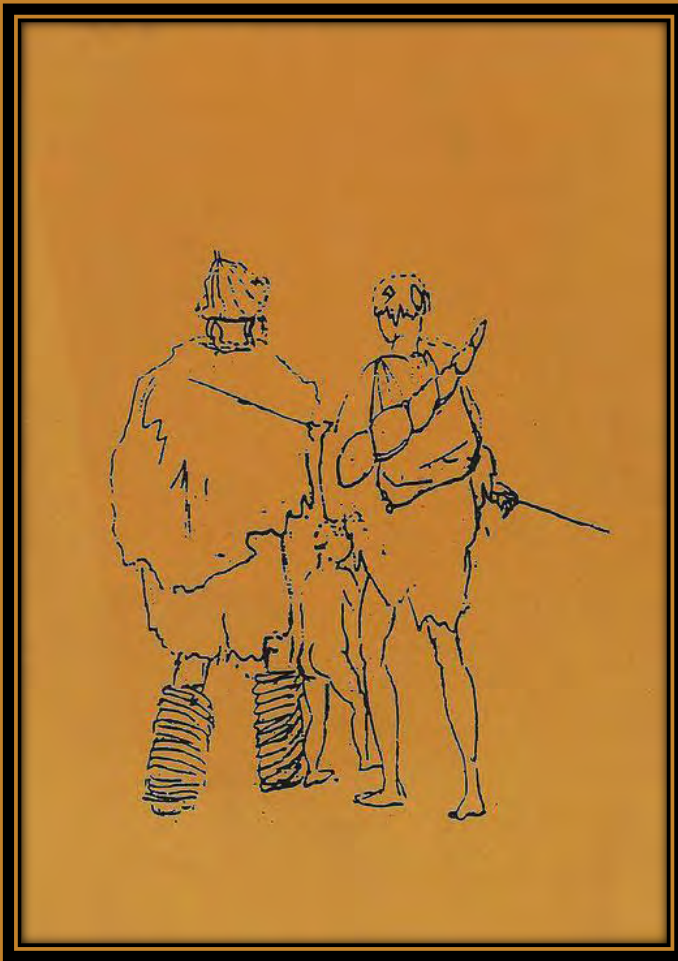


UL No. 20



*At Earth's Extremest  
End ...  
Op 't eijnde van de  
Aerd ...*

The genealogical impact of  
the 'Angola' & 'Guinea'  
slaves  
at the Cape of Good Hope  
in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

# Uprooted Lives

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

Mansell G Upham

# Uprooted Lives

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

**Mansell G Upham**

*Uprooted Lives* is an occasional series published by  
*Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years*  
<http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui45.htm>  
© *Mansell G Upham*

Editor: Delia Robertson  
Distribution Rights: Mansell Upham and Remarkable Writing on First Fifty Years



*Image on Cover used with kind permission of the National Library of South Africa*



# Uprooted Lives

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

Mansell G. Upham



*For min Far, min Mor  
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



## Preface

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

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

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

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

the Goringhiacona:

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

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

**Frans Jacobs van de Caep**

the African slaves:

**Catharina Alexander van de Caep**

**Maria van Guinea [Benin]**

**Cecilia van Angola**

**Dorothea van Angola**

**Manuel van Angola**

**Diana van Madagascar**

the Asian slaves:



Catharina (*Groote Catrijn*) van Paliacatta  
Engela / Angela (*Maaij Ans(i)ela*) van Bengale  
Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale  
Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar  
Maria Magdalena (Mariana) Jacobse van Ceylon [Sri Lanka]  
Jacob van Macassar  
Maria Jacobs: van Batavia  
and the pardoned Chinese convict:  
Lim / Lin Inko *alias* Abraham de Veij.

Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 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 Khoe/San ('Hottentot'/'Bushmen') lands resulted in the signing of 'treaties' *ex post facto* in attempts to 'legitimize' Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their 'freedom' to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, *buiten comptoir*<sup>1</sup>, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uijterste hoeck van Africa*). Significantly, the Cape of Good Hope was the only Dutch colony where the Dutch language, albeit creolized and indigenized, effectively took root and evolved into a formalized and institutionalized language - *Afrikaans*.

---

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





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, 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*.





# ***At Earth`s Extremest End***

***...***

# ***Op `t eijnde van de Aerd ...***

**The genealogical impact of the  
'Angola' & 'Guinea' slaves  
at the Cape of Good Hope  
in the 17<sup>th</sup> century**

**Mansell Upham**



The slaves arriving (1658) on the *Amersfoort* (125 souls) and the *Hasselt* (228 souls) are the only 2 shipments of forced migrants from West and Central Africa ever brought to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) colonially occupied Cape of Good Hope ('The Cape'). This article investigates the 1st and only slave cargo originating from 'Angola' and 'Guinea' brought to the southern tip of Africa by the VOC. These slaves and their genealogically significant offspring are almost all conspicuous by their absence and/or exclusion in the seminal published works on the origins of Boer / Afrikaner / South African colonial families (*Geslacht-Register der Ou Kaapse Families / Geslagsregister van die Ou Kaapsche Familien / Genealogies of Old South African Families* (1893-1894 & 1966), *De Afkomst der Boeren* (1902), *Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner* (1971) and *Groep Sonder Grense: Die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652-1795* (1984). The healthiest and youngest of the survivors (92 'Angola' and 80 'Guinea' slaves) are reshipped to Batavia [Jakarta]. Those remaining at the Cape soon dwindle in numbers. The handful that ultimately survive making an early appearance in the written record are collated, identified and their genealogical impact and contribution (where known) to the colony's (and ultimately South Africa's) population assessed. A few, incorporated into colonial households, even become domesticated and manumitted. As free citizens they are known in the colony as 'free-blacks' (also 'free-burghers') - theoretically on par with their fellow European / White / Christian colonists) becoming registered land and slave owners in their own right. Of these, only 3 men and 3 women from 'Guinea' have recorded manumissions and only 3 men and 5 women from 'Angola'. These free-blacks and their descendants (as well as liberated *halfslag* children of manumitted Company slaves from 'Angola' and 'Guinea') - become, to a much greater extent, largely assimilated into the earliest colonially induced and culturally Protestant European dominant 'free' population unlike their increasingly numbered counterparts imported from Madagascar and the East Indies. Consequently, their descendants contribute majorly to the latter-day, interlarded Afrikaans-speaking 'White' Afrikaner - and thereafter also to 'Coloured' communities and the so-called 'English-speaking South African' / 'Anglo-African' communities. A baptismal policy, adhering to Reformed Christian tenets as codified by the Synod of Dort (1618-1619), is initially introduced. Only *halfslag* slave infants (fathered by Europeans) - whether privately or Company owned - are singled out for baptism with freedom withheld until attaining legal majority. This is followed by the colony's eventual adoption (1685) of a uniform, broader baptism policy for all subsequent Cape-born Company slaves. Consequently, *heelslag* children and infants are granted retroactively the same right to baptism. Privately owned (as opposed to Company owned) slaves, however, are always baptized at the discretion of the owner - an unpopular practice expediently coinciding with a law prohibiting the resale of slaves already baptized. Consequently, only a handful of privately owned visibly *halfslag* slaves are baptized. These legal niceties, unfortunately, bedevil positive individual identification of all such individuals investigated. This problem is exacerbated by some surviving recorded initial baptisms omitting actual names of slave infants and their mothers and later random entries naming only infants and mothers as well as belated entries for slave children / adults without any listed biological mothers. Only in exceptional cases are biological fathers recorded. Further research into the written record may hopefully result in additional positive identification of the remaining individuals. Thereafter, the Cape relies on shipments sent from Madagascar, East Africa, De la Goa Bay [Maputo] and excess slaves ex Batavia [Jakarta] and Ceylon [Sri Lanka] that the VOC, English and Danes can spare who become less and less incorporated into 'white' colonial society as the slave population / work force burgeons - apart from the more or less consolidated and now colonially entrenched free-burgher population. Thus ends any further significant recorded 'Angolan' and 'Guinean' admixture into the origins of the Cape of Good Hope's colonially induced inhabitants. Descendants of these singular shiploads of 'Angolan' and 'Guinean' slaves ramifying and forming the substratum of the emerging not-quite-white colonial society at the tip of Africa, already successfully identified include initially *inter alia* the following old Cape families: **Badenhorst, Bantjes, Basson, Bergman, Broeders, Colyn, van Coningshoven, Combrink, Coos, van Dyk, Duuring, Ehrenhaut, van Eeden, Eksteen, Goosen, Hartog, Heyns, Hoffman, Holloway, Holmberg, Jacobs, Jonas, Jonker, Kraak, Krüger, Laing, Langeveld, Oberholzer, Oelofse, Peters, Piek, Ronnenkamp, van der Schelde, van der Schyff, Stavorinus, Stockenström, Stolts, Treurnicht, Verbeek, Vermeulen, Wedekind, von Wielligh, van Zyl.**





Note: The terms *Upper Guinea* (for West Africa & its Pepper / Grain, Gold, Slave & Ivory Coasts) & *Lower Guinea* (for Angola and the Congo), like *Abyssinia* and *Ethiopia*, were European geographical names used to demarcate vast 'unknown' areas of the African continent. Later *Lower Guinea* & *Upper Guinea* come to refer to a smaller area. *Lower Guinea* - one of Africa's most densely populated regions - covers southern Nigeria, Benin, Togo stretching into Ghana. It includes coastal regions as well as interior. *Upper Guinea* - far less densely populated - stretches from Côte d'Ivoire to Senegal. Within present-day Republic of Guinea, *Lower Guinea* refers to that country's coastal plain, while *Upper Guinea* refers to its interior. Etymology of *Guinea* is uncertain. English term comes directly from the Portuguese word *Guiné* emerging (mid-15th century) to refer to lands inhabited by *Guineus* - generic term for black African peoples below Senegal River (as opposed to 'tawny' *Zenaga* Berbers, above it, whom they call *Azeneguesor* Moors). Term used in chronicle of **Gomes Eanes de Zurara** (1453) and King **John II** of Portugal assumes title (1483) *Senhor da Guiné* (Lord of Guinea) so that Portuguese likely borrow *Guineus* from Berber term *Ghinawen* (sometimes Arabized as *Guinauha* or *Genewah*) = 'burnt people' (analogous to *Aithiops* = "of the burned face"). Berber terms *aginaw* or *Akal n-Iguinawen* = 'black' / 'land of the blacks'. Competing theory, 1st forwarded by **Leo Africanus** (1526), claims 'Guinea' derives from *Djenné*, great interior commercial city on Upper Niger River. *Djenné* dominates gold & salt trade across West Africa (from 11th century - fall of Ghana - until 13th century - when Mali invasion disrupts routes redirecting trade to Timbuktu, hitherto a small *Djenné* outpost). During period of *Djenné* dominance term *Genewah* used in Arab sources (al-Sudan - Arabic for 'blacks' - previously more common term). Other theories connect 'Guinea' to 'Ghana', but less certain as Ghana Empire is named after Medieval trading city of *Ghanah* mentioned already by 11th-century Arab geographers (eg al-Bakri), but used distinctly from *Genewah* by Arab sources (eg they would say 'Ghana' in the country of *Genewah*). Conversely, remains possible that both Ghana & *Djenné* owe original city names to Berber appellation for blacks living there. Possible reconciliation of theories: Berber *Ghinawen* (blacks) is source of *Djenné* (city), which in turn gives rise to the Arabic *Genewah* (land dominated by that city) finally becoming the Portuguese *Guiné*.





**Sculpture (Kingston, Jamaica) commemorating slaves transported from Africa's Slave Coast**



Thus more and more the kingdoms are extended;  
 Thus more and more are black and yellow spread,  
 This from the ground a wall of stone is raised,  
 On which the thundering brass can no impression make.  
 For Hottentots were always earthen,  
 But now we come with stone to boast before all men,  
 And terrify not only Europeans, but also  
 Asians, Americans and savage Africans.  
 Thus Holy Christendom is glorified;  
 Establishing its seats amidst the savage heathens.  
 We praise the Great Director, and say with one another:  
 "Augustus's dominion, nor Conquering Alexander,  
 Nor Caesar's mighty genius, has ever had the glory  
 To lay a corner stone at Earth's Extremest End!"  
 Journal (2 January 1666) – poem, now buried and no longer visible,  
 carved into foundation stone of *Casteel de Goede Hoop* & unveiled (2 January 1666)  
 (English translation by H.C.V. Leibbrandt) <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal (1662-1670)*, p. 170]. Elizabeth Conradie, *Hollandse skrywers uit Suid-Afrika. Deel 1 (1652-1875)*, notes: "Die afdruk by LEIBBRANDT: *Precis of the Archives* sit vol klein foutjies" and quotes the original Dutch version:

*Den eersten steen van 't nieuwe Casteel goede hope  
 heeft WAGENAER gelegd met hoop van goede Hope.  
 AMPLIATIE.  
 Soo werden voort en voort de rijcken uitgespreyt  
 Soo werden al de swart', en geluwen gepreyt  
 Soo doet men uijtter aerd, een steene wal oprechten  
 daer 't donderend metael, seer weynigh can ophechten  
 Voor Hottentoos waren 't eerteijts aerde wallen  
 nu comt men hier met steen voor anderen oock brallen  
 dus maekt men dan een schricq, soowel d'Europiaen  
 als voor den Aes: Amer: en wilde Africaen  
 dus wordt beroemt gemaect, 't geheijlich christendom  
 die setels stellen in het woeste heijndendom  
 wij loven 't groot bestier, en zeggen met malkander  
 Augustus heerschappij, noch winnet Alexander,  
 noch Caesar's groot beleijt, zyn noijt daermee gewaerd  
 met leggen van een steen, op 't eijnde van de Aerd.*

Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen & Vivian Bickford-Smith, *The Making of a City*] provide an alternative translation:

"Our conquests are extending further and further and all black and yellow people are being suppressed. We are building a stone wall out of the earth, that thundering canon cannot destroy. Before, against, our Hottentots, our walls were built of earth. Now we can boast of stone against other enemies. In this way we frighten off the Europeans, as well as the Asians, the Americans and the wild Africans. In this way holy Christendom is made known and finds a place in wild, heathen lands. We praise the almighty reign of God and say in unison: Augustus' empire: victorious Alexander and Caesar's great kingdom –none of these had the honor of laying a stone at the end of the earth' Cape Town".



The 1st shipment of slaves – from ‘Angola’ - to the Cape of Good Hope arrives unexpectedly (28 March 1658) with the ship *Amersfoort*. The slave cargo is originally taken when this Dutch East Indiaman captures at sea - off the South American coast - a Portuguese prize (*neger prys* – literally ‘negro prize’) of 125 slaves originally destined for the ‘New World’. This is soon followed – barely more than a month later (6 May 1658) - by the ship *Hasselt* sent from the Cape to purchase slaves along the west coast of Africa. The ship brings 228 slaves - from ‘Guinea’ - purchased at Popo [now Grand Popo] on the coast of present-day Benin (formerly Dahomey).



The *Amsterdam* at Table Bay (9 March 1636) - Adam Willaerts (1577-1664)

The nascent colony is hopelessly ill-equipped and poorly ‘manned’ to receive and cater for so many slaves. At this stage only the following recorded slaves and exiled non-European convicts have already been brought to the Cape helping to complete the colonial population (15 February 1658) of 189 souls (*Summa 189 zielen woonende aen de Caap onder de gehoorzaamheijt vande Neder:[lands]*





*Geotroijeerde Oos Indische Comp:[agn]ie)* of whom 52 are free-burghers and their *knechts*:<sup>3</sup>

- 10 December 1653: *Haes* ex Batavia brings exiled Chinese convict
- **'t Sincko** (from Jambi [Sumatra])
- 12 December 1654: *Tulp* brings 4 slaves purchased on Madagascar
- **Eva van Madagascar** & son **Jan Bruijn**;
  - **Anthonij van Madagascar** (disappears 12 March 1655)
  - **Meinjdert van Antongil** [private slave of **Jan van Riebeeck**]
- 21 April 1655: Return Fleet (*Dolfijn, Dordrecht, Gideon, Henriette Louise, Parel, Prinses Royaal & Tholen*) ex Batavia brings
- **Maria van Bengale (Marij da Costa)** [belonging to **Jan van Riebeeck**]
  - **Maria van Bengale (Maria Sacharias:)** [belongs 1stly to **Hendrik Hendricksz: Boom** (from Amsterdam) & 2ndly to **Pieter van der Stael** (from Rotterdam)]
- 15 March 1656: Return Fleet ex Batavia arrives - *Verenigde Provinciën* brings
- **Catharina Anthonis:** from Zalagon [Sirajganj?] in Bengal - slave of **Caspaer van den Bogaerde**, Councillor Extraordinary of India & Commander of Return Fleet & future wife of **Jan Woutersz:** (from Middelburg) who soon leave for Batavia
- 25 March 1656: French fleet arrives (*La Duchesse, La Maréchale, Larman [La Erman]* - ex Nantes & Cap-Vert with *St. Georges [St. Joris]*); *St Georges* (ex Nantes, Madagascar, Ile de Bourbon [Réunion], Socotra, Red Sea, Socotra, Ile de Bourbon, Madagascar & Saldanha Bay) brings 3 captured / enslaved Malagasy royal children likely originating from Ethiopia gifted by French Admiral **De la Roche-St. André** to **Jan van Riebeeck**<sup>4</sup>
- **Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna**
  - **Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna**
- 21 February 1657: Return Fleet ex Batavia arrives:  
*Prins Willem* brings exiled convict (Company slave)
- **Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat]**
- Amersfoort* brings 5 private slaves
- **Angela / Engela (Maaij Ansela / Moeder Jagt) van Bengale** [sold to **Jan van Riebeeck**]
  - **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Bengale** [misrecorded as *Domingo [sic]* - sold to **Jan van Riebeeck**]
  - **Jan van Bengale** [sold to **Jan Vetteleman**]
  - **Claes van Bengale** [sold to **Jochum Cornelisz: Blancq** (from Lübeck)]
  - **Anna van Bengale** [sold to **Jochum Cornelisz: Blancq** (from Lübeck)]
- 31 March 1657: French ship in distress *La Maréchale* ex Red Sea, Socotra & Madagascar brings
- **Cleijn Eva van Madagascar** [gifted to **Maria de la Queillerie** by the 'king' of Antongil]

<sup>3</sup> Cape Archives [CA]: VC 39 (Verbatim Copies: *Monsterolle van d'officiëren, matroosen ende soldaten bescheijden in't fort de Goede Hope, aan Cabo de Boa Esperance den 15en Februarij 1658*), vol. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A further unnamed male slave (dies 14 June 1656).



- **Espagniola (male)** - stowaway relegated to Robben Island
- 6 March 1658: *Malacca* brings ex Batavia exiled convict
- **Susanna *Een Oor van Bengale***

## The free-burgher (*Vryluijden*) population includes:

### *Stevens Compagnie* [*De Hollandsche Tuijn*]

**Steven Jansz: [Botma / Bothma]** (from Wageningen [Gelderland])

**Hendrik Elbertsz:** (from Osnabrück [Ossenbrügge, Westphalia])

**Willem Willemsz: *de Lierman*** (from Deventer)

### *Vredens Compagnie*

**Otto Jansz:** (from Vrede)

**Jacob Cornelisz: van Rosendael** (from Amsterdam)

**Hendrick Fransz: Knipbergen**

### *Hermans Compagnie*

**Herman Remajenne [Remagen]** (from Cologne)

**Jan Martensz: de Wacht** (from Vreeland [Utrecht])

**Jacob Cloeten** (from Cologne)

**Hans Cornelisz:** (from t' Legelant List)

### *Brinckmans Compagnie*

**Caspar Brinckman** (from Vreedenhorst)

**Warnar Cornelisz:** (from Nunspeet)

**Gerrit Sandersz:** (from Blecksum)

**Thomas Robbertsz:** (from Kent [England])

### *Vasagies Compagnie*

**Pieter Visagie** (from Antwerp)

**Jacob Teunisz:** (from Cooltjenplaet [Colijnsplaat, Zeeland?])

**Frans Gerritsz:** (from den Uijthoorn)

**Sijmon Jansz: in't Velt** (from Dorth)

**Henrick Henricksz: Boom** (from Amsterdam)

**Herman Evertsz: Gresnicht** (Utrecht)

**Cornelis Claesz:** (from Utrecht)

**Dirck Meyer** (from Lüneburg)

**Jan Reijniersz:** (from Amsterdam)

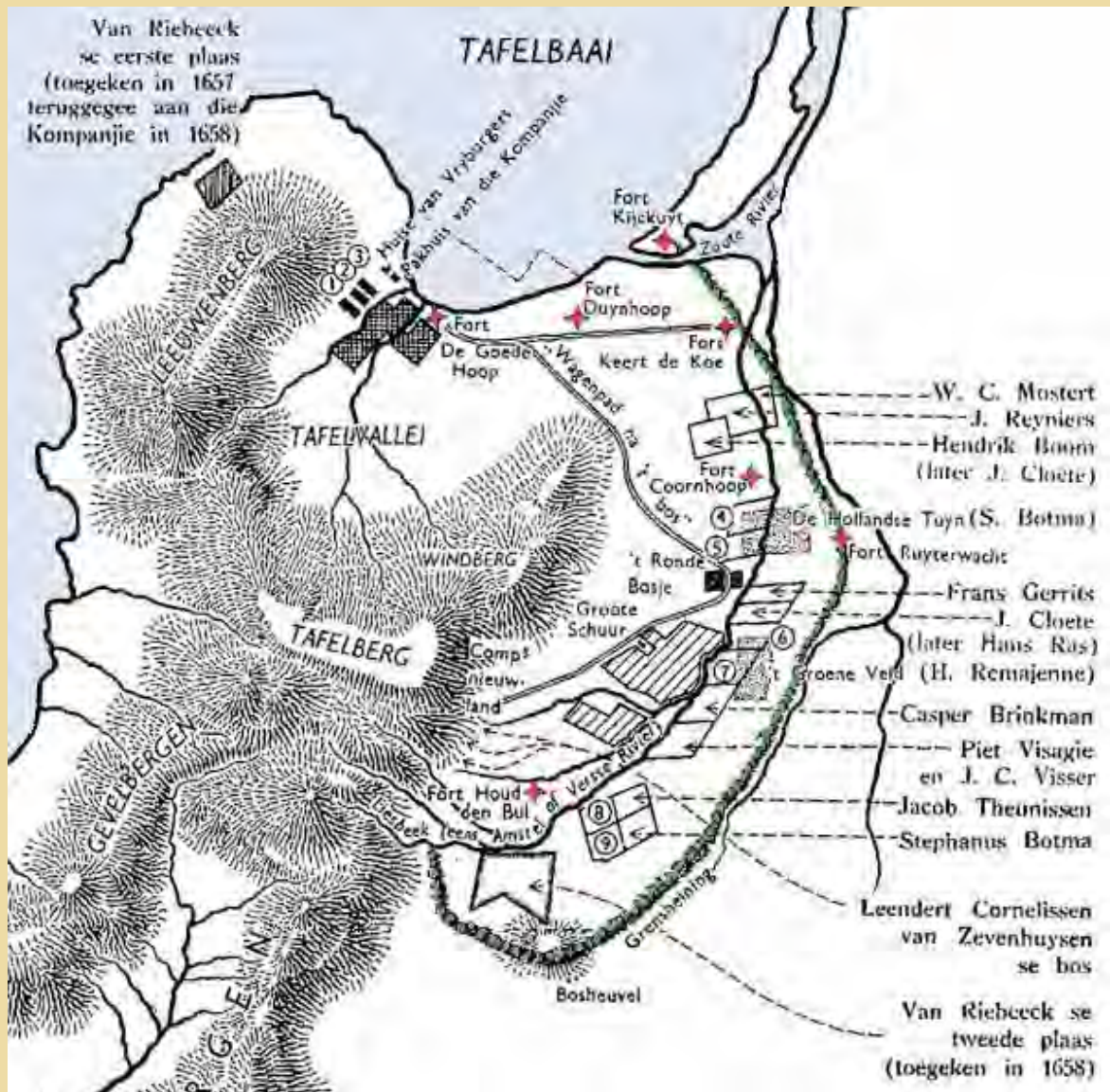
**Wouter Cornelis[z]: Mostert** (from Utrecht)

**Jan van Passel** (from Geel)

**Roeloff Hanse** (from Christiania [Oslo, Norway])

**Claes Schrijver**





Cape Settlement c. 1659

*cleermaeckers*

**Hendrick Henricksz:** (from Sürwürden [Oldenburg])

**Elbert Dircksz: Diemer** (from Emmerich) }

*vrije wiltschutten*

**Christiaan Jansz:** (Husum)

**Pieter Cornelisz:** (from Langesund [Norway])

*vrij borger en chirurgijn*

**Jan Claesz: Vetteman** (from Amsterdam)

**Isaack Manget** (from Geneva [Switzerland])

*Eijgenaers van de Saldanha vaert om traen te branden, vissen, etc.*

**Jurgen Jansz: [Appel]** (from Amsterdam)

**Gerrit Hermansz:** (from Deventer)

**Thomas Christoffel Mulder** (from Leipzig)

**Cornelis Cornelisz:** (from Rotterdam)

**Bartholomeus Borns** (from Waerden)

**Henrick Barentsz:** (from Leeuwarden)



*houtsager, ende eijgenaer van gedeelte boscagie*

**Leendert Cornelisz:** (from Sevenhuijsen)

**Dircq Dircqsz:** (from Cologne)

**Carel Broersz:** (from Stockholm [Sweden])

**Christoffel Coenraets[z]:**

**Jan Jansz: Macca**

**Claes Fredricksz:** (from Amsterdam)

**Wilhelm Gon** (from Ketanes)

**Christoffel Braeckermeulen**

*vrij timmerlieden*

**Dirck Ariensz: Vreem** (from der Mere)

**Pieter Paulusz: Cley** (from Delft)

**Michiel Bartholomeusz:** (from Swol)

*in der Bouckhouder ende adsistenten dienst, om voor haer te coocken*

**Jan Sachariasz:** (from Middelburg)

*in des sargeants dienst ad idem*

**Hans Jacobsz: Liski**

The only European women and children in the colony at this point, are:

*Drommedaris* (6 April 1652) brings

**Maria de la Queillerie** (from Rotterdam) – wife of Commander **Jan van Riebeeck** & 1 son

**Lambert van Riebeeck** born Netherlands

**Abraham van Riebeeck** born Cape 1653

**Anthonij van Riebeeck** born Cape 1655

**Maria van Riebeeck** born Cape 1657

**Lijsbeth van Opdorp**

**Sebastiana van Opdorp**

Wife [name unknown] of **Adriaen de Jager** & 2 children

Wife [name unknown] of sick-comforter **Willem Barend Wijlant**

**Bernert Willemsz: Wilant** born Cape 1653

**Annatje Joris:** (from Overtoom) aka **Annatje de Boerin** – wife of chief gardener & later free-burgher **Hendrik Hendricksz: Boom** (from Amsterdam) & 6 children

**Margaretha Boom**

**Hendrik Boom**

**Job Boom**

**Marritie Boom**

**2 others [names unknown]**

**Renier Boom** born Cape 1654

**Dirck Hendricksz: Boom** born Cape 1656

**Meijnsgeen Campen** (later wife to *secunde* **Frederick Verburgh**)

**daughter** (name unknown) born Cape 1655

*Weseph* (4 March 1656) brings

**Geertruijd van Riebeeck** (from Culemborg) (w/o **Pieter van der Stael**), her husband & 2 children

**daughter** (name unknown) born Cape 1657

**Johanna Boddys** (from Doesburg) (widow of **Velten Does** & wife of **Jan van Harwaerden**)

**Christina Does** (from Doesburg) (wife of **Elbert Elbertsz: Diemer** (from Emmerich))





**Hendrik Does** (from Doesburg)

**Johannes van Harwaerden** born Cape 1657

*Wapen van Amsterdam* (26 March 1658) brings:

**Grietjen Frans: Meeckhoff** – wife of free-burgher **Hendrik Snijer** & later wife of **Willem van Dieden** (from Amsterdam)

*Mees* (14 April 1658) brings

**Anna Romswinkel** & husband surgeon **Pieter van Clinckenberg** (from Middelburg)

No more shipments of slaves from either 'Angola' or 'Guinea' are ever again offloaded at the Cape. Thereafter, slaves are brought to the Cape from Asia, East Africa and Madagascar. Consequently, the acquisition of slaves *en masse* from West and Central Africa for the early Dutch colonial settlement at the Cape is short-lived amounting only to the afore-mentioned 2 singular events.

Legal enslavement of the local indigenous population [Khoes / San - 'Hottentot' / 'Bushman'] at the Dutch-occupied Cape of Good Hope ('the Cape') is forbidden by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The 1st imported slaves - Asians - arrive in dribs and drabs at this colonial settlement at the tip of Africa (commencing 1652). These are individual, privately owned slaves brought by VOC officials returning to the Netherlands ex Batavia [now Jakarta on Java in Indonesia] or Ceylon [Sri Lanka] who either sell, leave at the Cape for safekeeping, or are commissioned to bring slaves for officials or free-burghers resident in the colony. The Cape also serves as a penal settlement. Indo-Chinese convicts, one Japanese Christian<sup>5</sup> – and later also political exiles - initially also arrive from Asia in fits and starts. The Company's directors, the Lords Seventeen (*Heeren XVII*), agree (already in 1656) to the import / export of slaves *en masse* to / from the Cape obtained elsewhere or where the Company operates its various factories.<sup>6</sup> Initial attempts to procure useful blacks as slaves (*ende treffelijcke caffers tot slaven te krijgen*)<sup>7</sup> from Madagascar and the east coast of Africa - where the Arabs, English, French, privateers and pirates are already active - prove fruitless. The Governor-General, seated in Batavia to whom the new colony at the Cape is answerable, is reluctant to send more costly slaves from Asia:<sup>8</sup>

In our opinion the colony should be worked and established by Europeans, and not by slaves, as our nation is so constituted that as soon as they have the convenience of slaves they become lazy and unwilling to put forth their hands to work, and this is a great failing in India among the Dutch, and because of it the Company will never succeed in its real object in founding Colonies in these parts, and this failure could be prevented at the Cape completely if only a fair number of freemen would make up their minds to settle there.

---

<sup>5</sup> **Anthonij de Later van Japan** – see Mansell G. Upham, 'The 1st Recorded Chinese & Japanese at the Cape', *Capensis*, no. 2 (1997), pp. 10-22.

<sup>6</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Letters Received* (Letter, 12 October 1656).

<sup>7</sup> **Jan van Riebeeck**: Despatch to Batavia (26 April 1653); A.J. Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received*, p. 90 (Despatch from Batavia, 13 December 1658); *Journal 1671-1674 & 1676* (Letter from Governor **Van Goens**, Colombo, 12 February 1674), p. 199.



## ‘Angolan’ waifs



Bay of Luanda [Teekening van de baai La Wanda St. Paulo (Loanda de St. Paulo) met het daarvoor liggende eiland – Leupe Catalogue, Atlas of Mutual Heritage]

The *Amersfoort*, captained by **Frederik Eldense**, leaves the Netherlands (14 October 1657) with a crew of 337 men. Of the crew, 31 die before reaching the Cape. The voyage is most eventful. The ship's cook commits *venus monstrosa* [sodomy] - a capital crime - with some of the ship's boys, one of the crew falls overboard in a drunken state and then there is the discovery of a pregnant woman disguised as a sailor. She subsequently gives birth to a baby girl during the voyage. The baby dies, however, 6 weeks later. More importantly for this article, however, is the cargo of Angolan slaves (mostly children) taken as a Portuguese prize captured (23 January 1658) at sea off the South American coast. The ship has a cargo of approximately 500 slaves still surviving the voyage from Luanda.<sup>9</sup>

These slaves the Portuguese obtain in Angola from the two dominant Mbundu<sup>10</sup> kingdoms of Kasanje and Matamba. The latter is ruled by the renowned Queen **N'zinga** who sides with the Dutch against the Kasanje in their conflict (1641–1648) against the Portuguese. During this time war-bands (*Imbangala*) - local Africans collaborating as mercenaries with the Portuguese - operate in Mbundu, making war, plundering other inland tribes and capturing slaves. Later the Kasanje also side with the Portuguese and after 1640 becomes the chief supplier of slaves.

<sup>9</sup> André van Rensburg: 'The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola**, **Cornelis Claasen** & **Armosyn**', *Capensis*, 2/2000, pp. 9-20; *Capensis*, 3/2000, 'The Amersfoort', pp. 5-25.

<sup>10</sup> Mbundu include the Northern Mbundu people (Ambundu) and their language (Kimbundu) and the Southern Mbundu people (Ovimbundu) and their language (Umbundu).



Slaves are marched from the interior, westward to the port of Luanda. After 1650 there is an annual export of 4000 to 5000 slaves per year from Kasanje.<sup>11</sup>



### Queen N'zinga (c. 1583-1663)

The ship's name the Dutch leave unrecorded. The skipper is one **Emanuel Francisco Poort** (from Lisbon). Bound for Brazil, the ship heads for *Bahia Todos los Santos* (Salvador). According to Dutch accounts, the ship is in trouble with masts broken, leaking and top heavy. Is the slaver damaged by the Dutch in their pursuit to capture the slaver? The ship is in no condition to sail or be escorted. The slaver is relieved of some of its cargo and the ship abandoned. Remaining slaves are left with 6 days' supply of food and 5 or 6 *pijpen*<sup>12</sup> water. The fate of the slaver and its remaining human cargo is unknown. The Dutch single out 250 of the best (also youngest) slaves – mostly children and ship them to the Cape on the ship *Amersfoort*. The slaves (*negers*) thrown overboard during the voyage to the Cape – dead and those considered to be moribund – amount to 76. Do any of these take their own lives by jumping overboard? The list whereby these discarded dead or dying slaves are recorded on a daily basis has been located and transcribed.<sup>13</sup>

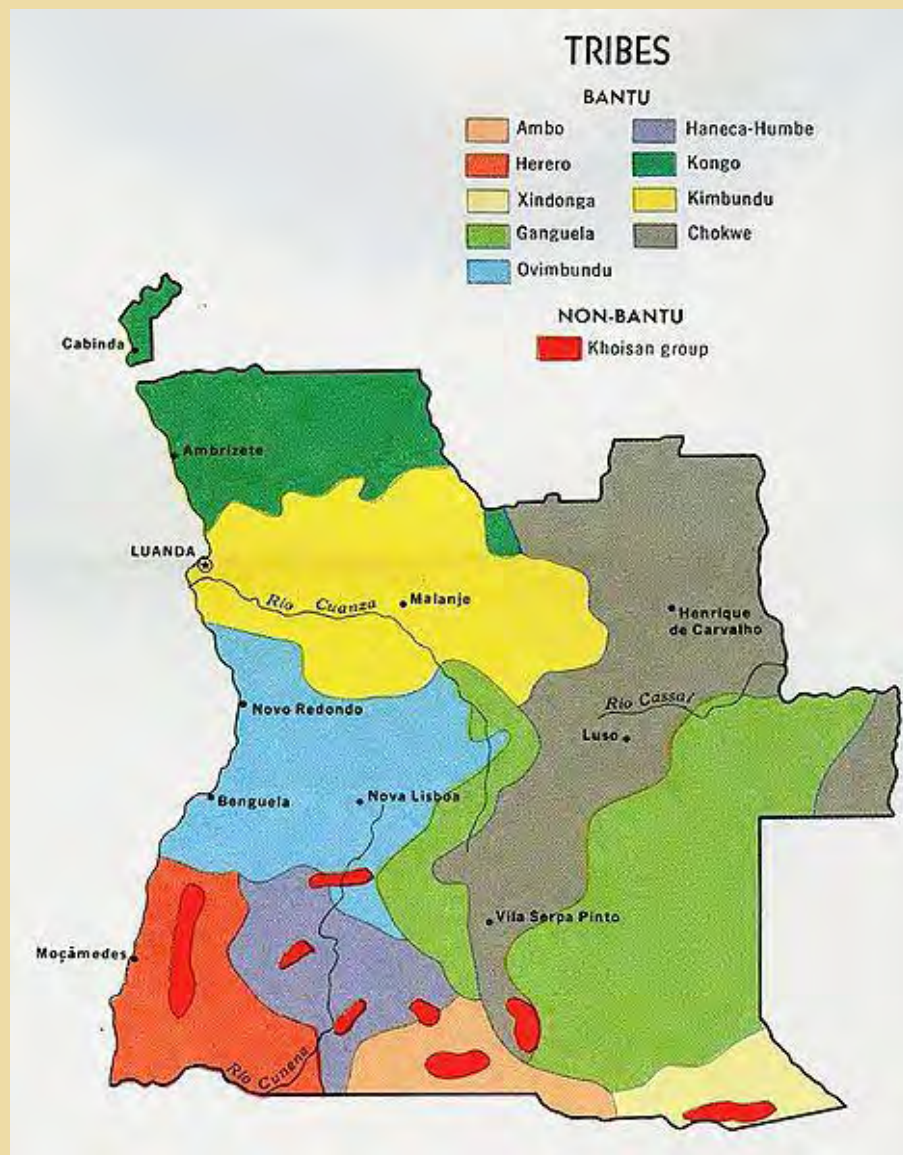
<sup>11</sup> André M. van Rensburg: 'The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola, Cornelis Claasen & Armosyn**', *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 9-20; *Capensis*, no. 3 (2000), 'The Amersfoort', pp. 5-25.

<sup>12</sup> A *pijpen* was a long Spanish and Portuguese vat which contained about 435 litres.

<sup>13</sup> Rijksargief: VOC, no. 3992, *fol.* 521; André van Rensburg: 'The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola, Cornelis Claasen & Armosyn**', *Capensis*, 2/2000, pp. 9-20; *Capensis*, 3/2000, 'The Amersfoort', pp. 5-25.







Angola ethnic groups  
[Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas]

The *Amersfoort* arrives at the Cape (28 March 1658) with only 174 survivors.<sup>14</sup> On 17 April 1658 there is a slave roll-call on land. The slaves are named, clothed, fed and schooling provided.<sup>15</sup> The Cape's 1st commander, **Jan van Riebeeck** (from Culemborg), confirms that his brother-in-law, **Pieter van der Stael** (from Rotterdam), superintendent of the hospital, is in addition instructing the Company's slaves and the 'Hottentots' [Khoikhoi] in the Dutch language and the Christian language "and with some success".<sup>16</sup> His duties involve the following:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Discrepancies regarding the number of survivors exist with other reports giving numbers as 170 & 166.

<sup>15</sup> *Van Riebeeck's Journal*, vol. III, p. 358;

<sup>16</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 115.

<sup>17</sup> *Van Riebeeck's Journal*, vol. II, pp. 258-9 (17 April 1658).





Arrangements were started for establishing a school for the Company's male and female slaves brought here from Angola by the *Amersfoort*, which had taken them off a prize Portuguese slaver. The sick-comforter **Pieter van der Stael** of Rotterdam has been entrusted with the task of giving them instruction in the morning and afternoon, besides his duties of visiting the sick, particularly because he reads Dutch well and correctly. To encourage the slaves to attend and to hear and learn the Christian prayers, it is ordered that after school everyone is to receive a small glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco. All their names are to be written down and those who have none, are to be given names, paired or unpaired, young or old. All this is to be done in the presence of the Commander, who will attend for a few days to put everything in proper order and subject these people to proper discipline, signs of which are already apparent. All the slaves are to be properly clothed to protect them against the daily increasing cold. The strongest have been put to work so that they may as soon as possible be of service to the settlement.



**Ngola ('Queen') Ann N`zinga Mbande aka Doña Ana de Souza (c. 1583-1663)**



## Trade-offs & sell-outs from 'Guinea'

"The slave trade is the ruling principle of my people.  
It is the source and the glory of their wealth ...  
the mother lulls the child to sleep with notes of triumph  
over an enemy reduced to slavery..."  
- **King Gezo of Dahomey**

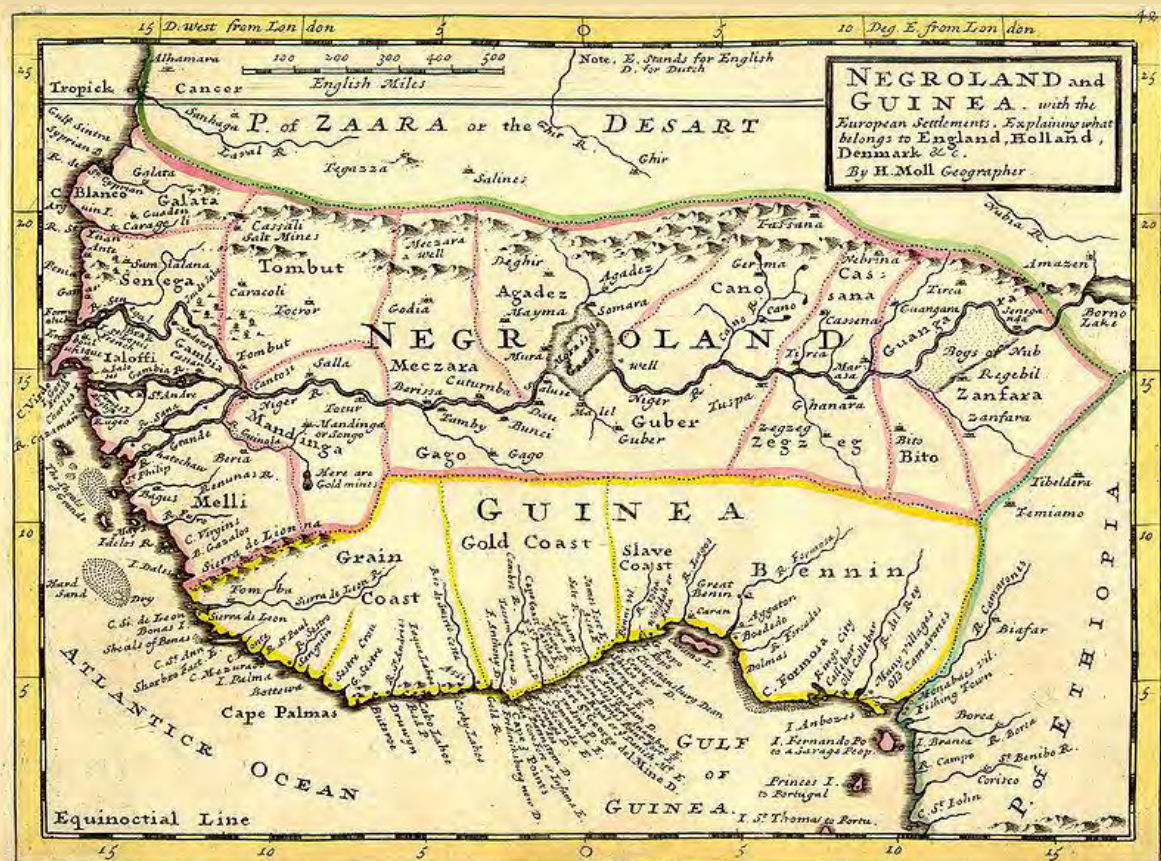


In contrast to the 'Angola' slaves, the 'Guinea' group purchased by the VOC on the West African coast is a singular transaction before the Dutch East (VOC) and West India Companies (WOC) finally redefine their exclusive areas of trade in terms of their separate charters. In this instance, the VOC effectively operates illegally in the exclusive area of commerce allocated by the States-General (the parliament of the United Dutch Republic) to the WOC. The Cape, as a VOC settlement, can now only obtain slaves from the African coast *east* of the colony at the Cape (Madagascar, Mozambique, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Arabia and the rest of Asia) as West Africa (north of the colony at the Cape) now falls exclusively within the jurisdiction of the WOC.

Slaves are sold to Europeans from the Slave Coast in the Gulf of Guinea already as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Slavery as an institution, since time immemorial, has the doctrinal blessing of Islam, Judaism and Christianity and is traditionally practiced (warlordism and caste-systems) in indigenous African and Asian societies since ancient times. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century these ports are already well-established and sophisticated slave-trading centres selling slaves uprooted and forcefully displaced from various parts of the vast interior of West Africa as far afield as present-day



Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad and the Sudan.<sup>18</sup> As a result, it is seldom possible to identify positively any specific tribal affiliation or ethnicity of many of these millions of enslaved people or people born into slavery.



'Negroland & Guinea with the European Settlements, Explaining what belongs to England, Holland, Denmark, etc'. By H. Moll Geographer (Printed and sold by T. Bowles next ye Chapter House in St. Pauls Church yard, & I. Bowles at ye Black Horse in Cornhill, 1729, orig. published in 1727'

The singular expedition (1658) by the Cape's colonial administration to purchase slaves at the Slave Coast proves to be disappointing. The two ships decide to give the major slave trading ports a miss: Mina [Elmina, Ghana]<sup>19</sup> – now Dutch-controlled (since 1637) – and Arder. As Grand Ardra [Allad] is situated inland, this must be Little Ardra - the port nearest the inland places Offra and Jaquim [Godomey] and inland west of Ajatche / Adjacé or Hogbonou [Porto Novo]<sup>20</sup> in

<sup>18</sup> John Reader, *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*, part V (*Foreign Influences*), pp. 319-478.

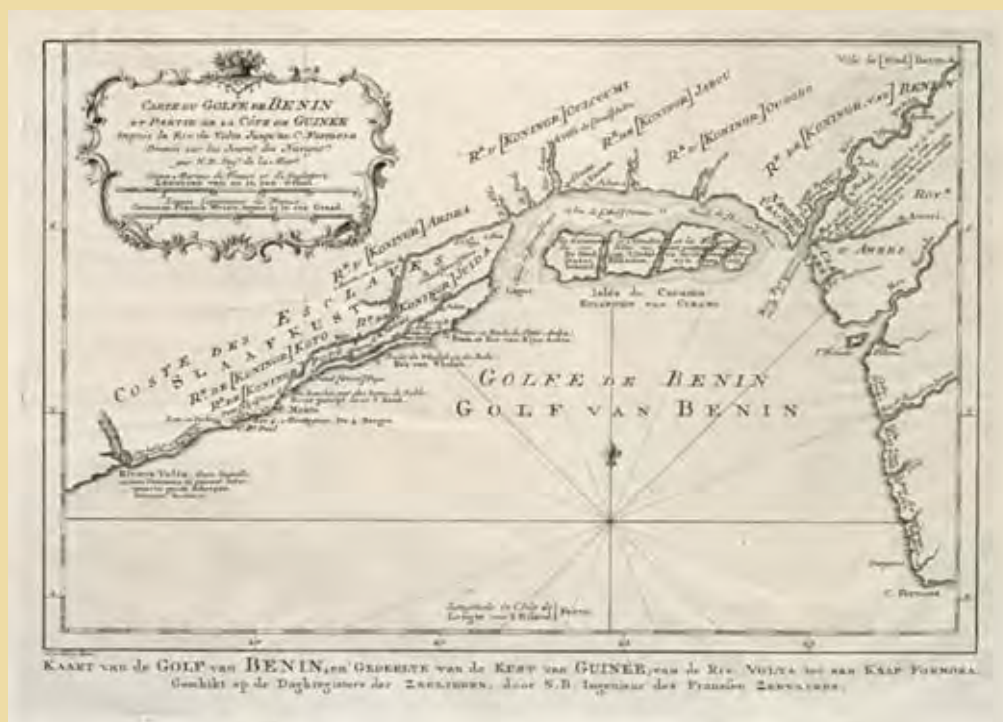
<sup>19</sup> El Mina: literally 'The Mine', in present-day Ghana. The fortress built by the Portuguese is named *Fort Sao George del Mina*. Captured by the Dutch (1637).

<sup>20</sup> Andrah / Ardra: at times incorrectly thought to be Douala, capital city of present-day Cameroon. See TANAP, however, referring to map of **Pieter Goos** showing Ardra(h) but located at present-day Lagos [sic]. According to tradition, the Aja migrated to southern Benin (12th or 13th centuries) from Tado on the Mono River & 3 brothers **Kokpon**, **Do-Aklin** & **Te-Agdanlin**, fought for the kingdom, dividing it amongst themselves (early 17th century). **Kokpon** took the thriving capital city of Great Ardra, *Allada*. **Do-Aklin** founded *Abomey* & **Te-Agdanlin** founded *Little Ardra* with its port





present-day Benin [formerly Dahomey]. Although there is also an older Portuguese presence in the area, the rulers trade with any willing buyers. Ships from other European nations are seen buying slaves at the time. Eventually, slaves are obtained 10 weeks later at another slave port, Popo - now Grand Popo in Benin<sup>21</sup> - and not to be confused with Little Popo [Aného in present-day Togo].



## Indeterminate local ethnicities

Today Little Popo [Aného] is mostly populated by the ethnic group with reigning kings known as the Gen / Mina<sup>22</sup> and sometimes confusingly referred to as *Popo*<sup>23</sup> – purportedly descending from two migrations of Ga [Gan or Gã] and other Akan people known as Fante [Fanti or Mfantsefo]) from further inland via present-day Ghana. Presumably this group sells its rejects (sorcerers, criminals, etc) but as the locally dominant group, they also appear to be responsible for the removal of both their Fon rivals and the older but more dispersed – likely indigenous people - today identified as Phla (pronounced [χ<sup>w</sup>là] but previously spelt Pla, Kpla, Xwla,

---

serving the inland cities of Offra and Godomey [Jaquim] neighbouring Ajatche / Ajase [kingdom of Hogbonu] aka Porto Novo by the Portuguese).

<sup>21</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> Alternative names include: **Ge / Gebe / Gegbe / Gen-Gbe / Gengbe / Gen-Gbe / Gen-Mina / Guin** and also belatedly as **Popo** which name previously refers to the earlier **Phla-Pherá** inhabitants at Popo.

<sup>23</sup> **Popo** originally refers to the earlier **Phla-Pherá** inhabitants at Popo before being subsumed by their more populous invaders.



Hwla and Fla.<sup>24</sup> Since the surrounding Fon remain more dominant than even the Gen / Mina, the possibility that they are also sold into slavery at the time of the *Hasselt*'s visit cannot be discounted.



The Fon of Whydah [Ouidah], Dahomey sell (*ante* 1700) to European traders members of the following tribes: *Wida*, *Popo*, *Adja* (residents in south-eastern Togo and south-east Benin), *Ketou* (now a city in Benin), *Ewe* and *Mahi* (residents in Abomey, capital of Dahomey Empire). Only since 1700 are many - linguistically unrelated - Yoruba also sold as slaves to European traders.<sup>25</sup> In parts of Ghana among the Ewe people, a family may be punished for an offense by having to turn over a virgin female to serve as a sex slave within the offended family. In this instance, the woman does not gain the title of “wife”. In parts of Ghana, Togo, and Benin, shrine slavery persists, despite being illegal in Ghana (since 1998). This system of slavery is sometimes called *trokosi* (in Ghana) or *voodooosi* (in Togo and Benin), or ritual servitude. Young virgin girls are given as slaves in traditional shrines and are used sexually by the priests, in addition to providing free labor for the shrine.

24 “One **Phla-Pherá** language, Xwla (pronounced [x<sup>w</sup>la]), is spoken west of the Mono river, along the coast between Anexo [‘Little Popo’] (Togo) and Grand Popo (Benin); this language has been called **Popo** in the past” [Hounkpati B.C. Capo, ‘A Comparative Phonology of Gbe’, *Publications in African Languages and Linguistics*, 14 (Foris Publications & Garome, Bénin: Labo Gbe (Int), Berlin / New York, 1991)].

<sup>25</sup> Juan Liscano, 1950: 74 s.



All these above-mentioned groups linguists consider to be part of the Gbe (pronounced [gbè]) language group. These languages form a cluster of about 20 related languages stretching across the area between eastern Ghana and western Nigeria. The total number of speakers is between 4 and 8 million. The most widely spoken Gbe language is Ewe (3 million speakers in Ghana and Togo), followed by Fon (1.7 million, mainly in Benin). The Gbe languages were traditionally placed in the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo languages, but more recently have been classified as Volta–Niger. They include 5 major dialect clusters: Ewe, Fon, Ajá, Gen (Mina) and Phla-Pherá.

Most of the Gbe peoples originate from the east arriving at their present dwelling-places in several migrations (10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century). Some of the Phla-Pherá peoples however are thought to be the original inhabitants of the area who intermingled with the Gbe immigrants while the Gen people probably are immigrants from the north of Ga or Fante origin.<sup>26</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, many speakers of Gbe are enslaved and transported to the New World. It is believed that Gbe languages underpin several Caribbean creole languages.



Map showing the distribution of the major Gbe dialect areas  
[Capo 1988, 1991]

The Phla-Pherá (Xwla-Xwela) languages form a possible group of Gbe languages spoken mainly in south-eastern and south-western Benin with some communities to be found in south-eastern Togo and south-western Nigeria. The group, (about ten varieties) H.B. Capo introduces as one of the five main branches of Gbe. Although additional research (SIL International) corroborate Capo's findings, some of his more tentative groupings have been adjusted. In particular, the Phla-Pherá are now divided in an eastern and a western cluster.<sup>27</sup> Capo groups the Phla-Pherá lects mainly on the basis of a number of shared phonological and morphological features. These include the development of proto-Gbe \*t<sup>h</sup> and \*d<sup>h</sup> into /s/ and /z/, the retained distinction between \*ɛ and \*e and the occurrence of various nominal prefixes. Capo notes that "the name Phla-Pherá is not used by speakers of the

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.lawson.tonsite.biz/e\\_aneho/spip.php?rubrique113](http://www.lawson.tonsite.biz/e_aneho/spip.php?rubrique113)

<sup>27</sup> H.C. Capo, *Renaissance du Gbe* (1988, p. 15) - internal classification of **Gbe** published in full for 1st time as part of introduction in English translation *A Comparative Phonology of Gbe* (1991).



various lects which it comprises” and that “in fact, the Phla-Pherá section is less unified than the others”. However, their speakers “recognise a closer link between the lects listed here than between any of those listed in other [branches]”. He marks the Alada variety as an exception, as some people ‘consider Alada and the Fon language Gun to be one and the same language’.

The term Phla-Pherá combines the names of two major dialects of this grouping. There exist many spelling variants of both names. Phla - pronounced [χ<sup>w</sup>là] - has been previously spelt Pla, Kpla, Xwla, Hwla and Fla. Pherá pronounced [χ<sup>w</sup>èlá] or [χ<sup>w</sup>èrá] - has been previously spelt Peda, Fida, Péda and Houéda. Most Phla-Pherá languages are spoken in the Mono, Atlantique and Oueme (Weme) provinces of Benin. Alada, a lect that is sometimes included in the Phla-Pherá group, is spoken in southwestern Nigeria (southeast of Porto-Novo). One Phla-Pherá language, Xwla (pronounced [x<sup>w</sup>la]), is spoken west of the Mono river, along the coast between Anexo (Togo) and Grand Popo (Benin); this language has been called *Popo* in the past. Fon in its various shapes, representing another branch of Gbe, is the dominant language in this area and communities of Phla-Pherá speakers are scattered across the Fon area. The Phla-Pherá languages are among the least investigated of the Gbe languages. In some cases, barely more is known than the name of a dialect and the village where it is spoken. Because of this, it is difficult to determine the total number of speakers of Phla-Pherá languages. A tentative approximation, based on the scanty demographic data available in the Ethnologue, is 400 000 speakers excluding Alada, or 600 000 to 700 000 including Alada.



**Grand Popo today**

Phla-Pherá is one of the smaller Gbe branches in terms of number of speakers. It is also the most linguistically diverse branch of Gbe, due partly to the existence of several geographically separated communities, but mainly because of considerable

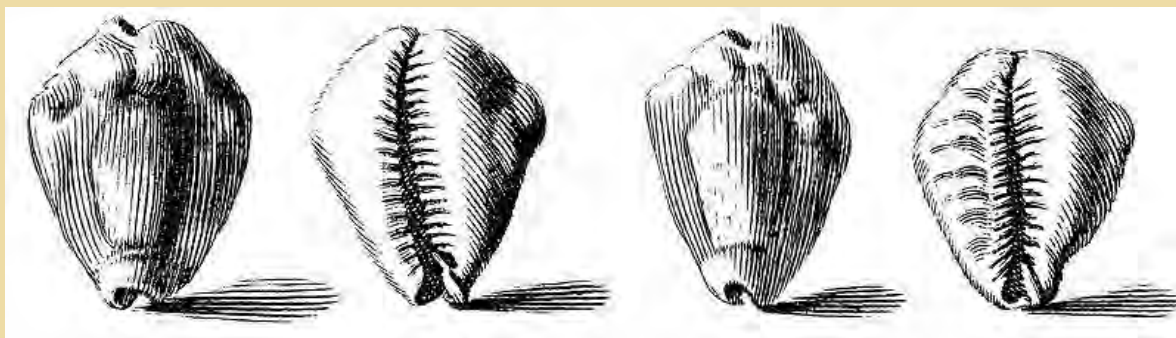




influence by several non-Gbe languages in the past. Some of the Phla-Pherá peoples are thought to be indigenous to the region having intermingled with Gbe immigrants. The Phla-Pherá group consists of the following lects:

**Alada (Allada, Arda)** – south-west Nigeria, south-east of Porto-Novo  
**Tɔli (Tori)** – Atlantique & Weme Province, west of Alada area  
**Tɔfin (Toffi, Tofin)** – Weme province, Benin, north of Nokoué Lake  
**Phelá (Fida, Péda, Xwela, Phera)** [Pherá, pronounced [χ<sup>w</sup>èlá] or [χ<sup>w</sup>èrá] - previously spelt **Peda, Fida, Péda & Houéda**] – east of Lake Ahémé in Atlantique province of Benin  
**Phla (Pla, Xwla, Hwla, Popo)** – coastal borderland of Togo & Benin, between Anexo [Petit Popo] & Grand Popo  
**Ayizo (Ayizo, Ayize)** – Atlantique province, Benin  
**Kotafon (Kotafohn)** – Mono Province, Benin  
**Gbési (Gbesi)** – Mono province, north of Ahémé Lake, Benin  
**Tsáphɛ (Sahwe, Saxwe)** – northern Mono province, Benin  
**Sɛ (Se)** – west Mono province, Benin  
**Ayizo, Gbesi (gbesiin) & Kotafon (kógbè)** are the same basic language

Instructions regarding the purchase of slaves from `Guinea` are clear: “the lame, halt, blind and old” are to be avoided. The slaves cost dear in comparison to slaves from Asia as the ship’s skipper has not been supplied with the right trading currency. With *bougijis* (a kind of shell used as money) or other beads and trinkets, the crew are in a better position to compete with other slave dealers.



A drawing of *Monetaria moneta* / *Cypraea moneta*) Linnaeus (1758) [Index Testarum Conchyliorum (1742) of Niccolò Gualtier]

Reporting to his superiors, **Van Riebeeck** writes:<sup>28</sup>

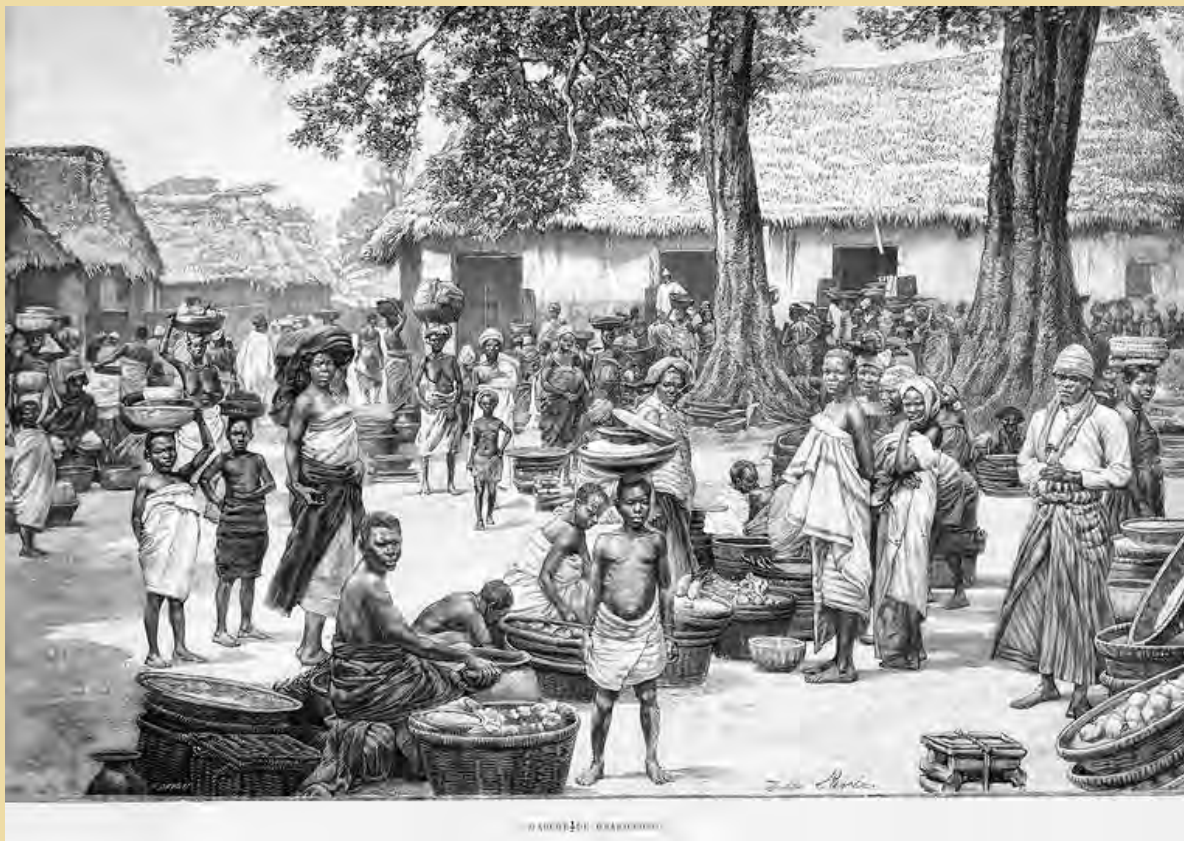
The average cost per head, according to the account submitted by the junior merchant, **Van de Venne**, was between 53 and 54 guilders. To this should be added the calculation that in case the “bougys” or “Couries” and other Indian clothing given the vessel, had been invoiced at the Indian valuation, or had come from India, each slave would not have cost more than 5 reals, for the Guinea linen had according to the Fatherland price been invoiced at 27 guilders per piece, which on the Coast does not cost more than 6 guilders. The same may be said of the “bougy” and other most important merchandize.

<sup>28</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 38 (**Jan van Riebeeck & Roeloff de Man** in Despatch to Batavia, 22 May 1658).





The slaves purchased are brought from 'Guinea' to the Cape on the ship *Hasselt* (6 May 1658) and landed the following day: of the 271 slaves obtained, only 228 arrive at the Cape.<sup>29</sup> There had been 43 casualties. The *Hasselt* leaves Cabo de Lopo Gonsalvo on the coast of Gabon (15 March 1658) and Annabon (21 March 1658) and the voyage takes a month and a half. **Van Riebeeck** is satisfied with the cargo describing them as being "gay ... very good-looking, strong and cheerful people" (*monter ... besonder fraij, cloek ende lustich volcq*) and in other correspondence as "strong healthy Guinea slaves", and later, as "a fine, strong and healthy lot".<sup>30</sup>



**Grand Popo's Market**

Sexual interaction between crew and slave are not inconceivable as evidenced – albeit analogously – by the later comments of Commander **Jan van Riebeeck's** Cape-born son, **Abraham**. When visiting his birth-place, he observes not only the return of the yacht the *Voorhout* (specially commissioned for the slave trade at Madagascar and sent (22 May 1676) there to purchase slaves), but also the arrival of its first slave cargo:<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> There is a discrepancy of 2 survivors, however. In a Despatch to Batavia (15 January 1659) **Van Riebeeck** states that 226 arrived alive.

<sup>30</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 35 & *Journal* (7 May 1658).

<sup>31</sup> R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702: The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation as seen by callers*, vol. I, p. 194.



In the afternoon the slaves purchased at Madagascar were brought ashore, 257 in number, and given clothing. Among the slave-women many plump ones were to be seen, whom the sailors (it was said) had well looked after by day in return for their favours by night; these also were brought ashore, and could not part from the sailors without weeping and wailing.

## Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope



**Van Riebeeck** is instructed to send the best of these `Angola` and `Guinea` slaves to Batavia. Although the majority of the `Angola` slaves arrive ill and are dying daily in the Company's hopelessly ill-equipped and undersized hospital, **Van Riebeeck** complies: 16 `Angola` slaves are sent on the *Amersfoort*, 16 on the *Amsterdam*, and 8 on the *Sparrow*. Reporting to his superiors, **Van Riebeeck** writes:<sup>32</sup>

The best had died. Of the survivors (many of whom are still dying daily) most are girls and boys, from whom just yet very little service will be obtainable, but in 3 or 4 years' time they will be very fit.

The numbers of the remaining 125 `Angola` slaves soon dwindle, however. Nevertheless, 38 men and 37 women are immediately put to work. A further 52 of the healthier slaves are shipped away: 30 on the *Dordrecht* and 32 on the *Hasselt*.<sup>33</sup>

"We send you by this vessel, the *Dordrecht*, 30 Angola slaves, so that altogether we have sent you 70 young and healthy folk. The rest are mostly old and sickly, some of them daily dying off."

Thus 92 of the best `Angola` slaves are shipped from the Cape destined – if they survived the voyage – to labour and possibly leave their roots elsewhere. There are now only 82 `Angola` slaves remaining. The officials and burghers purchase no less than 24 `Angola` slaves.<sup>34</sup> Only 19 `Angola` slaves (3 men and 16 women) can

<sup>32</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 32 (Despatch, 6 April 1658).

<sup>33</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 38 (Despatch to Batavia, 12 May 1658).

<sup>34</sup> The constable **Nathaniel West** & *geweldiger* (literally `violator` - executioner or provost & torturer) had already bought (22 April 1658) his slave **Anthonij van Angola**.



be utilized by the Company. The rest are too old, infirm or young. The mortality rate among the 'Angola' slaves is high: 32 slaves die already in the first year since their arrival and seven abscond into the interior. On 2 June 1658 an 'Angolan' slave working in the forest runs away. Another 2 working in the grain fields, 2 employed at the Fort and 2 women follow suit after midnight.<sup>35</sup> Described as "men from the highlands and cannibals" by fellow slaves, these 7 slaves are never retrieved.<sup>36</sup> In 1663 there were only 5 men and 12 women left from 'Angola' belonging to the Company. The Journal (20 December 1672) informs us of the "death in the Company's large garden of a half-caste 'Angola' boy about 9 years".<sup>37</sup>

No fewer than 80 of the best 'Guinea' slaves are diverted to the East, leaving 148 individuals. Although 55 of the Guinea slaves are sold by the Company to officials and to the colony's small free-burgher population, no less than 52 die (May 1658-March 1659).<sup>38</sup> Many Guinea slaves also abscond into the interior. **Van Riebeeck's** despatch to his superiors sheds some light on the fate of the 'Guinea' slaves:<sup>39</sup>

The *Hasselt* arrived here on the 6th May with 226 slaves. The youngest we sent to Batavia, and the oldest, limited to the number fixed by you, we have kept here at the Cape. They are, however, rapidly dying away and have already been reduced to 60 whilst various grey men and women are lying down sick and will also die, so that very little can be done with them, and consequently not much effected with the 80 Netherlanders, which number exclusive of the sick, was never exceeded this season. The slaves that are young and strong are very apt to run away, so that we keep the rest in chains, who are accordingly hardly able to do half work. Some of the freemen's slaves have also deserted, and consequently some of them have brought theirs back to the Company. Had we been permitted to retain the boys and little girls, before they had come to riper age or known anything of running away, they might have been made to grow better and more nicely accustomed to us. But to obey your orders, we despatched them all to Batavia, as well as those captured by the *Amersfoort* on the Brazilian coast.

Although the Company succeeds in recapturing most of its slaves during the spate of slave desertions (June-September 1658), the freemen nevertheless lose a further 16 (mostly Guinea?) slaves:<sup>40</sup>

12 slaves lately deserted all recaptured - besides 2 of the freemen & others, who have lost 16, and the Company 7 Angola slaves, or total of 23 men & women, of whose recapture there is little hope, a great loss indeed - hence the freemen have brought back most of their slaves to the Company preferring to do their work with the Dutch servants.

---

<sup>35</sup> *Journal of van Riebeeck*, vol. II (3 June 1658), pp. 281-282, Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> Already as early as 10 May 1658 free-burgher **Casper Brinkman** had purchased his 4 Guinea slaves.

<sup>39</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 55 (Letter Despatched, 5-15 January 1659).

<sup>40</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched* (Letter Despatched, 17 September 1658).





The Cape winter also takes its toll. There remain (by 5 March 1659) only 19 men and 22 women from `Guinea`, a total of 41 that the Company struggles to put to work. The visiting indigenous *Chainouqua* chieftain **Chaihantima** is brutally attacked (18 May 1659) by the `Guinea` slaves and a dog at **Van Riebeeck's** farm *Bosheuvel* [later *Protea* now *Bishopscourt*] much to the chagrin of the Dutch more keen than ever to improve relations with the Cape's indigenous population. Many of the remaining `Guinea` slaves again try to run away (August 1659) but are retrieved - thanks to the collaboration of a compatriot named **Evert van Guinea** belonging to the commander, who reveals their hiding place. For such betrayal, **Evert** receives his freedom (22 August 1659). He is the 1st slave (and 1st privately owned slave) to be freed at the Cape. His descendants via his daughter **Swarte Maria** become integrated into the colony's `free population`.

The following year the colonists tire of life at the "furthest corner of Africa" (*het uijterste hoeck van Africa*). When extolling (bemoaning?) their situation, the Dutch wax lyrical - also hyperbolical. The phrase *at earth's extremest end* (*op 't eijnde van de Aerd*) they cast in stone when laying the foundations of the *Casteel de Goede Hoop*.<sup>41</sup> With the arrival of the Return Fleet (2 March 1660-20 March 1660), the crew run amok leaving a trail of destruction, crying "What are you doing in this godforsaken and accursed land?" (*Wat maak ghij in 't vervloecte en verdoemde land?*) inviting the colony's inhabitants to board the ships. Many Cape settlers attempt to stow away and abandon the new colony. One wonders what goes through the minds of their abandoned slaves.

The records allow us a rare glimpse into the life of the personal female slave from `Guinea`, named **Adouke**, belonging to the partners (*compagnons*) **Heinrich Elberts: / Ellebrecht** (from Osnabrück) and **Steven Jansz: Botma** (from Wageningen). Still awaiting the arrival of their wives from *Patria*, their partnership suffers strain. **Botma**, whom **Elberts:** repeatedly calls a "sodomite", retaliates (7 July 1660) by getting their *knecht* **Willem Willemsz; de Lierman** (from Deventer) to swear under oath that his partner routinely rapes their female slave after chasing away her `husband`:<sup>42</sup>

...that **Hendrick Elbertsz:** living with the latter [**Botma**] in one house, had for a long while had illicit intercourse [*gebouleert*] with the female belonging to them, named **Adouke**. Often he had turned her husband from his bed and gone to lie with his wife. The lad said to him, 'Are you not ashamed of yourself?', and he replied, 'It is nothing to you, &c.

<sup>41</sup> This takes place (2 January 1666). The poem, engraved into one of the Castle's foundation stones & from which this phrase derives, is quoted in full at the beginning of this article [H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal (1662-1670)*, p. 170].

<sup>42</sup> CA: C 326 (*Attestation*), p. 157 (7 July 1660): ... *Dat Hendrick Elbertsz van Osnabrugge, mede vryburger alhier, langen tijd herwaerts met hare slavin genaemt Adouke heeft gebouleert, ende verscheijde male gemelte haar man van de koy gejaagd en bij de slaevin gaen leggen ...*; H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations*, vol. III, p. 443.



Following the epidemic of 1661, many more remaining 'Guinea' slaves are to perish or abscond: never named, forgotten - unmourned. The unnamed 'Guinea' female slave on Robben Island becomes sick and fails to light the beacon (6 September 1661).<sup>43</sup> She dies (22 October 1661). This is the first sign of illness amongst the colony's local inhabitants. Thereafter follows a spate of entries in the Company Journal reporting the terrible ensuing loss of life:

(23 September 1661) Today-one of the Company's Guinea slaves died. This is a great loss, for they are becoming real handy and are as good workmen in the gardens as any Dutchman.

(18 & 19 October 1661) Calm weather. The Commander was out for the first time since his illness inspecting all parts of the settlement ... To-day another of the Company's best Guinea slaves died; he had been well trained in farm work. Many of these slaves are lying ill and the free burghers have recently also suffered considerable loss of slaves through death.

(20 October 1661) The same weather. Yet another of the Company's Guinea slaves died. This one had been placed under the provost.

(21 & 22 October 1661) Fine weather. During these days two more of the Company's Guinea slaves died, both females. One was the slave-girl from the Robben Island.

(24 October 1661) The same weather. Another of the Hon. Company's female slaves died.

(8 November 1661) Another of the Company's female Guinea slaves died.

(9 November 1661) The wet, unsettled weather continued and there were strong N.W. winds. The death occurred of a certain cadet, **Isaacq de Graeff** of Leyden. There are still quite a number of patients in the hospital, which has been fairly full throughout this season. The numbers show no signs of decreasing, for those who recover soon suffer a relapse. There has also been a serious disease, and death, among the Hottentots, so that it seems to be an epidemic, which affected the free burghers through the deaths of some of their slaves even before it spread to the Company's slaves. Many of the latter are falling ill and dying very quickly. We trust that it will please the Lord God to bring about a change for the better.

(11 November 1661) To-day two children of the Company's slaves died in addition to the best slave of the free farmer **Steven Janssen [Botma]** of Wageningen, for whom he had been offered 500 guilders only a short time ago.

(21 November 1661) To-day **Pieter Egbertssen** of Den Dam died ... More and more men are falling ill so at present we are somewhat under strength, and the sickness amongst the slaves shows no sign of abating. The freeman **Steven Janssen [Botma]**, in addition to his slave of whom mention was made on the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, last week also lost his female slave [**Adouke?**] – a serious loss to them. The disease is also raging among the *Saldanhars* so violently that Oedasoa had to leave a whole camp behind because they were incapable of travelling, so they will have to rejoin him in dribs and drabs. They may, of course, be a rearguard which he is keeping there under pretence of illness, though to judge by his conduct, he seems to harbour no evil intentions.

---

<sup>43</sup> We know that there are a male and a female from both from 'Guinea' stationed on Robben Island. This is confirmed in a despatch to the island's superintendent, **Rijck Overhagen** (12 March 1659) concerning rations also for 2 'Guinea' slaves (1 male & 1 female).



(24 November 1661) [Edict warning of disease being rampant amongst the 'Hottentots'] ... To-day one of the Company's slaves who worked in the smithy died. He was as efficient in his work as any Dutchman. Three or four days before death overtook him he was hale and hearty, a fate which has befallen some others too. More and more cases of illness occur daily, one of the latest being the slave of the company's carpenter, who is also as good in his work as any Dutchman. Many of the Company's servants have been similarly laid low, a state of affairs which is now rather inconvenient, seeing that all the *Saldanhars*, the *Kaapmans* and their satellites are pressing in so close upon us.

(28 November 1661) One of the garden slaves of the Hon. Company died suddenly after only 5 days' illness.

Thereafter, the Journal is silent about any more deaths and the epidemic. In 1663, not surprisingly, there are only 11 men and 19 women left from 'Guinea' belonging to the Company. Exact figures for the survivors belonging to the officials and free-burgher population are not known but they could not have numbered too many.

When contrasting the slaves from 'Angola' and 'Guinea', the Cape's 1st VOC commander **Jan van Riebeeck** observes:<sup>44</sup>

As regards the nature of the slaves, it seems that the Guinea ones are certainly the biggest and strongest, but those from Angola stand this cold climate better, as the Guinea ones are more and more falling in, while those from Angola on the other hand are coming on well and have, excepting 27, all been discharged (? from the hospital). The rest are all of the Guinea nations, of whom about two-thirds are ill, for at this time of the year, arriving here at the change of the warm season into the cold one, and in wet weather, which to our own people is very unhealthy, most of whom have annually to suffer in consequence (*een stoot moeten afstaen*), during the months of May and June, the one year more severely than another, though never any of them died - it is no wonder that the slaves are attacked in the same way, who are only accustomed to great heat. We shall accordingly do our best to restore them to good health, and send to Batavia all above the number not required by us.

---

<sup>44</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, p. 38 (**Jan van Riebeeck & Roeloff de Man**, Despatch to Batavia, 22 May 1658).



## The ties that bind us ... the bonds that tie us ... Slaves, Convicts & Political Exiles at *Earth's Extremest End*

Those black African slaves from 'Angola' and 'Guinea' surviving the initial voyage to the Cape and not shipped to Batavia, are to form the initial core of the Company's Slave Lodge (82 'Angola' and 148 'Guinea' slaves) at the Cape of Good Hope. An exceedingly high mortality rate and constant desertions reduces this core considerably. That the amount of slaves from 'Angola' and 'Guinea' dwindles dramatically is further confirmed by the fact that by 1662 there are no more than 23 slaves in the possession of the free-burghers. The muster return (1663) confirms how the amount of 'Angola' and 'Guinea' slaves owned by the Company has diminished:

11 Guinea men; 19 Guinea women; 5 Angola men; 12 Angola women; 6 Malagasy slaves; 2 Bengal women; 27 children.

Slaves at the Cape are supplemented more and more by slaves from Madagascar, East Africa and Asia as the colony's labour needs intensify so that the original 'Angola' and 'Guinea' contingents almost become an almost forgotten legacy of South African history<sup>45</sup>. With the arrival of Dresden-born **Zacharias Wagenaer (1614-1668)**, the Cape's 2nd commander (1662-1666), from Batavia (1662), come 5 personal slaves:

- the Japanese Christian **Anthonij de Later van Japan**
- his concubine **Annica van Bengale**
- their son **Abraham**
- **Louis van Bengale &**
- **Willem van Bengale**

and 17 Asian (Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel / Bengal and Bali) slaves (mostly soon sold privately) in the Return Fleet (*Marseveen, Phoenix, Prinses Royaal*) ex Batavia (15 March 1662):

*Prinses Royaal* brings 2 private slaves:

- **Catharina van Batavia [Catharina van Malabar / Bengale (born c. 1637)?]** sold (3 April 1662) sent by **Jacob Does** in Batavia with merchant **Gillis Nonnemans** sailing on *Princess Royaal* to hand over to **Jochem Blanck** (from Luebeck) at the Cape;
- **Pieter van Ceylon** sold (28 March 1662) by **Jacob Does** to **Jochem Blanck** for 50.00;

*Marserveeren* brings 15 slaves:

- **Baddou / Barru van Bali**

---

<sup>45</sup> An interesting exception appears to be that of the slave **Jan Vos van Cabo Verde** [*sic* - Cap Vert] who arrives 17 January 1662 ex Cap Vert, Senegal on the *Nachtigal* [*Nachtegaal*], which ship – a *galjoot* en route to Paliacatta [*Pulicat*] on record at Cap Vert (12-22 August 1661) – who is sold (27 January 1662) by **Fijaart Meijnderts Bakker** to the free-burgher **Bartholomeus Borns** (from Waerden [*Friesland*]).



- Maria van Bali
- Jeronimus van Coromandel
- Matthijs van Coromandel
- Jan (Jantje) van Bengale
- Adriaen (Arie) van Bengale
- Gratia d'Costa
- Paul(o) van Malabar
- Catharina van Bengale (born c. 1651)
- Helena van Malabar
- Jacob Cornelisse: van Colombo / Malabar / Bengale
- Jan Luij / Leeuw van Ceylon
- Ventura van Ceylon
- Marquart [Pai] van Ceylon
- Florinda van Jafnapatnam

followed by the offloading from the *Hoogcarspel* (10 April 1663) of an African slave woman and her child (*een Cafferinje met haar kint*) taken from a Portuguese prize *Nostra Signora de Pine de France* and the arrival on 't *Waterhoen* of 6 slaves purchased (5 December 1663) at St. Augustine Bay, Madagascar (3 females, 2 small boys and 1 little girl). The likelihood exists that when VOC commissioner **Sijbrand Abbema** visits (9 February 1670) the Cape in the Return Fleet, he brings at least 4 private slaves.

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

The capture (1673) of an English prize *Johanna Catharina* (subsequently renamed the *Helena*), contributes 148 Malagasy men, women and children slaves, of whom only 37 remain at the Cape (12 March 1673), the VOC in Batavia finally sends slaves (39, one of whom dies *en route*) from the Indonesian archipelago (Solor, Timor, Roti and Buton) plus 3 convicts<sup>46</sup> on the *Voorhout* and accompanying ships of the return fleet and the *Polsbroek* bring 37 Malagasy slaves from St. Helena (28 April 1673). More slaves are to arrive at the Cape (1677). The new commander **Joan Bax van Herenthals**, arriving from Ceylon, brings a large retinue of personal Asian slaves. In April 1677, the return fleet brings 93 slaves from Ceylon (mostly from the Indian sub-continent: Tuticorin, Cochin, Quilon and the Malabar Coast). The *Voorhout* offloads (22 December 1677) Malagasy slaves (babies included): 49

---

<sup>46</sup> The convicts are: **Roosje van Sabo**, **Pieter van Macassar** & **Jeremias van Cabelang** [Kabalan], late slaves of **Sieur Hendrik ter Horst**, **Mrs Van den Helm** & **Daniel Sicx**. Note: Kabalan is on the north-east coast of Formosa. The plain there is said to have contained 47 villages & open anchorage to the east is referred to [...] as the *Bay of Kabelang*. *Komolan* is another name formerly applied to this region & afterwards *Kap-tsu-lan* came into use. It is now called the *Gi-lan* (in Japanese *Gi-ran*) [Mdn. Yilan] district. Steep island [Guishan Dao] lies some 10 miles off [...] <http://taiwanplacenames.blogspot.jp/2013/10/miscellany-of-19th-century-notes-on.html>.





(9 men, 10 women and 30 children, mostly boys) from St. Augustine Bay and 93 slaves from the Bay of Magelage [Nosy Antsoheribory].<sup>47</sup>

Besides these group arrivals and others from Madagascar, privately owned slaves are being sold individually from time to time to officials and free-burghers by senior VOC officials stopping over at the Cape, either returning from the East or en route from Europe to the East and also ships from other European sea powers (England, Denmark and France) that are allowed to stop over when these nations are not at war with the United Dutch Republic. Dutch, English and Danish co-operation intensifies dramatically just before and after the so-called `Glorious Revolution` when the Dutchman **William III of Orange (1670-1702)** becomes king of England, Scotland and Ireland. This means that many of these individual slaves (also convicts) come from a diversity of places:

- Cabo Verde [Cap Vert now Dakar, Senegal]
- St. Tomas [Sao Tome]
- St. Helena
- East Africa
  - Madagascar
    - Magelage [Nosy Antsoheribory in Boina Bay]
    - Manigaer [Bay of Bombetoka]
    - Lijffoetsrivier or Madaotta [Morondava]
    - St. Jago
    - St. Augustine [Saint Augustin / Ianantsony / Anantsono]
    - Antongil
    - Île Sainte-Marie [Nosy Boraha]
  - Mozambique
    - Rio de la Goa [Maputo]
    - Sofala
  - Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Manda, Zanzibar, Pemba
- Arabian Peninsula
- Yemen
  - Mocha [مخا *al-Mukhā*]
- Persia [Iran],
- Indian sub-continent [Bangladesh, India & Sri Lanka]
  - Surat,
  - Wingurla (Canara) [Vengurla],
  - Goa,
  - Malabar Coast [Kerala]
    - Cochin [Kochi]
    - Quilon [Kollam]
  - Coromandel Coast
    - Negapatnam [Nagappattinam]
    - Tranquebar [Tharangambadi]
    - Pondicherry [Puducherry]
    - Madras(patnam) [Chennai]
      - Madura[Madura District]
    - Paliacatta [Pulicat]
    - Masulipatnam / Bandar [Machilipatnam]

<sup>47</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 302; A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, mentions only 77 slaves arriving – but this is the amount placed in the Lodge.



Madurai  
 Tuticorin [Thoothukudi]  
 Bengal [Western Bengal, India & Eastern Bengal or Bangladesh]  
 Sayoon (Hadhramout)  
 Ceylon [Sri Lanka]  
 Colombo  
 Galle  
 Jaffnapatnam  
 Trincomali [Trincomalee])  
 Burma [Myanmar]  
 Arakan  
 Thailand  
 China  
 Fukieng  
 Formosa [Taiwan]  
 Bay of Kabelang  
 Tonkin [Vietnam]  
 Malay Peninsula  
 Malacca [Melaka]  
 Pattani)  
 Philippines  
 Manila  
 Indonesian archipelago:  
 Sumatra  
 Medan  
 Jambi  
 Padang  
 Nias  
 Java  
 Batavia [Jakarta]  
 Madura Coast [Salt Islands]  
 Bali  
 Nusa Tenggara  
 Sumbawa  
 Flores  
 Solor  
 Timor  
 Roti  
 [Moluccas] [Maluku]  
 Ambon  
 Banda  
 Ternate  
 Tidore.  
 Celebes [Sulawesi]  
 Buton  
 Gorontalo  
 Macassar  
 Mandar [Manado]  
 Sambu

Slaves at the Cape, including the remnants or detritus of the `Angola` and `Guinea` slaves, are to continue running away, some even succeeding. 8 slaves abscond (25 August 1673), 4 of the Company and 4 belonging to the freemen. One returns and informs that the others are hiding in the neighbourhood of the *Tijgerbergen*. 2 slaves of the freemen are captured the next day who claim that they are also



returning like their comrade of the day before, having wandered away from the others and found near their master's homestead. The intention is to proceed to Angola: "to the Portuguese there, in order to live a better life and never more to return to the Cape". The Dutch response to such hopes for freedom is worth quoting:<sup>48</sup>

"Alas! Too idle a conception, which will cause the remaining five much misery and finally their destruction".

After being beaten with rods, the slaves, confess to having 'seduced' the Company slaves to join them. They are sentenced: ears cut off, scourged and branded and the 2 principal instigators have to serve as Company convicts for life.<sup>49</sup>

More slaves run away (1674). The master gardener, when inspecting the slave lodge, discovers 15 missing Company slaves and Batavian convicts (14 November 1674). The guardian of the slave in the new castle also reports 5 of his gang ('Indians') to be missing. Further enquiry reveals that 7 slaves belonging to the free-burghers have also absconded. There are thus 27 slaves on the loose, believed to be armed with muskets and other weapons, but soon 2 are retrieved and imprisoned. They confirm that there has been a conspiracy to run away to Mozambique. The runaways are discovered the same night but only 2 more slaves are captured, the rest escaping into the darkness. There is one casualty: a Javanese convict is shot dead resisting arrest and for killing a 'Hottentot' by ripping his stomach open so that his entrails fall to the ground. 2 more slaves are retrieved (17 November 1674). 1 more returns of his own accord and the other is found loitering between the *Wijnberg* and *Coornschoor*. 2 more fugitives are captured (21 November 1674) behind the *Tijgerberg*. The captured fugitives are tried and punished (23 November 1674). Some are scourged, other have ears cut off, some branded. The most troublesome slave, a Javanese, has his death sentence reprieved but undergoes all the afore-mentioned punishments plus having his thumbs chopped off and his tongue cut out. By this time 10 Company and 5 privately owned slaves have been retrieved. Still missing are 11 Company slaves and one belonging to the free-burghers. Another fugitive is found (24 November 1674) at the salt-pans "grazing like the cattle". Thereafter, the Company Journal is silent about the fate of the slaves still on the run and probably never retrieved.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 156.

<sup>49</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, pp. 158 & 159 (2, 22 & 23 September 1673).

<sup>50</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal (1671-1674 & 1676)*, pp. 222-224.



## Identifying the few `Angola` and `Guinea` slaves by name

Only the following Company and privately owned `Angola` slaves from the *Amersfoort* are found with the following ascribed Portuguese and/or Dutch names in the surviving and available archival records consulted:<sup>51</sup>

(Female)	<p>Catharina / Catarina van Angola  Cecilia [van Angola?]  Christina (Christijn) van Angola  Marselij / Pollecij / Vlossijk aka <i>Maaij</i> [Māe] Claesje / Claasje(n) / Klasje  Jansz: van Angola (dies 1732)]  Dorothea (Dorothe) van Angola  Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) aka Sabba van Angola (dies 1694)  Francina (Francijn / Fransika) van Angola  Isabella (Isabel/le) van Angola  <i>Maaij</i> [Māe] Isabella (Ilsabelle) van Angola (born c. 1642)  Margaretha (<i>Griet</i>) [van Angola?]  Maria van Angola  Maria <i>Pekenijn</i> van Angola</p>
(Male)	<p>Anthonij van Angola  Domingo van Angola (executed 1675)  Manuel van Angola  Jacqje <i>Joi</i> van Angola later Gracias <i>Maialas</i> van Angola (born c. 1647)  Ouwe Jan van Angola  Jan <i>Meeuw</i> van Angola  Matthijs van Angola  Niclaes (Claes) <i>Kelder</i> van Angola (born c. 1647)  Claes / Klaas van Angola  Simon van Angola (<i>Sijmon een Angoolse caffer</i>)  Thomas/so van Angola</p>

No record of any `Angola` slaves having indigenous names, has been found although the names **Marselij / Pollecij / Vlossijk**<sup>52</sup> and **Sabba** - later phonetically, culturally and colonially approximated into the more familiar European names **Claesje** and **Elisabeth** respectively - are likely contenders. Slaves were usually

<sup>51</sup> The VOC archivalia consulted include *inter alia* the Company Journal, Resolutions of the Council of Policy (C) & Inventories of the Orphan Chamber – now accessible via internet (courtesy of TANAP), various records (attestations, trials, sentences, etc) of the Council of Justice (CJ), the Orphan Chamber (MOOC), Muster Rolls (VC) the Stellenbosch Archives (1/STB), the *Transporten en Schepenkenis* (transcriptions: courtesy of Margaret Cairns). These are lodged at the Cape Archives (Roeland Street, Cape Town). Also consulted were the baptismal, marriage & membership records of the early Cape's Reformed Church, formerly lodged at the Dutch Reformed Church Archives, Cape Town, now relocated to Stellenbosch, (photocopies courtesy of Margaret Cairns) & transcriptions of the burgher census or *Opgaaf Rollen* (courtesy of Dr. H.F. Heese), the Slave Lodge muster roll for c. 1691 (courtesy of Dr. H.F. Heese) from the Rijks Archief in The Hague, Netherlands & the Company Slave Lodge Muster Roll for 1714 (courtesy of André van Rensburg). The period researched (1652-1713), starts with the founding of the colony and ends with the devastating Smallpox epidemic (1713).

<sup>52</sup> The possibility that the Company slave woman so recorded is Malagasy rather than from `Angola` cannot be discounted. She baptizes (25 October 1665) a son **Willem**: ... *den 25 Octob.[er] 1665] is gedoopt van Ed.[ele] Comp.[agnie] slavinne ... Noch een zoon is genaemt Willem, de moeder Vlossijk.*





baptized *en masse* by the Portuguese before being transported and given names which accompanied them to the 'New World' in the form of baptismal certificates. Some of these slaves captured by the Dutch probably retain these names on arrival at the Cape.<sup>53</sup> The only 'Angola' slave on record at the Cape ever to be formally baptized (13 October 1679) - or at least rebaptized into the Reformed faith - in the colony is **Jacqje Joij van Angola**<sup>54</sup>. The 'Angola' slave **Domingo** - originally belonging to **Jan van Riebeeck**, but later sold to the *secunde* **Roelof de Man**, his successor the former fiscal **Abraham Gabbema** and the last-mentioned's brother-in-law, the free-burgher **Elbert Dircksz: Diemer**, after stealing and slaughtering (14 October 1675) a sheep belonging to **Johannes Pretorius** (from Goeree) and eating some of the meat and trying to hide the rest to be eaten later is condemned (8 November 1675) to die on the gallows and executed (9 November 1675).<sup>55</sup>

Only the following Company and privately owned 'Guinea' slaves from the *Hasselt* are found recorded with ascribed Dutch names (in a few cases, Roman phoneticised indigenous names and even Europeanised phonetic approximations are evident):

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| (Female) | <b>Adouke van Guinea (dies 1661)</b><br><b>Hoen(a) / Houwj [Hounij / Dirkie?] / Anna van Guinea</b><br><b>Jajenne / Gegeima] van Guinea</b> aka <b>Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg</b> - later nick-named <b>Lobbetje</b><br><b>Koddo / Prodo / Prede alias Cladoor / Pladoor [Plad Oor?] van Guinea</b><br><b>[Sara de Waster?]</b><br><b>Maria (Marij) van Guinea</b>                                  |
| (Male)   | <b>Anthonij van Guinea</b><br><b>Deucsous / Deuxsous [Dirk?] van Guinea</b><br><b>Evert van Guinea (dies c. 1688)</b><br><b>Cattibou [van Guinea?]</b><br><b>Paaij Claes (dies 1709)</b><br><b>Oude Hans van Guinea</b><br><b>Judas de Wever van Guinea</b><br><b>Pieter Pietersz: aka Pieter Rob van Guinea</b><br><b>Paul (Pouwels Das) van Guinea</b><br><b>Serrij [Abraham (Abram)?] van Guinea</b> |

There are 'Angola' and 'Guinea' slaves and / or their offspring who possibly return at a later date from the East to the Cape as many VOC officials (also those of the English & Danish East India Companies) sell their personal slaves there en route to Europe. A negligible number of West African slaves are mentioned in the *Transporten and Schepenkenis* records but whether they ever initially arrived at

<sup>53</sup> André van Rensburg: 'The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola, Cornelis Claasen & Armosyn**', *Capensis*, 2/2000), pp. 9-20; *Capensis*, 3/2000), 'The Amersfoort', pp. 5-25.

<sup>54</sup> ... den 13 October [1679] **Jackie**, of **Gratias Maialas van Angola**, vryburger...

<sup>55</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 33.



the Cape on the *Amersfoort* and *Hasselt* has not yet been established with any certainty.<sup>56</sup>

15 March 1664

**Pedro van St Thome** [São Tomé]

16 January 1676

**Isak & Jacob van Cape Verde**

13 January 1678

**Klaas van Angola**

18 January 1678

**Louis van Guinea**

26 January 1678)

**Jan van Angola**

14 December 1680)

**Pasquael van Del Mina**

12 May 1684 & 25 April 1685

**Anthonij van Guinea** (born c. 1671)

12 May 1682:

**Moussa** called **Gideon & Cattij van Guinea**

5 April 1711

free-burgher & free-black **T(h)ibo de Goa (Tho)**<sup>57</sup> / **Tibout van Caap Fero** [Cap Vert] fathers a child by **Eva van Madagascar**, baptized **Dina** (5 April 1711) & witnessed by **Andries Grimpe & Dina Juliusz: zijn huisvrouw**)



***Point of No Return: Monument along the Road of the Slaves in Benin commemorating the countless Africans sold as slaves (16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) [Photo Credit: Atlantide Phototravel / Corbis]***

<sup>56</sup> It should also be noted that there are slaves at the Cape from *St. Jago*. The provenance is problematic. Although it more often refers to the *St. Jago* on Madagascar, there is also a fort named *St. Jago* in West Africa at Elmina.

<sup>57</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, pp. 11 & 69.



## The politics of liberation

When it comes to liberating their slaves, the commercially driven 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch seldom do so gratuitously. Once manumitted, ex-slaves, now *sensu stricto* free-citizens or free-burghers (*vrijburghers*) and ostensibly having the same rights and privileges as their European or White Cape-born fellow free-burgher, are still generally stigmatized by their colour as free-blacks (*vrijswarten*) and never quite allowed to forget their slave past. In a sense, they are still 'socially dead' or, if reprieved from death at the gallows, the 'living dead' (*morts vivants*). A slave has great economic value on par with registered landed property. Initially, it is Company policy that only "old and retired" (*oud en afgeleeft*) slaves are to be released from servitude. Similarly, the more Christian-minded, God-fearing and 'respectability'-conscious higher-ranking VOC officials and free-burghers, invariably succumbing to their imminent mortality, resort to delayed magnanimity by way of testamentary manumission of slaves for serving out their time as faithful servants and attendants.

In 1685 the visiting VOC commissioner, **Hendrik van Rheede tot Drakenstein**, prescribes more detailed measures for manumission in compliance with the Statutes of Batavia. Such provisions and conventions derive, in the case of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch, from Roman-Dutch Law with its roots in Roman and canon law and the Bible - unchanged for centuries - and need not surprise anyone familiar with the quirks of Judæo-Christian or Western civilization too greatly. Historically, Jews, Muslims and Christians divide their world into 'misguided believers' (*heretics*) and 'non-believers' (*heathens*), discriminating against each other by calling each other heretics while doctrinally justifying their enslavement of heathens.



**Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede van Oudtshoorn (1636-1691)**

Imported Company slaves, if these have served faithfully for 30 years, can speak Dutch and have been confirmed in the Reformed Church, s/he can be freed after payment of f 100, in easy installments if need be. Cape-born 'full-breed' (*heelslag*) slaves can only be freed at the age of 40 years "in order that these people will not have to sigh under an eternal captivity". Marriages between liberated female slaves and 'our Netherlanders' (*onse Nederlanders*) are strictly forbidden but 'half-caste' (*halfslag*) slave women are 'free' to marry the men of their choice provided that these are upright and honourable men able to support a wife without help from the Company. Company officials, are excluded, however,



from marrying freed *halfslag* slave women. *Halfslag* men, manumitted at majority, can also undergo legal marriage with European women or their Cape-born daughters but this seldom happens.<sup>58</sup> The manumission of privately owned slaves is left to the conscience of their masters (*Op dat dese menschen niet en mogten sughten onder eewighe slavernije ende arger zijn als degene in handen van particulieren gevallen die door gunste van haar meesteren hoop hebben op haar vrijdom*).

Such measures prove to be problematic and come to be discouraged as it leads to an increase in poverty and is considered a burden on the Church and the community. A few exceptional manumissions do occur, however, in cases of loyalty and long service in semi-official capacities.<sup>59</sup> Free-burghers and officials, appreciating full well the economic value of their slaves, seldom free them even if old or infirm. Exceptional compassionate cases exist, however, and liberation is granted for loyal service. Such manumissions appear from time to time in testaments and in the Cape's *Transporten en Schepenkenis* records. Otherwise a slave invariably has to *buy* her / his freedom. Even for the *halfslag* slaves entitled to their freedom at majority (girls at 22 and boys at 25 years of age), there are impediments, however: s/he has to speak intelligible Dutch, be confirmed in the Reformed faith, pay *f* 100 back for the education provided and prove not to be a burden to the Church or the community. The boys have to be taught a trade before manumission and the girls can be allowed to marry at an earlier date on payment of a higher price (*f* 150). *Halfslag* girls are subjected to a further condition: marriage has to be by ante-nuptial contract so that the Company can inherit her property unless her husband, on payment of a reasonable price, formally foregoes such rights. **Van Rhee** considers the *halfslag* slaves to be potentially more reliable citizens as these children are born at the Cape and know no other country than the land of their birth, unlike others who dream of returning to their fatherland.<sup>60</sup> One aspect of being *halfslag* needs highlighting, however. Being Eurasian (*mestizo* / *mestiza*) as opposed to Eurafrikan (*mulatto* / *mulatta*) – and even better: one generation later (*casties* / *castijs*), thus more white-looking; also has its advantages in terms of gaining greater acceptance as free citizens in Cape colonial society. Noteworthy, too, is the gender advantage whereby *halfslag* girls clearly have a better chance of being incorporated - and assimilated - into white Christian colonial society as are *halfslag* boys of married ex-slave mothers who become adopted by their white step-fathers and spared a separate free-black existence as opposed to *halfslag* sons of non-married slave mothers who are relegated - and remain confined - to the 'separate-but-unequal' free-black community.

<sup>58</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Keeping the gate of Hell ...'subliminal racism' & early Cape *carnal conversations* between black men & white women', *Capensis* 1/2001, pp. 13-32 – revised for First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffiy/ui73.htm>.

<sup>59</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'VOC Practice (policy?) in the manumission of Company slaves at the Cape of Good Hope', *Capensis*, 3/2001, pp. 39-41.

<sup>60</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 48.





## Manumitted 'Angola' slaves

Only 5 'Angola' women appear to be formally freed:

- **Isabella** (manumitted 1672)
- **Maaij Isabella (born c. 1642)** (manumitted 1674)
- **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) alias Sabba (dies 1694)** (manumitted 1681)
- **Maaij Claesje Jansz: (dies 1724)** (manumitted 1689)
- **Maria**<sup>61</sup> (manumission year unknown).

Only 3 'Angola' male slaves have recorded manumissions - all privately owned:

- **Jacqje Joij** (manumitted 1673)
- **Anthonij (dies 1696)** (manumitted 1680)
- **Manuel (dies c. 1687)** (manumitted 1681).



Queen N`zinga of Angola

**Isabella van Angola** promised her freedom - together with **Jacqje Joij** - on the demise (1672) of her *patron* the free-tailor **H(e)inrich H(e)inrichssen [Zuerwaerden]** (from Sürwürden [Oldenburg] aka **Hendrik Snijer (c. 1635-1672)**). According to their master's inventory, her master promises to free **Isabella** and **Jacqje Joij** on his death.<sup>62</sup> Their master dies (15 May 1672). **Isabella** and **Jacqje Joij** are subsequently freed.<sup>63</sup>

*Een meijt slavinne genaemt Isabelle sijnde onder d'voors[eijde]. leijffeijsenen twee namenl.[ijck] Isabelle en Jackje, welcke van Hendrick van Zuijrwaerden vrijdom belooft.*

<sup>61</sup> Uncertain whether she is the **Maria van Angola** or the **Maria Pekenijn van Angola** listed *supra*. Both are originally private slaves belonging to **Jan van Riebeeck**. Circumstantial evidence points to one (the older **Maria**?) possibly being sold to the Company and the other (younger **Maria**?) being sold to the free-burgher **Steven Jansz: Botma** (from Wageningen [Gelderland]).

<sup>62</sup> His will has not survived and could not be traced in records of the Orphan Chamber, the Council of Justice or the *Transporten en Schepenkenis* records.

<sup>63</sup> CA: MOOC 23/5, nos. 19-21 (*Staat en Inventaris & Taxatie van Hendrick van Zuijrwaerden & verclaaring van Margaritha Frans: Meekhoff*, 15 May 1672).



Are they a couple or *de facto* man and wife at the time of their manumission? **Isabella** is never mentioned in the records again. She appears to be childless as no recorded children can be traced. Thereafter as a free-black *den borger* **Jacqje Joij** purchases (11 July 1678) the slave **Domingo Aapekint van Madagascar** (aged 9/10) from **Marthinus van Banchem** for Rds 35 and again (8 March 1679) the slave **Claes van Tuticorin** (aged 15/16) also from **Marthinus van Banchem** for Rds 40. **Van Banchem** had married his former mistress's youngest daughter **Catharina van Suerwaerden**. As free-black he takes the unprecedented step of being the 1st - and only - 'Angola' or 'Guinea' slave to be baptized at the Cape (13 October 1679) as an adult and as a burgher. This is in preparation for his marriage (5 November 1679) in church - also unprecedented - to the Cape-born *heelslag* **Maria Everts: (Swarte Maria) (c. 1662-1713)**, daughter of the slaves **Evert van Guinea** and **Anna van Guinea** - already baptized as an adult (29 March 1676) with her daughter **Anna** [later found recorded as **Anna Colijn**]. The father of her daughter is unnamed in the baptismal entry but could perhaps be **Jacqje Joij** himself. Just prior to their marriage, **Swarte Maria** is sentenced (22 March 1679) to 6 months hard labour for harbouring an absconded female slave.<sup>64</sup> **Gracias** purchases (10 January) the slave **Jacob** (origin unknown) from **Dirk Jansz: Smiend** (from Groningen) for Rds 90. This slave previously belongs to **Heinrich Evertsz: Schmidt** (from Ibbenbüren) who sells him to **Smiend** (19 August 1678). In the transaction he is referred to as a *vrijborger alhier*. **Jacqje Joij** manumits (23 May 1680) his 2 slaves: **Jacob** and **Thomas**. He and his wife are legally separated (3 July 1680), however, after he accuses his wife of trying to poison him.<sup>65</sup> Thereafter he disappears from the records. Does he die with a deceased estate that does not survive or does he either rejoin the Company or leave the Cape for Batavia or Ceylon? The Cape-born *heelslag* **Manda Gracia: (c. 1679-1719)**, daughter of the Cape-born *heelslag* Company slave and later free-black **Armozijn Claes: (c. 1660-1733)**, may be the biological daughter of **Jacqje Joij** and given the coincidence of her birth, it is possible that this event may have contributed to the break-up of his marriage.

**Maaij [Mãe] Isabella van Angola (born c. 1642)**<sup>66</sup> appears to be freed (1674) - together with **Anthonij van Angola** - possibly in terms of a testamentary manumission following the death (10 March 1674) in a wagon accident of her

<sup>64</sup> G. Con De Wet, *Die Vryliede en Vryswartes in die Kaapse nedersetting 1657-1707*, p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> CA: CJ 2, p. 114

<sup>66</sup> André M. van Rensburg [‘The Jigsaw Puzzle: **Isabella van Angola**, **Cornelis Claasen** & **Armosyn**’, *Capensis*, no. 2 (2000), pp. 9-20; *Capensis*, no. 3 (2000), ‘The Amersfoort’, pp. 5-25] incorrectly assumes **Isabella van Angola** and **Maaij Isabella van Angola** to be one and the same person and that she is the likely mother to the Company *heelslag* **Armozijn Claesz; van de Caep**. There are clearly 2 contemporary slave women from ‘Angola’ both named **Isabella**. The illegitimate *halfslag* daughter **Catharina** appears to be the child whose biological father is originally alleged to be **Kees de Boer** [**Cornelis Claesz**: (from Utrecht)].



master **Wijnand Wijnandsz: Bezuidenhout**.<sup>67</sup> She makes a singular appearance a free-black in the *Opgaaf* (1692) listed in Table Valley as **May Isabella** together with **Claesje Jansz: [Maaij [Māe] Claesje van Angola]**.

No. 142 free-black **May Isabella** 1 woman Cape District

No. 143 free-black **Claasje Jansz:** 1 woman Cape District

Her only recorded child the *halfslag* daughter **Catharina** may possibly be the same person as **Catharina Hermans:** who marries the free-burgher **Willem van Wijk** (from Engen), widower of Cape-born *halfslag* **Catharina Hillebrants:** aka **Catharina Wijkers:** and likely daughter of **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth)** aka **Sabba van Angola**.

On becoming a free-black, **Anthonij** forms a partnership at the new colony at Stellenbosch with his compatriots **Manuel** and **Sabba**. **Manuel** and **Anthonij** are granted (1683 and formalized 1692) a farm *Angola* (later known as *Mount Happy*) at Jonkershoek, Stellenbosch and also purchase slaves.



Stellenbosch University

hdl:10019/2/1825

**Mount Happy, Jonkershoek [Stellenbosch Library and Information Service Collection]**

Any descendants for **Anthonij**'s 2 manumitted *heelslag* daughters **Catharina Antonisz:** and **Elisabeth Antonisz:** by his wife's slave **Susanna van Mombasa**, has yet to be determined.

**Sabba** aka **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Angola** and her 'husband' **Manuel** - *geboortig van het landschap van Angola* - are freed (1681) as a retired couple by their *patronesse* the widow of **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostaert** (from Utrecht), **Hester van Lier** [**Hester Jans: / Weijers: Klim** (from Lier)] on condition they "remain respectful to her, obey the laws of land and assist when necessary". She is the only

---

<sup>67</sup> Mansell G. Upham, '*Beat the Dogs to death! Beat them to death!* - Making a *Moordkuil* of our hearts - the *Moordkuil* Massacre and its Manifestations, paper presented to the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape Branch), Cape Town (19 March 1996).



free-black from `Angola` or `Guinea` on record to draw up a will.<sup>68</sup> **Manuel** is likely to have fathered the manumitted *heelslag* [Africasian`] genealogically significant private slave **Martha / Mart(h)ina Manuels:** and daughter of **Catharina van Bengale** belonging to the former *patronesse* of **Manuel**. **Sabba** is the only free-black from `Angola` on record to leave a will:

**Sabba** is likely mother to the presumably Cape-born *halfslag* **Catharina Hillebrands:** aka **Wijkers:** - the 1<sup>st</sup> wife to **Willem van Wijk** (from Engen) and ancestor to the in/famous **Willem Namaqua**.<sup>69</sup> The eventful lives of **Manuel**, **Sabba** and **Anthonij** will be explored in a follow-up article.

All the slaves from `Angola` that are on record as being manumitted are privately owned excepting, **Maaij [Mãe] Claesje [Jansz:] van Angola (dies 1724)** who reverts to the Company. Although eligible for manumission, she is eventually freed in exceptional circumstances. She accompanies (1689) the wife of a high-ranking official **Pieter van Helsdingen**<sup>70</sup> to Batavia:<sup>71</sup>

With her return to the Cape in the same year (1689), she subsequently requests to be returned to the Cape at the same time claiming that her freedom had been promised to her by **Van Helsdingen** while still in Batavia.<sup>72</sup> According to a resolution of the *Castel Batavia*, (27 May 1689), she is allowed to return to the Cape on the next return fleet and her request to be manumitted, is referred to the Commander and the Council of the Cape. She is subsequently manumitted after returning to the Cape. In yet another unprecedented move - presumably prompted by her numerous offspring still in bondage and housed in the Slave Lodge - she forgoes her life as free-black resident in Table Valley opting instead to re-enter the Slave Lodge, however, being employed for many years as Lodge midwife (*frij froemoeder*) until her ultimate death (31 December 1731). Her eventful life and numerous progeny will be covered more fully in a follow-up article.

Although we do not as yet know the date when **Maria van Angola** is freed, we do, however, find her death (c. 1719) recorded at Stellenbosch as a free-black and pauper recorded in a resolution of the Council of Policy:<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> CA: 1/STB, no. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'The accomodatory life and times of a 17<sup>th</sup> century family from Timor exiled to Java, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope', First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui72.htm>.

<sup>70</sup> **Pieter van Helsdingen** previously ordinary fiscal of Malacca. Returns to *Patria* (1686) & appointed *fiskaal independent* of Surat. Over *zijn irreverente en onbetamelijk schrijven* removed from office and ordered to leave via Ceylon (1696).

<sup>71</sup> CA: C6 (Council of Policy Resolution, Wednesday 16 February 1689), pp. 281-282; *Resolutions of the Council of Policy*, vol. III, pp. 201-2.

<sup>72</sup> V.C. 12: *Dagregister*, 1689-1690 (1692), pp. 124-125 & Kol. Arch. 604: *Resolutiën van den Generaal en Raden*, 1689, pp. 275-276.

<sup>73</sup> *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, vol. V, p. 390 (Resolution, *Ultima* October 1719).





*De volgende personen zijn insolvent, gestorven, gefugeert en onbekent bevonden, als: **Maria van Angola**, overleden f 20*

She appears to once belong to the free-burgher **Steven Jansz: Botma / Bothma / Botman** (from Wageningen [Gelderland]) and his wife **Hendrika (Hendrikje) Hendricks(z)**: (from IJ [Gelderland]) and who is convicted (2 September 1680) and punished for assaulting the free-black **Anna van Guinea** after the latter verbally abuses her beyond endurance. She is sentenced by the Council of Justice to be flogged in front of the house of **Swarten Evert** and his wife.<sup>74</sup> Prior to that she may possibly be the slave **Maria Pekenijn van Angola** originally belonging to the Cape's 1<sup>st</sup> commander **Jan van Riebeeck**. Is she liberated in terms of a testamentary manumission following her patron's death (1700) or his widow's death (1701)? Her descendants, if any, have yet to be positively identified in the records.

## Manumitted 'Guinea' slaves

Of the 'Guinea' female slaves, only 3 women are ever manumitted:

- **Hoen/na [Anna]** (manumitted 1671)
- **Maria** (manumitted 1676)
- **Koddo / Prodo / Prede / Cladoor alias Plad Oor / Cladoor** [Sara de Waster] (manumitted 1687).

Only 3 'Guinea' men are manumitted:

- **De vrije Caffer Evert / Swarte Evert (dies c. 1688)** (manumitted 1659)
- **Paaij Claes (dies 1709)** (manumitted 1676)
- **Serrij aka Abraham (Abram)** (manumitted 1687).

**Anna, Pai Claes** and **Maria** are both privately owned by free-burghers while **Evert** is owed by the Cape's 1<sup>st</sup> commander himself and **Koddo** and **Abraham (Abram)** are private slaves resold to the Company.

**Anna's** freedom - together with their Cape-born *heelslag* daughter **Maria Everts**: aka **Swart Maria** - is probably bought (1671) from the free-burgher and baker **Matthias Cooman** (from Ernstthal [Saxony]) - aka **Matthijs Coeijmans** - by **Evert van Guinea** the slave whom **Jan van Riebeeck** frees prematurely and gratuitously for collaboration. **Anna's** 'white' progeny stem from her Cape-born *heelslag* daughter **Swarte Maria Everts: (c. 1664-1713)** and possibly one other *halfslag* daughter **Jacomina (Jacomijn) Thomas: Frost**.

---

<sup>74</sup> CA: CJ 2, Crim. & Civ. Cases (9 September 1680), p. 116; Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks*, p. 93.



**Maria** is either freed (1676) - together with another 'Guinea' slave **Paaij Claes** - in terms of her late mistress's testament or her freedom bought for / by her from her mistress's deceased estate.

Eligible for manumission (30 years uninterrupted enslavement) and old and retired, the Company sees fit to retire **Abraham** and his concubine **Koddo** together with a handful of other 'useless' Asian and Malagasy slaves (2 January 1687).<sup>75</sup>

### **Anna, Evert & Pai Claes van Guinea**

Dutch record-keepers, in attempts to phonetically Romanize and record her indigenous name, identify her as **Houwj [Hounij?]** and later **Hoena**. The name soon elides into **Anna**, a name presumably more intelligible to the Dutch. She initially belongs to Commander **Jan van Riebeeck**. According to her daughter **Swarte Maria**, her mother has been a slave in the household of the 1st commander and his wife, **Maria de Queillierie** nursing the **Van Riebeeck** children.<sup>76</sup> **Van Riebeeck** purchases (1 April 1659) the slave **Evert van Guinea** from the free-burgher **Casper Brinkmann** (from Vreeckenhorst). **Van Riebeeck** is informed (1 February 1659) that his 'Guinea' slave at *Bosheuvel* has run away during the night.<sup>77</sup> Is this **Dirk**? Is he the same slave that had run away but is recaptured (1658)? Use is made of the more loyal slaves for retrieving runaway slaves who flee into the interior (21 May 1659).<sup>78</sup>

... and some slaves, for whom assagays, according their instructions, are making after the fashion of their own country, which they can manage better than the Hottentoots; orders are also given to take care that the slaves' wives are kept here, to prevent the men from staying away ... as they seem much attached to their wives and will not easily part from them.

The situation worsens, however, and the Journal informs us (18 August 1659) that the 'Guinea' slaves are again becoming a problem:

Not only have the Guinea slaves been stubborn and recalcitrant, but it now appears that they intended and resolved to escape as a group and to join the Hottentots, so all the male slaves have been promptly clamped into chains once more. This has been so as to prevent such a loss to the Company, for should these sturdy and audacious people link up with our enemies, they would be able to cause more mischief and damage than a hundred times as many Hottentots. Moreover, they would give the Hottentots too much instruction in warfare, since some of them were in Guinea at the time of the European war there.

---

<sup>75</sup> CA: C 18 (Resolution of the Council of Policy, 2 January 1687), pp. 98-99.

<sup>76</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 80-81 & D.B. Bosman, *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck en ander Riebeeckiana*, p. 88.

<sup>77</sup> "To-day the Commander received news that one of his Guinea slaves on his farm had run away last night".

<sup>78</sup> Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 167.



We are informed further (22 August 1659):

To-day the two Guinea slaves belonging to **Herman Remanjen** were recaptured at the lower end of the Bos river, which flows out of the Company's forest. This spot had been their rendezvous and there they had erected a convenient shelter and had already prepared for the rest of the Company's and all the free burghers' slaves to follow them. But, praise be to God, this was prevented in time last Monday, and all the slaves were again cast into chains, with the exception of the one, who had brought back his companion. He was therefore allowed to remain free and placed in charge of his countrymen, the Company's Guinea slaves, of whom he is one.

**Van Riebeeck** frees **Evert** for collaboration (22 August 1659) and quickly exchanges 2 other 'Guinea' slaves (18 September 1659) - before they too might attempt absconding. They are **Oude Hans van Guinea** and **Lobbetje van Guinea** whom he exchanges with **Thomas Christoffel Muller** for the slaves **Jan Meeuw van Angola** and **Jacqje Joij van Angola**. **Van Riebeeck** also exchanges with the Company (sometime after 18 September 1659) his troublesome retrieved slave **Dirk van Guinea** for an 'Angola' slave. Later **Van Riebeeck** takes away **Anna's** infant *heelslag* son **Jan Dirksz: van de Caep** by **Dirk van Guinea** and sells him to the fiscal **Abraham Gabbema** (25 August 1661). The burgher **Casper Brinkmann** sells (4 September 1660) **Maria van Guinea**, his female slave, to **Van Riebeeck's** wife **Maria de la Queillerie**.

After **Van Riebeeck's** departure **Anna** is sold with the slave **Niclaes (Claes Kelder) van Angola** to **Hendrik Boom (Boomtjen)**<sup>79</sup>. Also in the household are the slave **Paaij Claes van Guinea** and possibly the seconded captured and enslaved Malagasy princess **Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna** and her Cape-born *heelslag* daughter **Lijsbeth Sanders**.<sup>80</sup> **Paaij Claes** had been sold to the Company gardener and his wife soon after his arrival from Popo. **Anna** gives birth to a daughter **Maria (c. 1664-1713)** known in adulthood as **Swarte Maria** and **Maria Everts**. The father of her child is the slave **Evert van Guinea**.

**Boom** sells (6 January 1665) **Anna van Guinea**, her daughter **Swarte Maria Everts**, her *heelslag* foster-daughter **Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep** and **Claes Kelder van Angola** to **Matthys Coejmans** (from Ernstthal [Saxony]) and his wife **Catharina de Clercq**. His slave **Paaij Claes van Guinea** he sells to the newly arrived **Dirck Jansz: Smiend** (from Groningen) and his wife **Annetje Jans:**

---

<sup>79</sup> **Boomtjen** & wife **Annatje de Boerin** arrive at the Cape (6 April 1652) in original fleet on *Drommedaris*. They bring with them 7 children. By the time they end their stay at the Cape, they have a total of 8 children. Only 5 children can be positively identified by name, viz: **Hendrik Boom**, **Job Hendricksz**, **Maria (Maretie)**, **Reinier Hendricksz: Boom** (born Cape 1654) & **Dirck Hendricq** (born Cape 1656). Her 2 eldest sons are also listed separately as boys (*jongen*) in VOC employ in the Muster Roll (1656) - eldest son only & (1657) - 2nd son only. **Job Hendricksz: Boom** (from Amsterdam) applies (10 April 1657) for employment with the VOC. She is recorded (May 1656) in the Journal as being the mother of 8 children. In the Muster Rolls (1657 & 1658), she is listed as being mother to 5 children.

<sup>80</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Made or Marred by Time: the other Armozijn and two princesses at the Cape of Good Hope' (1656), First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffv/ui70.htm>.



**Speckaert** (from Gramsbergh). When **Coeijmans** and his family elect to leave the Cape, he possibly frees (1671) **Anna** and her Cape-born *heelslag* daughter **Swarte Maria Everts**: (fathered by the slave **Evert van Guinea**) - or at least allows them (or **Evert**) to buy their freedom. **Claes Kelder van Angola**, however, is not freed. He is sold to Lt. **Dirk Jansz: Smiend** rejoining the slave **Paaij Claes van Guinea**.

**Anna** and her daughter joins up as *de facto* wife with **Swarten Evert van Guinea (de vrije Caffer Evert)**, the father of her daughter (**Swarte Maria Everts**:) who had been freed (1659) by **Jan van Riebeeck** for revealing the whereabouts of the runaway slaves (his compatriots!) during the mass slave desertion and later granted land (1 July 1669) in full ownership: a garden [G50 723 square roeden or 1 morgen & 123 square roeden, 82 square feet (1.0329 ha)] in Table Valley, by Commander **Jacob Borghorst**.<sup>81</sup> He takes out a loan (since August 1670) of f2000 at 6% interest from the Orphan Chamber. Still unpaid 4 years later, he takes out a mortgage making available his newly-built house, outbuildings and a cultivated garden as security. A year later he again takes out a loan for f150. No conditions for repayment are recorded and the bonds were finally written off 43 years later at the request of the Church Council on the understanding that they had all already been extinguished.<sup>82</sup>

**Evert** purchases the garden adjoining his in Table Valley (10 November 1678) from **Hendrik Evertsz: Schmidt** (from Ibbenbüren) and **Adriana Sterreveld** (from Nieuw-Nederland). He pays f250.<sup>83</sup> That same year (28 January 1677) he also sells a 12/13-year-old slave boy **Claes van Bengale** for f96 or Rds. 32 to **Gerbrandt Mulder**.<sup>84</sup> He is convicted (3 July 1680) for neglecting to obtain the required permission for cutting wood convicted (*over nalatigheijt van het overleven den briefjes raeckende het bereijden van branthout*).<sup>85</sup> **Anna** verbally abuses, beyond endurance, the slave woman, **Maria [Maria Pekenijn?] van Angola**, belonging to **Steven Jansz: Botma** (from Wageningen [Gelderland]) who assaults **Anna** in retaliation and is subsequently convicted (2 September 1680) and punished. **Anna** and **Evert** are listed in the census (1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674-8, 1679, 1682 & 1685).<sup>86</sup> He purchases a garden adjoining his in Table Valley (1678) from **Hendrik Evertsz: Schmidt** (from Ibbenbüren) and **Adriana (Adriaentje) Sterreveld** (from Nieuw-Nederland).

<sup>81</sup> CA: CTD Title Deeds, Cape (Old Cape Freeholds), vol. 1, fol. 51 (1 July 1669).

<sup>82</sup> CA: CTD 6 (*Transporten en Schepenkenissen*, 16 May 1674 & 11 September 1676), pp. 87-89; DO: (*Transporten en Schepenkenissen*, 28 January 1677), unpaginated; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit in die Tafelvallei – Deel I: Die Eksperiment: Vryswartes as grondeienaars, 1652-1710', *Kronos* (1985), vol. 10, pp. 32-48.

<sup>83</sup> DO: *Transporten en Schepenkenissen* (Transportakte T 165 (1678), H.E Smith to **Evert van Guinea**, 10 November 1678).

<sup>84</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 133.

<sup>85</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slave and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>86</sup> 1671: **Evert van Guinea** freeman & **Marij [sic] van Guinea** & 2 children; 1672: **Evert van Guinea** & **Anna**; 1673: **Evert van Guinea** & **Anna** (3 children); 1674-1678: **Evert van Guinea** & **Anna** 2 children; 1679: **Evert van Guinea** & **Anna** 3 children; 1682: **Evert** & **Anna van Guinea** 1 child & sister **Licine / Ticonne** [sic – *Armozijn?*]; 1685 **Evert van Guinea** recorded alone.





**Anna's** foster daughter **Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep** is mentioned in the census (1682) as **Licine Suster** being – very significantly - a transcription error for **Armozijs suster**. Despite being brought up as a 'daughter' in the household of **Evert**, she assaults her foster mother (*haer opvoester als moeder*) **Anna** and tears her clothing and also assaults her daughter **Swarte Maria**.<sup>87</sup> Arraigned, the court opines that such behaviour, comes as no surprise as the assault had taken place in the "wicked and dishonest household" (*quade en oneerlijcke huishouding*) of **Anna van Guinea** and **Maria Everts**.<sup>88</sup> Another lodger in the household in Table Valley, **Maria Schalks**: provides a sworn declaration (25 April 1689) concerning the assault by **Lijsbeth Sanders**: on the latter's foster mother and foster sister. Also living in the house with the widow of **Evert**, are **Bastiaen Colijn** (from 's Gravensand) and his concubine **Maria Everts**.

**Anna** and **Evert** also farm at *Welgelegen* at Stellenbosch (1682). **Evert** appears to be the very 1<sup>st</sup> free-black to settle at Stellenbosch.



*Welgelegen, Bottelary* [Stellenbosch Library and Information Service Collection]

This farm is sold (1685) presumably from his deceased estate (now lost?) to the Norwegian **Andries Olofsz: / Oelofse de Noorman** [**Anders Oloffssen**] (from Christiania [Oslo]) the title deeds for which land are only issued to **Olofssen** (as late as 1715). **Oelofse** states when applying (1715) for his title deeds that **Evert** had already occupied the farm in 1682.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Made or Marred by Time: the other Armozijs and two princesses at the Cape of Good Hope' (1656), First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui70.htm>.

<sup>88</sup> CA: CJ 3 (19 April 1689), p. 7.

<sup>89</sup> Deeds Office, *Transport en Schepenkenissen*: Transportakte: T 165 (1678), **H.E. Smith & Evert van Guinee** (10 November 1678); CJ 2, p. 114 (3 July 1680); VC 39; Deeds Office, O.S.F. 1, fol. 239; Cadastral Calendar; A 1657; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Grondbesit in die Tafelvallei – Deel I: Die Eksperiment: Vryswartes as grondeienaars, 1652-1710', *Kronos* (1985), vol. 10, pp. 32-48.





**Welgelegen, Bottelary [Stellenbosch Library and Information Service Collection]**

**Anna** is widowed (by 1688) and listed with 1 daughter and 12 cattle in the census at Stellenbosch. Her neighbour is **Johann Herbst** (from Bremen) who not only fathers (1685) an illegitimate daughter **Angenitie** by **Cecilia van Angola** but later takes as concubine her foster daughter **Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep**. She is listed (1691) in Table Valley with 2 daughters, recorded alone (1693), and again recorded (1695) with children (presumably grandchildren).<sup>90</sup>

After **Evert's** death (1688), **Anna** lives at Stellenbosch with the freed slave, **Paaij Claes van Guinea** who previously in the **Smiend**<sup>91</sup> household but is now manumitted. **Smiend** sells (1 September 1674) **Paaij Claes van Guinea** and the slave **Niclaes (Claes Kelder) van Angola** to **Joannes Pretorius senior** (from Ouddorp), then married to the widow of **Dirck Bosch** (from Amsterdam). Also in the household (since 1662) is the slave, **Maria van Guinea**, formerly belonging to **Jan van Riebeeck** and prior to that, **Casper Brinkmann** (from Vreeckenhorst). **Claes Kelder** is reunited with the slaves **Thomas van Bengale** and **Jacob van Macassar** previously with him in the **Coeijmans** household.

Their new *patronesse* **Geertruida Meijntinghs:** (from Hasselt [Limburg])<sup>92</sup> arrives at the Cape (c. 1665/6) with her 1st husband **Evert Roleemo**. They have a daughter who arrives with them, **Anna Elisabeth Roleemo**. She marries at the Cape (9 May 1666) her 2<sup>nd</sup> husband **Wilhelm Ludwig Wiederholt** who is with the Chamber of Enkhuizen. He arrives on the *Medenblik* (1665) as midshipman. Sergeant **Wiedenholt** is sent (16 December 1666) with 5 men to join other men at Saldanha Bay to occupy the watering place and to throw up a fort there. He dies

<sup>90</sup> 1691: **Anna van Guinea** & 2 daughters: **Maria & Lijsbeth Everts: van de Caep**; 1693: **Widow of Evert [van Guinea]**, swart; 1695: **Widow Everts: van Guinea** & 5 children.

<sup>91</sup> **Paaij Claes van Guinea** had been sold (1665) by **Boomtjen [Hendrik Hendricksz: Boom]** (from Amsterdam) to **Dirk Jansz: Smiend**. His new owner & wife arrive at the Cape (1665) from the East in the Return Fleet. A sergeant, he is appointed ensign (1666) becoming a burgher (1670) but rejoining the Company (1672). Appointed captain (January 1676), he is sent to Mauritius to replace **George Fredrik Wreede** as commander.

<sup>92</sup> There is also a Hasselt in Overijssel, Limburg, Spanish Netherlands [now Belgium].



(31 January 1667).<sup>93</sup> In 1667 the **Wed. Widerhold** is paid f 56 for looking after the orphan girl **Adriana (Adriaentje) Sterrevelt** (from Nieuw Nederland<sup>94</sup>). His *patronesse* marries (29 April 1668) her 3rd husband, **Dirck Bosch** (from Amsterdam). He is an assistant but later becomes a burgher. **Bosch's** wife requests (22 October 1668) to be housed in a dilapidated house near the Fort for her 2 children, her husband being lame at the time, and allowed to sell sugar beer (*suikerbier*) as a means of earning her living. While the *secunde* **Hendrik Lacus** (from Wesel) is under investigation and detained on Robben Island, his wife **Lijdia de Pape** and their 3 daughters move into a separate room at **de Weduwe Wiederholts** place. Their 2 slaves, **Louis van Bengale** (later manumitted) and **Dorothea van Angola**, are confiscated and their household servant the 'Dutch Hottentot' **Zara** goes to live with **Maaij Ansela van Bengale** and her family where she later commits suicide and is found hanging in the sheep pen.<sup>95</sup> **Bosch** dies (31 March 1673).<sup>96</sup> She marries (18 November 1673) her 4th husband **Johannes Praetorius** (from Ouddorp [near *Goedereede* [Goeree] on the island of Overflakke, Zuid-Holland]). According to **Pieter de Neijn**, they were at university together. He is secretary to the Council of Policy. She complains about her 4th husband's drinking problem. She dies at the Cape (6 June 1676).<sup>97</sup> His *patroness* is mother to 5 children.<sup>98</sup>

**Paaij Claes** is probably freed in terms of a testamentary manumission following the death of his mistress (1676). Also freed at the time is the slave **Maria van Guinea**. Their ex-master **Praetorius** soon remarries (28 February 1677) **Johanna Victor(s:)** (from Amsterdam). She upsets the Cape colonial community by calling "all the young European women at the Castle whores" (*alle de jongen juffrouwen in 't Casteel hoertjes waren*).

<sup>93</sup> "31<sup>st</sup>. Death of **Sergeant Wiederholt**. Had arrived here from Enckhuysen in the *Medenblik* in 1665 as 'adelborst', and married here afterwards" [Journal, p. 212].

<sup>94</sup> Now New York City in New York State, U.S.A.; [Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRC/A) (*Rekening: Ontvangs & Uitgaves*, 1665-1669), no. 18].

<sup>95</sup> Mansell G. Upham, '**Zara (c. 1648-1671)** – an enquiry into the (mis)application into the traditional prescribed punishment against committing suicide during the VOC's colonial occupation of the Cape of Good Hope', First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui105.htm>.

<sup>96</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal*, p. 121.

<sup>97</sup> The *Journal* records her death as follows: *June 6th* [1676]. – "Fine warm weather. This day departed this life the wife of the burgher, **Sieur Johannes Prætorius**. The soldiers according to custom exercised in arms".

<sup>98</sup> (1) **Anna Elisabeth Roleemo** born Netherlands; she fornicates with **Cupido van Bengale** & marries Cape (6 September 1678) **Jan van Leeuwarden** *skipper op het schip de Elisabeth*; (2) **Wilhelm Lodewyk Wiederholt** baptised Cape (9 May 1667); dies (1718); marries (26 July 1699) **Henrietta Wittebols: / Claesz: van de Caep**, widow of **Johann Claus Möller** (daughter of the freed private slave **Sara van Solor** & **Joan Wittebol** (from Amsterdam) & step-daughter of **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale**); (3) **Sophia Bosch**, baptised Cape (9 September 1670) dies in infancy; (4) **(Anna) Sophia Bosch** (baptised Cape 26 June 1672) dies Stellenbosch (17 March 1701); marries Cape (29 August 1688) **Pieter van der Bijl** (from Overschie [near Rotterdam, Zuid-Holland]); (5) **Wessel Praetorius** (baptised Cape 3 June 1674); marries Cape-born **Geertruy Elbers:** (daughter of **Aletta ter Mollen** (from Schüttorf [Hannover]) & **Heinrich Ellebrecht / Elberts:** (from Osnabrück)).



**Paaij Claes van Guinea** settles (sometime in 1687) as burgher in the new colony at Stellenbosch. Although he is earliest on record at Stellenbosch (only by 1690), he contracted already (15 October 1687) with the free-black **Louis van Bengale**. **Paaij Claes** would help **Louis** on his new Stellenbosch farm *Bengale* [*Leef-op-Hoop* and later *Klein Gustrouw*] at Jonkershoek, and in return, **Louis** would feed **Paaij Claes** and allow him to work his own piece of ground. The land would be big enough to grow 1 muid of wheat. For each year, more land would be added to 2 muids, and so on. In this contract **Paaij Claes** signs his name.<sup>99</sup> **Paaij Claes** signs (1694) a contract with **Johann (Jan) Herbst** (from Bremen) who later takes as his concubine **Anna's** foster daughter the Cape-born *heelslag* **Lijsbeth Sanders**: and former concubine of **Louis van Bengale**.<sup>100</sup> **Paaij Claes** dies at Stellenbosch (1709).

The Cape-born *heelslag* **Armozijn Claes: the younger (c. 1660-1733)** could possibly be the biological daughter of **Paaij Claes**. **Anna's** white progeny stems from Cape-born *heelslag* daughter **Maria Everts: (c. 1664-1713)** - better known as **Swarte Maria** - who marries (5 November 1679) the free-black **Jacqje Joij van Angola** (*supra*) later known as **Gracias Maijalas**, is a formidable individual in her own right. The Englishman **Samuel Briercliffe** who meets her describes her thus:

“She is a tall woman, very black, having sparkling eyes which, though frightful in her, yet would be very killing in an English face, but she is a very good hostess, and provides for us splendidly and neatly withal”.<sup>101</sup>

**Jan van Riebeeck's** illustrious granddaughter and wife to the Governor-General at Batavia **Maria van Hoorn** en route from Batavia to the Netherlands records (15 February 1710) meeting **Swarte Maria**, daughter of the woman who had worked as a slave in the house of her grandparents and had looked after her father (**Abraham van Riebeeck**, also later VOC Governor-General at Batavia) when he was a baby. This woman had given her a little bag of seeds to send to Batavia. She notes further: “It seems that these people still have a great affection for our family”.<sup>102</sup>

**Maria Everts:** has illegitimate children by various European men *inter alia*: resident surgeon **Willem ten Damme** (from Oldenzeel), one **Kraak** and free-burgher **Bastiaan Jansz: Colijn** (from s' Gravensand).<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Hattingh thinks this to be akin to Arabic script [J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 44].

<sup>100</sup> Mansell G. Upham, ‘*Made or Marred by Time: the other Armozijn and two princesses at the Cape of Good Hope*’ (1656), First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/fffy/ui70.htm>.

<sup>101</sup> André van Rensburg, Website: *South African Stamouers under Bastiaan Colyn*.

<sup>102</sup> A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 80-81 & D.B. Bosman, *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck en ander Riebeeckiana*, p. 88.

<sup>103</sup> (1) **Anna** aka **Anna Maria Colijn** baptised (with mother) Cape 29 March 1676 [not mentioned in mother's will]; marries (*de facto*) **Heinrich Oswald Ekstein / Hendrik Ooswalt Eksteen** (born Löbenstein [Thuringia] 23 February 1678); son of **Michael Eksteen**; 1702 arrives at Cape as *adelborst* on *Oostersteyn*; 1704 burgher; member of Burgher Raad & Orphan Chamber; (2) **Jacobus Willemsz: ten Damme** baptised Cape 6 August 1679 **Jacobus** son of **Swart Mary dogter van Swart**





She is listed in the census (1691, 1693, 1698 and 1700). She dies an extremely wealthy woman during the smallpox epidemic (1713) owning today's Camps Bay, the farms *de Mosselbank* at Klipheuwel and *Klawervlei* at Darling and also having grazing and hunting rights in 't veld by de Sonquasfonteyn and aan de Drooge valley buyten de Groene Cloof.<sup>104</sup>



*De Mosselbank* near Klipheuwel [Stellenbosch Library and Information Service Collection]

**Evert van Guinie** witnessed by **Jacomijn Hendriks**: [**Jacomina Frost**, wife of **Hendrik Jacobsz**.] [CA: MOOC 7/1/2, no. 27 (**Jacobus Willemsz: ten Damme**) - his will confirms his **Colijn** siblings]; 1712 (Opgaaf); (3) **Cornelia Everina Craak / Kraak** born c. 1682; baptised Cape 23 August 1693; signs name **Cornelia Everina Kraak**; marries Cape (civil marriage) **Pieter Christiaan Behrens(z:) / Barendsz**: (from Hamburg or Glückstadt); arrives 1720; burgher 1723; he marries (2) 17 February 1726 **Hermina Herwig** (from Amsterdam), wid. **Anton Martens: / Anthonij Martensz**: (from Celle [Hanover]), formerly wid/o **Johann Basilius Kretzschmar** (from Saalveld) & wid/o **Abram Abrams Staal** (from Emden) [her 2nd husband had been the wid/o **Sara Claasen Moller** (d/o **Johann Claus Moeller** (from Hamburg) & **Henrietta Claas: / Wittebol**]; at time of 2nd marriage his estate is valued at 16,000 guilders; (4) **Agnitie / Agnieta / Angenitie Colijn mesties** baptized **Agnitie** 5 March 1684 (mother: **Maria een swarte vrye meit**) (*de vader Bastiaen Jansen Colyn*) (witness: **Mostarts Mary** [**Maria Bartels: van de Caep**, mesties daughter of **Lijsbeth van Angola**]; marries (*de facto*) **Jan / Hans Oberholzer** (from Zürich [Switzerland]); marries (2) Cape 21 August 1707 **Jan Jansz: van der Heijden** (from Delft) *overcassier* [Note: **Heinrich Ostwald Eksteen's** 3rd wife is born **Van der Heiden** - it is **Eksteen** who fathers a child by **Anna Maria Colijn**]; (5) **Johannes Colijn** baptised Cape 26 December 1692 *den 26 Dito* [December 1692] *Een kint gedoopt van Maria Everts, onder getuijgenis van Bastian Jansz Colijn, ende Dina van Soetermeer ende genaemt Joannes*; owner of *Klein Constantia*; marries 1 May 1718 **Elsabe Barzenius van Hoff**, wid/o **Johannes Jurgen Kotze** (d/o **Lammert** or **Lambert Lourens: Barzenius van Hoff** (from Norway) & freed *halfslag* **Margaretha Jans: Vissers van de Caep**); deceased in 1721; (6) **Johanna Colijn** aka **Johanna Jacoba Colijn** baptised Cape 9 April 1694 (witnesses: **Bastiaen Colijn** & **Dina van Soetemeer**); marries Cape 20 January 1732 **Carl Georg Wieser** (from Heidelberg [Palatinate]); (7) **Maria Colijn** baptised Cape 27 May 1696: 27 *Maij* 1696 *Gedoopt het kint van Maria Everts: onder getuijgen van Jan Bastiaens: Colijn en Maria Schalck genaemt Mari ...*; marries Cape 12 December 1723; **Johannes Heyns** (s/o **Paulus Heyns** (from Leipzig) & *heelslag* **Maria Schalcks: van de Caep**).

<sup>104</sup> J.L. Hattingh, 'Grondbesit in die Tafelvallei – Deel i: Die Eksperiment: Vryswartes as grondeienaars, 1652-1710', *Kronos*, vol. 10 (1985), pp. 39-41.





*Klawervlei, Darling [Stellenbosch Library and Information Service Collection]*

## Maria van Guinea

She 1st belongs to the burgher **Casper Brinkmann**. He purchases her from the Company (10 May 1658). Unmarried, **Brinkman** also owns the slave **Evert van Guinea** whom he sells (1 April 1658) to **Van Riebeeck**. **Maria** absconds (18 June 1658), fleeing during the night together with **Evert van Guinea** and 2 other 'Guinea' slaves and a 'Guinea' female slave of the burgher **Hermann Coperslager Remajenne [Remagen]** (from Cologne). They take a supply of rice and clothing. This is at a time when other slaves from both 'Angola' and 'Guinea' are also absconding into the interior. The crisis starts a few days earlier (2 June 1658). The Dutch, in desperation, resort to taking prominent local indigenes as hostages in retaliation believing that the slaves are hiding in their encampments. On the morning of 24 June 1658, however, **Brinkmann** comes to tell **Van Riebeeck** that one of his male slaves (**Evert?**) and his female slave (**Maria**) have been found at his door during the night. It is unclear whether they have come back of their own accord or are brought back by the local indigenes. His other slaves are retrieved (26/27 June 1658). They are brought back by the indigenes under pressure from the Dutch. She and the other are incarcerated. After summoning all the free-burghers and their slaves to the Fort, 1 slave is branded and 2 are placed in chains and linked together (29 June 1658). All 3 are tied to a post and scourged in public as a warning to others.<sup>105</sup> **Maria** and **Evert** are probably left unscathed for returning of their own free will. **Remajenne's** unnamed female 'Guinea' slave is never retrieved. **Brinkmann** quickly sells (4 September 1660) **Maria** to **Maria de la Queillerie**, the wife of **Jan van Riebeeck**. After one of **Van Riebeeck's** 'Guinea'

<sup>105</sup> The slaves punished are probably the 2 'Guinea' slaves of **Brinkman** brought back by indigenes & one other slave **Herman Remajenne** caught whilst cutting reeds in the vicinity of the Leopard Mountain [Tygerberg] in the evening of 21 June 1658. [*Van Riebeeck's Journal*, vol. II, p. 287].



slaves deserts in (August 1658) but is soon recaptured, he has no qualms about later exchanging him, after he absconds a 2nd time (1 February 1659), for one other 'Angola' slave. Is this the 'Guinea' slave **Dirk** who is exchanged for **Christina van Angola** (sometime after 18 September 1659)?<sup>106</sup>

Sold again (1662) after **Van Riebeeck's** transfer to Batavia and Malacca, **Maria** is eventually freed (1676) by her master **Joannes Praetorius** (from Ouddorp [Goree]) after the death of his 1<sup>st</sup> wife having served her for many years throughout her many marriages. She is **Geertruijd Meyntinghs**: (from Hasselt) (dies 1676). Her 1st *patronesse* had married the free-burghers **Evert Roleemo**, **Wilhelm Ludwig Wiederhold** and **Dirck Bosch** (from Amsterdam) before finally becoming wife to **Johannes Praetorius**. At the time of his death, **Bosch** had been paralysed for quite some time. Her mistress thereafter complains bitterly to the authorities about her new 4<sup>th</sup> husband who has a major drinking problem even though he holds the position of secretary of the Council of Policy for many years and specially sent to Mauritius on Company business. We find **Maria** being put up as security (1668) with the family's other property for debts owing.

Also in the household is the 'Guinea' slave **Paaij Claes (dies 1709)** and the 'Angola' slave **Claes Kelder (born c. 1647)** who joins them (1665 and 1674 respectively) as well as the slaves **Thomas van Bengale** and **Jacob van Macassar**. It is her mistress - together with the wives of **Mostaert (Hester Weijers)**, **van Dieden (Geertruijd Frans: van Meeckhoff)** and **Diemer (Christina Does)** - that rescue the indigenous foundling (baptised **Florida**) from being buried alive with her deceased mother in 1669.<sup>107</sup>

The 'Guinea' slave woman **Maria's** daughter, the *heelslag* **Bruijnnette van de Caeb (born c 1675)** is enslaved at birth so that the mother **Maria** is still herself enslaved. Following the death of her *patronesse* (1676), **Maria** appears to be manumitted. Is this a testamentary manumission or is her freedom purchased from the deceased estate?<sup>108</sup> Her daughter, however, remains enslaved. Her former master remarries (28 February 1677) **Johanna Victors**: (from Amsterdam).

In 1681 the **Praetorius** household is in turmoil. The slave **Cupido van Bengale** belonging to the constable at the Castle, **Jacob van der Voorde** and his wife, the midwife **Jelletie Hartmans**:, is accused of creeping up against the minor child of

---

<sup>106</sup> **Christina van Angola** is not mentioned in the list of **Van Riebeeck's** slave drawn up on this date.

<sup>107</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'In Memoriam: **Florida** (born 23 January 1669-died April 1669) - Mythologising the 'Hottentot' practice of Infanticide - Dutch colonial intervention and the rooting out of Cape aboriginal custom', First Fifty Years (FFY): <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/ui103.htm>.

<sup>108</sup> **Geertruijd Mentinghs's** deceased estate cannot be traced. In terms of existing archival records, ostensibly *all* deceased estates are regulated by the Orphan Chamber, at times the Council of Justice and especially in the case of slave and other property, the *Schepenbank*. The latter records appear to be incomplete and records missing as a number of deceased estates of officials and free-burghers have not been found.



his master, **Risie Jacobs:**, one night. He sexually molests her (*in cas van onkuysheijt en collicitatie*) meaning that the slave uses force to gain his ends. Her age at the time is unknown, but we do know that her sister **Helena** is baptised (1676) so that she must have been at least 7 years old. **Cupido** is charged with the crime of having had criminal conversation with his master's daughter. His situation is further aggravated by additional charges of fornication about three years ago. This had been with another European female (**Anna Elisabeth Roleemo**), both before and after her marriage on various and innumerable occasions "thus adding to his offence the greater crime of adultery". He is sentenced (3 February 1681) to be hanged and burned under the gallows. The minutes of the Council of Justice state that "the prisoner had nothing to say in his defence, but left all to the will of the court".<sup>109</sup> **Risie Jacobs:** and her parents leave the Cape soon after the incident. What becomes of her later is not known. **Geertruijd Mentings:** is mother to 5 children.<sup>110</sup>

**Maria** 1st appears (1682) as a free-black in the muster. She next appears at the new colony in Stellenbosch (1687) when the Norwegian **Andries Oelofse [Anders Olavesen]** (from Oslo) ploughs and plants the fields of **Marij van Gene**. She and **Paaij Claes** are probably freed at the same time. In 1688 it is **Anthonie van Angola** who does the ploughing and planting of the fields of **Marij van Gene**. **Jan Cornelisz: Mostert** (from Utrecht) follows suit (1689) also ploughing and planting the fields of **Marij van Gene**. **Marij van Gene** and **Anthonij van Angola** sign a notarial declaration (20 October 1689).<sup>111</sup> **Maria vryswartin** declares (23 April 1692) that she is an eye witness in a dispute between **Jan Andriesz: de Joncker** and **Abraham van Guinea**.<sup>112</sup> **Marij van Gene** and **Prodo (Prede) van Gene**

<sup>109</sup> CA: CJ 2 (*Cri. and Civ. Cases, 1674-1688*, 3 February 1681), p. 152; CJ 780 (*Sententien*, 3.2.1681), fol. 192; Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 43; Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 384; 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; J. Leon Hattingh, 'Beleid en Praktyk', p. 39..

<sup>110</sup> (1) **Anna Elisabeth Roleemo** born Cape (fornicated with **Cupido van Bengale**); marries Cape 6 September 1678 **Jan van Leeuwarden** *skipper op het schip de Elisabeth* (2) **Wilhelm Lodewyk Wiederholt** born Cape; baptized Cape 9 May 1667; dies 1718; marries Cape 26 July 1699 **Henrietta (Jette) Wittebols: / Claesz: van de Kaap**, wid. **Johann Claus Möller** (from Hamburg) (d/o **Sara van Solor**, former slave of **Willem van Dieden** possibly by **Johan Wittebol** (from Amsterdam) & stepdaughter of **Claes Gerritsz: van Bengale** & **Herman Buys van Batavia**); (3) **Sophia Bosch** born Cape; baptized Cape 9 September 1670 (appears to die in infancy); (4) **(Anna) Sophia Bosch** born Cape; baptized Cape 26 June 1672, dies Stellenbosch 17 March 1701 marries Cape 29 August 1688 **Pieter van der Bijl** (from Overschie [near Rotterdam, Zuid Holland]) & (5) **Wessel Praetorius** born Cape; baptized Cape 3 June 1674; marries **Geertruy Elbers:** (d/o **Heinrich Ellebrecht / Elberts:** (from Osnabrück) & **Aletta ter Mollen** (from Schüttorf, Hannover).

<sup>111</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/152.

<sup>112</sup> CA: 1/STB 5/1 (*Jan Andrieszen de Joncker contra Abraham van Guinea*; CA: 1/STB 18/153 (Notarial Declaration: **Marij van Gene** & **Prodo (Prede) van Gene**, 11 August 1696).





[**Koddo**] sign a notarial declaration (11 August 1696).<sup>113</sup> **Maria** cannot be traced in the audits for 1695.<sup>114</sup>

She appears again in the census (1696) at Stellenbosch recorded as **Marij van Gene**. **Maria's** former master's widowed 2<sup>nd</sup> wife had remarried (28 October 1696) **Johannes Starrenberg** (from Amsterdam). She purchases (18 January 1697) her daughter **Bruijnet van de Caeb** (then aged 22) sold from the official **Johannes Starrenburg**.<sup>115</sup> She pays Rds 85 for her daughter. **Maria** is sentenced (9 April 1699) for selling and receiving tobacco from sailors.<sup>116</sup> She does not appear in the *Opgaaf* for Stellenbosch (1703) but one **Marij van de Caep** does appear at Stellenbosch. She enters into litigation (2 March 1705) with **Cornelis Joosten** (from Dalen).<sup>117</sup>

On his manumission, her son **Jan Jacobsz: van de Caap**<sup>118</sup> by the slave **Jacob van Macassar**, belonging to her former *patron* **Jan Pretorius**, draws up a partnership contract with **Jan Botma** (5 January 1709). For the duration of 5 years, they are to co-manage a wagon and 300 sheep for breeding purposes. Her son is to owe **Botma** the purchase amount of Rds. 195 - to be paid back within the time of the contract's duration. When any sheep are sold, **Botma** is to subtract her son's portion of the purchase price until the full amount is paid off. Until the debt is fully paid, he does not have the right to sell any sheep on his own accord. The contract also makes provision for her son to take the wagon to place of the son of **Jan Botma** at Land van Waveren [Tulbagh] where he has to ensure – without any remuneration - that everything is in order for the proper functioning of the place. Any costs entailed in the running of the farm, however, is to be carried by **Botma** but with the exception of the wheat for bread, half of which is to be paid for by her son.<sup>119</sup>

Thereafter **Jan Jacobsz: van de Caap** establishes himself as an independent farmer, first at Stellenbosch and later at Drakenstein appearing in the *opgaafrollen* (1700-1741). Contracting with his former owner (2 May 1716), he succeeds in getting **Jan Pretorius** to transfer (without any compensation) his slave – and in this instance his own biological father – **Jan van Macassar**. The contract stipulates, however, that he is not to mistreat the slave either bodily or in terms of withholding alimentation but that, on the contrary, he is display all the love of a child due to his father (the slave). If he is unable to maintain his father, he is

---

<sup>113</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/153.

<sup>114</sup> Only one person named **Maria** is mentioned: **Marij van de Caep** [Drakenstein *Opgaaf*]

<sup>115</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, *Kronos*. Böeseken states incorrectly that she had been purchased by the free-burgher **Pieter Jansz: van der Westhuijsen**.

<sup>116</sup> CA: CJ 3 (*Oorspronklike regsrolle en notule*), fol. 66: *Fiskaal contra Marij van Guineë*.

<sup>117</sup> CA: 1/STB 5/5 Notule van verrigtinge in siviele sake: **Marij van Gene contra Cornelis Joosten** [van Dalen].

<sup>118</sup> For documentary evidence that he is the son of **Maria van Guinea**, see W.H.J. Hattingh, *Die Hattingh-Familie in Suid-Afrika*.

<sup>119</sup> CA: 1.STB 18/42 (Contract: **Jan Botma & Jan Jacobsz: van de Caap**, 5 January 1709); J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p.54.



obliged to allow his father to work for others with remuneration. If **Jan Jacobsz: van de Caap** dies, however, the slave is to revert to his former owner.<sup>120</sup>

**Maria's** daughter the *heelslag* **Bruijnnette**, is not on record with any issue. Her daughter is compensated (20 June 1712) 50 guilders for looking after the 6 children of the disgraced and banished **Aeltje Vissers**: for a period of almost 2 months.<sup>121</sup> Nothing more about her has been traced in the records. **Maria van Guinea** leaves substantial recorded progeny via her son **Jacob Jacobsz: van de Caep** by the slave **Jacob van Macassar**.

### **Koddo / Prodo aka Cladoor / Pladoor van Guinea aka Sara de Waster & Abraham (Abram) van Guinea**

Her indigenous name, phoneticized by the Dutch as *Koddo* or *Prodo* is alliteratively caricaturized as *Plad Oor* ('Flat Ear'). *Plad Oor* initially appears to belong to the burgher **Leendert Cornelisz**: (from Sevenhuijzen) who has no wife at the Cape. Besides her, **Cornelisz**: owns the following 'Guinea' slaves **Judas de Wever**, **Pieter Pietersz**: aka **Pieter Rob** and **Tavina [Regina] van Rapenberg**. Circumstantial evidence points to the last-mentioned as being the same person as **Gegeima / Jajenne van Guinea** later nick-named *Lobbetje*. One other slave boy is also part of the household. He is the *heelslag* **Jan Bruijns van Madagascar**, the son of the Company slave woman **Eva van Madagascar** whose mother **Van Riebeeck** sends by mistake to Batavia. She is confiscated by the Company when her unruly owner is fired as burgher councillor and made to leave the Cape.

Following in the footsteps of the 14 male and female 'Guinea' Company slaves (under the supervision of their master **Leendert Cornelisz**: and the other free-sawyer **Pieter Paulsz**:) who desert during the night (24 August 1658) and the disappearance of one of **Van Riebeeck's** slaves from his farm at *Bosheuvel*, his 2 private female slaves - presumably *Lobbetje* and *Plad Oor* - also run away. They are apprehended almost immediately, together with **Van Riebeeck's** slave. 2 other slaves are also caught. Locked up, they manage to escape again.

---

<sup>120</sup> CA: 1 STB 18/42 (Contract: **Jan Pretorius & Jan Jacobsz: van de Caap**, 12 May 1716; J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Eerste Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, pp.54-56.

<sup>121</sup> CA: 1/STB 12/17 (*Generale en Krygskassarekening*, 20 June 1712). **Alida (Aaltie / Aeltje) Visser(s)**:), baptized (2 June 1680), is daughter to **Gerrit (Graf) Jansz: Visser** (from Ommen) & Cape-born **Jannetje Thielemans**: ... She marries (1stly) 16 December 1696 **Jacob Petrus Bodenstein** (from 's-Gravesande). She has an illicit affair with midshipman **Jasper Gommer/s** (from Den Haag) [H.C.V. Leibbrant: *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Defence*, p. 110] & is deported to the Netherlands. She & children do not appear as heirs to father's estate (1715). 5 illegitimate children are born out of this union. She has the following children: (1) **Johanna Sacharia Bodestyn** (baptised Cape 26 September 1700); (2) **Hendrikje Gommers** (baptised Stellenbosch 31 December 1702); (3) **Elisabeth Gommers** (baptised Stellenbosch 11 December 1707); (4) **Leendert Gommers** (baptised Stellenbosch 25 August 1709); (5) **Geertruij Gommers** (baptised Stellenbosch 6 March 1712). He fathers a slave child **Frans** appearing later in muster roll (1741) at Stellenbosch as **Frans Gommers** a single male.



Nevertheless, more slaves abscond and **Van Riebeeck** has to tell his council that no fewer than 30 slaves are missing. All the colony's remaining slaves are immediately put in chains excepting the women and children. The crisis only abates (9 September 1658) after the colony has been placed on full alert and all the missing Company slaves and some of the free-burgher slaves recovered.

Soon thereafter (25 October 1658), however, one of **Leendert Cornelisz:**'s male slave's absconds notwithstanding the fact, writes **Van Riebeeck**, he treats his slaves the best of all the burghers. When questioning **Lobbetje** and/or **Plad Oor**, **Van Riebeeck** – who already has a low opinion of the 'Guinea' slaves and a bias towards the 'Angola' slaves - is informed by one of them that the runaways often threatened to murder their master.<sup>122</sup> **Van Riebeeck** is quick to exchange his sole remaining troublesome slave **Dirk van Guinea** - who had already tried twice to abscond - for a slave **Christina (Christijn) van Angola** (sometime after 1 February 1659). His opinion is confirmed when (18 May 1659) the visiting indigenous Chainouqua chieftain **Chaihantima** is brutally attacked by the 'Guinea' slaves and a dog at *Bosheuwel*.

A wifeless **Leendert Cornelisz:** borrows (1 October 1658) f 300 from **Maria de la Queillerie**, wife of **Jan van Riebeeck**. He puts himself up as surety together with all his possessions - especially the slaves the Cape-born *heelslag* **Jan Bruijns**<sup>123</sup>, and the 'Guinea' slaves: **Judas de Wever**, **Sara de Waster [Koddo / Prodo aka Plad Oor]** and **Pieter Pietersz:** aka **Pieter Rob** "including their children and children yet to be born".<sup>124</sup> This debt appears to be called in (12 November 1658). These slaves are soon taken up into the Company or sold privately after their owner falls into disfavour and becomes insolvent. Significantly, **Van Riebeeck** is on record for again purchasing 'Guinea' slaves (presumably **Oude Hans** and **Lobbetje**) from the Company at this time.<sup>125</sup> **Pieter Pietersz: van Guinea** aka **Pieter Rob** appears to be purchased by **Thomas Christoffel Muller** (from Leipzig) who in turn sells him (12 March 1668) to **Hendrik Snijer**.<sup>126</sup> Thereafter **Leendert Cornelisz:**'s personal situation continues to worsen and he is later replaced (1661) as burgher councillor because of his unexemplary social behaviour (*met drinken, clinken, vechten, smijten ende leelijk spreken*).

The free sawyer **Leendert Cornelisz:** of Zevenhuisen, a burgher councillor elected last year, instead of setting the freemen an honourable and dignified example, has daily been behaving in a more and more debauched manner by drinking, celebrating, fighting, brawling and swearing ... It is resolved to dismiss him from his office as Burgher Councillor.

---

<sup>122</sup> A.J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 20.

<sup>123</sup> Son of troublesome slave woman **Eva van Madagascar** (not to be confused with another Malagasy contemporary **Cleijn Eva**) whose mother **Van Riebeeck** removes to Robben Island & soon thereafter conveniently ships by mistake (*per abuis*) to Batavia.

<sup>124</sup> CA: CTD 1, p. 110; Hattingh, *Kronos*, vol. 14 (1988), p. 54.

<sup>125</sup> CA: C 2391 (Council of Policy: Attestations (4 September 1652- 6 February 1660): (Attestation, 1 September 1659), pp. 86-87 [pp. 119-120].

<sup>126</sup> *Transport en Schepenkenissen*, 12 March 1668.



The records reveal that he sufficiently upsets the colony on at least three separate occasions. He insults (August 1661) the dignity of **Jannetje Ferdinandus** (from Courtrai) at her tavern the *Oliphant*.<sup>127</sup>

“Declaration of **Cornelis Willemsz.**, Corporal, and **Thomas Christoffel Muller**, of Leysigh [*sic* - Leipzig], free Saldanha trader, 27 years old, made at the request of **Jannetje Ferdinandus**, wife of the innkeeper **Juriaan Jansen [Appel]**, that on Tuesday evening they were at the inn of Juriaan when the free sawyer **Leendert Cornelisz.** had some words with **Jannetje** and said, why do you quarrel with me, I have a share in you and in all the women in the Cape, excepting one or two: when the men are away, we know how to find and speak to each other. The first deponent also heard that he called **Jannetje** a strumpet, adding “you and all the women at the Cape are strumpets,” excepting the “Juffrouw” (the Commander’s wife) and another.”

Thereafter he insults (October 1661) **Jan (Broertje) Pietersz: Louw** (from the Dithmarsh) and is arraigned a year later (October 1662) for harbouring indigenes illegally.<sup>128</sup> By 1662 **Leendert Cornelisz.** is a broken man and opts to rejoin the Company as a ship’s carpenter to be sent to Batavia at the earliest opportunity. No record of the judicial attachment of his property has been found.

As Company slave at *Groote Schuur*, **Plad Oor** later becomes concubine to the Company official, **Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe** (from Broek in Oud-Beyerland). He is convicted (1 June 1665) with 2 others for malicious damage to property.<sup>129</sup> His estate is separated (8 October 1670) from that of **Jacob Cloete** (from Cologne).<sup>130</sup> He marries (9 September 1668) at the Cape **Elsje Jacobs: Cloete** (from Cologne). She is the daughter of **Jacob Cloete** (from Cologne) who dies at the Cape (1693) and **Sophia (Fijtje) Radergorts**. His mother is also found recorded as **Radergenties** and **Raderootjes** and hails from Uez, near Cologne<sup>131</sup> who dies at the Cape (1664). She arrives at the Cape (16 March 1659) on the ship *Arnhem* (with her mother, her brother, **Gerrit Jacobssen Cloete**, and her maternal uncle, **Pieter Raderotjes** (from Uez). The ship sails with the ship *Princes Roijaël* and other ships from Vlie with a complement of 347 paid men, including her captain **Jan Tijmons:** and the junior merchant, **Johan Nieuhof**. The ship has not put in anywhere and during the voyage 11 persons die from disease or accidents. A large number of men aboard arrive suffering from scurvy.<sup>132</sup>

He is appointed (10 November 1670) guardian to his wife **Elsje Jacobs: Cloete**. On 13 August 1667 **Paulus Broens** is tried for theft. He claims that 9 months ago he and **Cloete’s** daughter became engaged to marry and that he wished to retrieve the

---

<sup>127</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations*, pp. 451-2 (Declaration: **Cornelis Willemsz. & Thomas Christoffel Muller**, 12 August 1661).

<sup>128</sup> CA: CJ 1. Cases nos. 92 (8 October 1661) & 100 (22 October 1662).

<sup>129</sup> CA: CJ 1, Case no. 148, p. 244.

<sup>130</sup> CA: CJ 1, pp. 610 & 611.

<sup>131</sup> Not to be confused with *Uetze* in Lüneburg, Hanover.

<sup>132</sup> *Van Riebeeck’s Journal*, vol. III, p. 26.





ring that he had given her. He is given leave to prove these allegations.<sup>133</sup> On 18 October 1670 **Elsje Cloete** and her siblings inherit from her mother's deceased estate. The Council of Justice appoints (20 October 1670) **Wouter Cornelisz: Mostert** (from Utrecht) and **Harmen Ernst de Gresnight** (from Utrecht) as guardians of **Jacob Cloete's** minor children.<sup>134</sup> On 13 March 1677 he acknowledges debt to the deaconate of the Church which debt is paid (by 8 April 1690). They have 12 children.<sup>135</sup>

**Plad Oor** and **Van der Merwe** have an illegitimate daughter: **Maria** - later known as **Maria Schalks: van de Caep**. She appears as a Company slave (1664) housed at the Company's barn [*Groote Schuur*]. Their illicit union and the ensuing illegitimate child are the subject of a report (1664) by his commanding officer, **Pieter Cruijthoff**.<sup>136</sup>

... a certain female slave by whom he has a child, and whom he had chambered in the kitchen at the time of her lying in. he likewise, every hour of the day, took care of her by preparing her food and fetching water and fuel. Yea! What is more, when she was being confined he knocked me up and begged me to give him brandy for the reason stated. I gave him two glasses which he brought to her to revive her.<sup>137</sup>

Soon thereafter, **Plad Oor** baptizes (6 September 1665) her daughter **Maria**. Their mother is recorded as the Company slave woman named **Koddo**. She baptizes no other children after 1665 but may have had other children born prior to **Maria**. The Company manumits (2 January 1687) some old and retired Company slaves: the **Adriaen (Arie) van Bengale**, **Abraham van Guinea** [her concubine], **Leidsare**

<sup>133</sup> CA: CJ 1, pp. 372 & 376 & C 327, pp. 57-59 & 63-64.

<sup>134</sup> CA: CJ 1, p. 616; MOOC 23/5 (10 November 1670 & 14 January 1671).

<sup>135</sup> (1) **Sophia van der Merwe** marries (1stly) **Roelof Pasman** (from Meurs); marries (2ndly) **Pieter Robberts** (from Neustadt [Danish Holsten]); (2) **Schalk van der Merwe** marries **Anne Prévot** (from Calais) (daughter of **Charles Prévost**); (3) **Maria (Marritje) van der Merwe** marries **Barend Burger** (from Lübeck); (4) **Jacoba Jacomina van der Merwe** marries (1stly) **Johann Schöpping**; marries (2ndly) **Jost Heinrich Frisch**; (5) **Jacob van der Merwe** baptised; (6) **Petronella van der Merwe** marries her 1<sup>st</sup> cousin **Jan Cloete** (son of **Gerrit Cloete** (from Cologne) & **Catharina Harmens**: (from Middelburg)); (7) **Aletta van der Merwe** marries (1stly) **Marthinus van Staden**; marries (2ndly) **Nicolaas Janse [van Renburg]** (from Rendsburg); (8) **Helena (Lena) van der Merwe** marries (1stly) *halfslag* **Jacobus van As van de Caep**, wid. **Maria Clements**: (son of **Maaij Ansela van Bengale**) marries (2ndly) **Christian Matzdorf** (from Pasewalk), widow of **Maria Basson**; (9) **Pieter van der Merwe** (10) **Magteld / Magdalena van der Merwe** marries **Pieter Willem van Heerden**; (11) **Elsie van der Merwe** marries **Albert Lamberts: Mijburgh** (son of **Lambert Mijburgh** (from Norway) & **Aeltje Alberts**: (from Pumerend); & (12) **Hendrik Willem van der Merwe** marries (1stly) his 1<sup>st</sup> cousin **Catharina Cloete**; marries (2ndly) **Aletta Keyser**; marries (3rdly) **Maria Fick** [CA: CJ 285, p. 17 (10 September 1678)]; Jan van der Merwe, '**Willem Schalkszoon van der Merwe** - 'n Biografiese Ekskursie', *Familia*, vol. XVI, no. 1 (1979), pp. 7-11].

<sup>136</sup> Complaint of **Pieter Cruythoff** against **Willem Schalq [Willem Schalksz: van der Merwe** (from Broek / Oud-Beijerland)] ... presented to the Council of Fort of Good Hope. No date, but the year is 1664. Case of assault of **Cruythoff** by **Schalq**. 'All this he (**Schalq**) did on account of a certain female slave by whom he has a child, and whom he had chambered in the kitchen at the time of her lying in' [J. Hoge quoting H.C.V. Leibbrandt's *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope (Attestations)*, p. 478.

<sup>137</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt's *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations*, vol. III, p. 478.



van Madagascar, the pardoned convict **Mira Moor van Ceylon** and the slave women, **Plad Oor [Koddo]** and **Gratia d'Acosta [van Coromandel]**. She appears recorded variously as **Cladoor**, **Pladoor**, **Prodo** and **Prede** as a free-black at the new Stellenbosch colony in the census together with her 'husband' **Abraham van Guinea**.

**Abraham** is sold by the Company (17 April 1669) to the resident minister **Adriaen de Voogd** and his wife **Anna van den Meer** (from Valkoogh or Wieringen).<sup>138</sup> The slave woman **Catharina van Bengale**, formerly belonging to **Christina Diemer**, is probably also sold [no record] at this time to the minister's household. She is already mother to at least one child, the *halfslag* **Susan**, baptized as a Company slave (2 October 1667). **Catharijn** baptized (20 October 1669) another *halfslag* daughter **Catharina (Catharijn)**.

The minister and his wife arrive at the Cape from *Patria* on *de Handelaer* (10 May 1667). They have a son named **Petrus**. **De Voogd** replaces the minister (**Johannes**) **Petrus Wachtendorp** (husband of **Maria Prignon**) who dies at the Cape (15 February 1667). **Anna Meranus** is the daughter of the minister **Arnoldus van der Meer** and **Aagje Jacobs van der Helm**. She has a sister in *Patria*, **Magdalena van der Meer**, and another sister at the Cape, **Catharina van der Meer** (married to the official **Heinrich Crudop** (from Bremen)). Also in the minister's household is the couple's personal slave **Florinda van Jaffnapatnam** (born c. 1641).

We find **Abraham** informing, together with the slave women **Florinda**, **Marija van Goa** [error for Angola?] and **Marij [van Bengale?]**, against the convict **Susanna Een Oor van Bengale** who is tried, sentenced and executed (1669) for infanticide. On 27 January 1671 special provision is made for the manumission of the 5-and-a-half year old *heelslag* slave girl **Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep** (born c. 1664). **Abraham's** biological paternity is uncontested. She is the daughter of the slave woman **Catharina [van Bengale?]** belonging or seconded to **Elbert Dircksz: Diemer**. **Sijbilla** is to serve 10 years as a free-person in return for food and clothes.<sup>139</sup> **Sijbilla** has an illegitimate child by **Guilliam in de Stal [Guillaume Frisnet?]**. She is baptized as a Company *heelslag* slave at the Cape adult (16 September 1691). She has 6 children.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> J. Leon Hattingh, *Kronos*. Böeseken's entry is cryptic and flawed. She refers to him as **Abram van Angola** [sic]. Both **Diemer** & **De Voogd** have slave women named **Catharina** in their respective households. Böeseken mistakes **De Voogd's** slave as being **Sijbilla's** mother at the time. Hattingh corrects this in his article showing that the child's mother belonged to **Diemer** - otherwise why the special provision? In an event, it appears that the 2 **Catharinas** are one and the same person with the likelihood of **Diemer** later selling her to **De Voogd**.

<sup>139</sup> Anna J. Böeseken, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, pp. 85 & 128 & J. Leon Hattingh, *Kronos*] have transcribed this document differently.

<sup>140</sup> (1) **Willem halfslag** (father: **Guilliam Frisnet** (from Bergen op Zoom)); baptized Cape 29 July 1685; (2) **Dirk halfslag** baptized 1690; listed 1714; (3) **Griscella / Grizella / Grusella Sweetmans: van de Caab (c. 1693-1747)** Cape-born *halfslag* baptized 1693; 1714; marries (1) **Jan Stavorinus** (from Alphen); 24 July 1729 marries (2ndly) **Jan Jurgen Schreuder** (from Magdeburg); 1724:



On 30 September 1671 the slave **Thomas van Bengale** (25) is sold to **Gillis van Breen** on behalf of **De Vooght** from **Cornelis Zwart** (from Amsterdam) on the *Burgh van Leiden*. On 16 January 1672 the minister sells his slave **Thomas from the Coast** to his brother-in-law, **Hendrik Crudop** for Rds 70. On 26 February 1672 **De Voogd** sells **Florinda van Jafnapatnam** (30), a former Company slave, to **Nathanial Goethardt**, junior merchant on *Hollantsen Thuyn* for Rds 70. When he acquires her, is not known [probably after she is confiscated/arrested following **Clinckenberg's** death in suspicious circumstances]. Is he planning to leave the Cape? In 1672 the minister appears to change his mind acquiring slaves again. On 29 March 1672 **De Voogt** buys a slave **Jacob van de Coromandel Coast** from **J. Hendrik Willingh**, merchant on *Sparendam* for Rds 60; and on that same day purchases the slave **Cupido van Bengale** (aged 10) from **Lambert van der Heijden** for Rds. 45. On 4 April 1672 **De Voogd** buys **Claes from the Coast opposite Ceylon** (aged 24/24) from Admiral **Joan Barra** for Rds 45. By 1674 the minister is finally set on leaving the Cape and again sells off his slaves. He sells (15 February 1674) **Cupido** (aged 16) [sic] to his unmarried successor, **Rudolph van Meerlandt** (from IJsselsteyn) for Rds 50. He sells **Jacob van de Coast van Malabar** to his brother-in-law **Hendrik Crudop** for f 200. The minister and his family proceed to Batavia (18 February 1674). His widow returns to the Cape and remarries there (17 May 1676) **Johannes Ravenbergh** (from Haarlem). At what stage **De Voogd** alienates **Catharina van Bengale** and her children, is not known. She appears, however, to become the property of **Hester Weijers: Klim** (from Lier).

When **Abraham** reverts to the Company remains unknown. He is freed (2 January 1687) by the Company in terms of resolution of the Council of Policy together with other old and retired Company slaves, including his *de facto* wife **Koddo or Plad Oor**. The other slaves freed were **Adriaen (Arie) van Bengale** and his *de facto* wife **Gratia d'Acosta, Leidsare [van Madagascar]** and the pardoned convict **Mira Moor [van Ceylon]**.<sup>141</sup>

**Abraham** is listed alone in the census (1688). There is no mention of his wife.<sup>142</sup> In that year **Lijsbeth Sanders: van de Caep** deserts the father of her children, **Louis van Bengale**. She goes to her `mother` (actually foster mother) [**Anna van Guinea**] but also meets her lover at the place of **Abraham** and **Koddo** at Jonkershoek. On 29 December 1689 **Abraham** and his `son-in-law`, **Matthijs Calmer**, purchase the farm at Stellenbosch originally occupied by **Hendrik**

---

arrives Cape as soldier; 1727: *knecht* of **Hendrik Oostwalt Eksteen**; 28 November 1730: free-burgher; 1747: she dies; 1748: he remarries **Maria Anna Lombard** [CA: C 104, pp. 9-12, *Ultima August 1737*]; (4) **Matthijs** baptized Cape 1695; (5) **Johannes halfslag** baptized 1698; (6) **Hendrik halfslag** baptized 1700.

<sup>141</sup> CA: C 18, pp. 98-99 & C 592: *Orig. Dagregister*, 1687, pp. 7-9: (*Donderdag den 2 Januarij 1687*).

<sup>142</sup> **Anna from Guinea**, widow of **Evert from Guinea**, with 1 daughter [**Lijsbeth Sanders?**], is recorded in *Opgaaf* adjacent to **Jan Herbst** at Stellenbosch. **Louis van Bengale** is recorded in the *Opgaaf* adjacent to **Abraham van Guinea**. **Claes van Guinea** is not mentioned in the census. Is he no. 251?



**Potman** for f 520. Also included in the transaction are a plough and a wagon valued at f 120.<sup>143</sup> **Matthijs Calmer**, however, withdraws from the partnership and enters into the service (1 July 1690) of the secretary to the *landdrost Sijbrand Mankadan*<sup>144</sup>. The farm is never formally granted to **Abraham. Koddo** and **Abraham** are listed together in the census (1692) with 5 oxen. Also listed are **Paaij Claes** and **Hoena (Anna)** and **Matthijs Calmer** and **Jannetje [Bort] van de Caep**. On 23 April 1692 the free-black woman **Maria van Guinea** is a witness in a legal dispute between **Abraham van Guinea** and **Jan Andriessen de Joncker**. **Abraham** is sued for not paying Rds 6 for the loan of **Jan de Joncker's** plough and for 3 bushels of wheat advanced him.<sup>145</sup> **Abraham** and **Paaij Claes** are singled out as ideally suited (*seer bequaem*) to manage the Company's new plantation at Stellenbosch (1693) set aside for the planting of oak trees to help alleviate the wood shortage of the colony.<sup>146</sup> On **Plad Oor** and **Maria** make a joint declaration (11 August 1696) tabled during a civil suit between **Paaij Claes** and **Jan Leeuw / Luij van Ceylon**.<sup>147</sup> In 1700 **Anna** and **Paaij Claes** are listed together in the census. **Abraham** and **Plad Oor** are not mentioned. Are they already deceased? **Plad Oor's** Cape-born *halfslag* daughter **Maria Schalks: (c. 1664-1700)** leaves considerable recorded progeny.

## Genealogical impact of `Angola` and `Guinea` slaves at the Cape of Good Hope

Of the Company (of whom some were previously also privately owned and domesticated) `Angola` and `Guinea` slaves presumably never freed at the Cape, namely:

- Cat(h)arina van Angola
- Cecilia van Angola
- Christina (Christijn) van Angola
- Dorothea van Angola - *een Angoolse kaffarinen*
- Francina (Francijn / Francijntje) van Angola
- Margaretha (Griet) [van Angola?]
- Maria van Angola

and

- **Gegeima / Jajenne van Guinea** aka **Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg** later nick-named **Lobbetje**.

<sup>143</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/152 (*Notarial Declarations: Matthijs Clamer & Abraham van Gene*, 29 December 1689); J. Leon Hattingh, *Die Vryswartes van Stellenbosch 1679-1720*, p. 47.

<sup>144</sup> He marries **Marritie Catarina van Swaenswyk**, widow of **Gerard Crabeth**. She marries (3rdly) 9 August 1693 **Jan Geel** (from Amsterdam).

<sup>145</sup> CA: 1/STB 5/1 (*Notule van verrigtinge in siviele sake, Jan Andrieszen de Joncker contra Abraham van Guinea*, 23 April 1692).

<sup>146</sup> CA: 1/STB (*Notule van Landdrost en Heemrade*, 11 September 1693).

<sup>147</sup> CA: 1/STB 18/153 (*Notarial Declarations, Declaration: Marij van Gene & Proddo (Prede) van Gene*, 11 August 1696).





Only their mixed race offspring are legally entitled to freedom on obtaining majority (women at 22 and men at 25 years of age) and only after complying with all the other formalities. Some buy or have their freedom purchased. Some of these individuals appear sporadically in the resolutions of the Cape's Council of Policy. Their numbers or descendants 'making up' the colonial populace make little indent, however, into what 'transmogrifies' into the colonially derived more privileged white-looking minority group at the Cape of Good Hope (and ultimately South Africa). The same can be said for the handful of privately owned 'half-caste' offspring of 'Angola' and 'Guinea' slaves some of whose descendants succeed in 'passing for white'. Together with the continuous trickle of individual privately owned slaves sold by officials on the return fleet, these make for an eventual burgeoning slave population at the Cape. Identifying each and every one of these slaves is no easy task ...

Sexual intercourse by Christians with Muslims (*Moors*) and heathens (*Jentives*)<sup>148</sup>, not to mention black Africans, is illegal and regarded as a blemish on the Dutch and other Christian nations (*schandtvleck van den Nederlantse en andere Christen natien*). Concubinage and that shameful crime of fornication or whoredom (*het schandelyke crime van fornicatie ofte hoerendom*) with slaves are strictly forbidden in terms of the Statutes of India. These are VOC laws formulated in Batavia. As the Cape is ruled from Batavia, the seat of the Governor-General, these statutes take precedence over any laws (edicts or *placcaaten*) made at the Cape. The peculiar circumstances of the Cape, at least initially when still a virgin, well-nigh white or Christian women-less, colony allow, however, for greater relaxation of these laws. The Cape's 1st commander **Jan van Riebeeck** is quite explicit in a despatch to Batavia that he has high hopes for the Company's men to take wives from the first shipload of slaves ('black gold') that the Company is contemplating to procure from 'Angola'.<sup>149</sup> At this stage the *Amersfoort* has not yet arrived with its unexpected prize cargo:

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.

Once they have arrived, **Van Riebeeck** even encourages his men to fructify the Company's slaves as this can only be beneficial to the Company (*het is ten dienste van de Compagnie*) in swelling the available labour force:<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> The word derives from the Portuguese via Latin *gentiam* meaning 'people'. The Cape word *jintoe* meaning 'whore' appears to also be a derivative.

<sup>149</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched*, Part II, pp. 293-295.

<sup>150</sup> CA: C 326 (*Attestation*) (19 December 1660); H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations*, p. 183; Marius Valkhoff, 'Miscegenation in South Africa in the seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries', pp. 99-118 (translated from German original of late Dr. J.



**“Barent Waendersz:** (from Varich) ... *vryman alhier aan gemelte Caap ... 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*”.

“Declaration of **Arent Gerritsz: van der Elburgh**, sailor, and **Adriaan Bastiaansz: Peereboom**, marine, made at the request of **Barend Waendersz.**, of Varick, freeman here, that **Theunis Frederiksz.**, of Weserysen, sailor, had publicly said, whilst standing before the gate of the horn works, that the Commander **Jan van Riebeeck** had come to the “Bosheuvel” and said to **Barend Waende**, who lives there, “Has any of your men had anything to do with the female slaves and fructified them?” and that **Barend** answered, “No, sir.” That **Riebeeck** replied, “**Barend**, did you have anything to do in the matter? Tell it freely, no harm is done, it is for the benefit of the Company. **Barend** replied, “Yes, sir.” **Riebeeck** answered, “Then go to the fiscal and settle the matter, no harm is done (it is not of any importance). The above confirmed by oath”.

Attestations (1662) reveal that free-burghers, single and/or not having yet sent for their wives, such as **Hermann Remajenne [Remagen]** (from Cologne), **Willem Puttersz:** (from Nijmegen) and the soon-to-marry **Hans Rasch** (from Angeln [Holstein])<sup>151</sup> are often seen frequenting the Company slave women:<sup>152</sup>

“... they saw **Herman Remajenne**, of Cologne, and **Hans Ras**, of Angel, free agriculturists going to the female slaves who were in the kitchen”.

It is only after VOC commissioner (later Cape governor) **IJsbrand Goske's** visits the Cape (1671) that fornication and concubinage with slave women is officially discouraged. Of the 12 school-going children in the Slave Lodge, 9 are visibly ‘half-caste’ (*halfslag*). ‘Born into freedom’, this right obtainable at majority, is reaffirmed by the commissioner. The realisation gradually sets in, however, that the Company’s coercible labour pool will diminish dramatically if an increasing ‘half-caste’ enslaved population effectively affirms their right to freedom on obtaining majority. **Goske** hopes to counteract fornication between the slaves and the common folk (*‘t gemeene volcq* - meaning soldiers, sailors and persons from visiting ships) by encouraging the consolidation of slave families. He hopes to achieve this by encouraging the conversion of the Company slaves to Christianity and adult baptisms, a neglected practice, followed by ‘marriage’. He now recommends that the Company slaves attend Christian prayers each evening with the men of the garrison and officials, attend church services twice on a Sunday and

---

Hoge, University of Stellenbosch) *New Light on Afrikaans-Malayo-Portuguese* (Gelelmus Peeters, Impunice Orientale, Louvain 1972), p. 100; Mansell G. Upham, ‘*Maaij Ansela* and the ‘black’ sheep of the family: A closer look at the events surrounding the first execution of a free-burgher in Cape colonial society for the murder of a non-European’, *Capensis*, 1/1998, p. 29: 1660:

<sup>151</sup> The Danish-ruled duchy of Slesvig (now part of Schleswig-Holstein, Federal Republic of Germany).

<sup>152</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Attestations* (January 1662 & 15 January 1662; Marius Valkhoff, ‘Miscegenation in South Africa in the seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries’, pp. 99-118 (translated from original German of late Dr. J. Hoge, University of Stellenbosch) *New Light on Afrikaans-Malayo-Portuguese* (Gelelmus Peeters, Impunice Orientale, Louvain 1972), p. 101.



be taught their prayers in the (Low German languages) *Nederduijtsche taele*.<sup>153</sup> The 1st resolution by the Council of Policy at the Cape regulating the sexual *mores* of the colony is only formulated (as late as 30 November 1678).<sup>154</sup> Some Company servants and even officers in the garrison and elsewhere openly keep concubines and commit sexual acts in public.<sup>155</sup> This is translated (9 December 1678) into an edict (*placcaat*) against the keeping of concubines and against intercourse with slave women (whether Company slaves or privately owned). Worth noting is the justification **Crudorp's** administration gives for regulating against the scandalous crime of fornication or whoredom (*het schandelijcke crime van fornicatie, ofte hoerendom*):<sup>156</sup>

“... it tends besides to the evident prejudice of the Company, as we are obliged, after the lapse of a few years, to discharge the *mestice* children, which are the result of such commerce, from servitude, while those procreated by their own countrymen always continue as slaves”.

The edict is a dead letter, however. Evidently, **Goske's** recommendations too are not taken seriously or prove more difficult to implement than originally envisaged. When High Commissioner **Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee** *tot Drakenstein* inspects the colony (1685), he finds that little of **Goske's** recommendations have been followed. Concerning concubinage, everybody he consults, thinks it to be perfectly natural and not illegal (... *ondervond de concubinage onder deselve met onse natie so openbaar ende bekent was, men daervan als van getolereerde dingen sprak*).<sup>157</sup> Significantly, the 1st formal prosecution, twenty years later (1690), a veritable *cause célèbre*, involves what appears to be a seconded *halfslag* Company slave woman. She is **Catharina (Catrijn / Kaet) van de Caep**, likely daughter of the private slave woman appropriated by the Company: **Anna van Bengale**.<sup>158</sup>

A baptismal policy, in keeping with the tenets of the Reformed Christian faith as codified by the Synod of Dort (1618-1619), is initially introduced at the Cape. Only *halfslag* slave infants (fathered by Europeans) – whether privately or Company owned – are singled out for baptism with freedom withheld until attaining legal majority. The numerical recording (1671) of only 9 school-going *halfslag* Company slave infants more or less tallies with the actual amount of individual slave baptisms on record. There is sufficient evidence to show that the majority of these

<sup>153</sup> Anna J. Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 36.

<sup>154</sup> *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad* (Deel II), p. 270.

<sup>155</sup> *Kaapse Plakkaatboek 1652-1707* (Deel I), pp. 151-152.

<sup>156</sup> Donald Moodie, *The Record*, p. 367.

<sup>157</sup> A. Hulshof, **H.A. van Reede tot Drakenstein**, *journal van zijn verblijf aan de Kaap*, p. 185; A.J. Böeseke, *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, p. 45, n. 38.

<sup>158</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. **Catrijn**, presumably daughter of the Company slave **Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna**, at time of arraignment and that of soldier **Jan Rutter** (from ‘s Heerenberg) is simultaneously concubine to **Ernst Friedrich Walter** (from Breslau [on the Oder River, Silesia - now Wroclaw in Poland]). Soon thereafter, she legally marries **Walter**. Her husband is former partner to *halfslag* **Christoffel Snijman van de Caep** (son of Cape’s 1st recorded female convict **Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat]**).



*halfslag* slave infants invariably - get removed from the Company's Slave Lodge and put into the care at an early age and made to serve the families of Company officials and the wealthier free-burgher families more closely associated with the colonial administration.

## Cape slave & interracial Births / Baptisms (1652-1671) - mothers listed in brackets

- c. 1655 private mestiza **Maria Hendricks: [Lijsbeth van Bengale]** [baptized c. April 1658-February 1659 – recorded but record no longer extant]
- c. 1657: Company mulatta **Armozijn [Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna]** - baptized adult 17 September 1679  
private mestizo **Heindrick [Lijsbeth van Bengale]** [baptized 20 July 1659]
- c. 1658: Company *heelslag* **Lijsbeth Sanders: [Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna]** - never baptised
- c. 1660: private *heelslag* **Maria van de Caep [Christiijn van Angola by Deuxsous van Guinea]** – never baptised  
private *heelslag* **Jan Dirx: van de Caep [Anna van Guinea by Dirck van Guinea]**- never baptised
- 8 April 1660: free-born mestiza **Mary [Maria van Bengale]**  
Company mulatto slave **Pietertje [Pieter Willemsz:] [Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna]**  
private mestiza **Reintje [Margaretha Jans: Vissers:] [Lijsbeth van Bengale]**
- c. 1661 Company *heelslag* **Armozijn Claes: [Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna]** - baptized adult 23 February 1687
- 28 August 1661: private mestizo **Jacob [Jacob Hendrickz: Hages] [Lijsbeth van Bengale]**  
private mestiza slave **Annetje de Coninck [Maaij Ansela van Bengale]**
- c. 1662: private *heelslag* **Maria Everts: [Anna van Guinea by Evert van Guinea]** baptized adult 29 March 1767
- 8 October 1662: Company mestiza **Cathalina [Catharina Vrijmans:] [Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta]**  
Company mestiza **Mary [Maria Pieters:] [Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta]**
- 1663: **unnamed half-caste `Angola` boy** born who later dies (20 December 1672) aged 9 “in the Company's large garden”
- 8 April 1663: private mestizo **Louwijs [Catharina van Malabar]**
- 2 September 1663: private mestiza **Anna [Anna Pieters: van Batavia] [Lijsbeth van Bengale]**  
private / Company mulatta **Lijsabeth [Elisabeth Jans:]**  
free-born mestiza **Hester [Hester Jans:] [Maria van Bengale]**
- 4 September 1663: **11 unnamed slave children baptised:**
- 16 September 1663: Company mulatto **Claes Cornelisz: [?] [Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna]**  
Company mulatta **Jannetje van de Caep [Koddo van Guinea]**  
Company mulatta **Jannetje [?]**  
Company mulatta **Jannetje [Jannetje Bort] [Lobbetje van Guinea]**  
**unnamed half-caste `Angola` boy** who later dies (20 December 1672) aged 9 “in the Company's large garden”  
private *heelslag* **Abraham [Annica van Bengale by Anthonij van Japan]**  
private mestizo **Jacobus van As [Maaij Ansela van Bengale]**  
Company mulatto **Marten de Geus [Lijsbeth Arabus van Abisinna?]**  
private mulatta **Jacomina (Jacomijntje) Frost [Anna van Guinea]**





	Company mulatta <b>Maria Matysen / Mathysse / Matthysdochter Eli / Ely &amp; Marritje Rykmans:</b> [ <b>Maaij Claesje van Angola</b> ]
c. 1665:	Company <i>halfslag</i> <b>Maria Been</b> [Griet] private <i>heelslag</i> <b>Isabella (Sijbilla) van de Caep</b> [Catharina van Bengale by <b>Abraham van Guinea</b> ] baptised adult 16 September 1691
6 September 1665:	Company mestiza <b>Petronella</b> [Petronella van Bengale] [ <b>Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta</b> ] private mestizo <b>Joannes</b> [Johannes (Jantje) van As] [ <b>Maaij Ansela van Bengale</b> ] private mestizo <b>Anthonij</b> [Lijsbeth van Bengale] private mestizo <b>Anthonij</b> [Catharina van Malabar] Company mulatto <b>Pietertje</b> [Francijn van Angola] Company mulatta <b>Floorci</b> [Janne Bastaiens:?] [Cornelia <i>Arabus</i> van <b>Abissina</b> ] Company mulatta <b>Maria</b> [Maria Schalks:] [Koddo van Guinea] Private mulatto <b>Dirik</b> [Sabba van Angola]
25 October 1665:	Company mulatta <b>Petronella</b> [Petronella Lammers:] [Griet] Company mulatto <b>Willem</b> [Vlossijk] private <i>heelslag</i> <b>Elysabeth</b> [Annica van Bengale] private mestiza <b>Dominga</b> [Helena van Malabar]
7 March 1666:	Company mulatta <b>Catharina</b> [mother: unnamed Malagasy slave?]
28 March 1666:	Company mestizo <b>Andries / Arij Jans:</b> [Susanna <i>Een Oor</i> van Bengale]
12 September 1666:	[twin?] private mulatto <b>Pieter</b> [Pieter Harmensz: Brasman] [Cornelia <i>Arabus</i> van <b>Abisinna</b> ] [?] private mulatta <b>Martha</b> [Martha Martens:] [Cornelia <i>Arabus</i> van <b>Abisinna</b> ]
12 September 1666:	private mestiza <b>Maria</b> [Maria Lozee][Maria van Bali] private mulatta <b>Catrijn</b> [Catharina Hillebrants:] [Sabba van Angola] Company mestizo <b>Harmen</b> [Gratia d`Costa]
c. 1667:	private <i>heelslag</i> <b>P(i)etronel(la) (Pieterneel / Pyttie)</b> [Sabba van <b>Angola</b> ] never baptized [?]
23 May 1667:	private / Company mulatto <b>Johannes</b> [Dorothea van Angola] Company mulatta <b>Catharina</b> [Catharina Fredericks:?] [Francijn van <b>Angola</b> ]
14 August 1667: <b>van</b>	private / Company mulatta <b>Lijsbeth</b> [Lijsbeth Blom?] [ <b>Maaij Claesje van Angola</b> ]
28 August 1667:	private <i>heelslag</i> <b>Maria</b> [Maria Hansen] [Lobbetje van Guinea]
2 October 1667:	Company mulatto <b>Anthonij</b> [Griet] Company mestiza <b>Susan</b> [Catharina van Bengale] Company mestizo <b>Lois</b> [ <b>Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta</b> ]
16 October 1667:	private mestiza <b>Adriaentje</b> [Adriaentje Gabriels:] [Catharina van <b>Malabar</b> ]
3 June 1668:	private mestizo <b>Pieter</b> [Pieter van As] [ <b>Maaij Ansela van Bengale</b> ]
24 June 1668:	free-born <i>heelslag</i> <b>Anthonij</b> [Annica van Bengale by Anthonij van <b>Japan</b> ] private mestizo <b>Loies</b> [Diana]
6 September 1668:	Company mulatta <b>Helena</b> [Helena Scholts:] [Francijn van Angola]
24 March 1669:	Company mestizo <b>Christoffel</b> [Christoffel Snijman] [ <b>Groote Catrijn van Paliacatta</b> ]
March 1669:	private mestiza <b>Cornelia</b> [Cornelia Bogaerts:] [Maria van Bali]
May 1669:	



17 July 1669:	Company mestiza <b>Elsje [Susanna Een Oor van Bengale]</b> – allegedly strangled by mother who is executed for infanticide <sup>159</sup>
20 October 1669:	private mestiza <b>Catharina</b> [Cape-born <b>Catharina Opklim van Bengale</b> ]
2 February 1670:	Company mulatto <b>Claasjen [Maria van Angola]</b>
23 March 1670:	private mestizo <b>Jan Job [Sara van Bengale – Sara van Solor?]</b>
31 August 1670:	free-born mestizo <b>Willem Basson [Maaij Ansela van Bengale]</b>
13 September 1670:	private mulatta <b>Maria Bartels: [Sabba van Angola]</b>
c. 1671:	[twin] seconded Company mulatta <b>Catharina [Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna]</b> baptized adult 3 May 1692
	[twin] seconded Company mulatta <b>Ansela [Cornelia Arabus van Abisinna]</b> baptized adult 19 June 1695
c. 1671:	private <i>heelslag</i> <b>Martha [Martha Manuels:] [Catharina van Bengale by Manuel van Angola]</b> - baptism not found
5 July 1671:	Company mulatta <b>Sara Jans: Leenderts: van Gijselen [Maaij Claesje van Angola]</b>
13 September 1671:	Company mulatto <b>Michiel [Francijn van Angola]</b>

This is followed by the colony's eventual adoption (1685) of a uniform, broader baptism policy in line with VOC statutes for all subsequent Cape-born Company slaves. Consequently, *heelslag* children and infants are granted retroactively the same right to baptism. *Privately* owned (as opposed to *Company* owned) slaves, however, are always baptized at the discretion of the owner - an unpopular practice that expediently coincides with a law prohibiting the resale of slaves already baptized. Consequently, only a handful of privately owned visibly *halfslag* slaves ever get to be baptized. These legal niceties, unfortunately, bedevil any positive individual identification of all such individuals investigated. This problem is exacerbated by some surviving recorded initial baptisms omitting the actual names of the slave infants and their mothers and later random baptismal entries of slaves naming only infants and their mothers as well as belated entries for slave children / adults where biological mothers are never listed. Only in exceptional cases are biological fathers recorded. Further research into the written record may hopefully result in further positive identification of the remainder of these individuals.

---

<sup>159</sup> Mansell G. Upham, 'Consecrations to God – the *nasty, brutish and short* life of **Susanna from Bengal**, otherwise known as **One Ear** – 2<sup>nd</sup> recorded female convict at the Cape of Good Hope', First Fifty Years Project (FFY) <http://www.e-family.co.za/ffyy/ui104.htm>.



## Epilogue – an impact minimal, yet phenomenal ...

“We are all black by nature ...”

**St Jerome (340?-420), *The Virgin's Profession*  
[Church father, ascetic, chief editor of the Bible (Vulgate version)]**

“I know that none dare challenge me when I say

I AM AN AFRICAN”

**Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki**

Ever since 1652, the genealogical impact on the colonial Cape of Good Hope-born population by the initial cargo of slaves from ‘Angola’ and ‘Guinea’ brought to South Africa (1658), is clearly minimal when contrasted with all the other more numerous uprooted individuals and groups brought over the centuries to the colony, either as officials, settlers (*burghers*), refugees, political exiles, slaves or convicts. That there remained any slaves from ‘Angola’ and ‘Guinea’ resilient enough to leave behind recorded progeny, is indeed remarkable. The genealogical legacy of these early deracinated and displaced West and Central black Africans – a mere handful – is such that some of their descendants nevertheless ramify significantly, forming an indelible part of the Cape’s early colonial free populace at the bottom tip of Africa – *Earth’s Extremest End* - thus helping to form and solidify the substratum of what diversified into the racially stratified ‘White’ and ‘Coloured’ Afrikaans- and English-speaking minority colonially induced population(s) of Southern Africa. They also qualify - ironically - as core ancestors of today’s self-identified (‘white’) Afrikaners. Descendants of these singular shiploads of ‘Angola’ and ‘Guinea’ slaves and who form the substratum of the emerging not-quite-white colonial society at the tip of Africa, already successfully identified amongst the following old Cape families, include *inter alia*:

**Badenhorst, Bantjes, Basson, Bergman, Broeders, Colijn, van Coningshoven, Combrink, Coos, van Dyk, Duuring, Ehrenhaut, van Eeden, Eksteen, Goosen, Hartog, Heyns, Hoffman, Holloway, Holmberg, Jacobs, Jonas, Jonker, Kraak, Kruger, Laing, Langeveld, Oberholzer, Oelofse, Peters, Piek, Ronnenkamp, van der Schelde, van der Schyff, Stavorinus, Stockenström, Stolts, Treurnicht, Verbeek, Vermeulen, Wedekind, von Wielligh, van Zyl.**

Minimal, yet phenomenal - albeit not insubstantial in terms of traceable descendants – their offspring nevertheless make up an integral and inalienable part of the broader indigenous African community. The observations of the scholar Priscilla Felicity de Wet are worth quoting in this context:<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Priscilla Felicity de Wet, “Make our Children Proud of the heritage” - A case study of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic communities in SA with specific reference to the emerging Khoe and San Indigenous Peoples in the Republic of South Africa, Master Degree Programme in Indigenous Studies (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø, Spring 2006)

<https://www.ub.uit.no/munin/handle/10037/151/browse?value=De+Wet%2C+Priscilla+Felicity&type=author>.



However, the issue of indigenous in RSA remains a pertinent question as decisions are left largely to the leaders in Government institutions and departments. In an interview with the National Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Pallo Jordan, regarding the visit of United Nations Special Rapporteur, Rudolpho Stavenhagen, he argued that the Department of Arts and Culture regarded everyone who was of African descent as indigenous except the immigrant groups from Europe and Asia. He added that the Khoekhoe did not suffer as much as the Africans [*sic* - black or Bantu-speaking Africans] and their indigenous languages are virtually non-existent with Afrikaans or English being their first language now. He continued that during apartheid the Khoekhoe received more privileges than the Africans did and finished by saying that “*We have to bring political stability, social harmony and economic prosperity to SA and one way of doing that is to credit our common ancestral heritage*”. [Media Statement 10 August 2005]

The time is long overdue for these antecedent black African forced migrants from ‘Angola’ and ‘Guinea’ to be recognized as individual people in their own right and acknowledged for their contributing role in the making of modern South Africa also by their descendants. These slaves and their genealogically significant offspring have never been individually, comprehensively and properly identified in terms of their specific West or Central African origins. Indeed, they are almost all conspicuous by their very absence and/or exclusion in the seminal published works on the origins of Boer / Afrikaner / South African colonial families, *viz.*:<sup>161</sup>

- Christoffel Coetzee de Villiers / George McCall Theal’s *Geslacht-Register der Ou Kaapsche Familien* (1893-1894) [reworked by Dr. Cornelis C. Pama (ed.) as *Geslagsregister van die Ou Kaapse Families / Genealogies of Old South African Families* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1966),
- H.T. Coelenbrander’s *De Afkomst der Boeren* (Amsterdam 1902),
- Dr. Johannes August Heese’s *Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner* (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town 1971); and
- Dr. Hans Friedrich Heese’s *Groep Sonder Grense: Die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652-1795* (Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, Bellville 1984)

Nevertheless, subsequent revisionist efforts by historians / researchers such as Drs. Johann Max Heinrich Hoge (1886-1960), Johannes August Heese (1907-1990), Hans Friedrich Heese (born 1944) and Johannes Leon Hattingh, have opened the way for a more inclusive and deracialized inquiry into the origins of the Boer / Afrikaner and their extended Coloured and English families. There is no doubt that tracing especially enslaved individuals in the colonial written record in general is no easy undertaking; yet one important question persists: *why have the more immediate, or obvious male-line, direct descendants of these imported black African slaves themselves neglected for so long to investigate more fully their colonial beginnings?* Curiously, during the heyday of institutionalized apartheid, influential Afrikaner representative political and church leaders, e.g.

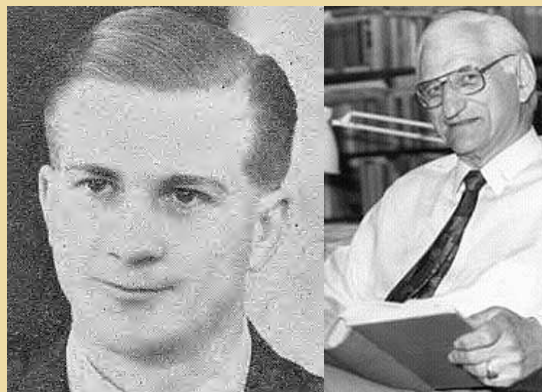
<sup>161</sup> The article by J.M. Greeff, ‘Deconstructing Jaco – Genetic heritage of an Afrikaner’, *Annals of Human Genetics* (22 May 2007) <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-1809.2007.00363.x/full> is a case in point - still utilizing uncritically published (but unprocessed) data on “non-European founder ancestors” where the ‘Angola’ and ‘Guinea’ components hardly feature; and where they do, incorrectly.





- **Dr. Andries Petrus Treurnicht (1921-1993)** author of *Credo van 'n Afrikaner* affirming white European purity and denying non-European ancestry; and
- Professor **Johan Adam Heyns (1928-1994)** - assassinated *verligte* Dutch Reformed Church Moderator,

both of whose family names point to 'Guinea' slave descent (presuming there are no breaks in their direct line of male descent) - do not seem to have felt any real need to confront more directly and publicly the written record always closely at hand.



**Dr. Andries Treurnicht (1921-1993)    Prof. Johan Heyns (1928-1994)**

General amnesia, ignorance, presumption, denial and suppression of slave / indigenous heritage, understandable perhaps, presumably goes hand in glove with inherited patriarchal systems and/or perceived misogyny and the repression of maternal descent (not necessarily without female complicity) by the adoption, acquiescence and entrenchment of the overriding convention of carrying over one's father's surname and/or adopting one's husband's family name. In this regard, the invaluable and inestimable pioneering works (also collaborative) of Margaret Cairns (1912-2009) and Dr. Anna J. Böeseke (1906-1997) on 'people of colour', early Cape women and slavery ultimately uprooted and prized open our hitherto mostly neglected, forgotten and buried matriarchal heritage.



**Dr. Anna J. Böeseke (1906-1997)**

**Margaret Cairns, born Twentyman-Jones (1912-2009)**



## List of `Angola` slaves showing children & family names of likely descendants

### WOMEN

#### Catarina van Angola

*halfslag* **Constanty [Constantia]** baptized 14 [19?] April 1680

#### Cecilia / Cicilia [van Angola]

*halfslag* **Floorci** baptized 6 September 1665 [mother: **Cicilia** – perhaps mistake for **Cornelia [Cecilia?] Arabus van Abisinna?**]

#### Cecilia / Cicilia van Angola

*halfslag* **Angenietie** baptised Cape 19 August 1685 (father: **Jan Herfst [Johann Herbst]** (from Bremen); witness: **Margarita van de Caep [Margaretha Jans: / Visser van de Caep]**)

*halfslag* **Constantia** baptized 1 August 1688

#### Christina (Christijn) van Angola

*heelslag* **Marij** (father: **Deuxcous van Guinea**)

#### Maaij Claesje van Angola

[?] *halfslag* **Maria [Maria Matthyssen Eli] van de Caep** born 1663 - **Rijkman van Wey** descendants

[?] *halfslag* **Willem** baptized 25 October 1665 [mother: **Vlossijk [Claesje?]**]

*halfslag* **Elisabeth [Lijs Blom?] van de Caep** baptized 14 August 1667

[?] *halfslag* **Anna (Annetje) Lakens: van de Caep** Company born c. 1669; *bejaarde* baptized 8

December 1686

*halfslag* **Sara [Leenderts: / Jans: / van Gijsselen] van de Caep** baptized 5 July 1671 - **Oelofse**

descendants

*heelslag* **Christina (Christijn) [Pieters:] van de Caep (born c. 1673);** baptized as

*bejaarde* 4 August 1686 – **Stols** descendants

*halfslag* **Johanna (Jannetje) [Willems: / van Wijk] van de Caep** baptized 27 October 1675 -

**Hartog, Piek, Wedekind, Coos, Duuring** descendants

*halfslag* **Magdalena [Smit] van de Caep** 15 August 1677

#### Dorothea van Angola

*halfslag* **Johannes** baptized 23 May 1667

[?] *halfslag* **Catharina Verburg?] van de Caep** born c. 1669; baptized *halfslag bejaarde* 2 February 1687 - **Van Dyk** descendants

*halfslag* **Cornelia (Keetje / Cobus: / Jacobs: / Pieters:] van de Caep** baptized 27 March 1672 –

**Langeveld** descendants

*halfslag* **Cecilia [Mulders: / Sweris(se)] van de Caep** baptized 8 September 1675 - **Bergman,**

**Goosen, Kruger** baptized 5 July 1671

[?] *halfslag* **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) van Wijk** born 1677; baptized *halfslag bejaarde* 2 February 1687

- **Badenhorst, Von Wielligh** descendants

*halfslag* **Dorothea** baptized 26 November 1679



[?] *heelslag* **Maria Domingo** born c. 1681; baptized *bejaarde* 4 August 1686 - **Peters, Jacobs,**

**Bantjes** descendants

[?] *halfslag* **Helena [Helena Abrams: / Abrahams:]** born c. 1683 Company *halfslag* *bejaarde*

baptized 2 February 1687

*halfslag* **Claes [Coos:]** born c. 1685; baptized 21 April 1686

[missing children?]

#### **Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) [Sabba] van Angola**

[?] *halfslag* **Catharina Hillebrants:** baptized 1663 [?] - **Van Wyk** descendants

*halfslag* **Dirk van de Caep** baptized 6 September 1665

*heelslag* **Pieterella (Pietertje) van de Caep** born c. 1667 [manumission makes her slightly older

... perhaps an exaggeration? ] - **Ehrenhaut** descendants

*halfslag* **Maria [Bartels:] van de Caep** baptized 14 September 1670

#### **Francina (Francijn / Francijntje) van Angola**

[missing child?]

*halfslag* **Pietertje [Pieter Coopman:]** baptized 6 September 1665

*halfslag* **Catharina [Fredericks:] van de Caep** baptized 14 June 1667

*halfslag* **Helena [Scholts:]** baptized 24 March 1669

*halfslag* **Michiel** baptized 13 September 1671

[missing child?]

*halfslag* **David** baptized 24 January 1676

#### **Isabella van Angola**

[missing children – possibly childless]

#### **Maaij Isabella van Angola**

*halfslag* **Catharina [Hermans:] van de Caep** baptized 12 September 1666 - **Van Wyk**

descendants

[missing children]

#### **Maria van Angola**

*halfslag* **Claasjen [Claes Coos:][female:] van de Caep** baptized 2 February 1670

[missing children]

#### **Maria Pekenijn van Angola**

[missing children]

#### **Margaretha (Griet / Grietje) [van Angola? Van Madagascar?]**

[?] *halfslag* **Maria Been** 1663

*halfslag* **Petronella [Pieterella Lammers:]** baptized 25 October 1665

*halfslag* **Anthoni [Anthonij Verhagen:]** 2 October 1667

[missing children]

[?] *heelslag* **Constantia [Constantia Jacobs:** baptized 11 February 1680 [mother **Griet;** father: **Jacob van Sant Thomee]**

#### **MEN**

##### **Anthonij van Angola**

*heelslag* **Martha van de Caep**

*heelslag* **Catharina Anthonijs:** [mother: **Susanna van Mombasa]**

*heelslag* **Elisabeth Anthonijs:** [mother: **Susanna van Mombasa]**

##### **Claes van Angola**



[?] *heelslag* Armozijn [Claesz:] van de Caep [mother: Cornelis Arabus van Abissina?] - Jonas,

Combrink descendants

**Jacqje Joiij van Angola**

*heelslag* Manda Gracias: van de Caep [mother: *heelslag* Armozijn Claes: van de Caep] - Jonas,

Combrink descendants

**Manuel van Angola**

*heelslag* Martha [Manuels:] van de Caep [mother: Catharina van Bengale] - Verbeek, Hoffman,

Ronnenkamp, Basson descendants

## List of `Guinea` slaves showing children & family names of likely descendants

### WOMEN

**Anna van Guinea**

*heelslag* Jan (born 1661) (father: Dirk van Guinea)

[?] *halfslag* Jacomijntje Frost / Vrost [van de Caep] baptized 1663 - Jacobs descendants

*heelslag* Maria [Everts:] van de Caep - Colijn, Oberholzer, Eksteen descendants

**Lobbetje [Gegeima / Jajenne van Guinea]** same person as Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg

[?] *halfslag* Lijsbeth [Jans:] van de Caep - Arendsdorp descendants

[?] *halfslag* Jannetje [Bord] van de Caep - Van Coningshoven, Treurnicht descendants

*heelslag* [?] Maria [Hansen] van de Caep - Van der Schyff, Pretorius, Van der Schelde descendants

**Plad Oor [Koddo van Guinea] [? Sara de Waster]**

*halfslag* Jannetje van de Caep baptized 1663 [?]

*halfslag* Maria [Schalks:] van de Caep baptized 6 September 1665 - Heyns descendants

**Maria (Marij) van Guinea**

*heelslag* Bruijnnette van de Caep

*heelslag* Jacob [Jacobsz:] van de Caep- Jacobs descendants

### MEN

**Abraham (Abram) van Guinea**

*heelslag* Isabella van de Caep [mother: Catharina van Bengale] - Stavorinus descendants

**Alexander [?] van Guinea**

[?] *heelslag* Lijsbeth [Sanders:] van de Caep [mother: Elisabeth (Lijsbeth) Arabus van Abissina] - Louisz:<sup>162</sup> descendants

**Paaij Claes van Guinea**

[?] *heelslag* Armozijn [Claesz:] van de Caep [mother: Cornelis Arabus van Abissina?] - Jonas,

Combrink descendants

---

<sup>162</sup> The possibility that her biological father might be the free-burgher **Gerrit Sanders:** (from Blecksum), however, cannot be discounted.





**Deuxcous van Guinea**

*heelslag* **Marij / Marie (born 1661)** (mother: **Christina (Christijn) van Angola**)

**Dirk van Guinea**

*heelslag* **Jan (born 1661)** (mother: **Dirkie** aka **Hoen(a) / Anna van Guinea**)

**Ouwe Hans van Guinea**

[?] *heelslag* [?] **Maria [Hans: / Hansdochter / Hansen / Willems: van Hamburg] van de Caep**

[mother: **Gegeima / Jajenne van Guinea** aka **Tavina [Regina?] van Rapenberg**  
later nick-named **Lobbetje?**] – **Van der Schyff** descendants

**As yet unidentified recorded Cape-born *Company* slave children of likely  
`Angola` or `Guinea` origin**

***Halfslag***

**Abram van de Caep** 8 December 1686

**Hercules van de Caep** baptized 8 December 1686

**Catharina van de Caep** 7 March 1666 [mother: unnamed [Malagasy?] *Company* slave]

**Clementia van de Caep** baptized 16 September 1691

**Jannetje van de Caep** baptized 1663 [?]

**Jannetie [Johanna Matthjis:]** baptized 19 September 1688 [mother unnamed]

**Maria Pieters:** [mother: **Joanna [van de Caep] [Janne Bastiaens:?] baptized *halfslag* 24 January 1671**

***Heelslag***

**Anna [Abrams:?] *Company heelslag bejaarde*** baptized 23 February 1686

**Claes Janse van de Caep *Company bejaarde*** baptized 16 September 1691

**Catharina van de Caep *heelslag bejaarde*** baptized 4 August 1686

**Helena Titus: *Company heelslag bejaarde* (?)** baptized 23 February 1687

