baptism of slave Adriana infant who belongs to Jacob Paasa & daughter to Anna van Madagascar.

275 Pieter Pietersz: de Groot [from Amsterdam]; free-fisherman; marries (11 November 1703) jonedochter[sic] Maria Pietersz: van Cabo probably baptized (24 January 1677), daughter of Company slave woman Joanna [Janne Bastiaens:?): family appear in various Opgaaf Rollen: (1705) Pieter Pietersz de Groot: 1 man; 1 wife [Maria Pietersz: van Cabo]; 2 daughters; Cape (1709) Pieter Pietersz: de Groot: 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed]; [no children enumerated]; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; (1712) Pieter Pietersz: de Groot: 1 man: 1 wife [unnamed]; 1 daughter; 1 horse; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape; (1719) Wedewuwe: Pieter de Groot: 1 woman; Cape [no husband; no daughter]; daughter Cecilia de Groot marries Cape (3 March 1709) Heinrich Brüning / Bruning / Bruinink (from Lingen).

276 Willemina Willems: van de Caep marries (27 November 1711) Jan Rogiers [from Morsselin]. She is subsequently baptized (1689), likely daughter of Company slave Cornelia Pieters: van de Caep. Not to be confused with Wilhelmina Vermeulen, daughter of Jan Willems: van de Caep (from Utrecht) & Catharina Opklin van de Caep / van Bengale, whose sister Maria Vermeulen marries another Jan Rogiers (from Amsterdam). Jan Rogiers (from Morsselin) is executor to deceased estate of Marritte Pieters: Willem. Andriesz.

277 Unidentified. Possibly visiting Danish slave trader?

Joh.[annes] de Vry. She is baptized in the Cape Church (2 October 1707) as an adult and vrijmeid after attaining majority and her freedom as a halflslag.279 Her heirs are her minor children: Susanna Coetzer, Josina Coos and Willem Coos. She marries (1st) (de facto) Dominicus Jansz: (from Amsterdam). Later she marries (2nd) de facto Johannes Jacobus Coeser / Coetzer – the same person as Jacobus Coetzee (son of Dirk Coetzee & Sara van der Schulp) who marries (27 December 1724) Elisabeth Louisz: (daughter of Louis van Bengale & Lijsbeth Sanders. She again marries (3rd) (de facto) [or civil ceremony only?] Claas Coos / Coors – likely son of the slave woman Dorothea van Angola. She is mother to the following children:

(1) Jannetie baptized Cape 2 October 1707 (mother: Cornelia van [de] Caab) (witnesses: Domingo van Bengale & Maria van Bengale)
(2) Nicolaas baptized Cape 12 July 1711 (father: Dominicus Jansz: van Amsterdam) (mother: Cornelia van de Caap) (witnesses: Domingo van Bengalen & Elisabeth Marcusz)
(3) Susanna Coeser / Coetzer baptized 1 April 1714 (father: Johannes Jacobus Coetzer; mother: Cornelia Lamans) (witness: Gerrit van Hardenberg) marries Cape 30 August 1733
Daniel Duuring / During baptized Cape 6 July 1704 (s/o Michiel / Michael Dirks: / Duering / Duuring (from Leipzig) & Cornelia van de Caab) (witnesses: Daniel Barnou & Anna Louis), wid. of Francina Anthonie: van de Caep born Cape 1703; dies 1741
(4) Josina Coos baptized 15 May 1718 (father: Claas Coos; mother: Cornelia Lamans) (witness: Maria Heyns)

Maria van Bengale is baptized jointly as bejaerde (30 June 1686) with her future husband den Chinees Domingo van Bengale – none other than Groote Catrijn’s earlier Chinese convict companion when she first arrives at the Cape. Trost fathers 2 sons (likely twins) by his slave Maria van Bengale. The sons are freed with their mother and baptized Carel & Hendrick (2 November 1687).280 Trost bequeathes (13 January 1688) monies to his 2 illegal sons “by Maria van Bangala my former slave now manumitted” (in onecht by mijn gewesen slavin nu vrijgegewen Maria van Bengala).

His 2 sons are brutally murdered (1690) during an attack on their place by absconding slaves who set their homestead alight; the children are burned alive – Böeseken describes the events as follows:

"Meanwhile the two other slaves who were still at large continued their “reign of terror” in spite of all patrols who were trying to hunt them down. On the 29th of August they set fire to the house of Hans Rutgentroost, who lost two children in the fire before he could run through the flames. He was attacked outside his home, where he received an assegai wound in the head and was struck with the butt of a gun belonging to one of the slaves. He nevertheless managed to fire his own gun which was loaded with soft-nosed expanding bullets, and wounded one of the slaves in the chest met gekapte koegels in de borst getroffen. The slave dies three days later”.

279 Cornelia van Caab Een bejaarde vrijmeid.
280 ... zijn gedoopt twee kinderen waar van de eene is genaemt Hendrick, het ander Carel, de vader was Hans Rutger Troost, de getuigen Pieter Gertsz: [Pieter Gerritse: Boshouwer (from Scherpenzeel)] en Cornelia Cornelisse [Boshouwers’ sister-in-law Cornelia Cornelissen, daughter of Catharina van Malabar & Cornelis Claesz: (from Utrecht) alias Kees de Boer, de moeder slavinne [Maria van Bengale].

*Trost* marries (3 February 1692) *Aeghje Claesze: Keiser / Keyser* (from Rotterdam), widow of *Nicolaes / Nikolaas (van) Breda*. He is formally granted (29 February 1692) the farm *Weltevreden* – originally promised (1687) but only transferred and registered (16 December 1700) in the name of the wagonmaker, *Andries Beyer* (from Saxony), although in *Beyer’s* possession for some time already. The farm is subsequently transferred (26 January 1701) to *Christian Ehlers* from the estate of *Beyer* and his deceased wife. Later combined with farm *Amandelkloof*, the farm becomes known (1725) as *Hartenberg* later belonging to *Catrijn Wagenaars*:’ son-in-law, *Christoffel Esterhuizen [Osthus?] (dies 1724)*, who also farms at the neighbouring *Onrust en Harmonie*.

The slave *Cupido van Madagascar* (aged 14) is sold (2 March 1696) by *Pieter Robberts* (originally obtained from *Richard Glover*) to *Trost* for Rds 74 and *Pampus van Malabar* (aged 30) is sold (23 March 1699) by *Trost* to *Pieter Barilje* for Rds 100. *Boelan van Padang* (aged 24) is sold (27 March 1699) by *Lammert Adriaensz*: (from *Weijs* [Gelderland]) to *Trost* for Rds 70. His step-daughter *Engeltie Breda* marries (8 December 1697) influential and wealthy *Michiel Ley* (from Basel). *Trost* appears (28 March 1701) on list of persons drawing on Holland for their pay:

> **“Hans Rutgertroost**, freeman, husband and guardian of his wife, *Aachje Claasz: Keyser*, mother and sole heir of her son *Huybert van Breda*, late soldier in the Company’s service.”**

His garden in Table Valley changes hands (1700) in terms of legal ownership from *Trost* to *Andreas Beyer* (from Saxony) and the same garden in Table Valley is transferred back (1701) to *Trost* from the deceased estate of *Beyer*. *Trost* draws up a second will (1702). He dies (1716).

**Maria and Domingo**

*Maria* and *Domingo* appear as an unmarried couple in *Opgaaf* (1688) owning 1 flintlock (*snaphaen*) and 1 rapier (*degen*). They marry at the Cape Church (18 May 1691) as *vrijborger alhier & vrijborgeresse alhier*. *Domingo* and *Francisco (co) Perera van Macau* – former slave of *Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale’s* business partner *Willem van Dieden* (from Amsterdam) and husband to his former *patronesse* – are jointly convicted (8 June 1690) for illegally appropriating the inheritance of *Emanuel (Manuel) Perera*. They have to pay back what they stole and serve a year in chains. *Francisco Perera* is the former slave *Francisco van Macau* once belonging to *Willem van Dieden* (from Amsterdam) who allows him to purchase his freedom (25 May 1684) for Rds 50.

He is not to be confused with convict *Francisco [van] Manilha* whom the Governor-General in Batavia, in a letter (1 August 1673), informs the Cape authorities that a convict named *Francisco [van] Manilha* is sentenced to be banished to the Cape for 10
years. Francisco Pireera and the mother of his child Cingala van Madagascar baptize (5 March 1684) a son, Bartholomeus. François van Maccao, freed slave, requests the freedom of his son, Bartholomeus (3 years old) by the Company slave, Cingala van Madagascar.\footnote{H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1671-1674 & 1676, p. 160 (25 September 1673).} His request is granted. He also has another son, Salvador (mother: an unnamed slave from Madagascar, presumably also Cingala?) who is baptized at the Cape Church (15 January 1679). There are no witnesses to the baptism. He is listed in the Opgaaf (1688): No. 90: Franciscus Perera: 1 man; 1 son; 1 snaphaen; 1degen; Cape. Emanuel Perreira and Jan Figoredo / Figureto co-purchase (15 July 1687) an erf [Block F] from W.C. Emmerhorst (926 r 31’) (374,2 sq m) for f 1 300. Jan Figoredo, butler (hoffmeester) to Commander Simon van der Stel is liberated (1686) with his chef, Ventura van Ceylon (co-slave with Groote Catrijn in Commander Borghorst’s household), in recognition of their faithful services. Figureto is still listed in the Opgaaf (1692).

Domingo and Maria appear in Opgaaf (1692), still listed with same weapons. Domingo van Bengale is granted (17 March 1692) an erf in Table Valley which he occupies for 2 years. The erf in Oliphant Street is later sold to fellow free-fisherman, Lambert Sijmonsz: [Stam] (from Amsterdam) – a returnee from the abandoned Dutch colony on Mauritius. Domingo borrows (20 February 1693) f300 from Church funds at interest of 6%. The money is repaid (25 August 1694). Domingo enters into an employment contract (22 April 1693) with Jan van Braganza.

Domingo and his wife relocate to Batavia (1694) but return to the Cape (1697) where they are again recorded and referred to as the “mardyker Domingo of Bengal with his wife”:

“The following families proceed to the Cape by the Waddinxveen: Catharina and Abigail Marquart, spinsters. And by the Cattendyk the Mardyker Domingo of Bengal with his wife”

It is not clear whether Maria first stays behind at the Cape as a Maria van Malabar appears in the Opgaaf of 1695.\footnote{Unlikely to be Maria van Malabar (aged 50 years) who is freed (2 July 1695) by Elsje van Suurwaerden with Manuel van Macassar.} Significantly, she is recorded adjacent to Marritje Rykmans alias Marritie Pieters, sister-in-law to Andreas Beyer (from Saxony).

Maria van Bengale (with Joost Venture van de Caep) witnesses (7 June 1699) the baptism of Christiaan (later adopts name Victor). The mother is recorded as Candares van Suratte, slave of Gerrit Victor. The Chinaman Domingo (signing his name as Domingo van Bengale) buys (10 May 1698) from Hans Hendrik Smit the slaves: Cupido from Negapatnam (16) for Rds 70 and Pieter from Malabar (16) for Rds 70. He and his wife appear (1700) in the Opgaaf:

No. 379: Domingo van Bengale: 1 man; Maria van Bengale: 1 wife; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape:
Domingo van Bengale witnessing with Anna Louiss the baptism (26 September 1700) of Johannes, son of Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Louisz: / Louvice / Louwise and Hans Jürgens [Glim / Glam] (from Salzburg). Maria Domingo and Claas Cornelissen witness the baptism (10 June 1701) of Maria [Maria Vosloo] daughter of slave woman Tambara van Madagascar. Maria Domingo and Emanuel van Macasser witness the baptism (25 September 1701) of Johannes, the son of the slaves Scipio van Bombase [Mombasa?] and Annika van de Cust. Domingo and Maria witness the baptism (26 October 1704) of the free-born child Cecilia, daughter of Samuel Elzevier, Jan van Mannaar and Marta van Jambie.

In 1705 the couple appear in the Opgaaf:

No. 50: Domingo van Bengle; 1 man; 1 wife; Cape.

Maria witnesses the baptism (30 August 1705) of Rachel, daughter of the slave woman Helena van Java of free-burgher Lambert Adriaanz. Domingo witnesses the baptism (31 January 1706) of Christiaan, son of Gerrit van Mallebaar and Eva van Madagasker.

Domingo signs the petition (13 & 16 March 1706) with the colony’s other fishermen expressing solidarity with Van der Stel administration. Domingo witnesses baptism (16 May 1706) of Aaltie, daughter of Evert Pietersz: (from Pumerend) and Susanna (Catharina) van Ceylon, former slave woman freed by Simon van der Stel. Domingo witnesses (with Bastiana van Bengalen) the baptism (2 August 1707) of Flora, daughter of Anna van Mallebaar the slave woman belonging to the free-burgher Christoffel Groenendijk [Groenewald]. Domingo and Maria witness the baptism (2 October 1707) of their grandchild Jannetie, daughter of Cornelia van Caab. Maria witnesses (with Rebecca van de Caap) the baptisms (11 January 1708) of Jannis, Caatie and Anna Magdalena, all children of the slave woman Hester van Suratte belonging to Gerrit Victor. Domingo and his step-daughter Elizabeth Marcus: witness the baptism (12 July 1711) of Nicolaas, son of Dominicus Jansz: (from Amsterdam) and his step-daughter Cornelia van de Caap.

The couple appears in Opgaaf (1712):

284 Also known as Tamar / Thamar, / Tamara – slave belonging to Baes Jan Vosloo; she has already baptized (6 September 1699) an unnamed infant (Johannes Vosloo van de Caep?) witnessed by Antonij Jillis & Anna Ledimans; she baptizes (4 February 1703) an infant Juliana fathered by Moses van Bengale witnessed by Octavio van Macc[asser] & Catrina van de Caab; baptizes (1714) twin children (one white & one black) fathered by Pieter Daaldyn (a black man).

285 Same Cornelia van de Caep who baptises free-born daughter Arriaantje fathered by Claas Jan Groenendijk (9 August 1711)? There are no witnesses to this baptism. A Cornelia van de Caep also baptizes a free-born son Daniel, fathered by Michiel Duering (from Leipzich) witnessed by Daniel Barnou & Anna Louis: (1 July 1704) & a free-born daughter Cecilia (1704). Their mother is possibly the daughter of Dorothea van Angola.

286 Slaven Kinders der Vrijborgers of Comp: Dienaeren (2 October 1707).

287 Hester also baptises (9 November 1710) a slave infant son, Ismael, fathered by Jan Swart witnessed by Johanna Victor.
No. 157: Domingo van Bengale; 1 man; Maria van Bengale; 1 wife; 1 slave (female adult); 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Caep – significantly following couple (no. 158) is Agnieta Colijn, her husband & 2 sons;

Domingo and Maria draw up their joint will (1712). He signs in Roman letters and not Chinese ideographs. He appears to be deceased in the same year and is last mentioned in a slave transaction (9 June 1712) when purchasing Januarij van Batavia from Justus J. Benraath for Rds 95.

Domingo may have fathered an illegitimate son, Samuel Domingo alias Samuel de Veij / Vijf by Maria van Batavia alias Maria Jacobs: – initially company slave (but later slave of Simon van der Stel), who is freed and marries with several voorkinders (by different biological fathers) Chinese man and bandiet Inko (also recorded as Neniko, Liniquo & Thin Heenko) who is baptized Abraham and known as Abraham de Veij / de Vijf. She has 3 voorkinders legitimized by marriage ex post facto (16 April 1702). Significantly, Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen (from Utrecht) and Abraham [de] Veij are neighbours listed in the Opgaaf. Samuel Domingo and Suzanna van Batavia witness the baptism (1 February 1711) of Cornelia & Hieronimus, children of Pieter Jansz: van Batavia and Dina Joostz: van de Caap, slaves of Jacobus van der Heijden [Is Jacobus van der Heijden related to Jan Jansz: van der Heyden, husband of Agnieta Colijn?]. Samuel Domingo witnesses with Susanna Antonisz: the baptism (1 February 1711) of Elizabeth, daughter of Claas Cornelisz: and Susanna Leendertz:. Daniel de Vyf, Samuel Domingo and Cornelia Lamans: appear in the Opgaaf (1719). Daniel de Vyf and Samuel de Vyf also appear in Opgaaf (1725).

Domingo’s widow appears in the Opgaaf (1716):


She is not mentioned in the Opgaaf (1719).
Christoffel Snijman (1668-1705)

Ik heb gemeent wel te doen, maar heb ik kwaliijk gedaan, dat is mijn leet.
Jacques de Savoye (1636-1717)

Notwithstanding the multiple deaths within the family, Christoffel Snijman’s education continues uninterrupted. On 1 September 1683 the secretary of the Orphan Chamber, Roelof Backer remunerates the schoolmaster, who is also the sick-comforter (kranckebesoeker), for lessons given in writing and learning to “the surviving orphan of Anthonij van Bengale named Christoffel”. Monies are also paid out of the deceased estate to cover the costs for Christoffel’s paper and pens. At this time Christoffel is being schooled together with Johan [Jansz:] Wittebol, orphaned son of the deceased secretary of the Orphan Chamber Jan Pietersz: Wittebol (from Amsterdam) who dies (1681).

Johannes / Joan Wittebol (from Amsterdam) marries (16 September 1674) Maria van Reuven. She arrives (19 October 1672) on the Vryheijt with her parents. Her father Jan van Reuven / Ruijven (dies 22 January 1673) – arrives as freeman, admitted as notary by Governor-and-Council [Journal (2 November 1672)] while her mother dies soon after – “his wife is very dangerously ill” [Leibbrandt, Journal 1671-1674 & 1676, p. 86]; 28 December 1674: “The salesman and provisional junior merchant, Joan Wittebol, who had also a deficit in his administration in 1673, was degraded from office, rank and pay and further declared unworthy to serve the Companany longer at the pen”. [‘Leibbrandt’, Journal, p. 228]. Henrietta Wittebol(s:), daughter of private slave of Willem van Dieden (from Amsterdam) & later free-black Sara van Solor is possibly his biological daughter, adopted daughter or likely adopted his name being once part of his household; CA : MOOC 13/1/2 (Boedel Reekeningen) no. 31 Henrietta Wittebol Laast Wee:[duw]e Willem Lodewijk Wiederholt Num:[er]o 31

heirs:
Nicolaas Jansz: Mulder
Johannes Jansz: Mulder
children of deceased Sara Jansz: Mulder married: Anthonij Martensz:

• Jasper Martensz:
• Henrietta Martensz:
• Anna Martensz:
• Catharina Martensz:
Geertruy Wiederholt married Willem Pas
Hendrik Lodewijk Wiederholt

Their teacher is Johannes Smit / Smits (from Gulst) who marries firstly (1679) at the Cape Abigael van Baelbergen, the widow of Hermanus Wybrants: and later marries secondly (1682) Catharina Brons, the widow of Petrus Sterck. He and his second wife leave the Cape later in the year. Thereafter no further payments for Christoffel
Snijman’s education appear to be made. Did Smit’s successors Sijbrandus Mankadan (who marries Maria Catharina van Swanswyk, the widow of Gerard Crabeth) and Albert Coopman (from Hilversum) who marries Maaij Ansel’s granddaughter Maria Bergh, further influence Christoffel Snijman’s education? We shall see later that Snijman, recalling his upbringing amongst free-blacks, may well also be the responsibility of Jan Pasquaels, the schoolteacher at the Slave Lodge and of his successor the mulatto free-black Claes Cornelisz: van de Caeb.

As sole survivor and universal heir to Anthonij’s deceased estate, Christoffel Snijman can only control his inheritance on attaining majority. In the case of males, this takes place at the age of 25. Already in the year 1690 portions of his inheritance are paid out to him. He would be 21 years of age. To be paid out prematurely, the law has to deem him to be a major. No petition has been found for venia aetatis. This is a legal concession. A minor is granted the right to act as a major in exceptional circumstances, for example: if he has no surviving parents and already acts as a major. Thus the sovereign power terminates minority status prematurely. Otherwise, his accelerated majority status has to be the result of marriage. Although the marriage register for the church at Drakenstein no longer exists, Snijman is already married de jure (by 1690). As a ward (pupil) of the Orphan Chamber, permission to marry by that body is necessary. Permission would normally be granted if the pupil has obtained majority. Otherwise, there has to be abnormal circumstances that dictate premature, but expedient, approval by the Orphan Master and his committee (collegie). Is his future wife pregnant before her marriage? Unfortunately, the earlier records of the Orphan Chamber (1673-1698) have not survived.

Now married and ipso facto a major in the eyes of the law, Christoffel Snijman can acknowledge being paid out and taxed on his “paternal inheritance”, “his parents’ inheritance” and his “whole inheritance”. The son of Groote Catrijn refers to himself (8 April 1691) unequivocally “as universal heir [of] my father the late Anthonie from Bengal, in his lifetime fellow free-burgher of this place”. Snijman signs (2 January, 16 July and 10 November 1690) one of the many receipts issued by Roelof Backer, the Secretary of the Orphan Chamber (wegens mijn vaderlyck erfdeel zal.ij[g]e[r] Anthonie v.[an] Bengale om mij daar voor te belasten ... tot afcortingh van mijn ouders erfdeel). He receives his final payment from his adoptive father’s [and mother’s et al] deceased estate (March 1691 & 8 April that same year).

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288 Secretary of Orphan Chamber (1685) [Mansell G. Upham, ‘At War with Society ... Did God hear?... the curious baptism of a ‘Hottentot’ infant named Ismael’, Capensis, no. 4 (2000), pp. 29-51.
291 A summary of the records of the Orphan Chamber from 1699 onwards are collated by the Secretary to the Orphan Chamber, J.H. Blankenberg, and these have survived and are catalogued at the Cape Archives under MOOC 5/1.
Vrede en Lust

By 1690 Christoffel Snijman has already moved from Table Valley to Drakenstein (present-day Paarl Valley) which was an extension of the new colony at Stellenbosch. There he married Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye, popularly known as Margo. No exact date or even record of the marriage ceremony has survived. The young couple probably commence married life at Vrede en Lust (‘Peace and Contentment’) near Simondium, the farm granted (1688) to her father, Jacques de Savoye.²⁹²

²⁹²The 2 farms are finally registered (15 April 1694 & 28 February 1699) [C. Graham Botha, The French Refugees at the Cape, p. 120; J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Rouw, Ons Drakensteinse Erfgrond: Simondium, pp. 10-11].
Jacques de Savoye is a prominent merchant in Ghent, Flanders. After an attempt on his life, he crosses the border into the Dutch Republic (1687) and seeks refuge at Sas van Gent and Middelburg, Zealand. Responding to Dutch emigration plans to relocate Huguenots to the Cape, he arrives (26 April 1688) at the Cape on the Oosterland. Accompanying him are his second wife, Marie-Madeleine le Clercq (from Tournai/Doornik [Flanders]), his mother-in-law Antoinette Carnoy (the widow of Philippe le Clercq), his 2 daughters by his first wife, Christine du Pont, Marguerite-Thérèse (later wife of Christoffel Snijman van de Caep), Barbe-Thérèse and his son by his second wife, Jacques junior. The family is accompanied by their servants (domestiques) the brothers Jean and Jacob Nourtier (from the Calaisis) and their elder brother, Daniel Nourtier and his wife Marie Vitu.

At the Cape **De Savoye** is instrumental in pressurizing Governor **Simon van der Stel** to eventually allow the French refugees a separate church council. He is part of a delegation consisting of the following: **Pierre Simond, Daniel de Ruelle, Abraham de Villiers** and **Louis Cordier**. Due to personal differences with the new resident minister at Drakenstein, **Pierre Simond** and an ensuing war of letters, **De Savoye** and his wife cross over to the Stellenbosch congregation (30 April 1689). He is known to be hot-tempered (*un emporté*) having a fiery constitution (*temperamens fougeux*). He is to hold the office of **heemraad** (1689-1690), (1692-1693), (1696-1697) and (1700-1701). He later settles in Cape Town after giving up his farms **Vrede en Lust** at Simondium and **Leeuwenvallei** in the Wagenmakersvallei [Wellington] after experiencing financial difficulties (since 1702).

**Confrontation at Drakenstein**

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294 See the resolution of the Council of Policy (28 November 1689); J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*; p. 25.

295 *... den 30 Dito [April 1689] Tot het Avontmael overghekoomen aen Stellenbosch met belijdenisse Jacob de Savoie en de Pijter Dameze van Fronfoort ende met Attestatie Maria la Clerc Huijsvrou van Jacob de Savoie.*

How Christoffel Snijman manages to marry above his station is a burning question inviting much speculation. Is it mere physical attraction and an unyielding and wilful personality on the part of Margo? Given De Savoye’s later public proto-racist utterances against non-whites at the Cape, does he ever really give his daughter’s union his blessing? The year Christoffel and Margo marry coincides with the unforgettable confrontation at the Drakenstein church between Snijman’s famous father-in-law and the Huguenot minister, Pierre Simond.

Soon after his arrival at the Cape, De Savoye is censured by the Rev. Simond, purportedly for failing to confess to the Drakenstein congregation to his previous bankruptcy in the Fatherland. Thereafter a protracted war of words on paper ensues including testimonials from friends and associates in Europe. The feud between De Savoye and Simond reaches a vocal climax (19 November 1690) at the Huguenot Church at Drakenstein, when a demented De Savoye, together with his daughter, Margo, and son-in-law, Snijman, assail an unrelenting Simond with a barrage of abuse. The minister had denied the young couple’s first-born baptism on the officious grounds that they had not adhered to ‘procedure’.

The names of the witnesses to the baptism (including that of De Savoye himself) have not been supplied in advance, this is the supposed practice (comme cela se pratique). Snijman, however, has already (4 November 1690) gone in person to Simond’s house to notify the minister. He only finds Simond’s brother-in-law, Louis de Bérault, according to whom Snijman has made no mention of any godparents-to-be (sans parler de parrain ou de marraine).

Thereafter, the parents arrive at the church. They present their first-born for baptism. De Savoye is to stand as godfather to his own daughter’s child (staan als peter van zijn eigen dogters kind). Magnanimously expressing his willingness to baptise the child, Simond informs the congregation, however, that he cannot accept Jacques de Savoye as godfather to the child. All hell breaks loose.

“They then vented their anger to the minister in an outrageous manner. With cries and fulmination, they hurled abuse of the worst kind calling him a false shepherd, an unworthy minister, hypocrite, two-faced, a papist, Jesuit, Judas, Kaffir, etc., They said that he did everything contrary to what he preached. Threatening to avenge themselves, they said that they had good friends. They would hound this beau petit Monsieur to the very end and bury him”.

Notwithstanding the intense mutual dislike that Simond and De Savoye have for each other, the likely racist undertones of Simond’s actions and motives cannot be easily dismissed.

Historian Maurice Boucher, acknowledges that Jacques de Savoye occupies a special place in Cape history because of his quarrel with Pierre Simond. The “episode”, he adds, has been “analysed in depth in its social implications” by the historian and linguist J.L.M. Franken.299 Franken, however, does not explore this incident from the perspective of Jacques de Savoye’s colour and class prejudice and especially Christoffel’s peculiar background and make-up. Snijman and his wife and their mixed-race child were also willy-nilly at the centre of this controversy. Did this public rejection and humiliation in any way influence De Savoye’s later public rejection of his own ‘dis/coloured’ flesh and blood in a later petition (1706) to the Heeren XVII? These seemingly unconnected micro-historical threads have received scant consideration when analysing early Cape race relations.300 The paucity of mixed race families in the Drakenstein congregation highlight possibly the less-than-white appearance of the slave-born Snijman and his offspring. Does this perhaps put Margo’s haute bourgeoisie family constantly between a rock and a hard place? Add to this the convict-status un-enjoyed by the deceased mother of Christoffel Snijman. He, himself, was once illegitimate. Do his late mother’s untouchable Indian caste origins compound the problem? Is Groote Catrijn the very source of the humiliation and subsequent legacy of denial foisted upon some of her descendants?301

The child is finally baptized (10 December 1690) elsewhere, at Stellenbosch, by the pastor Leonard Terwold. Significantly, there is only one witness, the child’s step-grandmother, Marie-Madeleine le Clercq. Does De Savoye opt to lie low this once and avoid further controversy? As eldest son, he is named Jacobus Christoffel after his maternal grandfather and father respectively.302 The boy is still alive (in 1702) but deceased (by 1705).

298 Se déchainerent contre le ministre d’une étrange façon, par des crieries, des vacarmes, et des outrages atroces l’appellant faux pasteur, ministre indigne, hypocrite, tartufle, prêtre, Jesuite, Judas, coffre, &c., disant qu’il faisait tout le contraire de ce qu’il prechoit, le menaceans de se venger, disans, qu’ils avoient de bons amis, qu’ils pousseroient à bout ce beau petit Monsieur, et qu’ils le perdroient. [J.L.M. Franken, Die Hugenote aan die Kaap, pp. 37-38 & 194].

299 Maurice Boucher, French speakers at the Cape: The European background, p. 264.

300 See Hans F. Heese’s observation concerning the need to relook at the colonial populace’s grievances against W.A. van der Stel’s despotic rule from a multicultural point of view, in his Groep Sonder Grense: Die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652-1795, p. 28, note 11.


302 Den 10 dito [December] 1690 Aen Stellenbosch een kindt gedoopt waarvan vader is Christoffel Snijman de moeder Margaretha Savoie als getuige stondt Maria Magdalena la Clercq en de genaamt Jacobus Christoffel.
Snijman’s partnership with Ernst Friedrich Walter (1692-1697)

According to Christoffel Snijman’s stepfather’s deceased estate, he is already indebted to the currier, Ernst Friedrich Walter.303 The latter hails from Breslau on the Oder River in Silesia. Previously he had been residing at the home in Table Valley of Jagt and Maaij Ansela van Bengale.

As compagnons (business associates), if not friends, Walter and Snijman soon formalize a partnership (by 1692). The tax rolls confirm this for that year.305 Previously, Walter is in partnership with Arij Lekkerwijn (from Boskoop [near Gouda, South Holland]). Walter is already the owner of slave Pieter van Malabar whom he purchases (20 June 1691) from Hendrik Saint for Rds 90. The slave is aged 18 / 19 years at the time. Walter first appears in the tax rolls (1688). He appears at Drakenstein (1692) as a single male together with 1 horse, 12 cattle, 125 sheep, 1500 vines, 2 muids grain sown, 20 muids grain harvested and some arms (2 flintlocks, 1 pistol and 1 rapier). The slave he purchases the year before is not enumerated. Snijman’s partner also enters into a racially mixed marriage.

Walter’s wife is the controversial ex-slave woman Catharina (Kaet) van de Caeb who once belongs to the Widow Elbert Dirksz: Diemer (from Emmerich), Christina


304 Wroclaw, Poland.


306 In the tax roll (1695), his wife is mentioned as being Maria. Is this recorded in error? This is the name of his surviving daughter.
Does, popularly known as Stijntje de Boerin\textsuperscript{307}. Catrijn has already been concubine to Walter while still a privately owned slave. She becomes the focal point of a criminal conviction for fornication (21 February 1690). This cause célèbre appears to be the first recorded prosecution for fornication and/or concubinage found in Cape records\textsuperscript{308}. It is a curious fact that the law, in place long before the founding of the colony (1652), should be invoked for the first time at the Cape (as late as 1690) and in a matter involving a privately owned slave. Even now, no person has been formally prosecuted for fornicating with Company slaves. Jan Rutter / Rutten (from 's Heerenberg [Gelderland]), a soldier, fornicates with Diemer's halfslag slave Catrijn van de Caeb. Both are punished. The fiscal demands confiscation of one year's salary but the sentence is reduced to forgoing 1 month's pay. Catrijn is sentenced to be flogged and to work in chains for 6 months. Her sentence is postponed, however, so that the allegation that she is mistress to Ernst Frederick Walter can be investigated\textsuperscript{309}. What happens thereafter has not come to light except that she later gets to marry Walter. It is significant that this follows (1689) in the wake of the more complex set of prosecutions of Louis van Bengale's runaway fiancée and former concubine Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep and her new English lover Willem Teerling (from Middlesex).

Walter purchases a farm (1692) at Groot Drakenstein, later known as Lübeck. That same year (1692), Christoffel Snijman purchases his own farm from Hans Silberbach who, like their neighbour Walter, is also married to a Cape-born woman. The 2 women appear to be half-sisters or even full sisters. She is the ex-slave Ansela van de Caep, alias Hansla Hendrix; who, like Walter's wife, also grows up in the household of Christina Diemer who frees her (28 June 1695). The farm is named Sandvliet / Zandvliet and is adjacent to that of Walter's farm. Sandvliet also borders the farms Lekkerwijn, Nieuwendorp [Nuwedorp], and Boschendal [Bossendal].

\begin{center}
\includegraphics{zandvliet.png}
\end{center}

\textbf{Zandvliet}

\textsuperscript{307} CA: MOOC 10/1, no. 28.
\textsuperscript{309} CA: CJ 3 (Crim. & Civ. cases) 21.2.1690, p. 21; Anna J. Böeseken, Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700, p. 43.
After selling Sandvliet to Snijman, Silberbach likely purchases the farms Meerrust [Meerlust] and Eensaamheid.

The neighbours of Christoffel and Margo are:

- at Lübeck Ernst Friedrich Walter his Cape-born concubine, the freed slave Catharina (Catrijn) van der Caep & their knecht the notorious Peter Becker (from Königsberg)\(^\text{311}\);
- at Lekkerwijn Arij Lecrévent popularly known as Arie Lekkerwijn who is killed by his neighbour Hans Silberbach (1697) & Marie Lanoy (from Aulus) who later marries Hans Heinrich Hattingh\(^\text{312}\) (from Speyer [Palatinate]).


\(^\text{311}\) For an interesting biography of this notorious colonial figure, see J.L. Buys, ‘Pieter Becker (’n Stamvader) – sy misdade en verhore’ (unpublished 21 July 1992).

\(^\text{312}\) For background information on him see W.H.J. Hattingh, Die Hattingh-Familie in Suid-Afrika.
at *Meerust* [Meerlust] **Peter Andresen** (from Tönning [in the Eiderstedt, Danish Holsten])

at *Eensaamheid* **Thomas Munch** (from Stockholm [Sweden]) & his wife **Anna Haster** (from Leiden);

at an unnamed farm (unidentified) **André Gauch / Gouws** (from le Pont-de-Montvert [Cevennes, Lanquedoc]), later allegedly murdered (26 February 1698) by **Pieter Becker** & his wife **Jannetje de Clercq** (from Serooskerke [Walcheren, Zealand]) who later marries **Peter Becker**;

at *Nieuwendorp* **Christoffel Snijman**’s godmother **Maaij Ansela** (dies 1720), her husband **Jaght [Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson]** (dies 1690) (from Wesel), her son **Willem Basson** (1670-1713), his Cape-born wife **Helena Clements’** (1674-1713), better known as **Lena de Sweed** & **Maaij Ansela**’s Cape-born **voorzoon** **Jacobus van As** (1664-1713), his wife **Maria Clements’** (1672-1700), better known as **Marij de Sweed**, and later his second wife **Helena Willems: van der Merwe**;

313 The farms *Meerust* & *Eensaamheid* thereafter become the property of **Silberbach**, followed by **Jacobus van As** and later together with **Lekkerwijn** the 3 farms pass to **Abraham de Villiers**. [http://www.ballfamilyrecords.co.uk/bosmandevriesbuys/I135.html].
also at Nieuwendorp his future brother-in-law Pierre [Pieter] Meyer (from Château-Queyras [Dauphiné, France] (later husband to Aletta de Savoye) who later sells to Cornelis Opitz alias Cornelis de Noorman\textsuperscript{314} (from Trondheim [Norway]) & his wife Maria Margaretha Saxe (from Güsten); &

at Boschendal Nicolas Matthieu de Lanoy and Marie de France & later his second wife Suzanne de Vos (from Vieille-Eglise [Calais]), the widow of Pierre Jacob.

On 27 January 1692 Christoffel and Margo’s second child is baptized Catrina by the pastor Leonard Terwold at Stellenbosch. She is named after her paternal grandmother the deceased Groote Catrijn. The witnesses are the heemraad Lambert Larsen

\textsuperscript{314} Found variously as Obesse, Obis, Obisse, Obits, Obitz and Obus in the records.
Barzenius van Hoff (from Bergen [Norway]) and his maternal aunt Barbe-Thérèse de Savoye.\textsuperscript{315} The child’s godfather’s wife, the Cape-born mestizza Margaretha Jans: Visser is well known to Christoffel as she is the former lover to Simon van der Stel’s chef Ventura van Ceijlon and former teacher for girls in the Company’s Slave Lodge and whose mother Lijsbeth van Bengale had come out with Grootte Catrijn and Maaij Ansela in the same return fleet.\textsuperscript{316} Catharina Snijman later marries (14 August 1708) Jean Viljoen, the younger brother of her mother’s second husband, Henning Viljoen senior. Only 2 children are born of the marriage: Margaretha and Johannes. Margo’s eldest daughter predeceases her mother. Does she, like her husband, die during the smallpox epidemic (1713)?

Margo finally elects to officially become a member of the Stellenbosch congregation (12 May 1692).\textsuperscript{317} Is this in deference to her father? Her husband only follows her 2 months later (14 August 1692). This vital record confirms that Christoffel Snijman is indeed Cape-born:

\textit{Den 14 Augusti sijn aen Stellenbosch tot het gebruijk van des Heeren H.[eilghe] Avontmael overgekoomen Christoffel Snyman van de Caep, Catrina Jansen van Middelburgh, Willem Schalk van Outheierplant ende Jacobje Schalk van de Caep alle met voorgaende belijdenisse ...}

Does Christoffel ultimately have any choice in the matter? The family is enumerated in the tax roll (1692) as follows:

- Christoffel Snijman; 1 wife;
- 1 son; 1 daughter
- 24 cattle; 250 sheep;
- 300 vines
- 4 muids grain sown; 40 muids grain harvested
- Drakenstein

On 18 July 1693 Walter is convicted for bartering with the ‘Hottentots’\textsuperscript{318} He is accused of having bartered illegally. In exchange for 3 oxen, he gives tobacco and maize. At the time he is still in partnership with Christoffel Snijman. Has this partnership ended? He sends the ‘Hottentot’ Annebëe (of the kraal of Kleijne Capteijn across the Berg River) to the Company’s post at Clapmuts. He is to give the sergeant there a letter meant for his eyes only. The sergeant thereupon arranges for 2 oxen to be released from a neighbouring ‘Hottentot’ kraal. The sergeant also gives Annebëe tobacco. The oxen are taken to Walter. There is no evidence, however, to prove that these are in his possession. Walter is adamant. He sticks to his confession. He exchanges 3 oxen for tobacco and maize with a ‘Hottentot’ named Koekedëe, also of the kraal of Kleijn Capteijn. The Council of Justice remands the case. In an extraordinary departure from legal practice, the ‘Hottentots’ named are summoned to give testimony. In terms of Roman-Dutch Law, testimony by ‘Hottentots’ cannot not be used to secure a conviction. Annebëe confirms that he has indeed conveyed the letter to the sergeant and that he

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{315} Den 27 Januarius [1692] an Stellenbosch een kindt gedoopt waervan vader is Christoffel Sniman en moeder Margaretha de Savoye tot getuyge stondt Lambert van Hoff en de Barbara de Savoye ende gename Catrina.
\textsuperscript{317} Den 12 Maij [1692] sijn tot het gebruijk van des Heeren H.[eilghe] Avontmael aen Stellenbosch overgekoomen Margaretha de Savoije van Gent ende Jannetie de Clerkq beide met belijdenisse ...
\textsuperscript{318} CA: CJ 3, p. 25. The minutes of the prosecution are transcribed verbatim. See Appendix 6.
\end{flushright}
has received the 2 oxen, handing these over to Walter Koekedée, under cross-examination, denies having any dealings with Walter. The latter sticks to his story: he has not sent any letter to the sergeant and has only dealt with Koekedée.

The prosecuting officer, this time a landdrost, the Norwegian Cornelis Linnes (from Christiania [Oslo]), aware of the tenuous permissibility of 'Hottentot' testimony, asks the Council of Justice to decide whether he could rest his case for proving theft of Company cattle. A tactical Walter, no doubt aware of the evidentiary deadlock, indicates that he, too, would leave the decision to the council. The court opts to play safe. Walter is only convicted for what he himself had admitted being party to – the illegal bartering of livestock with aborigines. He is fined in terms of contravening the relevant edict (only just recently revised 20 July 1693) again outlawing such activity. The outcome is clearly not to the liking of the governor. Simon van der Stel had made a point of sitting in on the follow-up trial. Unhappy with the outcome, he intervenes and Walter is punished more heavily in terms of fines (arbitrarily revised in loco) for such contravention. The seriousness of the matter apparently warrants an immediate revision of recently promulgated penalties.
Clearly, there is more to this case than meets the eye. Further research reveals that the sergeant, Kerkenraadt, the corporal (the venerable ex-free-burgher Jacob Cloeten (from Cologne) and the soldier Christian Martensz: (from Hamburg) – husband to Maria Bartels: van de Caep, daughter of free-black Lijsbeth van Angola whose baptism is witnessed by Groote Catrijn & Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale – at the Company post at Clapmuts are being watched closely. These 3 men are old hands at illegal bartering with the aborigines. Prosecuted (1686), they are sent back to Clapmuts after a final warning. If they do not put a stop to their illegal activities, the death sentence awaits them. Just prior to Walter’s conviction, Jacob Cloeten is found brutally murdered (23 May 1693) with multiple stab wounds in front of the Castle.319 His killers are never caught.

This is the only time that we have evidence of Christoffel Snijman being remotely (or at least vicariously) involved in any illegal or criminal activity. One wonders why Snijman himself was not called to give evidence. He is, after all, still partner to Walter at the time the crime had been allegedly committed. Does Snijman dissociate himself from Walter and dissolve the partnership? Other than this incident, Snijman appears to keep to the straight and narrow, leading what appears to be a fairly uneventful life – unlike that of his mother and even his wife.

The nearest traditional encampment of aborigines is the kraal of the captain Jantje – guardian of the heirs of the deceased Captain Thomas being of the ‘Cape Hottentots’ (...voogd van d’erffgenaem van den overleden Capitain Thomas sijnde van de Caeps Hottentots) situated in a clooff van Simonsbergh. It is Edessöa, alias Dickkop and Jan and Rooman from this kraal that assauls Jacques de Savoye’s neighbour at the farm Plaisir de Merle (1688). The farm’s registered name is a corruption of Le Plessis-Marly (later Le Plessis-Mornay & Grand-Plessis) near Longvilliers, Hurepoix, Ile-de-France) – original provenance of Charles Marais. He is the refugee Charles Marais (from le-Plessis-Marly [Longvilliers, Hurepoix, Ile-de-France]) and first Huguenot casualty at the hands of the aborigines of the Cape. Marais refuses to give his watermelons to his

indigenous ‘visitors’. Edessōa, enraged, helps himself anyhow plundering the watermelon patch, throwing watermelons and even stones, at Marais. While fleeing into his house, Marais is hit in his groin. He dies of internal bleeding soon after. His killer is brought in by his own people and handed over to the Dutch. Edessōa is tried and convicted by the Council of Justice but is returned to his kraal for punishment according to indigenous practice. He is beaten to death by sticks.  

The local aborigines at Drakenstein exasperate the refugee Daniel Hugo (from Champagne) by encamping (1702) near his vineyard on the farm Zion. Hugo retaliates by setting alight the hut of their Captain Jan. His neighbours, Hercules des Prez junior, François des Prez and the notorious Pieter Becker (Walter’s former knecht) reproach Hugo (21 May 1702) for acting extra-judicially. Or are they worried about their reduced bartering capability? Hugo, reputedly a dwarf, soon finds himself being bullied and hit with the fist by Becker. Hugo reaches for his gun and aims it at his unwelcome visitors. Becker quickly hits the gun out of Hugo’s hands and a shot is fired that wounds Hugo in the foot. Hugo complained to the authorities. The governor responds and writes (22 May 1702) the following to the Stellenbosch landdrost, Michiel Ditmar / Ditmer (from Stettin):

"The freeman Daniel Hugot complains this day of the making of a Hottentot kraal near his vineyard, and the damage caused to it by the cattle, and also of the dispute in consequence, caused by Hercules du Pree, assisted by Pieter Becker and François du Pree, and finally of the blows, &c., given by Pieter Becker to him (Daniel Hugot). In order, therefore, to prevent all confusion, violence and disharmony among the freemen and others, you are ordered to inquire into the matter thoroughly, and report to us properly, awaiting our orders in reply. As the "Noordgouw" will soon proceed to Mauritius, you are to inform Pieter Becker to prepare himself to leave in her according to the sentence of the Court of Justice of the 10th November, 1701".

322 Lorna Newcomb – personal communication.
324 Szczecin, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland.
325 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched, 1696-1708, p. 203.
Becker, however, misses the boat. In a letter from Mauritius the governor is informed that:

"Pieter Becker, formerly burgher of Drakenstein, and banished thither for ten years did not arrive in the "Noordgouw." The officers tell us that he is not put on board at the Cape." 326

Landdrost Ditmar is severely reprimanded for his laxity.327

"It is strange that you have not carried out our orders to send the notorious Pieter Becker, condemned to exile to Mauritius for 10 years, to the castle, in order to be conveyed to that island. As the "Noordgouw" cannot wait for him, you are sharply ordered at once personally to apprehend him, and should you be further negligent in this matter, we will be obliged to show you our dissatisfaction."

Jacques de Savoye later helps the Danish missionary Johann Georg Bøving328 in his attempts to proselytize the Cape’s aboriginal population (1709)). He gives the missionary temporary shelter and interprets on his behalf.329 Prior to this, indications are that he would have been directly involved, in his capacity as head of the Burgher Infantry, in participating in devastating punitive raids against the aboriginal population during the frontier expansion (1701-1703).330

Leonard Terwold baptizes (9 August 1693) Snijman’s third child, also at Stellenbosch, and names her Maria Magdalena. The child is named after her maternal step-grandmother, Marie-Madeleine le Clercq. The ceremony is witnessed by Maaij Ansela’s son, Willem Basson and the formidable Marie le Fèvre (from Marcq [in the Calaises]) who is already in her third marriage to Louis de Péronne (from Nazareth [Flanders]) and soon to marry a fourth husband, Hercules du Pré junior. 331

Maria Magdalena Snijman, who predeceases Margo, marries (15 December 1710) Theunis Botha who later becomes heemraad, deacon and elder of the Drakenstein parish and burgher captain and ritmeester of the local militia.332 He is the eldest son of the notorious Maria Kickerts. From Amsterdam, his mother is unhappily married to a sexually impotent Jan Cornelisz: (from Oud-Beyerland), better known as Jan Bombam. His biological father is Jan Bombam’s knecht Friedrich Both (from Wangenheim [near Gotha, Saxony]) who also fathers his many other siblings. His mother had divorced

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326 Letters Received 1695-1696, pp. 303-304.
328 Author of Curieuse Beschreibung und Nachricht von den Hottentotten (1712).
(1700) **Jan Bombam.** In response to his allegations that she beat and humiliated him regularly and that she had committed adultery with his *knecht*, she claimed that her adultery had been encouraged by her husband. After having an illegitimate child by the Cape-born *Ferdinandus Appel*, she finally marries *Frederik Botha*, the father of all her numerous other children. Evidently her name is (deliberately?) found metamorphosised in the records as *Kickers* and *Kikkers* – the Dutch word for *frog*. She and *Botha* are convicted (1706) for the following crimes: adultery, illegal possession and hiding of cattle and assaulting one *Claas Das*. They are fined, have to pay compensation and are separately sentenced to banishment to Mauritius.\(^{333}\)

![Peter Kolb](image)

According to the astronomer **Peter Kolb**, resident at the Cape for the period (1704-1712), *Theunis* accompanies his biological father on raids lead by the notorious *Dronke Gerrit* [*Gerrit Jansz: van Deventer*] against the indigenes.\(^{334}\)

**Margo**’s daughter and *Theunis Botha* provided her with 7 grandchildren. From 7 September 1714 the family live at the farm *Eendracht over de Breede Rivier* (later *Waaikraal*). The farm is situated near the Company’s Breede River Post (*de buite post Riet Valleij aan de Buffeljagtsrivier*) in the present-day Breede Rivier area near Worcester.\(^{335}\) *Maria Magdalena Snijman*’s descendants are instrumental in opening up the frontier. Her grandson *Theunis Botha*, for example, is one of the first farmers at Algoa Bay. It is at his place where the missionary Dr *Johannes Theodorus H. van der Kemp* (1747-1811) first settles his ‘Hottentot’ converts before they settle finally at Bethelsdorp.\(^{336}\)

**Walter** and his wife *Catrijn* baptize (22 April 1695) a daughter at Drakenstein. The child is named *Anna Caterina* and the ceremony witnessed by *Hans Silberbach* and


\(^{334}\)Johannes W. Raum, ‘Reflections on rereading Peter Kolb with regard to the cultural heritage of the Khoisan’, *Kronos*, no. 24, (November 1997) p. 38.


Marie Lanoy. This child appears not to survive infancy. Walter and his wife are already the parents of an elder daughter named Maria (born c. 1693). On 13 July 1695 Pieter Becker is hired out to Walter as a knecht for f10 a month. 4,5 guilders are to be placed in the Company’s treasury while f5,5 would be paid directly to Becker (boven en behalve onderhoud van spijs, drank en goede huisvesting). He is to remain in Walter’s employ until the latter’s death (1697).

The Snijman family return to their old congregation at Drakenstein. How would Jacques de Savoye have felt? This time, none other than the Rev. Simond himself baptizes their fourth child. The infant was christened (25 July 1695) with the name Christina after her maternal biological grandmother, Christine du Pont. The witnesses are Maaij Anselas Voorzoon Jacobus van As and Maaij Anselas daughter-in-law Lena de Sweed (‘Lena the Swede’), wife of Willem Basson. Christina Snijman, who predeceases (post 1724) her mother, marries Jeremias Roux. He is the son of the Huguenot couple Paul Roux (from the principality of Orange) – the man responsible for writing up the first Drakenstein baptismal register – and Claudine Seugnet (from Saintogne). The couple have 2 children of whom only the youngest survives: Jeremias and Claudina Margaretha. They farm at Orange (later Oranje) at Suider-Paarl.

In 1695 Hans Heinrich Hattingh is investigated for assaulting Catrijn, Walter’s wife. On 3 October 1695 the burgher councillor (heemraad) Matthias Greeff (from Magdeburg) who is also a surgeon, at the request of the provisional fiscal, Joan Blesius, states under oath that the wife of Ernst Frederick Walters has come to him for help. Hattingh, attempting to slit her throat, has cut her hand instead. Greeff, who bandages Catrijn’s wound, confirms that a knife has caused the injury. No arraignment or conviction of, or civil claim against, Hattingh follows. In the tax rolls (1695) Snijman is enumerated as follows:

No. 139  
Christoffel Snijman; Margarita de Savoye;  
1 son; 3 daughters;  
1 horse; 30 cattle;  
1 000 vines  
4 muids grain sown; 10 muids grain harvested  
1 flintlock; 1 rapier  
Drakenstein

On 23 March 1696 Christoffel Snijman, now corporal of the burgher militia at Drakenstein is involved in tracking down a dangerous fugitive on the run. At the request of acting fiscal Joan Blesius, a joint statement is signed by Christoffel Snijman, the free-burghers Pieter Andresen and Hans Hendrik Hattingh, together with the Company servants, Klaas Hendricksz: Elbers and Gustaffus Wulff, both knechts in...
the service of Jacques de Savoye. The fugitive is Jan Hendricksz: Schoonheek (from Gael), a soldier in the Company’s service as herder at the Bottelary. He had murdered (November 1694) his friend Jacobus Jans: (from Campen).

Schoonheek flees to the house of the French refugee Pierre Rousseau (from Mer [Orléanais]) and his wife Anne Rétif. The house is on the farm L’Arc d’Orléans at Klein Drakenstein. There they are held hostage, together with their neighbour, the free-burgher Pierre Roux (from Cabrières d’Aigues [Provençal]) who farms at Winterhoek and their slave ‘boy’ (jonge) Anthonij. Schoonheek fires 10 to 12 shots at them so that none dare to leave the dwelling. Eventually the slave boy Anthonij manages to escape through a window on the other side of the house and reports the incident to the heemraad Jacques de Savoye. The latter sends his knecht and the free-burgher François Rétief (brother to the captive Anne Rétif) to his son-in-law, the corporal Snijman. The armed and dangerous fugitive is to be caught, dead or alive.

Snijman meets up with Rousseau’s knecht, Jacques Minnaar (from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque [Provençal]). He reports that the fugitive has disappeared. Christoffel then decides that Elbers, Roux and Minnaar should guard Rétif’s house on the farm Le Paris at Wemmershoek, as the murderer had threatened to go there. Snijman, Wulff, Rétif and Hattingh then also decide to stay. Nothing untoward happens that night. Leaving their guns at Réti’s house, Snijman, Wulff, Elbers and Hattingh, go to check on Rousseau’s house the next day. They find nothing. Thereafter, they spend their time at Snijman’s place until evening.

At 4 o’clock that afternoon, François Rétif stands outside on his farm. Schoonheek, surprises him, threatening to kill him unless he is given food. Rétif pretends not to be able to get away claiming not to have a ‘Hottentot’ to assist with the cattle. The fugitive is invited to help himself to food at the house. Rétif, when alone, sends his ‘Hottentot’ to Snijman informing him of the fugitive’s whereabouts. Snijman and his 4 men rush to Réti’s place. Wulff and Hattingh are sent in advance. Snijman and the other two remain behind in case Schoonheek escapes. Hattingh and Wulff surprise the fugitive at the cattle kraal. He retreats towards the house, ignoring their entreaties to stand still. Entering the house, he turns to fire, but is shot first by Hattingh who hits him in the neck. Gasping ‘O God ...’ Schoonheek falls to the ground on his back (ruggelings ter aarde stort seggende O Godt). By the time Snijman arrives, Schoonheek is dead. His corpse is loaded on a wagon and taken to Jacques de Savoye and from there to the Castle.
Hans Silberbach, now farming at Eensaamheid and Meerrust, slays (6 July 1697) Arij Lekkerwijn [Lecrévain] with a stick and escapes. Summoned to appear within eight days at the Castle, he never appears. Declared ‘bird-free’ and a fugitive of the law (veldvlugtig en vogelvry) he is banished for life. If found he is to be put to death. His estate is confiscated and his house sold by public auction (8 November 1697).\textsuperscript{343} The inventory of the confiscated property is drawn up by Ernst Friedrich Walter.\textsuperscript{344} Silberbach’s abandoned wife thereafter comes to be associated in the records with Christoph Lüders (from Grotenburg) but ultimately goes to live with the biological (or adoptive?) father of her illegitimate children Lourens Campher at Muratie.

Christoffel and Margo preside over the baptism of their fifth child, Elsie, at Drakenstein (1 August 1697) witnessed by Hercules des Prez junior, the fourth husband of Marie le Fèbre who farms at Welgevonden and Watervliet at Simondium and Elsje Jacobs Cloete (from Cologne), after whom the child is named. She is the wife of Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe who farms at Kunnenburg at Simondium.\textsuperscript{345} Elsie Snijman marries (22 October 1713) Jacobus Botha. The couple produced 10 children.

Elsie’s husband is a younger brother of her brother-in-law, Theunis Botha, who also settles nearby in the Swellendam district. He has a loan farm De Riet Cuijl that he has to abandon, as it was too close to the Company's post at Riet Valleij aan de Buffeljagstrivier.\textsuperscript{346} Jacobus Botha is a burgher dragoon for the Stellenbosch militia, deacon of the church at Drakenstein and heemraad for the “Far distant Country Districts [now Swellendam]” (de Verre, over ’t Gebergte geleegene districten).\textsuperscript{347} He is instrumental in getting the church to condemn the actions of certainburghers on an unauthorised commando. Not only had the men on commando helped themselves to cattle in possession of the aborigines, but had wiped out a camp of 200 men, women and

\textsuperscript{343} CA: C 681, pp. 247 & 261; C 728, p. 65; J. Hoge, Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806, p. 399.
\textsuperscript{344} Lorna Newcomb (personal communication).
\textsuperscript{345} Le premier Decembre Lannee 1697 Elsij fille de Christoffle Scirinaan et de Marguerite Savoye Le temoins et Hercules de Pret et Elsij Jacob.
\textsuperscript{346} Dan Sleigh, Die Buiteposte, p. 574.
children, butchering these indiscriminately and leaving the rest to die of hunger.\textsuperscript{348} Elsie Snijman's descendants also featured prominently in the opening of the colony's frontier. Her son \textit{Jacobus Botha junior}, like his father, respects the official position when dealing with the aborigines. But he goes further, however, and even befriends them. He is arrested for having "molested the Hottentots" and "inciting the Bushmen nation or Bushmen Hottentots" to steal the cattle of some of his fellow residents, and committing many other acts of hostility. Charged by \textit{landdrost Johan Andries Horak} (18 February 1751) and formally arraigned (22 April 1751), he is let out on bail following the intervention of both his father and father-in-law (\textit{Cornelis van Roonie}).\textsuperscript{349}

\textbf{Ernst Friedrich Walter}, already a widower, dies (c. 25 October 1697). His wife predeceases him sometime (between October 1695 and October 1697). His property is now conditionally consolidated with that of \textit{Christoffel Snijman} who becomes foster father to Walter's only surviving minor child, \textit{Maria Walter}.\textsuperscript{350} The arrangement is formalized by the Orphan Chamber (26 March 1698). \textit{Snijman} agrees to maintain the child until her majority. In return, the Orphan Chamber pays him f360. He can also use \textit{Walter}'s land and house that now belong to the orphaned \textit{Maria Walter}. The money, together with the house and land, would become \textit{Snijman}'s property should the orphan die before obtaining majority.\textsuperscript{351} The arrangement strikes one as perhaps irresponsible. Would it not be more advantageous for \textit{Snijman} to ensure the child's premature death rather than keep her alive? Does the Orphan Chamber have such a high regard for \textit{Christoffel} and \textit{Margo} that it entrusts them with this little girl's life and property?

\textit{Maria Walter} survives to become the wife of \textit{Bernardus van Billion} (from Overis \textit{[Brabant]}).\textsuperscript{352} She and her husband farm nearby at \textit{Goede Hoop}. What becomes of her inheritance, the farm \textit{Lübeck}, is unknown. No title deeds have been traced for the farm following the death of \textit{Ernst Friedrich Walter} (1697) up to the time the farm was transferred (1771) to \textit{Eduard Christian Haumann}.\textsuperscript{353} Curiously, the farm is to this day farmed together with \textit{Zandvliet}. Just prior to \textit{Walter}'s death, his \textit{knecht}, \textit{Pieter Becker} has ceased to work for him as he has already been granted burgher papers (18 May 1697).\textsuperscript{354} \textit{Becker} soon marries \textit{Jannetje de Clercq}, the widow of \textit{André Gouws}, whose late husband he allegedly murders (16 February 1698), with or without the help of the victim's widow (and \textit{Becker}'s future wife). \textit{Becker} is also later accused of murdering

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{348} C. Spoelstra \textit{Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika}, Afdeeling III: \textit{Extracten uit de Resolutie-Boeken der zeven oudste gemeenten en brieven tusschen die kerken gewisseld}, p. 443.
\item \textsuperscript{349} H.C.V. Leibbrandt, \textit{Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope}, vol. I, pp. 83 & 84.
\item \textsuperscript{350} CA: MOOC 5/1 Weesmeesters "Extracten". 26 March 1698, no pagination; G. Con de Wet, \textit{Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707}, p. 178.
\item \textsuperscript{351} Onderhouse aan Ouders die gebrek hebben uijt haare kinderen penn:[ingen] bij deese Camer staande hem van kinderen die weinig hebben: ... 1698. 26. Maart is de Camer met \textit{Christoffel Snijman} g'accordeert dat hij 't kind van \textit{Ernst Fredrik Walter} tot desselfs mondige jaaren e:[t cete]ra, in alles sal onderhouden voor f360 en voor 't gebruik van 't land en huisje dat kind toebehoerende, ende dat soo wanneer dat kind minderjarig moge koomen te sterven, dat geld mitsg:[ade]rs land en huisje aan hem \textit{Snijman} sal eijgen blijven [CA: MOOC 5/1 \textit{Extracten: Weescamer blad 6} (26 March 1698)].
\item \textsuperscript{352} Whether she is \textit{de facto} or \textit{de jure} wife has not been established. No record of marriage has been traced after 1716. She could have married (prior to 1716). The marriage records at Drakenstein (1691-1716), however, do not survive.
\item \textsuperscript{353} J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, \textit{Ons Drakensteinse Erfground: Groot Drakenstein}, p. 18.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
his ‘Hottentot’ servants. This is the man who previously assaults the dwarf Daniel Hugo for acting extra-judicially against the local aborigines.

Christoffel Snijman’s last years

Christoffel Snijman signs a declaration (6 November 1697), together with Arnoldus Gysbertsz: at the request of Calis Louw, a free-burgher at Stellenbosch. According to them, Louw had had an agreement in April with Hans Silberbach, now a fugitive, whereby Louw would assist Silberbach to plant wheat. For this purpose Silberbach had the use of Louw’s 2 oxen. In return Louw could harvest six bushels of wheat for his own use.355 The free-black Claes Cornelisz: van de Caep, together with Jacques de Savoye, stand surety (22 January 1699) for his Snijman son-in-law.356 Is Snijman in financial trouble? Does Jacques de Savoye have any qualms about associating more-than-is-absolutely-necessary with other non-whites? Snijman’s association with Claes Cornelisz: the mesties half-brother of the matron to the Slave Lodge, Armozijn Claesz:, alias Cleijne Armozijn, is most intriguing. As successor to the schoolmaster Jan Pasquals: (banished for molesting the girls under his care), had the orphaned Christoffel Snijman’s further education become the responsibility of this influential Cape-born Company slave who is now a successful free-burgher?357

Pontaix, Dauphiné

Christoffel and Margo baptize (25 October 1699) their sixth child Johanna at Drakenstein. The ceremony is performed by Pierre Simond and witnessed by the child’s maternal uncle, the baker Christian Ehlers, and Marie de Lanoy, formerly the widow of the murdered Arie Lekkerwyn and now wife to Hans Heinrich Hattingh. 358 The child appears to be named after her maternal aunt Jeanne de Savoye, wife of André du Pont, who never emigrates to the Cape. Johanna Snijman marries (7 February 1717) Anthonie Lombard. He is the son of the Huguenot couple Pierre Lombard (from Pointaix [Pontaix, Dauphiné]) and Marie Couteau (from Soudière [Crest, Dauphiné]).

Nine children were born from the marriage.

358 Le 25 diton [Octobre] 1699 Janne fille de Christoffle Senaijmant et de Marguerite Savoye le temoins et Christians de Bacre et Marie Delanoy pour marraine.
Death of Catharina Wagenmakers:

In 1700 the Snijman family is enumerated as follows:

Christoffel Snijman; 1 wife;
1 son; 5 daughters
1 knecht
2 adult male slaves; 1 adult female slave
2 horses, 41 cattle, 400 sheep
10 000 vines; 7 leaguers wine
3 muids grain sown
25 muids grain harvested
1 flintlock; 1 rapier
Drakenstein

In that same year (1700) Christoffel’s eldest sister Catrijn Wagenmakers: and Andries Beyers and her husband both die on their farm Weltevreden at Bottelary. The cause of their joint death is still unknown.

Homestead (Cape Dutch opstal) at Hartenberg – formerly Weltevreden, Bottelary

The farm originally promised (1687) and later granted (29 February 1692) to Hans Rutgertroost appears to have already been sold to Beyers (by 1692). His ownership of the farm, however, is only recorded (16 December 1700) after his death and that of his wife.359 An inventory for the jointly deceased couple survives.360 Their farm is transferred (26 January 1701) to their son-in-law Christian Esterhuizen [Osthus?] (dies 1724) (who also farms at Onrust en Harmonie) from their deceased estate.361 Combined with Amandelkloof, the farm becomes known as Hartenberg (1725) soon after Esterhuizen’s death (1724).

359 Weltevreden (originally promised 1687 & formally granted to Hans Rutgertroost (29 February 1692) [OSF 1, 27] transferred & registered in name of Andries Bayer (16 December 1700) [T 514].
360 CA: MOOC 10/1 (Vendu Rollen 1691-1717), 23 December 1700.
361 T 516.
The soldier, **Albert Hendriks** (from Manslagt / Menslage), is loaned (1700-1703) as **knecht** to **Christoffel Snyman**. Prior to that, he had been **knecht** to **Henning Hüsing** (1693). He becomes a free-burgher (1703), but remains in **Snijman’s** service as sheep and cattle herd. Christoffel and Margo baptize (24 July 1701) their seventh child and second son **Philippus**. The godparents are the child’s maternal uncle and aunt, **Philippe-Rodolphe de Savoye** and **Aletta de Savoye. Marie-Madeleine le Clercq** and a neighbour, **Claude Marais** (from Hurepoix [Ile-de-France]), witness the ceremony on their behalf. Marais farms on the other side of Lekkerwyn on the two adjoining farms **Meerrust** [Meerlust] and **Eensaamheid. Philip Snijman** marries (14 April 1726) **Johanna Margaretha van Deventer**. She is the daughter of **Gerrit Jansz: van Deventer** (from Veldcamp) and immigrant orphan **Adriana Jacobs**: (from Rotterdam). Four sons are born to the couple. Philip’s widow remarries (17 April 1735) a farmhand **Johann Heinrich Debes** / Delits (from Hesse-Cassel) by whom she has 4 children. The children’s new stepfather comes to own the farm **Compagnies Rivier** at Drakenstein.

On 27 September 1701, Christoffel Snijman employs the itinerant **Bartholomäus Nachtigall** (from Danzig) as his **knecht**. In 1696 he had been sentenced to 2 years’ hard labour and to be flogged and branded for assaulting a field-guard **Willem de Haan**. Described at the time as a single man in his 40s, he “traversed the entire colony as a vagabond without any fixed abode and for his maintenance neither desired nor acquired anything having nothing else other than a blunderbuss, although never without powder and shot”. His stay at Sandvliet does not last long. He joins 44 other men in an illegal bartering expedition into the interior that left (25 March 1702). Thereafter, he is also **knecht** to **Maaij Ansela’s voorzoon Jacobus van As**. He contracts (1714)) with **Maaij Ansela’s** youngest son, **Michiel Basson**. The latter undertakes to give him board and lodging and to provide for a proper funeral after his death, in return for which Nachtigall bequeaths to Basson his flock of 300 sheep. Basson farms at Keesenbosch in the Zwartland – one of the earliest farms in that part of the expanding colonial frontier. The family is enumerated in the tax roll (1702) as follows:

No. 219  
Christoffel Snijman; 1 wife;  
2 sons; 5 daughters  
1 knecht [Bartholomäus Nachtigall]  
2 adult male slaves; 1 adult female slave; a female child slave;  
50 cattle; 300 sheep; 10 pigs  
10 000 vines; 4 leaguers wine  
4 muids grain sown; 20 muids grain harvested  
2 flintlocks; 1 rapier  
Drakenstein

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362 CA: CJ 1121 (6 January 1693); CJ 1124, pp. 109 & 320; CJ 1164: 73 (Will); J. Hoge, **Personalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806**, p. 146.

363 Le 24 Juillet 1701 Philippe fils de Christoffle Senaima et de Marguerite Savoye, Le temoins et Philippe Rodolf et Aletta Savoye mais Claude Marais à Repondre pour le garson et sa mere a Repondre pour sa fille.  
364 J. Hoge, **Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806**, p. 68.

365 ... zijn een enlopend gesèl, oud in de 40 jaren, zyn substantie niet anders soekende nog ook bekomende als met een donderbus mits(g)a[d]er[s] kruyt en loot wel versien zynde, het geheel land te doorkruyssen en sig als een vagabont te erneeren sonder enige vaste huysvestinge te hebben. [J. Hoge, **Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806**].

366 CA: MOOC 7/1/2 (Michiel Basson & Bartholomeus Nagtegaal van Dantzigh), no. 45.
Henricus Beck baptises (28 October 1703) the eighth child of Christoffel and Margo named Susanna at Drakenstein witnessed by Maaij Ansel. In this baptismal entry she is recorded as Ancelaar van Bengale.367 Susanna Snijman marries (c. 1722) Jacob Coetzer / Coets / Kutzer (from Stery [near Vienna]). A heemraad, he is the widower of Cornelia Helm formerly the widow of Arie van Wijk. They farm at Blomkool at Achter Paarl. Eight children are born from the marriage. Susanna Snijman, then the widow Jacob Coetzer, applies (1746) for the freehold of a farm situated at the end of the Buffelsjagt River which she already holds in loan.368 Christoffel Snijman witnesses (25 November 1703) at Drakenstein, with his godmother Maaij Ansel, the baptism (by Henricus Beck) of her grandson Willem van As. The child’s parents are Jacobus van As and his second wife, Helena Willems: van der Merwe.369

Christoffel Snijman dies (sometime before 12 September 1705) approximately 47 years old.370 His replacement as corporal in the local militia is conveyed in a letter from the Castle to the landdrost at Stellenbosch (12 September 1705):

*Jacob Nortje to be corporal vice* Christoffel Snyman, deceased.371

No record of his deceased estate has been located. His widow and family are enumerated in the tax roll (1705) as follows:

**Wed:[uwe]** Christoffel Snijman  
1 son; 6 daughters;  
4 adult male slaves; 1 adult female slave  
3 horses; 20 oxen; 40 cows; 10 calves; 10 heifers; 300 sheep; 10 pigs  
60 vines  
6 leaguers wine  
15 muids barley sown  
15 muids barley harvested  
3 muids rye sown  
25 muids rye harvested  

Drakenstein

Rev. Henricus Beck baptizes (21 March 1706) Elisabeth the ninth and last child of Margo and the now deceased Christoffel Snijman. The baptism is witnessed by Jacobus van As and his second wife Helena Willems: van der Merwe.373 Elisabeth Snijman marries (c. 1724) Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, the son of Johannes van Helsdingen (from Amsterdam) and Anna Mynen / van Meynen. Nine children are born to the marriage. During the years (1727-1729), we find him recorded as the lessee of the Cape wine and brandy license at Rondebosch. His predecessors are the enterprising Johannes Zacharias Beck (from Langensalza) and Beck’s father-in-law

370 J.L.M. Franken, misquoting C. Graham Botha, states incorrectly (*Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*, p. 50), that Christoffel Snijman’s widow is again widowed at the age of 19 and that she marries for a third time (28 June 1690) Wemmer Pasman [sic]. It is Cornelia Campenaar, the widow of François Viljoen who marries Wemmer Pasman on that day (Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p. 92).  
371 Latin for ‘replacing’.  
Christian Matzdorf (from Pasewalk). Beck marries Maaij Ansela’s granddaughter Elsje van As (1702-1728) while Matzdorf marries thrice. His first wife is Maaij Ansela’s youngest daughter Maria Basson (1683-1713). His second wife is Maaij Ansela’s daughter-in-law, Helena Willems: van der Merwe, the widow of Jacobus van As. His third wife is sister to Margo’s second husband’s sister Cornelia Viljoen – the widow of Hercules des Prez, who in turn, had been the fourth husband of Marie le Fèvre.

Van Helsdingen operates a tavern from his place at Rondebosch known as Varietas Delectat (‘Delectable Variety’). This place from his present-day Mowbray soon comes to be known as de Drie Koppen or Driekoppen following the gruesome murders in the winter of 1724 of two of Beck’s attendants by three slaves who are subsequently caught and executed. The murderers are the slaves Jonas van Bougies [Buginese are indigenous to the Indonesian island of Sulawesi), Baatjoe van Bougies & Baatjoe van Cheribon [Java]. Their heads are impaled and left to rot at the place of the murder as a warning to others, hence the name, ‘the three heads’. The name is later mistranslated or softened as The Three Cups. The murdered victims are a tailor known as Jan de Sweet & Beck’s steward Wilhelm Silleman. This famous and notorious landmark stood where the Mowbray Hotel stands today. The name survives in the form of the University of Cape Town’s male student’s hostel Driekoppen. Van Helsdingen expands his enterprise by building a tavern on the other side of the Salt River to serve as a branch tap. Heinrich Thomas (from Husum [Dithmarsh]) would be in charge while Godlieb Christiaan Opperman (from Krossen) would be in charge at the Brewery. The Cape-born lunatic Cornelis Victor (then aged 62 years), after being ill-treated by his son, was placed in the care of Van Helsdingen who is recorded at the time as being resident at Constantia. Elisabeth Snijman and her husband live on the fine estate in the Constantia Valley called Witte Bomen (originally De Hel) which they purchase (1724).

374 Krosno in Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Poland.
376 H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Memorials (Requesten), vol. IV (memorial no. 65) (1727-1728), p. 1264. Eldest son of the sick-comforter Gerrit Victor senior (from Amsterdam) & his wife Christina van den Berg married to Cornelia Junius (from Amersfoort). Is Gerrit Victor junior the son who ill-treats his father? He is not to be confused with his 1st cousin Gerhardus
Driekoppen Inn at Mowbray

The 3 privileged butchers, Michiel Ley, A. Abramsz: and Maaij Anselas’s son, Willem Basson – appointed by the Company – attest (31 March 1706) that the Widow Christoffel Snijman, amongst others of the free populace, has supplied them with 40 sheep reckoned at 50 lbs weight clean. This has been over the period (31 March 1705 – 31 March 1706). These sheep they have purchased to slaughter or deliver alive to the ships and hospital. This is at the time of the resistance to the government of Willem Adriaen van der Stel by a large group of free-burghers intent on holding onto their privileges and unwilling to share them with anybody else. The attestation is in response to allegations of corruption by certain disgruntled free-burghers hostile to the Van der Stel dynasty and also the VOC’s tyrannical and monopolistic rule.

Jacques de Savoye aligns himself with this group. So does his son-in-law, Pierre Meyer, who is unceremoniously tossed into the donker Gat (the ‘dark hole’), the dungeon at the Castle of Good Hope. His other son-in-law, the baker Elias Kina, is also under investigation. De Savoye ‘confesses’ that he voluntarily (uijt sijn selve ter liefde

(Gerrit) Victor (baptized Cape 25 September 1701) who goes native and whose anti-social adoptive ‘Hottentot’ lifestyle and frontier existence are reported to the authorities (Mansell G. Upham, ‘At war with society … did God Hear? … the curious baptism in 1705 of a ‘Hottentot’ names Ismael’, Capensis, no. 4 (2000), pp. 49-51.

377 H.C.V. Leibbrandt: Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: The Defence of Wilem Adriaan van der Stel, p. 197.
van de gemeente – out of his own for love of the community) joined the so-called brotherhood (zoo genaamde broederscha). He confirms his vehement opposition to land being granted to Company officials and to the lack of free trade on the part of the free inhabitants. He even signs a controversial petition, instigated by Adam Tas (from Amsterdam) and co-signed (1706) by 14 other farmers. W.A. van der Stel and the Heeren XVII are accused of advancing the interests of the aboriginal people who would “attack all Christians, good or bad without distinction, and swamp them”. Not much more can be expected from:

“the slaves … Kaffirs, Mulattos, Mestiços, Castiços, and all that black brood living among us, who have been bred from marriages and other forms of mingling with European and African Christians. To our amazement they have so grown in power, numbers and arrogance, and have been allowed to handle arms and participate with Christians in … military exercises, that they now tell us that they could and would trample on us … For there is no trusting the blood of Ham, especially as the black people are constantly being favoured and pushed forward”.

Jacques de Savoye, aged 70 years, is arrested, imprisoned and interrogated (April 1706) with the other ‘rebels’ for his share in the movement. When interrogated about his involvement, he responds that it is because the Cape has gone to ruin (omdat de Caap te niet ginck). Asked whether he regrets his involvement, he replies: Ik heb gemeent wel te doen, maar heb ik kwalijk gedaan, dat is mijn leet (“I meant to do good, if I failed, that is my loss.”). Predictably, he loses his cool during the interrogation stamping his feet in a fit of pique (in grammen moede stampvoetende) and refuses to respond to any more questions. Significantly, Van der Stel omits De Savoye’s unflattering and unambiguous ‘confession’ when publishing his defence known as the Korte Deductie.

Why does Jacques de Savoye publicly condemn, albeit indirectly, not only the mixed race and heathen origins of his daughter’s newly deceased slave-born husband but also that of his own grandchildren and later prolific descendants? Christoffel Snijman’s mother and stepfather had been well treated as free-blacks under the Van der Stel-rule. Had Christoffel Snijman been alive, it would have been impossible for him to side with Tas and his cohorts. The free-black population at the Cape are unanimous in their support for the Van der Stel administration and all sign a petition affirming their position. Would such solidarity explain Jacques de Savoye’s actions? Even the extended family of Christoffel Snijman’s godmother, Maaij Ansela, appear to also have been all well-connected ‘brown-nosers’, as it were, loyal to the Van der Stel family. Where Margo stands in the whole matter, we can only wonder… The removal from the

379 .. alle Christenen, soo goede als kwade, sonder onderscheijd op’t lyf vallen, en ons verdelgen …
Cape of Van der Stel and his top officials is a short-lived victory. Ironically, the governor is replaced by yet another of his kinsman.\textsuperscript{381}

**Second Marriage of Snijman’s Second eldest sister**

At this juncture Snijman’s widowed second eldest sister Marritie Pieters: marries in the Cape Church (23 October 1707) for a second time. Her new husband is the free-burgher Jan Andriesz: (from Amsterdam).\textsuperscript{382}

\begin{quote}
\textit{ik wil niet loopen, 'k ben een Africaander al slaat die landrost myn dood, of al setten hij mijn in den tronk. Ik sal, nog wil niet swygen}
\end{quote}

**De Savoye repatriates**

By 1708 Jacques de Savoye has already relocated to Table Valley residing in a house on the corner of the Heere straat [Adderley Street] and the Tweede Bergdwars straat [St George’s Mall]. Selling up, he finally declares himself to be without means and leaves (March 1712) the Cape – and his creditors – for the Netherlands. He departs on the Samson together with his wife and mother-in-law. Their children do not follow them remaining an inedible part of the Cape’s genealogical landscape. Effectively, they miss the smallpox epidemic which mercilessly devastates not only the Cape’s indigenous population but also the inhabitants of the little colony at the tip of Africa depleting and irreversibly reconfiguring its founding Eurafricasian mix. They become members (16 December 1714) of the Walloon church in Amsterdam. Certificates are issued (20 April 1715) by the Walloon Church in Amsterdam prior to their departure for the Cape. He is admitted (16 March 1716) with his wife as a member of Cape congregation. He dies at the Cape (October 1717). His widow dies (1721), also at the Cape.

\textsuperscript{381} Mansell G. Upham, ‘Creolization & Indigenization – Burlamacchi & Diodati family ties in the Dutch VOC empire’, Capensis, no. 4 (1999), pp. 16-34.
\textsuperscript{382} Marritie Pieters: wed.[uwe] met Jan Andriesz: van Amsterdam.
Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye (1673-1742)

The Widow Snijman

The Widow Viljoen

... Or est il mort, passé trente ans,
   Et je remains, vieille, chenue.
Quant je pense, lasse! Au bon temps,
   Quelle fus, quelle devenu!
Quant me regarde toute nue,
   Et je me voi si tres changee,
Povre, seche, megre, menue,
   Je suis presque toute enragiee ...
François Villon (1431-63 or later)

La Vieille en regrettant le Temps de sa Jeunesse (Les Regrets de la Belle Héaumiere) 383

Margaro, now a widow aged 40 years, remarries (c. 1707) at Drakenstein. He is
Henning Viljoen and is ten years her junior. He is also the brother of the
husband of her eldest daughter. His sister Anna Viljoen is witness to the
baptism (12 May 1696) of Susanna Beijers – niece to Christoffel Snijman. He is the
son of François Villion [Viljoen] (from Clermont) and Cornelia Kempenaar /
Campenaar (from Middelburg [Zealand]) and the stepson of Wemmer Pasman (from
the County of Meurs). Margo’s parents-in-law, who farm at Idas Valleij at Stellenbosch
and Winterhoek and La Roque at Klein Drakenstein are given a final warning by the
church (1700) to stop their bad drinking habits and (17 April 1701) are barred from
taking Holy Communion.384 Her father-in-law and his brother Roelof Pasman assist the

383 “Now he is dead – more than thirty years ago – and I am left old and grey. Alas, when I think of the
good time that was, what I was then, and what I have become! When I look at myself all naked, and see
myself so very changed, wretched, dried up, thin, and withered, I almost go out of my mind “ from The Old
Woman’s Lament for the Days of her Youth (The Lament of the Fair Armoress) [Geoffrey Brereton (ed.),
The Penguin Book of French Verse]

384 Wemmer Pasman en Cornelia Campenaar, voor de laatste maal, ernstig zouden werden aangesproken
over haar dronkenschap ... is geresolveerd den 17 April den H.H. Avondmaal te houden ... Wemmer Pasman
en syn huis vrouw in ’t suspens gecontinueerd ... ([Mansell George Upham], ’In ’t suspens continueerd ... Alcoholics (Non-)Anonymous of Stellenbosch’, Capensis, no. 4 (1999), p. 35).
notorious and hated Dronke Gerrit [Gerrits Jansz: van Deventer] on genocidal raids against the Bushmen.385

Margo's second marriage lasts for 5 years only. She gives birth to 4 more children: Cornelia (baptized 5 March 1708), Frans (baptized 26 December 1709), Henning (baptized 12 March 1712) and Henning (baptized 16 August 1713). Only the last child survives. Henning Viljoen junior, Margo's youngest child, marries (6 November 1732) Susanna Durand. She is the daughter of a surgeon, the Huguenot Jean Durand (from la Motte Chalançon [Dauphiné]) and Wilhelmina van Zyl (from Haarlem). Twelve children were born to the marriage. The family is enumerated in the muster roll (1709) as follows:

No. 174
Henning Viljoen: 1 wife; 2 sons; 7 daughters
4 adult male slaves; 1 adult female slave; 3 slave girls
150 cattle; 600 sheep;
10 000 vines; 4 leaguers wine
1 muid barley sown; 105 muids barley harvested; 30 muids rye sown
1 flintlock; 1 pistol; 1 rapier
Drakenstein

By July 1712 Margo is already a widow for the second time. Just prior to Viljoen's death, Margo's late second husband had purchased the farm de Re(e)boks Cloof from Jacques Malan. The farm was 39 morgen in size. The farm is currently subdivided and the 3 portions are registered as Waterpoel, Rhebokskloof and Rheboskloof respectively.386

De Re(e)boks Cloof [Rhebokskloof]

Thereafter, Henning Viljoen is granted the farm Watergat (11 May 1712). The farm consisted of 2 pieces of land amounting to 30 morgen 390 square roeds. The farm (later consolidated with the farm Zondernaam / Sondernaam) is re-subdivided and the

386 J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, Ons Drakensteins Erfgrond: Agter-Paarl, pp. 11-13. Le Roux & Le Roux claim, that the farm is always registered under the name Waterpoel & that the name Rhebokskloof only comes into existence for those portions of the farm that come about following the farm's subdivision (1818 & again 1830). We now have documentary proof that the farm called Waterpoel is originally (also?) known as de Re(e)boks Cloof.
portions are now known as Riversmeet and Bien Donné respectively. The farm is sold (1735) to Bernhardus van Niekerk together with Christoffel Snijman’s farm Zandvliet.

The farm is sold (1735) to Bernhardus van Niekerk together with Christoffel Snijman’s farm Zandvliet.

Henning Viljoen and his family are enumerated in the muster roll (1712):

No. 505:  
**Henning Viljoen:** 1 wife; 2 sons; 6 daughters
6 adult male slaves; 2 adult female slaves; 4 slave girls
50 oxen; 100 sheep
12 000 vines
8 muids barley sown; 5 muids rye sown; 50 muids rye harvested
1 flintlock; 1 rapier
Drakenstein

Viljoen dies after what appears to have been a lengthy and contagious illness. Is he an invalid, the victim of a stroke or consumption (tuberculosis)? Johann Heinrich Mylius / Melius (from Groszheringen) is the doctor who treats the dying man. According to a vendurol (2 July 1712), the following goods are sold at a public auction at the house of the Widow Hendrick van Dijk in Cape Town:

“1 slave meid named Rosetta van de Caab together with one child named Cupido van de Caab,
1 slave named Eva van de Caab, 1 bible with a copper clasp, 1 bed, 2 pillows, 4 cushions, 3

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389 Possibly mother [name unknown] of 2 free-burgher brothers Borchard / Burg(h)ert Pietersz: van Dijk & Joost Pietersz: van Dijk (from Ysenberg [Yssenberg, Sittard, Gulik, Limburg?]). Does she perish in the smallpox epidemic the following year (1713) which might explain her non-appearance in muster rolls & other records consulted.

390 CA: MOOC 10/5, no. 59 & 1/2 (Vendurol), 2 July 1712.
These merely reflect those belongings of the family set aside for the comfort of a dying man. The sale is witnessed by the eminent Joachim Nikolaus von Dessin (from Rostock [Mecklenburg]), the future husband to Margo’s niece Christina Ehlers. An inventory of the remainder of Henning Viljoen’s deceased estate is only drawn up the following year (1713). His heirs are his widow, her 7 children from her previous marriage to Christoffel Snijman (Maria Magdalena, Christina, Elsje, Johanna, Filippus, Susanna and Elisabet), and his son named Henningh d’Viljon by his marriage to Margo. Their possessions (excluding the property that Margo and her children had inherited jointly from her first husband) are listed as follows:

2 farms (one at Drakenstein [Watergat] and one at the Paarl [de Rebocks Cloof])
700 sheep and lambs
85 pieces of cattle and horses
1 oxwagon, plough and harrow
6 male slaves, 1 old female slave and 1 slave child
15 ploughs, wine vats
1 distilling kettle
household effects
1 gelding
6 leaguers
1 leaguer brandy

The joint estate was valued at £5878.-.-. Outstanding debts were owing to the following:

- The Company
- The Orphan Chamber
- The Drakenstein Deaconate
- Elias Kina
- Jacob Mallan
- The Widow Willem Corssenaar [Catharina Cruse]
- Coert de Smit
- Claas Mijboom
- M[onsigneur]er Mielius [Melius] voor Cureren der Zieke
- Jan du Rand
- Hans Hend:[ri]k Hatting
- Maaij Ansela’s son Jacobus van As

The 1713 smallpox epidemic has devastating consequences for the population at the Cape and leaves a spate of deaths all around Margo – not only her daughter Catharina Snijman, but the entire Viljoen family with the exception of her sister-in-law Cornelia Viljoen, the wife of Hercules du Pré junior (dies 9 May 1721) who later marries Maaij Ansela’s double son-in-law Christian Matzdorf [Maasdorp]. Through his marriages, he becomes owner of the farms Wittenberg, Watervliet and Nuwedorp. Her parents-in-

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391 Steeckbekken is “a basin, for the use of a sick person” [A. Stevenson, John Holtrop’s English & Dutch Dictionary (1823)]. Is this a bedpan or basin for night soil?
393 CA: MOOC 8/2 (Inventory: Margareta Theresia d’Savoije), no. 80.
394 Jacques Malan (from Saint-Martín-de-la-Brasque) who farmed at La Motte in the Franschhoek valley.
395 Jean Durand (from la Motte-Chalançon) who farmed at Bergen Henegouwe at Simondium.
law, Cornelia Campenaar and her second husband Wemmer Pasman, both succumb as do her late husband’s siblings: Pieter, Anna (the wife of Heinrich Venter), Johannes (being both Margo’s brother-in-law and son-in-law) and Francina (married to Jacob Cloete eldest son of Gerrit Cloete). The last-mentioned is son to Gerrit Cloete junior who ‘goes native’ becoming the founding father of the Cloete Basters of Namaqualand and whose white daughter Catharina Elisabeth Cloete marries (c. 1759) Klaas Barends / Berend (een regte Hottentot) becoming founding mother to the Griqua clan / family of that name.396

The Cape’s first recorded female medical practitioner Marie Buisset397 (from Sedan) and Jan Sandertsz: (from Westerhout) declare (7 June 1713) that they witness (28 December 1713) an ox wagon in front of the residence of Sophia Willems: van der Merwe (the widow of the landdrost Pieter Robberts: and former widow of Roelof Pasman, stepbrother to the Viljoen siblings). They see both Pieter and his brother, Johannes Viljoen, on the brink of death lying in the wagon.398

Magrita de Savoijen is listed (1715) as a member of the Drakenstein congregation.399 We have a rare glimpse of Margo as a litigant suing in her own name (1716) the burgher Paul Heijns (from Leipzig) for the amount of f450 in a civil case. The debt claimed is for liquor delivered to Heijns. He is ordered by the Council of Justice to pay the outstanding debt with costs.400 It appears that Heijns never pays up. This outstanding debt is recalled 27 years later in the inventory of Margo’s deceased estate drawn up (20 March 1742). At that time Heijns is already deceased. His surviving second wife, the Cape-born halfslag Maria Lozee401 and midwife (the widow of Douw Gerbrandsz: Steyn (from Leeuwaerden [Friesland]) who attends to the graves of Groote Catrijn and her daughter), however, is still cited as debtor in default.

Death of Marritie Pieters: (c. 1661-1717)

Groote Catrijn’s second eldest and wealthy daughter Marritie Pieters: (c. 1661-1717) dies (post 14 October 1717) and her legacy will remain on record until long after 1749 when her slaves legally assert their promised freedom. She has already sold her property [erfs nos. MM5 & MM6] in Table Valley (granted 1715) to Anthonij Hoeseman.402 Just prior to her death, she draws up her last will (14 October 1717).403

399 See register kept by the Rev. Van Aken who started there (1715) [Colin Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p. 111].
400 CA: CJ 6, no. 131 (1716) *Margaretha de Savoije wed:uw[e wijle den landbouwer Henningh Villion, eijcher contra den burger Paul Heijns ged:aechd[e over betaling van f 450 soo veel hij p:enninge]n restant over geleverde dranken debet is.*
401 Maria Lozee van de Caep, halfslag daughter of private slave Maria van Bali.
402 Cadastral Calendar.
403 CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will – copy: Maria Pieterse, 14 October 1717) CA: CJ 2651, nos. 23 & 24 (Will – original: Maria Pieterse, 1717); CA: CJ 2656; CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will – copy: Maria Pieterse, 14 October 1717).
Following her death her property in Table Valley [erf no. L4] is sold to the free-fisherman returnee from the abandoned Dutch colony on Mauritius Marthinus Ackerman (from Doria) who previously purchases property of den Chinees Domingo van Bengale. The following years 3 of her slaves Claas van Malabar, Venus van Bengale and Rebecca van Madagascar petition (18 October 1718) the Council of Policy for their freedom in terms of alleged letters of freedom given them by their late mistress:

"[1718] Claas Mallebaar, Farnis [Venus] and Rebecca – the latter the mother of 3 children – state that seven months ago they had received letters of freedom from their late mistress, Maria Pieters; wife of the late Jan Andriesz; that said letters were in the hands of Christoffel Eerthuijs [Esterhuizen / Osthus], nephew of the late Maria Pieters; who has hitherto left them in freedom, but now wishes to claim them back into slavery, denying that they have been emancipated. They ask the Council’s assistance – Council finds that the will states that they have been willed away as slaves. (No. 91; exhib., 18th October)."

It appears that only the 3 children of Rebecca van Madagascar (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob), are bequethed testamentary manumission by their mistress and that (as late as 1749) they were still enslaved:

"[1749] Kerken (Gerrit van), sole surviving executor in the estate of the late Maria Pietersz, widow of Jan Andriesz. In her will, dated 14th October 1717, she desires the manumission of her 3 slaves, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For some reason or other, the other executor, Jan Rogier, of Morsselen, delayed taking the necessary steps for the purpose; hence memorialist now prays the Council’s consent, and offers as co-surety the burgher Lodewijck Hansen. Copy of will attached, dated 14th October 1717. In it she gives complete freedom to her 3 slaves, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with Rds 100 to be paid to the first named when he became of age, and also f 600 which the burgher Paul Heijns owes testatrix. She wishes Abraham to be domiciled and educated in the house of Jan Rogier van Morsselen, who shall, for that, receive a slave, named Venus of Bengal, and a fishing sein, with everything connected with it. The two other children, Isaac and Jacob, she wished the agriculturist Christoffel Esterhuijsen to take, who, would for his pains, receive a male and female slave, named Claas van Malabar and Rebecca van Madagascar, as well as another named Leander of Bengal. Each of these two boys

404 Cadastral Calendar.
405 Marthinus Ackerman (from Doria) marries Geertruijd (Geertje) Lamberts: Stam baptized Cape 16 January 1695, daughter of Maria Jans: Vissers alias Maria Liermans (from Ommen [Overijssel]) by her second husband Lambert Simonsz: Stam (from Amsterdam).
408 Gerrit van Kerken
409 Jan Rogiers (from Monsnay / Mors(s)elin [Moorsele – village now incorporated into Wevelgem, West Flanders, Belgium? – executor to deceased estate of Marritie Pieters: Wid. Andriesz: – marries (1st) 27 November 1711 Willemena Willems: van de Caep; probably baptized (1689), likely daughter of Company slave Cornelia Pieters: van de Caep [not to be confused with Wilhelmina Vermeulen, daughter of Jan Willemson: Vermeulen (from Utrecht) & Catharina Opklm van de Caep / van Bengale, whose sister Maria Vermeulen marries another Jan Rogiers (from Amsterdam)]; marries (2nd) Cape 10 September 1713 Margaretha Harmensz: Harting baptized 19 January 1698; d/o Maria (Marritte) Beyers & Johann (Jan) Harmensz: Harting (from Paderborn); step-daughter of Jacob Frey / Vrey / Vry (from Solz) & later step-daughter of Hans Jacob Conterman(n) / Konterman [Gundermann] (dies 1734)) (from Hadamar [Hesse-Nassau]), wid/o Anna Catharina Cleef [CA: CJ 2650, no. 90 (Will: Jan Rogier van Morssseen (1713); CA: MOOC 7/1, no. 11 (Will: Willemena Willems:, wife of Jan Rogier (1713); CA: MOOC 7/1, no. 87 (Joint Will: Jan Rogier van Monsnaj & Margaretha Harmensz: Hartingh, (1718)) CA: A 1657)); she marries (2nd) Paarl 5 September 1728 Martinus Thielmans (from Delfthaven).
410 Lodewijck Hansen.
shall also receive £200 each. As guardians of these children, and as executors, she appoints theurglers, Jan Rogier of Morsselen and Gerrit van Kerken. [No. 82].

Margos’s testamentary fickleness & remaining years before retiring to Witteboomen

Margo and her household are enumerated in the muster roll (1719):

No. 711
Margaretha Theresia de Savoije 1 woman; 2 sons; 3 daughters
7 adult male slaves; 2 female slave women
40 cattle; 300 sheep
16,000 vines
9 muids barley sown
Drakenstein

She and her household are again enumerated in the muster roll (1723):

No. 278:
Wed.[uwe] Henning Viljoen; 1 son; 1 daughter
6 male slaves; 3 female slaves
50 cattle; 300 sheep
16,000 vines
10 muids barley sown
4 muids rye sown; 20 muids rye harvested; Drakenstein

Margo is also enumerated in the tax roll (1731) as follows:

No. 322
Wed.[duwe] Henning Viljoen
6 adult male slaves; 3 adult female slaves; 1 female slave child
60 cattle; 300 sheep;
2000 vines; 14 leaguers wine
3 muids grain sown; 10 muids grain harvested
Drakenstein

Margo signs her first recorded will (7 July 1731). The will is sealed and placed in official
safekeeping. It is Nicolaes Leij, the clerk at the secretariat of the Council of Policy who
acknowledges receipt of the sealed testament. Leij is married to a granddaughter of
Maaij Ansela, Jacoba Christina de Wet. Margo adds a codicil to her will (28 October
1732) wherein she bequeths all her linen and clothing to her youngest daughter
Elisabeth Snijman, the wife of Johannes van Helsdingen. To her one granddaughter
Glaudina Margarita Roux, she leaves a chest (kist) – minus the contents – and a silver
chatelaine (begeultas). The latter is a container for toiletries and needlework. These are
already set aside for the girl’s afore-mentioned maternal aunt. Margo, however, has a
change of heart. She calls on Nicolaes Leij (23 February 1734) requesting that it be
placed on record that she has come in person to destroy the will that she had previously
placed in safekeeping. Not only does she tear up the will, she also sets the fragments
alight. Is she as hot-tempered as her father? The codicil, however, is left untouched. Is
this an oversight?

Nicolaes Ley son of Michiel Ley (from Basle [Switzerland]) & Engela (Engeltje) Breda (from Delft).
Margo draws up another will (1 February 1735), the contents of which are known. In this codicil, she makes special provision for her youngest and only child by her late second husband, Henning Viljoen junior. He is to inherit her remaining farm and its buildings, together with a slave man named Cupido van Madagascar, a slave woman named Ragel van Madagascar and 12 draught oxen. Valued at 2 500 Cape guilders, the farm is to be paid for in 5 equal payments, the first in cash and the other 4 to be paid out of the joint estate each successive year. The existence of the uncancelled earlier codicil causes problems. The following year, Margo consequently signs a further codicil (30 November 1736). She is insistent that, notwithstanding the legacies to her daughter and granddaughter, her wishes in her last will are to be carried out to the letter. Only by means of an additional signed declaration on her part, do the earlier 2 legacies become effective. The legacies are never ratified.

The farms Sandvliet and Watergat are both transferred (23 September 1735) to Bernhardus van Niekerk\(^{412}\). The farms appear to be sold following the death of Margo’s son Philip Snijman in that year. Van Niekerk later goes insolvent. His brother Gerrit van Niekerk had signed as surety for the debt owing. Margo relieves the brother of this burden in a written note (acte van ontslag gepassert) she signs (9 June 1741). The validity of her signed note is contested, however, by the Orphan Chamber when administering the deceased estate.\(^ {413}\) Margo sells de Rheebs Claof to her granddaughter Margaretha Botha and her husband Jan Abraham Meyer. Transfer of ownership is registered (3 September 1736).\(^ {414}\) Why does she sell the very farm she has just bequethed to her youngest son? Instead of inheriting the farm, Henning Viljoen junior is compensated after her death by being paid out cash from his mother’s estate.

Margo is not enumerated in the muster roll (1738). In the muster (1741), however, she is listed alone living in the Cape District. Margo waives her right (9 June 1741) to claim from Gerrit van Niekerk\(^ {415}\) as surety for debt owing to her by his insolvent younger brother, Bernhardus van Niekerk. Instead her son-in-law Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen stands surety.

\(^ {412}\) Bernhardus van Niekerk son of Cornelis Gerritsz: [van Niekerk] (from Nieuwerk) & Maria van der Westhuizen, baptised 20 January 1709; married Drakenstein 24 July 1746 Aletta Hendrina van den Heuwel (daughter of Nicolaas van den Heuvel & Maria Zegers).

\(^ {413}\) CA: CJ 2511 (Requesten, 21 April 1740 – 12 December 1743), no. 22 (16 May 1743), pp. 130-134.

\(^ {414}\) CA: MOOC 8/6, no. 95 (Inventory: Margaretha Theresia de Savoije, 20 March 1742); J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, Ons Drakenstiense Erfgrond: Agter-Paarl, p. 11.

\(^ {415}\) Gerrit van Niekerk, son of Cornelis Gerritsz: [van Niekerk] (from Nieuwerk) & Maria Verschuur / van der Westhuizen, baptised 18 September 1695.
Margo dies (March 1742). Does she die at Witte Boomen (also known as de Hel) the place at Constantia of her youngest daughter Elisabeth Snijman and her husband Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen? Most of Margo’s personal belongings are listed as already being in possession of her Van Helsdingen son-in-law at the time her inventory is drawn up. The inventory to her estate is drawn up (20 March 1742).

The inventory is signed by the following competent heirs: Jacobus Botha, Anthonie Lombard, Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, Henning Viljoen junior. This takes place under the watchful eye of their kinsman by marriage, Joachim Nikolaus von Dessin (1704-1761). This is the man who bequeathes his collection of 3,856 books and manuscripts to the Cape Church Council to provide the basis of a public library for the colony. He also donates Rds 1000, the interest of which is to be used annually to purchase new books for the library. The books are first housed at the Consistory of the Groote Kerk, at No. 2 Heeren Gracht (Adderley Street, Cape Town) which also serves as the Bibliotheca Publica.416 This invaluable collection, known as the Dessinian Library, now forms part of the South African Library in Cape Town.417 An avid bibliophile, one wonders how he feels about the book-less deceased estate, save for one Bible, left by his wife’s aunt? Even Christoffel Snijman’s Indian stepfather had more books in his deceased estate, as did Groote Catrijn’s paramour Pieter Evrard.

Margo is survived by 5 of her 13 children. Four of her children die in infancy and she outlives her other 4 children, all of whom marry and are survived by a total of 12 grandchildren. The Orphan Chamber contests (16 May 1743) the validity of Margo’s signed note in which she waives her rights against Gerrit van Niekerk as surety for his insolvent brother’s debts owing to her. The matter is referred to Governor Ryk Tulbagh and his Council of Justice for a decision. Her note is determined to be valid.418 Her estate

418 CA: CJ 2511 (Requesten 21 April 1740 – 12 December 1743), no. 22 (16 May 1743), pp. 130-134.
is finally wound up (31 October 1745) and valued at Rds 3,888:43. Her 5 surviving children each receive Rds 424:21. The 4 portions due to her pre-deceased children are divided equally among their 12 heirs. The following people owe money to the estate: Johannes Marais, Hercules du Preez, Pieter du Plessis, Pieter du Plessis Charlsz: and Barend van Niekerk.

Margo’s genealogical legacy

Margo is grandmother to 63 grandchildren. Her genealogical legacy, and that of her mother-in-law Groote Catriijn, seems virtually inestimable. A rough estimate of only her Viljoen-surname-bearing descendants runs into tens of thousands and by now probably exceeds 30,000 individuals. Whole families in the male line such as Ackermann, Coetzer, Hofmeyr and Van Helsdingen, where there is no genetic interruption, all descend from Margo and her mother-in-law Groote Catriijn and in the case of the latter, also the Beyers, Duminy, Esterhuizen and Nöthling families. There is a special irony in the comments appearing in an article about the origins of the Hofmeyr family, that the Hofmeyr founding mother is the daughter of an army captain and came from an esteemed Utrecht family. Yet this founding mother’s ignominious – but as illustrious – maternal Eurasian ancestry is simply ignored or overlooked. The possibility that the De Savoyes might even be a cadet branch of the Italian Royal House of Savoy seems to have escaped most peoples’ notice until recently and there may even be a connection to Charlemagne if we are to accept uncritically the quirks and vagaries of latter-day internet genealogies.

Many people of early Cape colonial origin are likely to have at least one descent, if not multiple descents from both Groote Catriijn and Margo, via initially the Snyman family, given the consanguineous realities of early Cape settlement. The writer himself, despite his Anglo-Saxon surname, has 6 direct traceable and documentable descents through female lines from Margo. 5 of these descents are from Groote Catriijn herself.

Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye, b4 PROG 1 her mother → Jacques de Savoye, SV/PROG her father → Julien de Savoye his father → Jacques de Savoye his father → Mahieu or Mathieu de Savoye his father → Claude de Savoye his father → Michiel de Savoye his father → Jacques de Savoie, comte de Romont his father → Anne de Lusignan, princesse de Chypre his mother → Janus, King of Cyprus and Armenia her father → Jacques I, King of Cyprus his father → Hugues IV, King of Cyprus his father → Guy de Lusignan, connétable de Chypre his father → Hugues III de Lusignan, roi de Jérusalem et de Chypre his father → Henri de Poitiers, prince d’Antioche his father → Bohémond IV “le Borgne” d’Antioche, Prince d’Antioche his father → Bohemond III “the Stammerer”, Prince of Antioch his father → Raymond de Poitiers, Prince of Antioch his father → Guillaume IX le Troubadour, duc d’Aquitaine his father → Guillaume VIII (Guy Geoffrey) d’Aquitaine, VIII duc d’Aquitaine et VI comte de Poitou his father → William V, Duke of Aquitaine his father → Guillaume ‘Fier-à-Bras’ de Poitiers, IV Duc d’Aquitaine and II Comte de Poitou his father → Guillaume ‘Tête d’étoupe’ d’Aquitaine, III Duc d’Aquitaine, I Comte de Poitou his father → Ebles II Manzer, duc d’Aquitaine his father → Ranulf II, duc d’Aquitaine his father → Ranulf I d’Auvergne, Comte de Poitiers Duc d’Aquitaine his father → Rotrude, daughter of Louis I the Pious and Ermentgard his mother → Emperor Louis I ‘The Pious’, son of Charlemagne & Hildegard her father → Charlemagne his father.

Appendix 1: Catharina van Paliacatta – trial papers
Appendix 2: Pieter Evrard – will & inventory
Appendix 3: Hans Christoffel Snijman – trial papers
Appendix 4: Ernst Friedrich Walter – prosecution
Appendix 5: Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale – deceased estate (miscellaneous papers)
Appendix 6: Andreas Baijer & Catharijn (:swartin:) – Vendu Rollen
Appendix 7: Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye – wills & codicils
Appendix 8: court case: Margo’s slave Adolph van Madagascar – arson
Appendix 9: Catharina van Paliacatta – genealogy
Appendix 10: De Savoye, Snijman & Viljoen genealogies
Appendix 11: Maria van Bengale – genealogy
Appendix 12: The Valley of Grace ((Extracts from the Cape Argus: 28 December 2005 & 4 January 2006)
APPENDIX 1: TRIAL PAPERS INVOLVING GROOTE CATRIJN

Grote Catrijn’s Death Sentence & Pardon – Extracts from Sentence Book at Batavia

CAPE ARCHIVES (CA): COURT OF JUSTICE (CJ) 281, no. 44 (16 November 1656)

Also Catharina geboortich van Paliacatte out na aensien omtrent 25 jaeren en Moorise slavinne van Maria Magdalena vrije vrou ende jonwoonden desen stede tegenwoordich ‘t heeren gevangene, vrijwillige:[e]n buijtten pijnes ende banden van jmere ofte eenige de minste dregementen van dien bekent ende beleden heeft, mitsgaders wijne E.[dele] Heeren van den achtbaeren Raad van Justitie des Casteels Bat:[av]l[a] manifestelyck gebleken zij dat sij gevangen ‘t sedert een den half jaer geleden met een Claes van de Mallebaerse Cust zal:[ige]r in zijn leven slaef van S:[ieu]r Hendrick Christoffel Leser des E:[dele] Comp:[agne]s Stalmeeister allhier, als man ende vrou vleeschelijcke conversatie gehouden hebende. Op acht ter een voorkle maent October des na middacht omtrent twee uyr met een pot gecochte coelen ende verkens vlees bij voorz: Claes in sijn Lijffheers thuijn staende buijten desen stede inde Crokot des Rijwijck gecon mede, versocht ende gewilt heeft dat den selven met haer daer van eten soude, ’t welck eenige reijzen door hem beleefdelijck geweigent sijn als tehebben even te vooren zijn middacht mael genutticht, is sy geveen daer over met voorz: haer bijsij eerst in worden ende daerma handst gemeen geworden, scheldende alvorens sij gev:[ange]nes denselven met bijvouginge op’t onbeleefeste jou moeder en[de – deleted] u maaui gesoent ofte vleeschelijck bekent sulcx genoemde Claes van haer gebeeten ende soo als geschijn waeren op d’aerde neder geseten wesent heeft bij gevangene haer niet ontsien nochts gevrest en’t voorwegen gemoede een groote houckige keijsteen van de aerde op te vatten ende daer mede genoemde Claes soodanich tegens het hangh van sijn buijck omtrent sijn mannelijckh:[ei]t te werpen, dat desselbe blaes gebarst sijnde, meergenoemde keijsteen van de aerde op te vatten ende daer mede genoemde been daer van des nachts tusschen den elfden ende twaelfden des selven maent desen werelt is overleden. Dit welcke inder daet een notoiren manslach is gevangene in Euvelen gemoede begaen waer jegens Jodes Recht vaerdige g’hoonden wel strickelijck gebieden, dat die sijn even naesten dood, wederom door saxencbons handende gedoent sal werden, sulcx tot af weeringe van Godes jegens Jodes Recht vaerdige g’hooden wel strickelijck gebieden, dat die sijn even naesten dood, wederom even te voeren sijn middacht mael genutticht, is sy geveen daer over met voorz: haer bijsij eerst in worden ende daerma handst gemeen geworden, scheldende alvorens sij gev:[ange]nes denselven met bijvouginge op’t onbeleefeste jou moeder en[de – deleted] u maaui gesoent ofte vleeschelijck bekent sulcx genoemde Claes van haer gebeeten ende soo als geschijn waeren op d’aerde neder geseten wesent heeft bij gevangene haer niet ontsien nochts gevrest en’t voorwegen gemoede een groote houckige keijsteen van de aerde op te vatten ende daer mede genoemde Claes soodanich tegens het hangh van sijn buijck omtrent sijn mannelijckh:[ei]t te werpen, dat desselbe blaes gebarst sijnde, meergenoemde Claes daer van des nachts tusschen den elfden ende twaelfden den selven maent deser werelt is overleden. Het welcke inder daet een notoiren manslach is gevangene in Euvelen gemoede begaen waer jegens Jodes Recht vaerdige g’hoonden wel strickelijck gebieden, dat die sijn even naesten dood, wederom door saxencbons handende gedoent sal werden, sulcx tot af weeringe van Godes ’t hoorren die daer om over sted oude kamden ontsteekt, tot afschrick van andere op’t rigour eerste mael ende behoort te werden gestraft.

Soo ist dat welgenelten achtharen Raade ten daege dienende gehoort ende gesien den eijscho ende concensie ad mortem op ende jegens de gevangene gedaen ende genome a:[i]daer benefens haere vrije willige bekenteniss wedors op alle gele ende geconsideraat hebbende watter materie was dienende ende haer E.[dele] achtb:[are]n mochte moveren, doende recht uijt den naam ende van wegen d’en hoofdende staats generael den vrije vereenichde Nederlanden condemneeren de gevangene Catharina van Mallebaer ende soo als gescheijden waeren op d’aerde neder geseten wesent heeft bij gevangene haer niet ontsien nochts gevrest en’t voorwegen gemoede een groot houckig keijsteen van de aerde op te vatten ende daer mede genoemde Claes soodanich tegens het hangh van sijn buijck omtrent sijn mannelijckh:[ei]t te werpen, dat desselbe blaes gebarst sijnde, meergenoemde Claes daer van des nachts tusschen den elfden ende twaelfden den selven maent deser werelt is overleden.

Aldus g’arresteert ende gesententieert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 18den daer aenvolgende, was geteekent enpronunchieert en g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 18den daer aenvolgende, was geteekent enpronunchieert en g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 18den daer aenvolgende, was geteekent enpronunchieert en g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncieert ende g’exectueert.

Hoewel het Criminele vonnis van de Achtbaren Raade van Justitie deses Casteels waerijden seekere slavinne van eene Maria Magdalena genaamt Catharina van Mallebaer ten oorsaeck sij seekeren slaefe van Comp:[agne]s Stalmeeister ende raad[de]l Hendrick Christoffel Leser gegeeeve Claes van Mallebaer in hevigen woede met een keijsteen werpende soodanich uit nederlichs deel sijnens buijcx heeft getroffen, daten de doot dien vierden dach daer aen op gevolsch zij gecondemneert is aan een paal ten doode geworcht te werden, wel ende te rechte sij gevelt, gelijk dan voorn:[oemd]le delinquanten nie gereet staet om daerop de straffe des doods t’ontfangen.

Soo ist nochtans dat wij considererende dat geseijde misdadige daen getogen doodslach weens bij ongeluck als op gesette booshijt begin, immers geen voornemen of intentie gehadt heeft om te dooden, daer door bewogen sijn geworden de bowen gemelte sententie te altereren en de te versachten,
soodanich dat wij preferenende mede doogen gou ende gratie voor de strengheijt van het recht de meer genoemde delinquant Catharina, goed gevonden hebben te pardonneren ende te bevrijden van de dood, gelijkt bij doen bij desen, mits daer in plaetse van dien meede eerste gelegenthjeit sal werden versonden na de Caep de Boa Esperance, om aldaer tot het eijde haren levens toe gebannen te blijven ende als Comp:[agnie]s lijffeigene slaven dienst te doen, op welck ons pardon en gratie nochtans niemand in toecomende te sondigen noch te sigh te verlaeten heeft.

Gegeven in’t Casteel Bat:[av]a den 18:[d]e Novemb:[e]r anno 1656 was geteeckent Joan Maetsuycker

G’extrakeert uijt Sententiebouck van den acht:[baer]e Raet van Justitie des Casteels Bata:[via]s naer gedane collatie is dese daermede runende bevonden t’accorderen Bat:[av]a den 25 Novemb[er]: 1656

Bij mij [signed] Vincent van Work
Secret[ari]fs:

Gambling incident involving Groote Catrijn

CA: CJ 1, p. 377

**MAANDAG, 5EN SEPTEMBER 1667.**

Present als boven,
Behalven d’oude borgerraden.

Fiscus ei[j][se]r. contra
Cornelis van Benthem, corporael van d’adelborsten en Aurelius Probenius, adleborst over caart spelen.


De ged[aec]h[d]ens. voor antwoord dat op voorsz Catrijns versouk wel met haer gespeelt, maar niet mertckelijck gewonnen hebben.

Den ei[j][se]r. leijt derhalven over sekere attestatien als bij deselve.


Missing bread stolen out of Groote Catrijn’s chamber

CA: CJ 1, pp. 705-707
A.J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justitie* (Case no. 93), PP. 370-371

**EODEM DIE** [Woensdagh, 26en Augusti a[nn]o. 1671.]

Idem Fiscus [Hendrik Crudop] contra
Nicolaes Phlegel van Bazel, soldaat alhier alsnu gedet[ineerde]. Ende gede. Ter aseke van eenig[el] daegen zijn schiltwacht verlatende, sigh niet en heeft geschoomt uijt de wooninge van seker Comp[agnie]s. Slaevin, hier binnen ’t Fort begrepen, twee brooden te steelen…

D’eijs[che]r. allegereerde dat de ged[aechd]e. Op den 19en deser was gecommandeert geweest hier voor ’t ingaan van d’ H[e]r. Commandeurs woningh, genaemt d’Cat de gewoonlijke schildwacht te houden en dat middeler wije in ’t waernemen van deselve sigh niet hadde geschoomt deselve als een ligtaerdigh, onbedachtsaem mensch te verlaten ende sigh te vervoegen ter woonplaetse van sekere Comp[agnie]s. Slaevin en waster, genaamt Catharina van Bengalen, hier binnen ’t Fort onder de trap nae de wall opgaende begrepen, alwaer gecomen zijnde, de deur met een groote steen van buijten toegedaen, t’ openen ende uijt ’t selve twee vers gebacken taruw brooden, die aldaer op de taffel verborgen laegen, en
weinijnh tjits te voren door zeker slaeff in d’H[ee]r Commandeurs combuijs bescheyden, gestolen bedecktelijck in ‘t aspect van hem gede. Daer nae toe gebracht waeren, wederom te stelen, oock nae dat van de schildwacht afgelost was, onder zijne cameraden uijt te delen, ende zulcx sigh met dubbeldt gestolen goetd vrolijk te maeken, daer noptans de gede. Tot verhoedinge van sulke ende diergelijck insolentiën eenelijck aldaer de wacht houdende, als een eerlijkle ende regtschapen soldaat alsulcke trouwloseshede bij voorraegheten slaven gepleegt hadde behoort te beleten: Ende also de ged[aechd]e. ter contrarie gedaen hebbende met twederhande delicten sigh heft besoedelt, eensdeels door ‘t verlaten van zijn schildwacht ende anders door d’ infractie ende stelen van de g’allegeerde gestolen broden. ‘t Welck dan saken zijnde van quaed ende malitieusen gevolge, die in landen van Justitie niet ende behoorden te werden getollerert, maer anderen ten exempler gestraft, soo concludeert den eijs[che]r. dat de gede. ter cause voorsz soude werden gecondemneert omme driemael van de wip te vallen, voorts gedevaliseert ende uijt de militie op ‘t Robbeneiland voor den tijt van 2 jaeren ad opus publicum in d’ kettingh gebannen met confiscatie van 2/m[aenden] gagie cum expensis ofte anders &a. Exhiberende tot verificatie van zijn vermeten des ged[aechde]ns. Eijgen vrijwillige confessie sonder pijne van ijser en banden gedaen ende beleden.

D’ged[aechd]e. ontkent het te laste geleijde van den eijs[che]r. niet, maer segt niet gedacht te hebben dat sigh daeraen sodaenigh soude hebben misgaen, doordien so daedelijck nae ‘t stelen van de brooden zijn schildwacht wederom hadde waergenomen ende wel cunnen presumeren dat de broden bij den slaaf mosten gestolen zijn, veroesckt derhalven om gratie.


Den Raadt gehoort hebbende den eijsch ende conclusie van den fiscael in desen gedaen ende genomen ende daerentegens des gedns. Frivoole excusen, ende vorders gelet op ‘t geene wat heeft mogen bewegen, doen recht, condemneren den gede. omme den tijt van 2/d naemalanderen met gewigt van 5 lb. Aen ijder been op’t houte paerd te rijden ende bannen den tiijt van 4 maenden sonder gagie ad opus publicum op ‘t Robbeneijlandt nevens de verbeurte van 1/m[aend] gagie pro fisco cum expensis.

In ‘t Fort de Goede Hoope datum ut supra.

Mij present,

H. CRUDOP
APPENDIX 2: WILL & INVENTORY OF PIETER EVRARD

CA: (Cape Town Deeds) CTD, pp. 120 & 132 (Will: Pieter Evrardt (from Cruijsart), 13 March 1664)

Op huijden den 13en Maert anno 1664 compareerde voor mij Hendrick Lacus secretarijs van den Commandeur ende Raed van’t Fort de Goede Hoope &a. en Cabo de Bonne Esperance ende de getuigen naergenoemt Pieter Evrardt van Cruijsart, vaendrigh in dienst van de E.[edele] Generale Nederlantse Geoctroijeerde Oost Indische Compagnie ende beschijden in dese Fortresse sieckelyck te koij leggende doch zijn verstant spraechke ende memorie volcomen machtich ende gebrijckende als ons claerlijk bleek ende noch niet anders zien of mercken conden, overdenckende de broosheijt des menschelijken nature ende dat ‘er niet seeckerder is dan de doot ende niet onseeckerder als de uijre derselver, willende daer omme van dese werelt niet scheijden zonder alvoorens van zijne tijdelijcke goederen te disponeren dienvolgende verclaert uijt sijn eijgen vrije wille (sonder inductie ofte persuatie van iemanden) te revoceren doot ende te niet te doen geleyk hij doet bij desen alle voorgaende bij hem gemaecte testamenten off eenige andere maecckinge hoedanigh die ooocq soude mogen wesen houdende deselve voor nul, crachteloos en van onwaerden ende op nieuws disponerende legateert aen Catharina van Bengalen omme van de E.[edele] Comp[agni]e. In minderinge sijner te goed hebbende gagie te genieten een somme van hondert vijftigh guldens te XL grooten stuck ende dat tot sustentie ende opvoedingh van een jongh kint daervan deselve Catharina in corten staet verlost te worden doch met die reserve dat ingevalle het kint doot ter werelt in het baeren quame te overlijden dat alsdan t’ gelegateerde wederom sal keeren aen sijn naeste vrunden ab intestato ende aen Jan van Laer van Amsterdam soldaet ten reguarde van eenige diensten aan hem bewesen zijn dagelijcx bruijn sargie cleet neffens een swarte ronde gebolden hoet aen de cant met silver geboort ende noch een wit sargie pack aen Gerrit van der Laen meester mede omdat hem in zijn sieckte heeft bijgestaan ende geholpen ende in’t overschietende mitsgaders sijne voordere goederen en effecten die noch ergens mochten wesen ofte ab intestato toevallyn institueerde den comparant tot universele erfegenaemen sijne susters Antoinet, Margriet ende Anna Evrardts van Cuijsart wonende aldaer en dicht aldaer omtrent ende bij deselver afflijvicheijt sijn naeste vrunden ad reges.

Versoeckende hij testateur seer onderdanichlijck aen de Ed[el]e. Heeren Bewinthebberen der meergemelte Comp[agni]e. voor sooveel haer Ed[e]l e. desen mochten aengaen over deselve als executeurs te staen ende na sijn overlijden t’ effect te voldoen ende want t’ geene voorsz alsoo zijn testaeurs wille ende begeeren is, soo wille en begeere hij dat al het selve na zijn overlijden alsoo sal achtervolgt ende naergerconnen worden t’ sij bij forme van testament, codicille, donatie onder de levende off uijt saecke des doots ofte eenige andere maecckinge sulcx t’ selve na rechten best sal cunnen off mogen subsisteren alwaer t’ dat eenige solemniteijten gerequireert in desen niet en waeren geobserveert ja enige van dien gemitteert.

Aldus gedaen ande gepasseert in’t Fort de Goede Hoope ten dage ende jaere voorsz, ten huijse ende woonplaetse van de voorsz comparant ter presentie van S[ieu]r. Abraham Gabbema, ondercoopman ende Pieter van Clickenbergh, opperchirurgijn getuijgen van goeden gelove hier toe versoght ende geroepen ende was geteekent PIETER EVRARD ter sijden stont ons present als getuijgen ABRAHAM GABBEMA, P[iete]r. CLINCKENBERGH.

Naer gedane collatie is desen met d’originale minute bevonden t’accorderen. Bij mij H.[endrick] LACUS, secret[ari], 1664.

CA: CTD, p. 88 (Inventory: Pieter Evrard (from Cruijsand), 17 March 1664)

Inventaris van d’goederen naergelaten bij Pieter Evrard van Cruijsard in sijn leven vendrich deser Fortresse, is overleden adij 17en Martij 1664.

Een kist daer in bevonden:

1 root laken innocent422 met silver passament423 geboort424

422 Does innocent = new or unused?
423 braid, trimming or lace.
424 bordered or embroidered.
1 sargie\textsuperscript{425} broucq met roode linten
1 root allegia\textsuperscript{426} rockje
1 root laken wambais\textsuperscript{427}
1 grauw laken broucq met passament geboort
1 sargie rocq met galon\textsuperscript{428} geboort
1 sargie pacq klederen met swarte linten
5 stucx hoeden te weten
  1 nieuwe swarte vigogne\textsuperscript{429}
  1 oude \textit{ditto}
  2 oude grauwwe \textit{dittos}
  1 swarte hoet met galon geboort
1 donker sargie kleet met swarte linten
1 ligt \textit{ditto} met blommerente linten

Is volgens testament wech gelegateert
1 paer roode croonlasse\textsuperscript{430} canons\textsuperscript{431} met silver galon
1 paer roode lakense kousen [hose]
1 paer grauw laken canons om in laersen\textsuperscript{432} te dragen
8 paer kousen te weten
  4 paer zijde als volgt
    1 paer goede blauwe
    1 paer \textit{do} groene
    1 paer \textit{do.} parelgecouleurde
    1 paer oude groene
  1 paer witte cust \textit{dos.}
  3 paer grauwwe saijette\textsuperscript{433}
1 Bengaels gordel
1 paer swarte overtreckende schrijfmouwen\textsuperscript{434}
1 oude lakense innocent
7 onderbroucken te weten
  5 witte en
  2 taffachelas\textsuperscript{435} \textit{do.}
21 stucx oude en nieuwe hemden
17 stucx beffen [bands] te weten
  12 stucx sonder en
  5 stucx met kant.
6 dasjens
6 mutsen [woolen cap] te weten
  5 witte linne
  1 roode lakense
1 roode bonte muts
20 oude en nieuwe neusdoucken
19 servatten
2 paer canons
5 paer linne onderkousen
7 witte kusseslopen

\textsuperscript{425} Sargie, zargie or cergie = serge, a durable twilled worsted fabric used especially for rough wear
\textsuperscript{426} alegias or allegias = multi-coloured silk cloths.
\textsuperscript{427} A \textit{wambais} is a jerkin or doublet, ie a bombast jacket usually close fitting and waisted.
\textsuperscript{428} braid or lace
\textsuperscript{429} From the French \textit{vigogne} and the Spanish \textit{vicuña} = vicugna in English. Presumably made from the wool of this South American mammal.
\textsuperscript{430} Were these a type of seam that was ‘crowned’?
\textsuperscript{431} canions, ie extensions from the trunk hose to the knees, being close thigh fitting.
\textsuperscript{432} boots.
\textsuperscript{433} \textit{saai} = light twilled wool cloth which was exported to the Indies and Japan.
\textsuperscript{434} Sleeves used to protect the writer’s clothing from being stained by ink.
\textsuperscript{435} Taffachelas or taffa cillers = fine, white striped clothing made from taffeta with black stitches throughout.
3 slaeplakens
1 lapjen turcx\(^{436}\) en
1 ovterrexsel van een kussen
1 stuck salempouris\(^{437}\)
4 paer hantschoenen
2 paer mouwen
3 lapjes linnen
26 strengen wit garen
6 dousijn kameelshare rocknopen\(^{438}\)
3 dousijn gout en silvere wambais knopen
1&1/2 brief spelden en
3 kompasjes a kopere
1 ivore
1 mes met 1 ivore hegt en
1 do. sonder lemmer
2 silvere lepels
2 paer ditto broucknopen
1 mes met een silver hegt
2 paer silvre schoengespe
1 goude ringh met 1 klapbeck\(^{439}\)
Contant 1&1/2 real

Buijten gemelte kist bevonden:

5 paer schoenen te weten
   1 paer nieuwe swarte
   1 paer oude ditto
   1 paer nieuwe grauwe
   2 paer oude ditto

3 draegbanden namentlijcq
   1 do met swarte frangie\(^{440}\)
   2 grauwe sonder do.

3 degens te weten
   1 do met een silver gevest\(^{441}\) in figuijr van een leeuw
   1 swarte uitgehoude met een fijne greep
   1 legten do.

1 groten houwer met 1 plaet
1 Japansen rottangh
2 snaphaen roers
1 paer vierslotige pistolen
1 bant pistool
1 paer sackpistolen
1 swart ebbenhoute pijckje
1 paer laerse en sporen
1 kleerborstel
1 swart fluwele\(^{442}\) kussentje
14 boucken meest van de Franse tale
2 bierglasen
1 fluijt om uijt te drincken
1 wijn roemer\(^{443}\)
1 ledige kelder met 12 flessen

\(^{436}\) morocco leather?
\(^{437}\) Chintz cloth originating from, and named after, the city of Salemporis (or Serampore), south of Kolkota (Calcutta).
\(^{438}\) dress buttons.
\(^{439}\) A ring with a lid.
\(^{440}\) fringes / frills.
\(^{441}\) A gevest = a hilt.
\(^{442}\) velvet.
\(^{443}\) rummer
1 tinne waterpot
1 doosje met wat rommelingh
1 bultsacq
3 kussens
1 Indische deken
1 ledige oude kist met partij rommelingh
1 paviljoen van chits
1 Indisch slaefjen genaemt Jan [Jan van Bengale?]
21 stucx grote en delijke hoenders

Aldus gedaen ende g’inventarisst in’t Fort d’Goede Hope anno 1664, ter presentie van Ottho Ralingh, corporael ende Rudolph Hantha adelborst getuijgen van goede gelove hier toe versocht ende geroepen die dese beneffens mij ondercoopman hebben onderteekent.

RUDOLPHUS HANHTKA, OTTO RAHLINGH

Wij onderges[chrevenes]. Verclaren en attesteren bij onse manne waerheden in plaetse van gestaefden eede ende waerachtich te sijn dat d’voornoemde goederen van Pieter Evrardt van Crujsart geen andre min nochte meer (excepto de gelegateerde en in margine aengeteeckende) alle in dier vougen so deselve bij ’t inventariseeren bevonden sijn aan de meestbiedende onder ’t volcq hier aen landt sijn vercogt in teken der waerheijt soo hebben wij desen met onsen gewoonlijke hanttekeningh bekragticht.

In’t Fort ende datum als boven.

CAREL OPDORP
DIRCK BOS
GERRIT JACOBSE VAN DER LAEN
ABRAHAM GABBEMA, 1664

Wij onderges[chrevenes]. Verclaren en attesteren bij onse manne waerheden in plaetse van gestaefden eede ende waerachtich te sijn dat d’voornoemde goederen van Pieter Evrardt van Crujsart geen andre min nochte meer (excepto de gelegateerde en in margine aengeteeckende) alle in dier vougen so deselve bij ’t inventariseeren bevonden sijn aan de meestbiedende onder ’t volcq hier aen landt sijn vercogt in teken der waerheijt soo hebben wij desen met onsen gewoonlijke hanttekeningh bekragticht.

Aldus in’t Fort en datum als voren.

RUDOLPHUS HANHTKA, OTTO RAHLINGH

ABRAHAM GABBEMA, 1664

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444 straw mattress
445 keris / kres = kris, creese or crease?
446 Umbrella.
447 chitz = chintz, colourful cloth usually cotton cloth fastprinted with particloured pattern & usually glazed [originally from Hindi chint – from Sanskrit chitra].
APPENDIX 3: TRIAL PAPERS – HANS CHRISTOFFEL SNIJMAN

The soldier Hans Christoffel Snijman alias Hans Christoffel Snijder [Schneider] is thrice arraigned before the Council of Justice on the following days:

- 3 October 1665
- 4 December 1665
- 30 July 1667

CA: CJ 1, p. 292 [3 October 1665]

SATERDAG DEN 3EN OCTOBER 1665

Present als voorsz
D‘Heer Commandeur [Zacharias] Wagenaer
Den Luijtemant [Abraham] Schut
Den Vendrig [Joannes] Coon
Excepto den borgerraedt [Wouter Cornelisz:] Mostard

Idem [Hendrick Lacus]
fiscael van’t Fort de Goede Hoope
Idem nomine officij eij.[sch]er contra
Diedeloff Tim soldaat beschijven
Een mes getrocken, ende eenen Hans Christoffel Snijman
daermede eerst gequest had.

Hij diende van eijsch den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. alvorens van zijn partijhe eerst gesuutletteert wesende, bekeert selve in haesticheit ondernomen te hebben, ende versoeckende gratie in plaets van recht.

Den Raedt &a. condemneren den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. om 6 maenden op ’t Robben Eiland gagie, maer geen dachgelt winnende, gebannen te blijven, mitsgaders in ’t meesterloon tot ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. ende 2 maenden gagie pro fisco

CA: CJ 1, p 292 [3 October 1665]

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Idem in voorsz g.[enoem]te eij.[sch]er contra

Hans Christoffel Snijman soldaat ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. over dat bovergenoemde Tim eerst geslagen ende gesuutleteert heeft den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. contesseert selve doch niet hoe der griev e daer toe gegevene redenen, geschiet te zijn.

den Raedt condemneren den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. in een amende van 3 realen pro fisco.

CJ 1, p. 296 [4 December 1665]
Anna J. A.J. Böeseken, Uit Raad van Justisie, pp. 159-160

DEN 4en DECEMBER o[nn]a. 1665.
Hendrick Lacus, fiscael ex officio, eij.[sche]r.
contra

Hendrick Hendricksz; Christoffel Snijman,
Hans Christiaensz; Jochum Teunisz;
Abram Adamsz; Arien Jacobsz; Jan Teunisz,

Present als vooren.[oemde]

Hij diende van eijsch.
De gedaechdens ondervraecht zijnde wat redenen haer tot sodanige gelijkelijk voor dat tot sodanigen swaren arbeijt t’ eenemael onbequaem waren, ende bovendien d’en met dus ende d’ander met een ander accident onder leden belemmert wesende, haer onmogelijck was langer dien arbeijt te verdragen.

Den Raedt condemneren de ged[aechd]ens. Eenige twee en twee aen malckanderen met een kettingh vast geslooten te worden, andere aen een cruiwagen, ende de vordere maer simpelijck in de kettingh mede sonder dachgelt 3 maenden te helpen arbeijden.

375 [66] 55


Alle ‘t welke wij also voor de oprechte waerheijt ‘t allen tijden met eede presente aen de boven ligen.

Toirconde get:[eken] Actum In’t Fort de Goede Hoop aen Cabo de Boa Esperance desen 28en Julij 1667

[signed] Jörrg Frijtag
[signed] Christiaen Brand

CA: CJ 1, pp. 366-368

[366] 167

Cornelis de Cretser fiscael van’t Fort de Goede Hoope aen Cabo de Boa Esperance ex offitio eij:[sch]ere ende accusam

Hans Christoffel Snijman soldaet alhier bescheijdere gef[apre]h[endeerd]e ende geaccuseerde

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Gedient den 30 Juli 1667

Hij seijde dat den ge[apre]h[endeerd]:e ende geaccuseerde sich soo verr had comt te verlopen, dat niet alleen regel recht jegens de ordnen van haer Ed.[del]e onse Superioren uit Patria benaemt, sich continuuel ende insonderheijt des nachts in plaetse van op sijn beschijde Corps- duguardte te slapen ten woonplaetse van seecere bekende swarte meijt, ten onthout, ende daerdoor ook zijn actualie dienst comt te versuijmen [inserted blijckende bij sekere attestatie toon 't gelooffwaerdige getuijenis daer over beleijt desen annex helsende] bovendien den verlede Manendach wesende den u:[re]e deser, op ditto Corps-duguarde, des Corp:[orae] Pieter Sichvuich [Siegfried] verlijcke op desselffs recommendatie, (als dat voortaen, wanneer de nachts de waacht hadde, op sijn ordinaire koije soude slapen om alsoo op sijn uijr pennisende hem te bequamen tot sijne plicht te cumende commanderen oft anders gedwonge ronde weens hem vandaer te lichten alvoens qualijcke beijegende, hem corporael bij 't hoort te vatten ende hemael soo wat afteklopen, welcke een saecke is, die van is seer quade gevolges laet aengemelt, ende oversulx in't alderminste niet excusabele, soo concl.[ud]eert de eij.[sch]er in ghe voorsz dat den geh.e ende geaccuseerde, alhier ten example van andere van sall genoiptivorden als van voor t' gar op Robben Eijland gebanne omme die tyt geduij ende aan 't schulpen dragen als andere gemene wercks te worden gebvrijjct, sonder gage off dachgelt te winnen, nevens cof:[isca]tie van 3/m[aenden] gage ofte &a

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SATURDAG 30EN JULIJ A[NN]O 1667

Present D'Heer Commandeur en verdere Raed, behalven de borgerraden

Fiscus eij.[sch]er ex officio contra
Hans Christoffel Snijman
sold.[ae]t ge[apre]h[endeerd]:e ende geaccuseerde

Hij inscriptie concl.[udere]n ter bij deselve

ge[apre]h[endeerd]:e overtuigt zijnde bekent versocht gratie.

IS HEDEN GESENTENTIEERT

Namentl.[jic]k dat den ge[apre]h[endeerd]:e voor 2 jaren op't Robben Eijlant sal gebannen blijven behoudende zijn gage, alvoren wel dat op er van de Caffers gelaerst zijnde, boven de verbeurte van 2/m[aenden] gage pro fisco.

Jan Zachariasz: (from Amsterdam) replaces (26 May 1669) Pieter Siegfried as superintendent on Robben Island.
APPENDIX 4: TRIAL OF ERNST FRIEDRICH WALTER

CA: CJ 3, p. 25

Eodem die

Praesentibus eisdem et affunto
Den burgerraed Claes Hendrickze Diefpennauw

S[ieu]r. Cornelis Linnes
Landdrost nomine officii
Eijscher contra
Ernst Frederick Walter

Vrijburger aen Drakensteijn woonagtit, gedagde wegens dat sig, volgens eige bekentenis niet en heeft ontsien, contrarie de placcaten, drie beesten van de Hottentots voor tabacq en meel te hebben gereuijd.


Ende segt den eij:[sche]r verder door den Hottentot Annebëe sijnde van de Crael van Kleijne Capteijn wel onderrigt te sijn dat den, ged:[aechd]e den selven Hottentot, ten tiide als hij ged:[aechd]e met den mede vrijb[urgher] Christoffel Snijman nog in gemeenschap was, met een briefje gesonden had aen den ‘s Comp:[agnie]s post de Klapmuts, met recommendatie t’ selve aen niemant te verthoonen oft laten leesen, als eijuwijl aen den sergeant aldaer het gesag hebbende, dewelcke t’ selve oock geleezen hebbende hem Annebëe een stuck tabacq gaff, en daer op twee beesten van een [inserted: Caepse] Hottentots Crael daer omtrent leggende belast wierde af te halen, dat hij Annebëe aen de Crael gecomen sijnde, ende na de beesten van den geseijde sergeant gevraagd hebbende, die daer leggende Caepse Hottentots hem ‘er twee stucx hebben uitgedreven, die hij Annebëe verclaerde des avonds aen den ged:[aechd]e soude hebben t’ huis gebragt, en overgeleeveverd: dog alsoo hij eij:[sche]r seijde daervan geen nader bewijs tot alsnoog te hebben cumnen erlangen, en sulx niet sustisantelijk kunnen doceeren dat den ged:e alhowel susp[ect], volcomen aen te gepresumeerde enorme diefstal schuldig is soo verklaerde oock [inserted in the margin: om die rdenen niet verder bevougd te sijn om voor als nog nader comtusie te neemen] als voorsz: is daerop alvooren regt versoeckende.

Den ged:[aechd]e andwoordende persisteerde als nog bij sijnen confessie van drie beesten van de Hottentots, en wel namentelijck van den Hottentot Koekedëe mede van eerst genoemde Crael van Kleijne Capteijn voor tabacq en meel gereuijd te hebben. Ontkennende verder wel expresselijck t’a[t]legeerde van den eij: [sche]r seijde t’ selve te sijn versierde en buijten de waerheijd.

Ende is daerop dese vergadering gecontinueerd tot op Saturdag toecomende den 18 deser.

In’t Casteel de Goede Hoop

Dato ut suptra

praesentibus d’Ed.[ele] Heer Gouverneur et obt. et affuntis
de burgerraden Guillam Heems
Cornelis Steven Botma en
Claes Hend:[ricksz] Diefpennauw

Deselve no:[min]e officii eij:[sche]r

Deselve ged:[aechd]e

Ingevolge van den vorenstaenden appointement in dato den 16 deser, soo zijn partijen wederom in vergadering gecompareerd, producerende tot voldoeninge van dien, de twee voorengenomene Hottentots Annebëe en Koekedëe beleijde van de Crael van de voorn:[oemde] Kleijne Captain leggende over de Berghrevier, van de welcke den eersten tegens den ged:[aechd]e gehoord en geconfronteerd sijnde,
verklarde 't voorsz: g'allegeerde van den eijser, namentlijk dat hij Annebée ten tijde de voorsz: door den ged:[aechd]e met een briefje, aen den geseijden sergeant gesonden was en oock op, des selfs ordre, de genoemde twee beesten van d'aldair omtrent leggende Crael afgehael, en des avonds aen den gedaegde selfs hadde overgeleverd.

Ende den tweeden, genaemd Koekedée bij den ged:[aechd]e quasi tot beweering van sijnen gedanen andwoord geproduceerd verklaerde dat g'allegeerde van den ged:e te weten dat denselven voor tabacq, en meel, drie beesten van hem Koekedée soude hebben gereuijld, was verdigt ende onwaeragtig.

Den gedaegde, inhareerende als nog sijnen andwoordde op den 16 laetsladen in juditio gedaen verklaerde te vreede te zijn met solemneen eede gestand te doen, dat hij noijt enige beesten van den voornoemde sergeant genooten, en dat hij de drie beesten in questie van de voorn: Koekedée in manier als boven gereuijld heeft.


Partijen renuntieeren van verdere pruductie, concludeeren in regten, en versoeken regt.


In't Casteel de Goede Hoop

Dato als boven

Mijn present

MELCHIOR KEMELS
R[ae]ts Secret:[arijs] 1693


In remisse van mij

MELCHIOR KEMELS
R[ae]ts Secret:[arijs] 1694 [sic]
APPENDIX 5: SCATTERED PAPERS – DECEASED ESTATE: ANTHONIJ JANSZ: VAN BENGALE

The extant, but remnant, deceased estate papers of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale, who died (1682) testate at the Cape of Good Hope, are housed in the Cape Archives [CA] in Cape Town. These are not preserved and filed in the usual manner. The will, inventory and Final Liquidation and Distribution Accounts are missing. These incomplete papers are found in at least 3 separate archival groups:

- MOOC 14/212: Miscellaneous deceased estate papers of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale
- MOOC 22/2: [Vendu Rolls] Antonij van Bengale
- M 42 (d): Acknowledgement of payment out of deceased estate of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale to Jan Luij van Ceylon (20 March 1683).

The deceased estate appears to have been wound up piecemeal due a spate of deaths within one year of 4 of the family's 5 members. First Anthonij dies, then his wife Groote Catrijn, then his step-daughter Petronella senior and finally his step-granddaughter Petronella junior, leaving his stepson Christoffel Snijman as sole survivor and universal heir.

CA: Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) 14/212: Estate papers of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale

Contains the following documents which all appear verbatim hereunder:

- Contract between Andries Houwer & Antonio van Bengaelen (7 February 1682)
- Receipt signed by Catharyn [Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep] (3 February 1683)
- Receipt signed by Catharyn [Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep] (16 March 1683)
- List of Payments made by G. [odfriedt] Meijhuijsen (from Magdeburg) (April 1683)
- Note signed by Andries de Man (10 April 1683)
- Receipt signed by Lijsbeth van Angola [Elisabeth van Angola aka Sabbia] (20 April 1683)
- Note signed by Andries de Man (1 May 1683)
- Receipt signed by Jan Babbist (6 May 1683)
- Receipt signed by Andries Houwer (6 May 1683)
- Receipt signed by Andries Beijer (from Saxony) (13 June 1683)
- Note signed by A. [ndries] de Man (1 September 1683)
- Receipt signed by Catharyn [Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep] (28 September 1683)
- Note signed by Simon van der Stel (28 September 1683)
- Receipt signed by Jacob Budevik (20 October 1683)
- Receipt signed by Ernst Friedrich Walter (from Breslau) (3 August 1690)
- Receipt signed by Christoffel Snijman (2 January 1690)
- Receipt signed by Christoffel Snijman (16 July 1690)
- Receipt signed by Christoffel Snijman (10 November 1690)
- Receipt signed by Christoffel Snijman (Primo [ie 1] March 1691)
- Receipt signed by Christoffel Snijman (8 April 1691)

Contract between Andries Houwer & Antonio van Bengaelen (7 February 1682)

Ick ondergeschreeven Andries Houwer verklaere en bekenne hierdoor en kracht deese aen S[ieu]r. Antonio van Bengaelen, alle de vruchten en’lt gewass t’geene in mijn tuijn staet off hij oock wat het will niets ter werelt uijtgesondert, vercocht te hebben, benevens ook die wytte toe comende. Thien verckens dat hij daermde magh ommegaen als off’t syn eijgen waer en ook mijn in deselve thuijn staende huijsjen naer sijn behaegen gebruijken. Daarenteegen verspreeke en beloove Ick Antonio van Bengaelen aen hem Andries Houwer contant te betaalen de somme van een hondert en derthig Rijxdaelers, soo hoeft als in net toecoomende jaar 1683. Soovele d’eerste als de laetste Orlammen van de Reede vertrokken sijn. Hierbij iss met beijdersijts consent uijtbedengen dat een acker met raepen besaeijt sijnde en daervan sullen d’incoomende penningen voor d’vruchten onder om beijden gedeelt werden en sall elck d’helffte daervan genieten.
Tot waere verklaringe van eit bovenstaende en tot vaster houdinge en vollbrengings van alles hierin gespecificeerde hebben wij ditt met eijen handen onderteijkent.

Actum a Cabo de Boa Esperance hodre die 7:en[d]e February 1682

AB

Dit is ’t merck van

Antonio v:[an] Bengalen

X

Dit iss ’t merck

van Andries Houwer

Ter præsentie van
Mij aldus geseijt

Casp:[arus] Willers

[signed] Casparus Willers
Attestor

3 February 1683:

Ick ondergesch: bekenne ontfangen te hebben van Roelof Backer Sec=[retaris] van de Weescamer vier R:xs voor een m:[aends] costgeld ten behoewe van’t kint van de dogter van Anthonie v.[an] Bengale.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 3[de]n Feb:[ruarie] 1683.
Dit is het X merck van Catharyn

16 March 1683:

Ick ondergeschreven bekenen van de Secret:[ari]s van de Weescamer Roelof Backer, ontfangen te hebben voor een maant opvoedinge of costgeld van het kindt van de dogter van Anthonie van Bengale de somma van vier Rs:s.

In ’t Casteel d’Goede Hoop A[モノ]d[omin]i 16 Maart 1683
Dit is het X merck van Catharijn

List of Payments made by G.[odfriedt] Meijheijsen

Notitie van’t geene soo ick onder geschreven, in den Boedel van Anthonie Jansen van Bengale, hebbe uijt gegeven, als volgt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aen suijcker</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen kaerssen 2 lb a 1 gl 10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen brandewijn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen asijn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>aen olij</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lb booter, a 1 gl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen bier</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen taback voor de draegers 1 lb</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen eijers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een vracht branthout</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twee anckers wijn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor de pacht van de wijn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;1/2 schaep</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baas Doue [Douw Gerbrantsz: Steyn]</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voort maeccken van 2 graeven</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen Mons:lieujr [Elbert] Diemer, over geleent strijck gelt</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor den ansprecker van twee begraefinissen</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen Guilliam Eems [Heems], over geleent strijck gelt</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen chits</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen wit lint</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen gaaren</td>
<td>12-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aen flagge doeck</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>een paer schoenen</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor stoffagie, en’t maeccken van een rijghlijf</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor’t maeccken van’t kinder goet</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somma</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop April 1683
gerechts boode

10 April 1683:

De Cassier van de Weescamer geleft te betaalen voor de ekemingh van de boedel van Anthonie van Bengale Sal:r aan de Luijtenant S:r Joan Batist du Bertine de somma van een hondert in’t stigh rijk daalders sjinde soo veel de gemelte Anton:[ij] aan eene Andries Houwer volgens obligatie is schuldigh gebleven sjinde de orgineele obligatie in te trekken en daar van quitanine te laten passeeren.
In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop a[nno]d[ominij]ij 10 April 1683.


20 April 1683:

Ick ondergeschreven Lijsbeth van Angola bekenne ontfangen te hebben van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van negen gulden voor negen dagen oppassen by de dogter [Petronella van Bengale] ten tuysen van Anthonie van Bengale.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop Adjij 20 April 1683

1 May 1683:

Cassier

Verstreckt uijt den boedel van Antonij Jansen van Bengalen sal[ige]:r voor’t behoorlyck salaris van de Secretaris en bode die somma van hondert dertig gulden synde so vielt bedragen van 1 Jaere:n cento uijt de verkochte naarlatschap komt te belopen.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 1 Maij 1683

6 May 1683:

Ick ondergeschreven bekenne ontvangen syn dat Andries Houwer volgens obligatie ontvangen heeft van de coffren van de Weescamer Roeloff Backer de somma van een honderd en dertig R:rs mij voor betalinge valideert.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop Adij 6 May 1683

[signed] Jan Bابتist

6 May 1683:

Ick ondergeschreven Andries Houwer bekenne ontfangen hebben van de coffern van de Weescamer Roelof Backer een somma van een hondert en dertige RX:rs [voor] [een] mij ondergeschreven volgens obligatie van sal:r Anthonie van Bengale is comperend in’t Casteel de Goede Hoop adij 6 Maj 1683.

Dit is het X merck van Andries Houwer

13 June 1683:

Ick ondergeschrev Andries Beijer erkenne ontfangen te hebben van de Secretaris van de Weescamer Roelof Backer voor het alimenteren van’t kint van Petronella van Bengale voor de tijt van een maant de somma van vier Rd:s.


Dit is het X van voorsz: 13 June 1683

Andries Beijer

1 September 1683:


[signed] R[oe]lof de Man

Rds 27:15

28 September 1683:

Ick ondergesch: bekenne ontfangen te hebbe van Roelof Backer Sec[re]t:ari:s van de Weescamer agt R[i]x:[dælde]rs voor twee maanden costgeld @ 4 R[i]:[dælde]rs S’m= van kint van de dogter van Anthoni v.[an] Bengale.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 28 7ber [ie September] 1683

Voor ____ /24“:-:- dit is het X merck van Catharyn

28 September 1683:


In ’t Casteel d’Goede Hoope a[nn]o[d]ominij o 7b[e]r 1683.
20 October 1683:

Ick ondergeschreven bekenne van de Cassier van de Weescamer Roelof Backer over visitatie als medicamente te gedaen aen’t kint van de dochter van Anthonie van Bengale volgens ingegeven voldaan synde van f 10:18.


[signed] Jacob Budewik

Legge f 10:18

2 January 1690:

Ick ondergeschreven bekenne ontfangen te hebben uijt hand van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van drie honderd guldens wegens mijn vaderlyck erfdeel Zal:ijr Anthonie v.[an] Bengale, om mij daar voor te belasten.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 2ed Januarij 1690

[signed] Christoffel Snijman

Sogge f300:

16 July 1690:

Ick ondergeschrevene Christoffel Snijman bekenne ontfangen te hebben van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van honderd Rx:rs of f 300 gulder tot afcortingh van mijn ouders erfdeel. In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 16 Julij 1690.

[signed] Christoffel Snijman

3 August 1690:

Ick ondergeschrevene den S[ieu]r Frederick Walter, bekenne uijt handen van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van vijf en twintig Rx:rs a 3 g[u]lden ontfangen te hebben sijnde voor Reecq: en met gedragen contant van Christoffel Snijman die hij voor Christoffel aan opgem: den S[ieu]r Frederick Walter van geneede penninger schuldich is en indien zij Christoffel die schult ontkende sal hij den S[ieu]r voorn: de vijf en twintich Rx:er gehouden wees weedere aan die geene die de heeft in ...

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 3 Aug:ustus 1690

[signed] Friedrich Walter
van Breslau

10 November 1690:

Ick ondergeschrevene ontfangen te hebben van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van twintigt Rx:rs a 3 gulden tot afcortingh van zijn erfdeel. In ’t casteele de Goede Hoop den 10en 9ber: [November] 1690.

Segge 3G0 [signed] Christoffel Snijman

31 March 1691:

Christoffel Snijman

Segge 10 Rx:n

8 April 1691


Christoffel Snijman

Segge f 303.19.4

8 April 1691

CA: MOOC 22/2 (Vendu Rolls: Antonij van Bengale)

[There are 2 vendu rollen. The first one is an intriguing signed rough draft with doodles and wine stains, used as a check list.]

Verkopingen van de goederen naargelaten by den borger Antonij van Bengaalen gehouden in desselfs sterfhuijs ter praesentie van den ondergeschrevene weesmeesteren, synde ‘t selve so veel ‘t bedrags van dien heeft belopen ... Aldus geinventariseert en verkocht ten huysen van den voor[oemde] [sic] erfgenamen van Antonij van Bengaalen ten prantie van de Weesmeesteren deser plaatse den 17 Decem:[be]r 1682

Ons prasent als gecommitteerdens

[signed] Elbert Diemer
[signed] Philip Theodoor Welcker

Mij present

W.[illem] A.[driaen] van der Stel ...

[The other Vendu Rol appears to be a neat or final, but unsigned, copy. Only the neat copy has been transcribed. Where there are discrepancies with the rough copy, these have been noted in square brackets. Only the total amount in gulders (f) paid by each buyer is indicated in square brackets.]

Verkoping van de Goederen, naegelaeten bij den Vrijborger Antonij van Bengalen en behouden ten sterfhuiysen van de voorn:[oemde] borger by openbare venditie aen de ondergespecifieerde vercocht, aen Cabo de Boa Esperance als Godtfrit Meijhijsen449 [de Boode]

449 Gottfried Meyhuysen (from Magdeburg [Germany]): messenger (1683); monsterschryver of militia (1687); licensee of sale of brandy (1691 & 1692); sentenced to hard labour & confiscation of property for cruelly causing slave’s death (1697); dies (1701); marries (1) as widower (26 December 1684) Femmetje Kouthof (from Hasselt); marries (2) December 1693 Barbara van der Swaan (from Leyden); 3 children: (1) Justus / Augustus Meyhuysen; (2) Johanna Meyhuysen baptised 26 June 1689; marries sickcomforter Johannes Mahieu (from Amsterdam); (3) Matthys Michiel Meyhuysen baptised 4 June 1690.
2 copere dooppannetjes
1 copere keetel
1 hoetbandt [hoetband]
2 silvere [silver] knoopen [knopen]
2 [silver] gesben [gespen]
1 katel
[ 31 : 16 : 8]

**Hendrick Evertse Smit**
1 rooster en baletje
3 houte decksels
1 tinne waterpot
1 tinne com
eenige tinne leepels
een partij copjes glaesjes en anders
1 houte etens kasje
1 regenrok
1 backje met loijwaet

**Jan van Briemen [Brimsz]:**
1 copere ketel en decksel
2 boecken
[ 5 : 1 : 4]

**Elbert Diemer [Mon:seigneu]r Diemer**
2 tangen
2 schuynspaenen
1 ysere pot
2 treeftem
een pan
1 ysere ketting en lamp
[105 : 4 : 8]

**Jan Dirckse de Beer**
1 ijsere pot
4 p:[aere]n goude knoopjes
6 ringe
1 ijsere pot
[44 : 18 : 0]

**Willem den Decker or Willem Cornelisse**
1 ijsere pot
5 p:[aere]n kousen en bortje
1 doosje en 2 wagens
1 tictac bort
1 water emmer
1 partij rommeling als emmers
[30 : 0 : 0]

**Jan Stevensz**
1 groote jsere treest en asschop
1 kopere taart pan
[18 : 18 : 12]

**Guilliam Eems**

---

450 [Heinrich Evert Schmidt](from Ibbenbüren [Germany])
451 Jan van Brienen marries Catharina Cloete
452 Jan Dircksz: de Beer (from Wageningen [Gelderland] – geboortigh van t’ Rheensche Veen [near Utrecht].
453 Willem Cornelisz: den Dekker (from Utrecht); fisherman (1682-1688); traanbrander (1682-1684); partner to Willem van Dieden (from Amsterdam); “dekker” (1699-1707); “kruidebiershandelaar” (1687); convicted for insubordination (26 November 1687); single (1682); appears in *Opгаaf* (1688) with wife Grietje Pietersz.
454 Jan Stevensz: Botma (from Wageningen [Gelderland])
2 cap messen
een ijzer comfoor
1 strijkiijser
1 silver lepel
1 linne cabaij

Henning Huijsen\(^{456}\)
een vijsel en pannetje
ou copere becken
2 copere candelaers
1 zwarte ledikant
1 doosje
1 partij messen en anders

Jan Vlack\(^{457}\)
6 tafel borden
1 partij out tinnewerck
eenige kralen

Hendrick Mulder\(^{458}\)
1 ijsere pot

Willem Adriaen van der Stel\(^{459}\)
1 bondeltje gaeren
19 knopjes

Hendrick Cornelissen\(^{460}\)
5 tafelborden
2 tinne piringjes
2 tinne schootels

Gerrit Victor\(^{461}\)

\(^{455}\) Guiliam Heems / Eems (from Brughes [Flanders])
\(^{456}\) Heinrich / Hendrik Hüsing (from Hamburg [Germany])
\(^{457}\) Jan Vlack / Vlok (from Moers)
\(^{458}\) Hendrick Mulder
\(^{459}\) Willem Adriaen van der Stel eldest son of Cape Governor Simon van der Stel
\(^{460}\) Hendrick Cornelissen Olivier (from Ouwerkerck)
\(^{461}\) Gerrit Victor (c. 1645-1714) (from Amsterdam); c. ante 1666 arrives ex Ceylon; 16 January 1667: kraanckbesoeker Sieur Gerrit Victor marries Cape Christina (Stintje) Berkhuijs / van den Bergh / Bos Berck [not to be confused with Stijntje de Boer in who is Christina Does]; they go to Ceylon (post 1667); 1676: return to Cape ex Ceylon on Voorhout; 30 December 1676: wife & Barbara Geems (from Amsterdam) obtain licence to bake bread; 1677: free-burgher & Orphan Master (1678 & 30 December 1690); purchases Den Uitwijk; 2 March 1678: receives rice rations; 1678-1679: deacon; obtains beer licence; 1679: licence to sell all types of liquor; 8 January 1680: complains about quality of wheat appearing before Council of Policy; 14 March 1680: baker’s licence renewed for 3 years; 16 December 1680: member of Marriage Court & re-appointed deacon; rejoins Company as sick-comforter; 15 March 1681: leaves for Batavia; wife appears alone in muster roll (1682) while husband is sent to Ceylon; 15 April 1682: he returns to Cape; 1682: baker’s licence; 1683: licence to sell liquor; sells farm to Lambert Adriaansz (from Weij); 1714: dies; children: (1) Cornelis Victor born Cape; baptized Cape 16 October 1667; ‘lunatic’ taken from son who ill-treats father & put into care of Jan van Helsdingen; marries Cape 8 August 1668 Cornelia Jacoba Junius (from Amersfoort [Utrecht]); (2) Jacobus Victor born Negombo Ceylon [Sri Lanka]; baasskutter; dies ante 1709 [widow enumerated with 3 sons]; owns Kronendal at Hout Bay; marries (2nd) de facto Candas / Candas van Surat / Patana; marries (2nd) Cape 20 September 1699 Magdalena Wendels (from Zutphen / Amsterdam); she remarries as widow Cape 17 May 1711 Jan Gerrits (from Itzehoe) – family becomes a pioneering trekboer family & source for concern in terms of succumbing to heathendom. His sister [?] Joanna Victors (from Amsterdam) marries Cape 28 February 1677 Johannes Pretorius from Goer / Goeree, wid/o Geertruijdt Mentinghs (from Hasselt),
1 katel
1 tafel kelder en hamer
1 partij out geweer
1 rock en sitse sameer
1/2 st:n celaes
2 sitse cabaijen
2 paerden

Jan Jansen van Oldenburgh

1 bet
3 oude kelders
een pot en
rommelderij

Pieter van de [sic] Westhuizen

2 tinne commen
3 d:n schotels
1 partij oude lappen

Jan Holsmit

1 vleesblock
een halfaem
2 tinne schootels
1 bankje en
2 flessen

Treiintje Teunis:

2 schulp schootels
een koekje pannetjes
1 lepel en pieringe

Catreijn tot Jan Valsniet [sic – Holsmit?]

2 porceleijne schootels
eenige piringjes

Ocker Cornelissen

2 tinne schootels
2 d:o d:o
een partij rommeling
een heeme mortier
en rommeling

Hendrick Lange

2 tinne schootels
2 d:o d:o

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Jan Jansen van Eeden / van Oldenburgh (from Duchy of Oldenburg).

Pieter Jansz: van de(r) Westhuizen alias Swarte Piet (from Brughes [Flanders]); married to Maria Hendriks: Winkelhausen aka Maria de Lieven (from Burgsteinfurt [Westphalia])

Jan Holsmit (from Sittard [Limburg]); second husband to Hester Weijers: Klim (from Lier), widow of Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert (from Utrecht).

Catharina (Trijn / Tr(e)intje) Theunissen / Theunis: Gansevanger, Widow Verweij (from Harmelen in’t sticht van Utrecht) wife to Gijsbert Dircksen Verweij (rom Oijeck [Cuijk (near Mill) in Gelderland]?)

Catharina (Catrijn) Opklim van de Caep [later Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale] alias Catreijn tot Jan Valsniet [sic – Holsmit?]

Ockert Corneliszoon Olivier (from Ouwerkerk).
Abram Hertoog
3 tinne schotels
een partij oude kleeren

Juff/[ouw] Breugel
12 pieringjes
11 d:o
1 stel strijcken
1 bractje schort

Jan Reijnaert
2 tee potjes

Juff:[ouw] Mostaert
2 tee potjes
1 kist

Van Dieders [Dieters] Marreij
2 tee potjes

Andries Houwer
4 vaaten
wat rommerling
2 hemt rocken en
een stuck doek

Arnoldus Willemse van Wesel

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468 Abraham [de] Hartog (from Frankfurt)
469 Elsje / Elsie van Zuerwaerden van Cabo
470 Hester Weijers: / Weyers: or Jans: [Klim van Lier] (from Lier) born (1634); 24-years-old arrives (17 June 1658) on Prins Willem [skipper Jacob Enten] sails from Zealand (20 January 1658) – 472 men on board: 16 succumb & about 70 arrive sick in service & under guardianship of senior merchant Willem Bastincq (accompanied by wife) & quickly marries Wouter Cornelisz: / Cornelissen Most(a)ert (from Utrecht); free-miller & free-burgher; birth (19 September 1661) of daughter Grisella; Hester Mostaard witnesses (11 June 1665) baptism of Ernst (son of Ytje Hendriks & Harmen Ernstsz) while Wouter Mostaard witnesses (with Joan Coon and Grietje van Suyrwaarden) on same day baptism of David (son of Catharina Croons & Thomas Mulder); female slave Sabha [Lijsbeth van Angola] baptises (6 September 1665) son Dirk [Dirck van de Caep]; husband witnesses (with Catharina Croons) baptism (11 June 1666) of Meijndert (son of Grietje Franssen Meechkof); Wouter Mostaert witnesses (with Maiken Taeleman [Maijke Hendriks: van den Bergh (from Diest [Brabant])]) baptism (12 September 1666) of Nicolaes (son of Catharina Hostingshs); Hester Weijer testifies (27 December 1672) that knecht Guilliam Heems / Eems (from Brughers) hid Dane Jan Pieters: Cortemunde on visiting Royal Danish ship Oldenborg after stabbing Jan Jansz: van Eeden (from Oldenborg) [CA: C2, pp. 641-643]; poem written (19 September 1673) by Pieter de Neijn on daughter's birthday: Aan de deughtrijke ende liefstalige Jonge Juffrouw, GRISELLA MOSTAART, Als haar Geboorte-dagh verscheen 19. September, Anno 1673. Aan Cabo de Boa Esperance [VROLYKE UUREN, Bestaande uit verscheide soorten VAN MENGEL-DUFTEN, DOOR P. DE NEYN, Rechtsgeleerde. Voor denen Fiscaal, in dienst der E.E. OOSTINDISE COMPAGNIE, Aan CABO DE BOA ESPERANCE. ’t AMSTERDAM, By Jan Bouman, Boekverkooper in de Kal-Verstraat, ANNO 1681]; as widow marries (12 March 1684) Jan Holsmit (from Sittard [Limburg]: Juff[rouw] Hester Weiers van Lier, weduwe van Wouter Mostart jonkman, vryburger en schoenmaker Jan Holsmit van Sitter [Sittard, Limburg]; Holsmit arraigned (18 August 1681) for assault; Holsmit arraigned (31 August 1688) for illicit trade; muster roll (1688); her children: (1) Cornelia Mostaert baptized Cape (4 April 1662) by visiting parson Cornelis Walrandt [Van Riebeeck's Journal, vol. III, p. 195]; (2) Grisella Mostaert baptized Cape (23 April 1663); marries Cape (31 October 1677) Tobias Vlasvath (from Amsterdam).

471 Maria (Marittie) Pieters: van de Caep [?] alias Van Dieders / Dieters [van Diedens?] Marreij
472 Provenance unknown. Appears to repatriate.
1 satijn pack kleeren
2 pa: aere\n n hantschoenen
en een naaij [naji] kussen

Willem ten Damme\textsuperscript{474} [\textit{Mr}:\textit{monseigneur} Willem]
een doosje met poppegoet

Gerrit Jansen van Weynegom\textsuperscript{475}
een partij rommelingh [romlerij]

Joris Christiaense
6 p:aere\n n schildereijtjes
1 rock [van silver stof]

Hendrick Sneewint\textsuperscript{476}
1 lantaaren [lanteeren]
en st:[uck\i]n sout vlegs

Lambert Arents\textsuperscript{477}
1 root armosijn pack

Johannes Overnij\textsuperscript{478}
1 doosje met en borsteltje [borstel]
en lapjes

Oelof Berg\textsuperscript{479}
1 p:\[are\n borduurdre muijlen
en 2 sluijers

P. [hilip] Theodoor Welker [\textit{Mr}:\textit{monseigneur} Welker] \textsuperscript{481}
1 swart lakens kleet

Hendrick Jacobs\textsuperscript{482}

\textsuperscript{473} Arnoldus Willemsz: Basson alias Jagt (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]); marries \textit{Maaij} Ansela van Bengale adopting her 3 Cape-born \textit{voorkinderen}: Anna de Coningh, Jacobus van As, Johannes (Jantje) van As (executed 1688).

\textsuperscript{474} Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel); surgeon

\textsuperscript{475} Gerrit Jansz: \textit{de Boer van Weynegom} / \textit{Wijnegom} (from Brabant).

\textsuperscript{476} Hendrik Sneewint [Heinrich S(ch)neewind] (from Baal [near Ekerlenz, County of Moers]).

\textsuperscript{477} Lambert Adriaansz: / \textit{Arentsz: van Weij} (from Weij [Gelderland]).

\textsuperscript{478} Ds. Johannes Overnij (from Friesland)

\textsuperscript{479} Oelaf / O(e)lof/f Bergh (c. 1643-1724) (from Gothenburg [Sweden] captain [CA: C]2650, no. 80] & CA: MOOC 13/2:1]; leads expedition to Namaqualand (1682/3); draws up joint will (1733) [CA: MOOC 7/5:48-49]; dies 1724 [SABW, vol. I, pp. 71-72]; 19 May 1679: 23 July 1701: “pay of Captain \textit{O. Bergh}, we have increased because of his good character, and that his contract had expired” [Leibbrandt’: \textit{Letters Received}, p. 275] [Letter from \textit{Heeren XVII}, no. 29, p. 163]; [SADB, vol. I, p. 69]; marries Cape-born metizza Anna de Coningh.

\textsuperscript{480} Anna de Coninck / Coning(h) Cape-born metizza \textit{voordogter} of \textit{Maaij} Ansela van Bengale.

\textsuperscript{481} Philip Theodo(o)r Welcker garrison bookkeeper; leaves Cape for Batavia (4 July 1683) on \textit{Hogergeest} but dies en route [\textit{Resolusies van die Politieke Raad}, vol. III, p. 69, n. 28].

\textsuperscript{482} Hendrik Jacobsz: van West(er)kerke [\textit{Thielmans} Hendrik = ‘Thielman’s Hendrik’ (from Westerkerke?); son of \textit{Maijke(n)} Hendriks: \textit{van den Berg} (from Diest [Brabant]) & Jacob; step-son of \textit{Thielman} Hendricksz: (from Utrecht).
1 broek wambas en kousch

[3 : 0 : 0]

**Mostaerts Marrij** 483
een wit onderkleet
[2 : 5 : 0]

**Cornelis Stevense** 484
een cabaj
[13 : 13 : 12]

**Jacob Aertse Brouwer** 485
een roggelijf [reijgleijf]
[7 : 6 : 4]

**Borghart [Borger] Brandt** 486
een allesie [allesio] samaer [zamer]
[7 : 6 : 4]

**Van Dieders [Dieters] Sara** 487
een rode rock
[8 : 0 : 0]

**Gerrebrant Frits**

een werck kussen
een leiintje en
wat koperdraat
[6 : 7 : 8]

**[Jan Cornelissen Bombam]** 488
[oude kelders]

Somma 852 : 9 : 12
Een huys en jart 920 : 0 : 0
Een tuijn en 45 schapen 500 : 0 : 0
Een slaaf

[Paul van Malabar] 336 : 0 : 0
TOTAL 2608 : 9 : 12

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483 Maria Bartels: van de Caep alias Mostaerts Marrij & Jan Holsmiths Marij halfslag daughter of free-black Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) aka Sabha van Angola.

484 Cornelis Stevensz: Botma (from Wangeningen [Gelderland]).

485 Jacob Aartsz: / Aertse / Aertsz: / Artzen / Aertzen / Hertz: Brouwer (from Tiel [Gelderland]); marriage is recorded as follows: **Jacob Hertzsz: Brouwer van Tiel, jongman met Hoghie Rijcks van der Veer, weduw[e]** [DRC/A: G1/1, p. 82]. Agnetha / Aag(t)je / Hoghie Rich / Rijks: / Rix: (de wede) Klijne Klaas) (from ter Veer [near Middelburg, Walcheren, Zeeland]); (1) Cape (June 1671) free-sawyer Claas / Claus Jacobsz: / Jacobsen (from Meldorp [Ditmarsken]), widower of Dorothea Anna Margaretha Spelinghs (from Klostergreun [Klostergroeningen, near Magdeburg]); dies Moordkuil; (2) Cape (17 March 1675) **Jacob Hendricksz**: (from Leyden) **Jacob Hendricksz: geboortigh van Leyden en Aagtje Rich van Middelburgh, weduwee van Claas Jacobsz van Meldorp** [DRC/A: G1/1 p. 79] [massacre victim 1677?]; marriage (3) (2 May 1677) **Jacob Hertzsz: Brouwer** (from Tiel [Gelderland]); she has 2 children: (1) **Susanna Claesen** baptised Cape (19 February 1672); (2) **Jacob (Hendriksz:)** baptised (29 April 1676).

486 Burchard Brand (from Hamburg [Germany]) burgher at Stellenbosch (1686); burgher Cape Town (1693) dealer in brandy; dies (1726); married to Catharina Hertz; they have 3 children: (1) **Andreas Heinrich** (2) **Burchard Heinrich** (3)Christoffel.

487 Sara / Zara van Solor / Zoloor / Sloon alias Sara Seloor – former slave of Willem van Didden (from Amsterdam); baptised Cape (3 September 1679); marriage (1st) [?] de facto Joan Pietersz: Witteboel (from Amsterdam); marriage (2nd) Cape 3 March 1686 **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale** (baptised); marriage (3rd) Cape 14 December 1698 **Harmen Buys van Batavia**; they divorce (1707); children: (1) **Hendrietta Witteboels: / Klaas; (2) Meijnert Klaas; (3) Gerrit Klaas; (4) Hendrik Klaas;** [CA: MOOC 8/1, no. 28 (Klaas Gerritsz: van Bengalen & surviving spouse Zara van Zoloor [Solor]); Placc. Deel 2 (4 August 1707); CA: C 681, pp. 482-484; M.K. Jeffreys]

488 Jan Cornelisz: / Cornelissen aka Jan Bombam (from Oud-Beijerland).
CA: M 42 (d)

20 March 1683:

Ick onderschrewe Jan Luij bekenne van de cassier van den Weescamer, Roelof Backer ontfangen te hebben de somma van vier Rds: voor mijn waaken en oppassen ten huijsen [inserted: bij de dochter] van Anthonie van Bengale Sal[i]g[e]:r.

In ’t Casteel de Goede Hoop A[nn]o[d]ominijj 20 Maart 1683
dit is het X merck van Jan Luijs
APPENDIX 6: VENDU ROLLEN: ANDREAS BAIJER & CATHARIJN (SWARTIN:)

23 December 1700: CA: MOOC 10/1 (Vendu Rollen 1691-1717)

Verkopning der goederen
die op den 23 en Xber den 1700
van Andries Baijer en zijn overleden
huijsvrouw Catharijn (swartin:) bij de
Weeskamer zijn verkogt, namentlijk

Rds
het Land met opstal: Christiaan Eijlers 213 : 2 & 2/3
3 slaven met
3 booren : d'Captain Bergh 6
2 bijlen : Kornelis Ockers [Olivier] 5
5 beijleen : Christoffel Esterhuijs 2 & 1/2
2 dissels : Kornelis Ockers 7
3 snijmessen met
1nijptang : Mons:r Henning Husing 9
2 moochers : do do 6
5 boorijlers : d'Captain Bergh 9 & 1/2
9 do met 3 krucken : do do 1 : 9 & 1/2
2 wiel booren : do do 6 & 1/2
1 winckelhaack met
1 passen : do do 1
2 sterck beijlens : do do 9 & 1/2
1 banck schroev : do do 3 : 7
1 hand saagh : Huijbert jr Moer 9 & 1/2
1 treck-saagh : Joost Kornelisz 9 : 2
1 mervle paard : Albert Coopman 90 :

Somma 269 : 3 & 2/3
Aldus verkogt Aan Caap de Goede Hoop den
daage en Jaare als boven
Gecommitt[eerd]e Weesm[eeste]ren
Jan Van Meerland [signed]
W:illejm Corssenaar [signed] In kennis Van Mij
A:libert Coopmans [signed]
Secret:[art]s

164 © 2014 Mansell G Upham
APPENDIX 7: DECEASED ESTATE PAPERS – WIDOW HENNING VILJOEN

CA: MOOC 10/5 (Vendurolle), nos. 59 & 59.5


VENDUROLLE van soodangen goederen,
as door de ondergt:[i]kend[e] gecommitt:[e]e weesmeesteren
aan Cabo de Goede Hoop,
on den 2:[de] Julij 1712
ten huijse van d’ wed:[uw]e Hendrick van Dijk,
aan de meest biedende publiquelijk
zijn verkogt, naargelaaten
en met ’er dood ontruijmt door
Margaretha Theresia de Savoye
Laatst wed:[duw]e Henning Viljon, Naamentl:[ijck]

1 Slave meid gen[aem]t: Rosetta van de Caab
met 1 kind gen[aem]t:
Cupido van de Caab
1 Slave meid gen[aem]t:
Eva van de Caab
1 bijbel met cooper beslag
1 bed, 1 peuluw, 2 kussens,
1 combaars
1 peuluw, 2 kussens, 2 combaarsen
1 cabinetje
2 tafels, 1 gemakstoel, 1 steekbecken
1 Lediger kist
Barend Artoye
Joh:[anne] van Helsdings
Mons:[ieur] Grové
J:[ohanne]s van Helsdings
Jan Abr:[aham] Meyer
H:[einric]h Hop
Anthonij Lombaar
Rds 155:4
Rds 140:-
Rds 12:-
Rds 29:2
Rds 6:1
Rds 25:1
Rds 3:-
Rds 1:6

SOMMA
Rds 373:1

Gecommitterde Weestmeesteren

Mij Preesent
J.N. v.[on] DESSIN

CA: MOOC 8/2 (Inventory of Deceased Estate: Margareta Theresia d’Savoije 1713), no. 80

Marguerite-Therese de Savoye’s second husband died already in 1712 – the year before the smallpox epidemic. The 2 farms in her estate are: Watergat & de Reboks Cloof


2 plaatsen als een op Drakenstein,
700 Schaapen en Lammeren, door den anderen
gereekent a/1:-:- ijder comt
85 stuks Rinder Vee soo Osse. Koeijen. Kalveren
en Paarden door den anderen gecalculeert
op /9:-:- t p:b comt tesamen
1 Osse Wage. Ploeg. en Egge te samen

6 Slaven, 1 oude Slavin. en 1 Slavinne Kint
ijder door den anderen gestelt op /
ij:n comt
15 p:[ar] en lige Wijn Leggers. Zoo oude. als nieuwe
gereekent t stuk tot /15:-:- ijder is
1 disteleer ketel tot 100.-
d’ ... en Huijsraad tesamen geschat 210.-
1: ruijn paart op 18.-
6 p:[are]n leggeren Wijn ijder gereek:t tot /60:-:- komt 360.-
1: “ d:o Brandewijn tot 200.-

UIT STAANDE SCHULDEN

Kinderen van Christoffel Snijman

Maria Magdalena. -
Christina. -
Elsje. -
Johanna. -
Filippus. -
Susanna en
Elisabet –

Seven Kinderen zijn A:[nn]o

En Soontje van Henningh d’Viljon genaamt met do
An. d’E[de]l Com:[agni]e bij het Vrijboek
“ . d’Weescamer
“ . Elias Kina
“ . Jacob Mallan [Malan]
“ . d’wed:[duw]e Willem Corssenaar
“ . Coert de Smit
“ . Claas Mijboom
“ . M:onsigneu]r Mielius Voor Cureren der Zieke
“ . d’Diaconie tot Drakesteyn
“ . Jan du Rand
“ . Hans Hend:[ri]jk Hatting
“ . Jacobus van As

Aldus g’inventariseer, getaxeert en overgegeven aan d’E.[del]e Heeren Weesmeestren ter deser plaats.
Onder presentatie van eden; van mits ter quaader transaghter gehouden te hebben [remainder of
document has perished]
Huijden den 17 Julij 1731, compareerde voor mij Nicolaes Leij eerste geswoore Clercq ten Politique Secretarie alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naer[gen]e[omde] getuigen Margaretha Theresia de Savooije weduwe wijlen Henningh Viljon, mij eerste Clercq en de getuigen bekent sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar de lichaame dog gaende en staende mit[s]ge[ade]rs: bij vollen verstand en sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deeser is gebleeken, dewelke aan mij overhandige dit tegenwoordig papier met vier zeegeels van haar gecachetteert, waar inne sij verclaerde beslooten te zijn, haar testament, laeste en uijtterste wille door een anders hand getrouwe[ly] getek:en[t] en met haar eig[e]jn hand onderteekent, willende en begeerende dat die na haar overleijden in alle poincten sal werden nagekoomen, het zij als testament codicil, gifte ter sake des doods ofte soodanig als best na regte sal kunnen bestaan, niettegenstaande daar inne eenige noodige solemniteijten waren vergeet, dewelke als g’interereert is, houdende, versoekende ten dien eijnde het uijtterste beneficio des regters, mits[g]ade[s] aan mij eerste Clercq om nersens voors zeegeels te stellen vier ander van mijn Cachette, en van alles te formeeren behoorlijke acte het welk is deese.

Aldus gedaan en gepasseert aan Cabo voorn[oem]t ter overstaan van de Boekhouders David d’Allij en Willem van Kerkhof als getuigen van geloove hier toevertotg, die de originele superscriptie meede behoorlijk hebben onderteekent

’t Welk ik getuiijge
[signed] N[icolae]s Leij


[signed] MAERGARETA
    de SAUOIJ

Als getuigen
[signed] M:[ichie]l Pentz

In kennis van mij
[signed] N[icolae]s Leij
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq

tegendeel aan haar zoon Henning Viljon moet blijven en gelaaten worden, voor de somma van twee duisent en vijf honderd Caabse guldens welke penningen na het overleijden van de Comp[aran]te door gedagte Henning Viljon in vyf equale paaijen, te weeten. de eerste contant en de vier andere een jaar naar malcanderen aan den gemeenen boedel zal meten opgebracht en betaald werden. Met vooraanstaande de Com[aran]te klaar en duijdelijk voorgelezen zijnde verclaarde zij zulx te weesen haar volcoomen wil en begeerte, dat in manier voorsz: sal werden nagecoomen en agtervolgt 't zij als Codicil ofte ander wat benaming het zoude mogen zijn, niettegenstaande eenige gerequireerde solemniteijten waaren versuyt dewelke als geinfereert is houdende.

Dat aldus passeerde ten woonhuyse van Comp[aran]te aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, ten overstaan van den clerq Pieter Poulus Tamé en Izack Girman als getuijgen van geloove. [signed] Margarita Teresia de Sauoij

Als getuijgen
[signed] I:[zac]k Girman

in kennis van mij
[signed] W. v. Kerkhoff
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq

MOOC 7/1/6 (Wills 1738-1745)

ALS00 ik ondergeschreven Margareta Theresia de Savoije Laast wed:duw[e] Henning Viljon op den VI: Julij deses jaare mijne laatste en uijterste wille bij gesloote testamente hebbe inhandigt, aan den Eerste gesw:[ore] Clercq ter politiquen Secretarij alhier S:[ieu]r N.[icolaes] Leij, om het selve door hem te werden gecachetteert, gelijk zulx dan door denselven met de gewoone Superscriptie in presentie van getuijgen is onderteekent en verzeegeld, Soo is mij na dies verrigting eerst herinnert geworden, dat mijn volkoomene meijninge in het gem: besloote insrument niet was uitgedrukt, maar ter contrarie 't navolgende g'obmitteert; dierhalven dient dese om sulx te verklaeren het mijn wille en begeerte is, dat na mijn overleijden uijt mijne naargelaatene goederen, tot een geschenk werde gegeven aan mijn dogter Elisabeth Snijman, huijsvrouw van Joh:[anne]s van Helsding alle mijn Linnen en kleederen, en aan mijn klijndogter Glaudina Margarita Roux der Silwere Beugeltas en een kist alwaar voorsz: Linnen en kleederen Zijn inleggende. Blijvende voor het overige alles, 't welk in voorm: beslooten testament vervat is volkoomen waarden.

Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop anno dominij 28: October 1732

[signed] MARGARITA de SAVOIJ

Niet tegenstaande het bovengem:elde beslooten testament door mijn is gerooijeert geworden, zoo blijft nogtans mijn wille en begevren dat het geene hier vooren gemelt staat, na mijn overleijden exactelijk moet nagekoomen werden, 't geen tot bewijs hier van noagmaals met mijne gewoone handteekening bekragtige.

Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop den 30: November 1736

[signed] MARGARITA de SAVOIJ
MARGO'S INVENTORY

CA: MOOC 8/6 (Inventories), no. 95 (Margaretha Therisia de Savoije, 20 March 1742)

95


Inventaris van alle soodanig goederen en effecten, als zijn naargelaaten en met ‘er dood ontruijmt door Margaretha Theresia de Savoije laatst wed:[duw]e Henning Viljon, ten voordeele van haare neergelaatene meerderjaardige kinderen, mitsg[a]d[e]r’s meerder en minderjaarige kinds kinderen als Elsje Snijman getrouwt met den landbouwer Jacobus Botha, Johanna Snijman gehuwt met den landbouwer Anthonij Lombaart [sic], Susanna Snijman getrouwt met d’oudheemraad Jacob Coetser, en Elisabeth Snijman getrouwt met den burger Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, alle in eerder huwelijk verwekt, bij wijlen den landbouwer Christoffel Snijman, voorts Henning Viljon, bij wijlen haar laatste man in huwelijk geprocreeat; Vervolgens Jan Viljon bij representatie van wijlen zijn moeder Catharina Snijman, daarna de kinderen van den heemraad Theunis Botha met naame Christoffel Botha, Margaretha Botha, getrouwt met den landbouwer Jan Abraham Meijer, Jacobus Botha, Maria Elisabeth Botha gehuwt met den landbouwer Jan Andries Holtshausen, alle meerderjaarig, en den minderjaarige Philip Rudolf Botha bij representatie van hun lieder moeder Maria Magdalena Snijman, wijders de twee minderjaarige kinderen van den burger Jeremias Roux, met name Jeremias, en Claudina Roux bij plaatsvulling van hun moeder Christina Snijman en eijndelijk Christoffel, Philip, Gerrit en Jacobus Snijman bij representatie van wijlen hun vader Philip Snijman, soodanig en in diervoegen als deselve door de praesente meerderjaarige erigenaamen zijn opgegeven, en door d’onderget:[eekend]e gecommitteerde Weesmeesteren bevonden te bestaan in ‘t volgende, naamentlijk:

Onder Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen berust

14 hemden
24 servetten
14 sloopen
9 rocken
6 Cabaijen waaronder 2 sjide
8 trekmutsen
1 kist
1 cabinet
1 buitsak
peuluwens
4 kussens
3 combaersen
2 tafels
1 groote bijbel
1 silver beugeltas
1 slaave meijd gen:[aem]t Eva van de Caab

Onder Henning Viljon berust

1 slaave meijd gen:[aem]t Rosetta van de Caab met haar kind gen:[aem]t Cupido
1 leedige kist
1 gemakstol met een steekbecken

Onder Anthonij Lombart [sic] berust

1 wafel eijser ‘t welk volgens getuijgenis van Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, en Henning Viljon aan gesegde Lombart door den overleden is verlert

Inne Schulden

van Bernardus van Nieuwkerken volgens scheepenkennisse de dato 8 Maij 1738 groot
Pieter du Plaisis [sic] volgens ondert: obligatie de dato 18 Januarij 1735 groot f 600 a 5 pc:to ofte Rds 200:-

Johannes Marais volg: ondert: obl: de dato 21 Januarij 1735 groot f 600 a 5 pc:to ofte Rds 200:-

Henning Viljon volg: als gesegt de dato 1 Febr: 1735 groot f 800:- a 5 pc:to Rds 266.32

Nota Henning Viljon getuijgt deese obligatie door een behoorlike quitantie van wijlen sijn voorn: moeder sal verthoonen

[in margin]


Anna Margaretha van Deventer wed:[duw]e Philip Snijman volg: [ens] alles vooren de dato 10 F[e]br[uarie] 1735 groot f 1300:- a 5 pc:to 133:16

Hercules du Preez Herculesz: volgens als vooren de dato 21 Maart 1735 groot f 800:- a 5 pc:to 266:32

Pieter du Plaisis [sic] Charlsz: volg: als gesegt de dato 6 Julij 1736 groot f 1000:- a 6 pc:to 333:16

Henning Viljon over soooveel den selven aan deesen boedel te quaad is, over seeker plaats gen[aem]t: de Reeboks Cloof bennievens een slaave jonge gen[aem]t Cupido van Madagascar, een slaavin gen[aem]t Rachel van Madagascar, en twaalf trekossen

Transporteeren Rds 1500:-


Van Anna Margaretha van Deventer wed:[duw]e Philip Snijman over verscot van diverse goederen en contant a volgens aantekeningboek 150:17

Wijlen Paul Heijns en sijn thans leevende Vrouw [Maria Lozee van de Caep] over soooveel deselve aan deesen boedel pr: rest nog schuldig sijn over brandewijn
en wijn ’t seedert ’t jaar 1713 Rds 150:¬ ’t
geen hier slegs pr memorie werd gestelt.

Aan Contant in den boedel gevonden een
somma van een en seeventig rijxds en thien
stuijvers onder den ondercoöpman
S:[ieu]r David D’Ailly pr: rest berustende geweest,
en door hem op heeden ter Weescamer
gebraag seggen 71:10

Rds 5554:13

Lasten des Boedels

Aan Henning Viljon sooveel denselven aan
den oud burgerraad S:[ieu]r Johannes Cruijwagen
voor rekening van d’oordeeldeene voor
procesenkosten heeft betaalt Rds 15:36

Aldus gedaan g’inventariseert ter Weescamer aan Cabo de Goede Hoop den 20 Maart 1742

Als gecommitt:te Weesmente ren


Als presente mondige Erfgenamen

[signed] Jacobus Boota [sic]
dese letters zijn
[signed] A L B
door Anthonij Lombart eijgenhandig gestelt
[signed] Jan Hendrick
van Helsdingen
[signed] H Viljoen [sic]

Mij Praesent
[signed] J.N. v.[on] Dessin
Secret:[ari] sj

Ik ondergete kende hebben van mijn soon Henning Viljoen de somma van agt hondert guldens met de in
tresten waer van ik een briewie a vyf present waer van ik beken van som en intrest voldaen te zijn den 4
desember 1738

[signed] Maergarita de Savoij
VENDU ROL – WIDOW HENNING VILJOEN

CA: MOOC 10/5 (Vendurolle), no. 59 & 59.1 (2 July 1712)


VENDUROLLE van soodangen goederen,
as door de onderg: [ij]ekend[e] gecommitt: [eer]e weesmeesteren
aan Cabo de Goede Hoop,
on den 2: [de] Julij 1712
ten huijse van d’ wed:[uw]e Hendrick van Dijk,
aan de meest biedende publiquelijk
zijn verkogt, naargelaaten
en met ’er dood ontruijmt door
Margaretha Theresia de Savoye
Laatst wed:[uw]e Henning Viljon, Naamentl: [ijck]

1 Slave meijd gen[aem]t: Rosetta van de Caab
met 1 kind gen[aem]t:
Cupido van de Caab
Barend Artoye
Rds 155:4

1 Slave meijd gen[aem]t:
Eva van de Caab
Joh:[anne]s van Helsdings
Mon:[ieur] Grové
Rds 140:–
Rds 12:–

1 bed, 1 peuluw, 2 kussens,
1 combaars
J:[ohan]nejs van Helsdings
Rds 29:2

1 peuluw, 2 kussens, 2 combaarsen
1 cabinetje
Johannes Meyer
Jan Abr:[aham] Meyer
Rds 25:1
Rds 3:–

1 tafels, 1 gemakstoel, 1 stookbecken
H:[einric]h Hop
S: [umma]
Rds 6:1
Rds 1:6

1 bed, 1 peuluw, 2 kussens, 2 combaarsen
1 cabinetje
1 Lediger kist
Anthonij Lombaar
Rds 25:1
Rds 1:6

SOMMA
Rds 373:1

Gecommitterde Weestmeesteren


Mij Preesent
J.N. v:[on] DESSIN

CA: MOOC 8/2 (Inventory: Deceased Estate: Margareta Theresia d’Savoije, 1713) no. 80

Marguerite-Therese de Savoye’s second husband dies (1712) – the year before the smallpox epidemic. The 2 farms in her estate are: Watergat & de Reboks Cloof


2 plaatsen als een op Drakenstein,
en d’ander an de Perl iijder tot /1000:–: geschat komt /2000:–:
700 Schaapen en Lammeren, door den anderen
gerekent a/1:–: iijder comt
85 stuks Rinder Vee soo Osse. Koeijen. Kalveren
en Paarden door den anderen gecalceert
op /9:–: ’t p:b comt tesamen
1 Osse Wage. Ploeg. en Egge te samen 765:–:
6 Slaven, 1 oude Slavin en 1 Slavinne Kint
ijder door den anderen gestelt op /150:–:
ij:n comt 1200:–:
15 p:[ar] en lige Wijn Leggers. Zoo oude. als nieuwe
gerekent ’t stuk tot /15:–: iijder is 225:–:
1 disteleer ketel tot 100.-
d’ ... en Huijsraad tesamen geschat 210.-
1: rijn paart op 18.-
6 p:[are]n leggere Wijn ijder gereek:t tot /60:-:- komt 360.-
1: “ d:o Brandewijn tot 200.-

UIT STAANDE SCHULDEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinderen van Christoffel Snijman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria Magdalena. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsie. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johanna. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filippus. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susanna en Elisabet -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Kinderen zijn A:[nn]o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

En Soontje van Henningh d’Viljon genaamt met do
“ d’Weescamer
” Elias Kina
” Jacob Mallan
” d’wed:[duw]e Willem Corssenaar
” Coert de Smit
” Claas Mijboom
” M:[onsigneu]r Mielius [Melius] Voor Cureren der Zieke
” d’Diaconie tot Drakesteyn
” Jan du Rand
” Hans Hend:[ri]k Hatting
” Jacobus van As

Aldus g’inventariseer, getaxeert en overgegeven aan d’E.[del]e Heeren Weesmeestren ter deser plaatse.
Onder presentatie van eden; van mits ter quaader transaghter gehouden te hebben [remainder of document has perished]
Huijden den 17 Juli 1731, compareerde voor mij Nicolaes Leij eerste geswoore Clercq ten Politique Secretarie alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naergen: oemde getuigen Margareta Theresia de Savooije weduwe wijlen Henningh Viljon, mij eerste Clercq en de getuigen bekent sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar de lichaame dog gaende en staande mitsg[ade]rs: bij vollen verstand en sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deesser is gebleeken, dewelke aan mij overhandige dit tegenwoordig papier met vier zeegels van haar gecachetteert, waar inne sij verclaerde beslooten te zijn, haar testament, laeste en uijtterste wille door een anders hand getrouwelijk getek:[en]t en met haar eijgen hand onderteekent, willende en begeerende dat die na haar overleijden in alle poincten sal werden nagekoomen, het zij als testament codicil, gifte ter sake des doods ofte soodanig als best na regte sal kunnen bestaan, niettegenstaande daar inne eenige noodige solemniteijten waren vergeeten, dewelke als g’interret is, houdende, versoekende ten dien eijnde het uijtterste benefitium des regters, mitsg[ade]rs: aan mij eerste Clercq om ners voors zeegels te stellen vier ander van mijn Cachette, en van alles te formeeren behoorlijke acte het welk is deese.

Aldus gedaan en gepasseert aan Cabo voorn:[oem]t ter overstaan van de Boekhouders David d’Allij en Willem van Kerkhof als getuigen van geloove hier toevertogg, die de originele superscriptie meede behoorlijk hebben onderteekent

’t Welk ik getuigje

[signed] N:[icolae]s Leij
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq


Aldus gedaan en gepasseert aan Cabo voornt in ’t bijweesen, van de clercques Pieter Poulus Tamé en Michiel Pentz als getuigen.

As getuigen
[signed] M:[ichie]l Pentz

In kennisse van mij
[signed] N:[icolae]s Leij
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq

tegendeel aan haar zoon Henning Viljon moet blijven en gelaaten werden, voor de somma van twee duisent en vijf honderd Caabse guldens welke penning na het overleiden van de Comp.[aran] te door gedagte Henning Viljon in vyf equale paaijen, te weeten, de eerste contant en de vier andere een jaar naar malcanderen aan den gemeenen boedel zal meten opgebragt en betaald werden. Met voornaamde de Com:[aran] te klaar en duijdelijk voorgelesen zijnde verclaarde zij zulk te weesen haar volcoomen wil en begeerte, willende dat in manier voors: zal worden nagecoomen en agtervolgt 't zij als Codicil ofte ander wat benaming het zoude mogen zijn, niettegenstaande eenige gerequireerde solemniteijten waaren versuymt dewelke als geinfereert is houdende.

Dat aldus passeerde ten woonhuyse van Comp:[aran] te aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, ten overstaan van den clerqc Pieter Poulus Tamé en Izack Girmanc als getuijgen van geloove.

[signed] Margarita Teresia de Sauoij

Als getuijgen
[signed] I: [zac]k Girmanc

in kennis van mij
[signed] W. v. Kerkhoff
E: [dele] G: [eswoore] Clercq

MOOC 7/1/6 (Wills: 1738-1745)

ALSoo ik ondergeschreven Margareta Theresia de Savoije Laast wed:duwe Henning Viljon op den VI: Julij deses jaare mijne laetste en uijterste wille bij gesloote testamenthe hebbe inhandigt, aan den Eerste gesw:ore Clercq ter politiquen Secretarij alhier S:[iel]r N. [icolaes] Leij, om het selve door hem te werden gecachetteert, gelijk zulk dan door denselven met de gewoone Superscripctie in presentie van getuijgen is onderteekent en verzeegeld, Sood is mij na dies verrigting eerst herinnert geworden, dat mijn volkoomene meijninge in het gem:elde besloote insrument niet was uijtgedrukt, maar ter contrarie 't navolgende g'obmitteert; dierhalven dient dese om sulx te verklaaren het mijn wille en begeerte is, dat na mijn overleijden uijt mijne naargelaatene goederen, tot een geschenk wurde gegeven aan mijn dogter Elisabeth Snijman, huissvrouw van Joh: [anne]s van Helsding [sic] alle mijn Linnen en kleederen, en aan mijn klijndogter Glaudina Margarita Roux der Silwere Beugeltas en een kist alwaar voors: Linnen en kleederen Zijn inleggende. Blijvende voor het overige alles, 't welk in voorm:elde beslooten testament vervat is volkoomen waarden.

Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop q[nn]o [omin]ij 28: October 1732

[signed] MARGARITA de SAVOIJ

Niet tegenstaande het bovengem: beslooten testament door mijn is gerooijeert geworden, zoo blijft nogtans mijn wille en begevren dat het geene hier vooren gemelt staat, na mijn overleijden exactelij moet nagekoomen werden, 't geen tot bewijs hier van nogmaals met mijne gewoone handteekening bekragtige.

Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop den 30: November 1736

[signed] MARGARITA de SAVOIJ
Inventaris van alle soodanig goederen en effecten, als sijn naargelaaten en met 'er dood ontruijmt door Margaretha Theresia de Savoije laatst wed:[duw]e Henning Viljon, ten voordeele van haare neergelaatene meerderjaardige kinderen, mitsg[a]d[e]r's meerder en minderjaarige kints kinderen als Elsie Snijman getrouwt met den landbouwer Jacobus Botha, Johanna Snijman gehuwt met den landbouwer Anthonij Lombaart [sic], Susanna Snijman getrouwt met d'oudheemraad Jacob Coetser, en Elisabeth Snijman getrouwt met den burger Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, alle in eerder huwelijk verwekt, bij wijlen den landbouwer Christoffel Snijman, voorts Henning Viljon, bij wijlen haar laatste man in huwelijk geprocreert; Vervolgens Jan Viljon bij representatie van wijlen zijn moeder Catharina Snijman, daarna de kinderen van den heemraad Theunis Botha met naame Christoffel Botha, Margaretha Botha, getrouwt met den landbouwer Jan Abraham Meijer, Jacobus Botha, Maria Elisabeth Botha gehuwt met den landbouwer Jan Andries Holtshausen, alle meerderjaarg, en den minderjaarg enertlings Philipp Rudolf Botha bij representatie van hun lieder moeder Maria Magdalena Snijman, wijders de twee minderjaarg kinderen van den burger Jeremias Roux, met name Jeremias, en Claudia Roux bij plaatsvulling van hun moeder Christina Snijman en eijndelijk Christoffel, Philip, Gerrit en Jacobus Snijman bij representatie van wijlen hun vader Philip Snijman, soodanig en in diervoegen als deselve door de praesente meerderjaarg e rignamen sijn opgegeven, en door d'onderget[eekend]e gecommitteerde Weesmeesteren bevonden te bestaan in 't volgende, naamentlijk:

Onder Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen berust

14 hemden
24 servetten
14 sloopen
9 rocken
6 Cabaijen waaronder 2 sjide
8 trekmutsen
1 kist
1 cabinet
1 buitsak
peeuwens
4 kussens
3 combaersen
2 tafels
1 groote bijbel
1 silver beugeltas
1 slaave meijd gen:[aem]t Eva van de Caab

Onder Henning Viljon berust

1 slaave meijd gen:[aem]t Rosetta van de Caab met haar kind gen:[aem]t Cupido
1 leedige kist
1 gemakstol met een steekbecken

Onder Anthonij Lombart [sic] berust

1 wafel eijser 't welk volgens getuijgenis van Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen, en Henning Viljon aan gesegde Lombart door den overleden is verlert

Inne Schulden

van Bernardus van Nieuwkerken volgens scheepenkennisse de dato 8 Maij 1738 groot
Pieter du Plaisis [sic] volgens ondert: obligatie de dato 18 Januarij 1735 groot f 600 a 5 pc:to ofte Rds 200:-

Johannes Marais volg: ondert: obl: de dato 21 Januarij 1735 groot f 600 a 5 pc:to ofte Rds 200:-

Henning Viljon volg: als gesegt de dato 1 Febr: 1735 groot f 800:- a 5 pc:to Rds 266.32

Nota Henning Viljon getuigdt deese obligatie door een behoorlike quitantie van wijlen sijn voornemo:de moeder sal verthoonen

[in margin]


Anna Margaretha van Deventer wed:[duw]e Philip Snijman volg:[ens] alles vooren de dato 10 F[e]br[aurie] 1735 groot f 1300:- a 5pc:to 133:16

Hercules du Preez Herculesz: volgens als vooren de dato 21 Maart 1735 groot f 800:- a 5 pc:to 266:32

Pieter du Plaisis [sic] Charlsz: volg: als gesegt de dato 6 Julij 1736 groot f 1000:- a 6 pc:to 333:16

Henning Viljon over soooveel den selven aan deesen boedel te quaad is, over seeker plaats gen[aem]:t de Reeboks Cloof beneevens een slaave jonge gen[aem]:t Cupido van Madagascar, een slaavin gen[aem]:t Rachel van Madagascar, en twaalf trekkossen

Transporteeren Rds 1500:-


Van Anna Margaretha van Deventer wed:[duw]e Philip Snijman over verscot van diverse goederen en contant a volgens aantekeningboek 150:17

Wijlen Paul Heijns en sijn thans leevende vrouw over soovel deselve aan deesen boedel pr: rest nog schuldig sijn over brandewijn en wijn ’t seendert ’t jaar 1713 Rds 150:-’t
Aan Contant in den boedel gevonden een somma van een en seeventig rijnxs en thien stuijvers onder den ondercooopman S:[ieu]r David D’Alilly pr: rest berustende geweest, en door hem op heeden ter Weescamer gebrag seggen 71:10 Rds 5554:13

Lasten des Boedels

Aan Henning Viljon sooveel denselven aan den oud burgerraad S:[ieu]r Johannes Cruijwagen voor rekening van d’oordeleedene voor procesenkosten heeft betaalt Rds 15:36

Aldus gedaan g’inventariseert ter Weescamer aan Cabo de Goede Hoop den 20 Maart 1742

Als gecommitt:[eerd]e Weesm:[eeste]ren

[signed] P.[aulus] Artoijs

Als presente mondige Erfgenaamen

[signed] Jacobus Boota [sic]
dese letters zijn
[signed] A L B
door Anthonij Lombart eijgenhandig gestelt
[signed] Jan Hendrick
van Helsdingen
[signed] H Vilijoen [sic]

Mij Praesent
[signed] J.N. v.[on] Dessin
Secret:[ari]s

Ik ondergete kende hebben van mijn soon Henning Vilijoen de somma van agt hondert guldens met de intrest waer van ik een briewie a vyf present waer van ik beken van som en intrest voldaen te zijn den 4 desember 1738

[signed] Maergrita de Savoij

APPENDIX 8: COURT CASE: MARGO’S SLAVE ADOLPH VAN MADAGASCAR – ARSON

CA: 324, no. 6 (1720)

Eijsch en Conclusie, gedaen maken & aen d’ wel [el]e Gestr:[engen]
Heer Maurits Pasques de

Adolf van Madegascar Leijfeijgen van Margareta de Savoije wed.[duwe] Henning Viljon ged.[aagde] Over gepleegde brandstigting


Dat de ged:[aeghd]e nu Jongst near zij pers teijt op zijn Lijffvrouws Plaats bij de Dwars Rivier aen Drakensteijn, durende sig niet geschroomt heft. Op sekren avond omtrent acht uuren, aldaer aen Hock. digt aen t’ woonhuijs staende, in de brand te steeken.

Daer toe gebruijckende een Pluijsie van doek t’welck door hem ged:[aagd]e aen ’t vuur, dat als daen aen de daer omstreeks zijnde Rivier, soude geweest zyn, in brand gestookken.

En vervolgens, near daer aen een Pijp Tobak te hebben opgestookken, also brandende onder t’ dack van gemelde Hock gelegt is.

Naer welkers verrigting hij ged:[aagd]e daer binnen is gaan leggen tot dat de vlam vernemen heeft.

Als wanneer opstaande & brand brand, reopened sig near de combuijs begeven & aldaer de Meijd Eva gen[aem]t: door kwaat & haastigheid geslagen heeft.


En waer meede bij na den eijnde zijnde, den ged:[aeg]e / soo voorgeeft / quasi tot adsistentie meede twee Emmers water derwaarts gebracht heeft;

Daer hij ged:e ongetwijffelt (indien daer inne door zijn inorm voorneemen & waer toe expres deesen teijd, bij d’absentie van opgemelde persoonen near presumptie verkooren, niet was belet) van den beginner daer toe volgens pligt de behulpsamen hand soude gelent hebben.

Waer door dan & ander Inditien hij ged:[aagd]e met veel fondement door zijn meestres voor den Autheur des brands werdende gesuspecteert, deselve ook sux aen haer soon des andrensdaags, wanneer met zijn suster & voor den Weeskint van Cabo reverteerde te kennen gegeven heeft

Waer op hij ged:[aagd]e door gemelde soon op een leer gebonden zijnde, omme also door verseekering van zijn Persoon, agter de waerheijd te komen

Hij ged:[aagd]e, mogelijk niet wel besorgt, & een d’andre kant van zijn godeloos delict in gemoede overtuijgt zijnde, sig los gevrongen vervlugt begeven, & zijn kours naer de Clip Rivier op de post van Jan Harmans Potgieter genoomen heeft.

Alwaar des Nagts gebonden, & overdag los zijnde veerthien daegen sig onthouden heeft.

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Nau verloop van den: des avonds kort nae ’t Eeten & eet hij gebonden, van daer weder near Drakesteijn gekeert, & aldaer op de post van [Jacques Malan] in de Franse Hoek gekomen zijnde, door desselfs soon Pieter g’apprennessee & naer zijn Meestresses Post gebracht is.

Als wanneer aldaer ten eersten vrijmoedig heft beleeden de brandstigter te wesen, met voorgeeven, daer toe door den duijvle verleijt te hebben NB om dat zij bij een ander lief.

Waerop hij ged:e aen de Eijss:[che]r overgelegen zijnde, rondborsig heft geconfesseert din gruwel daad om de meijds wil begaen te hebben NB om dat zij bij een ander lief.

Om welk frivol Concept (soo t’ al waer was) hij ged:[aagd]e die gantse plaats & mogelijck de geheele ruine zijnes Meestres bloot gestel heeft.

Al ’t gene den Eijss:[che]r van des ged:s delict hier vooren genaarteert heeft.


Soo dat niet te overig als d’ aenhaling der Srafte, waer meede Soodanig Booswigt diende gepunieert te warden.

En aengesien M:[agiste]r Simon van Leeuwen in zijn Rooms Hollands Reght 4de B:oe]k 38ste deel 3.10 [?]

Alsmeede Damhouden in zijn Practijck Crimineel Cap 103 fo:[lio] 168

Die onder andre tot den Viere uijtstreken


Exhibitum in Judicii
18 Julie 1720

CA: 324, no. 7 (1720)

Vraagpointen om daer op ter requisitie van den Landdrost Jacob Voet gehoor en g’examineert te worden den Slaav Adolf van Madegascar toebehoorende Margareta de Savoije, laast wed:[duw]e van Henning Viljon


Art. 1
Des gev:[angen]e Naem, geboorteplaets & ouderdom.
antw:[oortende]e Adolf van Madagascar oud naar gassing inde veertig Jaaren.

2
Wien leijfeijgen hij gev:[angen]e is.
antw:[oortende]e Margarita de Savoije wed:[uw]e van Henning Viljon toe te behooren.

3
Waer Jongen bij deselve dienstbaar geweest is.
antw:[oortend]e aan de Dwars Rivier aan Drakenstein.
4
hoe lange het geleeden is, daer hij gev:[angene]e, aldaer 't Hock digt aen 't Woonhuijs staande in den Brand gestook heeft.
antw:[oortend]e nu jongst kort na de perstijt.
5
op welke teijd & wijse sulx verrigt heeft.
Antw:[oortend]e des avonds omtrent agt uuren, dat 'er brand aan de Rivier daer omstreeks weesende hij daarna toe is gegaen, een pluijsje van doek mitsgenomen heeft, en daarna toe is gegaen, een pluijsje van doek gemaakt, 't selve ind brand gestookt en vervolgens naar een pijp Tobak daar aan opgestookt te hebben, onder het dak also brandend heeft gestookt, dog dat hij beschonken is geweest.
6
waer van daer hij gev:[angen]e ten dien eijnde het vuur gehaelt heeft.
antw:e als boven.
7
werwaerts hij gev:e dies verrigtinge sig begeven heeft.
antw:[oortend]e dat hij gev:[angen]e daarop in 't selve hok daarbij 't huijs tonder't dak gestook had, en gaan legen, vervolgens wanneer hij de Vlam vernomen heeft opgestaan is, brant brant geroepen, voorts na de Combuijs gegaan de slaven daar ten huijs Eva gen:[aem]'t door quaad en haastigheid geslagen heeft.
8
wat aldaer uijgevoeren heeft.
antw:[oortend]e al boven.
9
door wie mitsg:[ader]s op welke manier den brand is geblust.
antw:[oortend]e door d’dogter daar ten huijs Susanna gen: t mitsg:s de slaven Sambo, Paul, Cupido en Moses, en dat wanneer de brand ten naatsten bij geblusht was hij gev:e twee Emmers water derwaarts heft gebracht, begende verder dat te dien tijt zijn lijfvaard en verdren famillie aan de Caab waaren, en dat Albert Dobbelman, daar ten huijs woonachtig, als toe op zijn meestresses plaats am de Peerl is geweest.
10
ofte hij gev:e ondertussen niet g’absenteeren heeft.
antw:[oortend]e als nu, dat zijn meesteresse t’huijs is geweest, en heeft leggen slapen, dat haar dochter Stijntie en zoon Philip, met het weeskind Catharina Maria gen:[aem]'t, naar de Caab zijn geweest, en daags naar de brand te zamen weder thuijs komen en zijn meesteresse aan haar gen:[aem]e zoon heft verhaald dat den ge[v:angen]e de brand had veroorsaakt, waar op gem:[eld]e zoon hem gev:[angen]e ant’ huijs op een leer heeft gebonden, en dat hij sig selven los gewrongen, en op de vlugt begeven heeft.
11
waer near toe alsdoen zijn kours genomen heeft.
antw:[oortend]e naar e plaats van Harmen Smits Jan aan de Clip Rivier
12ofte het niet is geweest near de plaats van Jan Harmansz Potgieter aan de Klip Rivier
Antw:[oortend]e als boven.
13
ofte hij gev:[angen]e aldaer niet is gebonden geworden
antw:[oortend]e ik ben snagts gebonden geweest, en heb over dag los gegaan.
14
Hoedanig losgeraak en is & waarna toe zijn kours alsdoen genoornen heeft
Antw:[oortend]e dat hij na verloop van twee weeken aldaer geweest te zijn des avonds kort na t’eeten, en eers [?] hij gebonden was, de vlugt van daar en zijn cours naar Drakenstijn genomen heeft.
15
waer meede hij gev:[angen]e sig op 't Pad g’erneeeren heeft.
antw:[oortend]e Ik heb in’t heen en wederkeeren, niet anders gegeten als palmiet.
16
wie hem gev:[angene]e bij zijn Meesteresse heeft gebragt
antw:[oortend]e eerst op de post van Jacob Mallan in de France Hoek gekomen te zijn, en dat desselfs zoon Pieter hem bij meesteresse heeft gebragt.
ofte bij gevoegen alsdoen aan hare dochter, **Susanna Snijmans** & een oud man **David Dobbelman** bij zijn, eestres woonagtig, niet bekent heeft, voornamelijk moetwillens te hebben gepleegd:

antwoord: Ik heb gezagt, ik heb het gedaan, de duivel heeft mij verlijt.

18 om welke redenen hij gevoegen soodanige gruweldaad gebaan heeft.

antwoord: om de mijns wille omdat zij bij aan ander lief.

19 ofte hem gevoegen niet bewust is dat sulx ten swaarstedient gestraft te worden.

antwoord: hij weet het wel en t’is al geschied.

20 hoedanig hij gevoegen niet bewust is dat sulx ten swaarstedient gestraft te worden.

antwoord: hij weet het wel en t’is al geschied.

Aldus gevraagt en inde Nederduytsche Taale die den gevraagde prompt spreekt beantwoord Aan Cabo de Goede Hoop den 6e Junij 1720.

Dit merk X is door den slaaf **Adolf van Madagascar** gesteld

Als Gecommitteerd

J:[a]n Aldersz

Mij Praesent
[signed] D. Thibault
Secretaris

Recollement

Compareerd voor de ondergeteekende Gecommitteerde leaden, uit den E. Agtbare Raad van Justitie desses Gouvernements, den Slaaf **Adolf van Madagascar** hier voorsz gemeld[e] dewelke gedaane vragen, niet de door hem daar op gegewene antwoorden vanteoorde tot woorde klaar en duijdelik voorgeleesen zijnde verklaar de daarbij volkomen te persisteren, niet begeerende datter iets meer bijgevoegd ofte vang gedaen worden sal.

Aldus gedaan en Gerecolleert aan de Cabo de Goede Hoop den 11e Junij 1720

Dit merk X is door den slaaf **Adolf van Madagascar** gestelt

Als Gecommitteerds

W.:illem] Taack
[signed] V. Kleinveld

Mij Praesent
[signed] D. Thibault
Secretaris

CA: CJ 784, no. 19

Alzoo **Adolph van Madagascar** oude naar gassing inde 40 Jaaren, Lijfeijgen van de Wed:[duw]e van **Henning Viljon** althans Heeren gev[e] buijten pijn of dwang van banden van Eijzers ofte Eenige de minste bedrijging van dien vrijwillig heeft beleeden, en den E.[dele] Agtbare Raad van Justitie desses Gouvernements genoegzaam is, hoe hij gev[e] na de 9e gepasserde persstijde, des avonds om trent 8 uuren, ziende dat omtrent zijne mesteresses plaats, gelegen aan Drakenstijn aan de Dwarsrivier brand was. Zig derwaarts heef gebeeven, aldaar een pluissije ontstoken, en na dat hij aan’t zelve Een pijp tobaq hadde opgestoken, zigh weederom naar gez[eij]e zijns mesteresses plaats heeft vervolgt, dat brandend pluissije op Een hoek en in’t dak van een aldaar staande hok gestookten hebbende, begeeft hij ges[aage] zigh daar binnen, alwaar hij naar dies verrigting ook ter needer legt tot dat hij de vlam, bij ’t genee branden pluissije veroorzaakt, gewaar werd, als wanneer hij uijt het hok loopende heeft geroepen brand brand; dat hij zig daarop direct naar de Combuijs heeft begeeven, en aldaar de mejid **Eva gen[aem]**t: uijt een quad of haastigheid geslagen;
dat hij terwijl zijns Lijfvrouws dogter gent: **Susanna**, neevens de Slaaven **Moses, Sambo, Paul** en **Cupido** all vlijt tot blussing der brand aanwenden, en naar dat zulx ten meerendeele al verrigt was, quasi tot assistentie meede 2 Emmers water derwaarts heeft gedragen.

dat hij geve op deeze en andere inditien door gem:eld zijn Lijfvrouwe voor den Authoer dies brand gesuspecteert zijnde, zij zulx aan haar zoon **Philip** (die na dato van de Caab was gereverteert heeft te kennen gegeeven, die hem ged:aaqed) om door de verseekering van zijn persoon, agter de waarhijd, op Een Ladder heeft gebonden van waar hij geve, mogelijk niet wel bezorgt, en van de Straffe over deea goddeloos delict in gemode verseekert, zig heft geweten Los te wringen, neemende daarop de Vlugt naar de Post van **Jan Harmensz: Potgieter** gelegen aan de Klip Rivier.

Alwaar gekomen zijnde werd hij gev:angen e door gez:eiied **Potgieter** den tijd van 14 dagen (s’daags los en des nagts gebonden, gehouden, alswanneer hij gev: in den avondstond voor dat naar gewooonte gebonden was, zig weerderom van daar ter vlugt heeft begeeven, naar de plaats van den burger **Jacob Malang** gelegen inde France Hoek, alwaar door de zoon van dezen **Malangh gen[aem]:t: Pieter** is gearrebeat, en aan zijn Meesters overhandigt, aan wien hij gev:angene volmondig confesseerde, de stigter van dien Brand te zijn geweest, onder voorgeven, daartoe door den Duijvel verleid te wezen; gelijk hev:angen e vervolgens in handen van den Landdrost en weijders der Justitie overgeleveren zijnde, die bekenenis heeft vernieuwt, met bijvouwingh dat de meergenoem:de meijd **Eva** daarvan d’oorzaak was, dewijl zij nu bij Een ander Lief.

Alle ‘t welke zijnde Zaaken van zeer quaade en Dangereuse gevolgen, die men in Een Land daar men de Justitie handhaaft, geenzints kan dulden, maar tot Spiegel en afschrik van dierge;ijke booswigten op ‘t severest moet weeren en Punieeren.


Aldus gedaan en Gesententieert in’t Casteel de Goede Hoop den 18 Juli 1720

gepronuncieert en g’Executeert
den 20 daar aanvolgende

Maurits de Chavonnes
K.J. Slotboo

Jan de la Fontaine
W.jilem Kervel
J[a]n Aldersz
Cornelis Valck
Nicolae Heijning
W.jilem Taack
J. Blanckenberg
Hendrik Donker
V. Kleinveld

Mij Praesent
D:irk Thibault
Secret.:ari]s
APPENDIX 9: GROOTE CATRIJN – GENEALOGY

_Groote Catrijn_’s genealogical legacy is vast as the following genealogies show. The writer himself has 7 direct descents from this founding mother of colonial South Africa. In/famous descendants include the mass murderer Pierre Basson, Mrs Johanna Duminy (famous for her diary), Mrs François de Lettre, and the politician Onze Jan Hofmeyr.

Catharina van Paliacatta (c. 1631-1683)

Popularly known as _Groote Catrijn_

- **c. 1631:** born Pulicat [Tamil Nadu] on Coromandel Coast of Indian sub-continent
- **c. 1654:** Muslim slave in Batavia [present-day Jakarta, Indonesia] belonging to free-woman Maria Magdalena
- **8 October 1656:** slave Claes van Malabar assaulted by concubine Groote Catrijn at fortress Rijswijck outside Batavia
- **16 November 1656:** convicted & sentenced to death (16 November 1656)
- **18 November 1656:** death sentence commuted – first pardon – to be banished to Cape of Good Hope as Company slave
- **4 December 1656:** leaves Batavia
- **21 February 1657:** arrives Cape of Good Hope on Prins Willem ex Batavia

first recorded female convict at Cape of Good Hope

baptised 29 April 1668 (with Maaij Anselva van Bengale)

December 1671: 2nd pardon (December 1671)

dies Cape of Good Hope (c. March / April 1683)

- marries (1) _de facto_ Claes van Malabar slave belonging to Hendrick Christoffel Leser

- assaulted by _Groote Catrijn_ at Rijswijck fortress outside Batavia 8 October 1656

- dies from injuries Batavia (11/12 October 1656)

- marries (2) _de facto_ NN [unknown European biological father to Catharina Wagenmakers]

- marries (3) _de facto_ Pieter Everard / Everaerts / Eyrard [from Cruijsart]

- dies Cape (15 March 1664)

- marries (4) _de facto_ Hans Christoffel / Snijder / Snijman [Han Christoff Schneider?] (from Heidelberg [Palatinate]); VOC soldier stationed at Cape (until c. 1669)

- banished to Robben Island (1667)

- marries (5) Cape (20 December 1671)

- free-black Anthony Jansz: van Bengale

- baptized Cape 12 September 1670

- dies Cape (November / December 1682)

[b17] Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep

- born Cape of Good Hope c. 1657 halfslag Company slave

- baptized (?) Catharina 9 October 1662 dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren

- sister to Company halfslag Marritie Pieters: van de Caep

- 13 March 1680: manumitted (already baptized) [CA: C 4, pp. 121-155] [Resoluies van die Politieke Raad, Deel II 1670-1680, pp. 322-323]

- 26 November 1681: resolution closing her brothel & that of Pai Timor [Resolution: Wednesday 26 November 168] [CA: C 5, pp. 66-68; Resoluies van die Politieke Raad, Deel III 1681-1707, p. 28]


- 1682: (Opgaaf): No. 38: Catharyn van de Caap: 1 woman (free-black); 1 son; 1 daughter; Cape District

[Note: Does son die young or is this a mistake? – see baptism of son Willem (19 February 1679)]
21 March 1683: marries Cape Andreas / Andries Bayer / Beijer / Beyers (from Saxony)


3 February 1683: Catharina van de Caep re-imbursed from deceased estate of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale

13 June 1683: husband re-imbursed from deceased estate of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale


19 December 1683: baptize second child Marritie parents mentioned as Andries Beier & Catharina; witnessed by Douw Gerbrants[z]; [Steyn] & Maria [van der] Westhuizen

2 September 1685: baptize 3rd child Joannes – parents: Andries Beier and Catharina van de Caap; witnesses: Joris van Stralen [Stralen?] & Catharina Hilbrantsz:


9 September 1687: baptize 4th child Christoffel

1688: free-burgher settling at Bottelary in the Stellenbosch district appearing in muster roll (1688) as Andries Baijer & Catharina van de Caap – but no mention of any children.

1690: Andries Beyer mentioned in muster roll alone living aan de Caap – no mention of wife & children (only husbands & single women are mentioned in this roll).

26 February 1690: baptize daughter Margaretha

1691: Andries Beijer appears in muster roll – no mention of wife & children; by this time already settled at Bottelary in Stellenbosch District where they live until their deaths (1700). Is this at Weltevreden?

1692: muster roll:

Andries Beijer en Cathrina van de Caap
3 soonen; 3 dogteren; 1 pistolen paren; 600 wijngaard stokken; 6 jaren in ’t land beseten; 6 jaren in ’t land besaïd; 1 &1/2 tarw gesaïd mudden; 5 tarw gewonne mudden; 1 zijd gewees; 1 snaphaan en carbijn; 100 schaapen; 2 paarden; 4 ossen; 2 vaarsen [sic]

20 July 1692: baptize 6th child Susanna at Stellenbosch – parents: Andries Beijer & Cathrina van de Caap; witnesses as Jan Magnet & Magdalena Manantot

1693: Andries Beijer & Catrina van de Caab & 7 children recorded at Stellenbosch – daughter Susanna appears to die in infancy (1693/1694)

489 CA, VC 603, G 1/1 (Trouregister), 83. For some obscure reason C.C. De Villiers & C. Pama, Genealogies of Old South African Families (Cape Town 1966), I, 51 lists her as Catharina Vryman. The name Vrijman could not be located in any of the records searched by the writer. The speculation is that perhaps CC de Villiers had originally been aware of the Snyman connection, but that the name had erroneously been printed as Vryman instead of Snyman.

490 CA, VC 39, II (Generale role der getrouwde Comp:s dienaren).

1695: muster roll: Andries Beyer & Catharina van de Caab resident at Stellenbosch – no mention of number of children; during period (1693 - 1696) they lose a child Susanna (baptised 20 July 1692)

1696: muster roll: Andries Beyer & Catarina van de Caap & 6 children – last child (also baptised Susanna) born early in that same year

1698: muster roll: Andries Beyer & Catrina van de Caap & 6 children

1700: no mention of either father or mother in muster roll – but children do.

5 December 1700: both deceased – inventory [MOOC 8/1, no. 59] of joint estate drawn up

23 December 1700: CA: MOOC 10/1 (Vendu Rollen 1691-1717)

Verkoping der goederen
die op den 23 en Xber den 1700
van Andries Baijer en zijn overleden
huijsvrouw Catharijn (:swartin:) bij de
Weeskamer zijn verkogt, namentlijk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>het Land met postal</td>
<td>Christiaan Eijlers</td>
<td>213 : 2 &amp; 2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 slaven met</td>
<td>d’Captain Bergh</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bijlen</td>
<td>Kornelis Ockers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 beijleer</td>
<td>Christoffel Esterhuijs</td>
<td>2 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dissels</td>
<td>Kornelis Ockers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 snijmessen met</td>
<td>Mons:r Henning Husing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 nijptang</td>
<td>d’Captain Bergh</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mooockers</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 boorijzers</td>
<td>d’Captain Bergh</td>
<td>9 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 do met 3 krucken</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>1: 9 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wiel booren</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>6 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 winkelhaack met</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 passen</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sterck beijlens</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>9 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 banck schroev</td>
<td>do do</td>
<td>3 : 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hand saagh</td>
<td>Huijbert jr Moer</td>
<td>9 &amp; 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 treck-saagh</td>
<td>Joost Kornelisz</td>
<td>9 : 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mervle paard</td>
<td>Albert Coopman</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Somma  269 : 3 & 2/3
Aldus verkogt Aan Caap de Goede Hoop den
daage en Jaare als boven
Gecommitttet:feerde Weesm:[eeste]ren
Jan Van Meerland [signed]
W:[ille]m Corssenaar [signed] In kennisse Van Mij
A:[lbert] Coopmans [signed]
Secrets:

26 January 1701: farm transferred to Christian Esterhuizen from Estate of Bayer (26 January 1701) [T 516].
farmed at Weltevreden (originally granted (1704) [sic]) combined with Amandelkloof becomes known as Hartenberg (1725) later belonging to Catrijn’s son-in-law Christoffel Esterhuizen (dies 1724) who also farms at Onrust en Harmonie.
16 December 1700: farm Weltevreden (originally promised 1687 & formally granted to Hans Rutgertroost (29 February 1692) [OSF 1, 27] transferred & registered in name of Andries Bayer (16 December 1700) [T 514]

c1 Willem [Willem Carelsz:?] baptized Cape 19 February 1679
den selfden ditto Willem Catharina een Companys mestice of mixtice

c2 Elisabeth Beyer baptized Cape 10 October 1683 (father: Andries Beier; mother: Catharina; witnesses: Anna Hoecks – register damaged)
marries
Christoffel Esterhuizen / Erthuys [Osthus] (from Groningen?)
d1 Jean Esterhuizen baptized 10 May 1700
d2 Willem Esterhuizen born 1701
marries Paarl 26 October 1727
Johanna Carelsen van der Burg
d3 Jan Andries Esterhuizen baptized 23 November 1704
marries 27 July 1727
Appolonia Everts (d/o Abraham Everts (from Middelburg) & Catharina le Febre)

d4 Johannes Esterhuizen born 1706
d5 Christoffel Esterhuizen baptized Stellenboch 9 March 1710

c3 Maria (Marritie) Beyer baptized Marritie Cape 19 December 1683 (witnesses: Douwe Gerbrants [Steyn] & Maria [van der] Wes[t]huizen)
marries (1)
Johann (Jan) Harmensz: Harting (from Paderborn); 8 children
Jacob Frey / Vrey / Vry (from Solz); farmer at “Welgelegen”, Bottelary; dies 1719
marries (3) 19 May 1720
Hans Jacob Conterman(n) / Konterman [Gundermann] (from Hadamar [Hesse-Nassau]), wid/o Anna Catharina Cleef
he dies 11 August 1734

d1 Margaretha Harting baptized 19 January 1698
marries (1) 10 September 1713
Jan Rogier / Rosier (from Monsnay / Morselin) [[Moorsele village now incorporated into Wevelgem, West Flanders, Belgium?]], widower of Willemina Willems: van de Caep (baptized Cape 1689) whom he previously marries Cape 27 December 1711:

Jan Rogier van Morsselen, jongman met Willemina Willemsz; alhier [not to be confused with Jan Rogier van Amsterdam married to Maria Vermeulen]
executor to will of Maria Pieters: van de Caep
CA: CJ 2650, no. 90 (Will: Jan Rogier van Morssen (1713))
CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 11 (Will: Willemina Willems; wife of Jan Rogier (1713))
CA: MOOC 7/1/3, no. 87 (Joint Will: Jan Rogier van Monsnaij & Margaretha Harmensz Hartingh, (1718))
CA: A 1657
marries (2) Paarl 5 September 1728
Martinus Thielmans (from Delfhaven)
d2 Andries Harting baptised c. 1700
marries 4 November 1736
Maria Lorenz (wid/o Jacobus Greeff)
d3 Catharina Harting baptised 26 June 1702
marries (1)
Jan Bekker
marries (2)
Jan le Roux
d4 Barend Harting baptised 18 June 1704
d5 Clara Anna Harting baptised 1 August 1706
marries 7 December 1727
Michiel Smuts (s/o Michiel Cornelisz: Smuts (from Middelburg [Zealand]) & Cornelia Eenmaal / Eenmael (from Simpelveld, Limburg)
d6 Barbara Harting
marries
Jacob Nissen
d7 Johannes Harting baptised 26 June 1712
d8 Pieter Harting baptised 7, burgher Stellenbosch;
marries 9 October 1740
Francina Saayman
d9 Harmen Jansz Vrey
d10 Johannes Jacobus Conterman baptised 7 September 1721 burgher Stellenbosch
marries 4 August 1743
Susanna Nel
c4 Johannes (Hans) [Jurgen] Beyer baptised Johannes Cape 2 September 1685 (witnesses: Joris van Stralen & Catrina Hilbrants) [note: De Villiers/Pama do not give baptismal date & refer to him as Johannes Jurgen]; March 1707 with Hendrik Biebouw
marries 13 February 1717
Catharina Visser (d/o Coenraad Jansz: Visser & Catharina Everts: van der Zee)
d1 Andries Beyers
marries
Femma Meyhuyzen
d2 Catharina Beyers
marries
Andries Stresoo (from Berlin)
d3 Willem Beyers
marries
Margaretha Schreuder
d4 Christoffel Beyers
d5 Margaretha Beyers
d6 Jacomina Beyers
marries
Nicolaas Swart
d7 Maria Beyers
marries
Gerrit van Nimwegen
d8 Hans Jurgen Beyers
d9 Marietje Beyers
d10 Christoffel Beyers
c5 Christoffel Beyer baptised Cape 19 September 1687 (witnesses: Marretie van de Caap) [Note: De Villiers/Pama incorrectly have have 14 September]
c6 Margaretha Beyer baptised Cape 26 February 1690 (witnesses: Joris van Stralen & Maria van de Westhuijsin);
marries (1) 16 August 1711
marries (2)
Esaias Nel
d1 Andries Oelofse
d2 Jacobus Oelofse
d3 Leendert Oelofse
d4 Willem Nel
d5 Johanna Catharina Nel
d6 Esaias Johannes Nel
c7 Susanna Beyer baptised Stellenbosch 20 July 1692 (witnesses: Jan Magnet & Madalena Manantot); dies in infancy
c8 Susanna Beyer baptised Stellenbosch 12 May 1696 (witnesses: Hendrik Venterz & Anna Vilion)
[van der Bijl, Aanvullinge op die Familie Steyn, Familia, vol. VI/1969, no. 3, p. 76 for comments about Andries Beier as owner of Weltevreden in 1700-170; Mansell G. Upham: ‘In hewigen woede ...’]
[b27] Maria (Marritie / Mar(r)ijte / Martje) [Pieters(e)] van de Caep (c. 1661-1717) born Cape c. 1661; likely biological father: Pieter Evrard (from Cruijssenaert); likely to be Dieders Marij who purchases from deceased estate of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale?
marries (1) Cape 23 January 1689 the widower
Anna Hommes (from ’s Heeren Veen)
marries (2) Cape 23 October 1707
Jan Andriesz: (from Amsterdam)
9 October 1662: [?] baptized Cape
Mary dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren

1678: Church member;
1682: purchases from step-father’s deceased estate
14 May 1684: witness (with Jan Pasquaël) baptism of Jannetie (d/o Jannes [van de Caep] & Kallipetie [van Madagascar]);
19 August 1685: witness to baptism of Joanna (d/o Calo [van Madagascar] & Andries houtsager in ’t bosch);
1691: (Opgaaf): Martje Pieters met haar zoon [later Mrs Jan Andriesz]:
1692: (Opgaaf): No. 114: Maria van de Kaap weduwee: 1 woman: 1 son; Cape [later Mrs Jan Andriesz:?]
1695: (Opgaaf): No. 386: Johannes de Vry: 1 man; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape
1697: (Opgaaf): No. 373: Marritje Pieters (vryswart): 1 woman; Cape
1700: (Opgaaf): No. 335: Jan Andriesz: 1 man; Cape
1705: (Opgaaf): No. 52: Martje Pieters: 1 woman: Cape
23 October 1707: Marritie Pietersz: wed. [of whom?] met Jan Andriesz: van Amsterdam
1709: (Opgaaf): Jan Andries van Amsterdam & Maria Pietersz: 1 man; 1 wife; 1 female slave; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape District
1710: CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 47 (Joint Will: Marietje Pietersze born Cabo & Jan Andriesz: van Amsterdam, 1710) [note: mentions sister's children Jurrie & Susanna Beijer & Trijntje & Margarita Hatting (daughters of J. Harmenstz van Paterborn) – sister is Catharina van de Caab married to Andreas Beyer (from Saxony) [CA: CJ 2650, no. 30 (1710)] she is sister to Catharina van de Caeb, wife of Andreas Bayer (from Saxony)
1712: (Opgaaf): No. 89: Jan Andries: van Angst [Amsterdam]: 1 man; 1 wife: Marietje Pietersz; no children; 1 adult male slave; 1 adult female slave; 1 snaphaen; 1 degen; Cape
1715: granted property in Table Valley [erfs No. MM5 & MM6] sold to Anthonij Hoeseman [Cadastral Calendar]
14 October 1717: draws up will CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will – copy: Maria Pieterse, 14 October 1717)] CA: CJ 2651, nos. 23 & 24 (Will – original: Maria Pieterse, 1717); CA: CJ 2656; CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will – copy: Maria Pieterse, 14 October 1717)]
1717: dies; property in Table Valley [erf no. L4] sold to Martinus Ackerman [Cadastral Calendar]
18 October 1718: [1718] “Claas [van] Mallebaar, Farnis [Venus van Bengale] and Rebecca [van Madagascar] – the latter the mother of 3 children – state that seven months ago they had received letters of freedom from their late mistress, Maria Pieters, wife of the late Jan Andriesz;” that said letters were in the hands of Christoffel Erthuys [Esterhuizen], nephew of the late Maria Pieters, who has hitherto left them in freedom, but now wishes to claim them back into slavery, denying that they have been emancipated. They ask the Council’s assistance. Council finds that the will states that they have been willed away as slaves. (No. 91; exhib., 18th October)” [H.C.V.Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten, vol. I, p 235.]
1749: “[1749] Kerken (Gerrit van); sole surviving executor in the estate of the late Maria Pieterse, widow of Jan Andriesz. In her will, dated 14th October 1717, she desires the manumission of her 3 slaves, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For some reason or other, the other executor, Jan Rogier of Morsseelen, delayed taking the necessary steps for the purpose; hence memorialist now prays the Council’s consent, and offers as co-surety the burgher Lodewijck Hansen. Copy of will

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attached, dated 14th October 1717. In it she gives complete freedom to her 3 slaves, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; with Rds 100 to be paid to the first named when he became of age, and also f 600 which the burgher Paul Heijns owes testatrix. She wishes Abraham to be domiciled and educated in the house of Jan Rogier van Morselen, who shall, for that, receive a slave, named Venus of Bengal, and a fishing sein, with everything connected with it. The two other children, Isaac and Jacob, she wished the agriculturist Christoffel Esterhuijzen to take, who would, for his pains, receive a male and female slave, named Claas van Malabar and Rebecca van Madagascar, as well as another named Leander of Bengal. Each of these two boys shall also receive f 200 each. As guardians of these children, and as executors, she appoints the burghers, Jan Rogier of Morselen and Gerrit van Kerken. [No. 82]"
Henning Viljoen (s/o François Villion (from Clermont) & Cornelia Kempenaar (from Middelburg [Zealand]); farmer at Watergat [Riversmeet]; dies 1712
APPENDIX 10: De SAVOYE, SNIJMAN & VILJOEN GENEALOGIES

Julien de Savoye  
26 October 1602: baptized Ath, Hainault [Hainaut / Hanegouwe, Belgium]  
son of Jacques de Savoye / Savoije / Savojen & Jeanne van der Zee alias Delamere / Desuslamer  
maries  
Jeanne Dureau  
daughter of Jacques Dureau & Marie Ghershouille

b1 Jacques / Jacobus de Savoye (1635-1717)  
1635: born Ath, Hainault [Hainaut / Hanegouwe, Belgium];  
29 January 1636: baptized Ath  
flees to Ghent [Flanders] – linen merchant & businessman in Ghent [Flanders] & Sas van Ghent, Netherlands  
26 April 1688: arrives Cape of Good Hope on Oosterlandt with second wife, mother-in-law & following children: Marguerite, Barbara & Jacques  
farmer at Drakenstein  
1689-1690: heemraad  
30 April 1689: ... den 30 Dito [April 1689] Tot het Avontmael overgehkoomen aen Stellenbosch met belijdenisse Jacob de Savoie en de Pieter Dameze van Fronfoort ende met Attestatie Maria la Clerc Huijsvrou van Jacob de Savoie.  
1692-1693: heemraad  
5 November 1693: slave (unnamed) aged 30 sold by Andries de Man on behalf of Tobias Vlasvat to Jacobus de Savoije for Rds 80  
1696-1697: heemraad  
22 January 1699: stands surety (with free-black Claas Cornelisz: van de Caep) for son-in-law Christoffel Snijman  
13 October 1699: granted hunting licence for large game at Berg Rivier & Roode Zand [CA: RLR 1, p. 115]  
1700-1701: heemraad  
1701: Maria de Savoije (with son-in-law Pieter Meijer) witnesses baptism of Christina de Vey (born in freedom at Cape & baptized (18 December 1701), daughter of Lim Inko de Chinees & Maria van Batavia)  
1706: petition with other Cape free-burghers condemning Ham's blood  
1708: merchant in Cape Town  
2 February 1712: permission granted to return to Europe  
returns to Europe March 1712 on Samson with wife & mother-in-law  
16 December 1714: member of Walloon church in Amsterdam  
20 April 1715: certificate issued by Walloon Church in Amsterdam prior to departure for Cape  
16 March 1716: admitted as member (with wife) of Cape congregation  
October 1717: dies  
October 1717: burial  
Will: CA: CJ 2597, no. 8 (1691)  
CA: CJ 2597, no. 24 (joint will: Jacob de Savoije & Maria Magdalena de Clercq)  
maries (1)  
Christine du Pont  
maries (2)  
Maria-Madeleine le Clercq (from Tournai / Doornik [Flanders]) (d/o Antoinette Carnoy); buried Cape May 1721  
children from first union:  
c1 Jeanne de Savoye  
maries  
André / Andries du Pont  
linen merchant at Ghent; insolvent; bookseller at Leiden 1690; dies Leiden 1699
c2 Jacques de Savoye baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent June 1669; dies young

c3 Julienne-Louise de Savoye baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent 16 May 1671; dies in infancy Ghent May 1671

c4 Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent 4 September 1672; dies Paradis, Constantia 1742 aged 70 years

marries (1) Drakenstein (Paarl) c. 1690

Christoffel Snijman van de Caeb (1668-1705) (s/o exiled slave & pardoned / freed Catharina van Paliacatta)

marries (2) Drakenstein

Henning Villion / Viljon / Viljoen Junior born c. 1707

(s/o François Villion (from Clermont) & Cornelia Kempenaar (from Middelburg [Zealand])); stepson of Wemmer Pasman (from Meurs [Rhineland]); farmer at Sandvliet, Watergat at Groote Drakenstein [later Riversmeet] & Rhêboks Kloof at Achter Paarl; dies 1712

d1 Jacobus Cristoffel Snijman baptised Stellenbosch 10 December 1690; dies young

d2 Catharina Snijman baptised Catrina Stellenbosch 27 January 1692; pre-deceases mother

marries stepfather’s brother 14 August 1708

Johannes (Jan) Villion / Viljoen (s/o François Villion (from Clermont) & Cornelia Kempenaar (from Middelburg [Zealand]))

e1 Margaretha Villion baptised 1 December 1709; dies young

e2 Johannes Villoen baptised 19 September 1711; burgher Drakenstein

marries 8 March 1744

Aletta Olivier (d/o Hendrik Olivier & Maria Vivier)

d3 Maria Magdalena Snijman baptised Stellenbosch 9 August 1693; dies 25 November 1723 [CA: CJ 2651 (Will: Maria Magdalena Snijman), no. 44]

marries 15 December 1710

Theunis Botha (s/o Friedrich Both from Wangenheim, near Gotha & Maria Kickers from Amsterdam)

e1 Theunis Botha baptised 7 November 1711; dies young

e2 Christoffel Botha baptised 11 February 1713; burgher Drakenstein

marries (1) 13 December 1733

Hester Potgieter (d/o Johannes Potgieter, wid. Clara Herbst & Maria Catharina van Eeden)

married (2) 10 November 1737

Catharina Blom (d/o Pieter Barend Blom & Maria Jacobs)

e3 Margaretha Botha baptised 14 October 1714

marries 21 October 1731

Jan Abraham Meyer (s/o Gerrit Hendrik Meyer [from Netherlands?] & Susanna Couteux)

e4 Jacobus Botha baptised 8 August 1717; burgher Drakenstein

marries 5 January 1738

Amerentia / Emerentia Potgieter (d/o Johannes Potgieter, wid. Clara Herbst & Maria Catharina van Eeden)

e5 Maria Elisabeth Botha baptised c. 1719; dies 1760

marries Drakenstein 9 May 1734

Johann Andreas (Jan Andries) Holtzhauzen / Holtshausen from Ellrich; a turner 1729-31; burgher Swellendam 1734; heemraad; captain of Swellendam Dragoons; dies Swellendam 1 October 1765

e6 Philippus Botha baptised 2 March 1721; dies young

e7 Philippus Roedolphus / Philip Rudolph Botha baptised 13 September 1722; dies Somerset East November 1825

marries 8 October 1747

Elizabeth du Preez (1728-1779), wid. Christiaan de Jager (d/o Philippe du Preez & Isabella Potgieter)

d4 Christina Snijman baptised Cristina Drakenstein 22 July 1695

marries
Jeremias Roux (s/o Paul Roux from Orange [France]) & Claudine Seugnet (from Saintogne)
e1 Jeremia(s) Roux baptised Drakenstein 28 March 1723; dies young
e2 Claudina / Glaudina Margaretha Roux baptised Drakenstein 13 August 1724
d5 Elsie Snijman baptised Elsij Drakenstein 1 August 1697
marries 22 October 1713
Jacobus Botha (s/o Friedrich Both from Wangenheim, near Gotha & Maria Kickers from Amsterdam)
e1 Catharina Botha baptised 7 October 1714; died September 1781
Marthinus van Staden (s/o Marthinus van Staden & Aletta van der Merwe; stepson of Nicolaas Jansen [van Rensburg] (from Rendsburg))
maries (2) Tulbagh 28 December 1749
Petrus Pienaar (1721-1779) (s/o Pieter Pienaar & Johanna Terrier)
f1 Aletta van Staden baptised 1 April 1731
marries (1) 21 January 1748 1st cousin once removed
Johannes Lombard (s/o Anthonie Lombard & Johanna Snyman)
maries (2) Zwartland 29 May 1757
Gottfried Drosky / Droskie from Königsberg, (s/o Johann Christofel Drosky & Maria Klein) (died 1777)
maries (3) 9 August 1778
Johanna Theobold Andreas (1723-1800) (from Groszengottern), wid. Hippolita Christina Steedefeld
g4 Margaretha Lombard baptised 17 January 1756
marries (1) 29 January 1775
Johann Friedrich Lange from Goslar / Gorsleben (died 28 February 1796)
maries (2) 11 February 1798
Pieter Heintjes / Henkes (1741-1811) (from Goldap), wid.
Johanna Catharina Elsabe Tafel
he marries (3) 26 March 1810 Anna Catharina Heckroodt, wid.
Friedrich Langerman
h1 Aletta Catharina Lange baptised 14 January 1776; died 2 September 1809
marries 1st cousin once removed (also 2nd cousin once removed)
Hans Jurgen Botha (s/o Hans Jurgen Botha & Barbara Paasen)
[CA: 1/STB 18/28:12 (1824) will: De Heer Hans Jurgen Botha, 17 May 1824]
i1 Margaretha Johanna Hendrika Botha
marries DRC Cape Town 19 November 1815
Willem Jacobs Marais I (1794-1844) (s/o Willem Marais & Francina Louisa le Roux); farmer at Welbevonden, Groote Drakenstein died Welbevonden 15 April 1844
He marries (2) 1842 Anna Petronella Steyn, divorced wife of John Mackie (from Huntly [Aberdeen, Scotland])
j4 Willem Jacobus Marais II born 11 January 1821; baptised Paarl 25 February 1821; wine farmer at Haartebeeste Kraal, Paarl; dies Klein Drakenstein 7 April 1874
marries Paarl 29 December 1840
Maria Johanna Minnaar (d/o Jacob Petrus Minnaar & Elisabeth Petronella van Niekerk)
k4 Willem Jacobus Marais III born Klein Drakenstein 28 August 1848; baptised DRC Paarl 24 September 1848; wine farmer at Haartebees Kral, Paarl
marries at house of Dr Robertson, No. 54 Strand Street, Cape Town 31 March 1875
Johanna Catharina Lombard (d/o Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard & Catharina Reiniera Moolman)

14 Icometta Christina Marais born Klein Drakenstein 14 June 1883; baptised Jeonetta Christina DRC Paarl 8 July 1883; dies Southfield, Cape Town 2 April 1963
marries Wellington, Cape 23 October 1903
Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947) from Winchmore Hill, Edmonton, Middlesex, England (s/o Robert Dale & Gertrude Brown)

m1 Gertrude Christiana Dale born Wellington, Cape 18 March 1904; dies Somerset West 16 December 1981
marries DRC Maitland 30 September 1924
Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976) (s/o Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Sr & Maria Catherine Holloway)

n4 Maria Catherine Priem born Cape Town 20 February 1933; dies Worcester, Cape 30 October 1996; buried Villiersdorp
marries Springs 10 February 1955
William Mansell Upham (s/o William George Upham & Hester Maria Johanna Basson)

o4 Mansell George Upham born Welkom, Orange Free State 16 April 1960

e2 Anna Margaretha Botha baptised 5 January 1716; died 1765
marries 27 August 1730
Johannes Janse van Rensburg (s/o Nicolaas Jansen (from Rendsburg [Schleswig-Holstein, Germany]) & Aletta van der Merwe, wid. Marthinus van Staden)

f1 Elsie Botha baptised 13 March 1740
marries 21 November 1756 1st cousin once removed
Christoffel Lombard (s/o Anthonie Lombard & Johanna Snyman)
he marries (2) 11 April 1773 Maria Johanna Walters

e3 Jacobus Botha baptised 8 August 1717; burgher Drakenstein
marries 26 April 1739
Sophia van Rooyen (d/o Cornelis van Rooyen from Gorinchem & Jacomina van Deventer)

f2 Johannes Botha baptised 5 March 1719

f3 Christoffel Botha baptised 21 July 1720

f4 Hans Jurgen Botha baptised 11 October 1722; burgher Swellendam
marries 27 February 1752
Barbara Paasen (d/o Pieter Paasen & Magdalena Munnik (from Mauritius), wid. Thomas Ferreyn)

f5 Elsie Botha baptised 6 April 1760
marries (1) 31 March 1782
Carel Pieter Rog (s/o Johanna Christoffel Rog / Rogge from Neustadt a.d. Dosse & Martha de Jager
marries (2) 11 November 1792
Casparus Bresler (s/o Johannes Bresler from Hesse-Cassel & Sara Dreyer)

f6 Barbara Magdalena Rog baptised 2 July 1784
marries 17 November 1799 2nd cousin once removed
Johannes Gerhardus Lombard (s/o Christoffel Lombard, wid. Elsie Botha & Maria Johanna Walters)

f7 Carolina Petronella Rog baptised 19 December 1790
marries Stellenboech 6 January 1811 2nd cousin once removed
Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard (s/o Christoffel Lombard, wid. Elsie Botha & Maria Johanna Walters; grandson of Anthonie Lombard & Johanna Snyman) (1786-1865);
He marries (2) Catharina Reiniera Moolman

**Casparus Johannes Reynhard Bresler** born Swellendam 1795; baptised 20 January 1796; farmer at Klipfontein, Zwartland; dies Jonkuiilen, Zwartland 5 July 1872 aged 77

marrieds(1) de facto April 1816
Hester Maria de Villiers

marries (2) Zwartland 5 October 1817
Hester Maria Johanna Louw (1788-1863) (d/o Adriaan Louw & Hester Aletta Louw, born Louw)

**Hester Maria Johanna Bresler** born Paardeberg 20 August 1823; baptised Zwartland 21 September 1823; dies Hartebeesfontein, Riebeeck West 26 October 1896 aged 73; buried Riebeeck West Cemetery

married Zwartland 28 September 1840
Michiel Smuts (1819-1900) (s/o Martinus Smuts & Maria Magdalena Loedolff)

**Hester Maria Johanna Smuts** born Klawervlei, Zwartland 18 November 1841; baptised Zwartland 19 December 1841; dies Malmesbury 7 July 1901 aged 61

married Zwartland (Malmesbury) 6 October 1862
Hendrik Christiaan Blatt (1841-post 1903 ante/ 1912) (s/o Jan Daniel Blatt & Maria Jacoba van Aarde)

**Maria Jacoba Blatt** born Klawervlei 19 July 1870; baptised Zwartland 21 August 1870; dies Brooklyn, Cape Town 27 August 1945 Stellenbosch; buried Stellenbosch
married 20 February 1893 Cape Town
Matthys Michiel Basson (18646-1942) (s/o Jan Hendrik Basson & Susanna Johanna Jacoba Bauermeister)

**Hester Maria Johanna Basson** born 9 December 1895 Porterville; died Johannesburg 23 January 1930

married Cape Town 3 February 1919
William George Upham (1894-1933) (s/o Joseph George Upham (from Beachy Head [dist. Eastbourne, Sussex, England]) & Alice Maud Petersen)

**William Mansell Upham** born Johannesburg 25 April 1927

married Springs 10 February 1955 his distant cousin Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996) (d/o Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhofer Priem Jr & Gertrude Christiana Dale)

**Mansell George Upham** born Welkom, Orange Free State 16 April 1960

**Hans Jurgen Botha** baptised 4 October 17647

marries 1st cousin once removed (also 2nd cousin once removed)
Anna Catharina Lange (1776-1809)

**Margaretha Johanna Hendrika Botha**

marries
Willem Jacobus Marais I

**Willem Jacobus Marais II** (born 1821)

married 1841
Maria Johanna Minnaar

**Willem Jacobus Marais III** (born 1842)

married 1875
Johanna Catharina Lombard (born 1855)

**Icometta Christina Marais** (1883-1963)

married 1903
Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947)

**Gertrude Christiana Dale** (1904-1981)

married 1924
Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhofer Priem Jr (1895-1976)
14 Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996) marries 1955 William Mansell Upham (born 1927)
m4 Mansell George Upham born Welkom, Orange Free State 16 April 1960
e7 Frederik Botha baptised 27 August 1724
e8 Elsie Botha baptised 6 October 1726 marries (1) 1745 Hermanus Potgieter (s/o Hans Jurgen Potgieter & Cornelia Botha) marries (2) 31 October 1756 her 1st cousin Daniel Lombard (s/o Anthonie Lombard & Johanna Snyman)
e9 Martinus Christoffel Botha baptised 6 February 1729; burgher Swellendam marries 9 October 1757 Sara Maria Barnard (d/o Adam Barnard & Maria Elizabeth Dietlof) She married (2) 13 April 1800 Christiaan Lourens Roelofse
e10 Petrus / Pieter Botha baptised 10 June 1731; burgher Swellendam marries (1) 21 August 1749 Catharina Potgieter (d/o Hans Jurgen Potgieter & Cornelia Botha) marries (2) 16 August 1772 Anna Catharina van Be(u)len (d/o Jan Jans von Bollen from the Dithmarsh & Anna van der Heyde van de Caep) She marries (2) 20 May 1787 Ernst Jacob Stengel (from Hohenhaslach [Württemberg])
d6 Johanna Snijman baptised Janne Drakenstein 25 October 1699 marries 7 February 1717 Anthonie Lombard (s/o Pierre Lombard (from Pontaix [Dauphiné, France]) & Marie Couteau (1689-1718) from Soudière [Crest, Dauphiné])
e1 Margaretha Lombard baptised 20 March 1718 marries 21 December 1738 Stephanus Sebastiaan Walters (s/o Samuel Walters (from Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] / Lübeck) & Maria van der Westhuizen, wid. Cornelis van Niekerk))
e2 Maria Lombard baptised 8 January 1721
e3 Anthonie Lombard baptised 29 March 1722 marries 1 November 1744 Isabella Potgieter (d/o Hans Jurgen Potgieter & Cornelia Botha) She marries (2) Christiaan Godlieb Lessing
e4 Elisabeth Lombard baptised 5 December 1723 marries 9 November 1742 Nicolaas Laubscher (s/o Jan Albert Laubscher & Sibella Pasman) He married (2) 10 March 1759 Sophia Basson
e5 Johannes Lombard baptised 4 March 1725; burgher Stellenbosch marries 21 January 1748 1st cousin once removed Aletta van Staden (d/o Marthinus van Staden & Catharina Botha) She marries (2) Zwartland 29 May 1757 Gottfried Drosky / Droskie from Königsberg, (s/o Johann Christofel Drosky & Maria Klein) (dies 1777) She marries (3) 9 August 1778 Johanna Theobold Andreas (1723-1800) from Groszengottern, wid. Hippolita Christina Steedefeld;
f4 Margaretha Lombard marries Johann Friedrich Lange (from Gorsleben)
g1 Anna Catharina Lange baptised 14 January 1776 marries 1st cousin once removed (also her 2nd cousin once removed) Hans Jurgen Botha
h1 Margaretha Johanna Hendrika Botha
marries
Willem Jacobus Marais I

i4  Willem Jacobus Marais II (born 1821)
marries 1840
Maria Johanna Minnaar

j4  Willem Jacobus Marais III (born 1842)
marries 1875
Johanna Catharina Lombard (born 1855)

k4  Icometta Christina Marais (1883-1963)
marries 1903
Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947)

l1  Gertrude Christiana Dale (1904-1981)
marries 1924
Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)

m4  Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996)
marries 1955
William Mansell Upham (born 1927)

n4  Mansell George Upham (born 1960)

e6  Christoffel Lombard baptised 28 April 1726
marries(1) 21 November 1756 1st cousin once removed
Elsie Botha (d/o Jacobus Botha & Sophia van Rooyen)
marrries (2) 11 April 1773
Maria Johanna Walters (d/o Nicolaas Walters & Johanna Maria van den Brink)

f18  Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard born Riebeeck Kasteel 25 October 1786; baptised 19 November 1786; dies Caledon 14 July 1865
marries (1) Stellenbosch 6 January 1811 2nd cousin once removed
Carolina Petronella Rog (d/o Carel Pieter Rog & Elsie Botha) (granddaughter of Hans Jurgen Botha & Barbara Paasen) (great-granddaughter of Jacobus Botha & Elsie Snyman); died Koeberg 20 January 1840
marries (2)
Catharina Reiniera Moolman (dies 1856) (d/o Johannes Zacharias Moolman & Susanna Elisabeth Otto)

g3  Elzabe / Elsie Lombard born 12 June 1816; baptised Zwartland 28 July 1816
marries (1) Zwartland 7 September 1839
Johannes Hendrik Albertus Basson
marries (2)
J.J. le Roux

g9  Johanna Catharina Lombard born 13 September 1855
marries 1875
Willem Jacobus Marais III (born 1842)

h4  Icometta Christina Marais (1883-1963) baptised Jeanetta Christina
marries 1903
Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947) (from Winchmore Hill [Edmonton, Middlesex, England])

i1  Gertrude Christiana Dale (1904-1981)
marries 1924
Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)

j4  Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996)
marries 1955
William Mansell Upham (born 1927)

k4  Mansell George Upham (born 1960)

e7  Johanna Lombard baptised 10 April 1729
marries 27 February 1754
Benjamin Nöthling (from Deetz [Brandenburg]) (s/o Johann Jacob Nöthling) dies 21 July 1778

f1 Johanna Jacoba Nöthling baptised 16 March 1755; died in infancy

f2 Johanna Margaretha Nöthling born 29 June 1756; 4 July 1756; died 25 February 1807
marries 2 February 1777
François Renier Duminy (from Lorient [Brittany (Bretagne), France])

f3 Johan Joachim Nicolaas Nöthling baptised 6 August 1758; died in infancy

f4 Johan Anthonie Christoffel Nöthling baptised 18 January 1761
marries 2 February 1777
François Renier Duminy (from Lorient [Brittany (Bretagne), France])

f5 Maria Elisabeth Nöthling baptised 25 December 1763

f6 Jacob Adriaan Nöthling baptised 18 August 1765

f7 Johan Adolph Nöthling baptised 28 September 1766

f8 Elisabeth Susanna Nöthling baptised 11 September 1768
marries 17 October 1784
François de Lettre (from Troyes [Champagne, France])

f9 Frederik Willem Nöthling baptised 21 January 1770
dies unmarried 7 March 1836 aged 66 years, 2 months & 21 days at house of brother-in-law French Consul, Mr François de Lettre, No. 2 Church Square, Cape Town.
he owns the place De Verloren Doos on slopes of de Kleine Blaauw Berg at Blaauw Berg (granted 1806)

e8 Magdalena Lombard baptised 21 January 1731
marries 30 August 1748
Christiaan Krynauw (s/o Daniel Krynauw (from Grabow) & Johanna Jordaan)
He marries (2) 14 October 1781 Maria Elisabeth Groenewald

e9 Daniel Lombard baptised 1 June 1732
marries 31 October 1756 1st cousin
Elsie Botha, wid. Hermanus Potgieter (d/o Jacobus Botha & Elsie Snyman)

d7 Philippus Snijman baptised Philippe Drakenstein 24 July 1701; pre-deceased his mother [CA: 1/STB 10/8, no. 55 (will: Philip Snijman, 1734)]
marries 14 April 1726

Johanna Margaretha van Deventer (d/o Gerrit Jansz: van Deventer (from Veldcamp) & Adriana Jacobs: (from Rotterdam))
she marries (2) 1735 Johann Heinrich Debes / Delits (from Hesse-Cassel) who owns the farm Compagnies Rivier at Drakenstein by whom she has 4 children

e1 Christoffel Snijman baptised 9 March 1727; burgher Drakenstein; dies January 1783
marries (1) 8 September 1748
Maria Johanna Potgieter
marries (2) Drakenstein 1 March 1750
Anna Margaretha van Rooyen

e2 Philippus / Philip Snijman baptised 22 August 1728; burgher Drakenstein
marries 21 February 1751
Elsie Potgieter

e3 Gerrit Snijman baptised 14 May 1730; burgher Swellendam
marries 16 March 1760
Magdalena Joosten

e4 Jacobus Snijman baptised 25 May 1732; burgher Drakenstein
marries 1 April 1753
Ann Sophia van der Merwe
d8 Susanna Snijman baptised Drakenstein 28 October 1703
marries c. 1722
Jacob Coetzer / Coetsier / Kutzer,
from Setry near Vienna (s/o Wenzelelaus Kutzer) widower of Cornelia Halms / Helm / Helmes, widow of Arie van Wyk
they farm at Blomkool at Achter Paarl

1 Susanna Margaretha Coetzer baptised 11 March 1723
marries 19 April 1744
Johann Adolf Kuuhl (from Lübeck) (s/o Hinrich Kühl)
14 children

2 Maria Magdalena Coetzer baptised 10 February 1724

3 Maria Elisabeth Coetzer baptised 19 February 1727
marries 8 August 1754
Salomon van Echten Jr (s/o Ds. Salomon van Echten (from Haarlem))

4 Wensel Christoffel Coetzer baptised 11 July 1728
marries 13 February 1752
Elisabeth du Toit

5 Philippus Jacobus Coetzer baptised 3 September 1730
he farms at Blomkool at Achter Paarl (1764-1776)

6 Jeremias Coetzer baptised 7 February 1732
marries (1) 17 April 1763
Susanna du Toit
marries (2) 12 April 1772
Eleonora Lorentse

7 Anna van Helsdingen baptised 11 June 1724; dies young

8 Maria Elisabeth van Helsdingen baptised 19 August 1725;

9 Margaretha Therisia van Helsdingen baptised 27 June 1727;

10 Jan Christoffel van Helsdingen baptised 21 November 1728; dies in infancy

11 Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen baptised 1 April 1731; dies in infancy

12 Magdalena Elisabeth van Helsdingen (1733-1763) baptised 20 December 1733; dies 1763
marries 4 September 1757
Johann Heinrich / Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1721-1805) (from Ibbenbüren) (s/o Stephanus Hofmeyr & Elisabeth Joostmeyer)
he marries (2) 17 February 1765 Anna Spiegelberg & marries (3) 2 February 1772 Maria Wilhelmina Smuts, wid. Bartholomew Bosch

13 Johannes / Jan Guilliam van Helsdingen baptised 20 May 1736
marries (1) 20 December 1761
Helena Judith Pentz
marries (2) 29 September 1776

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Leonora Loret, wid. Jeremias Coetzer

e8 Anna Susanna van Helsdingen baptised 15 April 1740
marries
Christman Joël Ackermann (s/o Christiaan Ackermann (from Kötschen [Saxony]) & Margaretha de Villiers, wid. Jean le Sage (from Dieppe))

e9 Elisabeth Therisia van Helsdingen baptised 14 July 1748

D10 Cornelia Viljoen baptised 5 March 1708; died young
D11 Frans Viljoen baptised 26 December 1709; died young
D12 Henning Viljoen baptised 12 March 1712; died young
D13 Henning Viljoen born 1713; burgher Drakenstein
marries 6 November 1732
Susanna Durand (d/o Jean Durand from La Motte Chalançon in Dauphiné & Wilhelmina van Zyl from Haarlem)

e1 Margaretha Cornelia Viljoen baptised 9 January 1734

E2 Johannes Viljoen baptised 17 July 1735
marries 4 May 1758
Anna Cornelia Venter (d/o Pieter Venter & Hester Nel)

E3 Margaretha Theresia Viljoen baptised 2 June 1737

E4 Wilhelmina Johanna Viljoen baptised 14 August 1740

E5 Cornelia Viljoen baptised 13 October 1743
marries (1)13 November 1763
Johannes van Aswegen (s/o Hinderich van Eischwede / Aschwede & Anna Catharina Mulder)
maries (2) 25 October 1789
marries (3)
Gerrit Visser

F2 Susanna Elisabeth van Aswegen baptised 12 October 1766
marries 21 October 1781
Andries Otto (1759-1818) (s/o Michiel Otto & Johanna Catharina Piek)
He marries (2) 29 July 1806 Elisabeth Catharina Reyniera van der Riet

G4 Susanna Elisabeth Otto baptised 17 August 1788
marries Stellenbosch 1 September 1805
Johannes Zacharias Moolman (1781-1858) (s/o Petrus Lafras Moolman & Johanna Wessels)

H4 Catharina Reiniera Moolman baptised Catharina Elisabeth 24 April 1814; dies 1856
marries Swellendam 4 September 1840
Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard, widower of Carolina Petronella Rog (d/o Carel Pieter Rog & Elsie Botha)
(granddaughter of Hans Jurgen Botha & Barbara Paasen)
(great-granddaughter of Jacobus Botha & Elsie Snyman) (dies Koeberg 20 January 1840)
born Riebeeck Kasteel 25 October 1786; baptised 19 November 1786; dies Caledon 14 July 1865

I9 Johanna Catharina Lombard born 13 September 1855
marries 1875
Willem Jacobus Marais III (born 1842)

J4 Iconetta Christina Marais (1883-1963) baptised Jeanetta Christina
marries 1903
Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947) from Winchmore Hill, Edmonton, Middlesex, England

K1 Gertrude Christina Dale (1904-1981)
marries 1924
Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L4</th>
<th>Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996)</th>
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<tr>
<td>m4</td>
<td>William Mansell Upham (born 1927)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mansell George Upham (born 1960)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e6</td>
<td>Elizabeth Viljoen baptised 20 March 1746</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries 3 April 1763</td>
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<td>Arie Willem van Wyk (s/o Gerrit van Wyk &amp; Maria Magdalena Eykhoff)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e7</td>
<td>Franciscus Jonathan Viljoen baptised 2 March 1749</td>
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<td>e8</td>
<td>Jonathan Viljoen baptised 13 September 1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e9</td>
<td>Pieter Albertus Viljoen baptised 13 February 1752</td>
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<td>e10</td>
<td>Johannes Hercules Viljoen baptised 29 April 1753</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries (1) 5 May 1776</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anna Jacoba Kruger</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries (2) 30 May 1779</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Barbara Jacomina Peltzer (d/o Abraham Pelser &amp; Engela Catharina Zaaiman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e11</td>
<td>Albertus Viljoen baptised 31 August 1755</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries 25 May 1777</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johanna Elisabeth Griesel (d/o Johannes David Griesel / Grooteschel from Copenhagen, Denmark) &amp; Anna Maria Jacoba Pelser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e12</td>
<td>Johannes Hendricus Viljoen baptised 2 July 1758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries 2 November 1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Susanna Elisabeth Lubbe (d/o Willem Lubbe &amp; Elisabeth Geertruy van der Merwe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c5 | Barbe-Thérèse de Savoye / Barbara Therisia de Savoije baptised Sint-Jacobs, Fridagmarkt, Ghent 20 May 1674  |
|    | marries (1)  |
|    | Christiaen Ehlers / Elers / Eilers (from Germany)  |
|     | baker in Cape Town; dies 1703  |
|    | MOOC 7/1/2, no. 94 (will: Barbara de Savoye, 1714)  |
|    | MOOC 8/1 (Christiaen Eijlers & Barbara de Savoijen), no. 77  |
|    | MOOC 13/1/2 (Boedel Reekeningen 1723-1737), no. 53 (Barbara Therisia de Savoije, laat wed:uwje Elias Quina)  |
|    | MOOC 10/3 (Vendu Rollen 1722-1731), no. 81 (Barbara Therisa de Savoye, wife of Elias Kina)  |
|    | marries (2) 3 January 1706  |
|    | Elias Kina / Quina (1670-1714) (from Amsterdam)  |
|    | children from first union:  |
| d1 | Maria Margriet Ehlers baptised Maria Magriet Cape 15 July 1697 (father: Christiaen Ehlers & Berbara de Savoije; witnesses: Jacob de Savoije & Maria Magdalena Kolert [sic])  |
| d2 | Anna Margareta Ehlers baptised Cape 21 June 1699 (father: Christiaan Elerts; mother: Barbara de Savoije; witness: Margareta de Savoije)  |
| d3 | Ernst Christiaanse Ehlers baptised Cape 13 March 1701 (father: Christiaan Elers; mother: Barbara de Savoije; witnesses: Hermanus Elers & Christina van Loveren)  |
| d4 | Christina Ehlers baptised 9 September 1703 (father: Christiaan Elers; mother: Barbara de Savoije; witnesses: David Elers & Aletta de Savoije)  |
|     | marries 10 December 1730  |
|     | Joachim Nikolaus von Dessin (from Rostock [Mecklenburg]) (s/o Christian Adolf von Dessin, captain in the Swedish army & Margaretha Elisabeth von Hüinemörder); dies 18 September 1761  |
|     | [DSAB I]  |
|     | both wife & daughter predeceased him  |
| e1 | Barbara Theresia von Dessin baptised 16 December 1731; dies unmarried  |
|    | children from second union:  |
d5  Jacob Kina  baptised Cape 30 January 1707  (father: Elias Kina; mother: Barbara de Savoije; witnesses: Maria Magdalena de Clercq)

d6  Magdalena Elisabeth Kina  baptised Cape 8 July 1708  (father: Elias Quina; mother: Barbara Theresia d’Savoije; witnesses: Gillis Soullier & Anna Koulhen)  
marries 12 November 1730 
David d’Ailly  (s/o Jean / Johan d’Ailly from Amsterdam & Johanna de Potter)  
Union childless [?]

d7  Abraham Nicolaas Kina  baptised Cape 25 May 1710  (father: Elias Kina; mother: Barbara Therisia de Savoije; witnesses: Nicolaas Heijning & Vermeij); unmarried


d8  Susanna Kina  baptised 6 August 1713  
marries 29 March 1737 / 8 May 1739  [?]  
Christoffel Ludwig Rhenius from Lübeck  
Union childless [?]

c6  Chrétien de Savoye  baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent 27 June 1676; died in infancy; buried Ghent 30 September 1676

c7  Susanne de Savoye  baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent 27 January 1678 from second union:

c8  Jacques de Savoye  baptised Middelburg, Zeeland 12 April 1687; dies young

c9  Jacquette  baptised Middelburg, Zeeland 12 April 1687; dies in infancy

c10  Aletta  baptised Cape 17 July 1689  
MOOC 7/1/5, no. 46 (Will: Aletta de Savoy, 1733) 
marries  
Pierre Meyer  (from Château-Queyras [Dauphiné, France]);  
arries 1688 on Wapen van Alkmaar;  
18 July 1692 granted farm at Groot Drakenstein (later part of consolidated Nieuwendorp)  
which he sells (12 February 1694) to Cornelis Obitz  (from Trondheim [Norway]);  
deacon of Drakenstein Church; farms in partnership with Jean Durand  (from la Motte-Chalançon [Dauphiné]) who farms at Bergen Henegouw at Simondium [is farm named after Jacques de Savoye’s province of origin?];  
1705 moves to Table Valley  
detained (1706) by Willem Adriaan van der Stel; dies Cape c. 1713 (victim of smallpox epidemic?)

1712: purchases Klein Constantia / Petite Constance later De Hoop op Constantia & Bergvliet – 2 sub-divisions of Constantia [former sold from deceased estate to Johannes Jurgen Kotze & latter to Jan Brommert]

d1  Susanna / Suzanne Meyer  baptised Cape 3 August 1704  (father: Pieter Mijer; mother: Aletta de Savoije; witnesses: Jacob de Savoije & Maria Magdalena de Clerck)  
marries (1)  
Johannes van Baars(s)enburg  (from Maastricht)  
marries (2) 1742  
[Jacobs van der Spuy  (s/o Melt van der Spuy (from Rotterdam) & Maria van der Poel]

e1  Johanna Aletta Baarsenburg  baptised Cape Town 25 December 1739  
e2  Maria Isabella van der Spuy  baptised 13 January 1743  
marries 27 January 1782  
Gerhardus Munnik, wid. Elisabeth Lubbe  (s/o Jan Albertus Munnik & Jacoba de Waal)

e3  Susanna Johanna van der Spuy  baptised 22 November 1744  
marries 9 February 1777  
Andries van Sittert  (s/o Johannes van Sittert (from Elburg [Gelderland]) & Elisabeth de Waal)

e4  Aletta Petronella van der Spuy  baptised 29 October 1747  
marries 10 December 1769  
Carl Friedrich Brink  (from Berlin)  
they relocate to the Netherlands

d2  Jacobus Meyer  baptised Cape 11 July 1706  (father: Pieter Meijer; mother: Aletta Savoije; no witnesses) [baptism not in De Villiers/Pama]; dies young
Maria Magdalena / Marie-Madeleine Meyer baptised Cape 6 September 1707
(father: Pieter Meyer; mother: Alida de Savoije; witnesses: Fransiscus
Engelbertus de le Boucq & Susanna de Roo)
marries 25 February 1742
Adriaan Deneys / den Neys (from Amsterdam)
e1 Jacob Pieter Deneys baptised 29 August 1742; dies 25 November 1793; VOC merchant; superintendent at Sadsrputnam; later acting fiscal of the Cape
marries divorcee
Sophia Touken / Tauken / Bergh (from Mauritius), widow of Sybrand Steen (from Denmark), & divorced wife of Maalj Ansela’s grandson Simon Petrus Bergh (d/o Johanna Heinrich Tauken & Catharina Kel)
e1 Aletta Jacoba Meyer baptised 12 September 1734
marries
Anna Juliana van der Heever

Pieter Johannes Meyer baptised 11 May 1738
marries
Johann Jacobus Herder (from Kreuznach) (s/o Johann Adam Harder & Maria Elisabeth Keeler)
he marries (2) Maragertha Noethin

Johannes van der Laan; and Dirkie Matthijsz: Westerhout)
marries divorcee
Sophia Touken / Tauken / Bergh (from Mauritius), widow of Sybrand Steen (from Denmark), & divorced wife of Maalj Ansela’s grandson Simon Petrus Bergh (d/o Johanna Heinrich Tauken & Catharina Kel)
e1 Aletta Jacoba Meyer baptised 12 September 1734
marries
Pieter Johannes Meyer baptised 11 May 1738
marries
Anna Juliana van der Heever

Pieter / Pierre Meyer dies young

Maria Isabella / Marie-Isabelle Meyer baptised 18 November 1714
marries 13 March 1740
Pieter Haksteen (from Amsterdam [North Holland])
emigrates to Batavia

Sebastiaan Philippus / Sebastien-Philippe Meyer baptised 31 May 1716; dies young

Catharina Meyer baptised 6 March 1718
marries 24 July 1740
Johann Conrad / Jan Coenraad Warnecke (from Osterwieck); dies 30 November 1764
e1 Hendrik Pieter Warnecke baptised 5 August 1742
marries (1) 25 October 1761
Hendrina Aletta Loubser
marries (2) 25 November 1770
Susanna Meyer
e2 Johan Frederik Warnecke baptised 28 November 1745
e3 Anna Aletta Warnecke baptised 30 July 1747

Philippe-Rodolphe / Philippus Rudolphus de Savoije baptised Philippe Rodolf Drakenstein 29 August 1694
1715: returns as VOC soldier to Cape on Westerdijxhorn
15 September 1716: admitted as member to Cape congregation;
19 December 1719: outgoing deacon of the Cape Church
never marries
CA: CJ 2655, no. 16 (Will: Philip Rudolph de Savoije) [he signs PRDeSavoije]
CA: MOOC 7/1/6, no. 80 (Copy of will: Philip Rudolph de Savoije 1737)
Resolution (19 December 1719) of the Council of Policy, vol. 5 (1716-1719), p. 396

Jean de Savoije born Hainault
joiner resident at Langegracht & Donkersteeg at Leyden, Netherlands; dies Leyden 5 January 1692

marries Leyden 12 September 1681

Julienne du Pont born Ath (d/o Benoist du Pont & Jeanne Dué)

  c1 Jeanne de Savoye born Leyden 19 August 1682
  c2 Jean de Savoye & baptised 5 August 1685 Leyden; dies in infancy
  c3 Marie de Savoye born Leyden 14 March 1688
APPENDIX 11: MARIA VAN BENGALE – GENEALOGY

Maria van Bengale aka Maria de de Cuit Malabar – slave belonging to Anthonij Jansz: de Later van Bengale... een slave van Antoijn van Bengale & his wife Groote Catharina van Paliacatta

12 March 1676: arrives at Cape on board Sparendam proceeding ex Batavia to Galle, Ceylon to collect rice & new governor (Joan Bax van Herentals replacing IJsbrand Goske), both bound for & Cape – Bax, however, arrives earlier on Voorhout instead

27 April 1676: sold by Jan Jacobsz: de Sloop, skipper of Sparendam, to Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale for Rds 35 – same skipper also sells slaves Salamme, Jacob Casta Malabar & Diana van Coch (aged 19 years) to other Cape free-burghers.

30 June 1686: Maria van Bengale baptized as bejaerde (30 June 1686) with future husband den Chinees Domingo van Bengale.

18 May 1691: marries de Chinees Dominicus d’Moor / Domingo van Bengale / Batavia

Dominicus d’Moor / Domingo van Bengale / Batavia

28 August 1657: ex-VOC sold to condemned death in Batavia – sentence to be shot, pardoned & exiled on Robben Island

1 April 1658: arrives at Cape as convict (bandiet)

17 July 1658: sent to Robben Island but stows away in return fleet; apprehended remains with skipper Campen on St Helena with others to guard VOC equipment and is written off the Company books at the Cape, returning to Cape

1672: likely pardoned / rehabilitated & listed as soldier in garrison

Although joint will of Domingo van Bengale & Maria van Bengale makes no mention of any children, Maria does in fact baptise (7 April 1680) at least a daughter, Elisabeth [Elisabeth Marcusz]:. In all likelihood she has other children born in slavery, but privately-owned (if halfslag entitled to freedom at legal majority). At least 3 likely daughters are baptised as adults. Significantly Anna Maria Dominicus and Elisabeth Marcusz: witness the baptisms of the 2 children of Johanna (Jannetje Hansen / Rutgertroost – presumably their half-sister

b1 Elisabeth Marcusz: / Marxse: heelslag [?] private slave born Cape c. 1679; baptized Cape 7 April 1680

marries (1st) de facto Christoffel Armregt / Armbrecht (from Bodenweiler)

marries (2nd) de facto Dirk Janse de Graaf

marries (3rd) de facto Daniel Meerkens

marries (4th) de facto Pieter Knurf

c1 Wilhelm Armbrrecht baptized Cape 3 October 1700 (no witnesses)

c2 Johanna Elisabeth baptized Cape 4 February 1703 eodem die [4 Febr:] van Dirk Janse de Graaf en Elisabeth [name deleted] Marxse, onder getuigen van Jan Harmentz: [Woltering], en Lucretia van Bengale, gen:[aemt] Johanna Elisabeth

c3 Dirkje de Graaf baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 7 December 1704 (witnesses: Emanuel van Macassar492 & Sytje van Macassar493)

492 Emanuel / Manuel van Macasser & Maria van Ceilon / van Malabar – recorded as twee oude en afgeleerde vrijegewen slaven van d’heer Andries d’Man Saliger gewesen; both manumitted (1695) by Elsje van Suerwaarden (Mrs De Man); free-fisherman; Manuel van Macassar purchases (12 December 1696) an erf in Table Valley [Block L] from Jan de Soeza (5 r 56) (76,9 sq. m.); couple listed in Opgaaf (1705): 1 man; 1 wife [unnamed]; no children; he witnesses (with Constantia van de Cap) (13 May 1708) baptism of slave Amerentie, slave child belonging to Gerrit Jansz: van Aart & daughter of Anna van Bengaalen.

493 Seijtje / Sijtje / Zijtje van Macassar (born c. 1670); she (then aged 20/21) given in loan (25 May 1690) by Franciscus Villerius, skipper of Pijlswaard to Jan Holsmit who undertakes to look after her maintenance until Villerius returns to Holland [note is added to this document, stating that the brother of the by now deceased Villerius is only heir & entitled to claim Sijtje of Macassar]; given in loan (27 February 1698) to free-black [sic], Octavia [sic] van Macassar, by Holsmit about to return to Patria; Octavius / Octavio van Macassar arrives in company of brother-in-law Prince Dayan Majampe (1681)
Johannes Meerkens baptized Cape 20 May 1708 (witnesses: Pieter Pietersz: de Groot & Willemina Willem[s] van de Caap);
Johanna Meerkens baptized Cape 18 August 1709 (witnesses: Cornelis van der Laan & Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout);
Hendrik Knurf baptized Cape 22 May 1712 (witnesses: Steeven Winterhof & Willemina Willem[s] van de Caap);

Johanna (Jannetje / Jannetie) Hans: Hans: Hansen: Rutger troost aka Johanna (Antonisz:) van de Caap heelslag born c. 1681; baptised Cape as bejaerde (15 June 1704) – slave of Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel);

Maria Vermeulen baptized Cape 11 September 1707 (father: Derk Vermeulen; mother: Jannetie Hanse); marries 13 December 1733 Gideon de Wege;
Cornelis Vermeulen baptized Cape 12 August 1708 (father: Dirck Cornelisz; mother Jannetje Hans): marries Stellenbosch 24 November 1743 Adriana Plooy (d/o Simon Plooy & Catharina Coopmans:);

[She has sexual relations when still a minor with Cape aborigine named Hermanus, by whom she has a son, which illegal activity necessitates intervention by the Orphan Chamber & Council of Justice – matter heard by the Council of Justice & referred to the landdrost Pieter Lourens:]

Maria Vermeulen: Cape 20 May 1708 (witnesses: Pieter Pietersz: de Groot & Willemina Willem[s] van de Caap)
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Johanna (Jannetje / Jannetie) Hans: Hans: Hansen: Rutger troost aka Johanna (Antonisz:) van de Caap heelslag born c. 1681; baptised Cape as bejaerde (15 June 1704) – slave of Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel)

What happens to him thereafter is not known.

Maria Vermeulen: Cape 11 September 1707 (father: Derk Vermeulen; mother: Jannetie Hanse); marries 13 December 1733 Gideon de Wege
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Johanna (Jannetje / Jannetie) Hans: Hans: Hansen: Rutger troost aka Johanna (Antonisz:) van de Caap heelslag born c. 1681; baptised Cape as bejaerde (15 June 1704) – slave of Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel)
Hel van Juffrou Visser, farmer at (from Speyer), widower of 1732

496 endemic family concubinage, adultery, bastardy, métissage, manumission, propinquity and consanguinity in 17th century Cape of Good Hope

[Elberts:] Wilhelm (Willem) Rubeck [Rube / Rubeek] (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]); marries 10 February 1700 Susanna Visser(s) (from Ommen [Overijssel]); baptiz ed Stellenbosch 11 April 1700 [Hell and Paradise], ijs gedoop den 11 Aprijel 1700 Spier Elbers [Elberts]; dies c. 1729; daughter of private slave: alsoo zij, Ariaantje Plooij grootelijk hebben gemancqueert, door haar, Eew:ns eenpariglijk goedgevonden en geresolvele alle 't voorenstaande aan den E:nde Agtb:nde Raad van Justitie

1741. 8. Maart de minderjaarige Ariaantje Plooij ingevoel de genoemene resolutie van den 22. den laast geweest maand Febr:ij met ene benewens haar moeder Catharina Coopman wed:[duw] Simon Plooij, en broeder Willem Plooij onder welkers opsigte zij door dese Camer is besteed, teegens anstaande vergadering sullend zijn den 8 Maart bij missive voor 't collegie te ontbieden.

Als Eerstelijk ten reguaarde van 't bedreevende feijt door voorn: Hottentot Hermanus, doenmaals bij de wed:[duw] Willem Rubeek woonende, bij haar gekoome was, ende haar door dreijgemeente van haar te sullen vermoorden so ver gebragt hadde, dat zij sig aan zijne begeerte hadde overgeeven, en dus vleeselijk van hem bekent was,issen dat zij beijde hunne vleeselijke conversatie nog drie agter een volgende dagen met den anderen gecontinueert hebbende zij Ariaantje Plooij haarselfen vervolgens had bevonden van hem bevruyt te zijn, gelijk zij dat ook eijendijkel naar in de vijfde maand van haar swangergaan sulx aan haar voorengecicteerde moeder en broeder, die 't selve meede affirmeerden, bekend gemaakt te hebben, nu vijf maanden geleeden verlos was van 't door haar ter vergadering vertoont werdende kind, waar van zij constantelijk betuijge den voorn: Hottentot Hermanus en geen ander de vader te zijn. Soo is naar desen aangaande met rijpheijd van raaden gedelibereert, vleeselijke conversatie nog drie agter een volgende dagen met den anderen overgeeven, en dus vleeslijk van hem bekent was, wissen dat zij beijde hunne resolutie van den 22. den laast geweest maand Febr:ij met ene benewens haar ontugt had overgewonnen, soo is goedgevonden tot ontdeckinge van van hem bevrugt te zijn, gelijk zij dat ook eijndelijk naar in de vijfde maand van gecontinueert hebbende zij moedwillijk hebben verswegen, ende dus in haar verpligte respect omtrent dit mitsg:[ade]rs aandagtelijk gepondereert te hebben, men deese Camer sonder eenig verlet hadde moeten berigten in plaatse dat zijl: nu ruijm vijf maanden geleeden een kind in ontugt had overgewonnen als wanneer a. 209

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496 Wilhelm (Willem) Rubeck [Rube / Rubeek] (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]); marries 10 February 1732 Susanna Visser(s): alias Susanna Elbert(t)s: born 1694; formerly wife to Hans Heinrich Hattingh (from Speyer), widower of Marie Lanoy (from Aulus), widow of Ary Lecrévent (Arie Lekkerwijn); farmer at Spier; dies c. 1729; daughter of private slave Maria van Negapatnam by Johannes Coenraed Visser (from Ommen [Overijssel]); baptized Stellenbosch 11 April 1700 [Susanna] dochter van de meijdt van Juffrou Elbers [Elberts] [Geertruida Elberts: – Mrs Wessel Pretorius], de getuigen Gertruij Elbers: [Elberts]: ijs gedoop den 11 April 1700; [Mansell Upham, ’Hell and Paradise ... Hope on Constantia De Hel en Het Paradijs ... De Hoop op Constantia – Jan Grof (dies 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’ (First Fifty Years, February 2012) http://www.e-family.co.za/fy/ui71.htm.
deses gouverneurs bij vertoogh voor te draagen, ende daarnieevens haar E:deg
toe, bij vertoogh voor te draagen, ende daarnieevens haar E:
dech[ar]e eerbiedig te versoeken dat 't diversel behagen moge zijn, hierinne
soodanig te disponeeren, als tot stuijtinge van dieregelijken verfoeijelijk quaad,
ende tot maintenue der eere en ontsagh van dit Collegie bevonden sal werden te
behooren.\footnote{CA: MOOC 5/1 blad No. 10 (Pupille gedefloreert, hoe gehandeld) transcribed by Mansell Upham; CA: CJ 2511 [Old No. CJ 807] (Requesten), No. 7 (Memorial: Governor Ryk Tulbagh from Orphan Chamber, 16 March 1741); Marius Valkhoff, ‘Miscegenation in South Africa in the seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries’, pp. 99-118 (translated from the German original of the late Dr. J. Hoge, University of Stellenbosch), New Light on Afrikaans-Malayo-Portuguese (Geelmuus Peeters, Impunice Orientale, Louvain 1972), p. 115; Mansell Upham, ‘Keeping the gate of Hell ... subliminal racism & early Cape carnal conversations between black men & white women’, Capensis, 2001/1, pp. 16-43.}

\begin{description}
\item[d1] Johannes illegitimate son fathered by the ‘Hottentot’ Hermanus born 1741;
\item[d2] Johanna Catharina Vermeulen baptized 6 June 1744
\item[d3] Jan Gabriel Vermeulen baptized 22 January 1747; burgher Stellenbosch;
marries (1) 1 November 1772
   Johanna Intrapniet (d/o Walter Intrapniet & Catharina Jacobs: van de Caep, wid. Reynier Carelse & granddaughter of Jan Jacobsz: van de Caep & Anna Agnieta Pieters:); paternal great-granddaughter of Jacob van Macassar & Maria van Guinea & maternal great-granddaughter of Andreas Peters (from Luebeck) by Company slave Maria Domingo van de Caep)
   marries (2) 19 November 1797
   Johanna Maria van Vrede (d/o Hendrik van Vrede (from Amsterdam) & Anna Maria Zaaiman, wid. Jan Koster (from Amsterdam) & great-great-granddaughter of Pieter Molijn Meerhoff)
\item[d4] Dirk Cornelis Vermeulen baptized 18 January 1750; burgher Drakenstein;
marries 1 November 1778
   Jacoba Johanna Landman (d/o Willem Landman (from Amsterdam) & Catharina Hoffman) (granddaughter of Maria Louisz: van de Caep) (great-granddaughter of Louis van Bengale & Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep)
she marries (2)
   Andries Pietersen
\item[d5] Guilliam Vermeulen baptized 5 November 1752; burgher Stellenbosch;
marries (1) 17 December 1780
   Maria Elisabeth Coetsee (d/o Oscert Casper Coetzee & Elsie van Wyk) (descendant of Eilie Pyl alias Speldenberg & Catharina van Malabar);
   marries (2) 23 February 1800
   Anna Elisabeth Hough (d/o Andreas Hough (from Camberg) & Christina van Zyl)
\item[d6] Maria Adriana Vermeulen born November 1753
marries (1) 18 May 1777
   Jan Andries Esterhuizen, wid. Maria Willemse: (s/o Jan Andries Esterhuyzen Sr. & Appolonia Everts)
   marries (2) 7 December 1783
   Jan Gerrit Bantjes (s/o Jan Gerrit Bantjes (from Winschoten) & Hilletje Agnieta Jacobs; grandson of Jan Jacobsz: van de Caep & Anna Agnieta Pieters: van de Caep & great-grandson of Jacob van Macassar & Maria van Guinea)
   marries (3) Stellenbosch 3 April 1796
   Johan Pieter Zeegers
\item[d7] Maria Elisabeth Vermeulen baptized 2 July 1758
marries 23 March 1780
\end{description}
Johannes Christoffel Esterhuyzen (s/o Johan Christoffel Esterhuyzen & Johanna / Anna Francina Jansen) (grandson of Barend Jansen d'Oude & Pieteranna Zaanman & great-grandson of Pieteranna Meerhoff)

**d8** Rachel Vermeulen baptized 6 March 1763

marries (1) 15 September 1781

Gilles de Korte (from Meliskerke [Walcheren Island, Zealand]); sick-comforter

marries (2) Stellenbosch 3 July 1813

Johanna Gebhard Lindenberg (from Gommern [Magdeburg]), wid. Catharina

Johanna Hauptfleisch

**d9** Jacoba Johanna Vermeulen baptized 19 October 1766

**b3** Anna Maria van de Caep alias Anna Maria Dominicus mesties / halflag born c. 1683; baptized Cape 13 December 1705 Anna Maria with daughter Elsje Katrina as privately owned slaves; manumitted 31 May 1706

marries (1) Cape 31 July 1707

Claus (Claas) Beu / Beust / Beusz: / Bue / Buis (from Aalst [Dithmarschen])

marries (2) Cape 26 December 1712

Christoffel Ameen (from Rostock)

he marries (2) Cape 31 December 1713

Jacoba Campher, wid. Joost de Clercq (d/o Laurens Campher & Anselva van de Caep)

**c1** Elsie / Elsje Catharina Beust born c. 1697; baptized Elsje Katrina with mother 13 December 1705; manumitted 31 May 1706

marries (1)

Joachim Pietersz: Posthumus (from Bolswaard [Friesland])

marries (2)

Johann Meyer (from Rothenthal / Rosenthal)

[MOOC 7/6 (Testamenten, 1736-1745], no. 93]

**d1** Ryntrje Posthumus

marries

Matthys Pietersen

**d2** Nicolaas Posthumus

**d3** Petrus Posthumus

**d4** Nicolaas Posthumus

**d5** Anna Catharina Posthumus

marries

Jan Jacobs (from ter Veere)

**d6** Albertus Posthumus

**d7** Elisabeth Posthumus

marries

Jan David Storm

**d8** Johannes Hasuerus Posthumus

**d9** Femna Posthumus

marries (1)

Albertus Johannes Myburgh

marries (2)

Philip Wouter de Vos

**b4** Cornelia van de Caeb alias Cornelia Lamans: / Lammans: van de Caep heelslag [?] born c. 1685; baptized Cape 2 October 1707 Cornelia van Caab Een bejaarde vrijmeid

Note: Oloff Bergh sues den schipper Jan Jansen Laman for injurie

Note: Claas Laman listed in Opgaaf (1691) immediately after Martje Pieters: [Marritie Pieters:] met haar zoon Joh. [annes] de Vry

Her heirs are her minor children: Susanna Coetzer, Josina Coos & Willem Coos

marries (1) (de facto)

Dominicus Jansz: (from Amsterdam)

marries (2) (de facto)

Johannes Jacobus Coeser / Coetzer [same person as Jacobus Coetzee (s/o Dirk Coetzee & Sara van der Schulp) who marries (27 December 1724) Elisabeth Louisz: (d/o Louis van Bengal & Lijsbeth Sanders:)

marries (3) (de facto) [or civil ceremony only?]

Claas Coos / Coors
[likely son of Company slave Dorothea van Angola]
c1 Jannetie baptized Cape 2 October 1707 (mother: Cornelia van de Caab) (witnesses: Domingo van Bengalen & Maria van Bengalen)
c2 Nicolaas baptized Cape 12 July 1711 (father: Dominicus Jansz: van Amsterdam) (mother: Cornelia van de Caap) (witnesses: Domingo van Bengalen & Elisabeth Marcusz)
c3 Susanna Coeser / Coetzer baptized Cape 1 April 1714 (father: Johannes Jacobus Coetzer; mother: Cornelia Lamans) (witness: Gerrit van Hardenberg)
   marries Cape 30 August 1733
   Daniel Duuring / During baptized Cape 6 July 1704 (s/o Michiel / Michael Dirks: / Duering / Duuring (from Leipzig) & Cornelia (Keetje) Pieters: / Jacobs: van de Caab)
   (maternal grandson of Dorothea van Angola) (witnesses: Daniel Barnou & Anna Louis), wid. of Francina Anthonie: van de Caep born Cape 1703; dies 1741
c4 Josina Coos baptized 15 May 1718 (father: Claas Coos; mother: Cornelia Lamans)
   (witness: Maria Heyns)
c5 Willem Coos baptized 8 March 1716 (father: Claas Coos; mother: Cornel Lammans)
   (witnesses: Claas Coos & Caspar Piek)
b5 Carel Trost (twin) halfslag born 1687 "by Maria van Bangala my former slave now manumitted" (in onecht by mijn gewesen slavin nu vrijgegewen Maria van Bengala) [father's will, 13 January 1688]; baptised 2 November 1687; dies 1690 with brother in fire at Weltevreden, Bottelary, Stellenbosch
   ... zijn gedoopt twee kinderen waar van de eene is genaemt Hendrick, het ander Carel, de vader was Hans Rutger Troost, de getuigen Pieter Gertsz: en Cornelia Cornises, de moeder slavinne [Maria van Bengala]
b6 Hendrick Trost (twin) halfslag born 1687 "by Maria van Bangala my former slave now manumitted" (in onecht by mijn gewesen slavin nu vrijgegewen Maria van Bengala) [father's will, 13 January 1688]; baptised 2 November 1687; dies 1690 with brother in fire at Weltevreden, Bottelary, Stellenbosch
   ... zijn gedoopt twee kinderen waar van de eene is genaemt Hendrick, het ander Carel, de vader was Hans Rutger Troost, de getuigen Pieter Gertsz: en Cornelia Cornises, de moeder slavinne [Maria van Bengala]
A moving ceremony took place recently in the jewel of the Overberg – the Moravian mission village of Genadendal, situated about 35km north of Caledon.

On Sunday December 18, 2005 Premier Ebrahim Rasool and the Revd. Frank Chikane joined the congregation and numerous special guests in the dignified, lofty church (the third oldest church in the Cape, dedicated in January 1800).

The occasion was the presentation of posthumous Provincial Honours to 12 male and female slaves who had been selected to represent the thousands of men, women and children who were held in bondage during 170 years of Cape slavery.

The six men short-listed by the Provincial Honours Committee included Adam Kok I (1710-1795), the manumitted slave who became the founding father of the Griqua people, Anton Jonas, a slave whose grandson was one of the first teachers to graduate from the training college at Genadendal, and Ngxukumeshe (alias Hermanus Matroos), an escaped slave who found sanctuary and a new identity among the Xhosa.

The others were Frederik Opperman (1790-1893), a former artisan slave who acquired large tracts of land in what is now the Free State and became a successful farmer, and Rangton of Bali (c.1673-1722), an imported Hindu slave who was a gifted carpenter and wood-carver.

Abdullah ibn Qadi Abdus Salaam (alias Tuan Guru) (c.1712-1807), a Muslim exile from Indonesia, suffered long spells of imprisonment on Robben Island and in the Slave Lodge. His Islamic scholarship and deep piety made a lasting impression on the local slave and free black population.

Notable among the women was Catharina of Paliacatte (c.1631-1681), an Indian slave banished to the Cape for life in 1656 for inadvertently killing her lover. She later obtained a free pardon, and her illegitimate son Christoffel Snyman became the founding father of the prolific Snyman family in South Africa.

Lydia Williams (c.1820-1910), formerly a slave on the Zonnebloem estate, was a devout Anglican who lived in a single room in District Six and celebrated Emancipation Day with passion and dedication each year. She was honoured for her fortitude and faith.

Rachel Thoka (alias Rachel Mooirivier) (c.1825-1940) was a West African slave who went on trek with the Griesel family in the 1830s. She was acquainted with Paul Kruger, and was married in his house. She settled near Bloemfontein and in 1913 – despite her age – she led a march to protest against plans to force black women to carry passes.

Sara Janse (c.1792-1861) was only 13 when she was purchased and manumitted by the eccentric Dutch missionary and theologian Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (58) with a view to marriage. She bore him four children and was widowed before she
was 20. She was chosen to represent the many young slave women whose path to freedom depended on arranged marriages which may not have been to their taste.

**Steyntje of the Cape** took her owner, **George Anderson**, to court in an attempt to gain her freedom on the grounds that she should have been freed after the death of her first owner, JG Stadler, who had fathered a child with her. After several disappointments, the Privy Council in Britain supported her claim, and she and her children were declared free.

[courtesy of Jackie Loos]
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Doodle found amongst deceased estate papers of Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale