

UL No. 14

# Cape Mothers



*Groote Catrijn van  
Paliacatta (c. 1631-  
1683),  
her slave Maria van  
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de Savoye daughter-in-  
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Marguerite-Thérèse  
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# Uprooted Lives

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

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*For min Far, min Mor  
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



# Preface

Timon:                   Earth, yield me roots  
                                *He digs*  
Who seeks for better of thee, sause 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'acursed,  
    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 ethnically challenged indigenes, at a time when the need to incorporate the historically marginalized underclasses into a more global consciousness is being increasingly recognized, the publication of accessible representative biographies has become imperative. Ever since Anna J. Böeseken's seminal work *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* in 1977, little attempt has been made to write more detailed biographies on any of the individuals originally referred to by Böeseken or any other people for that matter - thus the *raison d'être* for this collection of biographical excursions from the initial period of Dutch colonization. This collection comprises mostly indigenous and slave biographies for the period (1652-1713) ending with the devastating smallpox epidemic that utterly transformed the little colony forever thereafter. The lives of a few hundred people have been recollected in varying degrees of detail depending on how much has survived in the written record.

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

the Goringhaicona:

**Eva Meerhoff** (born **Krotoa**)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

**Frans Jacobs van de Caep**

the African slaves:

**Catharina Alexander van de Caep**

**Maria van Guinea [Benin]**

**Cecilia van Angola**

**Dorothea van Angola**

**Manuel van Angola**

**Diana van Madagascar**

the Asian slaves:

**Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta**

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

**Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale**

**Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar**

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

**Jacob van Macassar**

**Maria Jacobs: van Batavia**

and the pardoned Chinese convict:

**Lim / Lin Inko alias Abraham de Veij.**



Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century has hitherto been unearthed. The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries have been more accessible to researchers and historians especially in view of the more legible and easier-to-read records. The 17<sup>th</sup> 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. Böeseken (1906-1997)** for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and
- **Delia Robertson** for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

**Mansell George Upham**  
Tokyo, Japan  
October 2012



# Guide to the Text

## General Historical Background

The wind-swept Cape of Good Hope ('the Cape') was a Dutch colonial 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 Khoi/San ('Hottentot'/'Bushmen') lands resulted in the signing of 'treaties' *ex post facto* in attempts to 'legitimize' Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their 'freedom' to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, *buiten comptoir*<sup>1</sup>, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uiterste 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,

<sup>1</sup> *Buiten comptoires* 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 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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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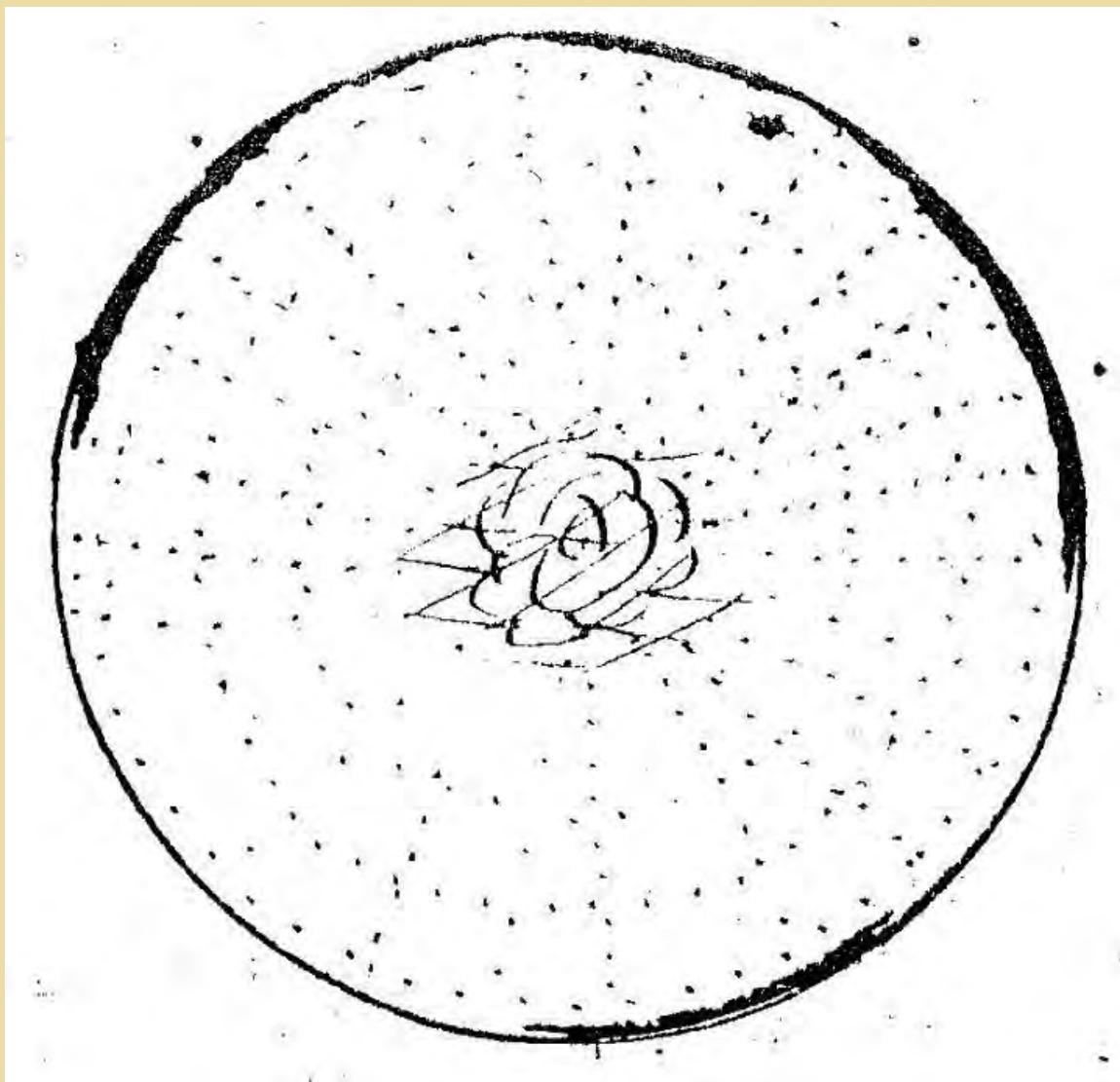
**Mansell Upham (2009) at Rijswijck  
the site where *Groote Catrijn* downed her lover in 1656**



## 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-burgher<sup>2</sup>, religious refugees, political exiles, *mardijkers*<sup>3</sup>, free-blacks<sup>4</sup>, Chinese<sup>5</sup>, 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)<sup>6</sup>, community at the Cape.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> *Mardijkers* 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 *mestizzo*, these Eurasians are predominantly Christian and Portuguese-speaking. The term later becomes more fluid and original *mardijkers* 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 Mardijkers: 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*.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> The term is generic and also includes members from the various *nihonmachi* (Japanese communities: *nihon* = Japan & *machi* = town) in south-east Asia.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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**<sup>9</sup> **Senaymant**<sup>10</sup>, **Senaijmant**<sup>11</sup>, **Senaima**<sup>12</sup> and **Sçirinaan**<sup>13</sup> 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 notre eglise françoise de Drakestein du depuis le 29 a' oust lanneé 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**.<sup>14</sup> By implication, it is presumed that the lawful

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Botha, *The French Refugees* & M. Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape: the European background*; J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap* & Pieter Coertzen, *Die Hugenote van Suid-Afrika 1688-1988*.

<sup>7</sup> C. Pama, *Die Groot Afrikaanse familie-naamboek*, pp. 303 (see the colour plate between pp. 320 & 321). See also C. Pama, *Heraldry of South African Families: Coats of arms – crests – ancestry* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1972), p. 268 where we are informed, incorrectly, that **Christoffel Snijman** died (1683) [sic] & <http://www.reocities.com/skildsoom/borrowed.html>.

<sup>8</sup> C. Pama, *Die Groot Afrikaanse familie-naamboek*, p. 303 & Thys du Preez, 'Editorial Comment: 'Genealogiese raaisels' *Familia* (Quarterly Journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa), vol. 37 (2000), no. 3, p. 96.

<sup>9</sup> *Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Aug[ustu]s 1694 eindegende met 5 Maart 1713, no. 1* (15 December 1697).

<sup>10</sup> *Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Aug[ustu]s 1694 eindegende met 5 Maart 1713, no. 1* (22 July 1695).

<sup>11</sup> *Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Aug[ustu]s 1694 eindegende met 5 Maart 1713, no. 1* (25 October 1699).

<sup>12</sup> *Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Aug[ustu]s 1694 eindegende met 5 Maart 1713, no. 1* (24 July 1701). Colin Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p. 103, incorrectly transcribes the names as *Senaiman*.

<sup>13</sup> *Fransch Doopboek beginnende met 29 Aug[ustu]s 1694 eindegende met 5 Maart 1713, no. 1* (1 August 1697). Colin Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p. 103 incorrectly transcribes the names as *Sçniman*.

<sup>14</sup> J.G. le Roux includes this new information in his *Hugenotebloed in ons are*, p. 95 as follows: "**Christoffel Snijman** 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".



wife of Anthonij, Catharina van Paliacatta (c. 1631-1683) is the mother of Christoffel Snijman.<sup>15</sup>

Thereafter, Christoffel Snijman takes on a new complexion. He is now the son of liberated 'black' parents. His name supposedly derives from his trade.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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".<sup>18</sup> 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.

Subsequently, the actual parentage of Christoffel Snijman (1668-1705) has been clarified.<sup>19</sup> 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 communicants of the Reformed Church at Stellenbosch:

*Den 14 Augusti [1692] sijn aen Stellenbosch tot het gebruik van des Heeren H.[eilige] Avontmael overgekoomen **Christoffel Snyman van de Caep**, **Catrina Jansen van Middelburgh**, **Willem Schalk van Outbeierlant** ende **Jacobje Schalk van de Caep** alle met voorgaende belijdenisse.*

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 **Catharina van Paliacatta** – but by a white (Europe-born) father in terms of an illegitimate liaison. His ascribed biological

<sup>15</sup> J. Hoge states the following in his *Bydraes*: "**Christoffel Snyman**: Volgens MOOC 14/212 anno 1683 is hy seun en "universele erfgenaam" van die vryburger 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 vryburgers vermeld is. Die vrou word ook Catharina van Palicatte genoem."

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Keeping the gate of Hell ... 'subliminal racism' & early Cape carnal conversations between black men and white women', *Capensis*, no. 1 of 2001, pp. 16-43. See Richard Elphick's & Robert Shell's chapter 'Intergroup Relations, 1652-1795' (under "Miscegenation and intermarriage") in Richard Elphick & Hermann Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820* (1989), pp. 199-200 (p. 131 in 1979 edition).

<sup>18</sup> R. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 318. The 2 examples that he cites are **Marguerite de Savoye** who married **Christoffel Snyman** and **Maria Roos** who married **David Hoon**.

<sup>19</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'In hevigen woede ... Part I *Groote Catrin*: Earliest recorded female bandit 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. Böeseken, 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. Böeseken 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 (*voorzoond*) **Christoffel Snijman**, now also freed, is legitimized 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 *halfslagh* (mestizzo 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 gebroeijdsel*



*onder ons wonende).*<sup>20</sup> 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)<sup>21</sup>;
- (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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<sup>20</sup> Algemeen Rijsarchief [AR], Den Haag, KA 4035, *Brieven en Papieren van Cabo de Bonne Esperance overgecomen*, 1707: **Adam Tas et al. – Heeren XVII**, n.d., p. 1035. See also Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, p. 28 & R. Elphick & H.Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840*, 542 & G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 125 & Anna J. Böeseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders*, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> 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

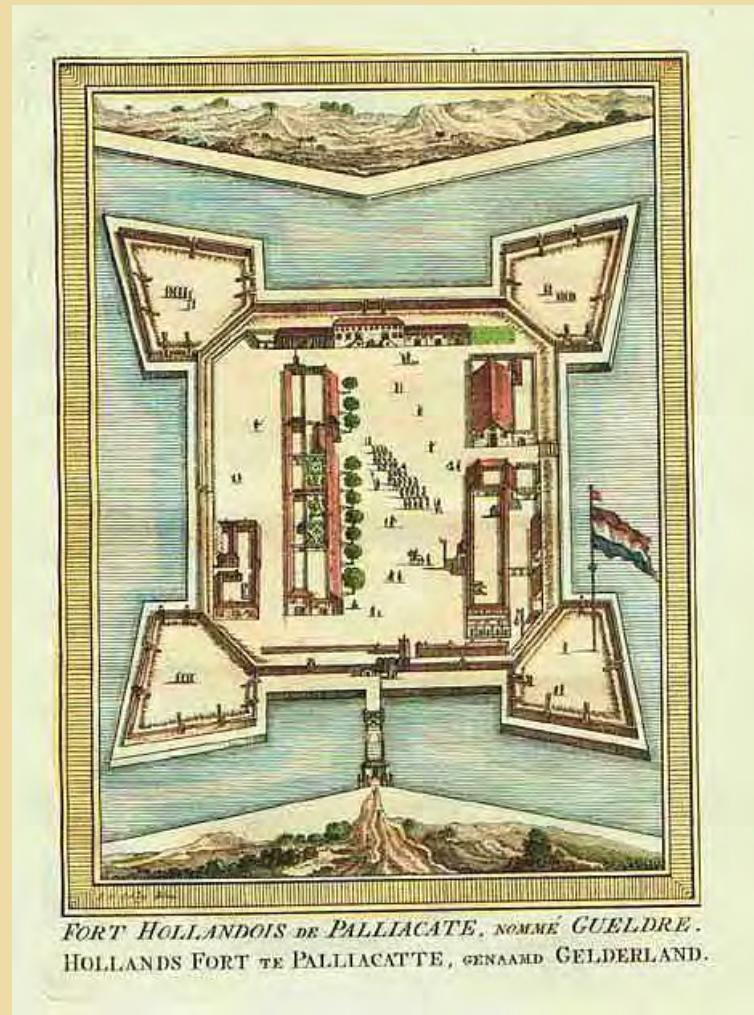


The Indian sub-continent

**C**hristoffel 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*, *Palicate*, *Palleacata*, *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 Andhra 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.



**Fort Geldria**

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.<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> 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:<sup>23</sup>



**Johan Nieuhoff (1618-1672)**

"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 married 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 traffick; for every month comes hither the *Kaffila* or caravan of *Agra*. The *Banyans* and *Jews* are the chiefest of all the traders here, this city being a place *Golconda*, *Suratte* and *Cambaya* 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".

<sup>23</sup> **Johan Nieuhof**, *Travels to the East-Indies, 1653-1670*, pp. 213-4.





Pulicat

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.<sup>24</sup> 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.

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<sup>24</sup> *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.<sup>25</sup>

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*), Kazimbazar (*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:<sup>26</sup>

“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 18<sup>th</sup> century description of the local Hindu population (*Jentives*) is worth quoting:<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> M. Vink, ‘The world’s oldest trade: Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century’, *Journal of World History* 14(2), para 16.

<sup>26</sup> G.S. Nienaber & R. Raven-Hart (eds.), **Johan Daniel Buttner's** *Account of the Cape, Brief Description of Natal, Journal Extracts on East Indies: Historical Extracts from the Journal of the late Daniel Bütner, personally kept during 1711, 1712, 1717, 1718, 1719 and 1721, copied by Joachim Nicolaus van Dessin*, p. 154. **Van Dessin** was married to the niece of the wife of **Groote Catrijn's** son **Christoffel Snijman**.

<sup>27</sup> G.S. Nienaber & R. Raven-Hart (eds.), **Johan Daniel Buttner's** *Account of the Cape, Brief Description of Natal, Journal Extracts on East Indies: Historical Extracts from the Journal of the late Daniel Bütner, personally kept during 1711, 1712, 1717, 1718, 1719 and 1721, copied by Joachim Nicolaus van Dessi*, pp. 153-156.



"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 especial 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.<sup>28</sup>

Worth noting are the comments of Governor-General **Joan Maetsuijcker**, 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".<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For insightful background on the slave trade in both Bengal (including Arakan) & Coromandel, see M. Vink, 'The world's oldest trade: Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of World History* 14(2), pp. 131-178 & Wil O. Dijk, 'An end to the history of silence? The Dutch trade in Asian slaves: Arakan and the Bay of Bengal, 1621-1665', IIAS Newsletter no. 46 (The Hague, 2008), p. 16 [http://www.iias.nl/nl/46/IIAS\\_NL46\\_16.pdf](http://www.iias.nl/nl/46/IIAS_NL46_16.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, p. 251.





Joan Maetsuijcker (1606-1678)

## 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 *mardeka* 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 mestizo, these Eurasians are predominantly Christian and Portuguese-speaking. The term *mardijcker* later becomes more fluid and the original *mardijkers* 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.<sup>30</sup> **Johan Nieuhof** in his *Travels to the East-Indies* (1662) gives us the following account of the *mardijcker* population in Batavia.

<sup>30</sup> 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>.





Batavia

"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 chiefest 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, pigeons, fowl and other sorts of poultry, which they bring to sale in the market"





*Topassers*

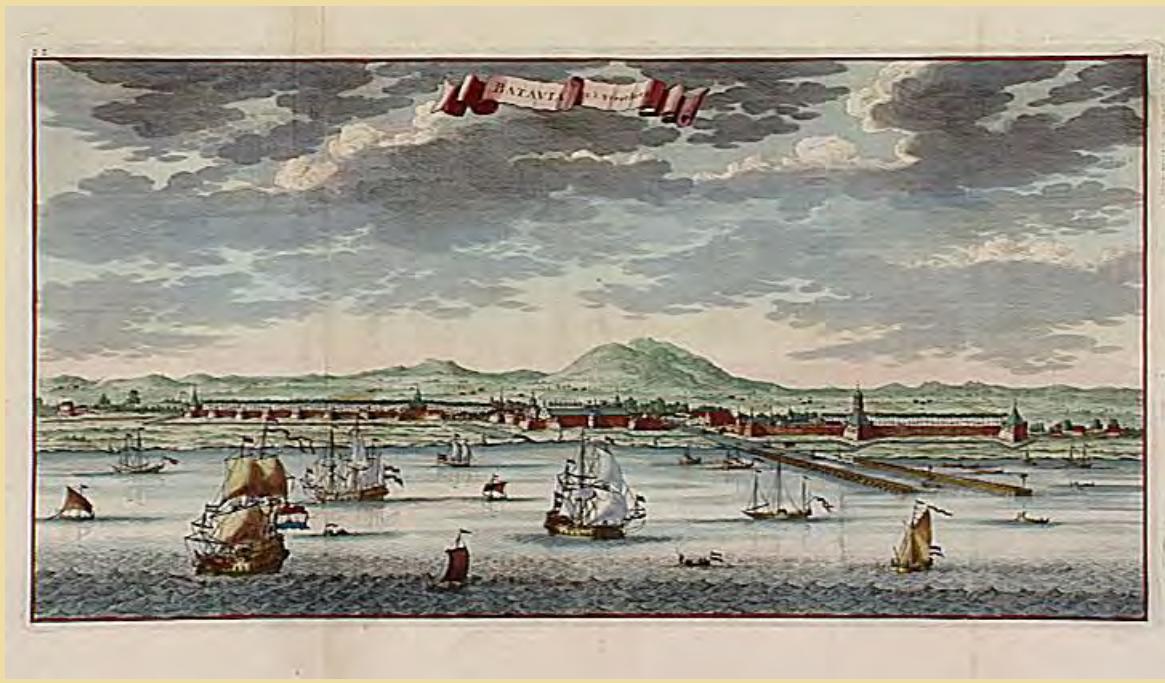
The events leading up to **Groote Catrijn's** life-long banishment to the Cape of Good Hope are preserved in 2 detailed judicial documents from Batavia. These are copied from the sentence book (*Sententiebouck*) of the Batavian Council of Justice that accompanies **Groote Catrijn** on her voyage of exile to the Cape.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> *Verbatim* transcriptions by the writer are provided for the reader's scrutiny in an appendix at the end of this article.

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<sup>31</sup> 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).

<sup>32</sup> Historian Anna J. Böeseken (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". Böeseken again overlooks this important case in her later work *Uit die Raad van Jutisie 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 begenadiging; 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.<sup>33</sup>

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:<sup>34</sup>

"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."

<sup>33</sup> Recently, Le Roux 'revisits' the archival sources previously unearthed and published in *Capensis* and except for bringing her story to an Afrikaans audience, adds nothing new to her story [see Schalk W, le Roux, 'Vele wonings: die lewe en tuistes van Catharina van Paliacatte', *South African Journal of Cultural History* (2011), vol. 26/1, pp. 61-101

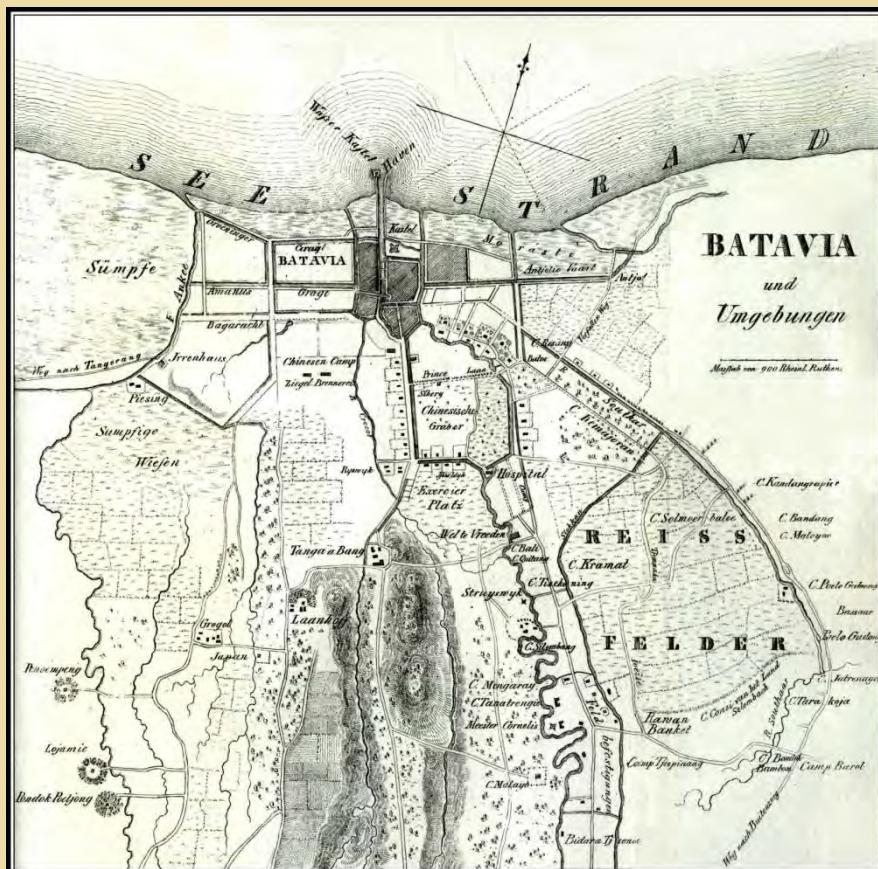
[http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/17157/LeRoux\\_Vele%282011%29.pdf?sequence=1](http://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/17157/LeRoux_Vele%282011%29.pdf?sequence=1).

<sup>34</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, (letter, 27 November 1699), p. 233; Robert Ross, 'The Rule of Law in the Eighteenth Centuy' in *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, p. 164.



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 omrent 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 (*vleeschelijcke 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).<sup>35</sup> During his lifetime **Claes** is the slave of the Company's stablemaster *Sieur Hendrick Christoffel Loser*<sup>36</sup>. 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)

<sup>35</sup> Eric Jones, 'Wives, Whores, and Concubines: Early Modern Dutch Marriage Law and the Transmission of Family Wealth in Asia', (Spring 2000 All-UC Group in Economic History Conference, UCLA, 28-30 April 2000). I am indebted to Faith Roberts for drawing my attention to this paper.

<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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"<sup>38</sup>

### **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."<sup>39</sup> 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* – *moe[de]r* – *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<sup>40</sup>. The writer when originally transcribing the court record misread "ladder" for "cobblestone".

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<sup>37</sup> The site of the original fortress is now covered by Merdeka Square (*Medan Merdeka / Lapangan Merdeka*)

<sup>38</sup> ... *vouginge op't onbeleefsche jou moeder en[de - deleted] u maaij gesoent ofte vleeschelijck bekent ...*

<sup>39</sup> CA: CJ 514, p. 191 Art. 1227; Joubert, D.C., *Die Slawe-Opstand van 1808 in die Koe-Tygerberge en Swartland-Distrikte* (M.A. UNISA (H.U.C.) 1946, unpublished manuscript), pp. 63 & 79; Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa*, p. 102; & J.H. de Bussy, Amsterdam, Pretoria en Johannesburg / Holl.-Afrik. uitgevers Mij. v/h. J. Dusseau & Co, Kaapstad 1916, pp. 204-205.

<sup>40</sup> 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.



Rijswijck Fortress

## 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





**Negara Palace by W.C. Meiling**



**Merdeka Palace**



**Merdeka 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 (garrotted) 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**).<sup>41</sup> He dies at Leiden (1673).

In April 1664 **Dirck Janssen Steur** is commissioner at the Cape.<sup>42</sup> 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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<sup>41</sup> <http://www.nikhef.nl/~louk/CALAN/generation2.html>

<sup>42</sup> *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 Cau / 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.<sup>43</sup> 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).<sup>44</sup>

"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:<sup>45</sup>

"**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

<sup>43</sup> *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].

<sup>44</sup> *Pr. 't schip Prins Willem comen tot UE.[dele] over drie van jaren op't Robben eilandt ende een slavinne voor al haer leven aen de Caap gebannen sijn, gel : bij de nevensgaende sententie des achtbaren Raedts van Justitie te consteren compt die UE.[dele] achtervolgens 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].

<sup>45</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, pp. 247-248.



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".



**Johan Maetsuijcker (1606-1678)**

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 vicious 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"<sup>46</sup>

**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 so inadvertently, he was apt to arrest and punish them. The Company made no effort to stop this."<sup>47</sup>

**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.<sup>48</sup> He is also a jurist of note, a doctor of law who had rapidly worked his way up

<sup>46</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, p. 248.

<sup>47</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, p. 266.

<sup>48</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, p. 154.



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.<sup>49</sup> 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<sup>st</sup>) in the Netherlands **Haasje Berkmans: (1610-1663)**, and marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) at Batavia **Elisabeth Abbema** (widow of **Simon Jansz: Cos**).<sup>50</sup>

**Maetsuijcker's** second wife's brother **Sijbrand Abbema (1637-1684)** (from Vianen [Duchy of Vianen]) will visit the Cape (9 February-14 March 1670), again from (May-July 1674) and as commissioner (20 February-27 March 1680).<sup>51</sup> 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 [Titus Thomsen / 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** [Heinrich Heinrichssen (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** (from Utrecht), **Catharina Opklim** and her infant to Batavia. **Titus (de) Thomsen / Thomzen** thereupon joins the Company later becoming bookkeeper on the *Africa* which stops at the Cape (8 February 1693) bringing **Catharina Opklim** back to the Cape. **Sara van Solor** he probably sells to **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam), the second husband of the newly remarried widow of **Hendrik Snijer, Geertruijd Frans: Meeckhoff** (from Steenswijk).

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

**Groote Catrijn** arrives at the Cape (21 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 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 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,

<sup>49</sup> C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, pp. 260-261.

<sup>50</sup> M.E. van Opstall, *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* (SABW), vol. III, pp. 575-576.

<sup>51</sup> A.H. Tromp, *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* (SABW), vol. I, p. 1.



silverware, clothing and jewelry to their 6 children (**Charles, Elisabeth, Dudley, Susanna, Catharina** and **Maria**).<sup>52</sup> Likely members of the same **Kemp** family later become part of the Cape's colonial population, eg:

- **Pieter Kemp** (from Bruges) who marries (1 September 1715) **Rentien (Luitje) Willemse** baptized Cape (25 January 1694) daughter of **Gerrit Willemse** and **Maria Cornelisse** and granddaughter of **Cornelis Cornelisz**: (from Utrecht) aka **Kees de Boer** and **Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar**;
- **N.[icolaes] 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 Ansela & Lijsbeth van Bengale***

It is in this same return fleet that the slave women **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale**<sup>53</sup> and **Engela / Angela (Maaij Ans(i)ela) van Bengale**<sup>54</sup> – 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: **Ansela**, **Anselaar**, **Ansiela & Ansla - Ancilla** is Latin for slave girl, servant girl or maidservant – and later popularly known as **Maaij Ansela** (literally 'Ma Angela'), **Angela** becomes wife to the free-burgher **Arnoldus Willemsz**: (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]). Popularly known as **Jagt**, he is the progenitor of the **Basson** family in South Africa.

**Groote Catrijn** and **Maaij Ansela** become close friends. They are jointly baptized and listed together as communicants. Both are godmothers to each other's sons. **Maaij Ansela** 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 Ansela**'s godson. **Christoffel Snijman** in turn witnesses, with **Maaij Ansela**, her grandchild's baptism. As **Maaij Ansela**'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 Ansela** and her husband are also well acquainted with **François Champelier** (from Ghent [Spanish Netherlands]) who once absconds with **Snijman**. **Maaij Ansela** 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.<sup>55</sup>

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

<sup>53</sup> 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>

<sup>54</sup> Mansell G. Upham, '**Maaij Ansela** and the *black* sheep of the family: A closer look at the events surrounding the *first* execution of a *vrij burgher* in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', *Capensis*, no. 4 (1997) pp. 4-18, (1998), nos. 1 (pp. 22-35,2 (pp. 26-39), 3 (pp. 21-28)& 4 (pp. 37-40) (1998), (1999), nos. 1 (pp. 38-40)& 2 (pp.27-38).

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui116.htm>.



## *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 Spelderma*n to the following specifications:

length: 51m; width: 14,32m; depth: almost 4m; load capacity: 600 last/1200 ton; armourment: 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.

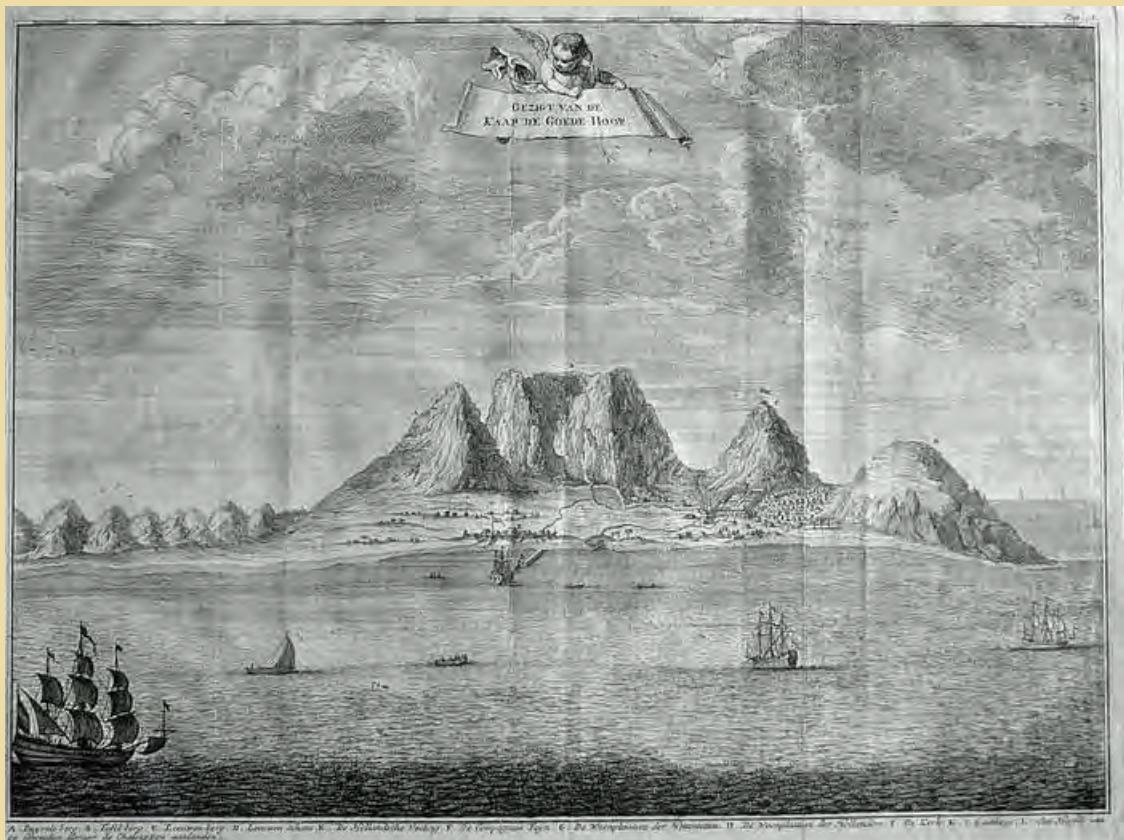
A replica of this ship stood for many years in the open air museum *Oranda Mura* ('Holland Village') in the bay of Omura at Nagasaki in Japan and later at the amusement park *Cape Holland* at Den Helder where it burned down by accident (30 July 2009).



Replica of *Prins Willem*

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.





**Cabo de Boa Esperança**

The ship's voyage details (voyage number; departure date; from; to; arrival date; chamber; skipper) are as follows:<sup>56</sup>

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: (6 February 1654) Batavia Wielingen (31 August 1654) Zeeland

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.

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<sup>56</sup> M. Verstegen, *De Indische Zeeherberg: de stichting van Zuid-Afrika door de VOC*, Europese Bibliotheek, Zaltbommel 2001; Martinus Nijhoff, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries*, vol. II, *Outward-bound voyages from the Netherlands to Asia and the Cape (1595-1794)* & *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries*, vol. III, *Homeward-bound voyages from Asia and the Cape to the Netherlands (1597-1795)* Den Haag 1979.



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.



**Rijckloff van Goens the elder (1619-1682)**

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]<sup>57</sup> 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, Moçambique 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:<sup>58</sup>

"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, Malabaris, 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 aan de Caeb resideeren*):

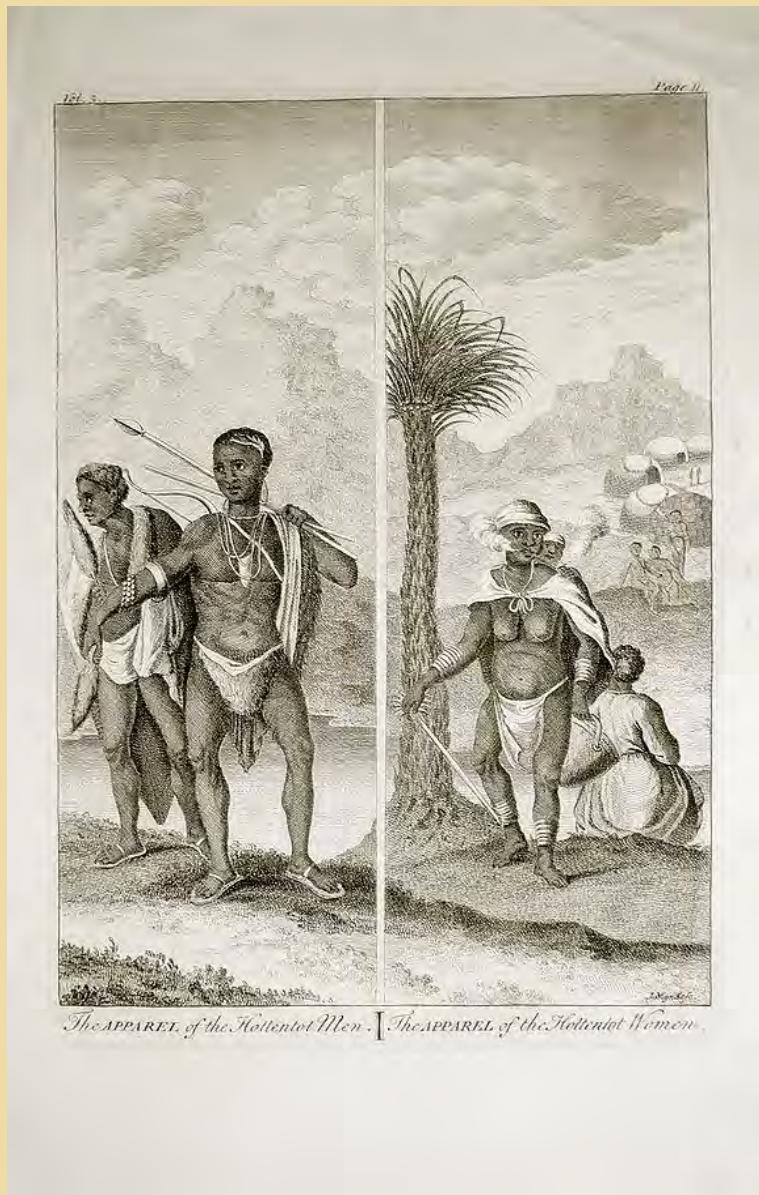
105 Company officials  
10 free-burghers  
1 free-black woman  
6 European women  
12 European children  
3 male slaves  
8 female slaves.

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<sup>57</sup> The indigenous people of the Cape are / are known variously as Quena, Khoina, Khoekhoe, *Hottentoots* and 'Hottentot', etc. Little consensus exists for standard or conventional nomenclature for the aboriginal people of the Cape of Good Hope. For an analysis of this problem [G.S. Nienaber, *Khoekhoeense Stamname: 'n voorlopige verkenning*; M.L Wilson, 'Notes on the Nomenclature of the Khoisan', *Annals of the South African Museum*, vol. 97, Part 8 (Cape Town August 1986) & M.L. Wilson, 'Khoisanosis: The Question of Separate Identities for Khoi and San' in R. Singer & J.F. Lundy (eds.) *Variation, Culture and Evolution in African Populations: Papers in Honour of Dr Hertha de Villiers* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1986)].

<sup>58</sup> François Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it* (p. 170-171).





**Cape Indigenes**

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 **Krotoa**<sup>59</sup>, **Zara / Sara**<sup>60</sup>, **Cornelia**, **Dobbeltsje** 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".<sup>61</sup>

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

*"The Gorinchaiconas subsist in a great measure by begging and stealing. – Among this ugly Hottentoo race, there is yet another sort called Gorinchaicona, 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".<sup>62</sup>*

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

<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> Mansell G. Upham, '**Zara (c. 1648-1671)**: an inquiry into the (mis)application of traditionally prescribed punishment against persons committing suicide during the VOC's colonial occupation of the Cape of Good Hope', *Capensis* (4/2001), pp. 14-37.

<sup>61</sup> **Jan van Riebeck**, Memorandum to **Zacharias Wagenaer** (5 May 1662); Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 247.

<sup>62</sup> **Zacharias Wagenaer**, Memorandum to **Cornelis van Quaelbergen** (24 September 1666); Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 291.

<sup>63</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'The 1st Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

<sup>64</sup> *Monsterrolle van d'officieren, matroosen, ende soldaten bescheijden int 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 ...*

[CA: VC 39, vol. II (1656-1699); H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III, pp. 290, 293 & 297].



*en kettinghgasten ... al haer lewen*). In the muster roll (5 March 1659) **Groote Catrijn** appears with 2 other *black* convicts-for-life from Batavia:<sup>65</sup> **Susanna van Bengale alias Een Oor**<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

### **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.<sup>68</sup> 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 **Bacakan 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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<sup>65</sup> *Bandijten ende Kettinghgasten ... Swartes voor al haar lewen van Batavia*.

<sup>66</sup> 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/ui104.htm>.

<sup>67</sup> See *Dictionary South Africa Biography* (vol. 2, p. 296) for a mini-biography on **Autshumao alias Harry / Harry**.

<sup>68</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters & Documents Received, 1649-1662*, Part II, pp. 58-9, 100-1, & 130-1, *Van Riebeeck’s Journal*, vol. II, p. 314 & vol. III, pp. 59-60.



## 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 Hottentooos to look at their women" (21 October 1659).<sup>69</sup>



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).<sup>70</sup>

**Groote Catrijn's** convict existence takes on a new dimension. Pivotal 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

<sup>69</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III (Attestations), p. 429.

<sup>70</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III (Attestations), p. 435.



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).<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup>

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:<sup>73</sup>

"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 Riebeeck** 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

<sup>71</sup> 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.

<sup>72</sup> The figures are mean averages gleaned from Dan Sleigh, *Die Buitepost: VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur 1652-1795*, p.4

<sup>73</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, Part II, pp. 293-295.



swelling the available labour force.<sup>74</sup> 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 *halfslag* slave woman and not a Company slave.<sup>75</sup> 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 *halfslag* daughter **Catharina** whom she later presents for baptism with a second *halfslag* daughter (9 October 1662), **Maria** – later known as **Maria (Marritie) 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 *halfslag* – 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 off 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.<sup>76</sup> 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 Casta / de Cust Coromandel / Bengale / Couchin [Cochin] / Paliacatta / Paliacatte [Pulicat]**
- **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale (born c. 1643);**
- **Maaij Anselva van Bengale;**
- **Mijndert** (from Antongil [Madagascar]); and

<sup>74</sup> CA: C 326 (*Attestatien*) (19 December 1660); H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations*, p. 183; J. Hoge, 'Miscegenation', p. 100; Mansell G. Upham, '**Maaij Anselva** and the black sheep of the family: A closer look at the events surrounding the first execution of a *vrij burgher* in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', *Capensis*, no. 1 (1998), p. 29: 1660: **Barent Waendersz**: from Varich ... vryman alhier aan gemelte Caap [unidentified] ... Heeft yemant van u volck met de slavinnen te doen gehad, ende met kint gemaect? ... segt het vrij, daer is niet aengelegen, het is ten dienste van de Compagnie.

<sup>75</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, 'Beleid en Praktyk: Die doop van slawekinders en die sluit van gemengde verhoudings aan die Kaap voor 1720', *Kronos*, vol. 5 (1982), p. 39.

<sup>76</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 11-14; *Lijste van de doode Negers: 1658* in André van Rensburg, 'The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola, Cornelius Claasen & Armosyn?**', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 13-15 & André van Rensburg, 'The Amersfoort', *Capensis*, no. 3 (2000), pp. 15-18.



- **Groote Catrijn van Pulicat** (Company slave on loan).

Now, from 'Guinea' came:

- **Evert & Maria;**
- **Dirk & Dirkie aka Anna [Hoen(a) or Hoewj];**
- **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**)<sup>77</sup> and the same **Susanna Een Oor** as 3 of the Cape's 4 convicts:<sup>78</sup>

"**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 aan 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.<sup>79</sup> 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?<sup>80</sup>

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

<sup>77</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'The First Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

<sup>78</sup> A.J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672*, p. 157, n. 496.

<sup>79</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, Part III (letter 6 April 1660), p. 157.

<sup>80</sup> 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; <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui104.htm>.



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

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

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.<sup>81</sup> **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)<sup>82</sup>;
- 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)**
- **[?] Heindrick** baptized Cape 17 July 1659
- **Margaretha (Margarita) Jans: Visser(s:) (1659-c. 1710/11)**
- **[?] Jacob Hendrix: [van] Hagen(s:) / Hages / Hagis (born c. 1661)**
- **Anna [Anna Pieters: / Pyters: van Batavia alias Anna Liberta?] 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:

<sup>81</sup> 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>.

<sup>82</sup> **François 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.<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup> Thus, **Marij**, who appears to find her own way to **Cornelisz:**'s room, is saved from the clutches of **Cornelisz:**.<sup>85</sup>

**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.<sup>86</sup> 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 Coutrai), 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).<sup>87</sup> **Cornelisz:** does not take kindly to judicial harassment. More complaints about him and his recalcitrant behaviour ensue (20 May 1661):<sup>88</sup>

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

<sup>83</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations* (23 August 1660), p. 448.

<sup>84</sup> Falls foul of the law again (1661 & 1666). Attempts to re-convict (1660) for theft, however, appear to be unsuccessful.

<sup>85</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 21; CA: C 326, p. 251; CJ 1 2952, pp. 138-139; CA: CJ 1, pp. 164 & 168-171 & CA: CJ 2952, pp. 136-139.

<sup>86</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672*, p. 139, n. 415; p. 447 (10 July 1660); 'Leibbrandt', *Attestations*, p. 454;

<sup>87</sup> Case no. 710, *Attestations*, p. 447 (10 July 1660).

<sup>88</sup> 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] Hagen:s** [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)<sup>89</sup> and **Frans de Coninck** (from Ghent) in the attestation. Two of **Van Riebeeck's** other slaves are their concubines (**Maaij Ansela** and **Lijsbeth van Bengale**). Why are certain officials punished for committing fornication (*vleeschelijcke 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 Ansela's** eldest Cape-born *halfslag* child **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 *halfslag* **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**.<sup>90</sup> Significantly, **Maaij Ansela** 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 Ansela** 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.

<sup>89</sup> Is he the Corporal **Haegens** serving later on Mauritius (1667/1668)?

<sup>90</sup> CA: C 2391 (Council of Policy: Attestations (4 September 1652- 6 February 1660), Declaration: **Roeloff de Man** (1 September 1659), pp. 86-87; 'Leibbrandt', *Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III, pp. 426-427.



**Frans de Coninck** (now a free-burgher)<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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 Dircx: 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 Zuerwaerden** 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

<sup>91</sup> He is still a soldier in 1662.

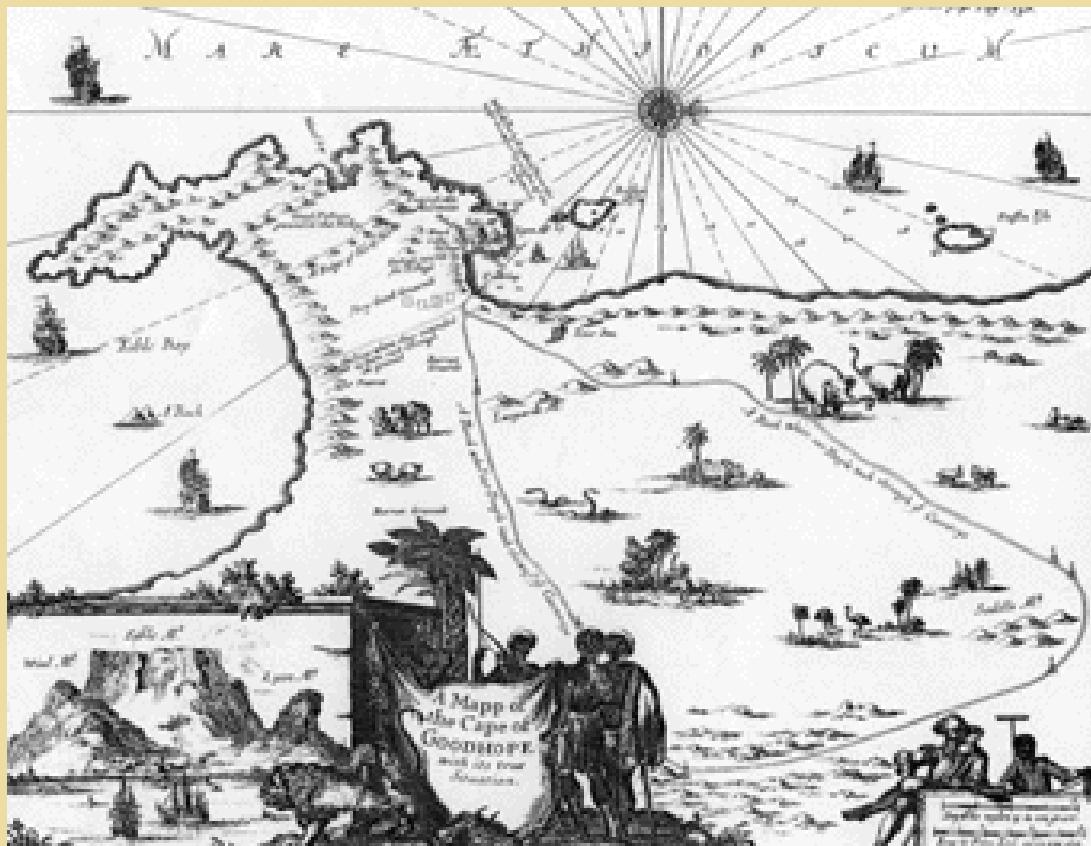
<sup>92</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, p. xxvii.

<sup>93</sup> CA: C 2391 (Council of Policy: Attestations 4 September 1652- 6 February 1660), Declaration: **Roeloff de Man** (1 September 1659), pp. 86-87; 'Leibbrandt', *Letters Despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. III, pp. 426-427.



marries (30 January 1667) her brother's intended replacement, the widower Ds. **Jacobus Bureenus**, 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.<sup>94</sup> **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 **Bureenus** arrives but dies the following year (15 February 1667).



A Mapp of the Cape of Good Hope with its true Situation

### 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

<sup>94</sup> *Transport en Schepenkennissen* (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 thrice-widowed aristocrat wife, **Maria Auxbrebis**<sup>95</sup> (from Wesel) and her daughter from a previous marriage, **Maria de Bucquoij**, the widow **Cornelis (Coen) Verburg(h)**. **Marie Françoise Auxbrebis / aux Brebis (1609-1666)** (born 8 August 1609) 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-Marck** and **Catherine de Romerée** marrying (1<sup>st</sup>) **David de Bucquoij**, (2<sup>nd</sup>) **Adriaan Anthonissen**, (3<sup>rd</sup>) **Jacob Sweerts [Sweris]** and finally (4<sup>th</sup>) **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**<sup>96</sup>
- his concubine the unbaptized **Annica van Bengale**
- **Maria (Marij) van Bali**
- **Willem van Bengale** and
- **Louis van Bengale**.

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

- **Jantje van Bengale**
- **Matthijs van Coromandel**<sup>97</sup>
- **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**

<sup>95</sup> *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>.

<sup>96</sup> Mansell G. Upham, ‘The 1st Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape’, *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

<sup>97</sup> 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 Guldewagen (1638-1717), wid. Johan Daniel D'Ablaing, heer van Haulsin** (daughter of **Cornelis Guldewagen** 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.<sup>98</sup> 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):

**Catharina**<sup>99</sup> [later known as **Catharina (Catrijn) Wagenmakers: van de Caep**]; and  
**Maria**<sup>100</sup> [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:**<sup>101</sup> The later assumed patronymic **Pieters:** of her second daughter **Marritie** tellingly 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: *Cruijssart, Cruijssaert, Cruybaert, Cruysaert, Cruyssart* and *Kruijssaert*. 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.<sup>102</sup> Should the mother's punishment (exile to the Cape as a Company slave) apply to her *halfslag* children?

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui67.htm>

<sup>99</sup> **Cathalina dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren.**

<sup>100</sup> **Mary dochter van een slavin buiten echt geboren.**

<sup>101</sup> CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 47 ((Joint Will – copy: **Marietje Pietersze** born Cabo & **Jan Andriesz: van Amsterdam**, 1710) CA: CJ 2650, no. 30 ((Joint Will – original: **Marietje Pietersze** born Cabo & **Jan Andriesz: van Amsterdam**, 1710) in which bequests are made to her sister's children: **Jurrie & Susanna Beijer**; & sister's grandchildren **Trijntje & Margarita Hatting** (daughters of **J. Harmenstz van Paterborn**) – her sister being **Catharina Wagenmakers: van de Caab** married to **Andreas Beyer** (from Saxony). See also CJ 2651, nos. 23 & 24 (Will – original: **Maria Pieterse**, 14 October 1717) & MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will: **Maria Pieterse**, 14 October 1717) & H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten*, vol. II, pp. 633-634.

<sup>102</sup> 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 regarde van sijn vigilantie en dapperheit in verscheijde gelegentheden bethoont*). 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.<sup>103</sup>

**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 *Bengale* as Pulicat, being situated on the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal, and is easily superseded by *Bengale* 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.<sup>104</sup> 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 Palicatta** (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.<sup>105</sup> If the child is

<sup>103</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, p. 131 n. 383.

<sup>104</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*, p. 331.

<sup>105</sup> ... *aen Catharina van Bengalen omme van de E.[dele] Comp[agnie]. 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 overliden 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".<sup>106</sup> **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 honours<sup>107</sup> 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".<sup>108</sup> 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 (*peculiam*) that can revert to the master (*patron*) at any time.<sup>109</sup> The *Institutes of Justinian* are unequivocal on this matter:<sup>110</sup>

"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.<sup>111</sup> Those with capacity to inherit have to be free from power and citizens of the body politic.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> 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

*gelegateerde wederom sal keeren aan sijne naeste vrunden ab intestate* [J. Leon Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke waarin Slawe van Vryburgers en Amptenare vermeld word (1658-1730)', Deel I, *Kronos*, vol. 14 (1988), p. 58].

<sup>106</sup> *In de verleden nacht is Pieter Everard vaendrigh en hooft van de militie deser Fortresse comen t'overlijden, hebbende geruijmen tijt herwaerts ellendigh met 'et graveel en ander accidenten gequelt geweest* [Anna J. Böseken, *Dagregister en Brieve van Zacharias Wagenaer 1662-1666*, p. 137].

<sup>107</sup> ... der achter achtermiddaghs te vijff is de voorn.[oemde]Pieter Everaerts] vaendrigh na crijsgebruijck begraven, hebbende deselve all de officiers en schippers der presente 6 schepen die laetste eer bewesen en hem uigtgeleide tot aen sijn graf gedaen.

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

<sup>109</sup> Barry Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, p. 74].

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

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

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

<sup>113</sup> Margaret Cairns, '**Armosyn Claasz of the Cape** and her Family, 1661-1783', *Familia*, vol. XVI, no. 2 (1979), p. 89; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten (Memorials)*, vol. IV, p. 1262 under **VAN LEEUWEN, FRANS** & Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 348.



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.<sup>114</sup>

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 *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.<sup>115</sup>

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.<sup>116</sup> 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.*<sup>117</sup>

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 Bengale**. She becomes known subsequently as **Petronella van Bengale**, after her stepfather, and **Petronella schoondogter van Antony van Bengale**.

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.<sup>118</sup> Commissioner **Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (1636-1691)**'s observes (1685) that there still remained even unbaptised *halfslag* slaves in the Company's Slave Lodge.<sup>119</sup> 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.

<sup>114</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Armosyn Revisited', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 26-27; see updated version on First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui70.htm>.

<sup>115</sup> CA: CTD, p. 88 (Inventory: **Pieter Evrard** (from Cruijsard), 17 March 1664). His will & inventory – transcribed *verbatim* – appear in **Appendix 4**.

<sup>116</sup> CA, VC 603: G 1/1 Doopregister 1665-1695, p. 2.

<sup>117</sup> *Noch van de Slavinnes kinderen der Ed.[ele] Oostyndische Compagnie: ... de moeder Catharina diens kind is genaamt Petronella.*

<sup>118</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Armosyn Revisited', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 19-33.

<sup>119</sup> *Den heiligen doop behoort voor al niet verwaarloost te worden ontrent de kinderen van Duij[t]sche vaders; niet te verantwoorden zijnde, men deselve tot veel jaaren toe als heijdenen ongedoopt te laten heen lopen.* [Anna J. Böeseken, *Memoriën en Instructiën 1657-1699*, p. 208].





Hendrik Adriaan van Rheege tot Drakenstein (1636-1691)

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.<sup>120</sup> 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

<sup>120</sup> Margaret Cairns – personal communication.



disease, abortion and infanticide.<sup>121</sup> Muslim women are notorious in the Dutch East Indies for aborting foetuses fathered by Christians.<sup>122</sup>

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**<sup>123</sup> 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**<sup>124</sup> is baptized (2 October 1667) and the second **Louis**<sup>125</sup> 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]**<sup>126</sup>
- **Jeronimus van Coromandel**
- **Tita** – from Bengal [**Titus (de) Thomsen / Thomzen van Bengale**]; and
- the **Maleijer ('Malay') Barru [Baddou]**.

<sup>121</sup> 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.

<sup>122</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, p. 15.

<sup>123</sup> ... de moeder **Catharina** [**Catharina van Malabar?**] wiens kind is genaemt **Anthonij**.

<sup>124</sup> ... den 2 Octob:[er] twee Comp.[agnie] slavinne kinderen het ene wiert genaemt **Anthoni**, de moeder **Grietje**, het ander **Susan** de moeder **Catharyn** [**Catharina van Bengale?**] tot getuyge stont in persoon van den E.[ele] Raet S.[ieur] **Victor**.

<sup>125</sup> ... den 13 Nov.[ember] een slavinne kindt van de E.[ele] Compagnie wiert genaemt **Louis** de moeder heet **Cathrijn** tot getuygen stont in persoon van den E.[ele] Raet S.[ieur] **Victor**.

<sup>126</sup> 15 October 1666: conviction of **Andries van die Kus** for stealing a sheep – branded [CA: CJ 780 (15 October 1666), no. 72, pp. 205-206].



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 Qualbergen**. **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:<sup>127</sup>

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

- **Jacqje Joij alias Gracias 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 Joij 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 Riebeeck**.<sup>128</sup> Before departing for the East, **Van Riebeeck** sells him (1 May 1662). **Van Riebeeck** had already sold (20 April 1662) the slaves **Domingo van Angola**, **Jan Meeuw 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 Angoolse slaven en [een] slavinnen*): **Domingo**, **Jan Meeuw**, **Thomas/so Keukens** 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 Joij'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]**.<sup>129</sup>
- **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 ven Overbeke** sailing on the *Zuys Polsbroek*: "**Quaelbergen** was still so beloved".<sup>130</sup> 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

<sup>127</sup> CA: MOOC 23/5, nos. 19-21 (*Staat en Inventaris & Taxatie van Hendrick van Zuijwaarden & verclaering van Margaritha Frans: Meekhoff*, 15 May 1672).

<sup>128</sup> Anna J. Boeseken: *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1652-1700*, p. 125.

<sup>129</sup> Later recorded as **Francois van Macau** & **Francis/co** or **Franciscus Per(e)era** or **Perreira**. He is not to be confused with the convict **Francisco Manilha**.

<sup>130</sup> Major R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, vol. I, p. 109.



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 zwarte 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).<sup>131</sup> His banishment on Robben Island is confirmed in the muster roll (1668) where he is listed as one of the convicts.<sup>132</sup> 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**.<sup>133</sup> The child's paternity is no secret. He is named directly after the biological father now relegated to Robben Island. Throughout his life he 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]**<sup>134</sup>. The latter is **Jagt** – the future husband of **Maaij Ansela. Snijman** appears again in the muster roll (1667).<sup>135</sup>

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.<sup>136</sup> **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.

<sup>131</sup> CA: CJ 1, no. 238 Case of **Hans Christoffel Snijman** (30 July 1667), pp. 366-368; CA: C 327, *Attestatiën*, p. 55.

<sup>132</sup> ... op't Robben eylant gecommandeert als gebannen: **Hans Christophel Snijman** [CA: VC 39, vol. II (muster roll, 1668), p. 110].

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

<sup>134</sup> **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.

<sup>135</sup> **Hans Christoffel Snijman sold:[ae]t** [CA: VC 39, II (*Monsterrol* 1666 [*sic - 1667*]), p. 81].

<sup>136</sup> 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:<sup>137</sup>

"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.<sup>138</sup> 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 Willemesz**: **Christoffel Jacobsz**: **Jan Bastiaensz**: **Dirck van der Speck**, **Jan Jansz**: **van Utrecht**, **Fransz Schamtelaeer** [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 *placaat* [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".<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> *Soo zijn van de morgen oock na 't rollen lesen 20 soldaten na de duintjes hier dicht bij gelegen, gelopen begerende aan dese Fortresse met graven niet langer te arbeiden, 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 selfs wederom gecomen onder verscheide blauwe excusen die geensints aen te nemen waren, weswegen oocq anderen tot een excempel alleer dat quaet vorder kruijpt, staen gestraft te worden* [Anna J. Böeseken, *Dagregister en Brieve van Zacharias Wagenaer* 1662-1666, p. 233 & H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 166].

<sup>138</sup> CA: CJ 1, p. 296; Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie* 1652-1672, pp. 159-160 & Anna J. Böeseken, *Dagregister: Wagenaer*, p. 233.

<sup>139</sup> *Ondertusschen zijn de 20 soldaten die verleden Donderdagh niet langer wilden arbeiden, maer stoutelijck lantwaertin liepen volgens ons placcaet altemael in de kettingh gecloncken, te weten 4 der principaelst roervincken op zijn Batavias 2 aen 2 aen malcanderen; 9 zijnder doch ijder apart, aen een kruijwagen vastgesloten en de resterende 7 is eenelijck (om dat die eenigsints gebreeckelyk vonden) ijder een cleijn kettingje aen hun been geleijt, om alsoo dese maent tot een straff sonder dagloonen daerin te arbeiden, 't welcq wij hoopan dat voortaan d' andere omsichtiger en gehoorsamer maken sal.* [Anna J. Böeseken, *Dagregister en Brieve 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<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> 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)<sup>142</sup>. 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**<sup>143</sup> (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.<sup>144</sup>

They are each obliged to pay (5 September 1667) her Rds 25 (25 rixdollars).<sup>145</sup> 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

<sup>140</sup> *Communicanten alhier bevonden*, CA: VC 603: G 1/1, Lidmatenregister, 1665/6 & VC 39, vol. II, (Muster Roll, 1666).

<sup>141</sup> [*Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, vol. II, pp. 258-259].

<sup>142</sup> ... 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.

<sup>143</sup> **Cornelis van Benthem**. The wife of Rev. Petrus Kalden is **Cornelia van Benthem**. Are they related?

<sup>144</sup> CA: VC 603, p. 62; Adolphe Lindler, *The Swiss at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1971*, p. 59 & Mansell G. Upham, 'Review of *The Swiss at the Cape of Good Hope*', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 29-31.

<sup>145</sup> CA: CJ 1, Case of **Cornelis van Benthem & Aurelius Probenius** (5 September 1667), p. 377 & Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, p. 178.



to pay a fine of 6 reals-of-eight for breaking the law against gambling with slaves.<sup>146</sup> They state in their defence that **Groote Catrijn** had asked them to play with her (*op Catrijns versouck*)<sup>147</sup> 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 *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 (*waer uijt dan veeltjits hooge quellen ontsaten, en dickwils groot onhijlen connen voort coomen*).<sup>148</sup>

This is not the first time the authorities appear to be kindly disposed towards **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. **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 **Anthonij van Japan** (signs his name **Antoni van Japan** but is referred to in the document as **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 **Groote Catrijn and others (Grae Catrijn... en andere)**<sup>149</sup>. In this document she is also referred to as **Catarijn**. Together with **Sara [Zara]** – the ‘Dutch Hottentot’ woman *Duijtse Hottentotinnen* (a purportedly detribalized / acculturated aboriginal servant in the **Lacus** household) – and a woman **Marij**, **Groote Catrijn** had mentioned to **Anthonij** that the engineer **Pieter Dombaar** (from der Gouw) took to Ceylon a certain box with money – presumably on **Lacus’s** instructions.

**Zara** is first mentioned in the records (31 October 1667) as *d'Hottentotinne Zara*. She is servant to the wife of **Hendrik Lacus, Lydia de Pape**. She and the slave **Louis van Bengale** are allowed, temporarily, to remain in the disgraced **Hendrik Lacus’s** service. **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, **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?”<sup>150</sup> **Anthonij** responds by saying “he had heard from **Grae [Gro[ot]e or Gra[nd]e] Catrijn** and others that one box had been sent away with **Dombaar** and that he knows nothing

<sup>146</sup> M.K. Jeffreys, *Kaapse Plakaatboek Deel I* (1652-1707), p. 46: *Interdictie over ‘t Dobbelen ende Spelen* (6/8 December 1658).

<sup>147</sup> *De ged[ae]chdjens voor antwoord dat op voorsz Catrijns versouk wel mat haer ge[s]peelt, maer niet merckelijck gewonnen hebben.*

<sup>148</sup> M.K. Jeffreys, *KaapsePlakaatboek Deel I* (1652-1707), p. 103: ... ‘t spelen op verkeerbort, kaerten, en dobbelstenen binnen dese fortresse te spelen verboden! The law was again amended (1673 & 1687).

<sup>149</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, ‘Raad van Justisie’, p. 204 & CA: CJ 2952, Case of **Hendrik Lacus** van Wesel (7 March 1668), pp. 214-217.

<sup>150</sup> *Off niet weet wat goederen van hier versonden zijn.*



further".<sup>151</sup> 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?"<sup>152</sup>, he "... [d]eclared 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".<sup>153</sup> **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.<sup>154</sup> 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.<sup>155</sup> 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

<sup>151</sup> Segt gehoort te hebben van Gra[nd?]je Catrijn en andere een kasje met Dombaar sou weggesonden zijn, en verder niet te weten.

<sup>152</sup> Off ook kennis heeft of van andere gehoort heeft dat alhier enig gelt of goet begraven, verdronken of anders weggebracht is.

<sup>153</sup> 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, dog van geen verdrenken te weten.

<sup>154</sup> CA: CJ 1, no. 408, Case of **Nicolaes Phlegel** van Basel (26 August 1671), pp. 705-6.

<sup>155</sup> ...was gecommandeert geweest hier voor't ingaan van d'H[ee]jr. 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<sup>156</sup> by the minister **Adrianus de Vooght** simply as **Catharien** together with her friend, companion and former co-slave in the **Van Riebeeck** household, **Maaij Ansel**<sup>157</sup>. 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 Ansel** appear as “communicants found here”<sup>158</sup> (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 *halfslagh* 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 Voocht / 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).<sup>159</sup> They are the children of **Pieter de Voocht** and **Aeltje de Voocht** and siblings to **Joannes de Vooght** 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)]

<sup>156</sup> ... *bejaarde persoon*.

<sup>157</sup> ... den 29 April [1668] zijn gedoopt na gedaen belydenisse twee bejaerde personen, waer de een genaemt wiert **Angila** de andere **Catharien**.

<sup>158</sup> Communicanten alhier bevonden.

<sup>159</sup> *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. I, pp. 374-375 & 390-391; *Dictionary of South African Biography*, [DSAB], vol. V, p. 194.



- **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 Maasbommel), 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 Dirksz: 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 Februaruy 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"<sup>160</sup> witnesses the baptism of **Maaij Ansela's** fourth illegitimate child named **Pieter** likely fathered by **Jacobus van As** (from Brussels).<sup>161</sup> 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**.<sup>162</sup> 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**

<sup>160</sup> ... doch christen.

<sup>161</sup> Den 3 Junius [1668]: Een soontje van **Angila** wiert genaemt **Pieter** tot getuijgen stond **Catrine Compa[g]n:[ie] slavinne doch christen**.

<sup>162</sup> ... den 24 Juni [1668]: Een dochter van **Anthoni Japan** en **Anniecke syn huysvr.[ouw]** wiert genaemt **Theuntje** tot getuijgen stond **Groote Catrina Comp:[agnie] slaefinne doch christ.[en]**.



**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.<sup>163</sup> 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**<sup>164</sup>

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 *buitenspost* 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)**

<sup>163</sup>... den 9 Maert [1669]: Een soontje van **Groote Catrijn** wiert genaemt **Christoffel** tot getuigen stont **Angila**.

<sup>164</sup> A.J. Kannermeyer, *Huguenote-Familieboek*, p. 271.



"The Heeren **Wagenaar** and **Van Quaelbergen** had indeed left good instructions and set good examples to Heer **Borghorst** 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.<sup>165</sup> 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**:<sup>166</sup>

"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

<sup>165</sup> François Valentijn, *Description of the Cape with matters concerning it*, vol. II, pp. 192-193).

<sup>166</sup> Major R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, p. 109.



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-Indië* (1668) and a poetry anthology *Geestige wercken* (1678). Back in The Hague he becomes a member of the Rederikskamer 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]**
- **Pollecijj [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 **Pollecijj [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 **Rijkckloff 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**
- **Pollecijj [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<sup>167</sup> The cryptic transcriptions of the *Transporten en Schepenkennissen*, 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.<sup>168</sup> **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).<sup>169</sup> 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 Willemsz: 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.<sup>170</sup>

## 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).<sup>171</sup> **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.<sup>172</sup> Presumably some of **Goske's** former slaves are reincorporated into the new commander's household. Is this household the last where

<sup>167</sup> *Transport en Schepenkennissen* (hereinafter 'Slave Transactions') by Anna Böeseken / Margaret Cairns in *Slaves & Free Blacks* & J. Leon Hattingh in *Kronos* – courtesy of Rob Shell.

<sup>168</sup> 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.

<sup>169</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui104.htm>.

<sup>170</sup> Mansell G. Upham, Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library

<sup>171</sup> CA: C. 2, pp. 318-320 (resolution: Council of Policy, 31 December 1669); Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. I, p. 397.

<sup>172</sup> Frederici Bollingi, *Oost-Indiske Reise-bog...* (Copenhagen 1678). Translated extracts appear in Major R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, vol. I pp. 143-154.



**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<sup>173</sup> **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)<sup>174</sup> 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 Holtzman'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 Holzman** (from Sittard [Zitterd, Limburg]).<sup>175</sup> 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),<sup>176</sup> **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”.<sup>177</sup> 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).

<sup>173</sup> Free-blacks are also *de jure* free-burgers. 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 wanneer daar individueel na hulle verwys is, 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 *vrylieden*. 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.

<sup>174</sup> den 14 Sept[ember]: een dochterche van **Elisabeth van Bangale** [sic – **Angola**], wiert genaamt **Maria tot getuyge stonden Anthoni en Catharyn** [CA: VC 603, G 1/1 (Doopregister), p. 5].

<sup>175</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui113.htm>.

<sup>176</sup> 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].

<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup>

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.<sup>179</sup>

“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.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui105.htm>.

<sup>179</sup> *Onder des Comp[agnie]s. lijeijgenen sullen bij ‘t grootboeck geen Indiaanse swarten door de justitie hier gebannen, overgedragen, neen, maar alleen in ‘t journaal als gecondemneerdens 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. lifeijgenen verduijstert mogen werden* [**Goske: Memorie voor den adminstrateur en negatieboeckhouder deser presedie om hem na te reguleren** (1671 & 1686) in Anna J. Böeseken, *Memoriën en Instructiën 1657-1699*, p. 113].

<sup>180</sup> *De Bandijten die tot nogh toe in het zellfde quartier bij de slaven zijn vermenghd geweest, moeten nadesen van haar affgesondert werden, waartoe een bequaame plaats is geordonneert, want van dat volck sullen sij nooit iets goets kunnen leeren.* [**H.A. van Reede: Instructie voor den Commandeur Simon an der Stel en den Raad wegen de generale Compa[gnie]**. *Het gebied voerende over de landen, luijden en effecten onder het Commandenment en Fortresse de Goede Hoop gehoorende, om de publicque saacken daar na te bestieren, tot de Ed[e]lle. H[ee]ren. Bewindthebberen reprsenteerende den Staat der Vereenighde Nedelantsche Generale g'octrojeerde Compa[gnie]*. *In de vergaderingh van 17en onse Heeren en Meesters anders comen te gebieden* in A.J. Böeseken, *Memoriën en Instructiën 1657-1699*, p. 207].



"...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."<sup>181</sup>

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).<sup>182</sup>

**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**

<sup>181</sup> Donald Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 309 & 397.

<sup>182</sup> ... 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.<sup>183</sup> 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**:<sup>184</sup>

"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 exonerated 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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<sup>183</sup> CA: C 496, *Uitgaande Brieven*, p. 10 (6 January 1672). [New No. C 1340 (Politieke Raad: Uitgaande Brieven)] now page 11 (formerly page 10). See also CA: A 1657 (M.K. Jeffreys Collection), vol. 24: "In 1656 condemned to death but pardoned and sent to Cape for life sentence. Freely pardoned & released from slavery. Permission given her to marry free black, which promptly took place".

<sup>184</sup> *Aen Catharina van Paliakatta 1656 bij de hooge Regeringe tot Batavia van de doodt gepardonneert en de slavernije onslaegen, mitsgaeders toegestaen, omme aen seker Vrije Zwart Anthonie de Later van Bengale te mogh trouwen, gelijk oock allereets daerop is gevolgt ...voor eeuwigh in slavendienst aan de Caap gebannen hebben, op UEd:[e]lle orderen vrijdom vergunt en van de slavernije onslaegen, mitsgaeders toegestaen, omme aen seker Vrije Zwart Anthonie de Later van Bengale te mogh trouwen, gelijk oock allereets 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 work force. 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:<sup>185</sup>

"Regarding the half-breed girl mentioned by us to you, you order that she is to serve the Company until her 22<sup>nd</sup> 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

<sup>185</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received 1695-1708*, (26 February 1696), p. 92.



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?:<sup>186</sup>

"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 serve 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:<sup>187</sup>

"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.<sup>188</sup>

"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

<sup>186</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 59.

<sup>187</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, Part II (14 August 1656), pp. 273.

<sup>188</sup> 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".<sup>189</sup>

At last, 15 years later, the Cape finally has its own *mardijcker* / 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]).<sup>190</sup> This purchase is highly significant. This is the first time ever that a free-black or *mardijcker* 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 100 and register a debenture for f 2 900.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>189</sup> 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.

<sup>190</sup> CA: CTD 5, pp. 64 & 647 (T 116 & T 173 4 September 1671); Anna J. Böesken, *Slaves & Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 64-66 & 67-69; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit in die Tafelvallei. Deel I, Die eksperiment. Grondbesit van Vryswartes', *Kronos*, 10 (1985), p. 43; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke II', p. 16.

<sup>191</sup> CA: CTD 5, p. 64 (T 116 & T 173) 4 September 1671: "**Jacob Cornelissen Rosendael**, burger en vry ingesetene, verkoop aan **Anthonij van Bengale**, vrieswart 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 Hendricx: Backer** (from Lingen) who later marries **Lijsbeth Roelofsz:** (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.<sup>192</sup> **Anthonij**, however, is unable to meet his obligations in terms of paying for the properties he had purchase from **Rosendael**. Böeseken 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.<sup>193</sup> Clearly **Anthonij** is found to be incapable of raising the necessary monies owing to **Rosendael**.<sup>194</sup> **Rosendael** is not only notoriously litigious, but always quick to draw his knife.

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

<sup>192</sup> 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 paaimeente te betaal, die eerste *f* 1 200 wanneer die tweede besending skepe uit Batavia in 1672 die rede verlaat het, die tweede *f* 1 700 die volgende jaar wanneer die eerste retroervloot van Batavia 14 dae voor die rede lê."

<sup>193</sup> *Mercurij* [Thursday] 31 May A[nn]o 1673: **Jacob Rosendael** borger alhier v[ersu]s **Anthonie van Bengale** vrye swart ... Den Raadt gehoort R:a doende regt, adjudiciert d'eijs:[che]r zijn eis in questie, en verclaert denselven geregtyt, om zijn hipothecq te rexindicieren, immetecht hem overzulk in de colcomen possessee van zijn vergogt. CA: CJ 1, vol. II (1668-1673), p. 826.

<sup>194</sup> Anna J. Böeseken's misreading of the situation originates from her loose transcription of the original deed of sale – see J. Leon Hattingh, 'A.J. Böeseken se Addendum van Kaapse Salwe-Verkooptransaksies: Foute en Regstelleings', *Kronos*, vol. 9 (1984), p. 8, where he states: "Op bladsy 129 van die addendum, onder die datum 4.9.1671, gee Böeseken te kenne dat die vryswart **Anthonij van Bengale** van **Jacob Cornelis Rosendael** die aansienlike bedrag van 2 900 gulde geleent het maar vermeld nie waarvoor die lening gemaak is nie. Die sleutel hiervoor lê opgesluit in die voorafgaande drie bladsye van die betrokke bundel, te wete pp. 64-66. Dit behels die verkoopakte waarmee Rosendael sy huis en erf te Zeestraat



## Duck-stabbing Incident

Eviction follows and the family has to squat on empty land in *Tweede Bergdwars Straat* – also known later as *Venus Street* [St George's Mall]<sup>195</sup>. Their new neighbours are **Joachim / Jochem / Jochum Ringel** (from Amsterdam), his wife **Annetje Remmers: Groenewoud** 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?<sup>196</sup> 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'eed de visschen die hij doenmaels schoon maekte 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. **Annatje Remmers: Grownewoud**, however, refuses responding caustically: "Nothing stops you

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(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 onmiddelik 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 uiters belangrike dokument wat Böeseken verswyg en vermink voorhou."

<sup>195</sup> CA: MI 1/5.

<sup>196</sup> CJ 2, Civil Case: **Anthonij van Bengale contra Dirck Ringel**, 1 August 1674, p. 9. See Donald Moodie's summary in *The Record*, p. 384: "[1674] Aug. 1. **Dirck Ringel**, son of a burger: condemned at the suit of the Fiscal, to one's month's labour, and to pay for the injury done, in maliciously killing a duck, the property of a free black".



from smearing the duck with butter [and eating it] so what's there to give back?" (*dat men d'een 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.<sup>197</sup>

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.<sup>198</sup> **Dirck Ringel** joins the Company 5 years later and goes to Batavia (1679) with the fleet of Commissioner **Dirck Blom**.<sup>199</sup>

Notwithstanding the duck incident, the occupied land is finally granted (12 February 1675) to **Anthonij** by the outgoing Commander **Goske**.<sup>200</sup> **Anthonij** is again granted (1 June 1676) on loan (*in leen*) another garden by **Goske**'s successor, **Joan Bax van Herentals**.<sup>201</sup> 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 Jans:** 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".<sup>202</sup>

**Pieter Walrand(t): / Wolbrandt(s): / Wolbrant / Wollebrants: / Wo(o)llebrantsz: [Plott]** (from Middelburg) as senior surgeon (*opperchirurgyn*) neglects his patients,

<sup>197</sup> He was convicted (25 January 1679).

<sup>198</sup> ... *in't doden van de eendt gaande op vrije straat van vrije swart Antho:[nile] van Bengale* [CA: CTD 6, p. 159 (1 August 1674)]: "**Adriaan Tatixen [Adriaen Taticken]**, trompetter, verklaar op versoek van die fiskaal, dat hy *ongeveer* [ses deurgehaal] weke gelede, *zijnde ten huijse van de vrijswart Anthonij van Bengalen*, op die geroep van enige kinders dat daar 'n eend met 'n mes in sy rug buite die deur van die huis loop, gaan kyk het. Buite het hy **Dirck Ringel**, seun van **Jochum Ringel** by die eend gesien staan met die bebloede mes in die hand, wat toe deur die vrou van gemelde Anthoni aangespreek is oor waarom hy dit gedoen het. Die seun het geantwoord *om dat eend de visschen die hij doenmaels schoon maekte quamen oplieten, ende het nit al willens adde gedaan*. Daarop hoor hy dat **Anthoni** se vrou teenoor die moeder van **Dirck** sê dat sy daarmee nie te vrede is nie en daarvoor betaling begeer, die egter wiere en sê *dat men d'een maer met wat boter soude smeeren zullende daeroft niets te lever sonder meer*" [J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit van Vryswartes', p. 22].

<sup>199</sup> CA: C 330: *Attestatiën, 1679-1682*, pp. 170-1; A.J. Böeseken *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. 3, p. 14.

<sup>200</sup> A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves & Free Blacks*, pp. 93-94; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit van Vryswartes', p. 45.

<sup>201</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit van Vryswartes', p. 42.

<sup>202</sup> Letter: **Bax** to the **Heeren XVII** (14 March 1677) in Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 348.



smuggles alcohol and is banished (June-August 1670) to Robben Island for 3 years<sup>203</sup> For his drunken behaviour and neglecting work after having his salary increased by Commissioner **Mattheus van den Brou(c)ke** 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.<sup>204</sup> He re-appears as free-burgher and mason on the mainland (1673) and as neighbour to **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta & Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale.**

## Financial difficulties

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).<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup> 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].<sup>207</sup> **Anthonij** purchases (12 August 1678) the slave **Paul van Malabar** from *Mejuffrouw Aletta van Hinlopen*<sup>208</sup>,



the widow of the Cape's late commander **E.[dele] H[ee]r Johan Bax van Herenthals (c. 1637-1678)** for Rds 100.<sup>209</sup> He also has the use of the slave **Baddou van Bali**.<sup>210</sup> **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)**

<sup>203</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, 1652-1672, pp. 291-319] – but information conflicts with CA: C6, PP. 24-65 – TANAP <http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>.

<sup>204</sup> CA: CJ I: *Criminele en Civiele Regts Rolle*, 1652-1673, p. 256 verso – 257 verso, p. 277 recto – 283 recto, p. 293 recto.

<sup>205</sup> *Vrijdag 4 Maart 1678 ... Rolle hoedanigen quantiteijt rijst een ijder deser vrije ingesetenen maandelijcx van de E.[dele] Compa:[gnie] voortaen staat te genieten, namentlijck: ... Antoni van Bengale lb 150 rijst* [Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, Deel II 1670-1680*, p. 232].

<sup>206</sup> 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 Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon?**] [Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 132].

<sup>207</sup> His second wife **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Gertse Nieumeijer** (from Deventer) features as a witness to the baptism of **Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon & Dina van Coijlang** [Quilon / Cochin / Kochi].

<sup>208</sup> **Aletta [Alida] Hinlopen** (born 1649), daughter of **Jacob Fransz: Hinlopen (1618-1671)** & **Maria Huydecoper van Maarsseveen (-1658)** & granddaughter of **Frans Jacobsz: Hinlopen (1583-20 June 1628)** & **Cornelia Oetgens (1586-1651)**, marries (1<sup>st</sup>) Batavia (1669) **Johan Bax van Herenthals** (born s'- Hertogenbosch), son of *jonkheer & ritmeester* (captain) **Willem Maurits Bacx** & **Jeannette Hoefijser** & 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, hopman en een der verbonden edelen en van Maria van Hoxwier*; marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) 1682 met **Jan van Leenen**.

<sup>209</sup> CA: TS 3, no pagination (12.8.1678): "Mejuffrou **Aletta van Hinlopen**, weduwe van die Heer **Johan Bax van Herenthals** [in sy] lewe goewerneur alhier, verkoop aan **Antoni van Bengale**, vryburger alhier, die slaaf **Paul van ...[Malabar]**, oud ..., 100 Rds". (Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke II', pp. 25 & 35); Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 136.

<sup>210</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke II', *Kronos*, p. 26.



**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**<sup>211</sup> sues him (22 March 1679) for monies owing to the amount of Rds. 93.<sup>212</sup>

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.<sup>213</sup> **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 Hinlopen**, widow of the late governor **Joan Bax van Herenthals**. He borrows f 300 undertaking to repay (1679). This document is never cancelled. Is the debt ever extinguished?<sup>214</sup> **Bax** dies (29 June 1679). Clearly, **Anthonij** and **Groote Catrijn** have

<sup>211</sup> **Jacqje Joij van Angola** aka **Gratias Maiatas**; marries (but judicially separated) **Maria Everts: van de Caep** (daughter of **Evert van Guinea & Anna van Guinea**).

<sup>212</sup> Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 384.

<sup>213</sup> 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**).

<sup>214</sup> CA: TS 3, no pagination (24.8.1678): "Antoni van Bengale, vry ingesetene alhier, erken mij **Aletta van Hinlopen**, weduwe van die E[dele]H[ee]r **Johan Bax van Herentals**, in lewe goewerneur alhier, die bedrag van f 300 skuld spruitende uit die koop van die lyfeie **Paul** vir f 300; beloof om aan mij **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**.<sup>215</sup> **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.<sup>216</sup> 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.<sup>217</sup> 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**<sup>218</sup> 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.<sup>219</sup>

### 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):<sup>220</sup>

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eerste 'besindingh' retroervloot in 1679 die rede hier verlaat. Hy verbind hom en al sy goedere. [Geteken AVB]." (Hattingh, 'Kaapse Notariële Stukke II', 24 Aug. 1678, p. 35).

<sup>215</sup> 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.

<sup>216</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Creolization & Indigenization – Burlamacchi & Diodati family ties in the Dutch VOC empire', *Capensis*, no. 4 (1999), pp. 16-34.

<sup>217</sup> CA: C 4, pp. 121-155; *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel II 1670-1680, pp. 322-323:  
Woensdag 13 Martij 1680.

Zekere metisse off *halfslagh* meij genaemt **Catrina**, dogh een Comp[agnie]s. slavin bij een Europaen alhier geprocureert, mi<t>sgaders door het hoogwerdig[e] sacrament van den H.[eilige] doop d' gemeente Christi in geleijft, mi<t>gaders in de Christelijcke religie onderwesen en nu een competente ouderdom bereijckt hebbende en tot nogh toe als een dienstbare bij d' Comp[agnie]. gebruijckt, bij requeste aan dese vergaderingh versocht hebbende dat sij om de vooren geallegeerde reden, mitsgaders uijt crachte van haer vrijdom die haar van haar vaderskant wettelijk toe quam, in vrijdom mocht werden gestelt, en van haar dienstbaarheit ontslagen, soo is goet gevonden haar in vrijdom te stellen om haar als een vrij vrouw te moogen erneeren.

<sup>218</sup> den selfden ditto **Willem Catharina** een Companys mestice of mixtice

<sup>219</sup> '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>.

<sup>220</sup> **Anthonij van Bengale** vrij ingeseten alhier in de vergaderingh versocht hebbende om met zijn familie naer Batavia te trekken, dat hem (ten opsichte d'E.[dele] Comp[agnie]. maar tot laste strectt en voor d'gemeene borgerij gans onnut en oock om verscheide wichtige redenen alhier geentsints noodigh) is



"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.<sup>221</sup> "**Black Anthonij**" (**Swart Antoni**) is fined by the Council of Justice together with seven other free-citizens (including **Maaij Anselas**'s husband) for neglecting to produce permits for the gathering of wood (*over nalatiheit van het overlevenen den briefjes rackende het bereijden van branthout*).<sup>222</sup> 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:<sup>223</sup>

**"Juffr:[ouw] 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-burgers having ex-slave wives (**Kees de Boer** and **Maaij Anselas**'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**.<sup>224</sup> She appears as **Catharina**

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*geconsenteert, also hier seer wel can werden gemist.* [Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, II 1670-1680 (Resolution: 15 March 1680), p. 324].

<sup>221</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slave and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>222</sup> G. Con de Wet, in his *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in the Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, omits *Jagt* in his *Bylae I*.

<sup>223</sup> CA: CJ 2, p. 114 (3 July 1680).

<sup>224</sup>The *heelslag* **Elisabeth Marcus / Marcusz: / Markess / Markeuse / Markense / Markus & Lijsbeth van de Caep**, she has several children by different fathers; her 1st child is by **Christoffel Armregt / Armbrecht** (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 Meerkens**; her fifth child is fathered by **Pieter Knurf**. Being *heelslag* she is precluded her from being legally married; her children:

(1)      **Wilhelm Armbrecht** baptized Cape [*Namen der Christen Kinderen*] 3 October 1700 (no witnesses)



**Anthonii** (Latin – genitive case – for *Catharina of Anthoni*).<sup>225</sup> 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*)<sup>226</sup> – whose last two names mostly appear contracted in the records as **Rutgerstroost / 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) **Dirkje de Graaf** baptized Cape [*Namen der Christen Kinderen*] 7 December 1704 (witnesses: **Emanuel van Macassar**<sup>224</sup> & **Sytje van Macassar**<sup>224</sup>)
- (3) **Johannes Meerkens** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 20 May 1708 (witnesses: **Pieter Pietersz de Groot**<sup>224</sup> & **Willemmina Willemsz:**<sup>224</sup>)  
... *van Daniel Meerkens, en Elizabet [sic] Markus, de getuigen Pieter Pietersz de Groot, en Willemmina Willemsz – Johannes ...*
- (4) **Johanna Meerkens** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 18 August 1709 (witnesses: **Cornelis van der Laan** & **Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout**)  
... *van Daniel Meerkens, en Elizabeth Marcusz, de getuigen Cornelisz van der Laan, met Dirkje Matthijsz Westerhout – Johanna*
- (5) **Hendrik Knurf** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 22 May 1712 (witnesses: **Steven Winterhof** & **Willemmina Willemsz:**)  
... *van Pieter Knurf, en Elizabeth Marcusz, de getuigen Steeven [sic] Winterhof, en Willemmina Willemsz – Hendrik*

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.

<sup>225</sup> ... 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].

<sup>226</sup> Elberfeld (now incorporated into Wuppertal) in land of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Federal Republic of Germany.





## Elberfeld

In 1681 **Groote 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.<sup>227</sup> 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.<sup>228</sup> **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.<sup>229</sup> The fiscal is authorized to arrest anybody found there *in flagrante delictu*.<sup>230</sup> Moral condemnation of these institutions is graphically set out in terms of a resolution of the Council of Policy (26 November 1681):<sup>231</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Dan Sleigh, *Die Buiteposte*, pp. 648-649.

<sup>228</sup> CA: C 499 *Uitgaande Brieven II: Goew. En Raad-Goew.-gen. En Raad, Batavia*, 13 October 1681, p. 1036; G. Con De Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in the Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 195.

<sup>229</sup> '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>.

<sup>230</sup> Addendum III and also CA: C 5 (Resolution: Wednesday, 26 November 168[1]), pp. 66-68; C 680 (*Origineel Plakkaatboek*, 1652-1686), pp. 430-433; *Kaapse Plakaatboek*, deel I, 1652-1707, p. 179); CA: VC 9: (*Dagregister, 1680-1683*), pp. 451-453 (Journal, 27 November 1681).

<sup>231</sup> 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 aanmerckinge genoomen sijnde de schandeleuse en infame huijshoudinge van twee familien, sijnde het eene Timorees huijsgesin en 't ander seecker vrijgeworden slavin, Catarijn genaemt, alwaer soo wel de slavinnen van de Compe. als particuliere haer op gesette tijden weeten te transporteer en haer lichaem t'eenemael aen alle verfoeijelijcke vleesselijcke wellusten overgeven en door Europeanen laaten gebruiken, selfs sigh niet schamende haer vijfle lusten in 't openbaer te plegen, en dewijl 't selve niet magh nogh behoorende te werden getollereert, Soo is goetgevonden den fiscael deser resedentie te qualificeeren de voorne. twee huijsen, t'elckens wanneer hij sulcx raatzaem oordeelt, te visiteeren, en bij bevindinge van eenige Europeanen aldaer, d'selve voor d'eerste maal van daer te wijzen en te gelijck te waarschouwen haer van daer te onthouden, dogh echter de tweedemaal aldaer weder gevonden werdende, deselve te apprehendeeren om naer bevinden van sacken daerover gestraft te werden, maer in 't reguart van de vrouwluiden off slavinnen is verstaan wanneer eenige gevonden werden, dat deselue aanstonts in verseeckeringh sal neemen om daer over gestraft te werden. Aldus g'arresteert en geresolveert in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, datum uts.*



"Taking into consideration the scandalous and shameful households of two families, one being a Timorese family<sup>232</sup> 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**<sup>233</sup> 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.<sup>234</sup> 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 **Marritie** 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 **Anthonij'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 Thijssen**.<sup>235</sup> He appears (24 December 1671) as *garnisoen boekhouer en provisionele dispencier*.<sup>236</sup> **Hackius** uses him as *dipensier* promoting him (11 April 1672) to *ondercoopman* he is dismissed (1673) by Commander **Goske** and becomes a free-burgher.<sup>237</sup> 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)]).

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**S.[imon] v.[an der] STEL J.[eronimus] CRUSE TOBIAS VLASVATA.[ndries] de MAN en Secr[e]t[arijs].  
M[arthinus]. van BANCHEM PHILIP THEODOOR WELCKER**

<sup>232</sup> <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui72.htm>.

<sup>233</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, p. 37 [*Transport en Schpenkennissen 1680-1681* (Agreement: **Willem van Dieden & Anthony van Bengale**, 3 February 1681)].

<sup>234</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit in die Tafelvallei: Deel 1: Die eksperiment: Vryswartes as grondeienaaars, 1652-1710', *Kronos*, p. 37.

<sup>235</sup> Anna J. Boeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie*, p. 322, n. 914; Resolutions of the Council of Policy, vol. I, p. 387; Lalie Malan, Personal Papers.

<sup>236</sup> Lalie Malan, Personal Papers; Resolutions of the Council of Policy, vol. II, p. 71.

<sup>237</sup> Lalie Malan, Personal Papers; *Resolutions of the Council of Policy*, vol. II, p. 81.



## 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 (*Oorlammen*<sup>238</sup>) 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).



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hdl:10019.2/1319

*Coornhoop, Mowbray*

He also owns the farm *Gelukwaard(s)* [*gelegen over de Vier en Twintig Rivieren onder 't district van Drakenstein / 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?]).

<sup>238</sup> 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.<sup>239</sup> 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 mestizza / 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).<sup>240</sup> In the following year, she is singled out, together with the free-black **Paaij**

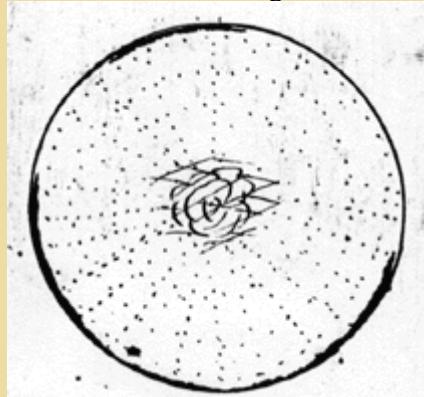
<sup>239</sup> den 13 December [1682] **Petronella Willem Jansen** corporael: en **Petronella** schoondogter van **Antony van Bengale**   **Catharina Wagenmakers**: [DRC/A: G1 1/1 Doopregister, p. 28].

<sup>240</sup> Resolutions of the Council of Policy (Wednesday, 13 March 1680) Zeekere mestisse off halffslagh meijt genaemt **Catrina**, dogh een Comp[agnie]s. Slavin bij een Europaen alhier geprocureert, mi[t]sgaders door het hoogwerdig[e] sacrament van den H.[eilige] doop d' gemeente Christi, mi[t]sgaders in de Christelijcke religie onderwesen en nu een competente ouderdom bereijkt hebbende en tot nogh toe als een dienstbare bij d' Comp[agnie] gebruijckt, bij requeste aen dese vergaderingh versocht hebbende dat sij om de vooren



**Timorees**, his wife **Ansela van Timor** and 5 ‘daughters’, for both keeping brothels.<sup>241</sup> Their immoral establishments are outlawed in terms of a resolution by the Council of Policy (26 November 1681).<sup>242</sup> 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.<sup>243</sup>

A bereft and moribund **Groote Catrijn** 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

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*gealleerde reden, mitgaders uijt crachte van haer vrijdom die haar van haar vaderskant wettelijck toequam, in vrydom mocht werden gestelt, en van haar dienstbaarheit ontslagen, soo is goet gevonden haar in vrijdom te stellen om haar als een vrij vrouw te moogen erneeren.* [CA: C. 4, pp. 121-155 Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel II 1670-1680, pp. 322-323].

<sup>241</sup> Mansell G. Upham, <http://www.e-family.co.za/remarkablewriting/PaiTimor.pdf>.

<sup>242</sup> In aanmerckinge genoomen sijnde de schandeleuse en infame huijshoudinge van twee familien, sijnde het eene **Timorees huijsgesin [Pai Timor alias Amsoeboe & his family]** en ‘t ander seecker vrijgeworden slavin, **Catarijn** genaemt, alwaer soo wel de slavinnen van de Compe. als particuliere haer op gesette tijden weeten te transporteer en haer lichaem t’eenemael aer alle verfoeijelijcke vleesselijke wellusten overgeven en door Europeanen laaten gebruiken, selfs sigh niet schamende haer vuijle lusten in ‘t openbaer te plegen, en dewijl ‘t selve niet magh nogh behoorende te werden getollereert, Soo is goet gevonden den fiscael deser resedentie te qualificeeren de voorne. twee huijsen, t’elckens wanneer hij sulcx raatzaem oordeelt, te visiteeren, en bij bevindinge van eenige Europeanen aldaer, d’selve voor d’eerste maal van daer te wijzen en te gelijck te waarschouwen haer van daer te onthouden, dogh echter de tweedemaal aldaer weder gevonden werdende, deselvē te apprehendeeren om naer bevinden van sacken daerover gestraft te werden, maer in ‘t reguart van de vrouwlijden off slavinnen is verstaan wanneer eenige gevonden werden, dat deselvē aanstonts in verseeckeringh sal neemen om daer over gestraft te werden.

Aldus g’arresteert en geresolveert in ‘t Casteel de Goede Hoop, datum uts.

**S[imon] v.[an] [der] STEL**

**J.[eronimus] CRUSE TOBIAS VLASVAT A.[ndries] de MAN** en Secr[ejtarijs]. **M[arthinus] van BANCHEM**  
**PHILIP THEODOOR WELCKER** [CA:C 5, pp. 66-68; VC 9: Dagregister, 1680-1683, pp. 451-453 (Journal, 27 November 1681); *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel III 1681-1707, p. 28].

<sup>243</sup> CA: C 680: *Origineel Plakkaatboek*, 1652-1686, pp. 430-433 (printed in *Kaapse Plakaatboek*, deel I, 1652-1707, pp. 179-180).



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 f 2608 : 9 : 12.<sup>244</sup> 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 Anselas** Swedish son-in-law, **Oloff Bergh** (from Göteborg). The slave **Paul van Malabar** is sold by the Orphan Master to **Bergh** for f 336 *een slaaf genaamt Pael ... de vaandrager*. The sale is registered (11 July 1683).<sup>245</sup>

**Anna de Coning**  
- wife to Olof Bergh & daughter of  
**Maaij Anselas van Bengale**

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 Angola**<sup>246</sup> for 9 days. Another free-black **Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon**<sup>247</sup>, looks after, and stands guard at, the house of the daughter of the late **Anthonij van Bengale** (*waaken en oppassen ten huijsen bij de dochter van Anthonie van Bengale sal[i]g:[e]r*).<sup>248</sup> 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

<sup>244</sup> CA: MOOC 14/212 (1683), Deceased Estate Papers: **Anthony Jansz: van Bengale**; MOOC 22/2(a) *Verscheide boedel cedulaen, boedel van Anthony van Bengale* (1683).

<sup>245</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 140.

<sup>246</sup> Elisabeth (Lijsbeth van Angola aka Sabba is manumitted (16 April 1681) by her mistress **Hester Weijers: Klim** (from Lier).

<sup>247</sup> Jan Luij(s) / Leeuw van Ceijlon.

<sup>248</sup> CA: M 42 (d).



1683) his pregnant concubine – presumably **Groote Catrijn**'s eldest daughter **Catharina (Catrijn) van de Caep**.<sup>249</sup>

### 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 **Groote 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 Babtist Dubertin / Dubertijn, alias Jean Baptiste du Bertine** (from Scharpenheuvel<sup>250</sup>) 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**.<sup>251</sup> **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*).<sup>252</sup> Returning home, he arrives from Ceylon on the *Sumatra* (1680). His Cape sojourn as head of the garrison, however, ends abruptly when he is

<sup>249</sup> *Andries Baeick [sic - Beyer / Bayer] jonkman, eers Wagenmaker van de Ed.[ele] Comp.[agnie] en Catarina [sic] geboren aan 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 Vrijman**. 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).

<sup>250</sup> His provenance is also recorded as Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>251</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. III, p. 149, n. 93. For **Bergh's** controversial VOC career, see Mansell G. Upham, '**Maaij Ansela** and the black sheep of thre family: A closer look at the events surrounding the *first* execution of a *vrij burgher* in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European', *Capensis*, nos. 1 & 2 (1999), pp. 38-40 & 27-29.

<sup>252</sup> Appointed with garrison bookkeeper **Philip Theodoor Welcker** & provisional assistant **Jan Blesius**, (appointed secretary) & burgher councillors **Elbert Dircksz: 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).<sup>253</sup> His wife, **Aletta Uijtenbogaert**<sup>254</sup>, and children accompany him.<sup>255</sup> 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**<sup>256</sup> (from Friesland) and after his departure, becomes the school.<sup>257</sup>

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.<sup>258</sup> The child, too, does not survive. The last payment for alimentation was made (28 September 1683).<sup>259</sup> 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**<sup>260</sup> 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**.<sup>261</sup>

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**

<sup>253</sup> M. Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape: The European background*, p. 303.

<sup>254</sup> Also found as *Alette Uijttenbogaert*.

<sup>255</sup> CA: CJ 2 Crim. En Civiel regtsrolle (23 June 1685), pp. 276-278; CA: CJ 780 (26 June 1685), pp. 756-768; CA: C 680 (*Origineel Placcaatboek, 1652-1686*), p. 465; Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. III, p. 116 & note 51; Dan Sleigh, *Die Buiteposte: VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur 1652-1795*, pp. 650-651.

<sup>256</sup> *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, p. 443.

<sup>257</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. III, pp. 56 & 71.

<sup>258</sup> **Andries Beijer** purchases (1684) the garden adjoining that of **Anthonij** from **Jan Jansz: van Eeden** (from Oldenborg).

<sup>259</sup> CA: MOOC 14/212 (Deceased Estate Papers: **Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**, 1683).

<sup>260</sup> J. Hoge reads his signature as **Jacob Budewilz** (*Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806*, p. 53).

<sup>261</sup> He is remunerated (20 October 1683).



**Stralen** and the fabulously wealthy **Anna Haecks / Hoecks**<sup>262</sup>, her third husband was the ensign **Isaak Schrijver** (from Leiden). **Anna Haecks / Hoecks / Ucks** marries (1<sup>st</sup>) **Kaspar / Gaspard Hasselaar**, marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) **Philip Feirhier** and marries (3<sup>rd</sup>) Cape (9 July 1683) the sergeant **Isaak Schrijver / Schryver** (from Leiden).<sup>263</sup> 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 Leuij(s) / 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 *Leef-op-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*]:<sup>264</sup>

- *Lanzerac* formerly *Schoongezicht*
  - **Isaac Schrijver** (granted 1692)
  - **Anna Hoeks, wed.[uwe] 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 f 600 [MOOC 10/1 (*Vendu Rollen*), fol. 7, sale of property of **Anthonij van Angola** (12 October 1696)<sup>265</sup>

<sup>262</sup> 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, Bellville 1981).

<sup>263</sup> ... eodem dito [a/nno]d.[ominii] 1683 den 9 Julii] **Isaack Schryver** Sergeant, jonghman, en **Anna Haecks** wed:[uwe] wylen **Philip Feirhier**.

<sup>264</sup> Hans Fransen & Mary Alexander Cook, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1980) & J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, University of the Western Cape, Bellville 1981).

<sup>265</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 20.

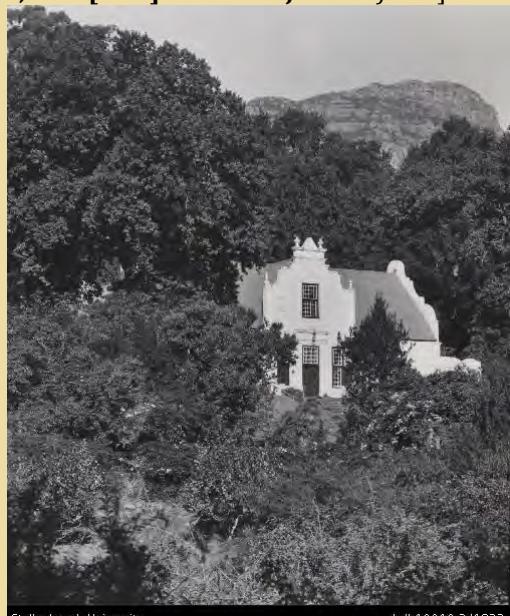




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- *Klein Gustrouw* formerly *Leef-op-Hoop* [*Bengale*]
  - **Louis van Bengale(n)** (granted 1683 & 1692)
  - **Anthonij van Angola**
  - **Isaac Schrijver** (1696) Orphan Chamber sells farm from deceased estate of **Anthonij van Angola** [MOOC 10/1 (*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 Schpenkennisse*], 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]



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hdl:10019.2/1833

- *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)





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**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.<sup>266</sup> 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**.<sup>267</sup>

<sup>266</sup> 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

<sup>267</sup> Generale Rolle van alle de Vrijlieden, hare Vrouwen, Kinderen, Knechts, Slaeven, Slaevinnen, haave en vodere rende effecten sodanigh als deselve op huiden den [2]4 april Anno 1673 aan Cabo Boā Experance zijn) – transcribed by Corney Keller.

<http://www.eggsa.org/sarecords/index.php/muster-rolls/muster-rolls-den-haag-copies/319-free-men-vrijluijden-1673-pdf-format-complete-transcript>.



**Maria [Hendri(c)ks:] 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** (from Bruges [Flanders]) aka **Swarte Piet. Van Deden** and **Swarte Piet** form a partnership and farm at Hout Bay at which place **Maaij Anseala'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 Rutgerstroost**.

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 Catrijn's** friend **Sabba van Angola**.

**Catrijn Wagenmakers:** baptises (19 September 1687)<sup>268</sup> 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 **Isaac 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 Ventersz: [Venter]** and **Anna Vilion [Viljoen]** for the second baptism, respectively.

**Jean Magnet / Maniet**

deacon of French Church at Drakenstein (1689).<sup>269</sup>

<sup>268</sup> De Villiers/Pama incorrectly have 14 [sic] September.



**Madeleine Menanteau** (from Poitue, 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 *Erbervel / Herbervel*) 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 / Rutgerstroost**. 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)<sup>270</sup> as a private slave together with her daughter **Elsje Catharina**.<sup>271</sup> She marries in the Cape Church (31 July 1707) **Claus (Claas) Beu /**

<sup>269</sup> Colin Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*.

<sup>270</sup> *Na voorgaande belijdenis gedoopt Anna Maria en haar dogter Elsje Katrina*

<sup>271</sup> **Elsje / Elsje Catharina Beust** born c. 1697; baptized **Elsje Katrina** with mother (13 December 1705); manumitted 31 May 1706; marries (1<sup>st</sup>) **Joachim Pietersz: Posthumus** (from Bolswaard [Friesland]); marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) **Johann Meyer** (from Roenthal / Rosenthal) [CA: MOOC 7/6 (*Testamenten, 1736-1745*], no. 93]: 9 children: (1) **Ryntje 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 Ditmarsh<sup>272</sup>]). 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** for 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 (2<sup>nd</sup>) at the Cape (26 December 1712) **Christoffel Ameen** (from Rostock). She dies (1713) during the smallpox epidemic. Her husband marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) at the Cape (31 December 1713) **Jacoba Campher**, widow of **Joost de Klerk** and daughter of **Laurens Campher** and **Ansela van de Caep**.

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 *heelslag* she is precluded from being legally married.

- (1) **Wilhelm Armbrecht** baptized Cape [*Namen der Christen Kinderen*] 3 October 1700 (no witnesses)  
... *van Christoffel Armregt & Elysabeth Markense gen[aem]t - Wilhelmus*
- (2) **Dirkje de Graaf** baptized Cape [*Namen der Christen Kinderen*] 7 December 1704  
(witnesses: **Emanuel van Macassar**<sup>273</sup> & **Sytje van Macassar**<sup>274</sup>)

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**Johannes Hasuerus Posthumus; (9) Femma Posthumus** marries (1<sup>st</sup>) **Albertus Johannes Myburgh**; marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) **Philip Wouter de Vos**.

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

<sup>273</sup> **Emanuel / Manuel van Macasser & Maria van Cei(j)lon / van Malabar** are recorded as *twee oude en afgeleerde vrijgegewene slaven van d'heer Andries d'Man Saliger gewesen* – both manumitted (1695) by **Elsje 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 **Amerentie**, slave child belonging to **Gerrit Jansz: van Aart** & daughter of **Anna van Bengaalen**.

<sup>274</sup> **Seijtje / Sijtje / Zijtje van Macassar** (born c. 1670). On 25 May 1690 she (then aged 20/21) given in loan by **Franciscus Villerius**, skipper of *Pijlswaard* to **Jan Holsmit** who undertakes to look after her maintenance until **Villerius** returns to Holland. A note is added to this document, stating that brother of by now deceased **Villerius** is only heir & entitled to claim **Sijtje of Macassar**. On 27 February 1698 she is



- ... **Dirk Janse de Graaf** en **Elizabet Markùsz** onder getuyge van **Emanèel van Maccasser** en **Sytje van Macasser**. Gen[aem]t - Dirkje;
- (3)     **Johannes Meerkens** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 20 May 1708  
(witnesses: **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**<sup>275</sup> & **Willemina Willemsz:**<sup>276</sup>)  
      ... van **Daniel Meerkens**, en **Elizabeth [sic] Markus**, de getuigen **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot**, en **Willemina Willemsz: - Johannes** ...
- (4)     **Johanna Meerkens** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 18 August 1709  
(witnesses: **Cornelis van der Laan** & **Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout**)  
      ... van **Daniel Meerkens**, en **Elizabeth Marcusz:**, de getuigen **Cornelisz van der Laan**, met **Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout - Johanna**
- (5)     **Hendrik Knurf** baptized Cape (*Namen der Christen Kinderen*) 22 May 1712 (witnesses:  
**Steven Winterhof** & **Willemina Willemsz:**)  
      ... van **Pieter Knurf**, en **Elizabeth Marcusz:**, de getuigen **Steeven [sic] Winterhof**, en **Willemina Willemsz - Hendrik** ...

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 *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). 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 Vormer**<sup>277</sup> and Cape-born **Jannetie Willems: van Wyk**.<sup>278</sup>

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 **Francicus Villerius**, 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**.

<sup>275</sup> **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot** (from Amsterdam); free-fisherman; marries (11 November 1703) *jongedochter*[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) **Wed[uwee] 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).

<sup>276</sup> **Willemina Willems: van de Caep** marries (27 November 1711) **Jan Rogiers** (from Morsselin). She is probably baptized (1689), likely daughter of Company slave **Cornelia Pieters: van de Caep**. Not to be confused with **Wilhelmina Vermeulen**, daughter of **Jan Willemsz: Vermeulen** (from Utrecht) & **Catharina Opklim 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 **Marritie Pieters: Wid. Andriesz**.

<sup>277</sup> Unidentified. Possibly visiting Danish slave trader?

<sup>278</sup> Mansell G. Upham, '**Johann Vosloo**', *Capensis*, no. 3 (2001), p. 10.



**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 *halfslag*.<sup>279</sup> Her heirs are her minor children: **Susanna Coetzer, Josina Coos and Willem Coos**. She marries (1<sup>st</sup>) (*de facto*) **Dominicus Jansz:** (from Amsterdam). Later she marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) *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 (3<sup>rd</sup>) (*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**)
- (5) **Willem Coos** baptized 8 March 1716] (father: **Claas Coos**; mother: **Cornelia Lammans:**) (witnesses: **Claas Coos & Caspar Piek**)

**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).<sup>280</sup> **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 vrijgegeven 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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”.

<sup>279</sup> **Cornelia van Caab** Een bejaerde vrijheid.

<sup>280</sup> ... zijn gedoopt twee kinderen waar van de eene is genaamt **Hendrick**, het ander **Carel**, de vader was **Hans Rutger Troost**, de getuijen **Pieter Gertsz:** [Pieter Gerritse: Boshouwer (from Scherpenzeel)] en **Cornelia Cornelisze [Boshouwers's** sister-in-law **Cornelia Cornelissen**, daughter of **Catharina van Malabar & Cornelis Claesz:** (from Utrecht) alias **Kees de Boer**, de moeder slavinne [**Maria van Bengale**].



No mention is made of the children's mother. There is mention, however, in *Opgaat* (1690), however of a woman *A[e]n* [sic] *de Caab* named **Marij v.[an] Malabar**. Significantly, she appears listed immediately after **Andr.[ies] Beyer** (from Saxony), likely son-in-law to **Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta & Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**.

**Trost** marries (3 February 1692) **Aeghje Claesze: Keiser / Keysers** (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 Wagenmakers:**'s son-in-law, **Christoffel Esterhuizen [Osthuis?]** (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. **Boelang van Padang** (aged 24) is sold (27 March 1699) by **Lammert Adriaensz:** (from Weij [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: Keysers**, 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 *Opgaat* (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 **Francis(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.<sup>281</sup> **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**:<sup>282</sup> 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; 1 degen; 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 f1 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.<sup>283</sup> Significantly, she is recorded adjacent to **Marritje Rykmans alias Marritie Pieters**, sister-in-law to **Andreas Beyer** (from Saxony).

**Maria van Bengale** (with **Joost Ventura 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;

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<sup>281</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1671-1674 & 1676*, p. 160 (25 September 1673).

<sup>282</sup> *Ook is verstaan an François van Maccao, vrijgelatenen slaav, op zijn anständig versoek toe te staan en hem uit 's Comps. slavenhuijs voor vrij te laten volgen sijn soon Bartholomeus, oud drie jaren, bij der E[dele]. Comps. slavinne, Cingala van Madagascar, geteeld* [CA: C 18, pp. 102-104 (*Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. III, 14 January 1687), p. 154].

<sup>283</sup> Unlikely to be **Maria van Malabar** (aged 50 years) who is freed (2 July 1695) by **Elsje van Suurwaerden** with **Manuel van Macassar**.



**Domingo van Bengale** witnesses with **Anna Louiss** the baptism (26 September 1700) of **Johannes**, son of **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Louisz: / Louvice / Louwisse** 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**<sup>284</sup>. **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 (5 November 1702) of **Johannes**, son of **Storm** and **Dina**, slaves of **Jonker [Frans] van der Stel**. **Domingo van Bengale en syn huysvrouw Maria van Bengale** witness the baptism (26 October 1704) of the free-born child **Cecilia**, daughter of **David van Macasser** and **Cornelia van de Caab**<sup>285</sup>. **Domingo van Bengale** and **Sara van Macassar** witness the baptism (16 November 1704) of **Juliana**, daughter of slaves belonging to **Samuel Elzevier**, **Jan van Mannaar** and **Marta van Jambie**.

In 1705 the couple appear in the *Opgaat*:

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 Groenenbold [Groenewald]**. **Domingo** and **Maria** witness the baptism (2 October 1707) of their grandchild **Jannetie**, daughter of **Cornelia van Caab**.<sup>286</sup> **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**.<sup>287</sup> **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 *Opgaat* (1712):

<sup>284</sup> 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).

<sup>285</sup> 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**.

<sup>286</sup> *Slaven Kinders der Vrijborgers of Comp: Dienaeren* (2 October 1707).

<sup>287</sup> **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); 1snaphaen; 1degen; 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 & Hieronijmus**, 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 Leendertsz:**. **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):

No. 312 **Bengale v[an] Wed[uwee] V[ry]S[wart] Domingo**;

She is not mentioned in the *Opgaaf* (1719).



## PART 2

# Christoffel Snijman (1668-1705)

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

**N**otwithstanding 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]je 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)<sup>288</sup> who marries **Maaij Ansela'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.<sup>289</sup> Although the marriage register for the church at Drakenstein no longer exists<sup>290</sup>, **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.<sup>291</sup>

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.[i]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).

<sup>288</sup> 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.

<sup>289</sup> A.H. Barnard, D.S.P. Cronjé & P.J.J. Olivier, *The South Africa Law of Persons and Family Law*, p. 77.

<sup>290</sup> The marriage register for the Reformed Church at Drakenstein for this period was destroyed in a fire (Mansell G. Upham, *Capensis*, 'Missing Drakenstein Chuch Registers', no. 1 (1997), p. 13 & J.A. Heese, 'Verlore Trouboek van die gemeente Drakenstein, Paarl', *Familia*, no. 4 (1977), p. 81).

<sup>291</sup> 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**.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> The 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<sup>293</sup>



**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**.

<sup>293</sup> Extensive literature on **Jacques de Savoye** exists. See J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*; M. Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape in the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company Rule: the European background*; M. Boucher, 'Belgian Genealogical Sources: Schonamille and Savoye', *Familia*, vol. XIX (1982), no. 3, pp. 58-62 & G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707* & C.J. Beyers (ed.); *The Dictionary of SA Biography* (Durban, 1981), vol. III, p. 210.





Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, Ghent, Flanders, Belgium

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**.<sup>294</sup> Due to personal differences with the new resident minister at Drakenstein, **Pierre Simond** and his wife cross over to the Stellenbosch congregation (30 April 1689).<sup>295</sup> 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).<sup>296</sup> 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



Drakenstein (1710) sketch by E.V. Stade [Cape Archives]

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

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

<sup>296</sup> G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 190.



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.<sup>297</sup> 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'.



Rev Pierre Simond

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 nj 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 sijn 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.

<sup>297</sup> J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*, pp. 36-38 & 194-195.



"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".<sup>298</sup>

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.<sup>299</sup> 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.<sup>300</sup> 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?<sup>301</sup>

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.<sup>302</sup> The boy is still alive (in 1702) but deceased (by 1705).

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<sup>298</sup> *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, caffre, &c., disant qu'il faisoit 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].

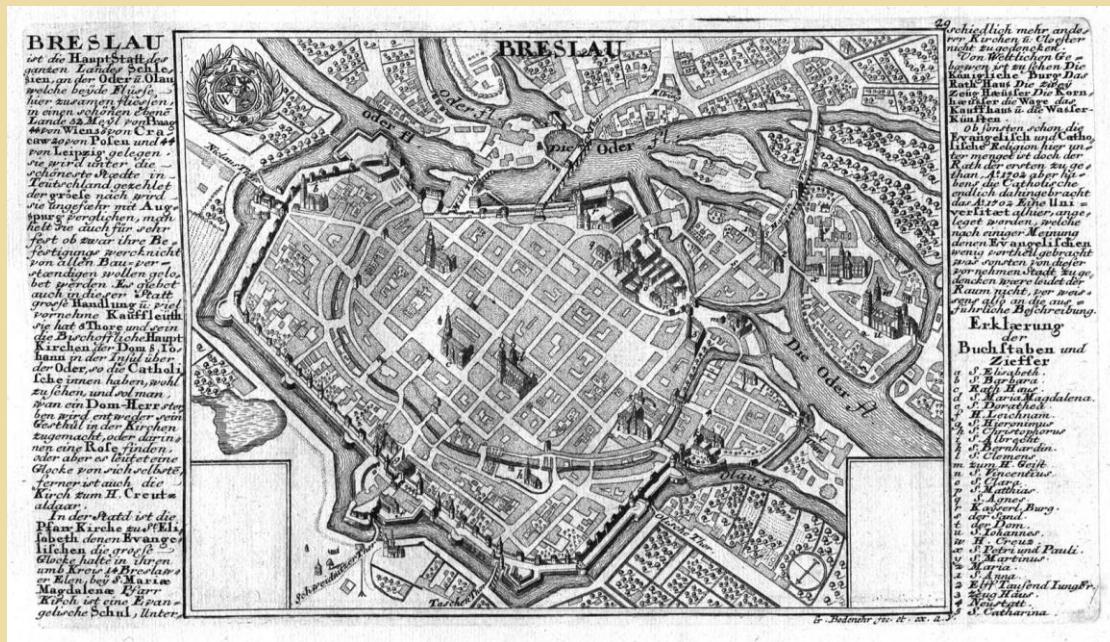
<sup>299</sup> Maurice Boucher, *French speakers at the Cape: The European background*, p. 264.

<sup>300</sup> 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.

<sup>301</sup> Hans F. Heese, his *Groep Sonder Grense: Die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652-1795*, p. 18.

<sup>302</sup> *Den 10 dito [December] 1690 Aen Stellenbosch een kindt gedoopt waarvan vader is Christoffel Snijman de moeder Margaretha Savoie als getuijge standt Maria Magdalena la Clercq en de genaamt Jacobus Christoffel.*





## Sníjman's partnership with Ernst Friedrich Walter (1692-1697)

According to Christoffel Sníjman's stepfather's deceased estate, he is already indebted to the currier, Ernst Friedrich Walter.<sup>303</sup> The latter hails from Breslau<sup>304</sup> on the Oder River in Silesia. Previously he had been residing at the home in Table Valley of *Jagt* and *Maaij Ansel van Bengale*.

As *compagnons* (business associates), if not friends, **Walter** and **Sníjman** soon formalize a partnership (by 1692). The tax rolls confirm this for that year.<sup>305</sup> 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. **Sníjman's** partner also enters into a racially mixed marriage.

**Walter's** wife is the controversial ex-slave woman **Catharina (Kaet) van de Caeb**<sup>306</sup> who once belongs to the Widow **Elbert Dircksz: Diemer** (from Emmerich), **Christina**

<sup>303</sup> Ick ondergeschrevene den S[ieu]r Frederick Walter, bekenne uijt handen van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van vijf en twintig R[ij]x:[daelde]rs a 3 g[u]l:den ontfangen te hebben sijnde voor Reecq:[ening] en met gedragen contant van Christoffel Snijman die hij voor Christoffel aan opgem:[elte] den S[ieu]r Frederick Walter van gereede penningen schuldich is en indien zij Christoffel die schult ontkende sal hij den S[ieu]r voorn:[oemde] de vijf en twintich R[ij]x:[daeld]er gehouden wesen weder de dertiendere, aan die geene die de selve vrije gescheden. In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop den 3 Aug:[ustus] 1690. [signed] **Friedrich Walter** van Breslau.

<sup>304</sup> Wroclaw, Poland.

<sup>305</sup> CA: J 183 (31 December 1692), p. X; G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 70 & Lorna Newcomb (personal communication).

<sup>306</sup> 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**<sup>307</sup>. **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.<sup>308</sup> 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.<sup>309</sup> 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].



**Zandvliet**

<sup>307</sup> CA: MOOC 10/1, no. 28.

<sup>308</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, 'Beleid en Praktyk: die doop van slawekinders en die sluit van gemengde verhoudings aan die Kaap voor 1720', *Kronos*, vol. 5 (1982), p. 39. Anna J. Böeseken, 'Wie was die vader van **Lijsbeth van die Kaap?**' & 'Prof. J.L. Hattingh se antwoord', *Kronos*, vol. 5 (1982), pp. 61-67.

<sup>309</sup> 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*.



**Zandvliet**

The neighbours of **Christoffel** and **Margo** are:<sup>310</sup>

- at *Lübeck Ernst Friedrich Walter* his Cape-born concubine, the freed slave **Catharina (Catrijn) van der Caep** & their *knecht* the notorious **Pieter Becker** (from Königsberg)<sup>311</sup>;
- 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**<sup>312</sup> (from Speyer [Palatinate]);



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<sup>310</sup> J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, *Ons Drakensteinse Erfgrond: Groot Drakenstein*; unpublished J.L. Buys, '**Pieter Becker**' ('n Stamvader) – sy misdade en verhore (21 July 1992) & J.E. Malherbe, 'Jannetje de Clerc', *Bulletin*, no. 35, Huguenot Society of South Africa (1998), pp. 52-58.

<sup>311</sup> 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).

<sup>312</sup> For background information on him see W.H.J. Hattingh, *Die Hattingh-Familie in Suid-Afrika*.



- at *Meerrust [Meerlust]* **Peter Andresen** (from Tönning [in the Eiderstedt, Danish Holsten])<sup>313</sup>;



- 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 *voorzoond* **Jacobus van As (1664-1713)**, his wife **Maria Clements' (1672-1700)**, better known as *Marij de Sweed*, and later his second wife **Helena Willem's: van der Merwe**;

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<sup>313</sup> 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**.  
[\[http://www.ballfamilyrecords.co.uk/bosmandevriesbuys/l135.html\]](http://www.ballfamilyrecords.co.uk/bosmandevriesbuys/l135.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**<sup>314</sup> (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**.



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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**

<sup>314</sup> 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**.<sup>315</sup> 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 **Groote Catrijn** and **Maaij Ansela** in the same return fleet.<sup>316</sup> **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).<sup>317</sup> 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:

*Den 14 Augusti sijn aan Stellenbosch tot het gebruik van des Heeren H.[eiliche] Avontmael overgekomen Chrijstoffel Snyman van de Caep, Catrina Jansen van Middelburgh, Willem Schalk van Outbeierlant 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'.<sup>318</sup> 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' **Anneb  e** (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 **Anneb  e** 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 **Koeked  e**, 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. **Anneb  e** confirms that he has indeed conveyed the letter to the sergeant and that he

<sup>315</sup> 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**.

<sup>316</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Armosyn Revisited', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), p. 24.

<sup>317</sup> Den 12 Maij [1692] sijn tot het ghebruijk van des Heeren H.[eiliche] Avondtmael aan Stellenbosch overgekomen **Margaretha de Savoije** van Gent ende **Jannetie de Clerkq** beide met belijdenisse ...

<sup>318</sup> CA: CJ 3, p. 25. The minutes of the prosecution are transcribed *verbatim*. See Appendix 6.



has received the 2 oxen, handing these over to **Walter. Koekedëe**, 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 **Koekedëe**.



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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.





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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.<sup>319</sup> 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 Caepse Hottentots) situated in a clooff van Simonsbergh. It is **Edessöa, alias Dickkop** and **Jan** and **Rooman** from this kraal that assualts **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

<sup>319</sup> Dan Sleigh, *Die Buiteposte: VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur 1652-1795*, pp. 200-201.



indigenous ‘visitors’. **Edessöa**, 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. **Edessöa** 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.<sup>320</sup>



**Opstal at Plasir-de-Merle**

The local aborigines at Drakenstein exasperate the refugee **Daniel Hugo** (from Champagne) by encamping (1702) near his vineyard on the farm *Zion*.<sup>321</sup> 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<sup>322</sup>, 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.<sup>323</sup> **Hugo** complained to the authorities. The governor responds and writes (22 May 1702) the following to the Stellenbosch *landdrost*, **Michiel Ditmar / Ditmer** (from Stettin<sup>324</sup>):<sup>325</sup>

“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 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1701”.

<sup>320</sup> J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*, p. 135.

<sup>321</sup> J.L. Buys, ‘**Pieter Becker** (‘n Stamvader) – sy misdade en verhore’, pp. 2 & 6.

<sup>322</sup> Lorna Newcomb – personal communication.

<sup>323</sup> J.E. Malherbe, ‘**Jannetje de Clerc**’, *Bulletin*, no. 35, Huguenot Society of South Africa, pp.52-58.

<sup>324</sup> Szczecin, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland.

<sup>325</sup> 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".<sup>326</sup>

**Landdrost Ditmar** is severely reprimanded for his laxity:<sup>327</sup>

"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 Bøving**<sup>328</sup> in his attempts to proselytize the Cape's aboriginal population (1709)). He gives the missionary temporary shelter and interprets on his behalf.<sup>329</sup> 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).<sup>330</sup>

**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**.<sup>331</sup>

**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.<sup>332</sup> 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

<sup>326</sup> Letters Received 1695-1696, pp. 303-304.

<sup>327</sup> Letter, 22 June 1702 (H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 209).

<sup>328</sup> Author of *Curieuse Beschreibung und Nachricht von den Hottentotten* (1712).

<sup>329</sup> Henry C. Bredekamp, 'Khoisan versus Huguenot 1688-1713', *Kronos, Journal of Cape History*, vol. 16 (Nov. 1989), pp. 28-29.

<sup>330</sup> Henry C. Bredekamp, 'Khoisan versus Huguenot 1688-1713', *Kronos, Journal of Cape History*, vol. 16 (Nov. 1989), p. 25.

<sup>331</sup> *Den Selfde Dito [ie 9 Augusti 1693] een kint an Stellenbosch gedoopt waer van vader is Chrijstoffel Sniman der moeder Margriet de Savoie de getuijge Willem Basson en de Maria de la Fevre is genaamt Maria Magdalena*. For a mini-biography on **Marie le Fèvre** & what becomes of her property, see Willem de Villiers, 'Marie le Fèvre', *Familia*, vol. XXVIII, no. 3 (1991), pp. 181-184 & 'Cornelia Villlion, her husbands and the Watervliet Farm', *Familia*, vol. XXIX, nos. 3 & 4 (1992), pp. 53-57.

<sup>332</sup> J.A. Heese & R.T.J. Lombard, *South African Genealogies*, vol. I, p. 361; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten*, vol. I, pp. 51, 52, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 72 & 73; vol. II, p. 471, & vol. III, p. 955.



(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.<sup>333</sup>



**Peter Kolb**

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.<sup>334</sup>

**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.<sup>335</sup> **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.<sup>336</sup>

**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

<sup>333</sup> J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*, p. 53, n. 5.

<sup>334</sup> Johannes W. Raum, 'Reflections on rereading Peter Kolb with regard to the cultural heritage of the Khoisan', *Kronos*, no. 24, (November 1997) p. 38.

<sup>335</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Requesten*, vol. I, p. 44; Dan Sleigh, *Die Buiteposte*, pp. 571-584.

<sup>336</sup> Ido H. Enklaar, *Life and Works of Dr. J.T.H. van der Kemp 1747-1811*, p.124-128; Susan Newton-King, *The Rebellion of the Khoi in Graaff-Reinet: 1799 to 1803* where the Bothas feature prominently.



**Marie Lanoy.**<sup>337</sup> This child appears not to survive infancy. **Walter** and his wife are already the parents of an elder daughter named **Maria (born c. 1693)**.<sup>338</sup> On 13 July 1695 **Pieter Becker** is hired out to Walter as a *knecht* for f 10 a month. 4,5 guilders are to be placed in the Company's treasury while f 5,5 would be paid directly to **Becker** (*boven en behalven 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*'s voorzoon **Jacobus van As** and *Maaij Anselas*'s daughter-in-law **Lena de Sweed** ('**Lena the Swede**'), wife of **Willem Basson**.<sup>339</sup> **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.<sup>340</sup>

In 1695 **Hans Heinrich Hattingh** is investigated for assaulting **Catrijn**, Walter's wife.<sup>341</sup> 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 Hendicksz: Elbers** and **Gustaffus Wulff**<sup>342</sup>, both *knechts* in

<sup>337</sup> Le 22 Avril 1695 Anna Caterina fille de **Hernis Fredrik Waltré et Caterina**. Le temoins et **Hansel [Anselas] Verbat [Silwerbach] et Marie La Noy**.

<sup>338</sup> The record of her baptism has not survived.

<sup>339</sup> Le 22 Juillet 1695 **Christina fille de Christoffle Senaymant et de Marguerite Sauoye le temoins et Jacobus Varas [Van As] et Laina [Lena / Helena] Basson**.

<sup>340</sup> J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, *Ons Drakensteins Erfgrond: Suider-Paarl*, p. 17.

<sup>341</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/153; W.H.J. Hattingh, *Die Hattingh-Familie in Suid-Afrika*, p. 10.

<sup>342</sup> He is **Gustavus Volkerius Wulff**. In the declaration he signs as **Gustaffus Wulff**, but is referred to as **Cornstaris [sic] Wolfe** by the scribe. He appears to be the same person as **Corneli(u)s Wolf** (from



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 [Provence]) 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 Rétif** (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 [Provence]). 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 **Rétif'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 **Retief'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.

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Plettenberg). He farms at *Keerweder* at Klein Drakenstein (already in 1692). The farm is formally granted to him (17 September 1695). He signs his name **Gustaffus Folcheij Wulff**.





Lekkerwijn, Simondium

**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).<sup>343</sup> The inventory of the confiscated property is drawn up by **Ernst Friedrich Walter**.<sup>344</sup> **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.<sup>345</sup> **Elsje 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 Buffeljagtsrivier*.<sup>346</sup> **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 gelegen districten*).<sup>347</sup> He is instrumental in getting the church to condemn the actions of certain burghers 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

<sup>343</sup> CA: C 681, pp. 247 & 261; C 728, p. 65; J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806*, p. 399.

<sup>344</sup> Lorna Newcomb (personal communication).

<sup>345</sup> *Le premier Decembre Lannee 1697 Elsij fille de Christoffle Sçirinaan et de Marguerite Savoye Le temoins et Hercules de Pret et Elsij Jacob.*

<sup>346</sup> Dan Sleigh, *Die Buiteposte*, p. 574.

<sup>347</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. I, pp. 50, 51, 357-358, 375, 378, 447, 542 & 545.



children, butchering these indiscriminately and leaving the rest to die of hunger.<sup>348</sup> Elsie Snijman's descendants also featured prominently in the opening of the colony's frontier. Her son **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 *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 (**Cornelis van Ruijten**).<sup>349</sup>

**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 **Christoffel Snijman** who becomes foster father to Walter's only surviving minor child, **Maria Walter**.<sup>350</sup> The arrangement is formalized by the Orphan Chamber (26 March 1698). **Snijman** agrees to maintain the child until her majority. In return, the Orphan Chamber pays him f360. He can also use **Walter's** land and house that now belong to the orphaned **Maria Walter**. The money, together with the house and land, would become **Snijman's** property should the orphan die before obtaining majority.<sup>351</sup> The arrangement strikes one as perhaps irresponsible. Would it not be more advantageous for **Snijman** to ensure the child's premature death rather than keep her alive? Does the Orphan Chamber have such a high regard for **Christoffel** and **Margo** that it entrusts them with this little girl's life and property?

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

<sup>348</sup> C. Spoelstra *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, Afdeeling III: *Extracten uit de Resolutie-Boeken der zeven oudste gemeenten en brieven tusschen die kerken gewisseld*, p. 443.

<sup>349</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. I, pp. 83 & 84.

<sup>350</sup> CA: MOOC 5/1 Weesmeesters "Extracten". 26 March 1698, no pagination; G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 178.

<sup>351</sup> Onderhouse aan Ouders die gebrek hebben uyt haare kinderen penn:[ingen] bij deese Camer staande hem van kinderen die weinig hebben: ... 1698. 26. Maart is de Camer met **Christoffel Snijman** g'accordeert dat hij 't kind van **Ernst Fredrik Walter** tot desselfs mondige jaaren e:ft cete]ra, in alles sal onderhouden voor f 360 en voor 't gebruik van 't land en hujse dat kind toebehoorende, ende dat soo wanner dat kind minderjarig mogte koomen te sterven, dat geld mitsg:[ade]rs land en hujse aan hem **Snijman** sal eijgen blijven [CA: MOOC 5/1 (Extracten: Weescamer blad 6 (26 March 1698))].

<sup>352</sup> Whether she is *de facto* or *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.

<sup>353</sup> J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, *Ons Drakensteinse Erfgrond: Groot Drakenstein*, p. 18.

<sup>354</sup> J.L. Buys, *Pieter Becker ('n Stamvader) – sy misdade en verhore* (unpublished typescript, 21 July 1992), p. 1.



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.<sup>355</sup> The free-black **Claes Cornelisz: van de Caep**, together with **Jacques de Savoye**, stand surety (22 January 1699) for his **Snijman** son-in-law.<sup>356</sup> 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 Clejne 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?<sup>357</sup>



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**.<sup>358</sup> 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.

<sup>355</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/153; W.H.J. Hattingh, *Die Hattingh-Familie in Suid-Afrika*, p. 10.

<sup>356</sup> G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede & Vryswarte in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 124.

<sup>357</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Armosyn Revisited', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 19-33.

<sup>358</sup> 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 Rutgerstroost** 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.<sup>359</sup> An inventory for the jointly deceased couple survives.<sup>360</sup> Their farm is transferred (26 January 1701) to their son-in-law **Christian Esterhuizen [Osthuis?]** (**dies 1724**) (who also farms at *Onrust en Harmonie*) from their deceased estate.<sup>361</sup> Combined with *Amandelkloof*, the farm becomes known as *Hartenberg* (1725) soon after Esterhuizen's death (1724).

<sup>359</sup> *Weltevreden* (originally promised 1687 & formally granted to **Hans Rutgerstroost** (29 February 1692) [OSF 1, 27] transferred & registered in name of **Andries Bayer** (16 December 1700) [T 514].

<sup>360</sup> CA: MOOC 10/1 (*Vendu Rollen* 1691-1717), 23 December 1700.

<sup>361</sup> T 516.



The soldier, **Albert Hendriks** (from Manslagt / Menslage), is loaned (1700-1703) as *knecht* to **Christoffel Snijman**. 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.<sup>362</sup> **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.<sup>363</sup> **Marais** farms on the other side of *Lekkerwyn* on the two adjoining farms *Meerrust* [*Meerlust*] and *Eenzaamheid*. **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 Debels / Delits** (from Hesse-Cassel) by whom she has 4 children. The children's new stepfather comes to own the farm *Compagnies Rivier* at Drakenstein.<sup>364</sup>

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".<sup>365</sup> 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 Anseala's** voorzoon **Jacobus van As**. He contracts (1714) with **Maaij Anseala'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.<sup>366</sup> **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

<sup>362</sup> 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.

<sup>363</sup> 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.

<sup>364</sup> J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806*, p. 68.

<sup>365</sup> ... zijn een eenlopend gesél, oud in de 40 jaren, zyn substantie niet anders soekende nog ook bekomende als met een donderbus mitsg[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*].

<sup>366</sup> 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**a. In this baptismal entry she is recorded as *Ancelaar van Bengale*.<sup>367</sup> **Susanna Snijman** marries (c. 1722) **Jacob Coetzer / Coetser / Kutzer** (from *Setry* [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 Buffelsjagte River which she already holds in loan.<sup>368</sup> **Christoffel Snijman** witnesses (25 November 1703) at Drakenstein, with his godmother **Maaij Ansel**a, 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**.<sup>369</sup>

**Christoffel Snijman** dies (sometime before 12 September 1705) approximately 47 years old.<sup>370</sup> 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<sup>371</sup> Christoffel Snyman, deceased.*<sup>372</sup>

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**.<sup>373</sup> **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

<sup>367</sup> A.J. Kannemeyer, *Hugenote Familieboek*, p. 273.

<sup>368</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Memorials (Requesten)*, (memorial no. 6 of 1746), vol. III, p. 1065.

<sup>369</sup> A.J. Kannemeyer, *Hugenote Familieboek*, p. 271.

<sup>370</sup> 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).

<sup>371</sup> Latin for 'replacing'.

<sup>372</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched 1696-1708*, p. 272.

<sup>373</sup> A.J. Kannemeyer, *Hugenote Familieboek*, p. 273.



**Christian Matzdorf** (from Pasewalk). **Beck** marries **Maaij Anselas**'s granddaughter **Elsje van As (1702-1728)** while **Matzdorf** marries thrice. His first wife is **Maaij Anselas**'s youngest daughter **Maria Basson (1683-1713)**. His second wife is **Maaij Anselas**'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 at 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)<sup>374</sup> would be in charge at the Brewery.<sup>375</sup> 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.<sup>376</sup> **Elisabeth Snijman** and her husband live on the fine estate in the Constantia Valley called *Witte Bomen* (originally *De Hel*) which they purchase (1724).

<sup>374</sup> Krosno in Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Poland.

<sup>375</sup> H.C.V.Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Memorials (Requesten)*, vol IV, (memorial no. 19) pp. 1262-1623 & (memorial no. 114), p. 1267. Initially **Hendrik Thomasz:** (from Husum), who manages the branch tap at Salt River for **H. Eversdyk**, applies for permission to establish a liquor outlet or *tap* at the place *Varietas Delectat* under the charge of the free-black **Anthony from the Coast** (see his memorials nos. 25 & 50, p. 1181). **Heinrich Thomasz:** is stabbed to death in his shop (30 April 1735) by **David Scheffenaer** (from Amsterdam) in the course of a quarrel [J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806*, p. 425]. There appears to be much industry at this place (see also memorial by **Jan Strangel** as lessee of the wine & brandy license at Rondebosch requesting to place his tap on the farm *Varietas delectat*, in charge of **Cornelis Brits d'oude** and a branch tap at Salt River in charge of **Hendrik Thomasz:** of Hoesum [H.C.V. Leibrant, *Requesten*, vol. III, p. 1053, memorials no. of 1729-1732 & no. 76 of 1733-1734]. The inn later belongs to the writer's maternal great-great-great-grandfather **George Holloway** (from Arundel [Sussex, England]). For more information on one of the Cape's most famous drinking holes, *Varietas Delectat* or *the Three Cups* at Driekoppen (Mowbray), see: T.V. Bulpin, *Tavern of the Sea: The Story of Cape Town, Robben Island and the Cape Peninsula*, p. 53; Audrey Eunice Read, *Brujs / Bruyns / Bruins / Broens: A Research into the History of the Family* (private publication, Simon's Town 1989), pp. 27-28; Margaret Cairns, '**Gerrit Gerrits** of Oldenburg and **Susanna of Bambaser** – An early 18<sup>th</sup> century couple', *Familia*, vol. XVII, no. 3/4 (1980), pp. 49-56; Margaret Cairns, 'Free Black Landowners in the Souther Suburbs of the Cape Peninsula during the Eighteenth Century, *Kronos*, vol. 10 (1985), pp. 23-32; William de Villiers, 'Milling, Drinking and carnage on the banks of the Liesbeek', *Familia*, vol. 33, no. 1 (1996), pp. 17-23.

<sup>376</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> cousin **Gerhardus**





Driekoppen Inn at Mowbray

The 3 privileged butchers, **Michiel Ley, A. Abramsz:** and **Maaij Ansela'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.<sup>377</sup> 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.



Casteel de Goede Hoop

**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 (*uit 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.

<sup>377</sup> 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*).<sup>378</sup> 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”.<sup>379</sup> 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”.<sup>380</sup>

**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

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<sup>378</sup> J.L.M. Franken, *Die Hugenote aan die Kaap*, p. 77.

<sup>379</sup> ... alle Christenen, soo goede als kwade, sonder onderscheid op’t lyf vallen, en ons verdelgen ...

<sup>380</sup> ... en vrij minder van de Caffers, Moulattos, Mestiços, Castiços en al dat swart gebroeijdsel onder ons wonende, en met Europeeanse en Africaanse Christenen door huwelijken en ander vermengingen vermaagdschap, dewelke in vermoogen, getal en hoogmoet t’ onder uijterste verwonderingen aangegroeid, en neffens de Christen en tot allerhande wapenhandeling en kriegsoeffening tougelten, geven ons met duisterlijk daar haar trotse bejegeningen te kennen, datse ons, haar slaag waarnemende, wel den voet op de nek, souden kunnen en willen setten, want dat Chams bloed is niet te betrouwien ... Algemeen Rijsarchief, Den Haag, KA 4035, *Brieven en Papieren van Cabo de Bonne Esperance overgecomen*, 1707: **Adam Tas et al.** – *Heeren XVII*, n.d., p. 1035. See also Hans F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense*, p. 28 & R. Elphick & H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840*, 542 & G. Con de Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse Nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 125 & Anna J. Böeseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinder*, p. 183.



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.<sup>381</sup>

### **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).<sup>382</sup>

*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*

### **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 inedelible 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 depleating and irreversibly reconfiguring its founding Eurafricasian mix. They become members (16 Decemebr 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.

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<sup>381</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Creolization & Indigenization – **Burlamacchi & Diodati** family ties in the Dutch VOC empire', *Capensis*, no. 4 (1999), pp. 16-34.

<sup>382</sup> **Marritie Pietersz**: wed.[uwe] met **Jan Andriesz**: van Amsterdam.



## PART 3

# 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 devenue!

Quant me regarde toute nue,

Et je me voi si tres changiee,

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 Hëaumiere)* <sup>383</sup>

**M**argo, 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.<sup>384</sup> Her father-in-law and his brother **Roelof Pasman** assist the

<sup>383</sup> "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 Armouress)* [Geoffrey Brereton (ed.), *The Penguin Book of French Verse*]

<sup>384</sup> **Wemmer Pasman en Cornelia Cempenaar**, voor de laatste maal, ernstig zouden werden aangesproken over haar dronkenschap ... is geresloveerd 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.<sup>385</sup>

**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.<sup>386</sup>



*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

<sup>385</sup> Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 413 & François Valentyn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, vol. II, pp. 21 24, 25 & 41.

<sup>386</sup> 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.<sup>387</sup> The farm is sold (1735) to **Bernhardus van Niekerk** together with **Christoffel Snijman's** farm *Zandvliet*.<sup>388</sup>



**Watergat [now Riversmeet], Simondium**

**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**<sup>389</sup> in Cape Town:<sup>390</sup>

"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

<sup>387</sup> Originally *Zondernaam* ['Without Name'], awarded (1691) to **Pierre Lombard** (from Pontaix) [Dauphine, France]. Property (1762) of **Jean de Villiers**, owner of *Boscchendal*. Name *Bien Donné* ('good gift' or 'well given') appears (1837) on the title deeds. The South African Government buys farm (1937) as venue for agricultural research: [http://biendonner.com/article.php?art\\_id=127](http://biendonner.com/article.php?art_id=127)

<sup>388</sup> J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, *Ons Drakensteins Erfgrond: Groot Drakenstein*, pp. 25-27 & *Simondium*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>389</sup> Possibly mother [name unknown] of 2 free-burgher brothers **Borchard / Burg(h)ert Pietersz: van Dijk & Joost Pietersz: van Dijk** (from Ysenberg [IJssenberg, 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.

<sup>390</sup> CA: MOOC 10/5, no. 59 & 1/2 (*Vendurol*), 2 July 1712).



blankets, a small cabinet, 2 tables, a commode or close-stool, a *steeckbecken*<sup>391</sup> and an empty chest".

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).<sup>392</sup> 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:<sup>393</sup>

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 f5878.-.. Outstanding debts were owing to the following:

The Company  
The Orphan Chamber  
The Drakenstein Deaconate  
Elias Kina  
**Jacob Mallan**<sup>394</sup>  
The **Widow Willem Corssenaar** [**Catharina Cruse**]  
Coert de Smit  
Claas Mijboom  
*M:[onsigne]uJr Mielius* [**Melius**] voor Cureren der Zieke  
**Jan du Rand**<sup>395</sup>  
**Hans Hend:[rij]k Hatting**  
**Maaij Anselas** 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 Anselas**'s double son-in-law **Christian Matzdorf** [**Maasdorp**]. Through his marriages, he becomes owner of the farms *Wittenberg*, *Watervliet* and *Nuwedorp*. Her parents-in-

<sup>391</sup> *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?

<sup>392</sup> *Inventaris, en opgaaf van Margareta Therisia d'Savoije, Wed:[uw]e Henning d'Viljon, van soodanige ommeslag als hij overleden aan voorsz: wed:[duw]e heeft naargelaten, opgevende naar uyt wijsens hier na volgende.*

<sup>393</sup> CA: MOOC 8/2 (Inventory: **Margareta Theresia d'Savoije**), no. 80.

<sup>394</sup> **Jacques Malan** (from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque) who farmed at *La Motte* in the Franschhoek valley.

<sup>395</sup> **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.<sup>396</sup>

The Cape's first recorded female medical practitioner **Marie Buisset**<sup>397</sup> (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 Roberts:** 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.<sup>398</sup>

**Magrita de Savoijen** is listed (1715) as a member of the Drakenstein congregation.<sup>399</sup> 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 f 450 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.<sup>400</sup> 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 Lozee**<sup>401</sup> 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**.<sup>402</sup> Just prior to her death, she draws up her last will (14 October 1717).<sup>403</sup>

<sup>396</sup> J.A. Heese & R.T.J. Lombard, *South African Genealogies*, vol. I, pp. 131, 596-597.

<sup>397</sup> *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, p. 64.

<sup>398</sup> J.E. Malherbe, 'Die Pokke-Epidemie van 1713', *Huguenot Society of South Africa, Bulletin*, no. 36 (1999) p. 51; C.C. de Villiers & C. Pama, *Genealogies of Old South African Families*, vol. III, p. 1007 & William de Villiers, '**Cornelia Villion**, Her Husbands and Watervliet Farm', *Familia*, vol. XXIX, nos. 3 & 4 (1992), pp. 54-55.

<sup>399</sup> See register kept by the Rev. **Van Aken** who started there (1715) [Colin Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p. 111].

<sup>400</sup> CA: CJ 6, no. 131 (1716) **Margaretha de Savoije wed:[uw]e wijle den landbouwer Henningh Villion, eischer contra den burger Paul Heijns ged:[aechd]je over betaling van f 450 soo veel hij p:[enninge]n restant over geleeverde dranken debet is.**

<sup>401</sup> **Maria Lozee van de Caep**, *halfslag* daughter of private slave **Maria van Bali**.

<sup>402</sup> Cadastral Calendar.

<sup>403</sup> 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<sup>404</sup> to the free-fisherman returnee from the abandoned Dutch colony on Mauritius **Marthinus Ackerman**<sup>405</sup> (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:<sup>406</sup>

“[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 Erthuijs [Esterhuizen / Osthuis]**, 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 bequeathed testamentary manumission by their mistress and that (as late as 1749) they were still enslaved:<sup>407</sup>

“[1749] **Kerken (Gerrit van)**<sup>408</sup>; 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**<sup>409</sup> of Morssele, 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**<sup>410</sup>. 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 Morssele, 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

<sup>404</sup> Cadastral Calendar.

<sup>405</sup> **Marthinus Ackermann** (from Doria) marries **Geertruid (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).

<sup>406</sup> ‘Leibbrandt’, *Requesten*, vol. I, p 235.

<sup>407</sup> ‘Leibbrandt’, *Requesten*, vol. II, pp. 633-634.

<sup>408</sup> **Gerrit van Kerken**

<sup>409</sup> **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 (1<sup>st</sup>) 27 November 1711 **Willemina 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 Willemsz: Vermeulen** (from Utrecht) & **Catharina Opklim van de Caep / van Bengale**, whose sister **Maria Vermeulen** marries another **Jan Rogiers** (from Amsterdam)]; marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) Cape 10 September 1713 **Margaretha Harmensz: Harting** baptized 19 January 1698; d/o **Maria (Marritie) 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 Morsseen (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 Monsnaj & **Margaretha Harmensz: Hartingh**, (1718)) CA: A 1657)]; she marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) Paarl 5 September 1728 **Martinus Thielmans** (from Delfthaven).

<sup>410</sup> **Lodewijck Hansen**.



shall also receive f 200 each. As guardians of these children, and as executors, she appoints the burghers, **Jan Rogier** of Morssele 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 Ansel, Jacoba Christina de Wet**.<sup>411</sup> **Margo** adds a codicil to her will (28 October 1732) wherein she bequeaths 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?

<sup>411</sup> 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**<sup>412</sup>. 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.<sup>413</sup> **Margo** sells *de Rheboks Cloof* to her granddaughter **Margaretha Botha** and her husband **Jan Abraham Meyer**. Transfer of ownership is registered (3 September 1736).<sup>414</sup> Why does she sell the very farm she has just bequeathed 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**<sup>415</sup> 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.

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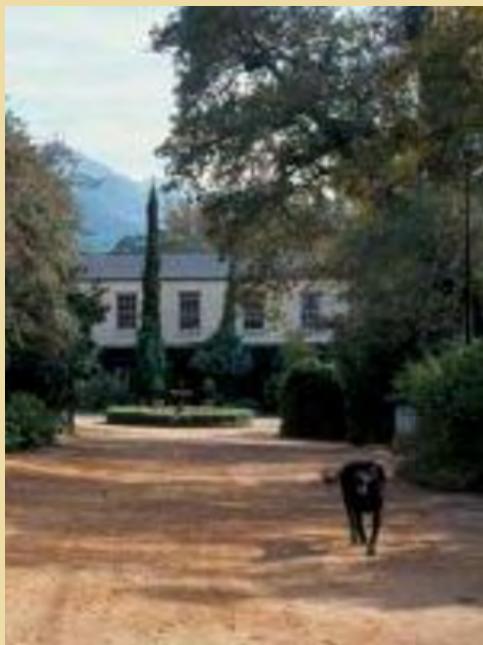
<sup>412</sup> **Bernhardus van Niekerk** son of **Cornelis Gerritsz: [van Niekerk]** (from Nieukerk) & **Maria van der Westhuizen**, baptised 20 January 1709; married Drakenstein 24 July 1746 **Aletta Hendrina van den Heuwel** (daughter of **Nicolaas van den Heuwel** & **Maria Zegers**).

<sup>413</sup> CA: CJ 2511 (*Requesten*, 21 April 1740 – 12 December 1743), no. 22 (16 May 1743), pp. 130-134.

<sup>414</sup> CA: MOOC 8/6, no. 95 (Inventory: **Margaretha Theresia de Savoie**, 20 March 1742); J.G. le Roux & W.G. le Roux, *Ons Drakenstiene Erfgrond: Agter-Paarl*, p. 11.

<sup>415</sup> **Gerrit van Niekerk**, son of **Cornelis Gerritsz: [van Niekerk]** (from Nieukerk) & **Maria Verschuur / van der Westhuizen**, baptised 18 September 1695.





**Witteboomen, Constantia**

**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 Dessim (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*.<sup>416</sup> This invaluable collection, known as the *Dessinian Library*, now forms part of the *South African Library* in Cape Town.<sup>417</sup> 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.<sup>418</sup> Her estate

<sup>416</sup> Margaret Cairns, 'Census Return BRD 27 – 1799 Cape Town', *Capensis*, no. 4 (2000), pp. 17-18; Mansell Upham, *Capensis*.

<sup>417</sup> J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806*, p. 71.

<sup>418</sup> 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 Catrijn**, 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.<sup>419</sup> 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 Catrijn** 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.<sup>420</sup> 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:<sup>421</sup>

Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoie, b4 PROG 1 her mother →Jacques de Savoie, SV/PROG her father→ Julien de Savoie his father → Jacques de Savoie his father →Mahieu or Mathieu de Savoie his father → Claude de Savoie his father → Michiel de Savoie 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 of 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 et 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 Ermengard his mother →Emperor Louis I 'The Pious', son of Charlemagne & Hildegard her father → Charlemagne his father

Many people of early Cape colonial origin are likely to have at least one descent, if not multiple descents from both **Groote Catrijn** 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 Catrijn** herself.

<sup>419</sup> Christo Viljoen, 'Viljoen-familieregister vorder fluks', *Familia*, vol. XII, no. 2 (1975), p. 30.

<sup>420</sup> G. Hofmeyr & D. Sleigh, 'J.H. Hofmeyr, Stamvader van die Hofmeyrs', *Familia*, vol. XXV, no. 4 (1988), pp. 86-89.

<sup>421</sup> Posting on facebook by Johan Hugo (22 August 2014)

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/7627302901/?fref=nf>



- 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*

### *Groote Catrijn's Death Sentence & Pardon – Extracts from Sentence Book at Batavia*

CAPE ARCHIVES (CA):

COURT OF JUSTICE (CJ) 281, no. 44 (16 November 1656)

Alsoo **Catharina** geboortich van Paliacatte out na aensien omtrent 25 jaeren en Moorse slavinne van **Maria Magdalena** vrije vrou ende jinwoorten desen stede gegenwoordich 't heeren gevangene, vrijwillige:[e]n buijtten pijnes ende banden van jsere ofte eenige de minste dreygementen van dien bekent ende beleden heeft, mitsgaders wijne E.[dele] Heeren van den achtbaeren Raad van Justitie des Casteels Bat:[avi]a manifestelyck gebleken sij dat sij gevangen 't sedert een en den half jaer geleden met een **Claes van de Mallebaerse Cust** zal:[ige]r in sijn leven slaef van S:[ieu]r **Hendrick Christoffel Leser** des E:[dele] Comp:[agnie]s Stalmeester alhier, als man ende vrou vleeschelijcke conversatie gehouden hebbende. Op acht ter een voorlede maent October des na middach omtrent twee uyr met een pot gecochte coelen ende verckens vlees bij voorz: **Claes** in sijn Lijffheers thuijn staende buijten deser stede inde Crockot bij de forteres Rijs-wijck gecomen wesende, versocht ende gewilt heeft dat den selven met haer daer van eten soude,'t welck eenige reijsen door hem beleefdelijck geweigent sijnde als hebbende even te vooren sijn middach mael genutticht, is sy gevange daer over met voorsz: haer bissit eerst in worden ende daerna handst gemeen geworden, scheldende alvorens sij gev:[ange]nes denselven met bijvouginge op't onbeleefste **jou moeder** en[de – deleted] **u maaij gesoent** ofte **vleschelijck bekent** sulcx genoemde **Claes** van haer gebeeten ende soo als gescheijden waeren op d'aerde neder geseten wesent heeft bij gevangene haer niet ontsien nochts gevreest en t'oorwegen 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 desselfe blaes gebarsten sijnde, meergenoemde **Claes** daer van des nachts tusschen den elfden ende twaelfden den selven maent desen werelt is overleden.

Het welcke inder daet een notoiren manslach is gevangene in Euvelen gemoede begaen waer jegens Jodes Recht vaerdige g'booden wel strickelijck gebidden, dat die sijn even naesten dood, wederom door saxenschten handene gedoodt sal werden, sulcx tot af weeringe van Godes 't hooren 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 welgemelten achtbaren Raade ten daege dienende gehoort ende gesien den eijsch ende concensie *ad mortem* op ende jegens de gevangene gedaen ende genome a:[l]daer benefens haere vrije willige bekentenis weders op alle gele ende geconsidereert hebbende watter materie was dienende ende haer E.[dele] achtb:[are]n mochte moveren, doende recht uit den naem end van wegen d'Hoogh mogende heeren staaten generael den vrije vereenichde Nederlanden condemneeren de gevangene approbatie van d' Ed.[el] en heer gouverneren generael ende d'E:[dele] Heeren Raad van India gebracht te werden ter plaets daer men gewoon is criminale sententies t'executeren, aldaer den scherprechter over geleven, den een pael gebonden ende met een coorde soodanich gewurcht te worden, datten de dood na volcht met confiscatie haer den goederen teverdeelen als gebruikkelijck, d'oncosten alvoorens afgetrcken sijnde.

Aldus g'arresteert ende gesententieert op den 16den November 1656 mitsgaders gepronuncheert ende g'executeert op den 18den daer aenvolgende, was geteeckent **Joan Cuneus**, **Dirck Janssen Steur**, **Johannes Burgers**, **L.P. Vernattij**, **Joh:[an] van Dam**, **Jacob Cau**, **H:[endrik] Bogaert** onderstont mij present ende was geteeckent **Vincent van Work**.

### *Groote Catrijn's Pardon*

#### PARDON

Hoewel het Criminele vonnis van de Achtbaren Raade van Justitie deses Casteels waernbij seekere slavinne van eene **Maria Magdalena** genaamt **Catharina van Mallebaer** ten oorsaeck sij seekeren slaeve van Comp:[agnie]s stalm:[eeste]r **Hendrick Christoffel Leser** gegeeve **Claes van Mallebaer** in hevigen woede met een keijsteen werpende soodanich uit nedersche deel sijnes buijcx heeft getroffen, datten de doot dien vierden dach daer aen op gevolcht sij gecondemneert is aen een pael ten doode geworght te werden, wel ende te rechte sij geveld, gelijck dan voorn:[oemd]je delinquenten nie gereet staet om daerop de straffe des doods t'ontfangen.

Soo ist nochtans dat wij considererende dat geseijde misdadige d'aen getogen doodslach weens bij ongeluck als op gesette boosheit begaen, immers geen voornemen of intentie gehadt heeft om te dooden, daer door bewogen sijn gewonden de bowen gemelte sententie te altereren en de te versachten,



soodanich dat wij preferenende mede doogen gou ende gracie voor de strengheit van het recht de meer genoemde delinquent **Catharina**, goed gevonden hebben te pardonneren ende te bevrijden van de dood, gelijckt bij doen bij desen, mits daer in plaatse van dien meede eerste gelegenheit sal werden versonden na de Caep de Boa Esperance, om aldaer tot het eijnde haren levens toe gebannen te blijven ende als Comp:[agnie]s lijffeigene slaven dienst te doen, op welck ons pardon en gracie nochtans niemant in toecomende te sondigen noch te sigh te verlaeten heeft.

Gegeven in't Casteel Bat:[avi]a den 18:[d]e Novemb:[er] 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:[avi]a den 25 Novemb[e]r: 1656

Bij mij [signed] **Vincent van Work**  
*Secret[arijs]:*

### Gambling incident involving Groote Catrijn

CA: CJ 1, p. 377

A.J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justitie, 1652-1672 (Case no. 62)*, p. 178.

MAANDAG, 5EN SEPTEMBER 1667.

Present als boven,  
Behalven d'oude borgerraden.

*Fiscus eij[se]r.  
contra*

**Cornelis van Benthem**, corporael van d'adelborsten  
en **Aurelius Probenius**, adleborst over caart spelen.

Hij zijde dat de ged[aec]h[d]ens. met **Catarina van Bengale** verleden 19en. Augustus hebben gespeelt met d' kaart en wel omrent 80 R[ijcks]d[aelde]rs. van haar gewonnen. Concluderende derhalven tot restitutie van dien boven d' verbeurte van 6 realen van 8en als per placaat.

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

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

Den Raad condemneren de ged[aec]h[d]ens. elk 25 R[ijc]x[daelde]rs. van haer gewin aen de slavin uit te keren.

### Missing bread stolen out of Groote Catrijn's chamber

CA: CJ 1, pp. 705-707

A.J. Böeseken, *Uit die Raad van Justisie (Case no. 93)*, PP. 370-371

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

*Idem Fiscus [Hendrik Crudop]*

*contra*

**Nicolaes Phlegel** van Bazel,  
soldaet alhier alsnu gedet[ineerde]. Ende gede.  
Ter aseke van eenig[e] daegen zijn schiltwacht verlatende,  
sigh niet en heeft geschroomt uijt de wooninge  
van seker Comp[agnie]s. Slaevin, hier binnen 't Fort  
begrepen, twee brooden te steelen...

D'eij[sche]r. allegeerde dat de ged[aechd]e. Op den 19en deser was gecommandeert geweest hier voor 't ingaan van d' H[ee]r. Commandeurs woningh, genaemt d'Cat de gewoonlijke schildwacht te houden en dat middeler wijle in 't waernemen van deselve sigh niet hadde geschroomt deselve als een ligtvaerdigh, onbedachtsaem mensch te verlaten ende sigh te vervoeugen 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



weijnigh tijs 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 affgelost was, onder zijne cameraeden uijt te delen, ende zulcx sigh met dubbeldt gestolen goedt vrolijck te maeken, daer nogtans de gede. Tot verhoedinge van sulke ende diergelijke insolentiën eenelijck aldaer de wacht houdende, als een eerlijcke en regtschapen soldaet alsulcke trouwlooshede bij vooraengetogen slaven gepleegt hadde behoort te beletten: Ende also de ged[aechd]e. ter contrarie gedaen hebbende met twederhande delicten sigh heft besoedelt, eensdeels door 't verlaten van sijn schildwacht ende anders door d' infractie ende stelen van de g'allegeerde gestolen broden. 't Welck dan saken zijnde van quaeden ende malitieusen gevolge, die in landen van Justitie niet ende behoorden te werden getollereert, maer anderen ten exemplē 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 sijn schildwacht wederom hadde waergenomen ende wel cunnen presumeren dat de broden bij den slaaf mosten gestolen zijn, versoeckt derhalven om gratie.

D'eijs[che]r. sustineert des ged[aechde]ns. Excusen frivool ende impertinemnt te wesen hem geensints van zijne fauten cunnende excuseeren, persisterende derhalven voor repliecq. D'ged[aechde]. Persisteert voor dupliqcq.

Den Raadt gehoort hebbende den eijsch ende conclusie van den fiscael in desen gedaen en genomen ende daerentegens des gedns. Frivole excusen, ende vorders gelet op 't geene wat heeft mogen bewegen, doende recht, condemneren den gede. omme den tijt van 2/d naemalcanderen met gewigt van 5 lb. Aen ijder been op't houte paerd te rijden ende bannen denselven voorts den tijt van 4 maenden sonder gagie *ad opus publicum* op 't Robbeneilandt 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 huiden den 13en Maert anno 1664 compareerde voor mij **Hendrick Lacus** secret[ari]s van den Commandeur ende Raed van't Fort de Goede Hoope &a. een *Cabo de Bonne Esperance* ende de getuijen naergenoemt **Pieter Evrardt** van Cruijsart, vaendrigh in dienst van de E.[edele] Generaele Nederlantse Geoctroijeerde Oost Indische Compagnie ende bescheijden in dese Fortresse sieckelijck te koij leggende doch zijn verstant spraecke ende memorie volcomen machtich ende gebruijckende als ons claerlijck bleek ende wij niet anders sien off 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 sonder alvoorens van zyne tijdelijke goederen te disposeren dienvolgende verclaert uitj sijn eijgen vrije wille (sonder inductie ofte persuatie van ijmanden) te revoceren doot ende te niet te doen geleijck hij doet bij desen alle voorgaende bij hem gemaecte testamenten off eenige andere maeckinge hoedanigh die oocq soude mogen wesen houdende deselve voor nul, crachteloos en van onwaerden ende op nieuws disposerende legateert aan **Catharina van Bengalen** omme van de E.[edele] Comp[agnie]. 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 overliden dat alsdan 't gelegateerde wederom sal keeren aan sijne naeste vrunden *ab intestato* ende aan **Jan van Laer** van Amsterdam soldaet ten regarde van eenige diensten aan hem bewesen zijn dagelijcx bruijn sargie cleet neffens een swarte ronde gebolden hoet aan de cant met silver geboort ende noch een wit sargie pack aan **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* toevallen institueerde den comparant tot universele erfgeenaemen sijne sisters **Antoinet**, **Margriet** ende **Anna Evrardts** van Cruijsart wonende aldaer en dicht aldaer omtrent ende bij deselver affluyvicheijt sijne naeste vrunden *ad reges*.

Versoeckende hij testateur seer onderdanichlijck aan de Ed[el]e. Heeren Bewinthebberen der meergemelte Comp[agnie]. voor sooveel haer Ed[el]e. desen mochten aengaen over deselve als executeurs te staen ende na sijn overliden '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 overliden alsoal achtervolgt ende naergecomen worden 't sij bij forme van testament, codicille, donatie onder de levende off uitj saecke des doots ofte eenige andere maeckinge 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 geomitteert.

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 Clinckenbergh**, opperchirurgijn getuijen van goeden gelove hier toe versoght ende geroopen ende was geteekent **PIETER EVRARD** ter sijden stont ons present als getuijen **ABRAHAM GABBEMA, P[iete]r. CLINCKENBERGH**.

Mij present **H.[endrick] LACUS** secret.[aris]

Naer gedane collaties is desen met d'originale minute bevonden t'accorderen. Bij mij **H.[endrick] LACUS**, secret.[aris], 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 innocent<sup>422</sup> met silver passament<sup>423</sup> geboort<sup>424</sup>

<sup>422</sup> Does *innocent* = new or unused?

<sup>423</sup> braid, trimming or lace.

<sup>424</sup> bordered or embroidered.



1 sargie<sup>425</sup> broucq met roode linten  
 1 root allegia<sup>426</sup> rockje  
 1 root laken wambais<sup>427</sup>  
 1 grauw laken broucq met passament geboort  
 1 sargie rocq met galon<sup>428</sup> geboort  
 1 sargie pacq klederen met zwarte linten  
 5 stucx hoeden te weten  
     1 nieuwe zwarte vigognie<sup>429</sup>  
     1 oude *ditto*  
     2 oude grauwe *dittos*  
     1 zwarte hoet met galon geboort  
 1 donker sargie kleet met zwarte linten  
 1 ligt *ditto* met blommerente linten  
     Is volgens testament wech gelegateert  
 1 paer roode croonlasse<sup>430</sup> canons<sup>431</sup> met silver galon  
 1 paer roode lakense kousen [hose]  
 1 paer grauw laken canons om in laersen<sup>432</sup> te dragen  
 8 paer kousen te weten  
     4 paer zijde als volgt  
         1 paer goede blauwe  
         1 paer *do* groene  
         1 paer *do.* parelgecouleurde  
         1 paer oude groene  
     1 paer witte cust *dos.*  
     3 paer grauwe saijette<sup>433</sup>  
 1 Bengaels gordel  
 1 paer zwarte overtreckende schrijfmouwen<sup>434</sup>  
 1 oude lakense innocent  
 7 onderbroucken te weten  
     5 witte en  
     2 taffachelas<sup>435</sup> *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

<sup>425</sup> *Sargie, zargie or cergie* = serge, a durable twilled worsted fabric used especially for rough wear

<sup>426</sup> *alegias or allegias* = multi-coloured silk cloths.

<sup>427</sup> A *wambais* is a jerkin or doublet, ie a bombast jacket usually close fitting and waisted.

<sup>428</sup> braid or lace

<sup>429</sup> From the French *vigogne* and the Spanish *vicuña* = vicugna in English. Presumably made from the wool of this South American mammal.

<sup>430</sup> Were these a type of seam that was 'crowned'?

<sup>431</sup> *canions*, ie extensions from the trunk hose to the knees, being close thigh fitting.

<sup>432</sup> boots.

<sup>433</sup> *saai* = light twilled wool cloth which was exported to the Indies and Japan.

<sup>434</sup> Sleeves used to protect the writer's clothing from being stained by ink.

<sup>435</sup> *Taffachelas* or *taffa cillers* = fine, white striped clothing made from taffeta with black stitches throughout.



3 slaeplakens  
 1 lapjen turcx<sup>436</sup> en  
 1 overtrexsel van een kussen  
 1 stuck salempouris<sup>437</sup>  
 4 paer hantschoenen  
 2 paer mouwen  
 3 lapjes linnen  
 26 strengen wit garen  
 6 dousijn kameelshare rocknopen<sup>438</sup>  
 3 dousijn gout en silvere wambais knopen  
 1&1/2 brief spellden 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<sup>439</sup>  
 Contant 1&1/2 real

Buijten gemelte kist bevonden:

5 paer schoenen te weten  
     1 paer nieuwe zwarte  
     1 paer oude *ditto*  
     1 paer nieuwe grauwe  
     2 paer oude *ditto*  
 3 draegbanden namentlijcq  
     1 *do* met zwarte frangie<sup>440</sup>  
     2 grauw sonder *do.*  
 3 degens te weten  
     1 *do* met een silver gevest<sup>441</sup> in figuijr van een leeuw  
     1 zwarte uijtgehoude met een fijne greep  
     1 slegten *do.*  
 1 groten houwer met 1 plaat  
 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<sup>442</sup> kussentje  
 14 boucken meest van de Franse tale  
 2 bierglasen  
 1 fluijt om uijt te drincken  
 1 wijn roemer<sup>443</sup>  
 1 ledige kelder met 12 flessen

<sup>436</sup> morocco leather?

<sup>437</sup> Chintz cloth originating from, and named after, the city of Salemporis (or Serampore), south of Kolkota (Calcutta).

<sup>438</sup> dress buttons.

<sup>439</sup> A ring with a lid.

<sup>440</sup> fringes / frills.

<sup>441</sup> A *gevest* = a hilt.

<sup>442</sup> velvet.

<sup>443</sup> rummer



1 tinne waterpot  
 1 doosje met wat rommelingh  
 1 bultsacq<sup>444</sup>  
 3 kussens  
 1 Indiasche deken<sup>445</sup>  
 1 ledige oude kist met partij rommelingh  
 1 paviljoen<sup>446</sup> van chits<sup>447</sup>  
 1 Indisch slaefjen genaemt **Jan [Jan van Bengale?]**  
 21 stucx grote en cleijne hoenders

Aldus gedaen ende g'inventarissrt in't Fort d'Goede Hope *a[nno domin]ij Martij anno 1664*, ter presentie van **Otto Ralingh**, corporael ende **Rudolph Hantha** adelborst getuijgen van goede gelove hier toe versocht ende geroopen die dese benefens mij ondercoopman hebben onderteekent.

#### RUDOLPHUS HANTKA, OTTO RAHLINGH

Mij present **ABRAHAM GABBEMA**, 1664

Wij ondergesz **Jan van Laer** adelborst en **Gerrid van der Laen**, 3e. chirurgijn bekenne bij desen uijt handen van den ondercoopman deser fortresse wel ontfangen te hebben al sulcke goederen als ons door den overleden **Pieter Evrardt** van Cruijsart gelegateert ende in sijn testament hier voren onder dato 13e. Martij 1664 gespecificeert staet. Tot kennisse der waerheit hebben wij ter presentie van **Dirck Bos** en **Carel Opdorp** schribenten desen met onse gewoonelijcke hanttekeningh bekrachticht.

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 plaatse van gestaefden eede ende waerachtich te sijn dat d'voornoemde goederen van **Pieter Evrard** van Cruijsart geen andre min nochte meer (*excepto* de gelegateerde en *in margine* aengeteekende) alle in dier vuogen so deselve bij 't inventariseeren bevonden sijn aan de meestbiedende onder 't volcq hier aen landt sijn vercogt in teken der waerheit soo hebben wij desen met onsen gewoonelijcke hanttekeningh bekrachticht.

Aldus in't Fort en datum als voren.

#### RUDOLPHUS HANTKA, OTTO RAHLINGH

Mij present

**ABRAHAM GABBEMA**, 1664

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<sup>444</sup> straw mattress

<sup>445</sup> *keris / kres* = kris, creese or crease?

<sup>446</sup> Umbrella.

<sup>447</sup> *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]

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SATERDAG DEN 3EN OCTOBER 1665

Present als voorsz

D'Heer Commandeur [Zacharias] Wagenaer

Dens diende Persoon S.[ieu]r [Abraham] Gabbema

Den Luijtenant [Abraham] Schut

Den Vendrig [Joannes] Coon

*Excepto* den borgerraedt [Wouter Cornelisz:] Mostard

*Idem* [Hendrick Lacus]  
fiscael van't Fort de Goede Hoope]  
*Idem nomine* offitij eij.[sch]er  
*contra*

**Diedeloff Tim** soldaat bescheijven  
Een mes getrocken, ende eenen  
**Hans Christoffel Snijman**  
daermede eerst gequeest had.

Hij diende van eijsch den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. alvorens van sijn parthijे eerst gesuftletteert wesende,  
bekeert selve in haesticiteit 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 Ejland gagie,  
maer geen dachgelt winnende, gebannen te blijven, mitsgaders int' 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 gesuftleteert heeft

den ge[apre]h[endeerd]e. contesseert selve doch niet hoe der grieve 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 a[nn]o. 1665.  
**Hendrick Lacus**, fiscael *ex officio*, eij[sche]r.  
*contra*

**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 Schamtelaeer [Francois Champelier],  
David Cornelisz:, Gerrit Pietersz:,  
Arnout Allert, Joost Proost,  
Hans Veugelin ende Jan Barentsz:, gedens.**

Over dat haer fugatijff hebben gemaect ende lantwaerts in zijn wech geloopen.

Present als vooren.[oemde]

Hij diende van eijsch.

De gedaechdens ondervraecht zijnde wat redenen haer tot sodanige gelijckelijck voor dat tot sodanigen swaren arbeijt t' eenemael onbequaem waren, ende bovendien d'een met dus ende d'ander met een ander accident onder ledien belemmert wesende, haer onmogelijck was langer dien arbeijt te verdragen.

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

**CA: C 2394 (Attestations), p. 66 [Old No. C. 327, p. 55]**

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[66]

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Wij onderges:[schreven]e, **Jurgen Vrijdag** pro:[visionele] corp:[orae]l en **Christiaen Brant** adelb:[ors]t ten diens Heeren 's Comp:[agni]e alhier beroeren, verclaren bij onse manne waerheit in plaezte van eede ten versouke van den fiscael deser residentie hoe wij hebben gesien en gehoort, dat verleden maendag zijnde den 25en deser den corp:[orae]l pr.[ovisioneel] **Ziegfried** jegens **Hans Christoffel Snijder** [**Snijman**] [the 'der' part of the name - is deleted and replaced by 'man'] zeijde, wanneer hij de wacht had, dat d'anders reachte op zijn koije zoude blijven slaepen, en niet, onder de Trap, gelijk noch, die nacht tevooren gedaen had, om gemelten bequamen te kunnen voeren, hij **Znijman** daerop antwoorde, dat sulx den corp:[orae]l voorm:[eld] niet roerde, en sulx ewenwel doen wilde, die aldaer repliceerde, dat hem daer dan van daer soude lichten, verclaeerde wijder ick **Jurgen Vrijdag** in 't bij soude van **Ernst Vriesse** en **Jacob Prage** te hebben gehooren dat zijes sien hebben, dat voorsch **Hans** [inserted in margin: corp[orae]l met den rottang gedreijgt zijnde] den corp:[orae]l daer op zonder verder reden is, toegevoegen, en onder werpende wat afklopte, 't welke ik **Christiaen Brant** mede personels beoogt ende gesien hebbe.

Alle 't welke wij also voor de oprechte waerheit '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**

mij Present  
**P. de Jonge**  
Secr[e]t:[aris]  
1667

**CA: CJ 1, pp. 366-368**

[366]

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**Cornelis de Cretser** fiscael van't

Fort de Goede Hoope aen Cabo  
de Boa Esperance *ex officio* eij:[sch]ere  
ende accusam

**Hans Christoffel Snijman** soldaet  
alhier bescheijdere ge[apre]h[endeerd]:e ende  
geaccuseerde



Gedient den 30 Julij 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 Superioreen uit *Patria* benaemt, sich continueel ende insonderheit des nachts in plaatse van op sijn bescheide Corps- dugarde te slapen ten woonplaetse van seeckere bekende swarte meijt onthout, ende daerdoor oock sijn actuele 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]le deser, op *ditto* Corps-dugarde, des Corp:[orae]l **Pieter Sichvruch [Siegfried]**<sup>448</sup> verlijcke op desselfs recommandatie, (als dat voortaen, wanneer de nachts de waacht hadde, op sijne ordinaire koije soude slapen om alsoo op sijn uijr pennende hem te bequamen tot sijne plicht te cunne commanderen oft anders gedwonge ronde weens hem vandaer te lichten alvorens qualijcke beiijgende, 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 g.he voorsz dat den geh.e ende geaccuseerde, alhier ten example van andere van soll genoiptivorden als van voor t' gar op Robben Eiland gebanne omme die tyt geduij ende aen 't schulpen dragen als andere gemene wercks te worden gebruijct, sonder gagie off dachgelt te winnen, nevens cof:[isca]tie van 3/m[aenden] gagie offte &a

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SATURDAG 30EN JULIJ A[NN]O 1667

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

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

Hij inscriptie concl.[udeere]n ter bij deselve

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

IS HEDEN GESENTENTIEERT

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

<sup>448</sup> **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*

*Praesentinbus eisdem et affunto*

Den burgerraad **Claes Hendrickze Diefpennauw**

S[ieu]r. Cornelis Linnes  
Landdrost nomine officii

Eijsscher  
contra

**Ernst Frederick Walter**

Vrijburger aan Drakenstein woonagtig, gedagde wegens dat sig, volgens eijge bekentenis niet en heeft ontsien, contrarie de placcaten, drie beesten van de Hottentots voor tabacq en meel te hebben gereuijd.

Hij doet eijsch bij monde ende g:[etuijg]t dat den ged:[aechd]e ter sake als inde praesentatie vermeld sal werden gecondemneerd in de pecuniale amende en boete als volgens placaet *cum exp:[ensis]* exhibeerende des ged:[aechd]es vrijwillige confessie tot bewijs van dien specterende.

Ende segt den eij:[sche]r verder door den Hottentot **Anneb  e** sijnde van de Crael van **Kleijne Capteijn** wel onderrigt te sijn dat den, ged:[aechd]e den selven Hottentot, ten tijde als hij ged:[aechd]e met den mede vrijb:[urgher] **Christoffel Snijman** nog in gemeenschap was, met een briefje gesonden had aan den 's Comp:[agnie]s post de Klapmuts, met recommendatie t' selve aan niemand te verthoonen oft laten leesen, als eenlijck aan den sergeant aldaer het gesag hebbende, dewelcke 't selve oock geleesen hebbende hem **Anneb  e** 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 **Anneb  e** aan de Crael gecomen sijnde, ende na de beesten van den geseijde sergeant gevraagd hebbende, die daer leggende Caepse Hottentots hem 'er twee stux hebben uijt gedreeven, die hij **Anneb  e** verclaerde des avonds aan den ged:[aechd]e soude hebben t' huijs gebragt, en overgeleeverd: dog alsoo hij eij:[sche]r seijsdaervan geen nader bewijs tot alsnog te hebben cunnen erlangen, en sulx niet sustisantelijck kunnen doceeren dat den ged:e alhoewel suspect, 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 persisterde als nog bij sijnen confessie van drie beesten van de Hottenots, en wel namentelijck van den Hottentot **Koeked  e** mede van eerst genoemde Crael van **Kleijne Capteijn** voor tabacq en meel gereuijd te hebben. Ontkennende verder wel expresselijck t'a'llegeerde van den eijsscher seijsdaervan t' selve te sijn versierde en buijten de waerheijd.

Den E.[dele] A:[gtbare] Rade alvooren 1:e ordonneerd partijen tot beweering kunnen weder zijde gesustineer den sig van nader bewijsen te munieeren ende de twee voorn: Hottentots *in juditio* persoonlijck te produceeren, omme na confrontatie derselver tgens den ged:[aechd]e gedisponeerd te werden, alssoo het behoord.

Ende is daerop dese vergadering gecontinueerd tot op Saturdag toecomende den 18 deser.  
In't Casteel de Goede Hoop

*Dato ut suptra*

Mij present  
**MELCHIOR KEMELS**  
R[aed]s Secret:[ari]s  
1693

*praesentibus d'Ed.[ele] Heer Gouverneur et otb. et affuntis*

de burgerraaden **Guillam Heems**

**Cornelis Steven Botma** en

**Claes Hend:[ricksz] Diefpennauw**

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

Deselve ged:[aechd]e

Ingevolge van den vorenstaenden appointement in dato den 16 deser, soo sijn partijen wederom in vergadering gecompareerd, producerende tot voldoeninge van dien, de twee voorengenoemde Hottentots **Anneb  e** en **Koeked  e** beijde 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 eischer, namentlijck dat hij **Annebœe** ten tijde de voorsz: door den ged:[aechd]je met een briefje, aen den geseijden sergeant gesonden was en oock op, des selfs ordre, de genoemde twee beesten van d'aldaer omtrent leggende Crael afgehael, en des avonds aen den gedaegde selfs hadde overgeleeverd.

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

Den gedaegde, inhareerende als nog sijnen andwoorde op den 16 laetsladen *in juditio* gedaen verklaerde te vrede te sijn met solemneelen 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: **Koekedœe** in manier als boven gereuijld heeft.

Den eischer persisteerde voor replijcq en ten regarde van de verklaringen der voorn: Hottentots refereerdt sig verder voor sooveel te geprasumeerde s' Comp:[agnie] vee diefte aengaet ten discretie van den E.[dele] A.[chtbare] Raed.

Den gedaegde persisteert voor replijk, ende refererd sig mede ter discretie van opgemelden E.[dele] A.[chtbare] Rade.

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

Den E.[dele] A.[gtbare] Raed 1:n condemneerd den ged:[aechd]je in de boete en amende bij de placcaten tegens de veereuijlers met d'Hottentots gestatueerd, confisqueerd de drie bij hem gereuijld beesten ten behoeve van d'E.[dele] Comp:[agni]e en cond:[emneer]t hem ged:[aechd]je inde costen ende *mise* van Justitie.

In't Casteel de Goede Hoop

*Dato* als boven

Mij present  
**MELCHIOR KEMELS**  
R[ae]t:s Secret:[ari]s  
1693

D'Ed.[el]e Heer Gouverneur de bovenstaende appointemente niet hebbende gelieven t'approberen, sustineerde dat in desen hetb placaet bij den regteren niet stiptelijk behoorde gevuld; maer om d'enormiteit van de saeck en d'apparente diefstal van s'Comp:[agnie]s vee verswaerd te werden, heeft op Maendag den 20de: den Raed andermael gedaen vergaderen, werdende de boete van 25 rijxd:[aelder]s bij t' placaet gestatueerd vergroot tot 90 rijxd:[aelders] en is den ged:[aechd]je boven dien door speciale ordre van hoog gem:[elde] Ed:[el]e Heer gedaen laersen.

In remisse van mij  
**MELCHIOR KEMELS**  
R[ae]t:s Secret:[ari]s  
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 Sabba]** (20 April 1683)
- Note signed by **Andries de Man** (1 May 1683)
- Receipt signed by **Jan Bابتist** (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 ondergeschreevenen **Andries Houwer** verklaere en bekenne hierdoor en kracht deese aen S[ieu]r. **Antonio van Bengaelen**, alle de vruchten en't 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 daermede magh ommegaen als off't syn eijgen waer en ook mijn in deselve thuijn staende huijsjen naer sijn behaegen gebruiken. Daarenteegen verspreeke en belooove Ick **Antonio van Bengaelen** aen hem **Andries Houwer** contant te betaelen 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 vertrocken sijn. Hierbij iss met beijdersijts consent uijtbedengen dat een acker met raepen besaejt sijnde en daervan sullen d'incoomende penningen voor d'vruchten onder om bijden gedeelt werden en soll elck d'helffte daervan genieten.



Tot waere verklaeringe van eit bovenstaende en tot vaster houdinge en vollbrengings van alles hierin gespecificeerde hebben wij ditt met eijgen 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] Bengaelen**

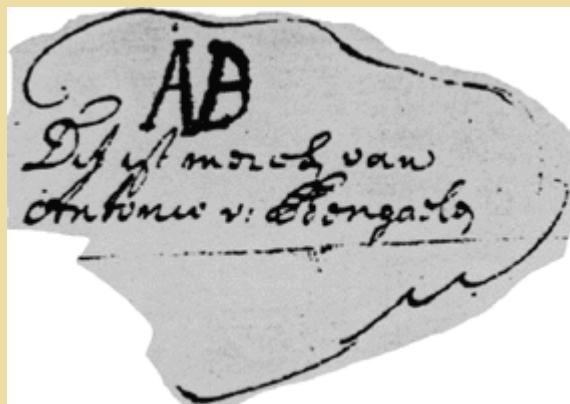
**X**

Dit iss 't merck  
van **Andries Houwer**

Ter præsentie van  
Mij aldus geseijt  
**Casp:[arus] Willers**

[signed] **Casparus Willers**

Attestor



Anthonij signs using the initials AB

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 bekenne 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[nno]d[omin]ii 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 Bengalen**, hebbe uijt gegeven, als volgt

aen slijcker	F	1	10	-	-
aen kaerssen 2 lb a 1 gl		3	-	-	-
aen brandewijn		1	10	-	-
aen asijn		-	15	-	-



aen olij	1	2	-	-
6 lb booter, a 1 gl		6	-	-
aen bier	2	-	-	-
aen taback voor de draegers 1 lb	2	-	-	-
aen ejers	-	15	-	-
een vracht branthout	4	-	-	-
twee anckers wijn		54	-	-
voor de pacht van de wijn		1	10	-
1&1/2 schaep	10	-	-	-
<b>Baas Doue [Douw Gerbrantsz: Steyn]</b>				
voort maecken van 2 graeven	6	-	-	-
aen Mons:[ieu]r [Elbert] Diemer, over geleent strijck gelt	6	-	-	-
voor den anspeecker van twee begraefinissen	12	-	-	-
aen Guilliam Eems [Heems], over geleent strijck gelt		18	-	-
aen chits		12	-	-
aen mouris	9	-	-	-
aen wit lint	-	17	8	-
aen gaaren	-	12-	8	-
aen flagge doeck	3	-	-	-
een paer schoenen	1	10	-	-
voor stoffagie, en't maecken van een rijghlijf		4	-	-
voor't maecken van't kinder goet	7	10	-	-
	Somma 159	12	8	

In't Casteel de Goede Hoop April 1683

[signed] **G.[odfriedt] Meijhuijsen**  
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 Babtist du Bertine** de somma van een hondert in't stigh rijck daalders sijnde soo veel de gemelte **Anton:[ij]** aan eene **Andries Houwer** volgens obligatie is schuldigh gebleven sijnde de orgineele obligatie in te trekken en daar van quitanine te laten passeeren.  
In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop a[nn]o d[omin]ij 10 April 1683.

[signed] **R.[oelof] de Man**

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 tuyzen van **Anthonie van Bengale**.

In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop Adij 20 April 1683

Dit is het X merck van  
**Lijsbeth van Angola**

1 May 1683:

Cassier

Verstrech 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 J:[aere]n cento uijt de verkochte naarlatenschap komt te belopen.

In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop den 1 Maij 1683

[signed] **R.[oeloff] de Man**



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 Babtist**

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 Maij 1683.

Dit is het **X** merck van **Andries Houwer**

13 June 1683:

Ick ondergeschreve **Andries Beijer** erkenne ontvangen 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.

In't Casteel d'Goede Hoop A[nno]d[omin]ij 13 Junij 1683.

Dit is het **X** van voorsz: 13 June 1683  
**Andries Beijer**

1 September 1683:

Den Secretaris van de Weescamer **Roeloff Backer** sal y gelieren te betaalen aan **Johannis Smits**, als Schoolm:[eeste]r sev:[e]n en twintich gulden vijftegen Rxd:rs te weten 16 uren 18/m lesin schrijven en te leeren van de naergelatine weese van **Anthonij van Bengale** genaemt **Christoffel** en R81 een papier en pennen t'samen R"17:-- Item 10 over 10/m leeren lesen van de de nagelatene weese van den ondercoopman **Johannis S[ieu]r Wittebol** Zal:[ige]r klaessen van beijsen verschenen *ultimo* Augustij 1683 en een boecken voor **Jan Wittebol** R 15:- sijnde t'samen de voors:de R 27:15.  
A[nno]d[omin]y in 't Casteel de Goede Hoop desen 1er 7b:[e]r [September] 1683.

[signed] **R.[oelof] 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:[daelde]rs voor twee maanden costgeld @ 4 R[i]:[daelde]rs S'm= van kint van de dogter van **Anthonie 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:

E. Weesmeesteren, hebbene eie S'Comp:s Cassen uit den boedel van **Antonie van Bengalen** sal:[ige]r te betaelen, voor twee cannetjes swaewel door d'timmerl[iede]n: aen d'dootkissen verorbent.

In 't Casteel d'Goede Hoope a[nno]d[omin]ij vlt:/im]o 7b[e]r 1683.



[signed] S.[imon] v.[an] [de] Stel

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.

In 't Casteel d'Goede Hoop A[nno]d[omin]ij 20 : 8er : 1683

[signed] **Jacob Budewik**

legge *f* 10:18

2 January 1690:

Ick ondergeschreve bekenne ontfagen te hebben uijt hand van Roelof Backer Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van drie hondert gulders wegens mijn vaderlyck erfdeel Zal:[ige]r **Anthonie v.[an] Bengale**, om mij daar voor te belasten.

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

[signed] **Christoffel Snijman**

Sogge *f* 300:

16 July 1690:

Ick ondergeschreve **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]l:den 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 wedere 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 ondergeschreve bekenne 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 casteel de Goede Hoop den 10en 9ber: [November] 1690.

Segge 3G0 [signed] **Christoffel Snijman**

31 March 1691:

Ick ondergesch: bekenne ontfangen te hebben van **Roelof Backer** Secrt:s van de Weescamer tot afcortingh van mijn erfportie de somma van 10 [ink blot] Rx:rs of *f* 30.- om daar voor belas te worden. In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop u:[ti]mo [31] Maart 1691.



[signed] **Christoffel Snijman**

Segge 10 Rx:n

8 April 1691

Ick ondergesch. **Christoffel Snijman** bekenne ontfangsz te hebben van **Roelof Backer** Secretaris van de Weescamer de somma van 303 gulden 19 sty: en 4 fx:en: sijnde het kontant en laatste penningen, die mij als universele erfenaam van mijn Vader **Anthonie van Bengale** Zalg:r in zyn leven mede Vry borger alhier uijt zijn nagelate goederen door de Weescamer stocht boven het reets betaalde noch quamen / genemen te competenz; soo dat ick als in nu van voor 't Sr: Secretaris ten volle voldaen is van mijn geheele erf portie betaalt het, in dien halwen van de Weescamer alhier dien aangehande mits de p. noch te byfehen hebbe en van alle namaningsz bevrijde. In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop A[nn]o d[omin]ij 8en April 1691.

[signed] **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 huyzen van den voor:[oemde] [sic] erfgenamen van **Antonij van Bengaalen** ten prasentie van de Weesmeesteren deser plaatse den 17 Decem:[be]r 1682

Ons prasent als gecommitteerdens

[signed] **Elbert Diemer**

[signed] **Philip Theodoor Welcker**

Mij present

[signed] **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 guilders (f) paid by each buyer is indicated in square brackets.]

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

**Godtfrit Meijhuisen**<sup>449</sup> [de Boode]

<sup>449</sup> **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<sup>450</sup>**

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

[49 : 13 : 4]

**Jan van Briemen [Brimsz:]<sup>451</sup>**

1 copere ketel en decksel  
2 boecken

[5 : 1 : 4]

**Elbert Diemer [Mon:lseigneu]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<sup>452</sup>**

1 ijseren pot  
4 p:[aere]n goude knoopjes  
6 ringe  
1 ijseren pot

[44 : 18 : 0]

**Willem den Decker of Willem Cornelisze<sup>453</sup>**

1 ijseren 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 Stevense<sup>454</sup>**

1 groote jsere treest en asschop  
1 kopere taart pan

[18 : 18 : 12]

**Guilliam Eems<sup>455</sup>**

<sup>450</sup> Heinrich Evert Schmidt (from Ibbenbüren [Germany])

<sup>451</sup> Jan van Brienen marries Catharina Cloete

<sup>452</sup> Jan Dircksz: de Beer (from Wageningen [Gelderland] - *geboortigh van t' Rheensche Veen* [near Utrecht].

<sup>453</sup> 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 *Opgaaf* (1688) with wife Grietje Pietersz:

<sup>454</sup> Jan Stevensz: Botma (from Wageningen [Gelderland])



2 cap messen  
een ijser comfoor  
1 strijckijser  
1 silver lepel  
1 linne cabaij

[15 : 15 : 0]

**Henning Huijsen**<sup>456</sup>

een vijsel en pannetje  
ou copere becken  
2 copere cabelaers  
1 zwarte ledikant  
1 doosje  
1 partij messen en anders

[55 : 16 : 4]

**Jan Vlack**<sup>457</sup> 6 tafel borden

1 partij out tinnewerck  
eenige kralen

[13 : 1 : 4]

**Hendrick Mulder**<sup>458</sup>

1 ijse pot

[6 : 7 : 8]

**Willem Adriaen van der Stel**<sup>459</sup>

1 bondeltje gaeren  
19 knopjes

[9 : 0 : 0]

**Hendrick Cornelissen**<sup>460</sup>

5 tafelborden  
2 tinne piringjes  
2 tinne schootels

[22 : 1 : 12]

**Gerrit Victor**<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> Guilliam Heems / Eems (from Brughes [Flanders])

<sup>456</sup> Heinrich / Hendrik Hüsing (from Hamburg [Germany])

<sup>457</sup> Jan Vlack / Vlok (from Moers)

<sup>458</sup> Hendrick Mulder

<sup>459</sup> Willem Adriaen van der Stel eldest son of Cape Governor **Simon van der Stel**

<sup>460</sup> Hendrick Cornelissen Olivier (from Ouwerkerck)

<sup>461</sup> Gerrit Victor (c. 1645-1714) (from Amsterdam); *c. ante* 1666 arrives ex Ceylon; 16 January 1667: *krankbesoeker Sieur Gerrit Victor* marries Cape **Christina (Stintje) Berkhuijs / van den Bergh / Bos Berck** [not to be confused with **Stijntje de Boerin** 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; as 'lunatic' taken from son who ill-treats father & put into care of **Jan van Helsdingen**; marries Cape 8 August 1688 **Cornelia Jacoba Junius** (from Amersfoort [Utrecht]); (2) **Jacobus Victor** born Negombo Ceylon [Sri Lanka]; baasskutter; dies *ante* 1709 [widow enumerated with 3 sons]; owns *Kronental* at Hout Bay; marries (3<sup>rd</sup>) *de facto* **Candares / Candas van Surat / Patana**; marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) 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 *Goerer* [Goeree], wid/o **Geertruijd Mentinghs** (from Hasselt),



1 kated  
1 tafel kelder en hamer  
1 partij out geweer  
1 rock en sitse sameer  
1/2 st:n celaes  
2 sitse cabaijen  
2 paerden

[90 : 1 : 4]

**Jan Jansen van Oldenburgh<sup>462</sup>**

1 bet  
3 oude kelders  
een pot en  
rommelerij

[21 : 15 : 0]

**Pieter van de [sic] Westhuijsen<sup>463</sup>**

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

[27 : 7 : 8]

**Jan Holsmit<sup>464</sup>**

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

[21 : 3 : 12]

**Treijntje Teunis:<sup>465</sup>**

2 schulp schootels  
een koeke pannetjes  
1 lepel en piercingje

[4 : 10 : 0]

**Catreijn tot Jan Valsniet [sic – Holsmit?]<sup>466</sup>**

2 porceleijne schootels  
eenige piringjes

[6 : 11 : 4]

**Ocker Cornelissen<sup>467</sup>**

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

[60 : 0 : 0]

**Hendrick Lange**

2 tinne schootels  
2 d:o d:o

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formerly widow of **Bosch, Wiederhold & Romeelo** [G. Con de Wet, 'Die Stamvader van die De Wets in Suid-Africa', *Familia*, vol. XVI (1979), no. 4, pp. 79-83].

<sup>462</sup> **Jan Jansen van Eeden / van Oldenburgh** (from Duchy of Oldenborg).

<sup>463</sup> **Pieter Jansz: van de(r) Westhuizen alias Swarte Piet** (from Bruges [Flanders]); married to **Maria Hendriks: Winkelhausen** aka **Maria de Lieven** (from Burgsteinfurt [Westphalia])

<sup>464</sup> **Jan Holsmit** (from Sittard [Limburg]); second husband to **Hester Weijers: Klim** (from Lier), widow of **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert** (from Utrecht).

<sup>465</sup> **Catharina (Trijn / Tr(e)intje) Theunissen / Theunis: Gansevanger, Widow Verweij** (from *Harmelen in't sticht van Utrecht*] wife to **Gijsbert Dircksen Verweij** (from *Oijeck* [Cuijk (near Mill) in Gelderland?])

<sup>466</sup> **Catharina (Catrijn) Opklim van de Caep** [later **Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale**] alias **Catreijn tot Jan Valsniet [sic – Holsmit?]**

<sup>467</sup> **Ockert Corneliszoon Olivier** (from Ouwerkerk).



[30 : 7 : 8]

**Abram Hertoog<sup>468</sup>**

3 tinne schotels  
een partij oude kleeren  
[27 : 0 : 0]

**Juff:[ouw] Breugel<sup>469</sup>**

12 piercingjes  
11 d:o  
1 stel strijcken  
1 bractje schort  
[24 : 15 : 0]

**Jan Reijnaert**

2 tee potjes  
[1 : 10 : 0]

**Juff:r[ouw] Mostaert<sup>470</sup>**

2 tee potjes  
1 kist  
[45 : 0 : 0]

**Van Dieders [Dieters] Marreij<sup>471</sup>**

2 tee potjes  
[2 : 12 : 8]

**Andries Houwer<sup>472</sup>**

4 vaaten  
wat rommerling  
2 hemt rocken en  
een stuck doek  
[17 : 2 : 8]

**Arnoldus Willemse van Wesel<sup>473</sup>**

<sup>468</sup> Abraham [de] Hartog (from Frankfurt)

<sup>469</sup> Elsje / Elsie van Zuerwaerden van Cabo

<sup>470</sup> 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 (23 August 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 **Sabba [Lijsbeth van Angola]** baptises (6 September 1665) son **Dirik [Dirck van de Caep]**; husband witnesses (with **Catharina Croons**) baptism (11 June 1666) of **Meijndert** (son of **Grietje Franssen Meeckhof**); **Wouter Mostaert** witnesses (with **Maiken Taeleman [Maike Hendriks: van den Bergh** (from Diest [Brabant])] baptism (12 September 1666) of **Nicolaes** (son of **Catharina Hostinghs**); **Hester Weijer** testifies (27 December 1672) that **knecht Guiliam Heems / Eems** (from Brugher) 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 liefallige Jonge Juffrouw, GRISSELLA MOSTAART, Als haar Geboorte-dagh verscheen 19. September, Anno 1673. Aan Cabo de Boa Esperance* [VROLYKE UUREN, Bestaande uit verscheide soorten VAN MENGEN-DUFSEN, DOOR P. DE NEYN, Rechtsgeleerde. Voor desen Fiscaal, in dienst der E.E. OOSTINDISCHE 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).

<sup>471</sup> Maria (Marittie) Pieters: van de Caep [?] alias Van Dieders / Dieters [van Diedens?] Marreij

<sup>472</sup> Provenance unknown. Appears to repatriate.



1 satijn pack kleeren  
2 p:[aere]n hantschoenen  
drag[h] bant  
en [een] naaij [naij] kussen  
[13 : 10 : 0]

**Willem ten Damme**<sup>474</sup> [*M:[onseigneu]r Willem*]  
een doosje met poppegoet  
[0 : 18 : 12]

**Gerrit Jansen van Weynegom**<sup>475</sup>  
een partij rommelingh [romlerij]  
[6 : 0 : 0]

**Joris Cristiaense**  
6 p:aere]n schildereijtjes  
een spigeltje  
1 rock [van silver stof]  
[21 : 0 : 0]

**Hendrick Sneewint**<sup>476</sup>  
1 lantaaren [lanteeren]  
en st:[ucke]n sout vlegs  
[5 : 5 : 0]

**Lambert Arentse**<sup>477</sup>  
1 root armosijn pack  
[13 : 2 : 8]

**Johannes Overnij**<sup>478</sup>  
1 doosje met en borsteltje [borstel]  
1 doosje met lapjes  
en quickjes  
[3 : 7 : 8]

**Oelof Berg**<sup>479</sup>  
1 p:[are]n borduurde muijlen  
en 2 sluijers  
2 goude oorringetjes [*Juffr:ouw*] **Berg**<sup>480</sup>  
1 boratte zamaer  
[37 : 0 : 0]

**P.[hilip] Theodoor Welker** [*Mo:[nseigneu]r Welker*] <sup>481</sup>  
1 swart lakens kleet  
[18 ; 15 : 0]

**Hendrick Jacobse**<sup>482</sup>

<sup>473</sup> **Arnoldus Willemesz: Basson alias Jagt** (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]); marries **Maaij Anselva van Bengale** adopting her 3 Cape-born voorkinderen: **Anna de Coningh, Jacobus van As, Johannes (Jantje) van As** (executed 1688).

<sup>474</sup> **Willem ten Damme** (from Oldenzeel); surgeon

<sup>475</sup> **Gerrit Jansz: de Boer van Weynegom / Wijnegom** (from Brabant).

<sup>476</sup> **Hendrik Sneewint [Heinrich S(ch)neewind]** (from Baal [near Ekerlenz, County of Moers]).

<sup>477</sup> **Lambert Adriaansz: / Arentsz: van Weij** (from Weij [Gelderland])

<sup>478</sup> Ds. **Johannes Overnij** (from Friesland)

<sup>479</sup> **Olaf / O(e)lof/f Bergh (c. 1643-1724)** (from Gothenburg [Sweden] captain [CA: CJ2650, 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 **O. Bergh**, we have increased because of his good character, and that his contract had expired" ['Leibbrandt': *Letters Received*, p. 275] [Letter from *Heeren XVII*, no. 29, p. 163]; [SADB, vol. I, p. 69]; marries Cape-born metizza **Anna de Coningh**.

<sup>480</sup> **Anna de Coninck / Coning(h)** Cape-born metizza voordogter of **Maaij Anselva van Bengale**.

<sup>481</sup> **Philip Theodo(o)r Welker** garrison bookkeeper; leaves Cape for Batavia (4 July 1683) on *Hogergeist* but dies en route [*Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. III, p. 69, n. 28].

<sup>482</sup> **Hendrik Jacobse: van West(er)kerke** [*Tielemans Hendrik* = 'Thielman's Hendrik' (from Westerkerke?)]; son of **Maijke(n) Hendriks: van den Berg** (from Diest [Brabant]) & **Jacob**; step-son of **Thielman Hendricksz:** (from Utrecht).



1 broek wambas en kousch  
[3 : 0 : 0]

**Mostaerts Marrij**<sup>483</sup>

een wit onderkleet  
[2 : 5 : 0]

**Cornelis Stevense**<sup>484</sup>

een cabaij  
[13 : 13 : 12]

**Jacob Aertse Brouwer**<sup>485</sup>

een roggelijf [reiijgleijf]  
[7 : 6 : 4]

**Borghart [Borger] Brandt**<sup>486</sup>

een allesie [allesio] samaer [zamer]  
[7 : 6 : 4]

**Van Dieders [Dieters] Sara**<sup>487</sup>

een rode rock  
[8 : 0 : 0]

**Gerrebrant Frits**

een werck kussen  
een leijntje en  
wat koperdraat

[6 : 7 : 8]

**[Jan Cornelissen Bombam]**<sup>488</sup>

[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

<sup>483</sup> Maria Bartels: van de Caep alias **Mostaerts Marrij & Jan Holsmits Marij** halfslag daughter of free-black Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) aka **Sabba van Angola**.

<sup>484</sup> Cornelis Stevensz: Botma (from Wangeningen [Gelderland]).

<sup>485</sup> Jacob Aartsz: / Aertse / Aertsz: / Artzen / Aertzen / Ertzen / Hertz: Brouwer (from Tiel [Gelderland]); marriage is recorded as follows: **Jacob Hertz: Brouwer** van Tiel, jongman met **Hoghe Rijcks van der Veer**, weduwe [DRC/A: G1/1, p. 82]. Agnetha / Aag(t)je / Hoghie Rich / Rijks: / Rix: (de wed:e **Klijne Klaas**) (from ter Veer [near Middelburg, Walcheren, Zealand]); marries (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**; marries (2) Cape (17 March 1675) **Jacob Hendricksz:** (from Leyden) **Jacob Hendricksz: geboortigh van Leyden en Aagtje Rich van Middellburgh**, weduwe van **Claas Jacobsz van Meldorp** [DRC/A: G1/1 p. 79] [massacre victim 1677?]; marries (3) (2 May 1677) **Jacob Hertz: Brouwer** (from Tiel [Gelderland]); she has 2 children: (1) **Susanna Claasen** baptised Cape (19 February 1672); marries (12 November 1684) **Matthias Greef** (from Magdeburg); (2) **Jacob (Hendriksz:)** baptised (29 April 1676).

<sup>486</sup> **Burchard Brand** (from Hamburg [Germany]) burgher at Stellenbosch (1686); burgher Cape Town (1693) dealer in brandy; dies (1726); marries Hamburg **Catharina Hertz**; 3 children: (1) **Andreas Heinrich** (2) **Burchard Heinrich** (3) **Christoffel**.

<sup>487</sup> **Sara / Zara van Solor / Zoloor / Siloon alias Sara Seloor** – former slave of **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam); baptised Cape (3 September 1679); marries (1<sup>st</sup>) [?] *de facto* **Joan Pietersz: Wittebol** (from Amsterdam); marries (2<sup>nd</sup>) Cape 3 March 1686 **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale** (baptised); marries (3<sup>rd</sup>) Cape 14 December 1698 **Harmen Buys van Batavia**; they divorce (1707); children: (1) **Hendrietta Wittebols: / Klaasz**; (2) **Meijndert Klaasz:;** (3) **Gerrit Klaasz:;** (4) **Hendrik Klaasz:** [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]

<sup>488</sup> **Jan Cornelisz: / Cornelissen aka Jan Bombam** (from Oud-Beijerland).



**CA: M 42 (d)**

20 March 1683 :

Ick ondergeschrewe **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[nno]d[omin]ij* 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*)

15

*Verkoping der goederen  
die op den 23 en Xber den 1700  
van **Andries Baijer** en sijn overleden  
huijsvrouw **Catharijn** (:swartin:) bij de  
Weeskamer sijn verkogt , namentlijk*

Rds

<i>het Land met opstal : <b>Christiaan Eijlers</b></i>	<i>213 : 2 &amp; 2/3</i>
<i>3 slaven met</i>	
<i>3 booren : d'Captain Bergh</i>	<i>: 6</i>
<i>2 bijlen : Kornelis Ockers [Olivier]</i>	<i>: 5</i>
<i>5 beijleer : Christoffel Esterhuis</i>	<i>: 2 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>2 dissels : Kornelis Ockers</i>	<i>: 7</i>
<i>3 snijmessen met</i>	
<i>1nijptang : Mons:r Henning Husing</i>	<i>: 9</i>
<i>2 moockers : do do</i>	<i>: 6</i>
<i>5 boorijzers : d'Captain Bergh</i>	<i>: 9 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>9 do met 3 krucken : do do</i>	<i>1: 9 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>2 wiel booren : do do</i>	<i>: 6 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>1 winckelhaack met</i>	
<i>1 passen : do do</i>	<i>: 1</i>
<i>2 sterck beijlens : do do</i>	<i>: 9 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>1 banck schroev : do do</i>	<i>3 : 7</i>
<i>1 hand saagh : Huijbert jr Moer</i>	<i>: 9 &amp; 1/2</i>
<i>1 treck-saagh : Joost Kornelisz</i>	<i>9 : 2</i>
<i>1 mervle paard : Albert Coopman</i>	<i>90 :</i>

*Somma 269 : 3 & 2/3*

*Aldus verkogt Aan Caap de Goede Hoop den  
daage en Jaare als boven*

*Gecommitt:[eerd]je Weesm:[eeste]ren*

*Jan Van Meerland [signed]*

*W:[ille]m Corsenaar [signed]*

*In kennisse Van Mij*

*A:[lbert] Coopmans [signed]*

*Secret:[ari]s*



## APPENDIX 7: DECEASED ESTATE PAPERS – WIDOW HENNING VILJOEN

**CA: MOOC 10/5 (*Vendurolle*), nos. 59 & 59.5**

**P.[etru] J.[esse] SLOTSBOO**

VENDUROLLE van soodangen goederen,  
als door de ondergt:[ijkend]e gecommitt:[eerd]e weesmeesteren  
aan Cabo de Goede Hoop,  
op den 2:[de] Julij 1712  
ten huijse van d' wed:[uw]e **Hendrick van Dijk**,  
aan de meest biedende publiquelijc  
zijn verkogt, naargelaaten  
en met 'er dood ontruijmt door  
**Margaretha Theresia de Savoye**  
Laatst wed:[duw]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**

1 Slaave meijd 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

<b>Barend Artoye</b>	Rds	155:4
<b>Joh:[anne]s van Helsdings</b>	Rds	140:-
Mons:[ieur] <b>Grové</b>	Rds	12:-
<b>J:[ohanne]s van Helsdings</b>	Rds	29:2
“ “ “	Rds	6:1
<b>Jan Abr:[aham] Meyer</b>	Rds	25:1
<b>H:[einric]h Hop</b>	Rds	3:-
<b>Anthonij Lombaar</b>	Rds	1:6
SOMMA	Rds	373:1

Gecommitterde Weestmeesteren

**P.[etru] J.[esse] SLOTSBOO**

**ARTOIJS**

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*

Inventaris, en opgaaf van **Margareta Therisia d'Savoije**, **Wed:[uw]e Henning d'Viljon**, van soodanigeommeslag als hij overleden aan voorsch: wed:[duw]e heeft naargelaten, opgevende naar uijt wijsens hier na volgende.

2 plaatsen als een op Drakenstein, en d'ander an de Perl ijder tot /1000:-- geschat komt	/2000:--
700 Schaapen en Lammeren, door den anderen gerekent a/1:-- ijder comt	700:--
85 stuks Rinder Vee soo Osse. Koeijen. Kalveren en Paarden door den anderen gecalculeert op /9:-- 't p:b comt tesamen	765:--
1 Osse Wage. Ploeg. en Egge te samen	100:--
<b>6 Slaven, 1 oude Slavin. en 1 Slavinne Kint</b>	
ijder door den anderen gestelt op / ij:n comt	150:-- 1200:--
15 p:[ar]en lige Wijn Leggers. Zoo oude. als nieuwe gerekent 't stuk tot /15:-- ijder is	225:--



1 disteeler ketel tot	100.-.
d' .... en Huijsraad tesamen geschat	210.-.
1: ruijn paart op	18.-.
6 p:[are]n leggeren Wijn ijder gerek:t tot /60:-: komt	360.-.
1: " d:o Brandewijn tot	200.-.
	5878.-.

#### 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[dele] Comp:[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:[rij]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]



## MARGO - Wills

CA: CJ 2654

11

[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij [44]

Huijden den 17 Julij 1731, compareerde voor mij **Nicolaes Leij** eerste geswoore Clercq ten Politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naergen:[oemde] getuijgen **Margareta Therisia de Savooije** weduwe wijlen **Henningh Viljon**, mij eerste Clercq en de getuijgen bekent sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar de lichaame dog gaende en staende mitsg[ade]rs: bij vollen verstand en sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deeser is gebleeken, dewelke aan mij overhandige dit tegenwoordig papier met vier zeegels van haar gecachetteert, waar inne sij verclaerde besloten te zijn, haar testament, laeste en uijtterste wille door een anders hand getrouwelijc 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, niettegenstaende daar inne eenige noodige solemniteijten waren vergeeten, dewelke als g'intereert is, houdende, versoekende ten dien eijnde het uijtterste *benefitium* des regters, mitsg[ade]rs: aan mij eerste Clercq om nervens 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 getuijgen van gelooce hier toevertogt, die de originele superscriptie meede behoorlijk hebben onderteekent

't Welk ik getuijge  
[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij  
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clerck

[46]

Huijden den 23 Feb:[rua]rij 1734 compareerde voor mij **Nicolaas Leij** eerst geswoore Clercq ter Politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naergen:[oemde] getuijgen **Margaretha Theresia de Savooije**, wed:[duw]e wijle **Henning Viljon**, sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar den lichaam, dog egter bij volkomen verstand en gebuijk van zinnen, gelijk zulx onder het passeeren desen is gebleeken, te kennen geeven de hoe sij comp:[aran]te bij haar selven te raade was geworden haar besloten testament in nevenstade acte vermeld, ter vernietigen en te breeken, neshalven sij hetselfe in onse presentie heeft gescheurt en verbrand, versoekende, de comp:[aran]te dat zulx mogte werden aangeteekent, 't welk geschied bij desen.

Aldus gedaan en gepasseert aan Cabo voornt in 't bijweesen, van de clercques **Pieter Poulus Tamé** en **Michiel Pentz** als getuijgen.

[signed] MAERGARETA  
de SAUOIJ

Als getuijgen

[signed] P.ieter] P.[oulus] Tamé

[signed] M:[ichie]l Pentz

In kennisse van mij  
[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij  
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq

72

[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij

Huyden den 1:e [eerste] Feb:[r]u[u]arie] 1735 compareerde voor mij **Willem van Kerkhoff** eerste geswoore clericq ten Politique Secretarije alhier an Cabo de Goede Hoope, present de naergen: getuygen, **Margaretha Theresia de Savoije** laast wed:[duw]e wylen **Henning Viljon** zynde gezond van lichaam gaande en staande, mitg[ade]rs: bij volcoomen verstand en gebruyk van sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deeser is gebleeken dewelke verclaarde haar expresse wil en begeerde te zijn, dat bij overleijden van de Comp:[aran]te haar plaats ofte hofsteede genaamt *de Reboks Cloof* geleegen aan de Parel onder het district van Drakensteijn, benevens een slave jonge gen:[aam]t **Cupido van Madagascar**, een slavin **Ragel** meede **van Madagascar** en twaalf trekossen niet sullen mogen werders vergot, maar in



tegendeel aan haar zoon **Henning Viljon** moet blijven en gelaaten werden, voor de somma van twee duisent en vijf hondert Caabse guldens welke penn:[ingen] 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 voorenstaande de Com:[paran]te klaar en duijdelijk voorgelesen zijnde verclaarde zij zulk te weesen haar volcoomen wil en begeerte, willende dat in manier voorsz: sal werden nagecoomen en agtervolgt 't zij als Codicil ofte ander wat benaming het zoude mogen zijn, niettegenstaande eenige gerequireerde solemniteiten 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 clercq **Pieter Poulus Tamé** en **Izack Girman** als getuijen van geloove.

[signed] **Margarita Theresia de Sauoil**

Als getuijen

[signed] **P.[ieter] P.[oulus] Tamé**

[signed] **I:[zac]k Girman**

in kennisse 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:[duw]e **Henning Viljon** op den VI: Julij deses jaare mijne laetste en uijterste wille bij gesloten testamente hebbe inhandigt, aan den Eerste gesw:[ore] Clercq ter politicquen Secretarij alhier S:[ieu]r **N.[icolaes] Leij**, om het selve door hem te werden gecachetteert, gelijk zulk dan door denselven met de gewoone Superscriptie in presentie van getuijen is onderteekent en verzeegeld, Soo is mij na dies verrigting eerst herinnert geworden, dat mijn volkoomene meijninge in het gem: besloote instrument 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 overleiden 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 klederen Zijn inleggende. Blijvende voor het overige alles, 't welk in voorm: besloten testament vervat is volkoomen waarden.

*Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop a[nno]d[omin]ij 28: October 1732*

[signed] **MARGARITA de SAVOIJ**

Niet tegenstaande het bovengem:[elde] besloten testament door mijne is gerooijeert geworden, zoo blijft nogtans mijn wille en begevre dat het geene hier vooren gemelt staat, na mijn overleiden exactelijk moet nagekoomen werden, 't geen tot bewijs hier van nogmaals met mijne gewoone handtekening 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

[Signed] P[etrus] J[esse] SLOTSBOO

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 kinds kinderen als **Elsje Snijman** getrouwtt met den landbouwer **Jacobus Botha**, **Johanna Snijman** gehuwt met den landbouwer **Anthonij Lombaart [sic]**, **Susanna Snijman** getrouwtt met d'oudheemraad **Jacob Coetsier**, en **Elisabeth Snijman** getrouwtt 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 sijn moeder **Catharina Snijman**, daarna de kinderen van den heemraad **Theunis Botha** met naame **Christoffel Botha**, **Margaretha Botha**, getrouwtt 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 erfgenaamen sijn opgegeeven, 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 sijde  
8 trekmutsen  
1 kist  
1 cabinet  
1 bultsak  
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 gemakstoel met een stekbecken

Onder **Anthonij Lombart [sic]** berust

1 wafel ejser '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



f 8400: a 6 pc:to ofte Rds 2800:-

**Pieter du Plasis** [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** getuijt deese obligatie  
door een behoorlike quitantie van wijlen sijn voorn:  
moeder sal verthoonen

[in margin]

de wijl **Henning Viljon** een quitantie de dato 4 X:br [December] 1738 het doen blijken dat newens gen:  
kapitaal van f 800:- door hem voldaan so is neevengem: schult geroieert aan hem sijn obl:[igatie]  
gerestitueert volg:[ens] resol:[utie] avn den 7 April 1742.

**Anna Margaretha van Deventer** wed:[duw]e **Philip Snijman** volg:[ens] alles vooren de dato 10 F[e]:b:r[uarie]  
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 Plasis** [sic] **Charlsz:** volg: als gesegt  
de dato 6 Julij 1736 groot f 1000:- a 6 pc:to 333:16

**Henning Viljon** over sooo veel 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 trekossen

Transporteeren Rds 1500:-

door d'overleedene aan hem bij Codicillaire  
acte van den 1 Febr:[uarie] 1735 vermaakt heeft voor  
f 2500:- om door hem naar haar overlijden in vijf egale paiken  
aan den gemeene boedel voldaan te werden,  
en welke plaats sij bij haar leven aan **Jan Abraham**  
**Abraham Meijer** verkogt hebbende, aan gesegde  
**Viljon** de Cooppenn: heeft ter hand gestelt,  
weshalven [weshalve = wherefore] hem dus  
hiermeede en vollen debiteere  
voor 833:16

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 soovel deselве aan deesen boedel  
pr: rest nog schuldig sijn over brandewijn



en wijn 't seedert 't jaar 1713 Rds 150:- 't  
geen hier slechts pr memorie werd gestelt.

Aan Contant in den boedel gevonden een  
somma van een en seeventig rijxd:s en thien  
stuivvers onder den ondercoopman  
S:[ieu]r **David D'Ailly** 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.[etrus] J.[esse] **Slotsboo**  
[signed] P.[aulus] **Artoij**

Als presente mondige Erfgenaamen

[signed] **Jacobus Boota** [*sic*]  
dese letters sijn  
[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 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)**

**P.[etru] J.[esse] SLOTSBOO**

VENDUROLLE van soodangen goederen,  
als door de ondergt:[ijkend]e gecommitt:[eerd]e weesmeesteren  
aan Cabo de Goede Hoop,  
op den 2:[de] Julij 1712  
ten huijse van d' **wed:[uw]e Hendrick van Dijk**,  
aan de meest biedende publiquelijc  
zijn verkogt, naargelaaten  
en met 'er dood ontruijmt door  
**Margaretha Theresia de Savoye**  
Laatst wed:[duw]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**

1 Slaave meijd 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** Rds 155:4

**Joh:[anne]s van Helsdings** Rds 140:-  
Mons:[ieur] **Grové** Rds 12:-

**J:[ohanne]s van Helsdings** Rds 29:2

“ “ “ Rds 6:1

**Jan Abr:[aham] Meyer** Rds 25:1

**H:[einric]h Hop** Rds 3:-

**Anthonij Lombaar** Rds 1:6

**SOMMA** Rds 373:1

Gecommitterde Weestmeesteren

**P.[etru] J.[esse] SLOTSBOO**

**ARTOIJS**

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*

Inventaris, en opgaaf van **Margareta Therisia d'Savoije**, Wed:[uw]e **Henning d'Viljon**, van soodanigeommeslag als hij overleden aan voorsch: wed:[duw]e heeft naargelaten, opgevende naar uijt wijsens hier na volgende.

2 plaatsen als een op Drakenstein, /2000.-.

en d'ander an de Perl ijder tot /1000:-- geschat komt

700 Schaapen en Lammeren, door den anderen

gereekent a/1:-- ijder comt

700.--

85 stuks Rinder Vee soo Osse. Koeijen. Kalveren

en Paarden door den anderen gecalculeert

op /9:-- 't p:b comt tesamen 765.--

1 Osse Wage. Ploeg. en Egge te samen

100.--

**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

225.--

gerekent 't stuk tot /15:-- ijder is



1 disteeler ketel tot	100.-.
d' .... en Huijsraad tesamen geschat	210.-.
1: ruijn paart op	18.-.
6 p:[are]n leggeren Wijn ijder gerek:t tot /60:-: kommt	360.-.
1: " d:o Brandewijn tot	200.-.
	5878.-.

#### 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[dele] Comp:[agni]e bij het Vrijboek

" . 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]



## MARGO'S WILLS & CODICILS

CA: CJ 2654

11

[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij [44]

Huijden den 17 Julij 1731, compareerde voor mij **Nicolaes Leij** eerste geswoore Clercq ten Politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naergen:[oemde] getuijgen **Margareta Therisia de Savooije** weduwe wijlen **Henningh Viljon**, mij eerste Clercq en de getuijgen bekent sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar de lichaame dog gaende en staende mitsg[ade]rs: bij vollen verstand en sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deeser is gebleeken, dewelke aan mij overhandige dit tegenwoordig papier met vier zeevels van haar gecachetteert, waar inne sij verclaerde besloten 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, niettegenstaende daar inne eenige noodige solemniteijten waren vergeeten, dewelke als g'intereert is, houdende, versoekende ten dien eijnde het uijtterste benefitium des regters, mitsg[ade]rs: aan mij eerste Clercq om nervens voors zeevels 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 getuijgen van gelooove hier toevertogt, die de originele superscriptie meede behoorlijk hebben onderteekent

't Welk ik getuijge  
[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij  
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clerck

[46]

Huijden den 23 Feb:[rua]rij 1734 compareerde voor mij **Nicolaas Leij** eerst geswoore Clercq ter Politique Secretarije alhier aan Cabo de Goede Hoop, present de naergen:[oemde] getuijgen **Margaretha Theresia de Savooije**, wed:[duw]e wijle **Henning Viljon**, sijnde eenigsints siekelijk naar den lichaam, dog egter bij volkommen verstand en gebuijk van zinnen, gelijk zulx onder het passeeren desen is gebleeken, te kennen gheven de hoe sij comp:[aran]te bij haar selven te raade was geworden haar besloten testament in nevenstade acte vermeldt, ter vernietigen en te breeken, neshalven sij hetselve in onse presentie heeft gescheurt en verbrand, versoekende, de comp:[aran]te dat zulx mogte werden aangeteekent, 't welk geschied bij desen.

Aldus gedaan en gepasseert aan Cabo voornt in 't bijweesen, van de clercques **Pieter Poulus Tamé** en **Michiel Pentz** als getuijgen.

[signed] MAERGARETA  
de SAUOIJ

Als getuijgen

[signed] P.ieter] P.[ouulus] Tamé

[signed] M:[ichie]l Pentz

In kennisse van mij  
[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij  
E:[dele] G:[eswoore] Clercq

72

[signed] N:[icolaes] Leij

Huyden den 1:e [eerste] Feb:[r]u[arie] 1735 compareerde voor mij **Willem van Kerkhoff** eerste geswoore clercq ten Politique Secretarije alhier an Cabo de Goede Hooke, present de naergen: getuygen, **Margaretha Theresia de Savoije** laast wed:[duw]e wylen **Henning Viljon** zynde gezond van lichaam gaande en staande, mitg[ade]rs: bij volcoomen verstand en gebruik van sinnen, gelijk onder het passeeren deeser is gebleeken dewelke verclaarde haar expresse wil en begeerte te zijn, dat bij overleijden van de Comp:[aran]te haar plaats ofte hofsteede genaamt *de Reboks Cloof* geleegen aan de Parel onder het district van Drakensteijn, benevens een slave jonge gen:[aam]t **Cupido van Madagascar**, een slavin **Ragel** meede **van Madagascar** en twaalf trekossen niet sullen mogen werders vergot, maar in



tegendeel aan haar zoon **Henning Viljon** moet blijven en gelaaten werden, voor de somma van twee duisent en vijf hondert Caabse guldens welke penn:[ingen] 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 voorenstaande de Com:[paran]te klaar en duijdelijk voorgelesen zijnde verclaarde zij zulk te weesen haar volcoomen wil en begeerte, willende dat in manier voorsz: sal werden nagecoomen en agtervolgt 't zij als Codicil ofte ander wat benaming het zoude mogen zijn, niettegenstaande eenige gerequireerde solemniteiten 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 clercq **Pieter Poulus Tamé** en **Izack Girman** als getuijen van geloove.

[signed] **Margarita Teresia de Sauoj**

Als getuijen

[signed] **P.[ieter] P.[oulus] Tamé**

[signed] **I:[zac]k Girman**

in kennisse 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:[duw]e **Henning Viljon** op den VI: Julij deses jaare mijne laetste en uijterste wille bij gesloten testamente hebbe inhandigt, aan den Eerste gesw:[ore] Clercq ter politicquen Secretarij alhier S:[ieu]r **N.[icolaes] Leij**, om het selve door hem te werden gecachetteert, gelijk zulk dan door denselven met de gewoone Superscriptie in presentie van getuijen is onderteekent en verzeegeld, Soo 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 overleiden uijt mijne naargelaatene goederen, tot een geschenk werde gegeven aan mijn dogter **Elisabeth Snijman**, huijsvrouw 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 voorsz: Linnen en klederen Zijn inleggende. Blijvende voor het overige alles, 't welk in voorm:[elde] beslooten testament vervat is volkoomen waarden.

*Actum Cabo de Goede Hoop a[nno]d[omin]ij 28: October 1732*

[signed] **MARGARITA de SAVOIJ**

Niet tegenstaande het bovengem: beslooten testament door mijne is gerooijeert geworden, zoo blijft nogtans mijn wille en begevre dat het geene hier vooren gemelt staat, na mijn overleiden exactelijk moet nagekoomen werden, 't geen tot bewijs hier van nogmaals met mijne gewoone handtekening 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

[Signed] P[etrus] J[esse] SLOTSBOO

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 kinds kinderen als **Elsje Snijman** getrouwtt met den landbouwer **Jacobus Botha**, **Johanna Snijman** gehuwt met den landbouwer **Anthonij Lombaart [sic]**, **Susanna Snijman** getrouwtt met d'oudheemraad **Jacob Coetsier**, en **Elisabeth Snijman** getrouwtt 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 sijn moeder **Catharina Snijman**, daarna de kinderen van den heemraad **Theunis Botha** met naame **Christoffel Botha**, **Margaretha Botha**, getrouwtt 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 erfgenaamen sijn opgegeeven, 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 sijde  
8 trekmutsen  
1 kist  
1 cabinet  
1 bultsak  
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 gemakstoel met een stekbecken

Onder **Anthonij Lombart [sic]** berust

1 wafel ejser '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



f 8400: a 6 pc:to ofte Rds 2800:-

**Pieter du Plasis** [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** getuijt deese obligatie  
door een behoorlike quitantie van wijlen sijn voorn:[oemde]  
moeder sal verthoonen

[in margin]

de wijl **Henning Viljon** een quitantie de dato 4 X:br [December] 1738 het doen blijken dat newens gen:  
kapitaal van f 800:- door hem voldaan so is neevengem: schult geroeiert aan hem sijn obl:[igatie]  
gerestitueert volg:[ens] resol:[utie] avn den 7 April 1742.

**Anna Margaretha van Deventer** wed:[duw]e **Philip**  
Snijman volg:[ens] alles vooren de dato 10 F[e]b:r[uarie]  
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 Plasis** [sic] **Charlsz:** volg: als gesegt  
de dato 6 Julij 1736 groot f 1000:- a 6 pc:to 333:16

**Henning Viljon** over sooo veel 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 trekossen

Transporteeren Rds 1500:-

door d'overleedene aan hem bij Codicillaire  
acte van den 1 Febr:[uarie] 1735 vermaakt heeft voor  
f 2500:- om door hem naar haar overlijden in vijf egale paiken  
aan den gemeene boedel voldaan te werden,  
en welke plaats sij bij haar leven aan **Jan Abraham**  
**Abraham Meijer** verkogt hebbende, aan gesegde  
**Viljon** de Cooppenn: heeft ter hand gestelt,  
weshalven [weshalve = wherefore] hem dus  
hiermeede en vollen debiteere  
voor 833:16

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 seedert 't jaar 1713 Rds 150:- 't



geen hier slechts pr memorie werd gestelt.

Aan Contant in den boedel gevonden een somma van een en seeventig rijxd:s en thien stuijvers onder den ondercoopman  
S:[ieu]r **David D'Ailly** 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.[etru]s J.[esse] Slotsboo**  
[signed] **P.[aulus] Artoijs**

Als presente mondige Erfgenaamen

[signed] **Jacobus Boota [sic]**  
dese letters sijn  
[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 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 voldaan te zijn den 4  
desember 1738

[signed] **Maergarita de Savoij**

## APPENDIX 8: COURT CASE: MARGO'S SLAVE ADOLPH VAN MADAGASCAR – ARSON

CA: 324, no. 6 (1720)

Eisch en Conclusie, gedaen  
maken & aen d' wel [el]e Gestr:[engen]  
Heer **Maurits Pasques de**



**Chavonnes**, Extraordinaris Raad  
van India Gouverneur van Cabo  
de Goede Hoop &a. &a. mitsgaeders  
d'E[dele] Aghtbaeren Justicieelen  
Raad, oververgaen door den  
Landdrost **Jacob Voet**  
*ratione officii* Eijss:[che]r –  
*contra*  
**Adolf van Madegascar**  
Leijfeijgen van **Margareta de**  
**Savoije** wed.[duwe] **Henning Viljon**  
ged.[aagde] Over gepleegde brandstigting

Wel Edele Gestrengen Heer & E[dele] E[dele] Aghtb:[aren] Heeren

Omme het foelijck gepensetreede door den ged:[aeghde] uivel Ed[e]le: gestr:[tremde] & E[dele]E[dele]  
Aghtb:[ar]e soo kort doenlijck zij in ordre voor te draegen, segt en Eijss:[che]r in sijn voorsz: qualiteit,

Dat de ged:[aeghd]e nu Jongst near de 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 gebruijkende een Plujsie van doek t'welck door hem ged:[aagd]e aen 't vuur, dat als daen aen de  
daer omstreeks zijnde Rivier, soude geweest zijn, 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 & haastigheijd geslagen heeft.

Werdende onderwijlen te dien teijd (als wanneer zijn Lijffvrouw verslapen lag & haer soon **Philip** &  
dogter **Stijntie**, nevens den weeskint **Catharina Maria** gen[aem]t: Caabwaarts, & **David Dobbelman**  
aldaer woonagtig, op zijn meestresses Plaats aen de Paarl, waeren) door haer dogter **Susanna**,  
mitsg:[ader]s de Slaven **Moses, Sambo, Paul, & Cupido**, allen vluijt tot blussinge de brand aengewent.

En waer meede bij na den eijnde zijnde, den ged:[aeg]e / soo voorgeeft / *quasi* tot adsistentie meede twee  
Emmers water derwaarts gebragt heeft;

Daer hij ged:e ongetwijffelt (indien daer inne door zijn inorm voorneemen & waer toe expres deesen teijd,  
bij d'absentie van opgemelde personen 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 sulx aen haer soon des andrensdaags, wanneer met sijn  
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, mogelijck niet wel besorgt, & aen d'andre kant van zijn godeeloos delict in gemoede  
overtuijt zijnde, sig los gevrongen vervlucht begeven, & zijn kurs naer de *Clip Rivier* op de post van **Jan**  
**Harmans Potgieter** genomen heeft.

Alwaar des Nagts gebonden, & overdag los zijnde veerthien daegen sig onthouden heeft.



Nau verloop van den: des avonds kort nae 't Eeten & eet hij gebonden, van daer weder near Drakesteijn gekeert, & aldaer op de post van **Jaque Mallang [Jacques Malan]** in de Franse Hoek gekomen zijnde, door desselfs soon Pieter g'apprehendeert & naer zijn Meestresses Post gebragt is.

Als wanner aldaer ten eersten vrijmoedig heft beleeden de brandstigter te wesen, met voorgeeven, daer toe door den duijvel verleijt te zijn, sonder als doen andre reedens te geven.

Waerop hij ged:e aan de Eijss:[che]r overgelegen zijnde, rondborsig heft geconfesseert din gruwel daad om de meijds wil begaan te hebben NB om dat zij bij een ander lief.

Om welk frivil Concept (soo t' al waer was) hij ged:[aagd]e die gantse plaats & mogelijk de geheele ruine zynes Meestres bloot gestel heeft.

Al 't gene den Eijss:[che]r van des ged:s delict hier vooren genaarteert heeft.

Soewel Ed:[del]e gestr:[engen] & E.[dele]E.[dele] Aghtb: sonneklaer uijt desselfs gerecoleerde Confessie, hier nevens overgelegd, komen te Consteeren.

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 Recht* 4de B:[oe]k 38ste deel 3.10 [?]

Alsmeede Damhouden in zijn *Practijk Crimineel* Cap 103 fo:[lio] 168

Die onder andre tot den Viere uijtstrekken

Concludeert den Eijss:[che]rs qq [?] dat den ged:e bij sententie van u wel Ed:[el]e gestr:[emde] & E[dele]E[dele] aghtb:[aren] sal worden gecondemneert, omme ten ordinaire Justitie plaats gebragt te worden & aldaer den Scherpregter overgeleverd zijnde, aen een Paal gebonden, in zijn aengezigt met Vlammend vuur geblakert, & daer nae gewurgt te worden, vervolgens t' doode Lichaem Langd Heere Straat, vandaer nae het buijten geregt gesleept. & aldaer op een Rad met een pot boven 't Hoofd gestalt te worden, tot dat door de Lugt & gevogelte sal zijn verteert, cum expensis, ofte tot soodanige andre Strafte als U wel Ed:[del]e Gestr:[engen] & E[dele] E[dele] aghtb:[aren] near Regten & opregte Justitie te vinden sullen te behooren.

[signed] **J. Voet**

*Exhibitum in Judicii*  
18 Julie 1720

**CA: 324, no. 7 (1720)**

7

Vraagpointen om daer op ter requisitie van den Landdrost **Jacob Voet** gehoort en g'examineert te worden den Slaav **Adolf van Madegascar** toebehoorende **Margareta de Savoije**, laast wed:[duw]e van **Henning Viljon**

Compareerde voor de ondergeteekende gecomm:e leaden uijt den E.[dele] Agtb:[ar]en Raad van Justitie deeses Goevernem:[en]ts den Slaaf **Adolf** hier nevens genoemt, dewelke op de onderstaande vragen sodanig heft geantwoord als zijde van een ieder staat angeteekent.

Art. 1

Des gev:[angen]e Naem, geboorteplaets & ouderdom.

antw:[oortend]e **Adolf van Madagascars** oud naar gassing inde veertig Jaaren.

2

Wiens leijfeijgen hij gev:[angen]e is.

antw:[oortend]e **Margarita de Savoije** wed:[uw]e van **Henning Villon** 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 omrent agt urenen, dat 'er brand aan de Rivier daer omstreeks weesende hij daarna toe is gegaen, een plujsje van doek gemaakt, 't selve ind brand gestookken vervolgens naar een pijp Tobak daar aan opgestoken te hebben, onder het dak also brandend heeft gestookken, 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 t'onder't dak gestook had, en gaan legen, vervolgens wanneer hij de Vlam vernomen heeft opgestaan is, brant brant geroepen, voorts naar de Combuijs gegaan de slaven daar ten huijse **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 gebragt, seggende verder dat te dien tijt zijn lijfvrouw en verdren famillie aan de Caab waaren, en dat **Albert Doppelman**, daar ten huijse woonagtig, als toe op zijn messtresses 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 **Stijntje** en zoon **Philip**, met het weeskind **Catharina Maria** gen:[aem]t, naar de Caab zijn geweest, en daags naar de brand te zamen weder thuys komen en zijn meesteresse aan haar gen:[vangen]e zoon heft verhaalt dat den gev:[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 cours genomen heeft.

antw:[oordend]e naar e plaats van **Harmen Smits Jan** aan de *Clip Rivier*

12 ofte 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 snags gebonden geweest, en heb over dag los gegaan.

14

Hoedanig losgeraak en is & waarna toe zijn cours alsdoen genoomen heeft

Antw:[oortend]e dat hij na verloop van twee weeken aldaar geweest te zijn des avonts kort na t'eten, en eers [?] hij gebonden was, de vlugt van daar en zijn cours naar Drakensteijn genomen heeft.

15

waer meede hij gev:[angen]e sig op 't Pad g'erneeren heeft.

antw:[oortend]e Ik heb in't heen en wederkeeren, niet anders gegeeten als palmiet.

16

wie hem gev:[angene]e bij zijn Messteresse 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.

17



ofte hij gev:[evangen]e alsdoen aan haere dogter, **Susanna Snijmans** & een een oud man **David Dobbelman** bij zijn, eestres woonagtig, niet bekent heeft, voorn:[oemde] brand moetwillens te hebben gepleegen

antw:[oortend]e Ik heb gezagt, ik heb het gedaan, de duivel heeft mij verlijt.

18

om welke reedenen hij gev:[angen]e soodanige gruweldaad gebaen heeft.

antw:[oortend]e om de mijts wille omdat zij bij en ander lief.

19

ofte hem gev:[angen]e niet bewust is dat sulx ten swaarstedient gestraft te warden.

antw:[oortend]e hij weet het wel en t' is al geschied.

20

hoedanig hij gev:[angen]e in handen van de Eijss:[che]r geraackt is.

antw:[oortend]e voorn:[oemd]e **Pieter Mallans** zoon heeft mij daar gebragt.

Aldus gevraagt en inde Nederduijste 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** gestelt

Als Gecomm:[iteerden]s

**J:[a]n Aldersz**

Mij Praesent  
[signed] **D. Thibault**  
Secret[ari]s

#### Recollement

Compareerd voor de ondergeteekende Gecommiteerde leaden, uijt den E. Agtb:[a]re Raad van Justitie desses Gouvernements, den Slaaf **Adolf van Madagascar** hier voorsz gen:[oemd]e dewelke gedaane vragen, niet de door hem daar op gegewene antwoorden vanteoorde tot woorde klaar en duijdelik voorgeleesen zijnde verklaar de daarbij volkommen 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 an Madagascar** gestelt

Als Gecomm:[eerten]s

[signed] **W.[illem] Taack**

[signed] **V. Kleinveld**

Mij Praesent  
[signed] **D. Thibault**  
Secret:[ari]s

**CA: CJ 784, no. 19**

Alzoo **Adolph van Madagascar** oud 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] Agtb:[ar]e Raad van Justitie dezes Gouvernements genoegzaam gebleeken is, hoe hij gev:[angen]e na de 9e gepasserde perstijd, des avonds omtrent 8 uuren, ziende dat omtrent zijne mesteresses plaats, gelegen aan Drakenstijn aan de Dwarsrivier brand was. Zig derwaartsheeft begeeven, aldaar een pluisje ontstekende, en na dat hij aan 't zelve Een pijp tobacq hadde opgestooken, zigh weederom naar gez:[eijd]e zijns mesteresses plaats heeft vervolgt, dat brandend pluisje op Een hoek en int dak van een aldaar staande hok gestooken hebbende, begeeft hij ged:[aage]e zigh daar binnen, alwaar hij naar dies verrigting ook ter needer legt tot dat hij de vlam, bij 't gen:e branded pluisje veroorzaakt, gewaar werd, als wanner hij uijt het hok loopende heeft geroepen *brand brand*; dat hij zig daarop direct naar de Combuijs heeft begeeven, en aldaar de meid **Eva gen[aem]:** uijt een quad of haastigheijd geslagen;



dat hij terwyl zijns Lijfvrouws dogter gent: **Susanna**, neevens de Slaaven **Moses**, **Sambo**, **Paul** en **Cupido** all vlijt tot blussing der brand aanwenden, en naar dat zulk ten meerendeele al verrigt was, quasi tot adsistentie meede 2 Emmers water derwaarts heeft gedragen.

dat hij gev:e op deeze en andere inditien door gem:[eld]e zijn Lijfvrouwe voor den Autheur dies brand gesuspecteert zijnde, zij zulk aan haar zoon **Philip** (die na dato van de Caab was gereverteert heeft te kennen gegeeven, die hem ged:[aaged]e om door de verseekering van zijn persoon, agter de waarhijd te komen, op Een Ladder heeft gebonden van waar hij gev:e, mogelijk niet wel bezorgt, en van de Straffe over deea goddelloos delict in gemode verseekert, zig heft geweten Los te wringen, neemende daarop de Vlugt naar de Post van **Jan Harmensz: Potgieter** geleegen aan de *Klip Rivier*.

Alwaar gekomen zijnde werd hij gev:[angen]e door gez:[eijd]e **Potgieter** den tijd van 14 dagen (s'daags los en des nagts gebonden, gehouden, alswanneer hij gev:e in den avondstond voor dat naar gewoonte gebonden was, zig weederom van daar ter vlugt heeft begeeven, naar de plaats van den burger **Jacob Malang** geleegen inde France Hoek, alwaar door de zoon van deezen **Malangh** gen[aem]t: **Pieter** is geaprehendeert, en aan zijn Meesteres overhandigt, aan wien hij gev:[angen]e volmondig confesseerde, de stigter van dien Brand te zijn geweest, onder voorgeeven, daartoe door den Duijvel verleidt te weezen; gelijk hij gev:[angen]e vervolgens in handen van den Landdrost en weijders der Justitie overgeleeverd zijnde, die bekentenis heeft vernieuwt, met bivougingh dat de meergen:[oemd]e meijd **Eva** daarvan d'oorzaak was, dewijl zij nu bij Een ander Lief. –

Alle 't welke zijnde Zaaken van zeer quaade en Dangereuse gevlogen, die men in Een Land daar men de Justitie handhaft, geenzins kan dulden, maar tot Spiegel en afschrik van dierge;ijke booswigten op 't severest moet weeren en Punieeren.

Zoo ist dat den E.[dele] Agtb:[ar]e Raad van Justitie dezzes Gouvernem:ts ten dage dienende, gezien en geresumert hebbende den Schriftelijken Crimnele Eijsch en Conclusie bij denk E. Landd:[ros]t **Jacob Voet** *Ex officio* overgelegt, neevens de Libre Confessie van den geve:[angen]e *in Judicio* behoorlijk Gerecoleert, en 't gene haar E.[dele]E:[del]e van der deede moveeren doende Regt in den naam ende van weegen de Hoogmogende heeren, Staaten Generaal der Vrije Vereenigde Nederlanden den gev:[ange]e **Adolph van Madagascar** hebben gecondemneert, gelijk hem Condemneeren bij deezen omme gebragt te warden ter plaatse daar men alhier gewoon is Criminele Sententit t'Executeeren, en aldaar den Scherpregter overgeleeverd zinde, Eerst aan dden paal gebonden, en vervolgens gewortg onder 't selven geblaakert te warden datter de dood naarvolgt, voorts 't doode Lighaam door S'Heeren wegen en Straaten naar 't bujtengeregt gesleept en aldaar op Een Raad gesteld zijnde, zoo lange te blijven, tot dat door de Lugt en vogelen des heemels zal zijn verteerd, met Costen en mise van Justitie.

Aldus gedaan en Gesententieert in't Casteel de Goede Hoop den 18 *Julii* 1720

[signed] **M [aurits] de Chavonnes**  
[signed] **K.J. Slotboo**

gepronuncieert en g'Executeert  
den 20 daar aanvoldende

[signed] **Jan de la Fontaine**  
[signed] **W.Jilleml Kervel**  
[signed] **J:[a]n Aldersz**  
[signed] **C.[ornelis] Valck**  
[signed] **N:[icolaes] Heijning**  
[signed] **W.[illem] Taack**  
[signed] **J. Blanckenberg**  
[signed] **H:[endrik] Donker**  
[signed] **V. Kleinveld**

Mij Praesent  
**D:[ir]k 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 Ansela van Bengale**)  
December 1671: 2<sup>nd</sup> pardon (December 1671)  
first Company *heelslag* slave to be manumitted at Cape of Good Hope  
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: / Evrard** (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 Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**  
baptized Cape 12 September 1670  
dies Cape (November / December 1682)

#### [b1?] 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] [*Resolusies 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; *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, Deel III 1681-1707, p. 28]  
C 680: *Origineel Plakkaatboek*, 1652-1686, pp. 430-433 (printed in *Kaapse Plakaatboek*, deel I, 1652-1707, p. 179); VC 9: *Dagregister*, 1680-1683, pp. 451-453 (Journal, 27 November 1681).  
1682: (*Opgaat*): 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 <b>Andreas / Andries Bayer / Beijer / Beyer(s)</b> (from Saxony) <i>Andries Baeick [Beyer / Bayer] jonkman, eers Wagenmaker van de Ed.[ele] Comp.[agnie] en Catarina [sic] geboren aen de Caep de Boa Esperance.<sup>489</sup></i>
3 February 1683:	<b>Catharina van de Caep</b> re-imbursed from deceased estate of <b>Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale</b>
13 June 1683:	husband re-imbursed from deceased estate of <b>Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale</b>
10 October 1683:	baptize first child <b>Elisabeth</b> – parents: <b>Andries Beijer &amp; Catharina</b> ; witnesses: <b>Anna Hoecksz Schristias [Isaak Schrijver (from Leiden)?] &amp; Joris van Stralen</b>
19 December 1683:	baptize second child <b>Marritie</b> parents mentioned as <b>Andries Beier &amp; Catharina</b> ; witnessed by <b>Douw Gerbrants[z]: [Steyn] &amp; Maria [van der] Wes[t]huizen</b>
2 September 1685:	baptize 3 <sup>rd</sup> child <b>Joannes</b> – parents: <b>Andries Beier</b> and <b>Catharina van de Caap</b> ; witnesses: <b>Joris van Straten [Stralen?] &amp; Catharina Hilbrantsz</b>
1685:	<b>Andreas Bijer</b> [sic] & <b>Catrina van de Caap</b> appear in muster roll for 1685 & 3 children. <sup>490</sup>
9 September 1687:	baptize 4 <sup>th</sup> child <b>Christoffel</b> <i>Den 19 7:ber is een kint gedoop en genaamt Christoffel waeren van vader was Andries Beijer en de moeder Catharina van de Caap de getuijgen Marretie van de Caap.</i>
1688:	free-burgher settling at Bottelary in the Stellenbosch district appearing in muster roll (1688) as <b>Andries Baijer &amp; Catharina van de Caab</b> – but no mention of any children.
1690:	<b>Andries Beyer</b> mentioned in muster roll alone living <i>aan de Caab</i> – no mention of wife & children (only husbands & single women are mentioned in this roll).
26 February 1690:	baptize daughter <b>Margaretha</b> <i>Een kindt waervan vader is Andrijs Beier de moeder Catharina van de Caap als getuijgen stondt Joris van Stralen ened Maria van de Westhuizen is genaemt Margriet</i>
1691:	<b>Andries Beijer</b> 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 <sup>491</sup> : <b>Andries Beijer en Cathrina van de Caab</b> 3 soonen; 3 dogteren; 1 pistolen paren; 600 wijngaard stokken; 6 jaren in 't land beseten; 6 jaren in 't land besaijd; 1 &1/2 tarw gesaijd mudden; 5 tarw gewonne mudden; 1 sijd gewees; 1 snaphaan en carbijn; 100 schaapen; 2 paarden; 4 ossen; 2 vaarsen [sic]
20 July 1692:	baptize 6th child Susanna at Stellenbosch – parents: <b>Andries Beijer &amp; Catrina van de Caap</b> ; witnesses as <b>Jan Magnet &amp; Magdalena Manantot</b>
1693:	<b>Andries Beyer &amp; Catrina van de Caab</b> & 7 children recorded at Stellenbosch – daughter <b>Susanna</b> appears to die in infancy (1693/1694)

<sup>489</sup> 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 Snijman connection, but that the name had erroneously been printed as *Vryman* instead of *Snijman*.

<sup>490</sup> CA, VC 39, II (*Generale role der getrouwde Comp:s dienaren*).

<sup>491</sup> CA: J 153 (OpgAAFrol 1692 Stellenbosch District), 25; CA: MK Jeffreys Collection: A 1657, vol. 24.



- 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** .... [left open] & 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*)

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*Verkoping der goederen  
die op den 23 en Xber den 1700  
van **Andries Baijer** en sijn overleden  
huijsvrouw **Catharijn** (:swartin:) bij de  
Weeskamer sijn verkogt, namentlijk*

		Rds
het Land met postal	: <b>Christiaan Eijlers</b>	213 : 2 & 2/3
3 slaven met		
3 booren	: d'Captain Bergh	: 6
2 bijlen	: Kornelis Ockers	: 5
5 beijleer	: Christoffel Esterhuijs	: 2 & 1/2
2 dissels	: Kornelis Ockers	: 7
3 snijmessen met		
1nijptang	: Mons:r Henning Husing	: 9
2 moockers	: do do	: 6
5 boorijzers	: 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]je Weesm:[eeste]ren		
<b>Jan Van Meerland</b> [signed]		
<b>W:[ille]m Corsseenaar</b> [signed]	In kennisse Van Mij	
<b>A:[lbert] Coopmans</b> [signed]		
Secret:s		

- 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*.





Stellenbosch University hdl:10019.2/903

### **Weltevreden [Hartenberg], Bottelary, Stellenbosch**

16 December 1700:

farm *Weltevreden* (originally promised 1687 & formally granted to **Hans Rutgerstroost** (29 February 1692) [OSF 1, 27] transferred & registered in name of **Andries Beyer** (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 / Erthuijs [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** baptised Stellenboch 9 March 1710
- c3      **Maria (Marritie) Beyer** baptized **Marritie** Cape 19 December 1683 (witnesses: **Douwe Gerbrants [Steyn]** & **Maria [van der] Wes[t]huisen**)  
          marries (1)  
**Johann (Jan) Harmensz: Harting** (from Paderborn); 8 children





marries (2) c. 1717

**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 Morssele, jongman met Willemina Willemesz: 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 Morsseen** (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 Delfthaven)

**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 Emael / Eenmaal** (from Simpelveld, Limburg))

**d6 Barbara Harting**

marries

**Jacob Nissen**

**d7 Johannes Harting** baptised 26 June 1712

**d8 Pieter Harting** baptised ?, 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 14 September]
- c6** **Margaretha Beyer** baptised *Cape* 26 February 1690 (witnesses: **Joris van Stralen & Maria van de Westhuijsin**);  
 marries (1) 16 August 1711  
**Leendert Oelofse (son of Anders / Andries Olofssen / Oelofse / Olofsz:** aka **Anders de Noorman** (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway]) & **Susanna [Jans: / Leenderts: / van Gijselen] van de Caep**  
 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**)  
 [J van der Bijl, 'Aanvulling 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 ...']
- [b2?] **Maria (Marritie / Mar(r)itje / Martje) [Pieters(e)] van de Caep (c. 1661-1717)** born *Cape* c. 1661; likely biological father: **Pieter Evrard** (from Cruijssaert): 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 Pasquael**) 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**);  
(*Opgaaf*): **Martje Pieters** met haar zoon [later Mrs **Jan Andriesz**:]  
**Joh.[annes] de Vrij**
- 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 [Where is his mother?]
- 14 April 1697: witness (with **Louis van Bengale**) baptism of **Anna Elisabeth** (d/o **Dirck Pretorius & Maria Hans: van de Caep**);
- 8 June 1699: witness (with **Arij Jants**) baptism of **Willemijntje** (d/o **Evert Pietersz. & Susanna Catharina**);
- 1700: (*Opgaaf*): No. 373: **Marritje Pieters** (vryswart): 1 woman; Cape
- 1705: (*Opgaaf*): No. 335: **Jan Andriesz**: 1 man; Cape  
No. 52: **Martje Pieters**: 1 woman; Cape
- 23 October 1707: **Marritje 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 [Amst.[erdam]?:] 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 **Marthinus 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 Erthuijs [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 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 Morssele, 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 f600 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 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 shall also receive f200 each. As guardians of these children, and as executors, she appoints the burghers, **Jan Rogier** of Morselen and **Gerrit van Kerken**. [No. 82]" [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten*, vol. II, pp. 633-634]

CA: CJ 2651, nos. 23 & 24 (Will: **Maria Pieterse**, 1717);

CA: CJ 2656;

CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 47 (Will: **Marietje Pieterse**, 1710);

CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 86 (Will: **Maria Pieterse**, 14 October 1717)]

c1      **Johannes de Vry** baptized Cape 29 May 1678 (no witnesses); dies young [?]

b3      **Petronella** born Cape c. 1664; baptized Cape 6 September 1665; *schoondogter van Antony van Bengale* & as **Petronella van Bengale** and as after her adoptive father **Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**; dies Cape c. March/April 1683

marries *de facto*

**Willem Jansen**

corporal in Company's garrison

c1      **Petronella** baptized Cape 13 December 1682 (witnesses: **Catharina Wagenmakers:**);

dies Cape c. 28 September 1683

[b4?]    b4      **Louis** born c. 1666; baptized Cape 13 November 1667

b5      **Christoffel Snijman van de Caep** born illegitimate in slavery at Cape of Good Hope 1668; baptized Cape 9 March 1669 (witness: **Maaïj Ansela**); manumitted with mother & half-sister December 1671; legitimized by mother's marriage & adopted by step-father **Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**; 1683 universal heir to **Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale**; 14 August 1692 listed as **Chrijstoffel Snyman van de Caep** member of Cape Reformed Church & *communicanten alhier bevonden*; corporal; farmer at *Zandvliet*, Groot Drakenstein (1692-1706)

22 January 1699 sponsored by father-in-law **Jacques de Savoye** & free-black **Claes Cornelisz: van de Caep** [CA: MOOC 10/1 Obligatiën, 22.1.1699, no. 3, no pagination)]

dies Drakenstein 1705

marries Drakenstein c. 1690

**Marguerite-Thérèse de Savoye / Margareta Therisia d'Savoije (Margo)**

signs name **Margrit de Savoie / Mergarita Teresia de Savoij & Maergareta de Savoij**

born Ghent. Flanders 1672

arrives at Cape of Good Hope with father, step-mother & siblings on *Oosterlandt* 26 April 1688

12 May 1692 member of Cape Church

*Den 12 Maij [1692] sijn tot het ghebruijk van des Heeren H.[eilige] Avondtmael aen Stellenbosch overgekoomen Margaretha de Savoije van Gent ende Jannetie de Clerkq beide met belijdenisse.*

dies Drakenstein March 1742

- CJ 2654, no. 11 (Will: **Margrita de Savoye**, 17 July 1731 & 23 February 1734)
- CJ 2654, no. 72 (signed 1 February 1733)
- MOOC 7/1/6, no. 171 & 1/2 (Will & codicil: **Margareta Therisia de Savoije**, 28 October 1736 & 30 November 1736)
- MOOC 8/2 [1713]
- MOOC 10/5 no. 59 & 1/2 (*Vendurolle*, 2 July 1712)
- MOOC 8/6, no. 95 (**Margaretha Theresia de Savoije**, 20 March 1742)
- MOOC 13/1/3 (*Boedel Reekeningen*), no. 58 (**Margaretha Theresia de Savoije Laatst wed:[uw]je Henning Viljon**) (*ultima* October 1745)

marries (2) c. 1707



**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 / Savoijen & Jeanne van der Zee alias Delamere / Desuslamer**  
 marries

### **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]	– <b>linen merchant &amp; businessman in Ghent [Flanders] &amp; Sas van Ghent, Netherlands</b>
26 April 1688:	arrives Cape of Good Hope on <i>Oosterlandt</i> with second wife, mother-in-law & following children: <b>Marguerite, Barbara &amp; Jacques</b>
farmer at Drakenstein	
1689-1690:	heemraad
30 April 1689:	<i>... den 30 Dito [April 1689] Tot het Avontmael overghekoomen aen Stellenbosch met belijdenisse <b>Jacob de Savoie</b> en de <b>Pijter Dameze</b> van Fronfoort ende met Attestatie <b>Maria la Clerc</b> Huijsvrou van <b>Jacob de Savoie</b>.</i>
1692-1693:	heemraad
5 November 1693:	Captain, Drakenstein militia
slave (unnamed) aged 30 sold by <b>Andries de Man</b> on behalf of <b>Tobias Vlasvat to Jacobus de Savoije</b> for Rds 80	
1696-1697:	heemraad
22 January 1699:	stands surety (with free-black <b>Claas Cornelisz: van de Caep</b> ) 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:	<b>Maria de Savoije</b> (with son-in-law <b>Pieter Meijer</b> ) witnesses baptism of <b>Christina de Vey</b> (born in freedom at Cape & baptized (18 December 1701), daughter of <b>Lim Inko de Chinees &amp; Maria van Batavia</b> )
1706:	petition with other Cape free-burgers condemning Ham's blood
1708:	merchant in Cape Town
2 February 1712:	permission granted to return to Europe
16 December 1714:	returns to Europe March 1712 on <i>Samson</i> with wife & mother-in-law
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: <b>Jacob de Savoije &amp; Maria Magdalena de Clercq</b> )	
marries (1)	
<b>Christine du Pont</b>	
marries (2)	
<b>Maria-Madeleine le Clercq</b> (from Tournai / Doornik [Flanders]) (d/o <b>Antoinette Carnoy</b> ); buried Cape May 1721	
children from first union:	
<b>c1 Jeanne de Savoye</b>	
marries	
<b>André / Andries du Pont</b>	
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 *Paradijs*, 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*] & *Rhebokskloof* 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) Viljon / Viljoen** (s/o **François Villion** (from Clermont) & **Cornelia Kempenaar** (from Middelburg [Zealand]))
- e1      **Margaretha Viljoen** baptised 1 December 1709; dies young
- e2      **Johannes Viljoen** 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; died 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 Costeux)
- 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; died 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      **Jeremias(s) Roux** baptised Draklenstein 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  
 marries (1) 15 August 1728  
Marthinus van Staden (s/o Marthinus van Staden & Aletta van der Merwe; stepson of Nicolaas Jansen [van Rensburg] (from Rendsburg))  
 marries (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 1<sup>st</sup> cousin once removed  
Johannes Lombard (s/o Anthonie Lombard & Johanna Snyman)  
 marries (2) Zwartland 29 May 1757  
Gottfried Drosky / Droskie from Königsberg, (s/o Johann Christofel Drosky & Maria Klein) (died 1777)  
 marries (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)  
 marries (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 1<sup>st</sup> cousin once removed (also 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Jacobus 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 Fbruary 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 Kraal*, 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)
- l4** **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 Rensburg [Schleswig-Holstein, Germany]) & Aletta van der Merwe, wid. Marthinus van Staden)
- 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)
- f1** **Elsie Botha** baptised 13 March 1740  
 marries 21 November 1756 1<sup>st</sup> cousin once removed  
Christoffel Lombard (s/o Anthonie Lombard & **Johanna Snyman**)  
 he marries (2) 11 April 1773 Maria Johanna Walters
- e4** **Johannes Botha** baptised 5 March 1719
- e5** **Christoffel Botha** baptised 21 July 1720
- e6** **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)
- f4** **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)
- g1** **Barbara Magdalena Rog** baptised 2 July 1784  
 marries 17 November 1799 2<sup>nd</sup> cousin once removed  
Johannes Gerhardus Lombard (s/o Christoffel Lombard, wid. **Elsie Botha** & Maria Johanna Walters)
- g3** **Carolina Petronella Rog** baptised 19 December 1790  
 marries Stellenboech 6 January 1811 2<sup>nd</sup> cousin once removed  
Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard (s/o Christoffel Lombard, wid. **Elsie Botha** & Maria Johanna Walters; grandson of Anthonie Lombard & **Johanna Snyman** (1786-1865);



- h4** He marries (2) Catharina Reiniera Moolman  
**Casparus Johannes Reynhard Bresler** born Swellendam 1795; baptised 20 January 1796; farmer at *Klipfontein*, Zwartland; dies *Jonkuilen*, 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)
- i4** **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  
 marries Zwartland 28 September 1840 **Michiel Smuts** (1819-1900) (s/o Marthinus Smuts & Maria Magdalena Loedolff)
- j1** **Hester Maria Johanna Smuts** born *Klawervlei*, Zwartland 18 November 1841; baptised Zwartland 19 December 1841; dies Malmesbury 7 July 1901 aged 61  
 marries Zwartland (Malmesbury) 6 October 1862 **Hendrik Christiaan Blatt** (1841-post 1903 *ante/* 1912) (s/o Jan Daniel Blatt & Maria Jacoba van Aarde)
- k4** **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)
- l2** **Hester Maria Johanna Basson** born 9 December 1895 Porterville; died Johannesburg 23 January 1930  
 marries 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)
- m4** **William Mansell Upham** born Johannesburg 25 April 1927  
 marries Springs 10 February 1955 his distant cousin Maria Catherine Priem (1933-1996) (d/o Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr & Gertrude Christiana Dale)
- n3** **Mansell George Upham** born Welkom, Orange Free State 16 April 1960
- f7** **Hans Jurgen Botha** baptised 4 October 17647  
 marries 1<sup>st</sup> cousin once removed (also 2<sup>nd</sup> cousin once removed)  
**Anna Catharina Lange** (1776-1809)
- g1** **Margaretha Johanna Hendrika Botha**  
 marries Willem Jacobus Marais I
- h4** **Willem Jacobus Marais II** (born 1821)  
 marries 1840 Maria Johanna Minnaar
- i4** **Willem Jacobus Marais III** (born 1842)  
 marries 1875 Johanna Catharina Lombard (born 1855)
- j4** **Icometta Christina Marais** (1883-1963)  
 marries 1903 Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947)
- k1** **Gertrude Christiana Dale** (1904-1981)  
 marries 1924 Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)



- i4**      **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 1<sup>st</sup> cousin  
           **Daniel Lombard** (s/o Anthonie Lombard & **Johanna Snyman**)
- e9**      **Marthinus 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 Böllen from the Dithmarsch & 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> cousin once removed (also her 2<sup>nd</sup> cousin once removed)  
           **Hans Jurgen Botha**
- h1**      **Margaretha Johanna Hendrika Botha**



		marries
	i4	Willem Jacobus Marais I
	<b>Willem Jacobus Marais II</b> (born 1821)	
		marries 1840
		Maria Johanna Minnaar
	j4	<b>Willem Jacobus Marais III</b> (born 1842)
		marries 1875
		Johanna Catharina Lombard (born 1855)
	k4	<b>Icometta Christina Marais</b> (1883-1963)
		marries 1903
		Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947)
	l1	<b>Gertrude Christiana Dale</b> (1904-1981)
		marries 1924
		Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)
	m4	<b>Maria Catherine Priem</b> (1933-1996)
		marries 1955
		<b>William Mansell Upham</b> (born 1927)
	n4	<b>Mansell George Upham</b> (born 1960)
e6	<b>Christoffel Lombard</b> baptised 28 April 1726	
		marries(1) 21 November 1756 1 <sup>st</sup> cousin once removed
		Elsie Botha (d/o Jacobus Botha & Sophia van Rooyen)
		marries (2) 11 April 1773
		Maria Johanna Walters (d/o Nicolaas Walters & Johanna Maria van den Brink)
	f18	<b>Stephanus Sebastiaan Lombard</b> born Riebeeck Kasteel 25 October 1786; baptised 19 November 1786; dies Caledon 14 July 1865
		marries (1) Stellenbosch 6 January 1811 2 <sup>nd</sup> cousin once removed
		<b>Carolina Petronella Rog</b> (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)
		<b>Catharina Reiniera Moolman</b> (dies 1856) (d/o Johannes Zacharias Moolman & Susanna Elisabeth Otto)
	g3	<b>Elzabe / Elsie Lombard</b> 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	<b>Johanna Catharina Lombard</b> born 13 September 1855
		marries 1875
		<b>Willem Jacobus Marais III</b> (born 1842)
	h4	<b>Icometta Christina Marais</b> (1883-1963) baptised <b>Jeanetta Christina</b>
		marries 1903
		Robert Vaughan Dale (1878-1947) (from Winchmore Hill [Edmonton, Middlesex, England])
	i1	<b>Gertrude Christina Dale</b> (1904-1981)
		marries 1924
		Jacob Gerhardus Ausserhoffer Priem Jr (1895-1976)
	j4	<b>Maria Catherine Priem</b> (1933-1996)
		marries 1955
		<b>William Mansell Upham</b> (born 1927)
	k4	<b>Mansell George Upham</b> (born 1960)
e7	<b>Johanna Lombard</b> 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 27 April 1794  
        Margaretha Olivette (from Island of Bourbon)
- 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 18/8, 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
- e2     **Philipps / 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  
        **Anna Sophia van der Merwe**



- d8** **Susanna Snijman** baptised Drakenstein 28 October 1703  
 marries c. 1722  
**Jacob Coetzer / Coetser / Kutzer**,  
 from *Setry* near Vienna (s/o **Wenzeleslaus Kutzer**) widower of **Cornelia Halms / Helm / Helmes**, widow of **Arie van Wyk**  
 they farm at *Blomkool* at Achter Paarl
- e1** **Susanna Margaretha Coetzer** baptised 11 March 1723  
 marries 19 April 1744  
**Johann Adolf Kuuhl** (from Lübeck) (s/o **Hinrich Kühl**)  
 14 children
- e2** **Maria Magdalena Coetzer** baptised 10 February 1724
- e3** **Maria Elisabeth Coetzer** baptised 19 February 1727  
 marries 8 August 1754  
**Salomon van Echten Jr** (s/o Ds. **Salomon van Echten** (from Haarlem))
- e4** **Wensel Christoffel Coetzer** baptised 11 July 1728  
 marries 13 February 1752  
**Elisabeth du Toit**
- e5** **Philippus Jacobus Coetzer** baptised 3 September 1730  
 he farms at *Blomkool* at Achter Paarl (1764-1776)
- e6** **Jeremias Coetzer** baptised 7 February 1732  
 marries (1) 17 April 1763  
**Susanna du Toit**  
 marries (2) 12 April 1772  
**Eleonora Loret**  
 she marries (2) 29 September 1776 **Johannes Guilliam van Helsdingen**, widower of **Helena Judith Pentz** (son of **Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen** (from Amsterdam [North Holland]) & **Elisabeth Snijman**)
- e7** **Jacobus Johannes Coetzer** baptised 26 September 1734
- e8** **Johanna Jacoba Coetzer** baptised 26 September 1734  
 marries (1)  
**Frederik Willem Alleman** (s/o **Rudolph Siegfried Alemann** (from Neuendorf) & **Alberta Meyboom**)  
 marries (2) 4 September 1790  
**Daniel Hans** (from Freiburg a.d. Elbe)
- d9** **Elisabeth Snijman** baptised Drakenstein 21 March 1706  
 marries c. 1724  
**Ian Hendrik van Helsdingen** (from Amsterdam [North Holland])) (s/o **Johannes van Helsdingen & Anna Mynen / van Meynen**); lessee of Cape wine & brandy licence at Rondebosch
- e1** **Anna van Helsdingen** baptised 11 June 1724; dies young
- e2** **Maria Elisabeth van Helsdingen** baptised 19 August 1725;
- e3** **Margaretha Therisia van Helsdingen** baptised 27 June 1727;
- e4** **Jan Christoffel van Helsdingen** baptised 21 November 1728; dies in infancy
- e5** **Jan Hendrik van Helsdingen** baptised 1 April 1731; dies in infancy
- e6** **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. **Bartholemus Bosch** ['Hofmeyr-Grafkelder', *Familia*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1973) pp. 102-105; G Hofmeyr & D. Sleigh, 'J.H. Hofmeyr, Stamvader van die Hofmeiers', *Familia*, vol. XXV, no. 4 (1988), pp. 86-89.]
- e7** **Johannes / Jan Guilliam van Helsdingen** baptised 20 May 1736  
 marries (1) 20 December 1761  
**Helena Judith Pentz**  
 marries (2) 29 September 1776



- e8**      **Leonora Loret, wid. Jeremias Coetzer**  
**Anna Susanna van Helsdingen** baptised 15 April 1740  
 marries  
Christman Joël Ackermann (s/o Christiaan Ackermann (from Kötchen [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)  
 marries (2) 25 October 1789  
Iozua Joubert, widower of (1) Maria Johanna Hugo, (2) Johanna Margaretha Grové, (3) Johanna Minnaar, wid. G.R. Opperman, (4) Elisabeth Nieuwoudt  
 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)
- i4**      **Maria Catherine Priem** (1933-1996)  
 marries 1955  
William Mansell Upham (born 1927)  
**m4**      **Mansell George Upham** (born 1960)
- e6**      **Elizabeth Viljoen** baptised 20 March 1746  
 marries 3 April 1763  
Arie Willem van Wyk (s/o Gerrit van Wyk & Maria Magdalena Eykhoff)
- e7**      **Franciscus Jonathan Viljoen** baptised 2 March 1749
- e8**      **Jonathan Viljoen** baptised 13 September 1750
- e9**      **Pieter Albertus Viljoen** baptised 13 February 1752
- e10**     **Johannes Hercules Viljoen** baptised 29 April 1753  
 marries (1) 5 May 1776  
 Anna Jacoba Kruger  
 marries (2) 30 May 1779  
 Barbara Jacomina Peltzer (d/o Abraham Pelser & Engela Catharina Zaaiman)
- e11**     **Albertus Viljoen** baptised 31 August 1755  
 marries 25 May 1777  
 Johanna Elisabeth Griesel (d/o Johannes David Griesel / Grootschel from Copenhagen, Denmark) & Anna Maria Jacoba Pelser)
- e12**     **Johannes Hendricus Viljoen** baptised 2 July 1758  
 marries 2 November 1783  
 Susanna Elisabeth Lubbe (d/o Willem Lubbe & Elisabeth Geertruy van der Merwe)
- c5**      **Barbe-Thérèse de Savoie / Barbara Therisia de Savoije** baptised Sint-Jacobs, Vridagmarkt, 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: **Barbera de Savoye**, 1714)  
 MOOC 8/1 (**Christiaan Eijlers & Barbara de Savoijen**), no. 77  
 MOOC 13/1/2 (*Boedel Rekeningen* 1723-1737), no. 53 (**Barbara Therisia de Savoije, laast wed:[uw]je Elias Quina**)  
 MOOC 10/3 (*Vendu Rollen* 1722-1731), no. 81 (**Barbara Therisia 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 Elers & Barbara 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 Savoye; 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 Savoye)  
 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 Hünemörder); 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 Koulien) 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, Zealand 12 April 1687; dies young
- c9** **Jacquette** baptised Middelburg, Zealand 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]); arrives 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  
Jacobus 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



- d3** **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 Sadrasputnam; later acting fiscal of the Cape
- e2** **Jan Cornelis Deneys** baptised 15 December 1743
- e3** **Aletta Elsie Deneys** baptised 1 August 1745  
marries 16 October 1768  
Johan Arnold Bleumer (from Lengerich)
- e4** **Adriaan Deneys** baptised 1 October 1747
- e5** **Cornelia Catharina Deneys** baptised 19 October 1749
- e6** **Agatha Susanna Deneys** baptised 20 December 1750  
marries  
Johann Jacobus Herder (from Kreuznach) (s/o Johann Adam Harder & Maria Elisabeth Keeler)  
he marries (2) Maragertha Noethin
- d4** **Jacobus / Jacques Meyer** baptised Cape 4 August 1709 (father: **Pieter Meijer**; mother: **Aletta de Savoije**; witnesses: **Cornelisz van der Laan & Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout**)  
marries divorcee  
**Sophia Touken / Tauken / Bergh** (from Mauritius), widow of **Sybrand Steen** (from Denmark), & divorced wife of **Maaïj Ansela's** grandson **Simon Petrus Bergh** (d/o **Johanna Heinrich Tauken & Catharina Kel**)
- e1** **Aletta Jacoba Meyer** baptised 12 September 1734
- e2** **Pieter Johannes Meyer** baptised 11 May 1738  
marries  
**Anna Juliana van der Heever**
- d4** **Pieter / Pierre Meyer** dies young
- d5** **Maria Isabella / Marie-Isabelle Meyer** baptised 18 November 1714  
marries 13 March 1740  
Pieter Haksteen (from Amsterdam [North Holland])  
emigrates to Batavia
- d6** **Sebastiaan Philippus / Sebastien-Philippe Meyer** baptised 31 May 1716; dies young
- d7** **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 Loubsen**  
marries (2) 25 November 1770  
**Susanna Meyer**
- e2** **Johan Frederik Warnecke** baptised 28 November 1745
- e3** **Anna Aletta Warnecke** baptised 30 July 1747
- c11** **Philippe-Rodolphe / Philippus Rudolphus de Savoie** 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
- b2** **Jean de Savoie** 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 van de Cust Malabar** – slave belonging to **Anthonij Jansz: de Later van Bengale... een slave van Antonij van Bengale** & his wife **Groote Catharina van Paliacatta**

12 March 1676:	arrives at Cape on board <i>Sparendam</i> proceeding ex Batavia to Galle, Ceylon to collect rice & new governor ( <b>Joan Bax van Herentals</b> replacing <b>IJsbrand Goske</b> ), both bound for & Cape – Bax, however, arrives earlier on <i>Voorhout</i> instead)
27 April 1676:	sold by <b>Jan Jacobsz: de Slooper</b> , skipper of <i>Sparendam</i> , to <b>Anthonij Jansz: van Bengale</b> for Rds 35 – same skipper also sells slaves <b>Salamme, Jacob Casta Malabar &amp; Diana van Cochin</b> (aged 19 years) to other Cape free-burghers.
30 June 1686:	<b>Maria van Bengale</b> baptized as <i>bejaerde</i> (30 June 1686) with future husband <i>den Chinees Domingo van Bengale</i> .
18 May 1691:	marries <i>de Chinees Dominicus d'Moor / Domingo van Bengale / Batavia</i>

### **Dominicus d'Moor / Domingo van Bengale / Batavia**

28 August 1657:	ex-VOC soldier condemned to death in Batavia – sentence to be shot, pardoned & exiled on Robben Island
1 April 1658:	arrives at Cape as convict ( <i>bandiet</i> )
17 July 1658:	sent to Robben Island but stows away in return fleet; apprehended remains with skipper <b>Campen</b> 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 / Rutgerstroost** – presumably their half-sister

b1	<b>Elisabeth Marcusz: / Marxse: heelslag</b> [?] private slave born Cape c. 1679; baptized Cape 7 April 1680 marries (1 <sup>st</sup> ) <i>de facto Christoffel Armregt / Armbrecht</i> (from Bodenweiler) marries (2 <sup>nd</sup> ) <i>de facto Dirk Janse de Graaf</i> marries (3 <sup>rd</sup> ) <i>de facto Daniel Meerkens</i> marries (4 <sup>th</sup> ) <i>de facto Pieter Knurf</i>
c1	<b>Wilhelm Armbrecht</b> baptized Cape 3 October 1700 (no witnesses)
c2	<b>Johanna Elisabeth</b> baptized Cape 4 February 1703 <i>eodem die [4 Febr:] van Dirk Janse de Graaf en Elisabeth [name deleted] Marxse, onder getuygen van Jan Harmentz: [Woltering], en Lucretia van Bengale, gen:[aemt] Johanna Elisabeth</i>
c3	<b>Dirkje de Graaf</b> baptized Cape [Namen der Christen Kinderen] 7 December 1704 (witnesses: <b>Emanuel van Macassar</b> <sup>492</sup> & <b>Sytje van Macassar</b> <sup>493</sup> )

<sup>492</sup> **Emanuel / Manuel van Macasser & Maria van Ceilon / van Malabar** – recorded as *twee oude en afgelerde vrijgegewene slaven van d'heer Andries d'Man Saliger gewesen*; both manumitted (1695) by **Elsje van Suurwaerden** (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 Caap**) (13 May 1708) baptism of slave **Amerentie**, slave child belonging to **Gerrit Jansz: van Aart** & daughter of **Anna van Bengaalen**.

<sup>493</sup> **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)



- c4 Johannes Meerkens baptized Cape 20 May 1708 (witnesses: Pieter Pietersz: de Groot<sup>494</sup> & Willemina Willemesz: <sup>495</sup>)

c5 Johanna Meerkens baptized Cape 18 August 1709 (witnesses: Cornelis van der Laan & Dirkje Matthijsz: Westerhout)

c6 Hendrik Knurf baptized Cape 22 May 1712 (witnesses: Steeven Winterhof & Willemina Willemesz:)

b2 Johanna (Jannetje / Jannetie) Hans: / Hanse / Hansen / Rutgerstroost aka Johanna [Antonisz:] van de Caap heelslag [?] born c. 1681; [?] baptised Cape as bejaerde (15 June 1704) – slave of Willem ten Damme (from Oldenzeel)  
*15 junij [1704] Na voorgaande belijdenis gedaan een slavin van Mons:[eigneur] ten Dam[me] gen[aem]t Johanna*  
 marries (*de facto*)  
**Dirk Cornelisz: Vermeulen**  
 1704: arrives on Zeehaan;  
 January 1709-30 August 1709: makes arrangements for 3 months of annual salary to be paid out to wife Antjen Pieters: as reflected in soldijboek of Zeehaan (on three occasions f 100 paid out for transport of Maritjen Dirck. Is this his daughter?)  
 21 April 1709: departs for Patria from Cape on Limburg;  
 10 August 1709: arrives in Netherlands  
 30 August 1709: discharged from VOC  
 What happens to him thereafter is not known.

c1 Maria Vermeulen baptized Cape 11 September 1707 (father: Derk Vermeulen; mother: Jannetje Hanse); (witnesses: Klaas Bue & Anna Marij [Anna Maria Dominicus])  
 marries 13 December 1733  
**Gideon de Wege**

c2 Cornelis Vermeulen baptized Cape 12 August 1708 (father: Dirck Cornelisz:; mother Jannetje Hans:); (witnesses: Cornelis van der Laan met Elizabeth Marcusz:)  
 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 Lourensz:]  
**blad 10 Pupille gedefloreert, hoe gehandeld**  
*1741. 22. Feb:[rua]rij En nademaal haar Eerw:[ee]ns uijt de gemeene gerugten is te vooren gekoomen. dat de minderjaarige Ariaantje Plooy door de eerloose*

& objects to being called a free-black as never enslaved claiming to be of royal descent; baptized as adult (22 September 1686) & described as a *vry dienaer*; promises to return **Zijtje** to heirs of her former master, the late **Francicus Villerius**, should they come to Cape to claim her; she witnesses (20 January 1709) with **Fredrik van Santen** baptism of slave **Adriana** – infant belonging to **Jacob Paasa** & daughter to **Anna van Madagascar**.

<sup>494</sup> **Pieter Pietersz: de Groot** (from Amsterdam); free-fisherman; marries (11 November 1703) *jongedochter[sic]* **Maria Pietersz: van Cabo** baptized (24 January 1677), daughter of Company slave woman **Joanna [Janne Bastiaens: van de Caep?]**; 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) **Wed[uwee] 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).

<sup>495</sup> **Willemina Willems: van de Caep** marries (27 November 1711) **Jan Rogiers** (from Morsselink); probably baptized (1689), likely daughter of Company slave **Cornelia Pieters: van de Caep** [Not to be confused with **Wilhelmina Vermeulen**, daughter of **Jan Willemesz: Vermeulen** (from Utrecht) & **Catharina Opklim van de Caep / van Bengale**, whose sister **Maria Vermeulen** marries another **Jan Rogiers** (from Amsterdam)]; **Jan Rogiers** (from Morsselink) is executor to deceased estate of **Marritie Pieters: Wid. Andriesz:**



*conversatie met seekere Hottentot, nu ruijm vijf maanden geleeden een kind in ontugt had overgewonnen, soo is goedgevonden tot ontdeckinge van 't waare deesen saak deseelve beneevens haar moeder **Catharina Coopman** wed:[uw]je **Sijmon Plooij** en broeder **Willem Plooij** onder welkers opsigt zij door deese Camer is besteed, teegens anstaande vergadering sullend zijn den 8 Maart bij missive voor 't collegie te ontbieden.*

*1741. 8. Maart de minderjaarige **Ariaantje Plooij** ingevolge de genoomene resolutie van den 22. den laast geweest maand Febr:ij met ene benewens haar moeder **Catharina Coopman** wed:[duw]je **Simon Plooij**, en broeder **Willem Plooij** onder welkers opsigt zij door dese Camer is bestelt, op heeden ter vergadering verscheenen zijnde. Soo wierd aan de eerste melde door de den Heer President afgevraagt, of zij volgende ter ooren deesen Camer gekoomen gemeene gerugte bij seekere Hottentot een kind in ontugt had overgewonnen als wanner zij sulx geconfesseert hebbende, te kenne gaf, dat zij op seekere tijd haar in de thuijn bevindende den Hottentot **Hermanus**, doenmaals bij de wed:[duw]je **Willem Rubeek**<sup>496</sup> woonende, bij haar gekoomen was, ende haar door dreigementen van haar te sullen vermoorden so ver gebragt hadde, dat zij sig aan zijne begeerte had overgeeven, en dus vleeselijk van hem bekent was, wissen dat zij beijde hunne vleeselike conversatie nog drie agter een volgende dagen met den anderen gecontinueert hebbende zij **Ariaantje Plooij** haarselven vervolgens had bevonden van hem bevrugt te zijn, gelijk zij dat ook ejndelijk naar in de vijfde maand van haar swangergaan sulx aan haar voorengeciteerde 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:[oemde] Hottentot **Hermanus** en geen ander de vader te zijn. Soo is naar desen aangaande met rijpheid van raaden gedelibereert, mitsg:[ade]rs aandagtelijk gepondereert te hebben 't groot gewigt van 't voorenstaande in alle zijne omstandigheden.*

*Als Eerstelijk ten regarde van 't bedreevene feijt door voorn:[oemde] Hottentot **Hermanus**, waar omtrent de Statute van India onder den Titul van Hoererij en overspel dicteeren: dat eenig heijden, moor, ofte andere onChristen persoon met een Christenvrouw getrouwft ofte ongetrouwft boeleerende, sonder eenige remissie met 'er dood gestraft werden sal.*

*Ten tweeden ten respecte van gementioneerde **Ariaantje Plooij**: alsoo zij, veronderstelt dat door de voormelde drijgementen, haar voor de eerste rijse aan de wil van gesegde Hottentot had moeten onderwerpen, van die gedwonge daad nogthans ten eersten haade behooren kenisse te geeven aan haar moeder en broeder, maar geensints met hem nog den voorm: tijd ongetwijffelt met haar toestemminge die goddeloosse conversatie te continueeren.*

*En ten laasten ten opsigte van veelgemelde moeder en broeder: ten saake deseelve 't voorenstaande, schoon na den tijd van vijf maanden vernoomen hebbende sulx aan deese Camer sonder eenig verlet hadde moeten berigten in plaatse dat zijl: 't selve moedwilliglijk hebben versweegen, ende dus in haar verpligte respect omtrent dit Collegie als wettige oppervoogden van dikwels gem:[elde] **Ariaantje Plooij** grootelijx hebben gemancqueert, door haar, Eew:ns eenpariglijk goedgevonden en geresolveert alle 't voorenstaande aan den E:[dele] Agtb:[a]re Raad van Justitie*

<sup>496</sup> **Wilhelm (Willem) Rubeck [Rube / Rubeek]** (from Wesel [Duchy of Cleves]); marries 10 February 1732 **Susanna Visser(s)**: alias **Susanna Elber(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 Aprijel 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/ffy/ui71.htm>].



*deses gouverneur:s bij vertoogh voor te draagen, ende daarnevens haar E:[dele] agtb:[ar]e eerbiedig te versoeken dat 't derselver behagen mogte zijn, hierinne soodanig te disponeeren, als tot stuijtinge van diergelyken verfoeijelijk quaad, ende tot maintenue der eere en ontsagh van dit Collegie bevonden sal werden te behooren.<sup>497</sup>*

d1 **Johannes** illegitimate son fathered by the 'Hottentot' **Hermanus** born 1741;

baptized Stellenbosch 14 January 1742

[1742] januarij 14 **Johannes de Vader Hermannus[sic] van de Caap de Moeder Adriana de Plooij** getwijge **Catharina Coopman**<sup>498</sup>

d2 **Johanna Catharina Vermeulen** baptized 6 June 1744

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 **Piaternella Meerhoff**)

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**

d5 **Guilliam Vermeulen** baptized 5 November 1752; burgher Stellenbosch; marries (1) 17 December 1780

**Maria Elisabeth Coetsee** (d/o **Ockert Casper Coetzee & Elsie van Wyk**) (descendant of **Elsje Pyl alias Speldenberg & Catharina van Malabar**); marries (2) 23 February 1800

**Anna Elisabeth Hough** (d/o **Andreas Hough** (from Camberg) & **Christina van Zyl**)

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 Agnita 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**

d7 **Maria Elisabeth Vermeulen** baptized 2 July 1758

marries 23 March 1780

<sup>497</sup> 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* (Gelelmus 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.

<sup>498</sup> <https://familysearch.org/pal/MM9.3.1/TH-267-12336-17694-98?cc=1478678&wc=11570159>;  
<http://www.ballfamilyrecords.co.uk/bosmandevriesbuys/I263.html>



- Johannes Christoffel Esterhuyzen (s/o Johan Christoffel Esterhuyzen & Johanna / Anna Francina Jansen) (grandson of Barend Jansen *d'Oude* & Piaternella Zaaijman & great-grandson of Piaternella 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 / halfslag 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 & Ansela 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 Bolsward [Friesland])  
 marries (2)  
**Johann Meyer** (from Rothenthal / Rosenthal)  
 [MOOC 7/6 (*Testamenten, 1736-1745*), no. 93]
- d1** **Ryntje 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** **Femma Posthumus**  
 marries (1)  
**Albertus Johannes Myburgh**  
 marries (2)  
**Philip Wouter de Vos**
- b4** **Cornelia van de Caeb alias Cornelia Lamans: / Lammans: van de Caep heeslag [?]** 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 Coetze** & **Sara van der Schulp**) who marries (27 December 1724) **Elisabeth Louisz:** (d/o **Louis van Bengale & Lijsbeth Sanders:**)  
 marries (3) (*de facto*) [or civil ceremony only?]  
**Claas Coos / Coors**



[likely son of Compnay slave **Dorothea van Angola**]

- c1 **Jannetie** baptized Cape 2 October 1707 (mother: **Cornelia van [de] Caab**) (witnesses: **Domingo van Bengale & Maria van Bengale**)
- 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 vrijgegeven 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 getuijen Pieter Gertsz: en Cornelia Cornelisze, de moeder slavinne [Maria van Bengale]*
- b6 **Hendrick Trost** (twin) *halfslag* born 1687 "by **Maria van Bangala** my former slave now manumitted" (*in onecht by mijn gewesen slavin nu vrijgegeven 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 getuijen Pieter Gertsz: en Cornelia Cornelisze, de moeder slavinne [Maria van Bengale]*



**APPENDIX 12:****'The Valley of Grace' (Cape Argus: 28 December 2005 & 4 January 2006)**

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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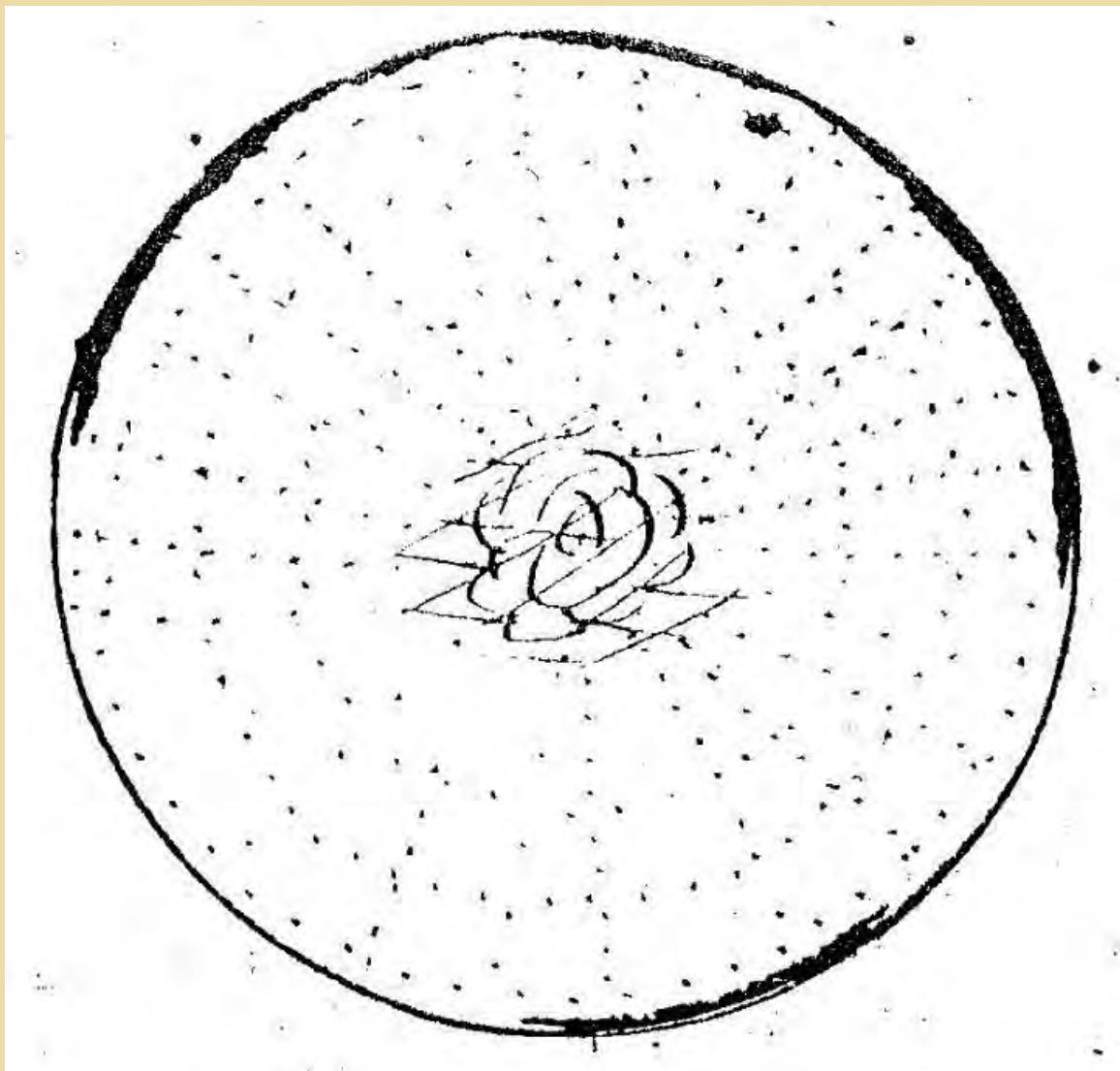


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